

# OLD ENGLISH NEWSLETTER

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# OLD ENGLISH NEWSLETTER

Volume 40 Number 3

Spring 2007

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## In Memorium: Stephen O. Glosecki

(1950-2007)

Stephen O. Glosecki was a scholar of remarkable grace and breadth, and the world of Anglo-Saxon studies is much poorer for his death on April 4, 2007 as a result of the cancer he battled courageously and without self-pity for close to a decade. Steve earned his doctorate in English from the University of California at Davis in 1980, completing his graduate career under the careful mentorship of Marijane Osborn. He joined the faculty of the University of Alabama at Birmingham in 1982, where he remained until his death. In 1991, he won the Ellen Gregg Ingalls Award for Excellence in Classroom Teaching, and in 1991-92 he served as Fulbright Professor of Historical Linguistics at the University of Tromsø in Norway. His teaching was broad and imaginative, and brought Old English to many fortunate students, as well as Literature of the Vikings, Images of the Outlaw, and numerous other courses.

Steve embodied, in many respects, the focus of much of his literary study, the folkloric, mythic, and tribal aspects of Old English poetry. He was something of a shaman himself, a man of magical transformations: scholar, translator, poet and artist. In each instance he consciously attended to the things of both this world and the other. Steve's interest in the ecstatic world of the shaman is reflected most obviously in his first book, *Shamanism and Old English Poetry* (1989). This profoundly innovative and challenging work, warmly appreciated by reviewers upon its publication, has become firmly embedded in contemporary Anglo-Saxon scholarship and has had a major impact on studies of secular poetry from many early literate cultures. Steve's work on "elf-shot" and the attributes of magical beings also inspires current scholars; at the SEMA conference in 2007, for example, Brad Busbee gave a paper entitled "A Sleeping Spell in *Beowulf*?" using Glosecki and Grundtvig to frame his argument.

Steve's numerous articles appeared in *ELN*, *Journal of Ritual Studies*, *Mankind Quarterly*, *Medieval Perspectives*, *OEN*, and elsewhere. His somewhat autobiographical article, "Skalded Epic (Make It Old)", published in an *OEN* Subsidia volume in 2002, won UAB's 2002 Connor Prize for an essay in the history of ideas. In it he illustrated his efforts to uncover the bardic elements of Old English poetry, a theme that underpinned much of his scholarly work, but also played a key role in his own poetry and translation. He often recited Old English poetry publicly in his own seminars and at conferences. At the conference of the Teachers of Old English in Britain and Ireland, he very memorably read parts of his own alliterative translation of *Beowulf* to a hugely appreciative audience; he read at the International Medieval Congress at Kalamazoo, which he always enjoyed, and at the 2002 Southeastern Medieval Association meeting, where he chanted the Grendel episode from *Beowulf* during an opening ceremony entitled "Voices of the Past."

In September 2001, Steve served as Convenor of the 5th G. L. Brook Symposium on "Myth and Language," held in the John Rylands Library of the University of Manchester. A volume containing papers presented at this conference has recently appeared as *Myth in Early Northwest Europe*, edited by Steve himself (MRTS 320. Tempe, AZ: Arizona State University Press, 2007). Incorporating work by some of the world's leading scholars of myths and mythology from early-medieval Northwest Europe, this volume is sure to be a lasting memorial to Steve's work and scholarly leadership.

In addition to his purely scholarly analyses, Steve devoted much of his time to working on his remarkable translation of *Beowulf*. In this work, completed last autumn but not yet published, Steve's professional attention to the language of Anglo-Saxon England merged brilliantly with his own considerable abilities as a poet. This version of the poem that emerged slowly over the years, which he

often shared piece by piece with his friends, balanced a linguistic and metric justice to the original with Steve's own profound sense of wonder and pleasure in the language and the physical world depicted. His translation of *Judith*, published in the *Broadview Anthology of British Literature* in 2006, is equally entertaining, true to the spirit of the original, and wonderfully poetic in its evocation of the heroine and her acts of courage. His translation work had recently moved into the poetic renditions of Scandinavian texts, and he was himself, of course, also a frequent contributor to volumes of poetry; parts of his *Beowulf* translation were published in the *Birmingham Poetry Review*.

Steve embraced the physical world in visual art as well, and believed all forms of art to be ennobling. His friends looked forward every year to the original etching that graced his family Christmas card, accompanied by one of his own poems. Indeed, the front cover of *Myth in Early Northwest Europe* is enhanced by one of his own linocuts: the woman with the drinking horn based on a ninth-century silver figurine found on the island of Öland in Sweden.

Steve's own totem, as he often told his friends, was the bear, and however he arrived at his totem spiritually, it also reflected the physical being of the man. Sadly, this totemic animal could not protect him from another "beast," as he often called his cancer. His greatest wish from a scholarly perspective was to finish his *Beowulf* translation, which he managed to do. But even more than Steve was committed to his scholarly work, he was devoted to his family: his wife Karen Reynolds and their two sons, Dylan and Christopher. It is with them, and his whole family, that our sincere sympathies lie.

Jill Frederick, Marijane Osborn, Elaine Treharne

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Email: ras@ufl.edu

## MANAGING EDITOR

Judith Shoaf, University of Florida, USA  
Email: exemplaria@gmail.com

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## News and Announcements

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### ISAS Biennial Publication Prizes

In 2003 the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists instituted a series of publication prizes of \$150 each for (1) the best article in any sub-field or subject in the discipline; (2) the best first book about “the languages, literatures, arts, history, or material culture of Anglo-Saxon England”; and (3) the best edition or translation (in any medium) of an Anglo-Saxon text, vernacular or Latin. At its 2007 meeting in London, the Society was pleased to announce the winners of the 2005–2007 awards:

Best First Book (tie):

- ♦ **Daniel Anlezark**, *Water and fire: The Myth of the Flood in Anglo-Saxon England* (Manchester University Press, 2006)
- ♦ **Martin Foys**, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media, and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print* (University Press of Florida, 2007)

Best Edition and/or Translation:

- ♦ **Scott DeGregorio**, translator, *Bede In Ezram* (Liverpool UP, 2005)

Best Article:

- ♦ **Joyce Hill**, “Authority and Intertextuality in the Works of Ælfric,” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 131 (2005): 157–81 [The Sir Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture for 2004]

International Society of Anglo-Saxonists



The ISAS publication prize committee, comprising Elaine Treharne, Thomas N. Hall and Barbara Yorke, commented on the high quality of this year's entries and commends all the authors who submitted work for the prizes. Submissions for the next competition (to be awarded at the ISAS conference in 2009) must have been published in the calendar years 2007 or 2008 (items submitted from 2007 for the prize awarded in London are not eligible for re-submission). Authors must be members of ISAS by the competition deadline; members may submit publications in any language for consideration. Nominations, accompanied by a copy of the publication, must be submitted to the Executive Director on or before 31 December 2008 to be eligible for consideration. Authors wishing to submit books should contact their publishers to have one sent; articles should, wherever possible, be submitted electronically. Please send nominations to:

David F. Johnson  
 Executive Director, International Society of Anglo-Saxonists  
 Interdisciplinary Program in the Humanities  
 Florida State University  
 432 Diffenbaugh  
 Tallahassee, FL 32306 USA  
[djohnson@english.fsu.edu](mailto:djohnson@english.fsu.edu)  
<http://www.isas.us/pubs.html>



## Ten Years of the Lynne Grundy Memorial Trust

2007 is the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Lynne Grundy Memorial Trust. Lynne Grundy was Researcher and Lecturer at the University of London from 1988 until her death in 1997. An inspiring teacher and rigorous scholar, she is much missed. The Trust was established with help from her students, colleagues and friends not only to commemorate her life, but in some way to continue her work, and to contribute to the future of Anglo-Saxon studies and Humanities Computing.

The aim of the registered charitable trust is to support scholars and students (without permanent full-time posts or adequate funding) in specific projects that will help them to achieve long-term goals. In 1991, Lynne Grundy was awarded a grant to attend a conference in Long Island, where she made contacts and found encouragement and support that made an enormous difference to her career; this was the inspiration for the Trust. It was intended to fill a gap for scholars without permanent full-time posts or adequate support, to give the necessary boost at the right time.

In 2007 the Trust has made awards to four scholars of outstanding promise:

- ◆ **Hilary Powell**, in her final year of her DPhil at Oxford, was awarded funds to help her complete her thesis on Anglo-Saxon saints' cults, a fascinating study that uses a methodology which will allow other texts to be analyzed in a similar way.
- ◆ **Luke Blaxill**, in his first year of studying for his PhD at King's College London, was awarded funds towards his costs in establishing a database of political speeches, a Humanities Computing project that has very valuable wider applications and uses.
- ◆ **Maria Cesario**, completing her PhD at Manchester, was awarded funds towards her expenses in attending conferences at Leicester and Leeds to give papers on her thesis subject of Anglo-Saxon prognostics, and what is proving to be important new research.
- ◆ **Andrea Nagy** and **Kata Agnes Miklos** were awarded funds towards their new translation of *Beowulf* into Hungarian, an exciting project which will bring this text to a new audience.

In ten years the Trust has made 38 awards, including sending many people to conferences; almost everyone working in this field has now heard a paper by a Trust award-winner. The Trust has also supported a one-man show of *Beowulf* at the Edinburgh Festival, helped safeguard Anglo-Saxon monuments from bulldozers, funded a new way of digitizing narrative structure in the conservation of verbal art texts, helped scholars get their books camera-ready, illustrated, and published, supported the teaching of Old English in Hungarian universities, and helped to bring new translations of texts to new audiences. It has funded groundbreaking research that makes a difference not only to the scholars themselves, but to the whole discipline.

Perhaps just as important is the Trust's support for many students in real financial hardship struggling to finish a thesis while waiting tables, working in betting shops, nursing or cleaning. Many awards have given the last push necessary to complete four or five years' work and finally achieve the PhD.

In addition to their grants, award winners receive a presentation copy of Lynne Grundy's *Books and Grace* and the memorial volume of *Essays on Anglo-Saxon Themes* published by KCLMS. Both these volumes were donated to the Trust by the board of KCLMS to supplement the awards, and they are greatly appreciated by the award winners.

The Trust is run on a completely voluntary basis, supported by colleagues, friends, and family, and by annual donations from the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists and the Teachers of Old English in



Britain and Ireland. 2007 is the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Trust, and an appeal year to raise funds for a special tenth year of awards in 2008, and to continue the increasingly important work of the Trust for another decade. For more details, including information on how to apply or contribute, please visit <http://www.lynnegrundytrust.org.uk>.

### **“England and the Continent in the Tenth Century,” University of Durham**

December 14–17, 2007

An International Conference in memory of Professor Dr. Wilhelm Levison (Died 1947) will be held at the University of Durham from December 14–17, 2007. Bringing together an impressive array of internationally distinguished scholars and also younger scholars of great promise, the conference theme “England and the Continent in the Tenth Century” focuses on:

- ♦ England and the Continent
- ♦ The Vision of the Past
- ♦ Revolution in Church Organization
- ♦ Kingship and Ritual
- ♦ Law and Power
- ♦ Manuscripts and Culture

The conference has been planned as a coherent, multi-authored exploration of these themes, and it has been designed to encourage vigorous discussion amongst all those attending. Anyone interested is warmly welcome to attend. Further information and a complete program can be found at <http://www.dur.ac.uk/conference.booking/details/?id=38>; for academic questions about the conference, please contact the convenor, Professor David Rollason ([david.rollason@durham.ac.uk](mailto:david.rollason@durham.ac.uk)).

### **Annual UK Gender and Medieval Studies Conference**

January 11–13, 2008

The annual UK Gender and Medieval Studies conference will be held in Edinburgh on 11–13 January 2008, on the theme “Gender and Difference in the Middle Ages.” The concept of difference enables us to explore medieval gender in a number of ways, thinking about the construction of gender through its relationship to other categories of difference such as social status, sexualities, and ethnicity, and age. It also allows us to think about how gender is used to construct, articulate, and represent various forms of difference. Explorations of the gendering of objects and the monstrous, for example, can illuminate, blur, or challenge binary distinctions. This conference seeks to provide a forum in which such approaches can be discussed and developed. Information about the conference will be available at <http://www.medievalgender.co.uk>.

### **Newberry Library Seminar: *Beowulf***

January 11 – March 14, 2008

The Newberry Library Center for Renaissance Studies will offer a Seminar on *Beowulf* led by Christina von Nolcken of the University of Chicago. The seminar will meet Fridays from 2–5 p.m., January 11 – March 14, 2008. The seminar is intended for participants who have already completed at least one course in Old English; its aim is to help them read *Beowulf* and familiarize them with some of the scholarly discussion that has accumulated around the poem. Participants will define the topics of their final research papers early in the seminar, by reading as widely as possible in journals and books. Funds may be available for students and faculty members of Consortium institutions to travel to the Newberry to attend Consortium seminars. Students and faculty from universities outside the Center for Renaissance Studies Consortium

are welcome to apply to attend a seminar; there is a \$500 course fee for non-Consortium students. A list of Consortium institutions can be found at <http://www.newberry.org/renaissance/consortium/exec.html>; For course descriptions or other information, please visit <http://www.newberry.org/renaissance/consortium/consortiumsems2008.html>; to register for a class, please contact the Newberry Library Center for Renaissance Studies at 312-255-3514, or via email at [renaissance@newberry.org](mailto:renaissance@newberry.org).

### **Marco Manuscript Workshop, "Texts in Motion," The University of Tennessee, Knoxville**

February 8–9, 2008

The University of Tennessee in Knoxville announces a two-day workshop on manuscript studies to be held February 8–9, 2008 and sponsored by the Marco Institute for Medieval and Renaissance Studies. The workshop, organized by Professors Maura K. Lafferty (Classics) and Roy M. Liuzza (English), is intended to be more a class than a conference; participants will be invited to share both their successes and frustrations, and to work together towards developing better professional skills for textual and paleographical work in Medieval Studies.

Last year's workshop focused on how the non-textual aspects of manuscript presentation influence the way texts are read; this year's workshop, "Texts in Motion," will consider the effect of time on texts. Virtually all manuscript texts vary to some degree from one copy to another; some texts underwent more radical expansion, continuation, or revision, by their authors or others, and significantly different versions of the same text circulated alongside one another. These multiform texts raise a number of challenging questions for a modern editor: what is the relationship, both textual and contextual, between the different versions of the text? Which version should form the basis for an edited text? How can the range of textual differences be represented? How much of this material ought to be presented? Is it possible, finally, to capture the spirit of a medieval text in motion? We invite proposals for presentations by anyone working on texts that have undergone significant changes through time—abbreviation, expansion, continuation, excerpting, quotation in other texts, dramatic changes in format or context, even glosses and translations. The theme is meant to be understood as broadly as possible, and we welcome proposals that expand our definition of "text" to material objects besides manuscripts, such as images, inscriptions, relics, or buildings.

The workshop is open to scholars and students at any rank. Individual 90-minute sessions will be devoted to each presentation; participants will introduce their text and its context, discuss their approach to working with this material, and exchange ideas and information with other participants. We particularly invite proposals describing works in progress, unusual textual problems, practical difficulties, and new or experimental models for studying or representing texts. Presenters will receive a stipend of \$500 for their participation.

The deadline for applications is November 1, 2007. Applicants are asked to submit a current CV and a two-page letter describing their project to Roy M. Liuzza, either via email to [rliuzza@utk.edu](mailto:rliuzza@utk.edu) or by mail to the Department of English, University of Tennessee, 301 McClung Tower, Knoxville, TN 37996-0430. The workshop is also open to scholars and students who do not wish to present their work but may be interested in learning more about manuscript studies. Non-presenters will not receive a stipend, but are encouraged to participate fully in discussions and other activities. Those wishing to attend should visit <http://web.utk.edu/~marco/workshop/manuscript.shtml> for more information.

### **Medieval Academy Travel Grants**

The Medieval Academy of America provides a limited number of travel grants to help independent scholars or currently unaffiliated faculty present their work at professional meetings. Awards to support travel

in North America are \$500; for overseas travel the awards are \$750. The deadline is November 1 for applications for meetings to be held between 1 March and 31 August, and May 1 for meetings to be held between 1 September and 28 February.

Applications should consist of four copies of the following: a one-page abstract of the paper to be presented; a one-page curriculum vitae, including current employment status; a photocopy of the call for papers issued by the meeting's organizers; and the names, phone numbers, and addresses (including electronic) of two references. Please do not exceed the page limits.

Although time constraints may require an initial application before a paper has been accepted, travel grants will not normally be awarded without evidence that the paper actually will be given (such as a photocopy of the relevant part of the program).

Major national and international meetings will be given priority. Grants will be limited to one per applicant in a three-year period. Applicants must hold the Ph.D. degree and must be current members of the Medieval Academy. Send applications to Travel Grants, The Medieval Academy of America, 104 Mount Auburn St., 5th Floor, Cambridge, MA 02128. For further information please visit <http://www.medievalacademy.org>.

### **Call for Papers: "Pilgrimage in the Medieval World," Illinois Medieval Association**

February 22–23, 2008

The 25th Annual Conference of the Illinois Medieval Association will be held February 22–23, 2008 at Saint Xavier University in Chicago, IL. The keynote speaker is A.C. Spearing, William R. Kenan, Jr. Professor of English at the University of Virginia. The Illinois Medieval Association invites abstracts from a variety of disciplines that address the concept of pilgrimage in the medieval world; papers on any aspect of medieval pilgrimage are welcomed, especially those that examine the issue from a non-European perspective. Possible areas of investigation might include, but are not limited to Christian, Jewish or Muslim concepts of pilgrimage, the pilgrim in visual and literary art, socioeconomic aspects of pilgrimage, and the articulation of pilgrimage in sermon studies, liturgical practice, or travel narratives. Proposals for individual papers and for complete sessions are welcome; please send abstracts of not more than 250 words by October 1st, 2007 to Professor Christian Sheridan, Dept. Of English and Foreign Languages, Saint Xavier University, 3700 West 103rd Street, Chicago, IL 60655, email [sheridan@sxu.edu](mailto:sheridan@sxu.edu). For more information, visit the organization's website at <http://www.illinoismedieval.org/>.

### **Call for Papers: VAGANTES Graduate Student Conference 2008, Ohio State University**

February 28–March 2, 2008

VAGANTES is an annual, traveling conference for graduate students studying any aspect of the Middle Ages. The conference was conceived with several goals in mind, which include fostering of a sense of community among medievalists in the beginning stages of their careers, providing exposure to an interdisciplinary forum, and showcasing the resources of the host institutions, all at minimal cost to graduate students. The seventh conference will be hosted by the graduate medievalists at Ohio State University February 28–March 2, 2008. This year's featured speakers will be Barbara Hanawalt, King George III Chair of British History at The Ohio State University, and Richard K. Emmerson, Chair of the Department of Art History and Professor of Late Medieval Art and Manuscript Studies at Florida State University.

Abstracts for twenty-minute papers are welcome from graduate students on any topic dealing with the Middle Ages, including areas outside the Latin West. Papers should strive for significance to a broad

medievalist audience. Please send a brief CV and abstract of no more than 300 words by October 15, 2007 to Jennifer Gianfalla, gianfalla.1@osu.edu, or by mail to the Department of English, The Ohio State University, 421 Denney Hall, 164 W. 17th Ave., Columbus, OH 43210-1340. For more information, please visit the Vagantes website at <http://www.vagantes.org>.

### **Call for Papers: "Theorizing the Early Middle Ages," Pacific University, Oregon**

March 27–28, 2008

An interdisciplinary conference on "Theorizing the Early Middle Ages" will be held March 27–30, 2008, at Pacific University, Forest Grove, Oregon. The conference is designed to foster and invent cross-disciplinary, theoretical discussion and exchange concerning the sex/gender system, concepts of space, ritual, and other aspects of early medieval studies (*ca.* 500–1000) that lend themselves to theoretical analysis within its various historical, material, liturgical, and literary contexts. The conference planners ideally seek contributions from literary scholars, queer theorists, architectural historians, art historians, paleographers, medical historians, political historians, social historians, church historians, and economic historians interested in the application of theoretical analysis of "Dark Age" cultural, sex/gender, and class systems. Equally, the organizers are looking for theoretically adventurous submissions, ones arguing for the full inclusion of the early medieval era within broader works on sexed, medical, and architectural bodies, spaces, images, and behaviors. Proposals that focus on "Dark Age" clerical and warrior bodies, wealthy and servile bodies, and male and female bodies would be especially welcome. The conference will showcase two plenary speakers, Professor Allen J. Frantzen (Loyola University, Chicago) and Professor Dame Janet Nelson (King's College, University of London).

Please send a two-hundred word abstract along with a current CV to Lynda Coon, Department of History, Old Main 416, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR 72701, USA, or via email to [llcoon@uark.edu](mailto:llcoon@uark.edu). The deadline for submitting abstracts is November 1, 2007. Please contact the conference organizers—Lynda Coon, Martha Rampton ([Ramptonm@pacificu.edu](mailto:Ramptonm@pacificu.edu)), or Kim Sexton ([ksexton@uark.edu](mailto:ksexton@uark.edu)) for additional information.

### **Call for Papers: "From Hild to Stigand: Leaders of the Anglo-Saxon Church"**

March 26–28, 2008

The Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies (MANCASS) will hold its 2008 Easter Conference on March 26–28, 2008 on the theme "From Hild to Stigand: Leaders of the Anglo-Saxon Church." This interdisciplinary residential conference will focus on the individual and collective contribution of particular bishops, abbots and abbesses (e.g. Hild, Æthelthryth, Aldhelm, Mildthryth, Eorcenweald, Wærfeth, Æthelwold, Dunstan, Oswald, Ælfric, Wulfstan, Ælfheah, Stigand) to the achievement of the Anglo-Saxon church from the seventh to the eleventh centuries. The conference organizers invite papers on any aspect of this topic, including the role of such individuals in the establishment, government, scholarship, architecture and art of the church and in furthering (or harming) the reputation and power of specific communities within it. Abstracts (500 words) should be sent by November 1, 2007 to Dr. Alexander Rumble, Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies, School of Arts Histories and Cultures, The University of Manchester, Oxford Road, Manchester M13 9PL, or by email to [alex.rumble@manchester.ac.uk](mailto:alex.rumble@manchester.ac.uk).

### **Call for Papers: "Early English Law: A Centenary Conference on *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*"**

July 16–17, 2008

A two-day conference entitled "Early English Law: A Centenary Conference on *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* of Felix Liebermann (1903–1916)" will be held 16–17 July, 2008, at the Institute for Historical Research in

London. The conference, jointly sponsored by the Institute of Historical Research, the Institute of English Studies, and Advanced Legal Studies, will celebrate Liebermann's work, evaluate its impact, explore new work on early English law (from Æthelberht to the London *Leges Anglorum*), and launch a new edition of the texts. Proposals of around 300 words are invited on the areas of Historiography (especially, but not exclusively, relating to Liebermann), Evidence (manuscripts and archeological data), Philology, Law, and Editing. Within each of these areas, the organizers invite proposals that consider antiquarian interest in early laws, general historiography on the laws to the present, assessments of Liebermann's accomplishment, problems with his edition, new editing work, discovery of new manuscripts or reinterpretations of known manuscripts, construction and use of individual manuscripts, legal terminology (Old English, Latin, or early Anglo-Norman), considerations of individual laws, codes in context, and comparative work on England and its neighbors. All sessions will be plenary, and the organizers invite proposals for panels as well as for individual papers.

The Conference organizers are Stefan Jurasinski (SUNY Brockport), Bruce O'Brien (IHR and University of Mary Washington), Lisi Oliver (Louisiana State University), and Andrew Rabin (University of Louisville). Proposals should be sent by October 31, 2007, to Bruce O'Brien at [bobrien@umw.edu](mailto:bobrien@umw.edu). Further information may be found online at <http://www.history.ac.uk/conferences/medieval.php#79>.

### **Call for Papers: "The Shape of Time in the Middle Ages and Renaissance"**

December 6, 2008

The Twenty-First Barnard Medieval and Renaissance Conference will be held Saturday, December 6, 2008 at Barnard College in New York City. This one-day interdisciplinary conference will explore how time was measured, represented, and imagined in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. The organizers seek papers to address a range of topics including the technology of measuring and organizing time; calendars and almanacs; astronomical, natural, and liturgical models of time; the expression of time in literature, fine arts, music, theater, historiography, law and science. Abstracts of up to one page in length, with c.v., should be sent to the Conference Organizer, Laurie Postlewait, Department of French, Barnard College, 3009 Broadway, New York, NY 10027, or by email to [lpostlew@barnard.edu](mailto:lpostlew@barnard.edu).

### **Call for Submissions: *The Heroic Age* Issue 13, "Early Medieval Manuscripts: Use and Abuse"**

*The Heroic Age* (<http://www.heroicage.org/>) invites submissions for Issue 13, to be published July 2008. Studies of individual manuscripts, or the influence of disparate manuscripts on a particular text, the peculiar travels of a manuscript(s), and other studies are encouraged and welcome. Submissions may be received at any time, but no later than April 1, 2008.

The journal also invites submissions for a special issue, no. 14, on "Law and Legal Culture in the Early Middle Ages," edited by Andrew Rabin, University of Louisville. We construe the subject of this issue broadly, and we are eager to receive submissions representing a variety of perspectives, methodologies, national or ethnic cultures, and disciplines. Possible topics include (but are not limited to): royal legislation, legal manuscripts, law in/and literature, legal procedure, charters and diplomatics, writs and wills, dispute resolution, theories of law and justice, canon law, editing medieval law, law and philosophy, perceptions of medieval law in later periods, law in/and art, international law, and intersections between medieval Asian and European legal traditions.

We welcome traditional philological and historicist approaches, as well as those informed by modern critical theory. Prospective contributors should feel free to contact Andrew Rabin at [andrew.rabin@louisville.edu](mailto:andrew.rabin@louisville.edu) with any questions.



*The Heroic Age* is a fully peer-reviewed academic journal intended for professionals, students and independent scholars. Its focus is on Northwestern Europe during the early medieval period (from the late fourth through eleventh centuries). The editors seek to foster dialogue between all scholars of this period across ethnic and disciplinary boundaries, including, but not limited to, history, archaeology, and literature pertaining to the period. *The Heroic Age* welcomes and encourages papers on topics unrelated to themed issues at any time.

Articles should be 7000 words including bibliography and endnotes, and conform to the journal's in-house style. Instructions may be found at <http://www.heroicage.org/authors.html>. All submissions will be reviewed by two readers according to a double-blind policy. Submissions should be sent to [haediting@yahoo.com](mailto:haediting@yahoo.com). The deadline for submission is July 1st, 2008.

### **Call for Submissions: *Essays in Anglo-Saxon Studies* 5, "Anglo-Saxon Traces"**

The fifth volume in the ISAS series *Essays in Anglo-Saxon Studies* will be edited by Jane Roberts and Leslie Webster and published by ACMRS. The volume will follow the 2007 conference theme "Anglo-Saxon Traces: Her mon mæg giet gesion hiora swæð," and will include contributions on conference presentations at the 2007 London ISAS conference as well as other articles submitted by members of ISAS.

You do not need to have attended the conference to submit a paper, but you do need to be a current member of ISAS (for details on how to join, please visit <http://www.isas.us>). The word limit for submissions is 8000 words plus notes. To submit an essay, two copies of your paper should be sent as hard copy to Jane Roberts or Leslie Webster at the addresses listed below. Papers should follow the *Chicago Manual of Style*, with references in the form of endnotes; papers requiring illustrations should include photocopies of the images to be reproduced. The deadline for receipt of submissions is June 15, 2008. Send submissions to:

Jane Roberts  
Institute of English Studies  
Senate House  
University of London  
Malet Street  
London WC1E 7HU  
UK  
Email: [jane.roberts@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:jane.roberts@kcl.ac.uk)

Leslie Webster  
Department of Prehistory and Europe  
British Museum  
Great Russell Street  
London WC1B 3DG  
UK  
Email: [arachne55@tiscali.co.uk](mailto:arachne55@tiscali.co.uk)

## Recent and Forthcoming Publications

For enhanced coverage of recent publications, please visit <http://www.oenewsletter.org/OEN/>

**Anlezark, Daniel.** *Water and fire: The myth of the flood in Anglo-Saxon England* (University of Manchester Press, 2006). The story of Noah's Flood is one of the Bible's most popular stories, and flood myths are preserved by cultures across the world. This book presents the first comprehensive study of the incorporation of the Flood myth into the Anglo-Saxon imagination, ranging from the works of Bede to *Beowulf*. Focusing on literary representations, this original study contributes to the understanding of the Anglo-Saxons' perception of their place in a universal history unfolding in the interval between the primeval Deluge and a future, perhaps imminent, flood of fire which would destroy the world. This book examines in detail a diverse range of texts which focus on the myth of the Flood, revealing both an imaginative diversity and shared tradition in the interpretation of the myth. On the one hand, the Anglo-Saxons saw in the Flood a climactic event in God's ongoing war with his more rebellious creatures, especially the foolish giants, while on the other they saw in allegory the mystery of redemption through baptism. Most striking of all is their invention of Noah's fourth son, born in the ark, from whom they claimed special descent. Anlezark studies a range of texts, discussing shifting emphases in the way the Flood was interpreted for Anglo-Saxon audiences. The book concludes with a discussion of *Beowulf*, where the Flood myth constitutes a sustained metaphor across the poem. Contents include "'You see the water, you see the wood': The Bible and the Fathers"; "A Manifold Mystery: Bede on the Flood"; "Learning the lesson of the Flood"; "Flood, Covenant and Apocalypse in Old English Poetry"; "Planting Noah's Seed"; "*Beowulf* and the Myth of the Flood"; "Conclusion." 416p., hb. £50.00. ISBN 9780719063985.

**Blanton, Virginia.** *Signs of Devotion: The Cult of St. Æthelthryth in Medieval England, 695-1615* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007). *Signs of Devotion* is the first longitudinal study of an Anglo-Saxon cult from its inception in the late seventh century through the Reformation. It examines the production and reception of texts—both written and visual—that supported the cult of Æthelthryth, an East Anglian princess who had resisted the conjugal demands of two political marriages to maintain her virginity. Æthelthryth forfeited her position as Queen of Northumbria to become a nun and founded a monastery at Ely, where she ruled as abbess before dying in 679 of a neck tumor, which was interpreted as divine retribution for her youthful vanity in wearing necklaces. The cult was initiated when, sixteen years after her death, Æthelthryth's corpse was exhumed, the body found incorrupt, and the tumor shown to have been healed posthumously. *Signs of Devotion* reveals how Æthelthryth, who became the most popular native female saint, provides a central point of investigation among the cultic practices of several disparate groups over time—religious and lay, aristocratic and common, male and female, literate and nonliterate. This study illustrates that the body of Æthelthryth became a malleable, flexible image that could be readily adopted. Hagiographical narratives, monastic charters, liturgical texts, miracle stories, estate litigation, shrine accounts, and visual representations collectively testify that the story of Æthelthryth was a significant part of the cultural landscape in early and late medieval England. More important, these representations reveal the particular devotional practices of those invested in Æthelthryth's cult. By centering the discussion on issues of textual production and reception, Blanton provides a unique study of English hagiography, cultural belief, and devotional practice. 368 p., ill, hb. \$65.00. ISBN 9780271029849.

**Brown, Michelle.** *Manuscripts from the Anglo-Saxon Age* (University of Toronto Press, 2007). The Anglo-Saxons first appeared on the historical scene as pagan pirates and mercenaries moving into the declining Roman Empire in the fifth century. By the time of the Norman Conquest in 1066, Anglo-Saxon England was one of the most sophisticated states in the medieval West, renowned for its ecclesiastical and cultural achievements. The written word was of tremendous importance in this transformation. Within a century of the introduction of Christianity and literacy, the book had become a central element of Anglo-Saxon society, and a rich vehicle for cultural and artistic expression. This new edition of *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*



provides a short introduction to the art of bookmaking in the Anglo-Saxon period and illustrates in color over 150 examples of the finest Anglo-Saxon books in the British Library and other major collections. 176 p., ill. \$50.00 / £32.00. ISBN 0802090966.

**Butcher, Carmen Acevedo.** *Hildegard of Bingen: A Spiritual Reader* (Paraclete Press, 2007). Butcher's latest work continues her production of careful but appealing appreciations of medieval spirituality. This reader captures the vibrant spirit and intelligence of Hildegard with selections from her songs, theological texts, liturgical music, and letters. It also contains an introduction to Hildegard's life and era, a map of Hildegard's Germany, chronology, and a thorough bibliography/discography. 240 pages, pb. \$16.95. ISBN 1557254907.

**Chardonens, László Sándor.** *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics, 900-1100: Study and Texts* (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 153; Brill, 2007). Traditional scholarship on the Anglo-Saxon prognostics tried to place these texts within the realm of folklore and medicine; by analysing prognostic material in its manuscript context, this book offers a novel approach to the status and purpose of such texts in the Anglo-Saxon period. From this perspective, it emerges that prognostication in Anglo-Saxon England was not "folklore" but rather a monastic scholarly pursuit, and less interested in medical care than in the observation of times and seasons. This book offers a comprehensive updating of the pioneering work of Max Förster, presenting both careful definitions and analysis of the genre as a whole and meticulous transcriptions of a significant portion of the corpus of Old English and Latin prognostics from Anglo-Saxon and early twelfth-century insular manuscripts. Contents include "Introduction"; "Chapter One: Prognostics Defined"; "Chapter Two: The Manuscript Context"; "Chapter Three: Language, Date and Place of Origin of English Manuscripts Containing Prognostics"; "Chapter Four: Superstition and Prognostication"; "Chapter Five: Intended Use of Prognostic Texts"; "Conclusion"; "Text Edition"; "Appendices: Handlist of Prognostics in English Manuscripts of the Ninth to Twelfth Centuries; Reference List; Concordance to Anglo-Saxon Prognostics; Values, Dates, Composition." xvi, 608 p., hb. €99.00 / \$129.00. ISBN 9004158294.

**Clemens, Raymond, and Timothy Graham.** *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (Cornell University Press, 2007). Lavishly illustrated and beautifully produced, this work provides a comprehensive and accessible orientation to the fields paleography, codicology, and manuscript studies. Its scope and level of detail are remarkable; it will surely be a standard handbook for students in history, art history, literature, and religious studies and will also appeal to advanced scholars and general readers interested in the history of the book before the age of print. The contents are divided into three sections: Part 1, "Making the Medieval Manuscript," offers an examination of the process of manuscript production, from the preparation of the writing surface through the stages of copying the text, rubrication, decoration, glossing, and annotation to the binding and storage of the completed codex. Part 2, "Reading the Medieval Manuscript," focuses on the skills necessary for the successful study of manuscripts, with chapters on transcribing and editing; reading texts damaged by fire, water, insects, and other factors; assessing evidence for origin and provenance; and describing and cataloguing manuscripts. This part ends with a survey of sixteen medieval scripts dating from the eighth to the fifteenth century. Part 3, "Some Manuscript Genres," provides an analysis of several of the most frequently encountered types of medieval manuscripts, including Bibles and biblical concordances, liturgical service books, Books of Hours, charters and cartularies, maps, and rolls and scrolls. The book contains an extensive glossary, a guide to dictionaries of medieval Latin, and a bibliography subdivided and cross-referenced to the subsections of the volume's chapters. Every chapter features numerous color plates that exemplify each aspect described in the text and are drawn primarily from the collections of the Newberry Library in Chicago and the Parker Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. 352 p., ill. hb \$85.00, ISBN 9780801438639; pb \$39.95, ISBN 9780801487088.

**Giandrea, Mary Frances.** *Episcopal Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Boydell Press, 2007). This first full-length study of the Anglo-Saxon episcopate explores the activities of the bishops in a variety of

arenas, from the pastoral and liturgical to the political, social, legal and economic, so tracing the development of a particularly English episcopal identity over the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries. It makes detailed use of the contemporary evidence, previously unexploited as diffuse, difficult and largely non-narrative, rather than that from after the Norman Conquest; because this avoids the prevailing monastic bias, it shows instead that differences in order between secular and monk-bishops had almost no effect on their attitudes toward their episcopal roles. It therefore presents a much more nuanced portrait of the episcopal church on the eve of the Conquest, a church whose members constantly worked to create a well-ordered Christian polity through the stewardship of the English monarchy and the sacralization of political discourse: an episcopate deeply committed to pastoral care and in-step with current continental liturgical and theological developments, despite later ideologically-charged attempts to suggest otherwise; and an institution intricately woven, because of its tremendous economic and political power, into the very fabric of English local and regional society. Contents include “[Re]Writing History”; “The *Servitium Regis*”; “Cathedral Culture”; “Pastoral Care”; “Episcopal Wealth”; “Community and Authority”; “Epilogue.” 264 p., hb. \$85.00 / £50.00. ISBN 1843832836.

Foys, Martin K. *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media, and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print* (University Press of Florida, 2007). Foys argues that early medieval culture did not favor the representational practices privileged by the modern age and that five hundred years of print culture have in effect shut off modern readers from interpretations of text and image that would have been transparent to a medieval audience. Examining print and post-print ways of reading medieval literature and art, he derives alternative models of understanding from the realm of digital media, considering pre-print expression through a range of post-print ideas and producing new and vital understandings of visionary Old English poetry, Anglo-Saxon maps of the world, 11th-century Benedictine devotional writings, medieval mathematical systems, stone sculpture of Viking settlers, and the famous Bayeux Tapestry. Building chapter upon chapter into a sustained discussion of New Media theory and medieval interpretation, Foys provides a field-defining investigation of how digital technology and expression can refine and revitalize early medieval studies. 288 p., ill. \$59.95. ISBN 9780813030395.

Hadley, Dawn. *The Vikings in England: Settlement, society and culture* (Manchester University Press, 2007). This fascinating new study will make an important addition to the literature on the Vikings and their settlement in England. Topics covered include the development of current debates regarding the settlement, Anglo-Scandinavian political accommodation, the differences and similarities between Scandinavian rural settlement and Scandinavians in the urban environment, the conversion of Scandinavians to Christianity, and burial practices and associated issues of ethnicity, gender and social status. Contents include “The Scandinavian settlements: the development of a debate”; “Anglo-Scandinavian political accommodation”; “Scandinavian rural settlement”; “Scandinavians in the urban environment”; “Churches and the Scandinavians: chaos, conversion and change”; “Burial practices: ethnicity, gender and social status.” 320p. hb £60.00, ISBN 9780719059810; pb £16.99, ISBN 9780719059827.

Hall, Alaric. *Elves in Anglo-Saxon England: Matters of Belief, Health, Gender and Identity* (Boydell Press, 2007). Anglo-Saxon elves [Old English *ælf*e] are one of the best attested non-Christian beliefs in early medieval Europe, but current interpretations of the evidence depend too closely on outdated nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholarship. Integrating linguistic and textual approaches into an anthropologically-inspired framework, this book reassesses the full range of evidence. It traces continuities and changes in medieval beliefs with a new degree of reliability, from pre-conversion times to the eleventh century and beyond, and uses comparative material from medieval Ireland and Scandinavia to argue for a dynamic relationship between beliefs and society. In particular, it interprets the cultural significance of elves as a cause of illness in medical texts, and provides new insights into the much-discussed Scandinavian magic of *seidr*. Elf-beliefs, moreover, were connected with Anglo-Saxon constructions of sex and

gender; their changing nature provides a rare insight into a fascinating area of early medieval European culture. Contents include: "Introduction"; "A Medieval Scandinavian Context"; "The Earliest Anglo-Saxon Evidence"; "Female Elves and Beautiful Elves"; *Ælfe*, Illness and Healing (1): the 'Elf-shot' Conspiracy"; *Ælfe*, Illness and Healing (2): *ælfside*"; "Anglo-Saxon Myth and Gender"; "Believing in Early Medieval History"; "Appendix 1: The Linguistic History of *elf*"; "Appendix 2: Two Non-elves." 240 pp., hb. \$80.00 / £45.00. ISBN-13: 9781843832942.

**Hart, Cyril, ed. and trans. *The Early Chronicles of England Series*** (Edwin Mellen Press, 2006). This series presents the pre-Conquest chronicles of England in a comparative format. Edited texts of the chronicles and modern English translations are placed on facing pages. The major Old English and Latin texts are given side by side, annal by annal, on even-numbered pages, with significant variants as footnotes. Opposite them appear the translations, with explanatory comments as footnotes. Each volume is provided with an introduction in which the various texts are listed and their sources and authenticity discussed, followed by an assessment of their historical significance. These discussions are illustrated by facsimiles of specimen folios, together with maps showing places mentioned in the texts. Where appropriate, biographical notes on persons mentioned in the texts are included. Each volume concludes with a full bibliography, followed by detailed indexes of personal and place names. I. *Chronicles of the Reign of Æthelred the Unready: An Edition and Translation of the Old English and Latin Annals*. 392 p., hb. \$119.95 / £ 79.95. ISBN 077345750X. II. *Byrhtferth's Northumbrian Chronicle: An Edition and Translation of the Old English and Latin Annals*. 392 p., hb. \$119.95 / £ 74.95. ISBN 0773457518. III. *Byrhtferth's East Anglian Chronicle: An Edition and Translation of the Old English and Latin Annals*. 344 p., hb. \$99.95 / £ 64.95. ISBN 0773455450.

**Higham, N. J., ed. *The Britons in Anglo-Saxon England*** (Boydell Press, 2007). The place of native Britons in Anglo-Saxon England has been hotly debated for generations. The scholarly community remains deeply divided on the issue: place-name specialists have consistently preferred minimalist interpretations, privileging migration from Germany, while other disciplinary groups have been less united in their views, with many archaeologists and historians viewing the British presence, potentially at least, as numerically significant or even dominant. The papers collected here seek to shed new light on this complex issue, by bringing together contributions from different disciplinary specialists and exploring the interfaces between various categories of knowledge about the past. They assemble both a substantial body of evidence concerning the presence of Britons and offer a variety of approaches to the central issues of the scale of that presence and its significance across the seven centuries of Anglo-Saxon England. Contents include Nick Higham, "Britons in Anglo-Saxon England: An Introduction"; Catherine Hills, "Anglo-Saxon Attitudes"; Howard Williams, "Forgetting the Britons in Victorian Anglo-Saxon Archaeology"; Lloyd Laing, "Romano-British Metalworking and the Anglo-Saxons"; Heinrich Harke, "Invisible Britons, Gallo-Romans and Russians: Perspectives on Cultural Change"; Nick Higham, "Historical Narrative as Cultural Politics: Rome, 'British-ness' and 'English-ness'"; Gale R. Owen-Crocker, "British Wives and Slaves? Possible Romano-British Techniques in 'Women's Work'"; Damian Tyler, "Early Mercia and the Britons"; Martin Grimmer, "Britons in Early Wessex: The Evidence of the Law Code of Ine"; Alex Woolf, "Apartheid and Economics in Anglo-Saxon England"; Chris Lewis, "Welsh Territories and Welsh Identities in Late Anglo-Saxon England"; David E. Thornton, "Some Welshmen in Domesday Book and Beyond: Aspects of Anglo-Welsh Relations in the Eleventh Century"; Peter Schrijver, "What Britons Spoke Around 400 AD"; Richard Coates, "Invisible Britons: The View from Linguistics"; Hildegard L.C. Tristram, "Why Don't the English Speak Welsh?"; Oliver Padel, "Place-Names and the Saxon Conquest of Devon and Cornwall"; Duncan Probert, "Mapping Early Medieval Language Change in South-West England." 288 p., ill., hb. \$85.00 / £50.00. ISBN 1843833123.

**Hill, John M. *The Narrative Pulse of Beowulf: Arrivals and Departures*** (Toronto Old English Studies; University of Toronto Press, 2007). One of the most consistent critiques levelled against *Beowulf* is that it

lacks a steady narrative advance and that its numerous digressions tend to complicate if not halt the poem's movement. As those passages often look backward or far ahead in narrative time, they seem to transform the poem into a meditative pastiche. John Hill's *Narrative Pulse of Beowulf* counters this assertion, examining the poem as a social drama with a strong, forward-moving narrative momentum. Hill discerns a distinctive 'narrative pulse' arising from the poem's many scenes of arrival and departure. He argues that such scenes, far from being fixed or 'type' scenes, are socially dramatic and a key to understanding the structural density of the poem. Bolstering his analysis with a strong understanding of the epic, Hill looks at *Beowulf* in relation to other stories such as *The Odyssey* and *The Iliad*, using these comparisons to shed new light not only on *Beowulf* but on the epic tradition itself. 144 pp., hb. \$40.00 / £25.00. ISBN-13 9780802093295.

**Hill, Paul.** *The Anglo-Saxons: The Verdict of History* (Tempus Publishing, 2006). In the last of his trilogy on the Anglo-Saxons, Paul Hill explores their legacy, as interpreted over the last millennium. Not long after the Norman invasion, William of Malmesbury was seeing it as an unmitigated disaster, while Geoffrey of Monmouth cast the Anglo-Saxons as cruel invaders and resurrected the old Arthurian myths. Later, Elizabethan historians saved Anglo-Saxon manuscripts for posterity and the English Civil War saw the overtly political use of a sense of Anglo-Saxonism, while in Victorian times Anglo-Saxon personal names became fashionable. In conclusion, the author asks whether the Anglo-Saxons have any meaning in modern multi-cultural England. 240 p., pb. £17.99. ISBN 9780752436043.

**Kalinke, Marianne E.** *St. Oswald of Northumbria: Continental Metamorphoses, with an Edition and Translation of Ósvalds saga and Van sunte Oswaldo deme konninghe* (Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 15; Brepols, 2006). This study of the development of the legend of St. Oswald, the Northumbrian king slain in battle against heathen forces in 642 who came to be venerated as a martyr. The legend of St. Oswald first appeared in literary form in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, but Oswald's cult quickly reached the continent and devotion to him flourished in the southern German-language area. Latin and vernacular texts were produced in support of the cult. Vernacular versions of his legend, transmitted in *Der Heiligen Leben*, enjoyed wide circulation in both manuscript and print in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, but the martyred saint's *vita* also became transformed into a hagiographic romance of the bridal-quest type, extant solely in fifteenth-century manuscripts, but thought by German scholars to be the oldest form of the legend on the continent. The legend was also transmitted as *Ósvalds saga* in an early-sixteenth-century Icelandic legendary. The Icelandic translation derives from German sources at least 200 years older, and actually represents the earliest form of the legend in the German-language area. This proto-legend, known only in Icelandic translation, gave rise to two distinct vernacular types: a conversion/martyr legend with a bridal quest as the means of proselytizing pagan peoples; and a hagiographic bridal-quest romance in which the saint loses his standing as a martyr. The study of the development of the continental legend of St. Oswald is accompanied by an edition and translation of *Ósvalds saga* as well as an edition and translation of *Van sunte Oswaldo deme konninghe*, an abbreviated Low German version of the legend deriving ultimately from a longer German version known today only through the Icelandic translation. xiv, 209 p., hb. \$43 / £35 / €50. ISBN 0866983414.

**Karkov, Catherine E., and Nicholas Howe, eds.** *Conversion and Colonization in Anglo-Saxon England* (University of Arizona, 2007). This collection of ten essays by acknowledged experts in the field of Anglo-Saxon studies ranges in scope from the conversion of the English to Christianity to the expansion of Anglo-Saxon culture beyond the British Isles, and from early Anglo-Saxon burial goods to the evidence for and treatment of disease. As the essays in this book show, conversion and colonization in the Anglo-Saxon period were often localized phenomena that registered themselves at different moments, in different places, and in different forms of cultural production. Contents include Nicholas Brooks, "From British to English Christianity: Deconstructing Bede's Interpretation of the Conversion"; Carol Neuman



de Vegvar, "High Style and Borrowed Finery: The Strood Mount, the Long Wittenham Stoup, and the Boss Hall Brooch as Complex Responses to Continental Visual Culture"; Christina Lee, "Changing Faces: Leprosy in Anglo-Saxon England"; Nicole Guenther Discenza, "A Map of the Universe: Geography and Cosmology in the Program of Alfred the Great"; Jacqueline Stodnick, "'Old Names of Kings or Shadows': Reading Documentary Lists"; Heide Estes, "Colonization and Conversion in Cynewulf's *Elene*"; Joyce Hill, "Making Women Visible: An Adaptation of the *Regularis Concordia* in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 201"; Mercedes Salvador, "Architectural Metaphors and Christological Imagery in the Advent Lyrics: Benedictine Propaganda in the Exeter Book?"; Richard North, "End Time and the Date of *Voluspá*: Two Models of Conversion." xx, 247 p., ill. \$40 / £36. ISBN 9780866983631.

**Laing, Lloyd.** *The Archaeology of Celtic Britain and Ireland: c. AD 400 - 1200* (Cambridge, 2006). The image of the Celt is one of the most emotive in the European past, evoking pictures of warriors, feasts, and gentle saints and scholars. This comprehensive and fully-illustrated book re-appraises the archaeology of the Celtic-speaking areas of Britain and Ireland from the late fourth to the twelfth century A.D., a period in which the Celts were a leading cultural force in northern Europe. Drawing on recent scientific advances, the book provides a new perspective on the economy, settlement, material culture, art and technological achievements of the early medieval Celts and re-examines their interaction with the Romans and Vikings. Contents include "Introduction: who were the Celts?"; "1. The Celtic world"; "2. Settlements"; "3. Farming"; "4. Everyday Objects and Equipment"; "5. Industry and technology"; "6. Trade and communication"; "7. Clothes and jewellery"; "8. Art"; "9. The Church"; "10. South-western Britain"; "11. Wales"; "12. Ireland and the Isle of Man"; "13. Southern Scotland and Northern England"; "14. Northern Scotland"; "Epilogue: the end of Celtic Britain and Ireland." xiv, 406 p., ill. \$99.00 hb., ISBN 0521838622; \$50.00 pb., ISBN 0521547407.

**Lee, Christina.** *Feasting the Dead: Food and Drink in Anglo-Saxon Burial Rituals* (Boydell Press, 2007). Anglo-Saxons were frequently buried with material artefacts, ranging from pots to clothing to jewelry, and also with items of food, while the funeral ritual itself was frequently marked by feasting, sometimes at the graveside. The book examines the place of food and feasting in funerary rituals from the earliest period to the eleventh century, considering the changes and transformations that occurred during this time, drawing on a wide range of sources, from archaeological evidence to the existing texts. It looks in particular at representations of funerary feasting, how it functions as a tool for memory, and sheds light on the relationship between the living and the dead. Contents include: "Eorðan wæstmas: a feast for the living"; "Bare bones: animals in cemeteries"; "Pots, buckets and cauldrons: the inventory of feasting"; "Last orders?"; "The grateful dead: feasting and memory"; "Feasting between the margins." 240 p., ill., hb. \$80.00 / £45.00. ISBN 1843831422.

**Lendinara, Patrizia, Loredana Lazzari, and Maria Amalia D'Aronco, eds.** *Form and Content of Instruction in Anglo-Saxon England in the Light of Contemporary Manuscript Evidence: Papers presented at the International Conference, Udine, 6-8 April 2006* (Textes et Etudes du Moyen Age 39; Brepols, 2007). The essays collected in this volume focus on a prominent aspect of Anglo-Saxon culture: educational texts and the Insular manuscripts which have preserved them. The English imported manuscripts and texts from the Continent, whilst a series of foreign masters, from Theodore of Tarsus to Abbo of Fleury, brought with them knowledge of works which were being studied in Continental schools. Although monastic education played a leading role for the entire Anglo-Saxon period, it was in the second half of the tenth and early eleventh centuries that it reached its zenith, with its renewed importance and the presence of energetic masters such as Æthelwold and Ælfric. The indebtedness to Continental programs of study is evident at each step, beginning with the *Disticha Catonis*. Nevertheless, a number of texts initially designed for a Latin-speaking milieu appear to have been abandoned (for instance in the field of grammar) in favor of new teaching tools. Besides texts which were part of the standard curriculum, Anglo-Saxon manuscripts

provide abundant evidence of other learning and teaching instruments, in particular those for a specialized class of laymen, the Old English *læce*, the healer or physician. Medicine occupies a relevant place in the book production of late Anglo-Saxon England and, in this field too, knowledge from very far afield was preserved and reshaped. These essays by leading scholars in their fields analyze the manuscripts, their layout and contents; they show how miscellaneous collections of treatises in medieval codices had an internal logic, and highlight how crucial manuscripts are to the study of medieval culture. Contents include: I – Manuscripts: László Sándor Chaddons, “London, British Library, Harley 3271: The Composition And Structure Of An Eleventh-Century Anglo-Saxon Miscellany”; Maria Amalia D’Aronco, “The Transmission Of Medical Knowledge In Anglo-Saxon England: The Voices Of Manuscripts”; Patrizia Lendinara, “Instructional Manuscripts In England: The Tenth- And Eleventh-Century Codices And The Early Norman Ones”; Alexander R. Rumble, “Cues And Clues: Palaeographical Aspects Of Anglo-Saxon Scholarship”; Loredana Teresi, “The Drawing On The Margin Of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 206, f. 38r: An Intertextual Exemplification To Clarify The Text?” II – Texts And Glosses: Filippa Alcamesi, “Remigius’s Commentary To The *Disticha Catonis* In Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts”; Maria Caterina De Bonis, “Learning Latin Through The *Regula Sancti Benedicti*: The Interlinear Glosses In London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.III”; Claudia Di Sciacca, “An Unpublished *Ubi Sunt* Piece In Wulfstan’s ‘Commonplace Book’: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190, pp. 94–96”; Concetta Giliberto, “An Unpublished *De Lapidibus* In Its Manuscript Tradition, With Particular Regard To The Anglo-Saxon Area”; Joyce Hill, “Ælfric’s Grammatical Triad”; Loredana Lazzari, “The Scholarly Achievements Of Æthelwold And His Circle”; Ignazio Mauro Mirto, “Of The Choice And Use Of The Word *Beatus* In the *Beatus Quid Est*: Notes By A Non-Philologist”; Hans Sauer, “A Didactic Dialogue In Old And Middle English Versions: The Prose *Solomon And Saturn* And The Master Of Oxford’s Catechism”; Part III – Texts And Contexts: Isabella Andorlini, “Teaching Medicine In Late Antiquity: Method, Texts And Contexts”; Anne Van Arsdall, “Medical Training In Anglo-Saxon England: An Evaluation Of The Evidence”; Luisa Bezzo, “Parallel Remedies: Old English ‘Paralysin þæt Is Lyft Adl’”; Michael D.C. Drout, “Possible Instructional Effects Of The Exeter Book ‘Wisdom Poems’: A Benedictine Reform Context”; Florence Eliza Glaze, “Master-Student Medical Dialogues: The Evidence Of London, British Library, Sloane 2839”; Daniele Maion, “The Fortune Of The *Practica Petrocelli Salernitani* In England: New Evidence And Some Considerations.” xiii, 546 p., ill., pb. € 59. ISBN 9782503525910.

Minnis, Alastair, and Jane Roberts, eds. *Text, Image, Interpretation: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature and its Insular Context in Honour of Prof. Éamonn Ó Carragáin* (Studies in the Early Middle Ages 18; Brepols, 2007). This rich collection of twenty-six essays draws together insights from archaeology, art history, and liturgy to reflect on the literature and material culture of the Anglo-Saxons. Contents include: Mary Clayton, “*Magistra Betst*: Éamonn Ó Carragáin”; Part I – Looking Outwards: Jennifer O’Reilly, “Bede On Seeing The God Of Gods In Zion”; Alan Thacker, “Martyr Cult Within The Walls: Saints And Relics In The Roman Tituli Of The Fourth To Seventh Centuries”; M. B. Parkes, “History In Books’ Clothing: Books As Evidence For Cultural Relations Between England And The Continent In The Seventh And Eighth Centuries”; Michelle P. Brown, “The Barberini Gospels: Context And Intertextual Relationships”; Carol A. Farr, “*Bis Per Chorum Hinc Et Inde*: The ‘Virgin And Child With Angels’ In The Book Of Kells”; Catherine E. Karkov, “Text And Image In The Red Book Of Darley”; Anna Maria Luiselli Fadda, “The Mysterious Moment Of Resurrection In Early Anglo-Saxon And Irish Iconography”; Charles D. Wright, “Why Sight Holds Flowers: An Apocryphal Source For The Iconography Of The Alfred Jewel And Fuller Brooch”; Elizabeth Coatsworth, “Text And Textile”; Diarmuid Scully, “The Third Voyage Of Cormac In Adomnán’s *Vita Columbae*: Analogues And Context.” Part II – Reading Texts: George Hardin Brown, “Bede’s Style In His Commentary On I Samuel”; Elaine Treharne, “The Form And Function Of The Vercelli Book”; Paul E. Szarmach, “*The Dream Of The Rood* As Ekphrasis”; Frederick M. Biggs, “*The Dream Of The Rood* And *Guthlac B* As A Literary Context For The Monsters In *Beowulf*”; Hugh Magennis, “The Solitary Journey: Aloneness And Community In *The Seafarer*”; Eric Stanley, “*Stapol*: A Firm Foundation For

Imagery”; Andy Orchard, “Intoxication, Fornication, And Multiplication: The Burgeoning Text Of *Genesis A*”; Jane Roberts, “Understanding Hrothgar’s Humiliation: *Beowulf* Lines 144–74 In Context”; Richard North, “Image And Ascendancy In Úlfr’s *Húsdrápa*.” Part III – Reading Stones: Carol Neuman De Vegvar, “Converting The Anglo-Saxon Landscape: Crosses And Their Audiences”; Jane Hawkes, “Gregory The Great And Angelic Mediation: The Anglo-Saxon Crosses Of The Derbyshire Peaks”; Richard N. Bailey, “The Winwick Cross And A Suspended Sentence”; George Henderson, “The Representation Of The Apostles In Insular Art, With Special Reference To The New Apostles Frieze At Tarbat, Ross-Shire”; Niamh Whitfield, “A Suggested Function For The Holy Well?”; Michael Ryan, “Sacred Cities?”; Elisabeth Okasha, “Nineteenth-Century Travellers To Early Christian Sites In Co. Kerry”; Tomas Ó Carragáin, comp., “Éamonn Ó Carragáin: A Bibliography.” xxiv, 582 pp., ill., hb. € 120. ISBN 9782503518190.

**Niles, John D., with contributions by Tom Christensen and Marijane Osborn.** *Beowulf and Lejre* (MRTS 323; Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2007). Is the Old English *Beowulf* mere fantasy, or is its action grounded in a real-world locale? Archaeological excavations undertaken in 1986-88 and again in 2004-05 at Lejre, on the Danish island of Zealand, throw that question into relief, for they have revealed the existence of two Iron Age and Viking Age hall-complexes located right where the Danish episodes of that poem have traditionally been located on the basis of legendary evidence. This book reports on these dramatic discoveries and analyzes their significance. Many texts relating to Lejre in the medieval and modern period are included with analysis and commentary. In addition, the modern pseudo-scholarly “myth of Lejre” is explored. The book includes a translation into English of the 1991 book *Lejre: Syn og Sagn* by the Danish archaeologist Tom Christensen, director of the 1986-88 excavations, together with a new chapter by Christensen summarizing the results of the latest excavations. The book also contains a Foreword by John Hines and an afterword by Tom Shippey. xiv. 495 p., ill. \$89.95. ISBN 9780866983686.

**North, Richard.** *The Origins of “Beowulf”: From Vergil to Wiglaf* (Oxford University Press, 2007). North suggests that *Beowulf* was composed in the winter of 826-7 as a requiem for King Beornwulf of Mercia on behalf of Wiglaf, the ealdorman who succeeded him. The place of composition was the minster of Breedon on the Hill in Leicestershire; the poet was the abbot, Eanmund. North also revisits questions relating to the poet’s influences from Vergil and from living Danes. Norse analogues are discussed in order to identify how the poet changed his heroic sources while three episodes from *Beowulf* are shown to be reworked from passages in Vergil’s *Aeneid*. One chapter assesses how the poem’s Latin sources might correspond with what is known of Breedon’s now-lost library, while another seeks to explain Danish mythology in *Beowulf* by arguing that Breedon hosted a meeting with Danish Vikings in 809. Contents include: “Introduction: Beowulf and Wiglaf”; “Dynastic innovation in Beowulf”; “Vergil and the monastery in Beowulf”; “Ingeld’s rival: Beowulf and Aeneas”; “‘Quid Hiniieldus?’ Bishop Unwona and friends”; “Beowulf and the library at Breedon on the Hill”; “The king’s soul: Danish mythology in Beowulf”; “‘Thryth’ and the reign of Offa”; “Hygelac and Beowulf: Cenwulf and Beornwulf”; “King Wiglaf and ‘Eanmundes laf’.” 400 pages, ill. £65.00. ISBN 0199206619.

**Orton, Fred, Ian Wood and Clare Lees.** *Fragments of History: Rethinking the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Monuments* (Manchester University Press, 2006). This is an innovative study of the two premier survivals of pre-Viking Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture. Both monuments are rich in finely carved images and complex inscriptions. Though in some way related, in this book, they have very different histories. This ambitious study draws the reader in through a vivid exposition of the problems left by earlier interpretations, shows him or her how to understand the monuments as social products in relation to a history of which our knowledge is so fragmentary, and concludes with a deeply persuasive discussion of their underlying premises. Orton, Wood and Lees bring their research in art history and antiquarianism, history and archaeology, medieval literature, philosophy and gender studies into a successful and coherent whole, organized around certain key notions, such as place, history and tradition, style, similarity and difference,



time, textuality and identity, Northumbria and the Northumbrian cross. Theoretically astute, rigorously researched, vivid and readable, *Fragments of History* is a model of interdisciplinary research, including art history, Anglo-Saxon studies, medieval language and literature, history and ecclesiastical history, antiquarianism and archaeology. Contents include “1. A sense of place”; “2. Fragments: history and tradition”; “3. Style, and seeing ... as”; “4. Forms of difference”; “5. Fragments of Northumbria”; “6. Reckoning time”; “7. The Ruthwell Runes and The Dream of the Rood”; “8. The Northumbrian Cross: evidence and silence”; “Spiritual things/material things.” 320 p., ill. hb £60.00, ISBN 9780719072567;pb £17.99, ISBN 9780719072574.

**Scarfe, Norman.** *Suffolk in the Middle Ages: Studies in Places and Place-Names, the Sutton Hoo Ship-Burial, Saints, Mummies and Crosses, Domesday Book and Chronicles of Bury Abbey* (Boydell Press, 2007). The modern landscape of Suffolk is still essentially a medieval one, though much of it is even earlier: the five hundred medieval churches and ten thousand ‘listed’ houses ‘of historic or architectural interest’, and the ‘Hundred’ lanes going back at least to the tenth century, are often found to be set in a landscape created before the Roman conquest. *Suffolk in the Middle Ages* opens with a discussion of the earliest written records, the place-names, as a guide to settlement-patterns, including the setting of Sutton Hoo. Among the grave-goods found in that celebrated ship and discussed here was the whetstone-sceptre; asked to carry it from its showcase in the British Museum to the laboratory, the author acknowledges a closer feeling of involvement even than helping to re-open the ship in its mound in 1966. His explanation of the presence of the whetstone-sceptre, printed here, has never been challenged. The identification of a carved Anglo-Saxon cross at Iken in 1977 prompted the essay here on St Botolph and the coming of East Anglian Christianity. This leads to a consideration of the Danish invasion of East Anglia, and a reexamination of the posthumous victory of King Edmund and Christianity as portrayed in an imaginary Breckland warren on the front of this book. Scarfe’s carefully reasoned argument that the Metropolitan Museum’s famous walrus ivory cross was made for the monks’ choir at Bury has never been refuted. Life in Bury Abbey is vividly reconstructed: it was the most richly documented flowering of the work of East Anglia’s apostles, Felix and Fursa, which also led to the establishment in Suffolk by 1086 of four hundred of the five hundred medieval churches. 216 p., ill., hb. \$29.95 / £16.99. ISBN 184383068X.

**Thompson, Susan D.** *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas: A Palaeography* (Publications of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies, 2006). The 118 presumed original royal Latin diplomas enacted before 1066 do much to illuminate our understanding of the Anglo-Saxons. This book, the first to examine the palaeography of the complete collection, traces every aspect of their development and creates a chronological framework into which undated documents may tentatively be fitted, helping to verify the authenticity or otherwise of doubtful documents. The core of the book comprises a history of Anglo-Saxon handwriting, followed by a detailed illustrated study of the script forms which appear in the documents. This is preceded by a discussion of the possible authorship of the charters, which addresses the thorny question of whether there was an Anglo-Saxon chancery, then examines in detail the external features and textual elements. The second half of the book contains a complete analysis of four ‘representative’ diplomas spanning the period from the seventh to eleventh centuries in the light of the principles established in the earlier chapters; these are then applied to seven ‘problem’ charters to determine their authenticity. Contents include “Who Wrote the Anglo-Saxon Charters?”; “Physical Features of the Diplomas”; “Layout of the Documents”; “The Script of the Documents”; “Summary of Features Important for Dating”; “Analysis of Representative Charters from Different Periods”; “Analysis of Some Problem Charters”; “Conclusions”; “Appendix: Chronological List of Manuscripts Consulted.” 188 p., ill., hb. \$80.00 / £45.00. ISBN 1843832186.

**Tyler, E. M., and R. Balzaretti, eds.,** *Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West* (Studies in the Early Middle Ages 16; Brepols, 2006). This collection deliberately brings together work which is chronologically,

geographically and generically diverse. Texts studied include traditional narrative historiography, alongside poetry, chronicles, charters, dispute settlements and hagiography. The essays range from Italy and Frankia to Scandinavia and England as they examine texts produced from the seventh to the early twelfth century. In exploring the nature and function of narrative in texts which modern scholars use to study the Middle Ages, the contributors to this interdisciplinary volume integrate social, political, intellectual and literary history. Each essay and the volume as a whole illustrate that narrative form offers both new vantage points on the Middle Ages and new opportunities for collaborative study. x, 268 p., hb. EUR 60.00. ISBN 9782503518282.

**Williams, John, ed. *The Archaeology of Kent to AD 800*** (Kent History Project; Boydell Press, 2007). Kent's proximity to the European mainland has meant that it has always had a special relationship with its continental neighbours. At times this has been a positive force, with Kent a conduit for trade and new ideas, but on other occasions the white cliffs of Dover have symbolised defiance, with Kent being in the front line in the defence of England. The result has been an extremely rich archaeological heritage from Palaeolithic times onwards. The opening up of the Channel Tunnel and the construction of the associated high-speed railway line linking England and France, together with major development activity associated with an agenda for regeneration and economic growth, has resulted in unprecedented archaeological activity which has revolutionised our understanding of Kent's earlier past. The contributors to this volume, all of whom have specialist research interests in Kent, have combined established wisdom with the fresh information from recent work to create a new and exciting story. Contents include "The Growth of Archaeology in Kent"; "The Palaeolithic Archaeology of Kent"; "Prehistoric Kent"; "Roman Kent"; "Anglo-Saxon Kent to AD 800." 320 p., ill., hb. \$47.95 / £25.00. ISBN 0851155804.

**Williams, Howard. *Death and Memory in Early Medieval Britain*** (Cambridge Studies in Archaeology, 2006). How were the dead remembered in early medieval Britain? This innovative study demonstrates how perceptions of the past and the dead, and hence social identities, were constructed through mortuary practices and commemoration in the period ca. 400–1100 A.D. Drawing on archaeological evidence from across Britain, including the latest archaeological discoveries, Howard Williams presents a new interpretation of the significance of portable artefacts, the body, structures, monuments and landscapes in early medieval mortuary practices. He argues that materials and spaces were used in ritual performances that served as 'technologies of remembrance', practices that created shared 'social' memories intended to link past, present and future. Through the deployment of material culture, early medieval societies were therefore selectively remembering and forgetting their ancestors and their history. Throwing new light on an important aspect of medieval society, this book is essential reading for archaeologists and historians with an interest in the early medieval period. Contents include "1. Death, memory and material culture"; "2. Objects of memory"; "3. Remembering through the body"; "4. Graves as mnemonic compositions"; "5. Monuments and memory"; "6. Death and landscape"; "7. Remembering, forgetting and the mortuary context." xiv, 254 p., ill., hb. \$90.00. ISBN 0521840198.

**Withers, Benjamin C. *The Illustrated Old English Hexateuch, Cotton Ms. Claudius B.iv: The Frontier of Seeing and Reading in Anglo-Saxon England*** (University of Toronto Press, 2006). The Old English Hexateuch testifies to the creativity and innovation of Anglo-Saxon bookmakers and stands as an important witness to the relationship between early book-making technology and the history of literacy. Withers examines codicological features of the manuscript, focusing on the working processes of the artist and scribes and seeking to understand how they integrated newly translated text with newly developed imagery so deftly. Grounded in art history and literary theory, this work considers the narrative relationships created by the careful design and seeks to place the Hexateuch within the broader social and cultural development of vernacular literacy in the eleventh century. 464 p., ill., + CD of digital reproductions, hb. \$85.00. ISBN 0802091040.

**Wormald, Patrick.** *The Times of Bede: Studies in Early English Christian Society and its Historian* (Blackwells, 2006). This book collects eight of the late Patrick Wormald's studies on Bede's life and work, written over a 30-year period. Wormald's essays integrate the religious, intellectual, political and social history of the English in their first Christian centuries. Contents include: Editorial Note by Stephen Baxter; Foreword; *Part I—An Early Christian Culture and its Critic*: "1. Bede and Benedict Biscop"; "2. Bede, *Beowulf*, and the Conversion of the Anglo Saxon Aristocracy"; "3. Bede, the Bretwaldas, and the origins of the *Gens Anglorum*"; "4. Bede and the conversion of England: the charter evidence"; *Part II—The Impact of Bede's Critique*: "5. Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts: Contact, Comparison, Contrast"; "6. Bede and the Church of the English"; "7. How do we know so much about Anglo Saxon Deerhurst?"; "8. Aristocrats as Abbots: a context for the making of Brixworth"; "Appendix: Hilda, Saint and Scholar"; Index. 312 p., ill., hb. \$74.95 / £50.00. ISBN 0631166556.

**Wright, Charles D., Frederick M. Biggs, and Thomas N. Hall, eds.** *Source of Wisdom: Old English and Early Medieval Latin Studies in Honour of Thomas D. Hill* (Toronto Old English Studies; University of Toronto Press, 2007). As one of the most prolific and influential scholars in the field, Thomas D. Hill has made an indelible mark on the study of Old English literature. In celebration of his distinguished career, the editors of *Source of Wisdom* have assembled a wide-ranging collection of nineteen original essays on Old English poetry and prose as well as early medieval Latin, touching upon many of Hill's specific research interests. Contents include Joseph Harris, "Beasts of Battle, North and South"; James H. Morey, "The Fates of Men in *Beowulf*"; Frederick M. Biggs, "Folio 179 of the *Beowulf* Manuscript"; James W. Earl, "Trinitarian Language: Augustine, *The Dream of the Rood*, and Ælfric"; James W. Marchand, "The Leaps of Christ and *The Dream of the Rood*"; Johanna Kramer, "'Ðu eart se weallstan': Architectural Metaphor and Christological Imagery in the Old English *Christ I* and the Book of Kells"; Sachi Shimomura, "Remembering in Circles: *The Wife's Lament*, *Conversatio*, and the Community of Memory"; Alice Sheppard, "A Word to the Wise: Thinking, Knowledge, and Wisdom in *The Wanderer*"; Paul E. Szarmach, "Alfred's Nero"; Joseph Wittig, "The 'Remigian' Glosses on Boethius' *Consolatio Philosophiae* in Context"; David F. Johnson, "Why Ditch the *Dialogues*? Reclaiming an Invisible Text"; E. Gordon Whatley, "Hagiography and Violence: Military Men in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*"; Charles D. Wright, "A New Latin Source for Two Old English Homilies (Fadda I and Blickling I): Pseudo-Augustine, *Sermo* App. 125 and the Ideology of Chastity in the Anglo-Saxon Benedictine Reform"; Thomas N. Hall, "Christ's Birth through Mary's Right Breast: An Echo of Carolingian Heresy in the Old English *Adrian and Ritheus*"; Andrew Galloway, "The Peterborough Chronicle and the Invention of 'Holding Court' in Twelfth-Century England"; Susan Deskis, "Echoes of Old English Alliterative Collocations in Middle English Alliterative Proverbs"; Danuta Shanzer, "Bede's Style: A Neglected Historiographical Model for the Style of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*?" Michael W. Herren, "Crux-busting on the Danube: *uel Coniectanea in Cosmographiam Aethici, ut dicitur, Istri*"; Michael Twomey, "The *Revelationes* of Pseudo-Methodius and Scriptural Study at Salisbury in the Eleventh Century"; "Appendices: Publications of Thomas D. Hill; Dissertations directed by Thomas D. Hill." 440 p., hb. \$75.00 / £45.00. ISBN 0802093671.

## Joan Turville-Petre: A Bibliographical Appreciation

Patrick Stiles, University of London

The penetrating and versatile scholar Joan Turville-Petre (née Blomfield), who died in March 2006 aged 94, contributed to both English and Old Norse studies. An obituary has appeared in *Saga-Book of the Viking Society* 30 (2006) 98–100, unfortunately without a bibliography.

As her work straddled more than one field and much of it was produced before the advent of modern databases and also includes two unpublished early monographs that are in danger of slipping from view, a bibliography is appended below.

First, however, a note on the two unpublished early works.

(1) Although Alistair Campbell in his *Old English Grammar* referred to her thesis on *The origins of Old English orthography* (1959: v, 18 fn2), he gave no indication as to where it could be found. Its full title is *The Origins of Old English Orthography, with special reference to the Spirants and w*, and as an Oxford BLitt. thesis of 1935, it is to be found in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Its shelf-mark is MS B.Litt. d. 263. The author's copy, which contains additional pencilled notes, has been deposited in the library of the English Place-Name Society at the School of English Studies, University of Nottingham, by her son, Thorlac.

(2) Much more significant was a study of the compilation of the First Cleopatra Glossary written in 1939, which possibly goes some way to explaining why it was never published. She also somewhat dismissively referred to it as a 'juvenile work', although her relative youth when she wrote it makes it all the more impressive. The 80-page handwritten monograph is in the mould of Lindsay's pioneering analysis of *The Corpus, Épinal, Erfurt and Leyden Glossaries* of 1921 (cf. JTP's remarks in a review of 1948: 58). Cleopatra I is important for several reasons: it offers more bilingual entries than any other Old English glossary; it gives an insight into the way that glossaries were put together because the main scribe was also the compiler and used a system of sigla to indicate the sources of much of his material; despite its 10th-century date, it provides information about the earliest phase of glossary-making in England. Of particular significance is the fact that the compiler, working in Canterbury in the 930s, had access to some of the ancient material used for the Épinal-Erfurt I and Corpus II glossaries still in loose format.

The study was the first to notice and explicate the system of sigla in Cleopatra I (cf. the brief remarks in JTP 1948: 58). It was also the first to identify the batches marked *cūð* or *cū* as coming from Bede's metrical *Vita sancti Cuthberti* (cf. JTP 1948: 58–59). *De Ave Phoenixe* is also identified as a source of the glossary (also mentioned in 1948: 59), anticipating Herbert Dean Meritt's publication in *Anglo-Saxon England* volume 1 in 1972 (194–95).

A number of copies of the monograph circulated privately and are referred to in the literature, but several of these are not to be found. In 1987 JTP lodged a photocopy in the library of Somerville College, Oxford, where she was both student and don. The manuscript bears the shelf-mark 003 BLO. The author's original, which is generally more legible, is now also in the library of the English Place-Name Society at Nottingham.

(3) The typescript 'The Construction of Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies', listed at the end of *Studies and Reviews*, is also in the library of the English Place-Name Society at Nottingham.

(I would like to thank Thorlac Turville-Petre for his help)



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**Anglo-Saxon Plant Name Survey (ASPNS): Eighth Annual Report, January 2007**

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

ASPNS is delighted to welcome two additional advisers to our group. The first is Dr Debra Strickland, an art historian based in the University of Glasgow, who will advise the ASPNS researchers on matters concerning herbals and plant lore in medieval visual culture. Our second new adviser is Ruth Tittensor of the Countryside Management Consultancy, who has degrees in botany and ecology, and will advise on historical ecology and landscape history.

ASPNS members are looking forward to the second ASPNS conference which is to be held in the University of Graz, Austria from 6–10 June 2007, hosted by a famous name in Old English plant-name studies, Prof. Dr Peter Bierbaumer.

The new ASPNS book has now passed through a draft editing stage, and is currently being considered by an academic publisher.

As always, ASPNS is grateful to the Department of English Language and the Institute for the Historical Study of Language, both in the University of Glasgow, for help and support in our plant-name research.

***Plant-Related Publications by ASPNS Members***

Biggam, C. P. "Anglo-Saxon Plant Name Survey (ASPNS): Seventh Annual Report, January 2006," *Old English Newsletter* 39.3 (2006): 19.

Dixon, G. R. and M. H. Dickson. *Vegetable Brassicas and Related Crucifers*. Crop Production Science in Horticulture Series 14. Wallingford: CABI, 2006.

Scott, Maggie. 'Previck and Lickprivick: Onomastic Connections in South-west Scotland', *Nomina* 29 (2006): 115–28. (A Scottish place-name possibly containing a form of the word *pear*).



### Old English Studies in France

*André Crépin, Professor and head of the Faculté des Études anglaises et nord-américaines (emeritus), with the collaboration of Leo Carruthers, Professor of English and Director of the Centre d'Etudes Médiévales Anglaises, University of Paris IV—Sorbonne*

The French cannot fail to be interested in their neighbours, the English, with whom they have long entertained a love-hate relationship. Chaucer is often considered an offshoot of French culture. Beowulf, Cynewulf, and other wolves, however, sound barbarous: Émile Legouis and Arthur Quiller-Couch, after World War I, thought so. Ernest Renan, in the late 19th century, wrote nonsense about *Beowulf*. Hippolyte Taine in his *Histoire de la littérature anglaise* (1863, with many subsequent editions) was better informed – through Sharon Turner – but associated the poem with desolate North European seascapes. And yet in 1847 the saintly Professor of Foreign Literatures at the Sorbonne, Frédéric Ozanam, replacing Claude Fauriel, a specialist in Provençal and modern Greek, had chosen the early Germanic literatures as his topic and given a good analysis of the poem. Which shows that professors are not always listened to.

Academics are supposed to be more careful. French doctoral theses, before the 1968 reforms, consisted of two dissertations. Specialists in medieval English often devoted the minor one to Old English. E.-G. Sandras wrote his major dissertation on *Chaucer considéré comme imitateur des trouvères*, his minor being entitled *De carminibus anglo-saxonicis Caedmoni adjudicatis disquisitio* (1859) – it was compulsory, before World War I, to write the minor thesis in Latin. Émile Pons wrote his major thesis on the early Swift, his minor on *Le thème et le sentiment de la nature dans la poésie anglo-saxonne* (1925). Marguerite-Marie Dubois, however, wrote both theses on Old English literature: *Ælfric, sermonnaire, docteur et grammairien* and *Les éléments latins dans la poésie religieuse de Cynewulf* (1942). After 1968 the thesis was reduced to a single dissertation. The influence of the Bible on Anglo-Saxon culture was the subject chosen by Micheline Larès-Yoël (1974).

Old English, with its limited corpus but long span of time, offers an ideal field to linguists. René Huchon wrote a painstaking *Histoire de la langue anglaise* (1923, 1930). More recent and shorter histories have been written by Georges Bourcier (1978; 1981), A. Crépin (1994), Colette Stévanovitch (1997). More specialised monographs deal with element order (Jean Fourquet 1938, Paul Bacquet 1962), relative clauses (G. Bourcier 1977), and gender (Simone Wyss 1982). Structural stylistics is applied to the *Metrical Charms* by Anne Berthoin-Mathieu (1996). The *wyrd* problem is entirely reexamined by Adrian Papahagi in his 2006 thesis (forthcoming).

Poems have been translated and commented upon. *Beowulf*, several times: Léon Botkine (1877), Hubert Pierquin (1912), Walter William Thomas (1919), Jean Queval (1981), A. Crépin (1981, 1991 and forthcoming). (The unpublished poem by J.A. Gobineau, 1816-82, entitled *Beowulf*, has next to nothing to do with the Old English text.) *Genesis A & B* is the subject matter of C. Stévanovitch's thesis (1992) and she is going to edit and translate *Christ II*. Jean-François Barnaud has translated the *Physiologus* poems of the Exeter Book (2001). Shorter poems were translated in anthologies alongside *Beowulf* by W.W. Thomas and A. Crépin; others in a Liège anthology, *Écritures* 79 (1981). Prose texts have been translated: the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Marie Hoffmann-Hirtz, 1933), lives of saints (Marthe Mensah 2003), *Ælfric's Grammar* (with a linguistic commentary, M. Mensah and Fabienne Toupin 2005). Works on Anglo-Saxon England are written by history teachers as well, as may be seen in Alban Gautier's volume on banquets (2006).

Fernand Mossé launched a series named 'Bibliothèque de philologie germanique' (1942), in which he published up-to-date handbooks, notably on medieval English. That on Old English appeared in 1945. The series was interrupted in 1970, and the volumes are by now out of print. In *L'Anglais médiéval* (1996) Leo Carruthers gives a general introduction, historical and linguistic, a state of the art with bibliography, and

a selection of texts with notes and translations. A. Crépin surveys *Old English Poetics* (2005) and proposes a new volumetric interpretation.

The 'Association des Médiévistes Anglicistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur' (AMAES) <http://mapage.noos.fr/amaes/> was founded in 1969. Its address is: AMAES, c/o Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne, UFR d'anglais, 1 rue Victor Cousin, 75230 PARIS Cedex 05. The current president, in succession to André Crépin, is Professor Leo Carruthers. Every year it publishes two Bulletins and one volume. It also organises symposia from time to time, and monthly seminars where facsimiles of Old English manuscripts are deciphered, translated and commented upon in a friendly atmosphere. The Association plays an important part, showing the relevance and vitality of the study of medieval English.

The rôle of the AMAES is all the more important as universities, since the student revolts in 1968, tend to suppress the study of the distant past. They privilege business efficiency in the here and now – a paradoxical consequence of the anarchistic 1968 ideology. Modern linguistics deals mostly with present-day English; literature begins with Shakespeare and then often leaps directly to Joyce. The university teaching of Old English is generally reduced to the status of an optional subject. A medieval work normally appears every four years on the literature syllabus of the *agrégation*, the highest competitive exam, but this is a mere tradition unsupported by any official convention. Only three French universities safeguard the teaching of Old English *qua* Old English: Paris IV-Sorbonne, Limoges and Nancy II.

At the *licence* (BA, 3rd year) level, studies in English are divided into four main disciplines: Language, Literature, Civilisation, and Translation. At Paris IV, 'Language' means a Grammar course which is compulsory for all students followed by a choice between Phonology on the one hand and the History of English on the other. In practice this means that about 100 Third Year students (approximately half of the total) choose History of English. The course is taught through a series of lectures (1 hour) and seminars (1 hour) over a period of two semesters (26 weeks). What is now called in both French and English, the Master 2 (MA level 2 = 5th year) is required for admission into a Doctoral School with a view to preparing a doctorate. Post-graduate teaching is done through seminars with varying medieval themes, among which Old English Literature makes a regular comeback every few years. During the past five years (2001-2006) there has been an average of 15-20 students enrolled in the Medieval English seminar for Master 1 (4th year), and 8-12 for Master 2.

Eleven doctoral theses have been presented at Paris IV for the period 2001-2006 in the area of Medieval English. Both Paris IV and Nancy II have active and attractive research centres with annual conferences whose proceedings are systematically published.

**Note:** Other surveys of Anglo-Saxon studies in France include Crépin 1990 and Mouchon 2002.

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**Letter to Brother Edward**  
*A Student Edition*

Mary Clayton  
School of English, Drama and Film  
University College Dublin

### Introduction

The short text edited here is made up of three sections: the first explains the biblical prohibition against eating blood, the second condemns Englishmen who have adopted Danish customs and fashions, and the third expresses disgust at the behavior of rural women who, during a feast, keep on eating and drinking while sitting on the toilet. The text was first edited in 1885 by F. Kluge.<sup>1</sup> Kluge printed the second and third sections as “fragments of an Anglo-Saxon letter”; he put the first section in a footnote because he did not believe it was connected to the other two sections. Kluge considered the text anonymous; in 1967, however, John C. Pope convincingly argued that the three sections were in fact one text by the homilist Ælfric. My edition in 2002 supported this with some further evidence.<sup>2</sup> Whatever its authorship, the text gives us a fascinating glimpse into contemporary life around the last millennium, preserving one person’s reaction to cultural change and differences in customs.

Ælfric (ca. 950 - ca. 1010) was a prolific author of Old English and Latin works. He was educated in Winchester, where he became a monk and priest, then sent to the abbey of Cerne Abbas in Dorset, and in 1005 became abbot of Eynsham, near Oxford. Ælfric was part of the second generation of the tenth-century reform of English monasticism, known as the Benedictine Reform. He wrote Old English homilies and saints’ lives, a Latin grammar written in Old English, translations and adaptations of some of the books of the Old Testament and pastoral letters commissioned by two bishops. His most famous works are two series of *Catholic Homilies*, each containing forty homilies arranged in the order of the church year and written in the 990s for both preaching and private reading.

*Catholic Homilies* I was written in plain prose, but at some point in the course of writing *Catholic Homilies* II, Ælfric developed a style that used alliteration and rhythm in a way that was modeled on Old English verse but which kept the word order and, for the most part, the diction of prose; he used this rhythmical style, with its pattern of two-stress phrases linked in pairs by alliteration, for most of his work from then on. There has been debate among critics as to whether this style should be considered prose or poetry; until very recently, there seemed to be a consensus that it was simply “rhythmical prose,” but Thomas Bredehoft has now reopened the debate, arguing that Ælfric’s style conforms to the laws of late Old English verse and that Ælfric is, therefore, “Anglo-Saxon England’s most prolific poet.”<sup>3</sup>

The first section of the *Letter to Brother Edward* is in plain prose, but the other two sections are written in a rhythmical style very similar to Ælfric’s, even though they are printed here as regular lines of prose (all Old English manuscripts, whether prose or poetry, are written this way). Some editors have preferred to print Ælfric’s rhythmical prose in verse lines, as in the following (lines 18–20 of this edition):

Ne secge ic na mare embe ða sceandlican tylslunge  
buton þæt us secgað bec þæt se beo amansumod  
þe hæðenra manna þeawas hylt on his life  
and his agen cynn unwurþað mid þam.

Another feature of the *Letter* that is characteristic of Ælfric’s style is the repetition of words or parts of words<sup>4</sup> in a pattern, as, for example, in lines 22–23: “þæt þu him an þing secge, gif ðu for sceame swaþeah hit him secgan mæge; me sceamað þearle þæt ic hit secge ðe.”

### The manuscripts

The *Letter to Brother Edward* is found in three manuscripts: R (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 178 + Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 162, pp. 137–8), from the first half of the eleventh century;<sup>5</sup>



**P** (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 115, fols. 60r–61r), from the second half of the eleventh century;<sup>6</sup> **S** (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 116, pp. 377–79), from the first half of the twelfth century.<sup>7</sup> The three manuscripts were all at Worcester in the thirteenth century. CCCC 178 (**R**) may have been written in Worcester or its vicinity or may have come to Worcester from elsewhere, but seems to have been there by the eleventh century.<sup>8</sup> Hatton 115 (**P**) has links with manuscripts from the southeast of England and is written in a hand that is different from the hands of contemporary Worcester manuscripts,<sup>9</sup> while Hatton 116 (**S**) is written in a hand typical of “twelfth-century manuscripts from West of England monastic houses.”<sup>10</sup> All three manuscripts contain a very similar (though not identical) group of short texts, among which is the *Letter to Brother Edward*.

The manuscript contexts of the *Letter* all point to Ælfric’s authorship. **R** consists of two books of twelve homilies each, plus six shorter pieces in the first book, including the first two sections of the *Letter*. All of the homilies are by Ælfric; the short pieces are almost certainly by him as well, though there has been some debate about whether Ælfric wrote the text edited here and another short piece on infant baptism. **P** contains a collection of homilies and tracts, all by Ælfric—if one includes this letter and the piece on baptism—with a few short pieces not by Ælfric added later. **S** is another collection of homilies, originally twenty-six, of which all but the first and last are by Ælfric; it contains the first section of the *Letter* as well as the piece on baptism.

#### *The Nature of the Text: One Work or Two?*

Of the three manuscripts, only **P** contains all three sections of the *Letter*. **S** has only the first section; **R** has the first two sections, followed by an erasure of the first five words of the third section—presumably the scribe was copying from a manuscript that had all three sections, began to write the third section, but then changed his or her mind. The title **De sanguine** was added in the margin of **P** by a later hand; in **R** the text is entitled **DE SANGUINE PROHIBITO** and in **S** it is titled (in red) **DE SANGUINE**. These titles refer only to the first section but in **P**, all three sections are presented very much as a unit—the second and third sections begin in the middle of a line, marked only by the kind of small colored initials which are numerous throughout the text. Similarly, **R**, which has the first two sections, begins the second section towards the end of a line and marks it with a small capital letter much like others in the text. So despite the fact that each manuscript contains a different amount of text, the manuscript layout of the *Letter* suggests that all three sections were considered part of one work.

The second section is addressed to someone named *broðor Eadweard* ‘brother Edward’, and the third section also addresses a *broðor*, presumably the same person; there is no question that these two sections belong together and form part of a text addressed to a single individual.<sup>11</sup> As both Kluge and Pope thought, they preserve part of a letter to this “brother Edward,” though there is no formal epistolary beginning or conclusion.<sup>12</sup> The first section begins, much more impersonally, *Her geswutelad on ðysum gewrite* ‘It is revealed here in this writing [or letter]’. Moreover it is written in plain prose while the second and third sections are in rhythmical prose. This difference in style, plus the fact that **S** (the latest manuscript) contains only the first section, raises the possibility that this section may have been composed separately and combined with the other two sections later. It is unlikely, however, that sections two and three were originally a complete text by themselves—section two begins *Ic secge eac ðe, broðor Eadweard, nu ðu me þyses bæde* ‘I also say to you, brother Edward, now that you have asked me for this’, which implies that something went before it. The first section (on eating blood) and the second section (on Danish fashions) are similar in that both practices could be associated with paganism; Ælfric was, as ever, anxious to maintain the distinction between the pagan Danes and the Christian English. These textual and thematic links suggest that all three sections form a single work, apparently a response to questions from Edward about some aspects of popular culture, since the second section alludes to Edward’s having asked about Englishmen adopting

Danish customs. At the beginning of the third section Ælfric asks something of Edward in return, presumably moved by his strong feelings about another popular custom which he viewed with the same disgust that he felt at the adoption of Danish ways.

If the text was originally a private letter, then the first sentence, which does not read as if it were part of a letter, might be the work of someone who adapted the text for public circulation, cutting off the initial greeting with which a letter would have begun and omitting the ending as well. As Pope puts it, the first sentence “is surely that of an excerptor, who thus acknowledges that he is selecting from, and perhaps at first abridging, a longer composition.”<sup>13</sup> This excerptor may well have been Ælfric himself; he is known to have re-used parts of one work to compose another. Something similar occurs in the case of his letter to Wulfgeat: it is addressed to a single individual, but in the only manuscript in which it is preserved as a letter it has the heading *Nis þis gewrit be anum men awriten, ac is be eallum* ‘this letter is not written about one man, but about all’. In two other manuscripts it is adapted as a homily, in one case probably by Ælfric himself. The piece edited by Pope as *Wyrðwriteras* (about the king leading—or not leading—his troops into battle), also found in Hatton 115 and part of the same group of short pieces, also seems to be an extract from a letter, though it too now begins without any greeting.<sup>14</sup> We know that Ælfric kept copies of the letters he sent out. The *First Latin Letter to Wulfstan*, also a private letter responding to a series of questions, is preserved in Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 63, a “copy of a collection which Ælfric himself assembled” (in other words, a copy kept by him as sender, not by Wulfstan as recipient).<sup>15</sup> The Wulfgeat and Wulfstan letters were addressed to individuals, but the fact that Ælfric kept copies of them suggests that he thought they might have wider application. The second section of the *Letter to Brother Edward* begins in the second person singular, “Ic secge eac ðe, broðor Eadweard, nu ðu me þyses bæde,” but continues in the plural, “þæt ge doð unrihtlice”; Ælfric, always meticulous about grammar, seems to have been aware that his message to Brother Edward might also reach a larger audience.

### *Eating Blood*

The first section of the *Letter to Brother Edward* consists of three prohibitions against eating blood. Two of these are somewhat shortened from Old Testament passages (Genesis 9:2-6 and Leviticus 17:10-14) and one, as Ælfric tells us, from ‘canons’. Canons are rules promulgated by ecclesiastical councils and assembled into collections of canon law. This section of the text is very similar to Ælfric’s *First Latin Letter to Wulfstan*, in which he responds to a series of questions put to him by Wulfstan. Section VII of the Latin letter begins:

God, with a terrible threat, forbade Noah and his sons to take blood in their food and similarly in the law of Moses, because blood is the life of animals and everyone who eats blood shall be cut off from his people....<sup>16</sup>

The quotation from ‘canons’ which follows the Old Testament quotation in the Old English text is also paralleled in the *Latin Letter*, section VI:

For the canons teach that if someone cut off the ear or any other member of an animal about to be killed, nevertheless it will be carrion unless the blood of life run out from the innermost parts.<sup>17</sup>

This passage from the *First Latin Letter*, and the corresponding section in the *Letter to Brother Edward*, has parallels in two Irish collections of canons, the *Hibernensis* and the *Canons of Adomnan*. Chapter 5 of the *Canons of Adomnan* says: “A half-alive animal which is seized by sudden death is carrion if its ear or any other part is cut off,”<sup>18</sup> and Chapter 20 discusses cases where the blood cannot be said to have run out but has instead lodged in the flesh. Similarly, the *Canones Hibernensis*, Book LIV, chapter 6, stipulates that a dead animal whose blood has not run out is carrion and not food.<sup>19</sup>



Prohibitions against eating blood are part of Jewish law and go back to the Old Testament, as the first section of this text makes clear with its quotations from Genesis and Leviticus. According to the Old Testament, blood contains the life of the flesh (Leviticus 17:11; 17:14); the person who ate blood along with the flesh of a bird or animal was to be punished by being cut off from his people. Kosher law still requires that animals be slaughtered in such a way that all of the blood runs out, and this blood cannot be consumed in any way. Animals that were not butchered in the prescribed fashion—including those killed by being caught in nets, killed by other animals, or that had died of natural causes—were deemed to be carrion and forbidden to be used for food.

The early Christian communities, composed of both Jewish and gentile believers, vigorously debated the extent to which they should abide by Jewish law, including these dietary restrictions; in the Gospel of Matthew Jesus is said to declare that “it is not that which goes into the mouth of man that defiles him, but what comes out of his mouth” (Mt 15:11). In the Act of the Apostles the elders in Jerusalem reached a compromise on the question of dietary laws; non-Jewish Christians would be required only to “keep away from food sacrificed to idols, from blood, from anything strangled, and from sexual immorality” (Acts 15:29). St. Paul, however, refused to impose any ritual observances on his largely non-Jewish followers; his sole concern in this regard was to avoid causing scandal and dissension (1 Corinthians 8 and 10:23–31, Colossians 2:16–17).

In the early Church, the prohibition against eating blood seems to have been observed strictly; pagans put Christians to the test by offering them blood puddings to eat.<sup>20</sup> In the Western church this prohibition against blood seems to have fallen into disuse over the following few centuries. St. Augustine, for example, says that the prohibition in the Acts of the Apostles was appropriate when it was formulated, when there were many Jews in the Church and the prohibition was something that both Jews and Gentiles could observe easily, but was no longer necessary. In his own time, while acknowledging that a few people still avoided eating blood, he says that someone who refuses to eat a hare, for example, which has been clubbed to death, on the ground that its blood has not run out, is a laughing stock.<sup>21</sup> In the Eastern Church, however, the prohibition against blood did not fall into disuse and was explicitly renewed at the Trullan Synod in 692.

In the West, prohibitions against eating blood reappear in some canon law collections and in early penitentials, handbooks for confessors listing the penances assigned to different sins.<sup>22</sup> Penitentials appear to have originated in Ireland (the oldest is from the sixth century) and to have spread from there to England, where they were in use in the seventh century, and to the Continent; food prohibitions in general are very important in them. The revival of the prohibition against eating blood may have been due partly to Eastern influence—Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury from 668 to 690, was a monk of Greek origin and observed the prohibition. In addition to penitentials and collections of canons, we also find the prohibition mentioned in commentaries on the Old Testament, such as Bede’s *Commentary on Genesis*. Bede (d. 735) relates the blood prohibition to the giants that were said to have existed before the Flood (Genesis 6:4), saying that their worst transgression was that “they consumed flesh with blood; and so the Lord, once he had obliterated them in the Flood, permitted men to eat flesh, but forbade that they eat it with blood.”<sup>23</sup> Similar prohibitions against eating blood are found in the Laws of Alfred and in Wulfstan; Fred Robinson has called eating blood an “almost obsessive concern” in Old English prose.<sup>24</sup>

### *Danish Fashion*

The second section of the *Letter* deals with English men adopting Danish customs. Ælfric considers this shameful, and says that, according to books, anyone who practises the customs of heathen people and dishonors his own kindred by doing so will be cursed. He object in particular to those who *tysliað eow on*

*Denisc, ableredum hneccan and ablendum eagum*. *Tyslian* is a rare word which means 'to dress'; *ablered* is otherwise unattested, but is connected to the word *blere* 'bald' by Bosworth and Toller and the *Dictionary of Old English*, and apparently means 'bare of hair'. The passage refers to Englishmen adopting a Danish style of haircut. There are other Anglo-Saxon texts which complain about heathen hairstyles; these may be the "books" to which Ælfric alludes. A passage in *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection* decrees:

If a Catholic cuts his hair in the manner of the barbarians, he shall be considered a stranger from the church of God and from every Christian table until he correct his offence.<sup>25</sup>

Ælfric and Wulfstan were in close contact, and it is likely that Ælfric was familiar with this canon.<sup>26</sup> Ælfric's point here is a wider one than the question of hair, however: he is concerned with those who abandon their ancestral ways by embracing elements of heathen culture. This concern is similar to another text Ælfric probably knew, Alcuin's Letter to Ethelred, king of Northumbria (written in 793), where Alcuin (an English scholar who worked at Charlemagne's court) says:

Consider the dress, the way of wearing the hair, the luxurious habits of the princes and people. Look at your trimming of beard and hair, in which you have wished to resemble the pagans. Are you not menaced by terror of them whose fashion you wished to follow? What also of the immoderate use of clothing beyond the needs of human nature, beyond the custom of our predecessors?<sup>27</sup>

Alcuin too was writing at a time of Viking attacks; he too considered the adoption of a pagan hairstyle, because of its link with a foreign enemy, to be more than just a poor fashion choice; he too laments the abandoning of old customs. Yet another possible influence of Ælfric's statement is the report of the papal legates to Pope Hadrian after the English synod of 786, a document that was known to Ælfric's contemporary Wulfstan. This report complains:

Also you wear your garments according to the fashion of the Gentiles whom by the help of God your fathers expelled by arms from the country. It is a marvelous and dumbfounding thing, that you imitate the example of those whose life you have always detested.<sup>28</sup>

Neither Alcuin, the papal legates, nor Wulfstan's Canon specifies which particular heathen fashion is indicated, but Ælfric's phrase *ableredum hneccan and ablendum eagum* 'with bared necks and blinded eyes', is very specific. It suggests a long fringe or bangs in front, and very short or shaved hair exposing the neck in back. This was very different from the way Anglo-Saxon men normally wore their hair. According to Gale Owen-Crocker's authoritative survey of Anglo-Saxon dress, Anglo-Saxon men of the tenth and eleventh centuries would usually have worn their hair short, and were commonly clean-shaven or had closely cropped beards, though kings are generally shown with moustaches and full beards.<sup>29</sup>

Eleventh-century manuscript depictions of men do not show any hairstyle resembling Ælfric's description; the Bayeux Tapestry, however, depicts something very similar in its portrayal of the Normans.<sup>30</sup> The Bayeux Tapestry (which is, strictly speaking, an embroidery rather than a tapestry) was probably made in England in the third quarter of the eleventh century; it depicts the events of Edward the Confessor's reign which led to the Norman Conquest of England in 1066. On the tapestry many of the Normans are shown with their hair shaved at the neck and up the back of their heads and with a fringe protruding out over their foreheads—in other words, "with bared necks and blinded eyes."<sup>31</sup> The Bayeux Tapestry is, of course, considerably later than the *Letter to Brother Edward*, and the Normans are not Danes, but some Normans may well have assumed Danish styles because of their ancestry (the Normans, 'north men', were descended from the Vikings), and the fashion could have lasted for decades. Nicholas Brooks says that "[b]y adopting this grotesque style ... the Normans were in fact proclaiming their Scandinavian 'roots'."<sup>32</sup>

In its passionate denunciation of English men who imitate Danes, the *Letter to Brother Edward* can be linked to another of Ælfric's texts, a homily dated *ca.* 1009 which attacks those English who went over to the Danes:

So many people turn with the chosen ones to the faith of Christ in his church that some of them, the evil ones, break out again and live their lives in error/heresy, as the English do who go over to the Danes and *mark themselves for the devil*, in allegiance to him, and do his works, and betray their own people to death.<sup>33</sup>

It may be too speculative to connect the phrase “mark themselves for the devil” with the kind of hairstyle attacked in the *Letter to Brother Edward*, but Pope, who edited this text, suggests in his glossary that the phrase *gemearcod Gode* ‘marked for God’ in another homily could mean ‘tonsured’.<sup>34</sup> If this is the case, then ‘to mark for the devil’ could imply a kind of anti-tonsure, a hairstyle identified with heathens rather than with God. Pope glosses the word *mearcian* in the passage quoted above “with reference to signs (lit. or fig.) of a man's allegiance or servitude, to mark (almost brand),” and the text certainly suggests something visible on the bodies of those who go over to the Danes. Was it their hair?

#### *Eating on the toilet*

There is no known source for the third section of the *Letter to Brother Edward*, nor any parallels to its outrage at the eating habits of rural women. Indeed, unlike the other two sections which cite the Bible, canons and *bec*, this section does not appeal to any authority other than oral report. Ælfric depends on what he *gehyrde oft secgan* ‘often heard said’ and assumes to be true (*and hit is yfel soð*). This is highly uncharacteristic—it is far more usual for Ælfric to question what is merely said and to cite written authorities.<sup>35</sup>

This section begins by talking about women, but continues by saying that it is shameful that ‘ænig man’ should ever be so dissolute that ‘he’ should fill his mouth from above with food while at the other end the excrement should come out of him and that ‘he’ should drink both the ale and the stench so that they may satisfy his vile gluttony. *Man* is a masculine noun in Old English, and the masculine pronouns are in grammatical agreement with it, but it often means ‘person’ of either sex, and it is hard to read this passage without thinking that it refers to men as well as women. It is possible that this custom was practiced by both sexes, but Ælfric connects it particularly with women and focuses his disgust on them. He seems to imagine the scene taking place in some sort of communal outhouse or privy<sup>36</sup> to which the women bring food and drink from their feast, so that they do not have to interrupt their eating and drinking—perhaps even, given the emphasis on gluttony, so that they are able to consume even more. Ælfric piles up his condemnations in an extraordinary rhetorical display of disgust: *bysmorlic dæd and mycel higeleas and huxlic bysmor*. It is hard to know, however, whether this was ever a common or even a real custom; this part of the letter, with its hyperbole, its reliance on hearsay, and its emphasis on gross physicality, seems rather like a monastic fantasy about women and their bodies.

Nigel Barley points out that all three parts of this text are linked in their “desire to categorise and assign boundaries”; the first and third parts are further linked in their “concern for the symbolic load of bodily secretions and processes.”<sup>37</sup> Eating blood would lead to the mixing of two life bloods, human and animal, blurring the distinction between the categories of human and non-human. The adoption of Danish customs by Englishmen is a similar confusion of categories and equally offensive; just as the person who eats blood must be considered cut off from his people, so the Englishman who crosses the cultural boundaries between Christian English and heathen Danes abandons his own people. As Barley points out, in the third section “dissolving the barrier between ingestion and excretion blends oppositions such as inside/outside, top/bottom, before/after, form/formlessness, positive/negative.”<sup>38</sup> All three sections of the *Letter*,

then, express a common anxiety over the transgression of boundaries and a strong feeling of disgust at such transgression.

### *The Date of the Text*

Like most Old English texts, the *Letter to Brother Edward* is not dated, but we can infer an approximate date of composition from other evidence. If all three parts were written by Ælfric and intended to form part of a single text, the mixture of ordinary and rhythmical prose offers one clue. This is not the only letter composed in a mixture of styles—Ælfric's Old English *Letter for Wulfsgie* shows the same combination; some of the texts in *Catholic Homilies II* and some of the non-hagiographical pieces in Skeat's edition of *Lives of the Saints* are similarly mixed in style. Peter Clemoes used the mixture of styles in the *Letter for Wulfsgie* to date that text to the period soon after *Catholic Homilies II*, which was completed around 995.<sup>39</sup> The *Letter to Brother Edward* may date from the same period, the mid- to late-990s.

A date around the turn of the millennium is suggested by the similarity between the first section of the *Letter* and part of Ælfric's *First Latin Letter to Wulfstan*; in it, as discussed above, Ælfric treats the question of eating blood in terms very similar to the Old English letter. The Latin letter is dated by Peter Clemoes to between 1002 and 1005; the *Letter to Brother Edward* might have been composed around the same time. Another consideration in dating the *Letter* is the volatile relationship between the English and Danes in this period. Danish attacks, which had been suspended for most of the tenth century, began again with sporadic raids on England around 980 and culminated in the coronation of Cnut, a Dane, as king of England in 1016. The Battle of Maldon in 991 was an important defeat for the English, which led to the payment of tribute to the Vikings. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* from these years is a long catalogue of English defeats, some blamed on English treachery and collusion with the Danes. It seems reasonable to assume that after a number of defeats and some years of close contact, some English men might begin to adopt aspects of Danish culture or fashion. The homily quoted above, in which Ælfric condemns English people who went over to the Danes, is dated by Pope to ca. 1009. The *Letter* belongs to this same cultural milieu, presumably that of the end of the 990s or the first decade of the new millennium. All evidence, therefore, suggests that the *Letter to Brother Edward* was composed around the turn of the millennium.

### *Who was Brother Edward?*

It is difficult to know exactly who Brother Edward was, or the nature of his relationship to Ælfric. The term "brother" can be used of a blood relationship, as a term to designate a fellow human being,<sup>40</sup> or of a spiritual relationship, either as brothers within the church or as monastic brothers.<sup>41</sup> Ælfric's use of the word as a form of address combined with a proper name seems to be limited to monastic brothers or fellow-priests, e.g. *broðor maure* in *Catholic Homilies II*, xi<sup>42</sup> or *broðor ðeodole* in *Catholic Homilies II*, xviii (Pope Alexander addressing the priest Theodolus).<sup>43</sup> However, it does not seem from the *Letter* itself that Edward was a monk: the adoption of Danish hairstyles is seen as a betrayal of ancestral English customs, not ecclesiastical ones, and in any case a Benedictine monk would not have been in a position to adopt Danish fashions. Moreover, Ælfric is unlikely to have condoned any monk's being *uppan lande mid wim-mannum* (though much depends on how one interprets the word 'oftor'; see the note to line 21 in the text). Ælfric's other writings, however, do not support the notion that Edward was simply a layman with whom he was in correspondence. In no other work does he address his lay patrons, or any other laymen to whom he writes, as "brother"; he always calls them *leof* or *leof man*.<sup>44</sup>

If Edward was neither a monk nor one of Ælfric's usual lay correspondents, then he could have been either a secular priest or Ælfric's actual sibling. If he were a priest, one might expect Ælfric to mention this fact, especially in connection with the adoption of Danish fashions—Ælfric addresses the topic of the appropriate

style of dress for priests in his pastoral letters,<sup>45</sup> so it was evidently something that concerned him. The warnings against popular fashion and culture suggest that Edward was a layman in a position to be exposed to (and perhaps tempted by) such things; the tone and topic of the *Letter*—which is more frank and explicit than anything else Ælfric wrote—suggests that he was someone with whom Ælfric was on fairly intimate terms. The most likely explanation is that the *Letter to Brother Edward* is addressed to Ælfric's actual brother, and is, in fact, the only surviving evidence of Ælfric's communication with his family.

### Text

The text is based on the only full manuscript, Hatton 115 (P), fols. 60r-61r, with variants from the other two manuscripts R and S. Minor variations in spelling and inflectional endings have generally been omitted. Accent marks have not been reproduced, abbreviations have been silently expanded, and punctuation and capitalization have been modernized. Glosses by the Worcester scribe with the tremulous hand, who worked on all three copies of the text, have not been included here. The Old English characters **ð** and **þ**, both representing the sound **th**, have been retained, but the Old English character **ƿ** (*wynn*) has been transcribed as **w**. The abbreviation **7** has been replaced with **and**.<sup>46</sup>

### NOTES

- 1 "Fragment eines angelsächsischen Briefes," *Englische Studien* 8 (1885): 62–3.
- 2 Mary Clayton, "An Edition of Ælfric's Letter to Brother Edward" in *Early Medieval English Texts and Interpretations: Studies Presented to Donald G. Scragg*, edited by Elaine Treharne and Susan Rosser, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 252 (Tempe, AZ: ACMRS, 2002), pp. 263–83.
- 3 Thomas Bredehoft, "Ælfric and Late Old English Verse," *Anglo-Saxon England* 33 (2004): 77–107.
- 4 See John C. Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric, a Supplementary Collection*. 2 vols. (Early English Text Society o.s. 259. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1967–68), I: 109–10.
- 5 Described by N. R. Ker, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), no. 41a (the letter is item 13), and by Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric*, I:62–7. The letters used to refer to the manuscripts, called *sigla*, are those devised for Ælfric manuscripts by Peter Clemoes for *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: the First Series, Text* (Early English Text Society s.s. 17. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1997) and adopted by Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric*, and by M. R. Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: the Second Series. Text* (Early English Text Society s.s. 5. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).
- 6 Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 332 (item 15); Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric*, I:53–9, describes it as a "miscellany of sermons and shorter bits of instruction and admonition" (p. 53).
- 7 Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 333 (item 23); Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric*, I:67–70.
- 8 Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 64; Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, p. lxx.
- 9 Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 403; Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, p. lxxviii.
- 10 Clemoes, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, p. 40; see Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 406.
- 11 There are similar addresses, though without a name, in Ælfric's letters to Wulfgeat and to Sigefyrth: see, for example, line 8 of the Letter to Sigefyrth: "Nu secge ic þe, leof man, ..." (*Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben*, ed. Bruno Assmann (Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa, III. Kassel: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1889; rpt. with an introduction by P. Clemoes, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964), no. III.
- 12 Patrick Wormald, "Engla Lond: the Making of an Allegiance," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 7 (1994): 1–24, at p. 18, seemingly unaware of Pope's attribution of the text to Ælfric, also considers the text to be a letter and the work of an anonymous author commenting on the court of Cnut, the Danish king of England from 1016 to 1035 ("a fragment of what may be the sole surviving private letter from one relatively ordinary Anglo-Saxon to another").
- 13 Pope I p. 57.



- 14 See Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric*, I, 55 and II, 725-6; the text is in Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric* II, 728-33.
- 15 See Clemoes, 'Supplement to the Introduction', p. CXXVII, in *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics in Altenglischer und Lateinischer Fassung*, ed. B. Fehr (Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa, IX. Hamburg: Verlag von Henri Grand, 1914; rpt. with a supplement by P. Clemoes, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966).
- 16 "Sanguinem cum terribili comminatione prohibuit deus in cibos sumere Noe et filiis eius et similiter in lege Moysi, quia sanguis uita pecorum est, et omnis qui sanguinem commederit, delebitur de populo suo...." *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, ed. Fehr, p. 223. The allusions in this passage are to Genesis 9:4, Deuteronomy 12:23 and Leviticus 17:10.
- 17 "Nam et canones docent quod si quis abscidat aurem animalis morituri aut aliquod membrum, tamen morticinum erit, nisi uitalis sanguis ex intimis currat foras." *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, ed. Fehr, p. 223, lines 12-15.
- 18 *Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche*, edited by F.W.H. Wasserschleben (Halle: Graeger, 1851; rpt. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1958), p. 120. 'Animal semivivum subita morte praeraptum abscissa aure vel alia parte, morticinum est'.
- 19 *Die irische Kanonensammlung*, edited by H. Wasserschleben, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Bernard Tauchnitz, 1885), p. 216.
- 20 See Marcel Simon, *Verus Israel: A Study of the Relations between Christians and Jews in the Roman Empire (135-425)*, translated from the French by J. McKeating (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986, p. 334).
- 21 See Augustine's *Contra Faustum Manichæum* translated by R. Stothert in *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, Vol. IV, ed. P. Schaff (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmann, 1887).
- 22 See Pierre Bonnassie, 'Consommation d'aliments immondes et cannibalisme de survie dans l'occident du Haut Moyen Âge' *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 44 (1989): 1036-56, and Rob Meens, 'Pollution in the Early Middle Ages: the case of the food regulations in penitentials', *Early Medieval Europe* 4 (1995): 3-19.
- 23 Quoted by Andy Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf-Manuscript* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1995), p. 64. As Orchard notes, demons who were believed to have descended from these evil giants who inhabited the world before the Flood were also thought of as blood-eaters; in *Beowulf*, lines 742-43, we are told that the monster Grendel *blod edrum dranc / synsnædum swealh* 'drank blood from the veins, swallowed the sinful morsels'.
- 24 F. C. Robinson, 'Lexicography and Literary Criticism: A Caveat' in *Philological Essays: Studies in Old and Middle English Language and Literature in Honour of Herbert Dean Meritt*, edited by J. L. Rosier (The Hague, Paris: Mouton, 1970), 99-110, at 102.
- 25 *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, edited by J. E. Cross and A. Hamer (Anglo-Saxon Texts 1. Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: D.S. Brewer, 1999), p. 97 (Cf. Recension B, 156): 'Catholicus si capillos more totonderit barbarorum, ab ecclesie Dei alienus habetur et ab omni Christianorum mensa donec delictum emendet.' Correcting his offence would presumably have involved changing hairstyles as well as a penance.
- 26 The source of the canon is, according to Cross and Hamer, the *Canones Wallici*, edited by Bieler as part of the Irish penitentials, but considered by him to be an early Welsh text (ca. 550-650), which had perhaps been brought to Brittany and reshaped there. See *The Irish Penitentials*, edited by L. Bieler (Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 5. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1963), p. 7.
- 27 *Two Alcuin Letter Books*, edited by C. Chase, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 5 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1975), p. 55: 'Considerate habitum, tonsuram, et mores principum et populi luxuriosos. Ecce tonsura quam in barbis et in capillis paganis adsimilari uoluistis. Nonne illorum terror imminet quorum tonsuram habere uoluistis? Quid quoque inmoderatus uestimentorum usus ultra humane necessitatem nature, ultra antecessorum nostrorum consuetudinem?' D. Whitelock points to the connection in her brief introduction to a translation of the middle section of the *Letter to Edward* in her *English Historical Documents I* (London, Eyre Methuen, 1979), p. 895.
- 28 *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, edited by A.W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1869-78), III, 458: 'Vestimenta etiam vestra, more gentiliū, quos, Deo opitulante, patres vestri de orbe armis expulerunt, induitis: miranda res, et nimis stupenda; ut quorum vitam semper odistis exempla imitemini.'
- 29 G. Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), pp. 168-9.
- 30 See the comment by D. Wilson, *The Bayeux Tapestry* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), p. 208: 'There appears to be some attempt to differentiate English and Norman by providing the former with long thin moustaches and giving the latter a strange haircut which leaves them clean-shaven over the whole of the back of their heads, but

neither treatment is universal. (It is not without interest that there is a remarkable consonance between the bare-necked Normans of the Tapestry and a condemnatory description of Danish shaven necks in a late Old English letter.)' For examples of the hairstyle, see plates 9 and following in Wilson, *The Bayeux Tapestry*. I am grateful to Gale Owen-Crocker for pointing me in the direction of the Bayeux Tapestry.

31 Hairstyles were regarded as a mark of ethnicity in the Middle Ages: see R. Bartlett, 'Symbolic Meanings of Hair in the Middle Ages', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series 4 (1994): 43–60, and his *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950-1350* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1993), pp. 197–8; he quotes, among other instances, English legislation against the adoption of Irish hairstyles by English settlers in Ireland ('the degenerate English of modern times who wear Irish clothes, have their heads half shaved and grow their hair long at the back').

32 'History and Myth, Forgery and Truth' in *Anglo-Saxon Myths: State and Church 400-1066* (London and Rio Grande, OH: Hambledon Press, 2000), 1–9, at p. 2,

33 Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric*, II, 521, lines 128–35:

Swa fela manna gebugað mid ðam gecorenum  
to Cristes geleafan on his Gelaðunge,  
þæt hy sume yfele eft ut abrecað,  
and hy on gedwyldum adreogað heora lif,  
swa swa þa Engliscan men doð þe to ðam Deniscan gebugað,  
and mearciað hy deofle to his mannrædene,  
and his weorc wyrcað, hym sylfum to forwyrde,  
and heora agene leode belæwað to deade.

On Ælfric's attitude towards the Danes, see M. Godden, 'Apocalypse and Invasion in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *From Anglo-Saxon to Early Middle English: Studies Presented to E.G. Stanley*, edited by M. Godden, D. Gray and T. Hoad (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 130–62.

34 The tonsure is the monastic haircut; monks had to have the crowns of their heads shaved, leaving only a ring of hair.

35 See the discussion by W. Busse, 'Sua gað ða lareowas beforan ðæm folce, & ðæt folc æfter: The Self-Understanding of the Reformers as Teachers in Late Tenth-Century England' in *Schritlichkeit im frühen Mittelalter*, edited by U. Schaefer (ScriptOralia 53. Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1993), pp. 58–106.

36 Such a privy features in an Old Norse story discussed by Carolyne Larrington, 'Diet, Defecation and the Devil: Disgust and the Pagan Past' in *Medieval Obscenities*, ed. Nicola McDonald (Woodbridge: York Medieval Texts, 2006), pp. 138–155.

37 N. Barley, 'The Letter to Brother Edward', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 79 (1978): 23–4, at 24.

38 Barley, pp. 23–4.

39 Peter Clemoes himself dated the completion of *Catholic Homilies* II to 992 but Malcolm Godden, who edited the series, dates it to 995.

40 In Ælfric's *Life of Swithun*, for example, Swithun addresses 'sum eald þegn' as 'broðor': *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, 4 vols, edited by W.W. Skeat (Early English Text Society o.s. 76, 82, 94, 114. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1881-1900; rpt. as 2 vols, 1966), I, p. 462.

41 *Dictionary of Old English*, s.v. 'ableran'

42 *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, ed. Godden, p. 95, ll. 97–8.

43 *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, ed. Godden, p. 178, l. 128.

44 *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch: Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament and His Preface to Genesis*, ed. S.J. Crawford (Early English Text Society o.s. 160. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922; rpt. with additions by N.R. Ker, 1969), p. 76; *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat, p. 4; *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben*, ed. Assmann, p. 13; *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch*, ed. Crawford, p. 74.

45 Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, Brief 2, 175 (p. 54), and Brief II, 206 (p. 142).

46 I would like to thank Roy Liuzza for suggesting this student edition and for his assistance.

## DE SANGUINE

Her geswutelað on ðysum gewrite hu God ælmihtig forbead mancynne ælces cynnes blod to etenne. God cwæþ to Noe æfter þam mycclum flode: 'Pære sæ fixas and pære eorðan nytena ic sylle eow to bigleofan, buton þæt ge heora blod ne þicgon. Witodlice þæra nytena blod ic ofgange æt eowrum handum, and þæs mannes lif þe ofslagen byð ic ofgange æt his slagan. Swa hwa swa mennisc blod agyt, his blod byð agoten.' Eft cwæð God to Moysen: 'Ic eom eower God ðe eow lædde of Egypta lande. Ne þicge ge nanes nytenes blod on eowrum mettum ne fugela ne oðra nytena. Ælc ðæra manna ðe blod ytt sceal losian of his folce, beo he inlenda, beo he ælðeodig, forþan ðe on þam blode is þæs nytenes lif. Swa hwa swa fehð fugel oððe deor, þæra þe mannum to metum synd alyfede, ageote heora blod on ða eorðan and swa hwa swa þæs blodes hent and him to mete macað he losað of his folce.' Eft we rædað on canonibus þæt nan nyten þe to mete sceal ne byð clænlice acweald, buton þæt incunde blod ðe anbutan þære heortan is ut yrne. Þeah hit beo geblodegod on sumum lime and þæt liflice blod ut ne yrne, hit byð swaðeah to astorfenum geteald.

Ic secge eac ðe, broðor Eadweard, nu ðu me þyses bæde, þæt ge doð unrihtlice þæt ge ða Engliscan þeawas forlætað þe eowre fæderas heoldon and hæðenra manna þeawas lufiað, þe eow ðæs lifes ne unnon, and mid ðam geswuteliað þæt ge forseoð eower cynn and eowre yldran mid þam unþeawum þonne ge him on teonan tysliað eow on Denisc, ableredum hneccan and ablendum eagum. Ne secge ic na mare embe ða sceandlican tyslunge buton þæt us secgað bec þæt se beo amansumod þe hæðenra manna þeawas hylt on his life and his agen cynn unwurpað mid þam.

Ic bidde eac þe, broðor, forþam ðe þu byst uppā lande mid wimmannum oftor þonne ic beo, þæt þu him an þing secge, gif ðu for sceame swaþeah hit him secgan mæge; me sceamað þearle þæt ic hit secge ðe. Ic hit gehyrde oft secgan, and hit is yfel soð, þæt þas uplendiscan wif wyllað oft drincan and furþon etan fullice on gangsetlum æt heora gebeorscipum, ac hit is bysmorlic dæd and mycel higeleas and huxlic bysmor þæt ænig man æfre swa unþeawfæst beon sceole þæt he þone muð ufan mid mettum afylle and on oðerne ende him gange þæt meox ut fram and drince þonne ægðer ge þæt ealu ge þone stencg, þæt he huru swa afylle his fracodan gyferynse. Ic ne mæg for sceame þa sceandlican dæde, þæt ænig mann sceole etan on gange, swa fullice secgan swa hit fullic is, ac þæt næfre ne deð nan ðæra manna ðe deah.

Title] *added by a later hand in the margin* P; **DE SANGUINE** in red S, **DE SANGUINE PROHIBITOR**. 3 þæra] P reads gen. sg. 'pære'; R and S have the pl. 'þæra'. 7 nytena] *this word is omitted, then added in the margin, in S* 8 inlenda] R and S read 'inlende' 9 alyfede] R reads 'gesette and alyfede' ða] *this word is omitted in S* 10 macað] R reads 'deð' 12 anbutan] R and S read 'abutan' Þeah hit] S reads 'Þeah þe hit' 13 geteald] S ends here 15 eowre] R reads 'eower' hæðenra] R reads 'hæpera' 17 eow] *this word is omitted in R* 18 tyslunge] R reads 'tyslinga' buton þæt] R reads 'buton' 20 mid þam] R ends here, but part of a line has been erased; the words 'Ic bidde eac þe broþor' are still partly visible 24 fullice] *the first 'I' seems to be erased*

## NOTES

2-5 This passage is based on Genesis 9:2-6, in which God gives Noah every living thing as food, but forbids him to eat flesh with blood. The Latin Vulgate text reads "... omnes pisces maris manui vestrae traditi sunt, et omne quod movetur et vivit erit vobis in cibum quasi holera virentia tradidi vobis omnia, excepto quod carnem cum sanguine non comedetis. Sanguinem enim animarum vestrarum requiram de manu cunctarum bestiarum et de manu hominis de manu viri et fratris eius requiram animam hominis; quicumque effuderit humanum sanguinem fundetur sanguis illius...."

5-10 The first sentence here occurs multiple times in the Bible, e.g. Leviticus 19:36: "ego Dominus Deus vester qui eduxi vos de terra Aegypti" (see also Leviticus 26:13, Numbers 15:41, Deuteronomy 5:6). The rest of this passage is based on Leviticus 17:10-14, in which God again forbids the consumption of blood. Anyone who eats blood, whether one of the people of Israel or a stranger, will be cut off from his people, God says, as the life of the animal is in the blood. If an animal or a bird is killed, then their blood must be poured out on the earth before the animal or bird may be eaten.

11-13 As noted in the introduction, this passage is based on the *Canones Adomnani* or the *Collectio canonum Hibernensis*.

21 In saying that Edward is upcountry with women *oftor þonne ic* 'more often than I am', Ælfric may mean, quite literally, that he himself only seldom ventures to these parts. But he may be using *litotes* or rhetorical understatement: instead of meaning that he *is* sometimes upcountry with women—which would be an odd thing for such a strictly observant monk in Anglo-Saxon England to declare—Ælfric may well mean that he is *never* upcountry with women.

24 This seems to refer to communal privies, where several people could be accommodated at one time.

## GLOSSARY

The glossary is intended to be complete, though not all occurrences of a few very common words are recorded. Weak verb classes are indicated by Arabic numerals, and strong verb classes by Roman numerals. Verbs are described by person, number, tense and, where necessary, mood, e.g., '3s pr. subj.' Adjectives are identified by case and number, nouns by case, number, and gender, e.g., ns. = 'nominative singular', 'nsn.' = 'nominative singular neuter'. The following common abbreviations are used:

acc. <i>accusative</i>	f. <i>feminine</i>	p ptc <i>past participle</i>
adj. <i>adjective</i>	g. <i>genitive</i>	pr. <i>present</i> (tense)
adv. <i>adverb</i>	instr. <i>instrumental</i>	prep. <i>preposition</i>
anom. <i>anomalous</i>	imp. <i>imperative</i>	pron. <i>pronoun</i>
art. <i>article</i>	ind. <i>indicative</i>	pt. <i>preterite</i> (past tense)
comp. <i>comparative</i>	indef. <i>indefinite</i>	rel. <i>relative</i>
conj. <i>conjunction</i>	m. <i>masculine</i>	s <i>singular</i>
d. <i>dative</i>	n. <i>neuter or nominative</i>	subj. <i>subjunctive</i>
def. <i>definite</i>	num. <i>number</i>	superl. <i>superlative</i>
dem. <i>demonstrative</i>	p. <i>plural</i>	

**ablendan** 1 'to blind' I p ptc *ablendum* 'blinded' 18  
**abler(i)an** 1 or 2 unique word, probably derived from *blere*, 'bald', and referring to a way of cutting the hair so as to leave the neck bare, p ptc *ableredum* 17  
**ac** conjunction, 'but' 25, 29  
**acwellan** 1 'to kill, put to death' p ptc *acweald* 11  
**æfre** adv. 'ever' 25  
**æfter** prep. 'after' 2  
**ægðer** conj. followed by *ge ... ge*, 'both ... and' 27  
**ælc** adj. and pron. 'each, every' ns. pron. *ælc* 7, gs. adj. *ælces* 1  
**æelmihtig** adj. 'almighty' ns. 1  
**ældæodig** adj. 'foreign, alien' ns. 8  
**ænig** pron. 'any' ns. 25, 29  
**æt** prep. 'at, from' 4, 4, 24  
**afyllan** 1 'fill' 3s pr. subj. *afylle* 26, 28  
**agen** adj. 'own' as. *agen* 20  
**ageotan** II 'shed (blood)' 3s pr. *agyt* 5, 3s pr. subj. *ageote* 9, p ptc *agoten* 5  
**alyfan** 1 'permit' p ptc *alyfede* 9  
**amansumian** 2 'exclude, excommunicate, curse' p ptc *amansumod* 19  
**an** adj. 'one' as. 22  
**anbutan** prep. with d. 'about' 12  
**and** conj. 'and' 2, 4, 10, etc.  
**asteorfan** III 'to die' p ptc used as substantive *astorfenum* 'that which has died, carrion' 13

**biddan** 5 'ask, entreat' 1s pr. *bidde* 21, 2s pt. *bæde* 14  
**bec** see **boc**  
**beon** anom. 'be', infin. *beon* 26, 1s pr. *eom* 6, 1s pr. *beo* 22, 2s pr. *byst* 21, 3s pr. *is* 8, 12, 25, 29; 3s pr. *byð* 4, 5, 11, 13; 3s subj. *beo* 8, 8, 12, 19; 3p pr. *synd* 9

**bigleofa** m. 'sustenance, food' ds. *bigleofan* 3  
**blod** n. 'blood' ns. *blod* 5, 12, 13; as. *blod* 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9; ds. *blode* 8; gs. *blodes* 10  
**boc** f. 'book' np. *bec* 19  
**broðor** m. 'brother' ns. *broðor* 14, 21  
**buton** prep. 'provided, unless, except' 3, 11, 18  
**bysmor** n. or m. 'shame, disgrace' ns. 25  
**bysmorlic** adj. 'shameful, disgraceful' ns. 25

**canon** m. 'canon, rule of church' Lat. dp. *canonibus* 11  
**clænlice** adv. 'purely, cleanly' 11  
**cweþan** V 'say, speak' 3s pt. *cwæþ* 2, 5  
**cynn** n. 'kind, species' as. 'kindred, people, nation' 16, 20, gs. *cynnes* 1

**dæd** f. 'deed' ns. *dæd* 25, as. *dæde* 28  
**deah** see **dugan**  
**denisc** adj. 'Danish' on *Denisc* 'in a Danish fashion' 17  
**deor** n. 'animal' as. 9  
**deð** see **don**  
**don** anom. 'do' 3s pr. *deð* 29, 3p pr. *doð* 14  
**drincan** III 'to drink' inf. 24, 3s pr. subj. *drince* 27  
**dugan** pret. pr. 'avail, be worthy' 3s pr. *deah* 30

**eac** adv. 'also' 14, 21  
**Eadweard** m. 'Edward' ns. 14  
**eage** n. 'eye' dp. *eagum* 18  
**ealu** n. 'ale' as. 27  
**eft** adv. 'likewise, again, afterwards' 5, 10  
**Egypte** adj. 'Egyptian', gp. *Egypta* 6  
**embe** prep. 'about, concerning' 18  
**ende** m. 'end' as. 26  
**Englisc** adj. 'English' ap. *Engliscan* 15



**eom** see **beon**

**eorðe** f. 'earth' as. *eorðan* 10, gs. *eorðan* 2

**eow** see **þu**

**eower** poss. adj. 'your' ns. 6, as. *eower* 16, np. *eowre* 15, ap. *eowre* 16, dp. *eowrum* 4, 6

**etan** V 'eat' inf. 24, 29; 3s pr *ytt* 7; infl. inf. *ettenne* 2

**fæder** m. 'father' np. *fæderas* 15

**fehð** see **fon**

**fisc** m. 'fish' np. *fixas* 2

**flod** n. 'flood, sea' ds. *flode* 2

**folc** n. 'people, nation' ds. *folce* 7, 10

**fon** VII 'take, catch' 3s pr. *fehð* 9

**for** prep. 'on account of, because of' 22, 28; **forþam** ðe conj. 'because' 21, *forþan ðe* 8

**forbeodan** II 'forbid' 3s pr. *forbead* 1

**forlætan** VII 'abandon, relinquish, leave' 2p pr. *forlætað* 15

**forseon** V 'forsake, abandon' 2p pr. *forseod* 16

**fracod** adj 'wicked, despicable' as. *fracodan* 28

**fram** prep. 'from' 27

**fugel** m. 'bird' as. *fugel* 9; gp. *fugela* 7

**fullic** adj. 'foul' ns. 29

**fullice** adv. 'foully, shamefully' 24, 29

**furþon** adv. 'even' 24

**gang** m. 'privy, lavatory' ds. *gange* 29

**gangan** VII 'go' 3s pr. subj. *gange* 27

**gangsetl** n. 'lavatory seat' dp. *gangsetlum* 24

**ge** see **þu**

**gebeorscipe** m. 'party, feast' dp. *gebeorscipum* 24

**geblodigian** 2 'make bloody, bloody' p ptc *geblodegod* 12

**gehyran** 1 'hear' 1s pt. *gehyrde* 23

**geswutelian** 2 'reveal' 3s pr. *geswutelað* 1, 3p pr. *geswuteliað* 16

**getellan** 1 'consider' p ptc *geteald* 13

**gewrit** n. 'writing, letter' ds. *gewrite* 1

**gif** conj. 'if' 22

**God** m. 'God' ns. 1, 2, 5, 6

**gyfernyss** f. 'greed, gluttony' as. *gyfernesse* 28

**hæðen** adj. 'heathen' gp. *hæðenra* 15, 19

**hand** f. 'hand' dp. *handum* 4

**he** m., **hit** n. pron. 'he/it' nsm *he* 8, 8,10, 26, 27, ds. *him* 10, 27, nsn. *hit* 12, 13, 23, 25, 29, asn. *hit* 22, 23; dp. *him* 17, 22, 22, poss. adj. *his* 4, 5, 7, 10, 19, 20, 28; poss. adj. 3p pl. *heora* 3, 9, 24

**hentan** 1 'take' 3s pr. *hent* 10

**healdan** VII 'hold' 3s pr. *hylt* 19, 2p pt. *heoldon* 15

**heorte** f. 'heart' ds. *heortan* 12

**her** adv. 'here' 1

**higeleast** f. 'folly' ns. 25

**hit** see **he**

**hnecca** m. 'neck' dp. *hneccan* 18

**hu** adv. 'how' 1

**huru** adv. 'indeed' 28

**huxlic** adj. 'contemptible' ns. 25

**hwa** m. indef. pron. 'whoever' ns. *swa hwa swa* 5, 8, 10

**hylt** see **healdan**

**ic** pron. 'I' ns. *ic* 3, 4, 4, 5, etc., as. *me* 14; ds. *me* 22; np. *we* 11; dp. *us* 19

**incunde** adj. 'inner, internal' ns. 12

**inlenda** m. 'native' ns. 8

**lædan** 1 'lead' 1s pt. *lædde* 6

**land** n. 'land' ds. *lande* 6, 21

**lif** n. 'life' ns. *lif* 8, as. *lif* 4, ds. *life* 19; gs. *lifes* 16

**liflice** adj. 'living, full of life, vital' ns. 13

**lim** n. 'limb' ds. *lime* 12

**losian** 2 'be lost' inf. 7, 3s pr. *losað* 10

**lufian** 2 'love' 2p pr. *lufiað* 15

**macian** 2 'make' 3s pr. *macað* 10

**magan** pret. pres. 'may, be able to' 1s pr. *mæg* 28, 2s subj. *mæge* 22

**man(n)** m. 'person, man' ns. *man* 25, *mann* 29, gs. *mannes* 4, gp. *manna* 7, 15, 19, 30, dp. *mannum* 9

**mancynn** n. 'mankind' ds. *mancynne* 1

**mare** adv. (compar. of *micle*) 'more' 18

**mennisc** adj. 'human' as. 5

**meox** n. 'dung, filth, excrement' ns. 27

**mete** m. 'food' ds. *mete* 10, 11; dp. *mettum* 7, 26, *metum* 9

**mid** prep. 'with, by means of' 16, 17, 20, 21, 26

**Moyses** m. 'Moses' ds. *Moysen* 5

**muð** m. 'mouth' as. 26

**mycel** adj. 'great' ns. *mycel* 25, ds. *mycclum* 2

**na** adv. 'no' 18

**næfre** adv. 'never' 29

**nan** adj. 'not one, no, none' ns. 11, gs. *nanes* 6; pron. ns. *nan* 30

**ne** particle 'not' 3, 6, 7, etc.

**Noe** m. 'Noah' ds. *noe* 2

**nu** adv. 'now' 14

**nyten** n. 'animal, beast' ns. 11, gs. *nytenes* 6, 8; ap. *nytenu* 3, gp. *nytenu* 3, 7

**of** prep. 'out of, from' 6, 7, 10

**ofgan** anom. 'require' 1s pr. *ofgange* 4, 4

**ofslean** VI 'slay' p ptc *ofslagen* 4

**oft** adv. 'often' comp. *oftor* 21

**on** prep. 'in, on, at' 1, 6, 8, 9, etc.

**oððe** conj. 'or' 9

**oðer** adj. 'other' as. *oðerne* 26, gp. *oðra* 7

**rædan** 1 'read' 1p pr. *rædað* 11

**sæ** f. 'sea' gs. 2

**sceal** see **sculan**

**sceamian** 2 with gen. object & dat. of person 'cause shame to, be ashamed' 3s pr. *sceamað* 22

**sceamu** f. 'shame, disgrace' ds. *sceame* 22, 28

**sceandlic** adj. as *sceandlican* 18, 28

**sculan** anom. 'must, should' 3s pr. *sceal* 7, 11, 3s pr. subj. *sceole* 26, 29

**se** m., **seo** f., **þæt** n. dem. and def. art. 'the, that, that one' nsm. *se* 19, asm. *þone* 26, 27, gsm. *þæs* 4; asf. *ða* 9, 18, 28, dsf. *þære* 12, gsf. *þære* 2, 2; nsn. *þæt* 11, 13, 27, asn. 27, gsn. *þæs* 8, 10, 16, dsn. *þam* 2, 16; ap. *ða* 14, gp. *þæra* 3, 7, 9, 30, dp. *þam* 17, 20

**secgan** 3 'say' inf. 22, 23, 29, 1s pr. *secge* 14, 18, 23, 3p pr. *secgað* 19, 2s pr. subj. *secge* 22

**slaga** m. 'slayer' ds. *slagan* 5

**soð** n. 'truth' ns. 23

**stencg** m. 'stench, odour' as. 27

**sum** adj. 'some, certain' ds. *sumum* 12

**swa** adv. 'so' 25, 28; *swa* ... *swa* 'as ... as' 29; *swa hwa* *swa* 'whoever' 5, 8, 10

**swaðeah** adv. 'nevertheless, however' 13, 22

**syllan** 1 'give' 1s pr. *syлле* 3

**teona** m. 'insult' ds. *teonan* 17

**to** prep. 'to, as' 2, 2, 3, 5, etc.

**tyslian** 2 'dress, put on' 3p pr. *tysliað* 17

**tyslung** f. 'dress' as. *tyslunge* 18

**þæt** conj. 'that' 3, 11, 14, 16, 19, 22, 23, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29

**þe** rel. 'that, which, who' 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 15, 16, 19, 30

**þes** m., **þeos** f., **þis** n. dem. pron. & adj 'this' gsn. *þyses* 14, dsn. *ðysum* 1, apn. *þas* 23

**þeah** adv. 'although' 12

**þearle** adv. 'greatly' 23

**þeaw** m. 'custom' ap. *þeawas* 15, 15, 19

**þicgan** 1 'eat' 2s imp. *þicge* 6, 2p subj. *þicgon* 3

**þing** n. 'thing' as. 22

**þonne** conj. 'than' 21, 'when' 17; adv. 'then' 27

**þu** 2 pers. pron. 'you' ns. 14, 21, 22, 22, ds. *ðe* 14, 21, 23; np. *ge* 3, 6, 14, 14, 16, 17, ap. *eow* 6, 17, dp. *eow* 3, 16

**ufan** adv. 'above, at the top' 26

**unnan** pret. pr. 'grant' 3p pr. *unnon* 16

**unrihtlice** adv. 'unrighteously, wrongfully' 14

**unþeaw** m. 'evil custom, vice' dp. *unþeawum* 17

**unþeawfæst** adj. 'badly behaved, dissolute' ns. 26

**unwurbian** 2 'dishonour' 3s pr. *unwurþað* 20

**uplendisc** adj. 'upland, country, rural' np. *uplendiscan* 23

**uppan** prep. 'up' 21

**us** see **ic**

**ut** adv. 'out' 12, 13, 27

**we** pron. see **ic**

**wif** n. 'woman' np. *wif* 24

**wifmann** m. 'woman' dp. *wimmannum* 21

**willan** anom. 'will, wish to, be accustomed to' 3p pr. *wyllað* 24

**witodlice** adv. 'truly, certainly, assuredly' 3

**wyllað** see **willan**

**yfel** adj. 'evil' ns. 23

**yldra** m. 'parent' ap. *yldran* 17

**yrnan** III 'run' 3s pr. subj. *yrne* 12, 13

**ytt** see **etan**

## Old English Textbooks and the 21st Century: A Review of Recent Publications

Andrew Scheil, University of Minnesota

The first few years of the new century have witnessed a revival of Old English pedagogy, at least in the publication of textbooks designed for the introductory experience of learning Old English. The leading edge of this change could be seen in the editorial work of Bruce Mitchell and Fred C. Robinson in the late 1990s. Mitchell published his *Invitation to Old English and Anglo-Saxon England* in 1995; Mitchell and Robinson published their student edition of *Beowulf* in 1998, and their *A Guide to Old English* was published in a revised 6th edition in 2001 (the work had not been updated since 1992). Since then the new textbooks or new editions have come at about the rate of one per year: R.D. Fulk's revision of John C. Pope's *Seven Old English Poems* in 2001; Richard Hogg's *Introduction to Old English* in 2002; Peter Baker's *Introduction to Old English* in 2003; Richard Marsden's *Cambridge Old English Reader* in 2004; Robert Hasenfratz and Thomas Jambeck's *Reading Old English: A Primer and First Reader* in 2005; and in 2007, the 7th edition of Mitchell and Robinson's *Guide*, Carole Hough and John Corbett's *Beginning Old English*, and the second edition of Baker's *Introduction to Old English*. And more books are on the horizon: Fulk

has an introductory grammar/reader contracted for publication (perhaps in 2009) with the Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies; Murray McGillivray of the University of Calgary has two introductory volumes (the *Broadview Old English Grammar* and the *Broadview Old English Reader*) contracted for publication with Broadview Press, also probably in 2009.<sup>1</sup> Clearly something is in the air.

Our current moment calls to mind the 1970s, the last period that saw so many new Old English textbooks and updated editions of old ones: the 3rd (and final) edition of *Bright's Old English Grammar and Reader* as revised by Cassidy and Ringler was published in 1971; Marckwardt and Rosier's *Old English Language and Literature* (now out of print) in 1972; Robert E. Diamond's *Old English Grammar and Reader* in 1973; the second edition of Quirk and Wrenn's *Old English Grammar* (1957) was reprinted several times up to 1973 (reprinted by Northern Illinois University Press in 1994 and still in print); the 10th edition of Moore and Knott's *Elements of Old English* (1955), revised by James R. Hulbert, was reprinted through 1977, then passed out of print; *Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader in Prose and Verse*, revised by Dorothy Whitelock for its 15th edition in 1967, saw a second corrected printing in 1975 (a version which is still in print); *Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Primer*, revised for its ninth edition by Norman Davis in 1953 (with a second corrected printing in

### BOOKS DISCUSSED IN THIS ESSAY

Baker, Peter S. *Introduction to Old English* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003; 2nd ed. 2007). \$29.95. <http://www.blackwellpublishing.com/book.asp?ref=9781405152723>

Fulk, R.D. *Eight Old English Poems*, ed. John C. Pope, 3rd ed. revised by R.D. Fulk (New York: Norton, 2001). \$22.40. <http://www2.wwnorton.com/college/titles/english/eightoept/>

Hasenfratz, Robert and Thomas Jambeck. *Reading Old English: A Primer and First Reader* (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2005). \$45.00. [http://www.wvupress.com/catalog/product\\_info.php?products\\_id=74](http://www.wvupress.com/catalog/product_info.php?products_id=74)

Hogg, Richard. *An Introduction to Old English* (New York: Oxford UP, 2002). \$22.95. <http://www.us.oup.com/us/catalog/general/subject/Linguistics/TheEnglishLanguage/?view=usa&ci=9780195219487>

Hough, Carole and John Corbett. *Beginning Old English* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007). \$26.95. <http://www.palgrave.com/products/title.aspx?PID=271359>

Marsden, Richard. *The Cambridge Old English Reader* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004). \$32.99. <http://www.cambridge.org/uk/catalogue/catalogue.asp?isbn=9780521456128>

Mitchell, Bruce and Fred C. Robinson. *A Guide to Old English*. 7th ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007). \$39.95. <http://www.blackwellpublishing.com/book.asp?ref=9781405146906>

Mitchell, Bruce. *An Invitation to Old English and Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995; repr. with revisions and corrections 1998 to 2003). \$51.95. <http://www.blackwellpublishing.com/book.asp?ref=9780631174363>

1957), was reprinted regularly throughout the 1970s up to 1982. And of course Bruce Mitchell published the first edition of the *Guide* in 1964 (without texts or glossary), and a second edition in 1968. Multiple reprints saw light during the 1970s; in 1982 he was joined for the 3rd edition by Fred C. Robinson, and the book, including texts and glossary, assumed the familiar shape we know today.<sup>2</sup>

Between the early 1970s and the turn of the 21st century dramatic changes have taken place in higher education, the humanities, medieval studies in general and Anglo-Saxon studies in particular. Not surprisingly, these new textbooks register a very different perception of audience and purpose than did their precursors of an earlier generation. The appearance of this new generation of textbooks casts an interesting light on the ways Old English and Anglo-Saxon culture are currently taught.<sup>3</sup> What are the stated and implied audiences of these books? How do they attempt to serve those audiences? Do they teach the language in new ways? How might they best be used by the community of Anglo-Saxonists? In both content and form, these new books reveal the changes, implicit and explicit, in the ways teachers present Old English to students.

I will not take up here an analysis of an important feature of 21st century pedagogy—online supplementation of textbooks. The teaching of Old English with online resources deserves its own separate essay. Full courses with introductory readers are now available online, such as Murray McGillivray's course at the University of Calgary<sup>4</sup> and Peter Baker's *Introduction to Old English*.<sup>5</sup> There are also numerous course web pages of varying levels of sophistication and public access created by instructors, sporting features such as pdf files of handouts, links to other resources and so forth. Some instructors no doubt make creative use of course list serves and weblogs to distribute course content. Such resources will grow as time goes by; some people will certainly find themselves able to teach Old English with online resources alone, some will use them as supplements, while others will teach excellent courses without any such aids. It is my sense at the moment that we are far from living in a textbook-free world (a vision that is nirvana to some, nightmare to others); although we hear much about the electronic perspicacity of the current generation of students, my sense is that they still feel a physical textbook is an index to the seriousness of a course—online resources, as wonderful as they are, can still seem ephemeral to students and for the time being, I will assume that the symbolic value of a physical book (if nothing else) justifies the assumption that instructors of Old English will be ordering one or more of the books below for their courses.

Taken as a group, the new generation of textbooks is marked by three tendencies that distinguish them from the earlier generation. First, all of them acknowledge, in one way or another, the deficiencies of contemporary students in terms of their knowledge of traditional grammatical terminology and experience with other inflected languages. This recognition informs the conception of these books at many levels, from the substance and sequence of chapters to the style of the prose and beyond. Second, there is a greater emphasis on the literary/historical/cultural context of the Old English language as opposed to the more or less exclusively linguistic focus of the earlier generation; most of these texts attempt to introduce not just Old English language but Anglo-Saxon culture as well. At first glance this might seem to be only a plus, and it is certainly to be commended if “interdisciplinary” is simply a synonym for “good,” as it often is in higher education. But there are potential downsides to this trend as well: is the teaching of Old English a zero-sum game? If more course time is spent on literary/cultural/historical matters, does that mean that less time will be spent on paradigms, vocabulary acquisition and translation? Will the contemporary student leave an Old English course well-versed about Anglo-Saxon culture, but with a weaker grasp of the language than the student of a previous generation? Third, when examined as a group, there is a greater sense of variety in terms of pedagogical mission for these texts than the previous generation. The earlier generation of scholars sought to write a textbook (e.g., the Mitchell/Robinson *Guide*) designed to serve *all* potential students of Old English, from weak undergraduates to advanced graduate students at elite institutions to independent learners; the current textbooks seem to be more narrowly targeted at particular constituencies and markets.

## I

It hardly needs to be said that the contemporary student typically comes to an Old English class with a shaky or nonexistent knowledge of traditional grammatical terminology and concepts (e.g., the passive voice, the predicate, the preposition), and of linguistic terminology (e.g., parsing, inflection, syntax). The student is not at all likely to have studied Latin, Greek or Hebrew, or to have studied even a modern inflected language such as German or Russian; such experience was a given for an earlier generation of students. All of these new books try to help remedy this deficiency through a combination of methods: glossaries of terms, extra chapters and appendices that review basic Modern English grammar, and a more discursive presentation of the language.

One can get a sense of the change in tone from the earlier generation by comparing the initial presentation of strong verbs in an older textbook and a new textbook. The architecture of the strong verb is one of the major hurdles in any Old English course: the presentation of the very concept of the strong verb, its various gradation classes, its conjugation, and so forth is a good measure of the text's sense of its readership's needs. In Moore and Knott's *Elements of Old English*, strong verbs are introduced in Chapter XI ("Strong Verbs: Classes I and II"). The chapter is 3 pages long. One short paragraph introduces the strong verb for the first time and renders an explanation:

**Strong Verbs.** Strong verbs form their preterit and past participle by means of a change in the vowel of the stem. The change is called **ablaut** (or **gradation**) and these verbs are frequently called **ablaut verbs**. In Old English, as in the other old Germanic languages, there are seven classes of strong verbs (frequently called **ablaut series**), each class being characterized by a distinct series of ablaut changes. (49; emphasis in original)

Three sentences and we're out: minimalism in action. Then follows, in tabular form with very brief head-notes, a series of representative verbs illustrating the gradation series of classes I and II and a representative conjugation; one or two brief notes expand upon the conjugation, and then the chapter closes with a reading selection (a paragraph from the translation of Luke's gospel). One imagines that even in the 1950s this laconic presentation needed to be fleshed out by the instructor in the classroom; the chapter is really not much more than a schematic reference grammar—a series of tables with head-notes.

In *Reading Old English*, Hasenfratz and Jambeck realize that the strong verb arrives on the syllabus just when students can not believe there is possibly anything more they are required to learn. The authors try to cushion the blow as much as possible:

In this and the following chapter, you'll learn most of what you'll need to know about "strong" verbs. As we mentioned earlier (43.7) strong verbs change a root vowel to form the past tense and the past participle (see Modern English *grow, grew, grown* and *sing, sang, sung*). Weak verbs, on the other hand, form the past tense and the past participle by adding **-d**, **-ed**, or **-t** (i.e., a "dental suffix") to the root (see Modern English: *walk, walked, walked*; *hear, heard, heard*; and *think, thought, thought*). Strong verbs descended from Indo-European verbs while weak verbs are a Germanic innovation.

The main challenge that strong verbs present to any reader of Old English is that they are generally difficult to look up. Glossaries and dictionaries, as a rule, list only the infinitive form. Of course, when you encounter a word which looks suspiciously like a past tense or past participle of a strong verb, you could simply start at the beginning of the relevant letter in the glossary and scan through the entire section looking for the infinitive. That would be a time-consuming chore to say the least.



Later on, if you read texts with the help of fuller dictionaries, you won't be able to block out enough time to roam through page after page of entries. Knowing something about the seven classes of strong verbs can definitely make you a more efficient reader of Old English by allowing you to triangulate more efficiently on the main glossary entry for any strong verb.

(Note: Should you want to consult other grammars, you should probably know that the change in the root vowel in strong verbs is usually called **gradation** or **ablaut**, from a German word meaning to "sound down." For this reason, some grammars refer to strong verbs as **ablaut verbs** and the series of changes in the root vowel as an **ablaut** or **gradation series**.) (254)

Quite a bit more follows in *Reading Old English* as other aspects of the strong verb are taken up in turn, but this is the main introduction. The contrast with Moore and Knott is obvious.

Moore and Knott assume the intrinsic value of learning the strong verb; not just useful as an aid to efficient glossary flipping, learning about strong verbs is an important step in drawing connections among the Germanic languages. The rhetoric of *Reading Old English* is far more pragmatic: its unspoken assumption is that the rare students whose souls are fired by comparative Germanic linguistics will find their way to the next level of instruction on their own. In *Reading Old English*, the authors are more concerned with convincing skeptical students why they should invest the time to memorize or even look at a table of gradation patterns. To make the case, they appeal to the students (hoped-for) sense of efficiency: you will be more efficient in finding headwords, therefore you will translate more rapidly, therefore you will finish your work earlier and therefore find early release from the "drudgery" of class preparation. This assumption might be extended to the new generation of textbooks as a whole: they assume (correctly, in my view) they are fighting an uphill battle: students generally will be uninterested in linguistic matters for their own sake, and will only be convinced to learn enough to make their reading comprehension quicker and easier; and further, *reading* is the goal—particularly reading texts that might be of interest for literary or cultural reasons (e.g., *Beowulf*, but really any eye-catching text such as *Wonders of the East*).

This is perfectly understandable, and as a pragmatist myself, it is exactly how I would initially "sell" the strong verb to students, but of course, there *are* linguistic students at some institutions (graduate and undergraduate, declared or *in potentia*) who may be interested in, well, linguistics. Some graduate students, particularly confident ones thoroughly committed to language study, might be put off by such lowest-common-denominator rhetoric and need supplemental texts to sustain more advanced study. If an instructor uses some of the new textbooks, he or she would want to keep an eye on such students in a class and make sure (perhaps through additional handouts or assigned reading on reserve) that they are being pushed in the proper direction. (Knowing the makeup/background of class members in advance would be of great help in choosing a text or texts.)

The difference between Moore and Knott and *Reading Old English* is one of voice—that instructional narrator emanating from the pages of the text. In an Old English course the "voice" of the textbook must stand as a proxy for the instructor's voice: there is so much to cover in class periods (particularly the time-consuming process of individual student translations) that one must expect that a certain burden of the teaching will be carried by the voice of the textbook itself, as the student reads and re-reads, e.g., the section on strong verbs, trying to decode what is going on and what is the point of it all, and how important it is anyway, relative to the potential time invested.

It is the zero-sum game once again. Students tend to meet with instructors for fewer class hours per week than they did thirty-five or fifty years ago; contemporary students at all levels are more likely to be employed in the workforce while doing their degree, and have a greater variety of extracurricular activities

(justly or unjustly) demanding their time than thirty-five years ago, when one might expect that the student would take the laconic textbook to the library, mull the day's lecture over in his/her head, and then, using other reference works, pick through the grammar carefully again on his/her own for an extended time. Sad to say, in many institutions that is not going to happen today, particularly at the undergraduate level: the student leaves class to rush to work, gets home in the evening, and before settling down to do any academic work does the "essential" preliminaries: checks email and instant messaging, reads a few blogs, watches a few videos on YouTube, checks his/her MySpace account, all the while fielding a scattershot barrage of cell phone calls. Graduate students are perhaps more focused, but if nothing else they certainly tend to teach more than the graduate students of fifty years ago. All this is to say that the contemporary Old English textbook must have more of a vocal presence for the student than the previous generation of books; the student must be able to open up the book and through reading re-create the whole discursive context that will allow the learning to happen.

Moore and Knott has almost no voice within each chapter; in this it is much like the Sweet readers, Wrenn, Marckwardt /Rosier, and Cassidy/Ringler. Moreover, the voice that encloses or frames the paradigms, tables and readings, connecting chapters and building them into a sequence is almost nonexistent; there is no real sense of one chapter building upon another in a discursive fashion: the connections are generally implicit. The Mitchell/Robinson *Guide* certainly has more of a voice than the earlier generation of readers; in many ways the *Guide* is the text that bridges the gap between the early generation of grammars (from Sweet through the 1950s) and the current new textbooks. The *Guide* is a tightly packed text; its information is presented in a compact way, with minimal mediation. Anecdotal evidence suggests that for a number of years many instructors have wanted a more pervasive and consistent pedagogical voice, one more carefully modulated to the under-prepared student who does not attend Oxford or Yale. An important part of such a discursive presentation is the presence of brief graded readings attached to the sequence of grammatical explanations, such as to be found in Moore/Knott, Marckwardt/Rosier and Cassidy/Ringler. The *Guide* lacks this feature, content to allow the instructor to assign texts from the reader as needed from the very first week. My sense is that the *Guide* has become a successful text book when supplemented by an instructor's considerable classroom files, handouts and dexterity developed over a number of years. But not to be left behind, the textbook continues to be updated and augmented in new editions. To allow for greater instructor choice in material, four new texts have been added to the *Guide* in the past two editions: *Wulf and Eadwacer* and *Judith* to the sixth edition (2001) and selections from the *Cotton Maxims* and Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* to the seventh, for a total of 22 separate texts. The seventh edition has also added two appendices designed to help the under-prepared student: "Appendix D: List of Linguistic Terms Used in this Book" and "Appendix E: The Moods of Old English." (The *Guide* is also a substantial book for the price: \$39.95 US.)

Peter Baker's *Introduction to Old English* (my comments here refer to the second edition of 2007) is in many ways a fleshed-out and updated version of Mitchell and Robinson. I say this as a compliment and not at all to detract from the originality of the book—in the lucid, authoritative prose of a seasoned teacher and expert philologist, Baker leads the under-prepared student through the stage-by stage process of learning Old English. The voice of the seasoned teacher can be detected in the chapter structure: each chapter begins with a brief overview ("Quick Start") that presents the most important points to be digested in said chapter; boxed-off asides marked with an exclamation point draw the student attention to particular hints, tips, pitfalls, etc. Such touches are the mark of an effective teacher who knows from long experience where and when student questions arise and how best to defuse them. Baker fills the need for short graded readings attached to the instructional chapters: most chapters include short passages ("Minitexts") drawn from a variety of Old English sources/translations: the prose psalms, Gregory's *Dialogues*, Wulfstan's homilies, a letter of Ælfric, Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion*, Blickling homilies, the prose *Solomon and Saturn*, Orosius, a riddle, *Maxims I*, a short passage from *Beowulf*. The grammatical presentation is in the same sequence

as the *Guide*: pronouns, nouns, verbs (first weak then strong), adjectives then adverbs (though the *Guide* presents the adjectives and numerals earlier, with the nouns), then issues of syntax (a much longer and challenging section to be found in the *Guide*). The book begins with four preliminary chapters on “The Anglo-Saxons and Their Language,” “Pronunciation,” “Basic Grammar: A Review,” and “Case,” and it ends with three very helpful chapters on more advanced topics concerning “Poetic Style,” “The Grammar of Poetry,” and “Reading Old English Manuscripts.” The “Anthology” section of the book consists of eighteen texts: “The Fall of Adam and Eve,” “The Life of Æthelthryth,” “Ælfric on the Book of Job,” “Cynewulf and Cyneheard” and “The Martyrdom of Ælfheah” (both from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*), Wulfstan’s *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, “Ohthere and Wulfstan,” “The Story of Cædmon,” “Boethius on Fame,” “A Lyric for Advent,” “The Battle of Maldon,” “The Wanderer,” “The Dream of the Rood,” “Wulf and Eadwacer,” “The Wife’s Lament,” “The Husband’s Message,” and “Judith.” The selection of texts is very similar to the *Guide*, with only a few differences between the two.

One might, then, characterize Baker’s *Introduction* as a new textbook that keep many of the organizational features and structures of the *Guide*, but updates them and makes them more “user-friendly,” as a seasoned, effective teacher of Old English would. Baker’s book seems to be what for many years was desired by users of the *Guide* when dealing with weaker students: a review of basic grammar and other background concepts; a more discursive explanatory voice that works with contemporary student linguistic skills, graded readings, and essentially the same anthology of canonical texts. Baker’s book would be a good choice for (among others) long-time users of the *Guide* who would like an update for the modern student, but who do not fundamentally wish to change how they teach.

Baker’s book is thoroughly integrated with web technology. The book was published by Blackwells in print form as it was simultaneously published in identical electronic form as part of Baker’s “Old English at the University of Virginia” website (<http://www.engl.virginia.edu/OE/index.html>; the book is also hosted by Western Michigan University’s Medieval Institute: <http://www.wmich.edu/medieval/resources/IOE/index.html>). Baker designed a suite of online exercises to complement the textbook, “Old English Aerobics” also available on the “Old English at Virginia” website.<sup>6</sup> It is an inexpensive textbook: \$29.95 US in print form, or free on the web. Of all the new textbooks, it is the cheapest, complete and stand-alone option for a course.

Hasenfratz and Jambeck’s *Reading Old English* (\$45.00 US) is probably the text that goes furthest in providing remedial support through a pervasive discursive instructional voice. This very substantial book consists of eleven chapters and two Appendices [“A Basic Introduction to Traditional Grammar” (357–395) and “Summary of Sound Changes” (397–414)]. The introduction to traditional grammar appendix includes basic definitional information on sentences, parts of speech, clauses, phrases, all illustrated with Modern English examples. The appendix on sound changes discusses in greater detail than in the body of the text various standard phonological issues typically encountered in introductory Old English courses: Grimm’s and Verner’s Laws, gemination, breaking, syncopation, etc. (i-mutation is discussed in the main body of the text.) The book then presents a very brief reader, consisting of the Old English gloss to Ælfric’s Latin *Colloquy* (Latin and OE texts), “Four Lives of St. Æðeldryð”: 1. From the Latin text of Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History* (with facing page Modern English translation); 2. the Old English translation of Bede; 3. the brief life from the *Old English Martyrology*; 4. Ælfric’s *Life of St. Æðeldryð*. Then follows “A Quick Guide to Old English Poetry” (12 pages) covering the structure of the Old English poetic line, Sievers’ scansion, variation, compounds and kennings. The book then ends with the text of *The Wife’s Lament* and a glossary. Among the highlights is a nice chart on pp. 4-5, “A Crash Course in Anglo-Saxon Paleography”: this covers the letter forms for Insular and Carolingian upper and lower case letters and runes. Baker’s text is a bit more extensive in introducing manuscripts, devoting a whole chapter to the topic with plates and brief transcription exercises.

Each chapter of *Reading Old English* subdivides into 2-4 “Lessons” that cover familiar categories: e.g., Chapter Six: Lesson One: Adjectives; Lesson Two: Comparative and Superlative Forms; Lesson Three: Adverbs; Lesson Four: Prepositions. The most distinctive feature of the book is the great variety of brief illustrative “Exercises” liberally scattered among the lessons: reverse translation; fill-in-the-blank parsing of various sorts; brief translations, and so forth. Each Exercise is followed by a short vocabulary list dedicated to that exercise. A great deal of effort has gone into the generation of these creative exercises and they are really a wonderful feature. They are exactly the sort of pedagogical files that an experienced instructor will have developed over a number of years; it is invaluable to have so many gathered together here, to be used or not, or modified as the instructor desires. The Exercises can be gone over in class; completed and photocopied to be handed in by the student; or (since they are mostly short) they can be copied out by hand, completed, and handed in. Because the book does much of the heavy lifting, *Reading Old English* would be a good choice of text for someone teaching Old English for the first time, or a non-Anglo-Saxonist teaching Old English.

Supplementing the Exercises are “Readings” at the end of each chapter. These are more extensive Old English passages from a variety of sources, rising in difficulty and length throughout the book: bits from the gospels, riddles, *Wonders of the East*, prognostics, monastic sign language, *Vercelli Homily IX*, a medical text. The lists of vocabulary that follow each Exercise and Reading are impressive as well; they include helpful etymological hints for memorization, cross-references to the appropriate chapter section where the word-form is covered, and strategic capitalization to aid in vocabulary retention. Two examples, drawn at random:

**cwīc** (adjective) = alive [see *ModE the QUICK and the dead*, §6.1] (from p. 353)

**sār** (n) = pain, SOREness; SORrow, distress [§2.9] (from p. 354)

Each chapter ends with a brief summary “Lessons learned” that highlights the most essential bits student need to have mastered before moving on.

The strength of *Reading Old English* is in the individual chapters rather than in the reader, as the authors intend. Hasenfratz and Jambeck state in their preface that “ideally, the grammar and readings take about six to seven weeks to cover, roughly two chapters per week, leaving a significant portion of the term for further readings” (xix). Thus the book is designed to be used in tandem with another reader: perhaps Fulk’s *Eight Old English Poems*, Marsden’s *Cambridge Old English Reader*, Sweet’s *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, or perhaps a volume in the Exeter series. Using the Mitchell/Robinson *Guide with Reading Old English* is also a nice pairing: the *Guide* can function as supplementary reading throughout the term, provide more challenging philological detail for the more advanced students in the class and function as a reference grammar, leaving the extensive reader for the final part of the course after *Reading Old English* is finished. Alternately, one could use *Reading Old English* and then very easily place selected photocopied texts on electronic reserve (from the ASPR or elsewhere) and order the Clark-Hall dictionary for the class. For some classes, just getting through the text of *Reading Old English* by the end of the semester might be enough; there are more exercises in each chapter that can probably be covered in a semester. A student using *Reading Old English* and working through all the dedicated exercises/drills would likely learn the language in a deep fashion; however, the number of full-length Old English texts the student would actually read in a course during the semester would be fewer than when using, say, the *Guide*. (But how many students over the years, when working through the many texts in the *Guide*, simply looked up each occurrence of every word in the *Guide*’s superlative glossary and never really learned the language?) The sooner one would finish *Reading Old English*, the sooner one would be able to move on to texts from another reader, but more than likely one would not read as many full texts in the original. So in other words, one might expect after a semester of *Reading Old English* to find the students have learned the language well, but have



not read many of the typical Old English texts one would expect students to encounter in an introductory course (e.g., *The Wanderer*, *The Dream of the Rood*, *The Battle of Maldon*). In a perfect world, one might use *Reading Old English* for a semester, then the *Guide* or the *Marsden Reader* for a second semester, then a semester on *Beowulf*. *Reading Old English* is a very good undergraduate textbook; some graduate students might find it a bit elementary at times, but often the graduate students have just as much need for elementary language instruction as the undergraduates. *Reading Old English* is obviously directed toward the undergraduate side of the aisle; other new textbooks follow the same trajectory, to the point where they are really designed as *introductions* to the language, rather than carrying a full systematic semester's worth of instruction in the traditional sense.

## II

Baker's *Introduction* and *Reading Old English* supply information about Anglo-Saxon culture as a way to supplement and make palatable the linguistic instruction. Other new texts proceed quite a bit further in this direction. As the texts adjust their rhetoric and presentation for the needs of today's students, they also tend to rely more and more on an introduction to Anglo-Saxon culture. The emphasis on culture makes sense when one realizes that Old English is generally not a compulsory course any more at any institutions, either at the undergraduate or the graduate level. That means that if a student does enroll in an Old English course, his or her interest probably has been piqued previously by exposure to medieval or Anglo-Saxon literature or culture from another course—from the Tolkien books or films, mythology, or whatever. Since they are interested enough in the culture and literature to enroll, it makes sense to season the linguistic work with healthy doses of cultural information. The first lesson to be learned, I think, is to keep sight of the reason students enrolled in the course in the first place and nurture that interest accordingly, since it is (presumably) what they expect out of the course.

Bruce Mitchell's *Invitation to Old English and Anglo-Saxon England* (1995) has the feel of all the personal pedagogical attention lavished upon students over the years codified in book form. Here the Old English grammatical material is thoroughly embedded in an extensive pedagogical voice. The book is divided into five main sections: "Spelling, Pronunciation and Punctuation," "Other Differences between Old English and Modern English," "An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England," "The Garden of Old English Literature," "Some Paradigms—For Those Who Would Like Them." The first two sections very gently introduce the student to the contours of Old English: in many ways one wishes that these first two sections could be interleaved into the *Guide* at the appropriate points, combining the two books. The third section, "An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England," is subdivided into five sub-sections: "Literature," "History," "Archaeology, Arts, and Crafts," "Place-Names," and "Life in the Heroic Society and the Impact of Christianity." This very appealing section includes engaging introductions to these various subjects, along with reference to secondary literature, plates and diagrams, and many connected illustrative Old English passages (with translation). The Fourth Section ("The Garden of Old English Literature") consists of a large number of further short passages of prose and poetry, a few including translations but most without.

The *Invitation* is, at least in North America, an underused resource. The problem is that if a class used it as its central textbook and worked through the whole thing in one semester (or most of it), students would learn a great deal about Anglo-Saxon culture, and they would have made a start on the language; at the end of the semester, however, they would not really have learned Old English. Given the price of the book (\$51.95 US, paperback), it would be difficult, but not impossible, to use the *Invitation* as the text for the first part of a medieval survey course; but the drawback would be that all the readings from Anglo-Saxon England would then be short extracts rather than full texts. Perhaps one could supplement the *Invitation* with free texts off the web? If the price were not a problem, the *Invitation* could be used in tandem with another text book in an Old English class. One could use it and the *Guide* at the same time; the *Invitation*



could also be used with *Reading Old English* very nicely since the latter does not have an extensive reader. It is also a very good book to recommend to the independent student.

Carole Hough and John Corbett's *Beginning Old English* follows a principle similar to Mitchell's *Invitation*; the text is shorter and less expensive (\$26.95), but also even more introductory than the *Invitation*. The authors explain the purpose of the book in their Preface: "It is not the purpose of this book to dwell in detail on the linguistic subtleties of Old English: it is designed as a 'taster' to introduce [the student] to the character of the language and—crucially—to give [the student] confidence first in reading simple and simplified West Saxon texts and then in tackling some original literature" (ix). Part I consists of language instruction, Part II of "Four Old English Texts." There are seven chapters in Part I; the sequence and presentation of the material is quite original compared to the other books. The first chapter, "Origins," introduces the student to Old English through a discussion of Anglo-Saxon history and culture; chapter 2, "Recognising Old English Words," takes the innovative step (compared to other grammars) of devoting an entire chapter to instructing students in some ways to recognize modern derivatives of Old English words through spelling and pronunciation rules. The chapter also introduces the student to very common words such as personal pronouns, conjunctions, and adverbs. Chapter 3, "People and Things," focuses on nouns and pronouns, again first working on getting students to recognize nominal phrases they can see in Modern English and slowly introducing complications, generally by presenting short passages in Old English (with dedicated vocabulary lists) and talking the student through the passages with a great deal of provisional summary and recapitulation. This is a bit like what Mitchell does in the *Invitation*, but I would say that *Beginning Old English* is slower and more basic, concentrating more extensively upon fewer examples. Chapter 4, "Place, Time, Manner and Reason," introduces prepositional phrases and adverbs. This and other chapters use Sweet's prose paraphrase of *Beowulf* as a reading text. The pattern for each chapter is the same: the authors first introduce the grammatical topic at hand, then provide "Reading practice": they give a passage with a dedicated short vocabulary list, and ask a series of content-based comprehension questions about the passage: e.g., "After meeting Beowulf, how did Grendel's mood change? Where did Grendel wish to flee? Who lived there? Why could Grendel not escape?" (64) and so forth. The authors then talk the student through the passage and answers to the questions, pointing out the relevant grammatical features. Chapter 5, "Actions and Events," introduces verbs without really delving into the distinction between different types—weak, strong, anomalous, etc. Chapter 6, "Introducing Old English Poetry," talks the student through the various features of Old English poetry by using the following examples: "Cædmon's Hymn," three riddles, "Wulf and Eadwacer," and "Deor." Chapter 7 ("Translating Old English Poetry: *Beowulf*") begins by summarizing the plot of the poem and discussing its origins; it then moves to the traditions of translating and adapting the work, comparing several different translations of a particular passage (lines 2312–23), and again talking the student through the passage's grammatical features.

Part II offers "Four Old English Texts." The first is the Cynewulf and Cyneheard story from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, broken up into seven different short passages, each with vocabulary and discussion, following the pattern established in Part I. Each section ends with a "Glossary of Common or Familiar Words," making each selection a self-contained unit. The second section consists of passages from *Beowulf*; the third is the *Battle of Maldon*; the fourth is the *Dream of the Rood*. The book concludes with a "Glossary of Technical Terms," an appendix of some basic Old English paradigms, and a brief guide to further reading. There is no final comprehensive glossary, vocabulary instead being delivered after each reading in the form of short lists. The book is illustrated with twelve black and white images, ranging from manuscript pages to an image from Peter Jackson's *Lord of the Rings* film. (All the new books tend to have nice plates.)

Throughout the book, the authors introduce not only grammatical information about how to construe passages, but also cultural and literary information relevant to comprehension. So like Mitchell's *Invitation*, the text serves as an introduction to the culture of Anglo-Saxon England even as it introduces the language.

However, the emphasis must be on “introduce.” As the authors readily admit, theirs is simply a primer for a more in-depth traditional course on the Old English language, not a substitute. The ideal situation would be to use this text in an institution with a healthy medieval studies program so that it (or the *Invitation*) would perhaps be used as a supplement to a lower level course on medieval literature for undergraduates, or an undergraduate history course on Anglo-Saxon England, or perhaps as part of a History of the English language course. Students would then go on to a more in-depth formal course in learning Old English, using a more advanced textbook.

Another way these texts survey a greater variety of Anglo-Saxon cultural forms than their predecessors is by simply including a greater variety of texts. While Marckwardt and Rosier spend most of their instructional chapters reading selections from one text (*Apollonius of Tyre*), the Baker *Introduction and Reading Old English* excerpt a variety of short texts for exercises, from medical remedies to laws to homilies to riddles and beyond. (Mitchell’s *Invitation* does this as well.) This seems not only good pedagogical sense in terms of having the opportunity to present short lectures/discussions on a variety of Anglo-Saxon cultural topics over the course of a semester, but it would seem to make good linguistic sense as well, exposing the student to a variety of texts with different lexical domains and styles. Similarly, the readers of these various books keep expanding: more texts continually added to the *Guide*, to Baker’s *Introduction* in its second edition (with more planned for future editions), *Eight Old English Poems* up from seven, and so forth.

The *Cambridge Old English Reader* of Richard Marsden offers the greatest example of this expansion principle, presenting the widest array of Old English documents of any of these books and therefore the broadest picture of Anglo-Saxon culture. The Marsden *Reader* presents 56 separate items of prose and verse (some of these are more than one text, e.g., #35 is “Five Anglo-Saxon Riddles”) arranged into six thematic groupings: 1. “Teaching and Learning,” (texts from Alfred, Ælfric, *Bald’s Leechbook*, and more), 2. “Keeping a Record,” (laws, chronicles, wills, historical texts), 3. “Spreading the Word” (Old and New testament prose and poetry), 4. “Example and Exhortation” (sermons, hagiography, some religious poetry), 5. “Telling Tales” (selections from heroic poetry and secular prose narrative), 6. “Reflection and Lament” (lyric and gnomic poetry).<sup>7</sup> Excellent headnotes lead off each section and each individual text with concise information and further reading suggestions. After a nineteen-page introduction that includes a short guide to manuscripts, pronunciation and the features of Old English poetry, the texts with their headnotes comprise 344 pages; a ten-page apparatus then details the manuscripts and textual emendations used in the volume; this is followed by a forty-page detailed reference grammar. The impressive 120-page final glossary does not reference every single occurrence of each word, but does reference each different word and each inflected/variant form of the words. In a very useful feature, all nouns in the glossary include after the headword a cross-reference to the relevant section of the Reference Grammar for the proper declension; thus a student can easily check to see how each individual noun fully declines. Also there is overdotting throughout the glossary marking palatal *c* and *g*.

The most commented-upon aspect of the Marsden *Reader* is likely to be its extensive on-the-page glossing: in addition to the excellent final glossary to the whole work, the text includes extensive page glossing. Degree signs in the text indicate single-word glosses (placed to the right for poetic texts, immediately beneath the main text for prose), brackets around phrases signal more extensive phrasal and sentence-level glossing and cultural/literary information. Thus a page of prose is divided into three zones: the main text (heavily sprinkled with degree signs and brackets); numbered single word glosses in the zone immediately below; numbered bracket glosses keyed to the main text in another zone immediately below that. To one accustomed to a cleaner page, the initial effect is disconcerting; however, with use the effect quickly dissipates. The pages set as poetry appear less busy, more like the combination of marginal/degree glossing and footnote glossing to be found in Norton anthologies and editions such as Cawley and Anderson’s edition of the *Pearl-Poet’s* works.<sup>8</sup> Will students internalize the language adequately with such extensive

on-the-page help? Opinion on this is likely to differ and instructors will need to find out for themselves. It would be important to require steady parsing exercises if using the book. At \$32.99 US, a strength of the text is the price: you get quite a bit for the money (cf. *Eight Old English Poems* at \$22.40).

The Marsden *Reader* is just that—a selection of texts, lacking a formal series of chapters breaking down the language and teaching it in a series of lessons. A very experienced instructor with a large stockpile of handouts might be able to teach an introductory course with the *Reader* as the sole text, but in general it seems that the *Reader* would need to be paired with another book or online resources for instruction. The *Reader* would also be very good for a second-semester course in Old English that ranged widely over a number of Anglo-Saxon texts; it would also be a good text for graduate students to use in independent reading, particularly graduate students working in later fields, who wish to read quickly and broadly in Old English. Given its price and its extensive glossing, the Marsden *Reader* is a text one could see using in a variety of courses and educational settings, independently or paired with a variety of other books and resources.

### III

Such flexibility is another distinguishing characteristic of these books. Once upon a time, deciding which book to order for an Old English course was fairly simple: no matter the institution or the level of class, all one needed to do was choose one of the two or three main textbooks. Now, with a greater variety of possibilities, the choice is more difficult. I've already remarked that a book like the Mitchell *Invitation* and *Beginning Old English* are really introductory texts for the undergraduate experience; *Reading Old English* would work for graduate students, but is particularly good for undergraduates; Baker's *Introduction* is quite good for graduate students and skilled undergraduates: different books for different constituencies. The mixture is rendered more complex when one adds in readers such as Fulk's *Eight Old English Poems* or Marsden's *Reader*, and even more complex when online resources and electronic reserve are brought into play. In the future, choosing the instructional materials for an Old English class might be more like assembling the pieces of a custom-made puzzle than the simple choice it was in the past.

We can add one more flexible possibility to the mix: Richard Hogg's *Introduction to Old English* (\$22.95). This is a short text of 163 pages, the first in a series published by Oxford University Press: the others include Simon Horobin and Jeremy Smith, *An Introduction to Middle English* (2003; \$22.95) and Terry Nevalainen, *An Introduction to Early Modern English* (2006; \$21.95). Hogg's *Introduction* consists of ten brief chapters that follow the usual sequence of grammatical presentation: 1. "Origins and source"; 2. "The basic elements"; 3. "More nouns and adjectives"; 4. "Verb forms"; 5. "Strong verbs"; 6. "Noun phrases and verb phrases"; 7. "Clauses"; 8. "Vocabulary"; 9. "Variety" 10. "The future." The book ends with a useful nine-page "Old English – Present-day English glossary"; a "Glossary of linguistic terms" and a bibliography of recommended reading. It is Hogg's aim to write an introductory text; the preface ("To readers") explains that the book is "designed for students for whom this is the first experience of the language of the earliest period of English" (viii). He distinguishes his book from books like the *Guide* that present a "freestanding account of the grammar" followed by a "group of texts which the student is expected to read by reference to the relevant material in the grammar" (viii). In his own words: "The distinctive feature of this work is that I have attempted to present an integrated account, in which, for the most part, accounts of the linguistic history of Old English are immediately followed by relevant and exemplary texts" (viii). The book conveys a great deal of information in a lucid, conversational and amazingly compact form, but it is difficult to imagine it as the only book for a semester-long course in Old English. And as Hogg himself notes, the book only provides brief partial texts as readings/exercises at the end of each chapter. Should the instructor use it with the *Guide*? With Mitchell's *Invitation*? With the Marsden *Reader*? With Elaine Treharne's *Old and Middle English: An Anthology*?

This is an embarrassment of riches, but certain ramifications will only be seen in the future when more students have been taught with these books. For example, one possibility is that when a student says, "Yes, I've had Old English," or his/her transcript says the same thing, the instructor will probably need to investigate further to get a better picture of the student's linguistic facility: did you have a full semester with *Reading Old English*, but not read any full texts? Did you work through Baker's *Introduction*, including lessons and texts from the anthology? Did you just jump into reading with the Marsden *Reader* after a crash-course in grammar over the web or with Hogg's *Introduction*? Were you self-taught with Mitchell's *Invitation* or *Beginning Old English*? Once upon a time "a course in Old English" had a fairly stable meaning; as these textbooks pass into use, the phrase will be broader and more ambivalent. Another possibility is that Old English could now be introduced at a number of levels in a curriculum, in lower level survey courses, for example, through books like *Beginning Old English* and the Hogg *Introduction* used as supplements to other course materials. Learning some paradigms and beginning to understand the structure of the language need not wait for the formal, full-semester course in Old English. As far as I'm concerned, the more Old English that is placed in front of students at all levels, the better.

I also believe that it is imperative to embrace these new textbooks rather than fall back on out-of-print texts or updated nineteenth-century books, ordering Marckwardt and Rosier or Cassidy and Ringler as custom-published texts for a course. New textbooks are a sign of health in the field in many ways; the more instructors that use these texts, the better the sales will be and thus the greater likelihood of new editions that iron out errors and adjust the presentation of the information in response to feedback from the scholarly community. Getting behind these textbooks is a sign of good citizenship in the field and an investment in the future of Old English studies.

#### APPENDIX: A SELECTION OF OLD ENGLISH TEXTBOOKS OF AN EARLIER GENERATION

- Bright's Old English Grammar and Reader*, ed. Frederic G. Cassidy and Richard N. Ringler. 3rd ed., second corrected printing. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971. Out of print.
- Diamond, Robert E. *Old English Grammar and Reader*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1973. In print: \$21.95.
- Marckwardt, Albert H. and James L. Rosier. *Old English Language and Literature*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1972. Out of print.
- Mitchell, Bruce and Fred C. Robinson. *A Guide to Old English*. Oxford: Blackwell. 1st ed. (Mitchell only) 1964; 3rd ed. (with Robinson) with texts and glossary, 1982; 6th ed. 2001, 7th ed. 2006.
- Moore, Samuel and Thomas A. Knott. *The Elements of Old English*. 10th ed., revised by James R. Hulbert (1955). Ann Arbor, MI: George Wahr; repr. through 1977. Out of print.
- Quirk, Randolph and C. L. Wrenn. *An Old English Grammar*. Second edition, 1955; repr. London: Methuen's Old English Library, 1973; most recently repr. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1994. In print: \$15.00.
- Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Primer*. 9th edition, revised by Norman Davis (1953); second corrected printing. New York: Oxford University Press, 1957; repr. through 1982. In print: \$30.00.
- Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader in Prose and Verse*. 15th edition, revised by Dorothy Whitelock (1967); second corrected printing. New York: Oxford University Press, 1975. In print: \$35.00.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The information on the in-progress texts of Fulk and McGillivray are courtesy of personal communications; publication dates are approximations only. I have been unable to obtain a copy of another new volume: Chris McCully and Sharon Hilles, *The Earliest English: An Introduction to Old English Language* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2005).

<sup>2</sup> Full publication information on these titles can be found in the Appendix.

<sup>3</sup> An important resource for Old English pedagogy is the website of the Teachers of Old English in Britain and Ireland (TOEBI), <http://www.toebi.org.uk/>. Aside from new Old English textbooks, the last few years have seen a number of other important teaching resources, particularly introductory handbooks, collections and anthologies suitable for introductory classes. The following is only a representative sample: Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine Treharne, eds., *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001); R.M. Liuzza, ed., *Old English Literature: Critical Essays* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2002); Elaine Treharne, ed., *Old and Middle English: An Anthology*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003; now being revised for a 3rd edition); R.D. Fulk and Christopher M. Cain, *A History of Old English Literature* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003); Daniel Donoghue, *Old English Literature: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004); David Johnson and Elaine Treharne, eds., *Readings in Medieval Texts: Interpreting Old and Middle English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005).

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.ucalgary.ca/UofC/eduweb/engl401/>.

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.engl.virginia.edu/OE/index.html>. Another resource is Michael D.C. Drout's site, "King Alfred's Grammar Book," <http://acunix.wheatonma.edu/mdrout/GrammarBook2005/KAGrammar.html>.

<sup>6</sup> Due to technical and security difficulties with "Old English Aerobics" the exercises will not be supported in the future and references to it are removed from the second edition of *Introduction to Old English*; instead, Baker is going to place downloadable .pdf files of exercises on his website (personal communication from Professor Baker).

<sup>7</sup> The full Table of Contents can be accessed at [http://www.amazon.com/gp/reader/0521456126/ref=sib\\_dp\\_pt/002-3337690-9343247#reader-link](http://www.amazon.com/gp/reader/0521456126/ref=sib_dp_pt/002-3337690-9343247#reader-link)

<sup>8</sup> A.C. Cawley and J. J. Anderson, eds., *Pearl, Cleanness, Patience, Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (London: J. M. Dent, 1976).



## APPENDIX

**Abstracts of Papers in Anglo-Saxon Studies***edited by Robert M. Butler*

Each year the *Old English Newsletter* publishes abstracts of papers on Anglo-Saxon studies given at conferences and meetings during the previous academic year. The success of this feature depends on the cooperation of individual scholars, conference organizers and session chairpersons, from whom the editors receive abstracts and information about the conference. Normally the Contributing Editor solicits copies of abstracts, but for some meetings *OEN* must rely on the organizers themselves to keep us informed and expand the scope of our coverage.

Not all abstracts of papers given at the conferences mentioned below were available; we regret any unintentional omissions or oversights.

With vol. 41 a new Contributing Editor takes over this feature; the *OEN* Editorial Board would like to express its appreciation and grateful thanks to Robert Butler for his outstanding work on this feature over the past several years.

The editors ask for the cooperation of all concerned to ensure the flow of this information to the widest possible audience. Organizers and presenters can send abstracts (electronically, if possible) to:

Dana Oswald  
Department of English  
University of Wisconsin, Parkside  
900 Wood Road, P.O. Box 2000  
Kenosha WI 53141-2000  
oswald@uwp.edu

In general, abstracts should not exceed one double-spaced page; any abstract longer than one page may be edited for length.

A database of abstracts from Fall 2000 to the present, searchable by author, title, conference, and keywords, is available on the *OEN* website; please visit <http://www.oennewsletter.org/OEN/abstracts.php>. Those wishing to contribute an abstract from a past conference for inclusion in the database may do so at any time; contact the Contributing Editor with information.

(an index of authors appears on p. 139)

*The Thirteenth International Saga Conference, "The Fantastic in Old Norse/Icelandic Literature" and "Sagas and the British Isles, Especially Northumbria," The Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, University of Durham, Durham and York, August 6-12, 2006.*

**Session D2: "In Bede's Footsteps: History and Historians"****Ólafía Einarisdóttir (Københavns U): "The Venerable Bede: Father of the Western World's Chronology, and Grandfather of Icelandic Historical Writing"**

Ways of indicating time vary a great deal among the world's different cultures. In the last few centuries we in the Western world have developed a consciousness of time which is quite extraordinary. The foundation of our chronology was laid by a learned priest at the monastery of Wearmouth/Jarrow in Northumbria. In the recently converted Northern England of about 700 A.D., the Venerable Bede pioneered the consistent use of the birth of Christ as the starting point for his time scale. Most other works used Eusebius's dating from the creation of the world. Within the English heptarchy it became very convenient to have a common chronology for all seven kingdoms. Moreover, the numbers that were needed to indicate the years in Bede's system were not so enormous as in the numbering used by Eusebius (compare with Nestor's Chronicle).

Bede's chronology was tied up with the Christian religion, but there were considerable divergences as to the correct starting point for the Christian era with its Anno Domini, and also for the starting point (New Year) for each unit (year) of the calendar. Gradually, though very slowly, Bede's chronology has become the prevailing one in the culture of Western civilisation. England and Anglo-Norman France were the first to adopt the Anno Domini system, quickly followed by Iceland. Pioneers—not only in Iceland, but in Scandinavia as a whole—were the priests Sæmundr and Ari, both of whom earned the cognomen *fróði* 'the wise'. The earliest Icelandic written document is an abacus from the first decade of the twelfth century which must be attributed to Sæmundr. It was extensively used by Ari *fróði*, particularly in the lost earlier version of his *Íslendingabók*. In the extant later version, Ari ends his account by marking the year 1120 A.D., the end of the lunar cycle 1102-1120.

Icelandic historical writing—the oldest and most extensive tradition in Scandinavia—has its origin in the Anglo-Norman school of history. In the following centuries Iceland came to develop a historical science that was more influenced by annalistics than in any other country in North-Western Europe. Sæmundr's table of

the lunar cycles mentioned above is fundamentally an abacus for reckoning years. With its roots in the mixed economy of early Viking times, Iceland had—like most pre-industrial peoples—a *pars pro toto* system to meet the demand for keeping track of time. In Northern Europe it was the winter that came to represent the whole year. And when learned men wrote their telling they had to bridge the gap between annalistics and popular ways of expressing time. Good examples of such annalistically ordered literature without the use of a basic time scale are *Guðmundar saga prests* and *Sverris saga*.

The Icelanders were thus the chronologists of the North. In Norway annals were never written. Denmark imported annals from England and the continent, and wrote a few domestic annals which come to an end in the early fourteenth century. In Sweden the writing of annals began in the middle of the thirteenth century. I feel justified in claiming that this abacus of Sæmundr fróði (AM 732 a VII 4to) is a unique construct of early Icelandic culture and comparable in its ingenuity with the finest sagas.

**Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir (Háskóli Íslands): “Bede and his Disciples: The Development of Universal History in Iceland”**

It is generally accepted that the chronographical works of Bede played a significant part in the education of the Icelandic clergy in the first centuries of Christianity and may have influenced the earliest writers of indigenous history. In his treatises *De temporibus* (703) and *De temporum ratione* (725), Bede included accounts of the six ages of the world which were to exert considerable influence on writers of universal history in Europe over the next three centuries and even longer. Bede's *aetates mundi* were thus an important element in the development of the genre of universal history which can be traced back to the Latin chronicle St Jerome adapted (c. 380) from Eusebius' *Kronikoi kanones*, and which by the end of the Middle Ages had yielded a wide array of works in verse as well as in prose, many in Latin but others written in the vernacular.

The oldest manuscripts containing Icelandic texts which might fall under the definition of universal history date from the late fourteenth century. There is, however, reason to believe that the writing of universal history was practised much earlier in Iceland; indeed it has been suggested that Sæmundur fróði Sigfússon (1056–1133) may have produced a work in that vein. Some of the pertinent evidence is to be sought in post-reformation manuscripts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (cf. Stefán Karlsson, ‘Fróðleiksgreinar frá tólftu öld’, *Afmælisrit Jóns Helgasonar*, Reykjavík, 1969). The aim of this paper is to re-examine the evidence for

early attempts at universal history writing in Iceland, trace the development of the genre in Iceland up to the Reformation, and assess the part Bede's works played in that development.

**Session Y1: “Reflections of Northumbria”**

**Rory McTurk (U of Leeds): “Kings and Kingship in Viking Northumbria”**

I shall concentrate here on two Scandinavian kings for whose activities in Northumbria the thirteenth-century Icelandic *Ragnars saga loðbrókar* (of which I am preparing an edition) may be regarded as an indirect source of information: Ívarr (d. 873) and Rögnvaldr (d. 920). In *Ragnars saga*, these two appear as brothers and as sons of Ragnarr loðbrók; historically, they were in all probability grandfather and grandson. Ívarr, I shall argue, was historically the son of Reginheri, the Viking invader of Paris in 845, and of Loðbróka, a woman referred to (as I believe) in one of the verses of *Ragnars saga*. These two, Reginheri and Loðbróka, I shall further argue, were associated respectively with two kinds of kingship, Heerkönigtum and Volkskönigtum, of which the former largely displaced the latter in Viking-Age Scandinavia. Ívarr, I shall claim, was identical with Imhar of Dublin, and a brother of the Viking leaders named in ninth- and tenth-century sources as Healfdene/Albann, Hubba, Sigifridus and Berno, the last two of whom are remembered in Scandinavian tradition as Sigurðr ormrí-auga (‘Snake-in-eye’) and Björn járnsíða (‘Ironside’), nicknames which, I shall argue, reflect associations with Volkskönigtum and Heerkönigtum respectively, while Ívarr's own nickname (*beinlausir*, ‘the Boneless’), as I shall also argue, reflects associations with both. I shall offer different reasons from those of Roberta Frank (in *English Historical Review*, 99 [1984]: 332–43) for maintaining that the idea of the blood-eagle sacrifice, supposedly performed by Ívarr in York with King Ælla of Northumbria as victim, was based on a misunderstanding of Sigvatr Þórðarson's *Knútsdrápa* (c.1038), and will discuss the implications of the account in *Ragnars saga* of Rögnvaldr's participation in the Viking attack on Hvítabær (Whitby in Northumbria or Vitaby in Skåne?) for the study of tenth-century Northumbrian history.

**Lesley Abrams (Oxford U): “Viking Northumbria—the Non-Saga Evidence”**

I aim to provide a historical paper that will throw light on the background of the secondary theme, ‘Sagas and the British Isles, Especially Northumbria’. Concentrating on non-saga evidence, I would like to examine the

effects of the Viking take-over of Northumbria, an obscure process which has found only dim reflection in English sources. How did the Viking kings of Northumbria operate? How were ecclesiastical sites used in the Viking wars of the ninth century, both before and after the Scandinavian conquest? The fate of the Church is one way of approaching the larger subject. What happened to Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, for example—both the actual sites and the large estates owned by the communities? We know that some monastic land was in the hands of pagan Hiberno-Scandinavians, although sculpture suggests continuous Christian use of the church sites themselves. Can this tell us something more general about relations between Vikings and natives and how the Vikings exploited what Northumbria had to offer? In addition to the sculptural evidence, my discussion will draw on coins and on the historical material in annals and narratives such as the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* and later chronicles from Durham.

**Jan Ragnar Hagland (Norwegian U of Science and Technology in Trondheim): “As you like it? Narrative Units Recycled: *Norðimbraland* in Sequences of Saga Writing”**

This contribution to the Conference program will attempt to single out a narrative sequence which occurs in variant forms in several saga texts, all referring to events reported to have taken place in *Norðimbraland* or *Norðumbraland*, a toponym designating, of course, the part of England known in one of these texts and elsewhere as Northumbria. That is to say I want us to look once again at what is narrated in different saga texts about Eiríkr Blood-Axe’s flight from Norway to England and his subsequent fate there. There is, in seven of the texts to be dealt with, a short account of Eiríkr’s arrival in England, where an earldom is bestowed on him by the king of England—King Aðalráðr. From this position Eiríkr eventually died *í vestrvíking*, as it is phrased in some of these texts—the entire corpus of preserved texts being the *Historia Norwegiæ*, *Ágrip*, *The Great Saga of St. Óláfr*, *Heimskringla*, *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta*, *Flateyjarbók*, and *Fagrskinna*. In addition a passage from *Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar* will be included in the discussion. Even if the latter does not quite correspond to this sequence about Eiríkr in the other texts, it seems to relate to a stock of narrative elements present in the quoted sequences from those texts, all as it seems connecting, in some way or other, to a common core of historical lore related to Northumbria. This observation, of course, is in no way a novelty to saga research, which, as we all know, has devoted much time and energy to the difficult question of sources and textual interdependence. This is particularly true, it

seems fair to say, for the study of texts such as the ones just mentioned, all but two of which belong to the type of narrative commonly known as kings’ sagas.

The question of interdependence in general between the larger texts involved here is, of course, too complex to be dealt with in any detail on the basis of short sequences of narrative such as the ones just mentioned. As is well known the relationship between several of the texts have been discussed at great length elsewhere. Some of the results arrived at are commonly accepted, some still open to discussion, it seems. There is, for instance, as has been convincingly pointed out by Ólafur Halldórsson, every reason to think that the compiler of *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta* used the first third of *Heimskringla* as his principal source for the part of the saga that contains the narrative sequence that interests us here. Furthermore the relevant part of *Flateyjarbók* obviously depends on *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta*. The relevant sequence in *Ágrip*, it should be added, is no doubt preceded by a corresponding part of the *Historia Norwegiæ* (Written in Latin, perhaps as early as ca. 1150) on which it obviously leans heavily, and so on. Literary dependencies such as these notwithstanding, the scope of textual variation on a minor point like the one selected here, carries, it seems to me, an interest of its own.

Even if a fairly close copying from one text to another can be observed in some of these cases, a certain degree of variation will occur, it appears, between them. In other cases more substantial variation of narrative elements, omissions and expansions included, can be observed. A closer look at these short accounts of Eiríkr Blood-Axe’s Northumbrian experience, may, I hope, teach us something about techniques of saga writing at various levels.

**Session Y6: “England and Scandinavia in the Eleventh Century”**

**Annette Kruhøffer: “Thorkell the Tall”**

This paper focuses on Thorkell the Tall, a controversial person in history. The sources will be reviewed in a critical perspective in an attempt to answer the questions: How much do we know about his life? Can we explain his changes of loyalty between the Danish kings and King Æðelræd? Is it possible to explain why King Cnut entrusted him with great power—seemingly as late as 1023? And may an analysis of Thorkell’s influence on events, especially from 1009 onwards, give new perspectives on the Danish conquest of England and the relationship between England and Denmark?

Information about Thorkell may be found in Scandinavian sources for the period up to the 1009-1012 campaign. After that the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the

*Encomium Emmae* provide the best source-material. According to the Scandinavian sources he belonged to a powerful family from the Eastern part of Denmark. While still a young man he became closely linked to the Jómsvíkingar, who were close allies or even in the service of the Danish King Haraldr. Thorkell and his brother Sigvaldi were said to be among the chieftains who went to Norway in 988 in an unsuccessful attempt to challenge the Norwegian Earl Hákon. The next thing we know about Thorkell is his journey to England in 1009 and the following campaign in the south-eastern part of the country, where after two years of battles, sieges and defeats the English king agreed to make a payment of Danegeld on a hitherto unknown scale. After this peace settlement Thorkell entered the service of King Æðelræd and was apparently loyal to him for some years. Historians have discussed exactly how long Thorkell remained loyal to Æðelræd, and when he changed sides in the English-Danish conflict. The paper discusses the possibility that Thorkell may have married a daughter of Æðelræd in 1012 and stayed loyal to his father-in-law. It also emphasises the fact that he was remarkably passive during Sveinn's conquest of England.

It has been disputed whether he was in Cnut's army from the very beginning of the conquest in 1015, but it remains a fact that he was trusted with the highest position in the king's government and was a substitute for Cnut in 1018-19. Many historians have assumed that Thorkell was too strong for the king to feel comfortable and that there may have been frictions in the relationship between them. It has generally been considered that Cnut was relieved when Thorkell was expelled in 1021. The paper will reopen the discussion on this topic, since it is possible to present another interpretation of the few facts. King Cnut and Thorkell were apparently reconciled in 1023. It is striking that Sweden had acquired a new king shortly before. Unlike his father Oluf, Jacob Anund was not friendly towards Denmark and King Cnut. In this perspective it becomes obvious that Cnut profited from the alliance with Thorkell, who was a strong and efficient leader capable of guarding Denmark for him. It is also clear that this arrangement would not have been an option if Cnut had not trusted his old earl.

### **Bengt Holmström: "Ego Cnuto"—A Winchester Document (1019) with Scandinavian Implications**

This paper will consider the historical significance of WCM 12093, a document which is now among the muniments at Winchester College and which is dated to the first week after Easter in the year 1019. It was promulgated by Cnut as King of England and is accepted as

genuine by Stenton (1955), Finberg (1964) and *Danmarks Riges Breve* (1975).

The document results from a situation which must have caused Cnut some embarrassment, since it seems to expose a previous case of fraud by which he had been deceived. Some land at Drayton (Hampshire) had to be given back to the monks of New Minster, Winchester after a local citizen had asked the King for it and wrongly convinced him that he had the right to dispose of it.

The few years preceding the writing of the document had been a time of war and chaos in England, and Cnut himself had come to power at the head of a Viking army and fleet. Hostilities had not ended until after the death of Edmund Ironside in November 1016, and Cnut had only sent the main part of the fleet back to Denmark in 1018. But despite his Viking origins, this document reinforces the traditional view of Cnut as a pious Christian king who enjoyed the full support of the English church. It begins with an initial monogram of the name of Christ which is six lines high, names Christ, the Saviour and the Trinity in its first line, and does not even mention the King himself until line 5. Even then, his words of praise are directed towards his English subjects rather than himself: he is *Ego Cnuto inclite ac speciosae gentis anglorum regnator basileus* 'I, Cnut, royal ruler of the famous and excellent people of the English'. There seems little doubt that the monks of New Minster must have played a large role in the drafting of the document, though the description of the anonymous fraudster as *adolescens animosus* 'an audacious youth' (l. 10) may suggest that some mercy was also shown to him.

Cnut's mark at the end of the main text is labelled *Ego CNUTO rex anglorum hoc documentum libenti animo concessi atque roboravi* 'I, Cnuto, king of the English, have granted and confirmed this document with a willing mind'. This is followed by the marks of the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the queen, five bishops, six earls (*duces*), five abbots and twelve thegns (*ministri*). The identities of the six earls will be discussed; five of them were members of Cnut's Anglo-Scandinavian entourage, but the last, Regnold, was a Swedish career diplomat, Rögnvaldr Úlfsson, jarl of Vestgötaland. He was probably in England to report to Cnut on the marriage he had helped to negotiate between Óláfr Haraldsson (later St. Óláfr), King of Norway and Ástriðr, daughter of King Óláfr of Sweden. Shortly afterwards, he was to accompany Ástriðr's sister Ingigerðr when she went to marry King Jaroslav of Russia; according to *Heimskringla* (*Óláfs saga helga*, ch. 93) he was then given command of *Aldeigjuborg* (Staraya Ladoga) and remained there for a long time. Despite the embarrassing previous circumstances, therefore, Cnut had assembled the most illustrious list of witnesses to be found in England at the time.



**Bjørn Bandlien (Universitetet i Oslo): “Cultural Contacts between England and Norway after the Conquest”**

In this paper I will discuss the cultural links between Northumbria and Norway in the second half of the eleventh century, with special reference to political, religious and literate exchanges between the two areas. I will argue that these connections were more important than previously presumed. Although there are few contemporary sources for this period of Norwegian history, some English texts can shed light on the relations across the North Sea.

I will concentrate the discussion on three areas. Firstly, the importance of the exile of two sons of Earl Godwin, Skúli and Ketil, in Norway. There has been some discussion about whether these in fact were the sons of Godwin, especially in the case of Ketil, but I argue that there are reasons to believe that they were. I will then discuss the politics of king Óláfr kyrri (1066-1093) in relation to England, and especially his contacts with Northumbria. One of these contacts was Turgot, an Englishman in exile in Norway in the 1070s, and later a monk at the Benedictine congregation in Durham. This exile is mentioned by his contemporary Symeon of Durham, who probably knew Turgot personally. According to Symeon, Turgot taught king Óláfr kyrri to read the Psalms and help the priests during the office.

In this paper, I will also discuss the possibility that Turgot, or one of his contemporary compatriots, introduced a manual for celebration of mass, based on the *Regularis Concordia*, in Norway. Also, together with Skúli Godwinsson, Turgot may have contributed to an early version of a court culture—or at least ideals—in Norway.

Finally, I will discuss the literary relations between Scandinavia and England, with especial attention to the interest in the memory of Saint Waltheof in Norway and the Latin account of Siward and his Scandinavian ancestry. These texts suggest at least some literary exchanges in the late eleventh century across the North Sea. The hints of lively trade relations between England and Norway at this time strengthen the impression of possible cultural exchanges between these two countries, in which Northumbria may have played a key role.

**Plenary 2**

**Marianne Kalinke (U of Illinois): “The Genesis of Fiction in the North”**

In the middle of the twelfth century vernacular fiction was born on the continent. Some scholars have plausibly

argued that fiction arose when authors attempted to fill the lacunae left by historiographers, thereby generating romance from history. The earliest French fiction appears to have been a means of accounting for gaps in Geoffrey of Monmouth’s account of King Arthur in the *Historia regum Britanniae*. Although he provided ample information about Arthur’s conquests of foreign countries, he remained silent concerning the king’s peacetime pursuits. Chrétien de Troyes filled the lacunae in Arthur’s history when he placed the action of his first romance in the historiographically empty period of Arthurian peace. A similar process occurred in mid-twelfth-century German literature, where the earliest vernacular fiction arose from historiography and hagiography.

The fictionalization of the Arthurian matter had already begun in a vernacular version of Geoffrey’s *Historia*, when an anonymous redactor tampered with the story of Uther’s seduction of Igherna, who gives birth to King Arthur. In Geoffrey’s history and its English and French adaptations we hear only the matter-of-fact voice of the chronicler, but in one redaction of the Norse translation, *Breta sögur*, there occurs a narrativization of Igherna’s interaction with Uther that is worthy of Chrétien de Troyes: the author no longer wrote as a chronicler but rather as a romancier who explored motivation and emotional response.

The type of generic shift found in the legend of King Arthur is also evident in indigenous Icelandic literature. For example, in the younger redaction of the ‘Dalafífla þáttur’ of *Gautreks saga* the originally simple folk tale undergoes a narrative transformation as the author explains, interprets, and seeks the cause of the uncanny in the tale. As is the case in historiography, the lacunae in the original ‘Dalafífla þáttur’ are genre-driven, obtaining from a narrative mode, that of the folk tale, which does not explicate the wondrous, the odd, or the marvelous, but simply presents it as a given.

Another example of narrativization, fictionalization, and shift of genre is the ‘Helga þáttur’ of *Hrólfs saga kraka*, whose eponymous protagonist bears a not inconsiderable similarity to King Arthur. Comparison of the account of Hrólfr’s origins in the *Gesta Danorum*, *Ynglinga saga*, and *Skjöldunga saga* with that in *Hrólfs saga kraka* reveals that the crucial facts already existed in historiography. The author of the saga produced fiction in a tragic mode, however, when he filled the lacunae of historiography with motivation, emotional response, and dialogue, and adapted an already existing romance pattern in the service of a tragic tale.

A fictionalization of matter even more drastic than that found in the ‘Helga þáttur’ occurs in the Icelandic legend of Oswald of Northumbria, whose conversion of a pagan king, marriage to his daughter, and death at the



hands of pagan enemies in 642 A.D. is recorded by Bede in the *Historia ecclesiastica*. As Chrétien had done with the Arthurian legend, an anonymous German author filled the gaps in Bede's chronicle; he transformed a brief reference to Oswald's marriage into a bridal-quest narrative. The Icelandic translation of a no longer extant German source, that is *Ósvalds saga*, testifies to the rise of fiction from secular and sacred historiography on the continent and the transformation of chronicle into romance. Vernacular fiction arose somewhat later in the North than in the French and German language areas, yet this occurred through narrative strategies very similar to those on the continent and resulted in generic shifts and transformations.

#### Session D19: "Palaeography and Editing"

##### Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi, Reykjavík): "The Origin of Icelandic Script: Some Remarks"

Iceland and Norway accepted Christianity around the year 1000, and during the following century the new religion and the Christian church took a firm footing. The first bishoprics and monasteries were established in both countries in the latter part of the eleventh century. It seems obvious that writing in the vernacular with Latin script began in these countries in the course of that century, even though there is no reliable documentation before 1117 to prove this. The oldest manuscripts in the vernacular, in both countries, date from the middle or the latter part of the twelfth century. There are fragments in Latin which might be earlier, but since such fragments could have been imported, or written by foreigners who moved to Iceland or to Norway, it is not possible to use them in determining where the knowledge of writing in these countries came from.

Scholars have not been of one mind as to whether the knowledge of writing came to Iceland from mainland Europe (Northern Germany) or from England. There is very little trace of Anglo-Saxon influence in the earliest Icelandic manuscripts, apart from the letter *þ* (thorn), whereas in the earliest Norwegian manuscripts there is stronger Anglo-Saxon influence, namely the Anglo-Saxon letters *ð* (eth), *f*, *v*, *r*. Three of these letters begin to appear in Icelandic manuscripts in the first part of the thirteenth century. As a result, many scholars have maintained that the Icelanders acquired the art of writing Latin script from the mainland, while the Norwegians learned it from the English. In my opinion, two different issues are being confused here: on the one hand the question of when and whence Latin script came to Norway and Iceland, and on the other hand the later stages of its development, including influence

from other cultural areas. Further, not enough attention has been paid to the fact that the speed at which writing changes can vary from country to country.

Very few of the earliest Icelandic manuscripts, and hardly any Norwegian manuscripts, written in Old Norse in the latter part of the twelfth century or around 1200, are written in Carolingian script. The majority are written in Praegothica, which was the principal script used in Norway and Iceland until the second half of the thirteenth century. It is evident to me that Icelanders lagged behind Norwegians in adopting new forms of writing from the south. The Norwegians were first to use Praegothica and to import Anglo-Saxon letters, so the Anglo-Saxon influence could have come through Norway to Iceland rather than from England directly. In the twelfth century Praegothica was the dominant script in England, both in Latin and in the vernacular, although Gothic script spread there during the latter part of that century. Although it is not certain whether Latin script originally came to these Northern countries from the mainland or from England, it is more likely to have come from England; at the very least, Anglo-Saxon influence soon became strong and remained strong for some time.

##### Odd Einar Haugen (U of Bergen): "On the Diplomatic Turn in Editorial Philology"

Manuscripts have been venerated for many centuries. When Johann Gutenberg developed his printing press, his explicit aim was to re-create the hand-written manuscripts of his day, including the large number of variant letter-forms and ligatures. As has often been pointed out, his Bible resembles a contemporary manuscript. In general, new technologies tend to mimic existing technologies, using familiar presentation forms.

A similar approach can be seen in Abraham Farley's usage of "record type" in his edition of the *Domesday Book* (1783). In the context of Old Norse editing, this was taken up by Konráð Gíslason in his remarkable anthology *Um frum-parta íslenzkrar túngu í fornöld* (1846) and by Verner Dahlerup in his edition of *Ágrip* (1880). However, at this time, photographic facsimiles made their entrance, and throughout the nineteenth century most editors seemed to concur with P.A. Munch, who, when planning the *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, distanced himself from the ugly appearance of editions with italicised abbreviations, and even more from contemporary record-type editions.

In the 1980's, advances in computer and font technologies made it possible to reproduce manuscripts with an even higher degree of fidelity than in the record type editions. This was the focus for a heated debate at the Sixth International Saga Conference in Helsingør in

1985, as many saga congress participants will remember. With modern electronic text encoding, e.g. XML (Extensible Markup Language), the amount of paleographical detail that can be rendered in the transcription is in principle limitless, and modern font technology—including emerging “smart fonts”—may lead to what I believe can be understood as a diplomatic turn in editorial philology.

The fact that something is possible does not mean that it should be pursued. I will use this opportunity to discuss the implications of a possible diplomatic turn, basing my discussion on two central, though unrelated dichotomies, the one referring to appearance and logical structure in text encoding theory and the other referring to accidentals and substantives in text critical theory. In conclusion, I would like to suggest a strategy for mediating between the conflicting approaches to textual editing in recent text encoding.

#### Session D28: “Imaginative Pictures of the British Isles”

**Helgi Skúli Kjartansson (Kennaraháskóli Íslands, Reykjavík): “English Models for King Harald Fairhair?”**

This paper presents the hypothesis that the description in *Haralds saga hárfagra* (in *Heimskringla*) of the constitution of the newly unified ninth-century Norway contains certain ideas borrowed from the reality of eleventh century England. In particular, this applies to two items:

The *feudal pyramid*, with the king at its apex, represented by an earl in each shire (*fylki*) who in turn presides over a handful of local chiefs (*hersar*). I suggest that this is derived from the English earldoms as organised by King Canute. While the title of earl (*jarl*) was well-known in Scandinavia, its use for the baronial level of feudal government was a novelty when Canute put his earls in place of the previous *ealdormen*.

The *forfeiture of all freehold land* to the conquering king, which was probably suggested by William the Conqueror’s wholesale confiscation of noble estates and his imposition of Frankish-type feudalism with all land ultimately held of the sovereign. Prior to the Norman Conquest, it would have been far-fetched for a Scandinavian storyteller to imagine anything similar.

Both items, supposedly decreed by King Harald Fairhair for the Norwegian kingdom he was creating by conquest, used to be accepted as historical fact. Later, both came to be regarded as obvious anachronisms, while King Harald himself is now increasingly seen as a character who is more legendary than historical. Saga scholars routinely operate with the possibility of historical tradition incorporating narrative items from a more recent past. The focus has especially been on saga

writers borrowing such items to flesh out their picture of earlier times. However, the same could easily take place in the course of oral transmission. To generalise: the development of any historical tradition, whether purely oral or partly written, should be expected to reflect the circumstances and preoccupations of the period through which it is transmitted.

In the present case, I can not point at any particular text, Latin or Anglo-Saxon, through which the relevant knowledge of English history would have reached the Norse sagamen. Indeed, that knowledge might just as well have reached eleventh century Norway through personal contacts, in time to influence the legend of Harald Fairhair at an early stage of its development.

**Elizabeth Ashman Rowe: “Helpful Danes and Pagan Irishmen: Saga Fantasies of the Viking Age in the British Isles”**

Even the most historically oriented Icelandic sagas are not considered reliable guides to the events of the Viking Age in the British Isles, and the accounts of King Ælla and King Edgar found in highly fictional works as *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar* and *Göngu-Hrólfs saga* are disregarded completely. However, these accounts are worth looking at from a literary-historical perspective. Saga authors writing about the Viking Age in the British Isles do not simply transmit the information that they inherit; they introduce significant changes that in turn are significantly changed by others.

I see four phases of development. First, *Skjöldunga saga* describes a legendary Viking ‘empire’ forged from Denmark and Sweden. Over time, Icelandic writers expanded this empire to include more and more countries, including Northumbria and England. Second, *Heimskringla* continues this historical myth, but because it focuses on the later Vikings Óláfr Tryggvason and Óláfr Haraldsson, it ends up presenting both the cruel invaders of legendary times and the new ‘helpful heroes’ of the Christian era. In addition, *Heimskringla* shows other biases: English kings are noble, and Irish kings are treacherous. The third phase is represented by the *fornaldarsögur* such as *Ragnars saga loðbrókar* that continue the myth of the Viking empire but that also draw on *Heimskringla*. The fourth phase is represented by the *fornaldarsögur* describing the adventures of Scandinavian heroes in the British Isles without explicit reference to the Viking empire. *Gautreks saga*, *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*, *Hálfðanar saga Brönufostra*, *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*, *Hrólfs saga kraka*, *Sörla saga sterka*, and *Örvar-Odds saga* make one significant change in the relative merits of Scandinavian, English, and Irish kings from that in *Heimskringla*. The Irish are still depicted negatively, with one king even being pagan as well as hostile to

the Scandinavians, and in England the visiting Scandinavians are still helpful heroes. Like Óláfr Tryggvason and Óláfr Haraldsson, young royals selflessly serve grateful kings, restoring exiled princes to the throne, organizing the land's defenses, killing local malefactors, solving crimes, and so on, but in these *fornaldarsögur* it is quite clear that the Scandinavians are braver, smarter, more generous, and more honorable than their English counterparts. This sequence of reversals—from the Viking empire's cruel conquerors to *Heimskringla's* helpful Norse heroes and superior English kings to *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar's* superior Scandinavian princes and doddering English rulers—is interesting not only in itself but is also significantly different from what is found in *Landnámabók* and the *Íslendingasögur*, which most frequently depict Viking Age England unheroically, as a center for trade, and Ireland positively, as the origin of many of the first settlers of Iceland.

#### Session D32: “*Heilagra manna sögur: The Fantastic in Lives of Saints*”

**Chiara Benati (Universita Di Genova): “The Fantastic and the Supernatural in the Saga *Ósvalds konungs hins helga*: Patterns and Functions”**

*Ósvalds saga konungs hins helga* is the only Old Norse narrative dedicated to the life and the miracles of the Northumbrian king and martyr Oswald. Mentioned for the first time by Bede in his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, Saint Oswald became the protagonist of a series of texts in Latin, English, and as his cult spread on the Continent, in High German. From here, in the late Middle Ages, this legend came, through North Germany, to Iceland, where it took the form we know from the so-called *Reykjahólabók* (*Codex Stockholmensis* nr. 3).

Like most other hagiographic texts, this saga contains many elements which can be classified as ‘supernatural’, such as the description of the miracles performed by Oswald both during his life and after his death (e.g. the horse that became sick and was healed on the spot where the saint had fallen in battle). But *Ósvalds saga* also presents a large number of fantastic elements, such as, for example, the speaking raven which delivers Oswald's message to the pagan princess he wants to take as his wife. Even though the sudden and miraculous healing of a sick horse and the existence of a speaking raven both require what S. T. Coleridge would have called ‘a willing suspension of disbelief’ and faith in something that cannot be explained rationally, these two sequences have different origins and functions within the narrative.

This paper considers all the elements and narrative sequences which can be classified as supernatural or

fantastic: their different functions will be analysed and evaluated, with particular attention being paid to their origins (i.e. their presence in other texts dedicated to Saint Oswald), and the possible models by which they could have been inspired (e.g. Biblical events or folktales). Once these different patterns of the supernatural and the fantastic have been identified, they will be discussed with special reference to their narrative functions.

#### Session D38: “*Reaching the British Isles*”

**Gísli Sigurðsson (Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi, Reykjavík): “The Mental Map of the British Isles in the Icelandic Sagas”**

In my paper I will discuss the mental map of the British Isles as it is presented in the Icelandic Sagas. I have previously argued that the sagas' mental map of the lands south and west of Greenland corresponds rather well with the general outlines of the east coast of Canada and perhaps even the north-eastern corner of the United States. This I have explained by using one of the social roles of oral storytelling about remote places and voyages to faraway lands, namely that stories inform the audience of the world's geography, that is in which direction people can sail and which features can be expected to be outstanding to the seafarer's eye when he comes up to previously unknown coasts.

One way to experiment with this line of thought is to analyse stories in Iceland about characters who are in or visit the British Isles. Do these stories draw up or reflect a comprehensive mental map of the area and if so, could that map serve as a realistic background for the travels and movements described and thus be of informative value for those who have not visited this part of the world themselves? For this purpose it is irrelevant whether or not the stories reflect a profound knowledge of the historical reality of the British Isles (as Magnús Fjalldal has discussed in a recent work), which narrative function the landscape may have (as Ian Wyatt has written on) or if supernatural phenomena (which belong to the world of fantasy in our thought) play a considerable role in the stories. The important question is whether the stories can be regarded as an encyclopaedic medium of traditional geographical knowledge about the British Isles in the minds of the Icelandic audience.

**Nicole Sterling (U of California, Berkeley): “The North Sea Triangle: Iceland, England, and the Negotiation of Norway in the Sagas”**

The interwoven relationship between Iceland, England and Norway in the sagas is one that involves careful

negotiation. In *Haralds saga hárfagra*, King Haraldr of Norway tricks King Æthelstan of England into fostering his son Hákon. At this point, the narrative of the saga specifically (and very consciously) points out that in such cases of fostering, the man who fosters another man's child is the lesser man. However, the two kings are subsequently carefully balanced when we are further told that neither king lost dignity from this fostering and that each was the best king in his own realm until his dying day. This example illustrates the attentive use of language and narrative that can be quite telling regarding Icelandic attitudes toward Norway.

Icelanders appear in England in several places in the sagas. They are perhaps most clearly visible in *Egils saga* where Egill's interactions with the English are dictated by his fraught relationship with the Norwegian king. A second type of relationship is also visible if we consider Gunnlaugr Serpent-Tongue, the title character of *Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu*, whose support of King Æthelræd against the Danish king during his journey to England not only places him in the court of King Æthelræd, but also situates him firmly on the side of the Norwegians. While the sagas may choose either to support Norway or not, it seems that an implicit understanding of Norwegian affairs underlies Icelandic relations with England in the sagas—Norway mediates the relationship between England and Iceland.

Finally, the way in which Norway informs the Icelandic narratives involving England illustrates two divergent saga trends in dealing with Icelanders abroad. Along with Denmark and Scotland to a large extent, England was an area of intense interest for the Norwegians. When the sagas depict Icelanders visiting these countries, the narratives maintain an interest in Norwegian affairs. This is at odds with Icelanders in Ireland, Wales, France, Sweden, and other countries that less directly fall within the Norwegian realm of interest. These countries seem to be allowed to have more of a direct relationship with Iceland and the Icelanders in the sagas. This paper then proposes to further explore the evolving relationship between Iceland, England, and Norway as exhibited in the sagas as a means of understanding how (and ultimately, why) the Icelanders positioned themselves in regard to Norway, and how sagas involving England play into this narrative interest.

#### **Session D41: "Christian Interpretations of the Supernatural"**

##### **Maria Cristina Lombardi: "The Travel of a Homily in Space and Time"**

My paper aims to point out the relationships between the homily by Ælfric, *De falsis diis*, and its Scandinavian

reworking contained in *Hauksbók*, by analysing and evaluating changes and omissions in the Old Norse text, as well as taking into consideration the different geographical and historical environment. Moreover I wish to compare such differences with those I found in the Anglo-Saxon version of the same homily, contained in MS. Hatton 116, at the Bodleian Library in Oxford, which presents also omissions and shortenings. In this way, possible correspondences can be discovered between different textual strategies and different countries, languages and times.

##### **Donata Kick (U of Durham): "Old Norse Translations of Ælfric's *De Falsis Diis* and *De Auguriis* in *Hauksbók*"**

This paper proposes to revisit two short homiletic pieces in the part of *Hauksbók*, written ca. 1306-08, which is now found in MS. AM 554, 4to. The first piece, entitled *Um þat hvaðan otru hofst*, is a translation of Ælfric's *De falsis diis*; the second, beginning *Hinn helgi byskup*, is based on Ælfric's *De auguriis*. Previous studies by Arnold Taylor and I. Reichborn-Kjennerud have focused on each homily individually and provided evidence that the texts are close translations of the Old English material.

As Jón Helgason states in the introduction to his facsimile edition, there is no reason to assume that the translations were made specifically for insertion into *Hauksbók*. They could be much older. In fact, there are excerpts which exist in other Icelandic manuscripts which pre-date *Hauksbók*. However, while the exact date of the translations is impossible to establish, the presence of two translations of tenth-century Anglo-Saxon homilies in *Hauksbók* is certainly noteworthy and deserves more detailed discussion. It provides evidence for the absorption of foreign material during the early days of Iceland's Christianity and thus for the continuation of the Old English tradition into Old Norse.

The paper will focus not only on the similarities between the translations, but will also investigate how the texts were adapted to fit the specific context of Icelandic, rather than Anglo-Saxon Christianity. The Old English and Old Norse versions treat the themes of false beliefs and superstition in a slightly different way. Ælfric's statement that the Danes were wrong in assuming that Jove/Pórr was the son of Mercury/Óðinn is omitted from the Icelandic version, as is the explanation that Thursday was the day of the week assigned to Pórr. The omission of these specific mentions of the pagan Norse god is noteworthy, but perhaps not entirely surprising, as references to the pagan gods were generally discouraged in a country that had only relatively recently been converted to Christianity.



*The 18th Conference of the Spanish Society for Medieval English (SELIM), University of Málaga, October 5-7, 2006.*

#### Seminar 1: "OE and ME Linguistics I"

**Belén Méndez Naya (U Santiago de Compostela): "On the History of 'Downright'"**

One of the functions of the adverb *right* in Old and Middle English is that of focusing modifier, with the meaning 'exactly, precisely'. As such, it usually collocates with locative and temporal expressions, and can occur before or after its head. Postposition is particularly common with adverbs such as *down*, *anon*, *forth*, *there*, in expressions which sometimes became lexicalized. In the present paper I will pay attention to the history of one of these, namely the adverb *downright*, which originates in a locative expression 'right down, straight down', acquiring in the course of time a degree reading ('completely'), first as a modifier of verbs and later as an adjective modifier, its current function in present-day English (*He is downright rude*). The data for the present study will be drawn from a variety of sources, including the Helsinki Corpus, the Middle English Compendium and the standard historical dictionaries.

#### Seminar 2: "Sociohistorical Approaches"

**Juan Camilo Conde Silvestre and María Dolores Pérez Raja (U Murcia): "Social History, Social Networks and Language Development in the Transition from Old to Middle English"**

The different situations of language contact prevailing in Britain between 900-1150 have often been understood as the crucial stimuli that promoted a number of radical linguistic changes affecting the English language in this period. Among other proposals, the theory of pidginization and the creolization hypothesis (Hines 1981; Thomason & Kaufmann 1988; Poussa 1982) have been posited as possible explanations for the definite actualization and hasty diffusion of changes that were already present in embryonic form in Old English (loss of grammatical gender, simplification of inflections, etc.). Despite the soundness of some of these proposals (or lack thereof) we believe that the application of other theoretical constructs which have proved solid when extended to other languages and periods in the history of English have been neglected. In particular, we understand that social network theory could also be a useful explanation for the accumulation and accelerated spread of some interrelated changes during the above period. In addition to applying the social network construct to

tracing the individual diffusion of changes in progress, James and Lesley Milroy (1985; J.Milroy 1992; L.Milroy & J.Milroy 1992; L.Milroy 2002) have proposed a macro-sociolinguistic use of the concept which entails that certain socio-economic circumstances may favour the dissolution of dense social structures and, as a result, provide the conditions under which linguistic innovations are easily transmitted, namely the increased number of loose-knit networks and the abundance of weak ties between speakers. Historical sociolinguists have made use of these concepts and have reconstructed the external circumstances which could have stimulated the diffusion of innovations via weak ties in loose-knit networks in other periods of the history of English (late Middle and Early Modern English, in particular) (see: Raumolin-Brunberg & Nevalainen 1994; Nevalainen 2000; Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2000; Conde-Silvestre & Hernández-Campoy 2004). In this paper we will examine the socio-economic circumstances of the years 900-1150 which can support the possibility that network theory is another acceptable explanation for the clustering of linguistic changes in the period, namely: the enlargement of rural settlements and the formation of villages, the effects of migrations and invasions, the growth of trade, the fortification of burhs and the development of towns, as well as, in general, the effects of these socio-economic processes on social ranks.

**María Isabel Romero Ruiz (U Málaga): "The Ritual of Death in the Middle Ages"**

The aim of this paper is to show how the ideas about death and the afterlife and the death ritual in the late Middle-Ages worked, which will have a great influence on the funerary practices and beliefs about the soul and its destiny in the Renaissance.

From the eleventh century onwards the individual becomes the essential element and his preparation for death: people were forewarned and the act of dying became a public ceremony. Although death has a regulatory power, social differentiation is maintained, and in the case of the monarchy and the nobility the important thing was the continuity of power.

The church has a fundamental role in all this process: the body was entrusted to it, and the prayers for the dead by the living become another important aspect of the death ritual. What matters is salvation and the individual. The idea of judgement is introduced for the first time in the 13th century, and this will influence the *ars moriendi* of the modern period. Also the belief in the theory of Purgatory is closely connected with the preparation for death and the individual salvation.

New elements like the Confraternities, funerary monuments focused on the individual and his deeds,



wills and epitaphs appear and will show a change in the ideas of people about death and the afterlife throughout the Middle Ages.

#### Seminar 4: “New Readings on *Beowulf*”

**Eugenio Olivares Merino (U Jaén): “‘Beowulfo’, ‘Gothlandia’, ‘Hrōdgar’ and ‘Heoroto’: 70 Years of *Beowulf* in Spain (II)”**

Back in 1934, *Beowulf* entered the Spanish editorial world. Manuel Vallvé published in Barcelona a retelling of this Old English poem not intending it for scholars or professors, but rather for children. Ever since then, several translations, both partial and complete, as well as a second version for kids, have been produced in Spain.

This paper is a continuation of the one I presented at the SELIM 2005 Conference (Vigo) and reviews all the translations of the referred poem published since the 70s, what I call the “Beowulfs of Democracy.” All these texts are clear indicators of the evolution of Medieval English studies in Spain and provide useful insights into the socio-historical background in which they were written.

**Jorge Luis Bueno Alonso (U Vigo): “*Leodum liðost ond lofgeornost: Beowulf’s Epic Poetry Through Graphic Novels*”**

Even the imaginary oral versions of *Beowulf* are only versions, and every version is provisional, a negotiated compromise between a past and a present situation, a retelling of an old story for a new audience.

—R. M. Liuzza (2002)

The new formats we have nowadays for the transmission of knowledge (Eco 2006) are heavily modifying our relationship with the products of our culture. They also give us new possibilities to deal with literary texts, which constitute a very important step in the transmission of medieval literature through popular culture. As Richard K. Emmerson (2002: 27) suggested, we medievalists should perform our duty as leading promoters of the contents of medieval literature and “become involved in such popular representations of things ‘medieval’ and make use of them to direct the interests of students and the general public towards a more complex and sophisticated understanding of the Middle Ages.”

In its age, *Beowulf* entertained the audience of the meadhall. It was the bestseller of the day, the successful potboiler movie of Anglo-Saxon England. In our time its story of men and monsters has again attracted the attention of many talented graphic and visual artists that want to put the *Beowulf* tale back in its oral context,

though these days that context belongs to the new visual orality of our early 21st century mass culture. One of those artists, Gareth Hinds (2003), has faithfully followed the narrative content of *Beowulf* in his graphic novel *The Collected Beowulf*, a very interesting case of adaptation. The main aim of this paper is to analyse the three features that turn this adaptation into the best graphic version published up till now: a) the text used in its narrative script; b) its narrative structure and plot development; and c) its conceptual design. If we relate these aspects to the structure of *Beowulf* as a literary text, we’ll see how these new formats—out of which graphic novels constitute outstanding examples—maintain the new generations’ interest in old literary texts and serve as proper vehicles to carry out that “retelling of an old story for a new audience.”

**María José Gómez Calderón (U Sevilla): “Transgendering Heroism: Screening the Germanic Middle Ages for TV”**

The *OED* definitions for the verb *screen* render it, among other meanings, as both “to shut off by something interposed” and “to exhibit as a production for the cinema or television.” It is precisely the combination of these two actions that best explains the exploitation of the Germanic Middle Ages by television. Within the theoretical frame of medievalist studies, this paper explores the particular revisiting of two poetic masterpieces, the Anglo-Saxon *Beowulf* and the German *Nibelungenlied*, by two successful series worldwide as *Star Trek* and *Xena, Princess Warrior*. Their different approaches to the central question of heroism in the light of contemporary gender issues provide a suitable ground for the discussion of how postmodern popular culture addresses and challenges such a “high-culture product” as the medieval epic genre.

#### Seminar 5: “Historical Corpus Linguistics”

**Javier Martín Arista (U La Rioja): “Theoretical and Methodological Underpinnings for the Development of a Lexical Database of Old English Derivation and Compounding”**

This paper raises the theoretical and methodological questions prior to the development of a lexical database of Old English derivation and compounding. As regards theory, a proposal is made that integrates the tradition of word syntax (Baker 1988, 2003; Lieber 1992, 2004; Selkirk 1982) into the functional-structural framework of Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997, Van Valin 2005). Regarding methodology, the issues on which choices are made include the corpus

selection, the choice of syntagmatic/paradigmatic orientation, the organization of the lexicon, the isolation of synchronic morphology, categorization, and recursiveness. To round off, a brief presentation is made of *Nerthus: An Online Lexical Database of Old English* (Martín Arista et al.).

**Javier Enrique Díaz Vera (U Castilla-La Mancha): “Notes on the Interplay between Visual and Verbal Metaphor in Medieval English Manuscripts”**

In this paper I will seek to contrast two ways in which cultural metaphors can be analysed through medieval texts: (i) linguistic metaphors, with special attention to their role as factors of semantic change; and (ii) visual metaphors as illustrated in the existing body of medieval illuminated manuscripts. Special attention will be paid to the visual and verbal representations of the well-known mind-as-body metaphor. More exactly, I will try to explain the metaphorical nature of the connection between Old English verbs of TACTILE PERCEPTION (*to touch*) and Old English verbs of MEMORY (*to remember*) and its pervasiveness in Anglo-Saxon and medieval English cultural knowledge.

**Seminar 6: “Literary Masterworks I: New Readings”**

**Mary Rambaran-Olm (U Glasgow): “Is the Title of the Old English Poem *Descent into Hell* Suitable?”**

The Old English poem *Descent into Hell* of the Exeter Book has been underrated and misjudged by many critics. While William Mackie claims that the poem is nothing more than “incoherent babbling” and T.A. Shippey describes the poem as somewhat clumsy and confusing, these views are unjustified since they are based on a misunderstanding of the poem in its entirety. Although it is true that the folios containing the poem are seriously damaged and a series of lines from two of the three folios have lacunae large enough to challenge a completely accurate reading, enough of the poem is legible to obtain a clear vision of the main theme, while also revealing the poet’s cleverness to get to the core of a Christian doctrine quickly and economically. Be that as it may, whether remarks about the poem have been off-putting, constructive or indifferent, a more critical matter has, for the most part, gone overlooked, although the issue is seemingly obvious. *Descent into Hell* has been the universally accepted title to describe the poem preserved on folios 119b-121b of the Exeter Book, yet the title is no more suitable than its predecessor ‘The Harrowing of Hell.’

This paper will examine the accepted title of the poem *Descent into Hell*, outline why it is still unsuitable,

since it is partly based on misunderstanding, and recommend titles that would be more appropriate for the poem.

**Carmen Lara Rallo (U Málaga): “Revisiting Medieval Literature in Contemporary Fiction: The Presence of Intertexts from the Middle Ages in A.S. Byatt’s Writings”**

When in her latest novel, *A Whistling Woman* (2002), A.S. Byatt describes one of the characters’ reading of Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica*, she develops an intertextual link with medieval literature that is very significant from two perspectives. On the one hand, the passage from Bede’s history that the character finds “touching” is the same one that anticipates the death of one of the central figures of Byatt’s quartet in *Still Life*, thus inviting readers to assess the import of the intertextual embedding of Bede’s work for the overall meaning and structure of her roman fleuve. On the other hand, the connection with the *Historia Ecclesiastica* emerges as a telling instance of the pervasive presence of echoes from English literature of the Middle Ages in different points of Byatt’s tetralogy, which can be traced as well in other writings such as her early novel *The Game*—which enters into an enriching dialogue with the Arthurian tradition, and with Malory’s *Morte Darthur* in particular—and her novella *The Djinn in the Nightingale’s Eye*, where one of the main intertexts is the story of Patient Griselda from Chaucer’s “The Clerk’s Tale.” In the light of this, the present paper aims at analysing how Byatt revisits medieval literature in her works by means of intertextuality, focusing both on the web of connections woven in the course of her writing career, and on the centrality of the echoes from Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica* among the multiple links developed in her quartet.

**Seminar 7: “Languages in Contact”**

**Andrew Breeze (U Navarra): “The Name of Romney, Kent”**

Romney, on Romney Marsh, is one of the Cinque Ports, though it is now a mile from the sea. Its name has been of obscure derivation, but may be a borrowing from Latin *rumen* ‘gullet’ (applied to the inlet or channel of water on which it once stood) plus Old English *ea* ‘river’. If so, this would cast light on the importance of the site in Roman times, and its continuing significance into the Anglo-Saxon period and later Middle Ages.

**Seminar 9: “Philological Approaches to Old and Middle English Texts”**

**Trinidad Guzmán González (U León): “Deconstructing *Beowulf*: Towards a New and Extended Concept of Philological Analysis of Texts”**

This paper explores the possibility of expanding the limits of what is generally labelled in university syllabuses as “philological analysis/commentary of texts” (Spanish “*comentario /análisis filológico de textos*”). The incorporation of elements from various fields (pragmatics, text linguistics, ecdotics, historical linguistics, translation studies, etc.) to the approach traditionally adopted in Spanish studies (Lapesa, Marcos Marín, and more recently Cano Aguilar) leads inevitably to a perception of this kind of activity as a global analysis of a text.

The discussion is illustrated by an analysis (an outline) of lines 1408-1421 of *Beowulf*, for which just a few crucial issues of a prospective complete philological analysis have been selected.

**Seminar 11: “OE & ME Linguistics II”**

**Isabel de la Cruz Cabanillas (U Alcalá de Henares): “Semantic Primes in Old English: A Preliminary Study of Descriptors”**

The aim of this paper is to apply the methodology of semantic primes by Goddard and Wierzbicka to Old English in order to check whether it represents a suitable theoretical and methodological framework for the lexical and semantic study of this period. This constitutes a preliminary analysis of the semantic primes grouped as Descriptors: BIG/SMALL. The group is discussed taking into account a sample of texts provided by *The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts*. As the research is still in progress, we may realize the implications are too far reaching for a single publication, but the presentation attempts at being just a first approach to the topic, which will be further developed as the corpus to be analysed is enlarged through the information contained in *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus*. The main sources of information on Old English definitions are *The Oxford English Dictionary* (online version), *Wordcraft*, *Wordhoard* and *Wordlists*, *Concise New English to Old English Dictionary and Thesaurus* by Pollington, *A Thesaurus of Old English* by Roberts and Kay, and *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* by Clark Hall.

**Alejandro Alcaraz Sintés (U Jaén): “Old English Ditransitive Adjectives”**

This paper describes Old English ditransitive adjectives, that is, adjectives which may be considered as three-argument predicates. One argument is AFFECTED or AGENTIVE, realized as a nominative NP functioning

as clause subject. A second argument is realized as a dative NP or a PrepP complement with a personal or non-personal referent, conveying the semantic notions of AFFECTED or EFFECTED, respectively. The third argument, EFFECTED or CAUSE, is either a complement realized by either genitive NP with an inanimate abstract referent or a clause. The number of OE ditransitive adjectives is small, as is also the case in PDE, and they denote such concepts as “gratitude,” “generosity,” “guilt,” “worth,” “profit,” and “similarity”: *þancful*, *þancol*, *este*, *scyldig*, *weorþ*, *gelic*, etc.

A distinction is drawn between these real ditransitive adjectives, whose meaning would be incomplete without the two complements, and the following: a) adjectives with two arguments, one of which may materialize either as a genitive NP or clausal complement; b) adjectives which happen to be used with a PP or NP structure which can be considered as a locative adjunct; and c) adjectives complemented by a non-finite clause whose AGENT argument is realized as a dative NP complement of the head adjective.

The study gives a full account of all such adjectives and of their occurrences in the *DOEC*. It also contains a proposal for encoding this grammatical and semantic information, as well as collocational patterns, in a lexicon of adjective complementation.

**Inmaculada Senra Silva (U Nacional de Educación a Distancia): “On the Language and Formulae of Anglo-Saxon Runic and Non-Runic Inscriptions”**

In this presentation I focus on the Old English period for which epigraphic material has been preserved. The aim of this paper is twofold: firstly, to establish a comparison between the language of Northumbrian and West-Saxon as reflected in the extant runic and non-runic inscriptions. A number of features corresponding to the different linguistic levels will be investigated. Secondly, to analyse the layout and the formulaic structures of the inscriptions. This work fills a gap in Old English research, since the Anglo-Saxon epigraphical material has not been adequately described thus far.

**Seminar 13: “Literary Masterworks III: Early Texts”**

**Antonio Bravo García (U Oviedo): “The *Old English Creed* (Junius 121) as a Concept of Faith and Order in Anglo-Saxon England”**

In Bodleian MS Junius 121 we have some religious texts which were compiled and copied at Worcester about 1050. Among these texts we find a poetical work which has come to be called the Old English Poetical Creed. It is known that Christian creeds are authorised

formulations of Christian doctrine and were used as part of the liturgical office and of the service of the baptism. The Old English poetical creed presents a Latin version enlarged upon to the extent of fifty-eight lines in Old English, introducing homiletic material. This poetical creed represents a concept of faith, and the expanded version in metrical lines is used to “docere et delectare” the “simple” (simplices) or “lesser” (minores) people. This fact implies a low state among most people in Anglo-Saxon Christendom. But, on the other hand, the presence of the Latin version reflects the attitude of the intellectually trained, the ecclesiastically ordained and the socially privileged. Taking into account this fact, we can interpret the Old English poetical Creed (Junius 121) as a concept of social order.

#### Seminar 14: “Feminist Readings”

**Dolores Fernández Martínez (U Las Palmas de Gran Canaria): “A Critical Approach to Genre in the Preface to the *Pastoral Care*”**

Assuming the flexibility of systemic grammar in the study of Old English, Martin’s (1992) notion of genre as a semiotic system superordinate to register is employed in order to formulate the schematic structure of the *Preface to the Pastoral Care* (PPC) through the four stages of Contact, Impediment, Desideratum and Arrangement. The aim of this paper is to show how these structures are captured by linguistic behaviours via register and how the strategic dynamic they generate helps to naturalize the religious and didactic purpose of the preface. The denaturalization process defended from a critical perspective unveils the way in which genre operates to transform the persuasive nature of the PPC into common-sense assumptions that craft a new Anglo-Saxon reader within the framework of an extralinguistic reality dominated by the control of the Christian institution and its relationship to issues of social inequality.

**Carmen Maíz Arévalo (U Complutense): “We, Women and Wives: Towards an Etymological and Diachronic Analysis of Two Core English Words”**

In recent years, etymology and linguistic change have been slightly neglected in favour of new approaches to language. However, both etymology and diachrony can be useful tools when accounting for certain social roles such as the role of women. This paper is aimed at analysing the terms “wife” and “woman” from an etymological and diachronic point of view by means of examples spanning from Old English to our present days. The analysis reveals how language has helped diminish women’s social role throughout history.

*The 32nd Annual Meeting of the Southeastern Medieval Association, “Beginnings and Endings,” The University of Mississippi, Oxford, Mississippi, October 12-14, 2006.*

#### Session 3: “Anglo-Saxon Religious Themes”

**Andrew Rabin (U of Louisville): “Testimony and Conversion in Anglo-Saxon England: The Reader, the Narrator, and the Witness in Bede’s *Historia ecclesiastica*”**

Perhaps the most important transitional moment recognized by medieval culture was that of conversion. Focusing on the work of the Venerable Bede, this talk examines the intersection between understandings of testimony and conversion in early Anglo-Saxon England. Specifically, I consider how a rhetoric of witnessing frames the written text, not merely as record of conversion, but as itself a means of conversion.

Many of the conversion narratives in Bede’s *Historia ecclesiastica* present conversion as the result of witnessing a miraculous event. Significantly, one of these—the narrative of Drythelm’s dream—also provides one of Bede’s most extensive consideration of the role witnessing and testimony play in the formation of Christian identity. Structured around Drythelm’s own first-person account and the varied responses of those to whom he tells his vision, the narrative takes as its theme the individual and subjective nature of the witnessing experience. The negotiation between these different testimonies implicates the reader as himself a witness to the events described in the text. Understanding Bede’s text requires the reader to witness its events, not just as historian or Englishman, but as a converted Christian subject. Reading the narrative in this fashion allows us to complicate the traditional picture of Bede as solely an “objective” historian and understand how testimonial accounts contributed to the understanding of Christian identity in pre-Conquest England.

**Teresa Hooper (University of Tennessee): “‘Bad’ Philology and Interpretation in the Medieval Phoenix Tradition”**

An interesting side note to the OE *Phoenix* is that the Christian understanding of the Phoenix legend has been heavily influenced by deliberate mistranslation; Latin authors often took the word *phoinix* out of context or invented new etymologies as they searched for Scriptural affirmation for their ideas. The tradition apparently starts with Tertullian’s misuse of Psalm 91:12 and continues through to Gregory the Great’s *Commentaria in Job*; it even shows up in the *Carmen de Ave Phoenix*, which is not overtly Christian but nevertheless shows a



strong interest in the same etymologies. The OE *Phoenix* author seems acutely aware of this tradition, both in his paraphrase of Job 29:18 and awareness of other definitions for *phoinix*. This ongoing tradition of mistranslation, perhaps, can illustrate how the average medieval reader/author would have approached the Bible; what we would today call bad philology would have been, at this time, an approved exegesis of the Scriptures.

This paper is largely intended to be an attempt to “read” some of the Latin source texts through this lens, highlighting places which the OE *Phoenix* author and others may have derived some of their interpretation simply by following in Tertullian’s interpretive footsteps regarding the Book of Isaiah. While the approach is highly speculative, the exercise is intended to explore firsthand the medieval practices of associative thinking and etymologically driven interpretation of a specific topic in order to understand how much more creative and open-ended their process of interpretation was from our own.

**Johanna Kramer (U of Missouri-Columbia): “Þes Hælend þe nu up from eow astag, he eft cymeþ on domes dæg”—Judgment Day and the Ascension of Christ in Old English Literature”**

This paper examines the treatment of the theme of Judgment in three Anglo-Saxon narratives concerning Christ’s Ascension: Cynewulf’s *Christ II* and the homilies Blickling XI and Tristram III. While other Ascension narratives include, at most, passing references to the Judgment (e.g., Bede’s *Hymn* or Ælfric’s homily), these three texts incorporate more elaborate passages (the signs of Doomsday in Blickling, a vision of hell in Tristram, and Cynewulf’s final Judgment scene). Even though the Ascension and the Judgment are associated scripturally and doctrinally, scholarship has failed to discuss convincingly these authors’ reasons for and ways of treating the two events in conjunction with each other. This paper argues that, despite previous claims of disunity, these texts’ Judgment passages cohere thematically and structurally with the larger narratives.

Cynewulf’s inclusion of the Judgment is typically attributed to his desire to elicit prayers for his soul, since the passage includes his runic signature, but this fails to elucidate the scene’s connection to the poem as a whole. Cynewulf elaborates the Judgment for a number of reasons. For instance, one theme permeating the poem is the hortatory encouragement of the imitation of Christ. Cynewulf specifically invokes this encouragement when he prefaces the Judgment scene with the battle that each Christian fights daily, a battle that can be read parallel to the one fought by Christ during the Harrowing of Hell earlier in the poem. Thus, each Christian struggles

in imitation of Christ to escape punishment at Judgment and to ascend with (and like) Christ to heaven.

#### **Session 8: “Designing Images”**

**Helen T. Bennett (Eastern Kentucky U): “The Postmodern Hall in *Beowulf*: Endings Embedded in Beginnings”**

I intend to explore *Beowulf*’s postmodernism—in terms of the poem’s themes and various critical approaches applied to the poem—through a very specific focus on the hall. The hall is a socially constructed space with socially constructed significance, as it is the scene for ceremonial occasions that reinforce social bonds among members of society. Yet, on levels ranging from language to culture to archaeology to literary and historical wish-fulfillment, the hall in *Beowulf* undermines its own process of meaning-making even as it helps define and enrich the themes of the poem.

Critics from all theoretical schools “appropriate” the scene in which Heorot is conceived, constructed, and celebrated in a song of creation. The more traditional position is to see this sequence of activities as a tragic, yet triumphant meaning-making moment, the attempt of human (male) society to impose on nature an order that in some way reflects the order God has created in the world. Contemporary critical positions have involved questioning the agenda behind the “nation-building” that both Heorot and the story of its construction represent, as well highlighting the predicted destruction of the hall even at the moment of its greatest stability.

Furthermore, Heorot is not the only hall in *Beowulf*, nor are man-made large communal buildings the only structures called hall, all of which contribute to an undermining of structure and univocal meaning in the poem: Hygelac’s hall, Beowulf’s hall (not mentioned in the poem until the dragon destroys it), Grendel’s mere, and the dragon’s barrow all challenge the idea of creating structures that carry meaning in the poem.

Contextually, Anglo-Saxonists traditionally look to archaeology for confirmation of the factuality or historical realism of Heorot, yet archaeological sites are themselves texts that must be (re)constructed and interpreted. And many of those same archaeological sites in turn look to descriptions in *Beowulf* to complete the reconstruction of the hall, creating an endless cycle of empty signifiers, much like Heorot after years of Grendel’s attacks.

#### **Session 9: “Art History II”**

**Jennifer Stalec (Loyola U Chicago): “The Sharp End Points Down: Knife Deposition and Meaning in Anglo-Saxon Burials”**



From fifth- through late seventh-century England, one of the primary characteristics of burials was the extensive usage of grave goods. To the modern researcher's eyes, many of these goods seem to be associated with the individual's supposed sex, for instance, women were identified with jewelry and men with weaponry. Yet neither the most ornate jewelry nor weapons are found in a large number of burials on individual sites. Elaborate brooches or swords may, for example, only be found in a select group of female or male burials. Female or male burials that contain goods typically associated with the opposite gender are rare. In addition, graves of children or elderly adults generally do not contain the same types of goods that adolescents and younger adults do. However, one of the most common grave goods, the knife, crosses both the gender and age divide. Of the thousands of excavated graves of this period examined in this paper, nearly half contained knives. Although knives are common objects, this need not imply that they cannot be used to indicate something important about the individual with whom they are associated.

The goal of this paper is to determine the extent to which knives can be considered indicators of an individual's position in the community. I will attempt to explore this by first considering age, social status, position of grave goods, and gender to see what patterns can be ascertained in the distribution of knives, then by considering the characteristics of the knives themselves.

**Robert D. Stevick (U of Washington): "The Beginnings of Perfect Coherence of Form in Insular Arts"**

A hallmark of the best Insular art is a perfect coherence in the formal plan of a piece, whether that piece is a carpet page in the Kells or Lindisfarne Gospels, an Anglo-Saxon long poem, the Tara or Hunterston Brooch, a sculptured 'Celtic' cross in Ireland or Pictland. I dealt at length with the first two kinds of artefacts in *The Earliest Irish and English Bookarts*. In the dozen years since that book I have turned up dozens more examples in stone and metal arts, chiefly in western areas of the Insular community. With a trait found in such diverse art forms, for so long a time, we can't but wonder what were its beginnings. That is the focus of this paper.

**Session 10: "Old English to Middle English"**

**M. Leigh Harrison (Cornell U): "Nationalism, Mysticism, and 'the Continuity of English Prose': The History of an Illusion"**

The end of Old English and the beginning of literary culture in Middle English is often thought to be the "Norman Conquest" of the mid-eleventh century, whose

supposedly deleterious effects on English language and literature were roundly decried by nineteenth- and early twentieth-century English scholars. Such scholars nonetheless wrote confidently that the *spirit* of English speech and writing had survived into later centuries, creating what the influential R.W. Chambers would famously call "the continuity of English prose." But what does "the continuity of English prose" concretely refer to? Can we speak of any continuity at all, or rigidly differentiate between poetry and prose?

This essay examines the history of English prose continuity as the history of an illusion. As a corrective to "the continuity of English prose," it counters the attempts of Chambers *et al.* to make a coherent narrative from pre- and post-Conquest literature with much more recent considerations of eleventh- to thirteenth-century English prosodological and genre boundaries. The later history of Old English literature stems from homilies rather than in heroic poetry or the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, it seems clear, although English didactic literature of the thirteenth century depends far more on its multilingual context than early scholarship desired to allow. Many of the notable similarities between Old and early Middle English literature stem more from a continuity of content, especially the popularity of homiletically transmitted mystical ideals such as *contemptus mundi*, rather than the "spirit" of English prose.

**Sharon M. Rowley (Christopher Newport U): "Medieval Use-signs in the Manuscripts of the Old English Version of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*"**

The Old English version of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* (c. 870-900) survives in five manuscripts, all of which have been annotated and show signs of use ranging from their creation until the Renaissance. Although some of these use signs have been studied in individual manuscripts, they have never been studied comparatively. This essay explores how these interventions demonstrate readerly interest in different historical moments and figures, and how such annotations shed light on the uses of the manuscript texts of the OEB during and after the Anglo-Saxon period. My examination of the medieval use signs, in the context of the differences between the OEB and the HE, suggests that these MSS were used in a variety of ways, including use as a corpus of vernacular local saints' stories intended for refectory readings or a vernacular office. Furthermore, because the use signs extend into the 14th century—a time when knowledge of Old English as a language is generally agreed to have been limited—the implications of this study also contribute to our understanding of the uses of Old English manuscripts and texts in the post-Conquest era.

**Session 16: "Law, Literature, and History"****Michael P. McGlynn (Wichita State U): "Dispute Settlement in the Finn Episode of *Beowulf*"**

The Finn episode in *Beowulf* encapsulates the idealized poetic vision of dispute settlement that is typical in OE, OS, OI, and OHG heroic poetry. In this paper, I will elucidate the legal culture underlying the Finn episode using legal anthropology and by making comparisons to Anglo-Saxon legal documents (charters and law codes). What information the Finn episode does provide about dispute settlement is highly valuable, since we have no direct testimony of dispute settlement in Anglo-Saxon society. The Finn episode portrays a violent dispute between two parties which is settled in front of arbitrators by means of the ritualized exchange of goods, people and promises. Although poetry like the Finn episode does not provide a great deal of information about the specific legal procedure of dispute settlement due to its generic limitations, the episode does provide information about the values of dispute and conflict that were promoted among at least one sector of Anglo-Saxon society. Stories of conflict likely served several social functions in Anglo-Saxon society: they might have provided material for case law, and they might have constituted a diversionary activity, preventing violence. Moreover, despite the stylized lexicon and fixed poetics of the Finn episode, it does have some procedural parallels with Anglo-Saxon legal documents, making it rich not only for literary history but also for legal history.

**Daniel O'Gorman (Loyola U Chicago): "Except in Treachery against his Lord": The Evolution of Legislative and Literary Treatments of Regicide in Later Anglo-Saxon England"**

The annals of Anglo-Saxon England are strewn with the murdered bodies of its kings and princes. From Oswine of Northumbria in 651 to Alfred Atheling in 1036, such killings often provoked shock and horror from commentators, and many of the victims were subsequently venerated as saints. Over time, the sense that royal murder was a particularly abhorrent act began to be echoed in various law codes.

It seems axiomatic that kings who promulgate laws would take special care to legislate for the inviolability of their own persons. Yet narrow self interest fails to explain 1) why there were no prohibitions against regicide in the first two centuries of Anglo-Saxon legislation, 2) why the first such prohibitions were introduced by continental ecclesiastics, 3) why the justification for such prohibitions took the form(s) that it did, and 4) whether non-royals expressed similar concerns about the killing of kings.

This paper is designed to examine the origins of the explicit prohibitions against regicide; to evaluate both the justifications and the language used in the later statutes that treat regicide; and to compare these statutes, and the ideals they represent, with literature that addresses the two most notorious instances of English royal murder in the tenth and the eleventh centuries. Finally, a determination will be made as to whether there is a coherent political ideology on the question of regicide in later Anglo-Saxon England, or if the various law codes and texts represent uneven and irreconcilable positions.

**Session 20: "History of Anglo-Saxon Scholarship"****Carl T. Berkhout (U of Arizona): "Laurence Nowell and the Anglo-Saxon Laws of King Ine"**

A newly identified manuscript text with a facing translation of the Anglo-Saxon laws of King Ine by the Elizabethan antiquary Laurence Nowell advances still further our knowledge of the transmission of England's earliest laws. This handsome manuscript, in a private collection in London, is a companion to Nowell's text and translation of the laws of King Alfred in the Henry Davis collection in the British Library. Together these two long dormant manuscripts stand apart from Nowell's other legal transcripts, recalling the original association between the laws of Alfred and those of his predecessor Ine and revealing Nowell at work, for better or for worse, in attempting the first critical edition of Old English texts. The Ine manuscript also reveals a less edifying feature of Nowell's labors. Three of its laws are forgeries.

**Dabney A. Bankert (James Madison U): "Benjamin Thorpe's Influence on Joseph Bosworth's *A Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language*"**

Benjamin Thorpe was one of the most prolific of the early nineteenth-century British Anglo-Saxon scholars; he edited and translated well over a dozen Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse/Iceland texts during his lifetime. One of the unwritten chapters of Thorpe's career is the influence of his scholarship on Joseph Bosworth's 1838 *A Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language*. This relationship is not well documented; no letters between the two men appear to survive, even though Bosworth routinely preserved his correspondence. The evidence that survives, however (inscriptions; references in letters, manuscripts, and printed editions; annotations in Bosworth's copies of Thorpe's editions, etc.), attests to a protracted and productive scholarly relationship. And after Thorpe's death, his widow, Mary Ann, turned to

Bosworth for help disposing of her husband's unfinished manuscripts. Dictionary manuscripts and Bosworth's annotated copies of Thorpe's editions reveal the extent to which Bosworth drew on Thorpe's work for the compilation of the 1838 dictionary and for the revision he never completed. Glossaries to Thorpe's *The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Story of Apollonius of Tyre*, *Cædmon's Metrical Paraphrase of Parts of the Holy Scriptures*, *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*, and his translation of Erasmus Rask's *Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Tongue* were all mined extensively for words, definitions, and etymologies. Indeed, Thorpe's contributions to the dictionary project appear to have outweighed those of all his contemporaries. In this paper, I will summarize the evidence for this important scholarly collaboration with particular attention to the significance of Thorpe's role in the compilation of Bosworth's *Dictionary*.

**John D. Niles (U of Wisconsin): "Lejre and the Skjöldungs: The Rise and Fall of a Modern Myth"**

In 1643, the Danish antiquarian scholar Ole Worm published an influential perspective view of the monuments at Lejre, on the island of Zealand—a place that is of special interest to *Beowulf* scholars since a number of medieval chroniclers and saga writers identify Lejre as the seat of power of the Skjöldung kings, who are the Scyldings of *Beowulf*. In order to "read" the landscape at Lejre, Worm drew on the best sources available to him, including Saxo Grammaticus' *Gesta Danorum*. He thereby started a trend of mythologizing the landscape at Lejre that in subsequent years was to be carried forward, step by step, by a number of other leading intellectuals. According to this myth, some of the most distinguished early kings of Denmark had been interred in mounds that were still to be seen at Lejre. Moreover, pagan sacrifices of the greatest solemnity, dedicated to the ancient Germanic goddess Nerthus mentioned by Tacitus (reinterpreted as "Herthus" or "Hertha"), had been conducted at the valley named *Hertadal* near Lejre. When the first modern edition of *Beowulf* was published by Grímur Thorkelin in 1815, this myth was at the height of its influence, so that when translating the hall-name *Heorot* into Latin, Thorkelin called it the hall of *Herta* (Lat. *Hertæ*). It was not long, however, until the archaeologist J.A.A. Worsaae pulled the rug out from under this tower of pseudo-science by showing, in 1843, that several of the monuments that had become firmly associated with the Skjöldung kings actually dated from the Neolithic period.

This paper tells the story of the rise and fall of the "myth of Lejre" in modern times.

**Session 23: "Body Barter"**

**Karma deGruy (U of South Alabama): "Symbolic Exchange and Monstrous Appetites in *Beowulf*"**

Seth Lerer, in his 1994 article "Grendel's Glove," has argued that "*Beowulf* is in many ways a poem of the body." The circulation of bodies between mead-halls and kinship groups—in the forms of wives, foster-children, heroes, and corpses—is integral to the maintenance of the social order in *Beowulf*. However, I would argue that *Beowulf* is more a poem of body parts. The poem's emphasis on dismemberment and fleshly fragments, such as Grendel's arm, his mother's head, or Æschere's mangled corpse, is emblematic of tensions relating to heroic identity, the maintenance of the comitatus, and the dangers of monstrous appetites in a society of hospitality and gift-giving.

I am interested in exploring *Beowulf*'s relationship with the symbolic currencies operating in the gift-exchange economy of the poem, such as gold, swords, rings, and, not least of all, bodies. William Ian Miller's "Gift, Sale, Payment, Raid: Case Studies in the Negotiation and Classification of Exchange in Medieval Iceland" has proved a productive starting point for my analysis. I will argue that *Beowulf* has an unusual relationship with all of these media of exchange, and that perhaps he trades most comfortably with bodies when they are in pieces. It is in *Beowulf*'s relationship with the body and its fragments, and the questions it raises of the social problems of consumption and cannibalism, that his brushes with the monstrous threaten the stability of both the heroic identity and the workings of the comitatus.

**Session 24: "Leveraging the Spiritual"**

**Christopher M. Cain (Towson U): "An Early Christian Apocryphal Text in Anglo-Saxon England"**

While medievalists often focus their attention on the indeterminacies of locating the end of the Middle Ages, the equally blurry line marking the beginning of the period also offers instruction on the fiction of convenient book-end dating. The centrality of the writings of the Church Fathers in medieval hermeneutics most readily illuminates a distinct continuity between an "earlier" and a "later" Middle Ages, but many "minor" early Christian texts mark significant extensions across traditional boundaries of both chronology and geography. One such text is the apocryphal correspondence of Jesus and King Abgar of Edessa. This paper examines the survival, transmission, and uses of Jesus' epistle to Abgar in Anglo-Saxon England. Although this minor apocryphal text has received very little attention from scholars of the Anglo-Saxon period, careful consideration

of it reifies aspects of private devotion and literacy in the period. Specifically, as I demonstrate in this paper, the manuscript contexts of surviving copies in Anglo-Saxon England make clear that it was used for private devotion certainly among clerics and probably among laypersons. Its possible use among laypersons throws some light on lay literacy and on popular medieval conceptualizations of written texts, since Jesus' letter to Abgar seems to have been used for amuletic purposes—that is, possession of the letter conferred special protections on its owner, very much as belief in the efficacy of saints' relics widely obtained. Indeed, as one Anglo-Saxon copy of the letter demonstrates, the transmission of this text partly coalesced with litanies of the saints and may be responsible, as I suggest, for its continued use throughout the Middle Ages.

#### **Session 25: "Tenth-Century Anglo-Saxon History"**

##### **Patrick W. Conner (West Virginia U): "Documenting Vernacular Performance in the Anglo-Saxon Parish Guild Banquets"**

Recently, I have been working on the institutional history of the confraternal parish guilds in Anglo-Saxon England, and I believe that I can connect a network of these guilds in southwest England within a range of fifty miles or so from Exeter, because they have left behind lists of members and—in two cases—the statutes by which they operated. Moreover, and in response to the conference theme, "Beginnings and Endings," Guilds are not generally considered to have been a pre-twelfth-century phenomenon, although they clearly were, and I hope to strengthen the possibility that their place in literary production at the end of the Middle Ages has its origin amongst the Anglo-Saxons. Knowing that a network of guilds existed from at least as early as the time of King Athelstan, however, says little about the exact cultural function of these guilds, but the statutes specify that regular feasts would have been held, and I shall report on my current examination of some of our vernacular texts as the foundation of performances at the guild banquets. Although I hope the paper will have obvious implications for literary matters, my methodology is historical, employing diplomatic, text-historical, and codicological arguments.

##### **William H. Smith (Weatherford College): "The Benedictine Reform and the Beginnings of English Prayer"**

Private prayers written in English first appear in manuscripts in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. It has been assumed that the appearance of Old English prayers at this time is due in part to the increased

interest in the vernacular as a vehicle for religious instruction that was a feature of the English Benedictine Reform. The specific relationships between these prayers and the Reform movement have not, however, been established. An examination of these texts makes clear that, while connections to the Benedictine Reform definitely exist, such connections take a variety of forms. In some cases, specific language and phrasing appear to be related to key texts of the Benedictine Reform, including the *Regularis Concordia* and Aethelwold's Old English translation of the *Rule of St. Benedict*. In other cases, private prayers appear in manuscripts with direct connections to key persons or monastic institutions of the Reform. Still other prayers, while displaying no concrete connection to the Reform, demonstrate the pervasive influence of the ideas of that movement well into the eleventh century. In short, though no individual Old English prayer can be shown conclusively to be a direct product of the English Benedictine Reform, taken as a whole, the body of prayers produced in the tenth and eleventh centuries constitutes an important witness to the way Reform ideas disseminated in late Anglo-Saxon society.

##### **Nicole Marafioti (Cornell U): "Memory and Its Obliteration in the Murder of King Edward the Martyr"**

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle entry for 978 recounts the murder of King Edward the Martyr: ambushed by his political opponents, Edward was killed and secretly buried, without Christian rites or the "kingly honors" that his status merited. Though ostensibly motivated by a dispute over royal succession, the Chronicle provides a secondary explanation for the king's murder and dishonorable burial: "those earthly slayers wished to blot out his memory from the earth"—an echo of Psalm 33:17, which threatens evildoers with divine wrath so great that God will wipe their memory from the earth (*ut perdat de terra memoriam eorum*). The chronicler's scriptural allusion implies that the attempt to eradicate Edward's memory is an unjust appropriation of divine prerogative, which ultimately brings God's vengeance upon the murderers. However, the destruction of Edward's memory would have had practical advantages as well as spiritual consequences for the killers. Most immediately, the concealment of the body would obscure the fact that murder had been done, allowing the perpetrators to avoid earthly vengeance or legal prosecution for regicide. Furthermore, the successful destruction of Edward's memory would ensure that he would not be revered as a saint, as so many earlier Anglo-Saxon kings had been—and as Edward was, once his body was discovered. In this paper, I will contend that the attempted obliteration of Edward's memory was not simply a



product of the chronicler's biblically inspired rhetoric, but was a deliberate effort by the king's killers to defray the political and cultic consequences of the murder.

### Session 31: "Beowulf, the Dragon, and the Scholars"

#### James F. Doubleday (U of Rio Grande): "The Scop's Lie and Beowulf's Death"

On the way back from Grendel's mere on the morning after Beowulf's defeat of the monster, the Danish scop sings a short lay of Sigemund and his defeat of a dragon. Unfortunately, this lay is an outrageous lie. This paper will show how we know that the lay is a lie, by examining its context and by comparison with the later account of Beowulf's dragon-fight. Then we will consider why the scop felt it necessary to tell the story as he did. We will then attempt to reconstruct what the original story was by comparison with other accounts of dragon-fights, especially in the *Volsungasaga*. Finally, we will see how Beowulf's recollection of this lay contributes to his disastrous decision to fight the dragon by himself.

#### Alan K. Brown (Ohio State U): "Stepping up Close to the Dragon's Head"

An article of mine in *Neophilologus* 64 (1980) has been understood as providing what is known as a nature-mythological interpretation of the dragon, and as asserting that the protagonist's soul is depicted as being damned, neither of which conclusions was intended. The pan-European folk terminology for meteors, "dragon," always attracted epic and other poets (my new examples are from *La Araucana* and from *Samson Agonistes*, lines 1690-96, while my older finds included MND III ii 379, Cym II ii 48 and other passages in Shakespeare and elsewhere) and it is now accepted, as well, that the eighth-century Irish and English annals were describing celestial portents when they mentioned fiery sky-dragons, and were not expressing a literal belief in flying serpents. Beowulf's often-discussed failure to speak of taking vengeance for the meteoric destruction of his palace is reasonable, since neither a portent nor an animal is an appropriate object for feud. The reason for the dragon's own behavior becomes clearer if the obscured word in line 2223b was *pegn* and if in line 2406 ff. the original instigator of the feud is the man who sent the thief and therefore is one of the king's high retainers, whose punishment by Beowulf then becomes a praiseworthy example of royal justice, rather than the inequity of a slave being mistreated twice for what was not his fault.

#### John Halbrooks (U of South Alabama): "Beowulf's Restlessness"

Any survey of translations of lines 2419b-2420a of *Beowulf*, lines which describe the hero's state of mind before his fight against the dragon, will produce some strikingly different readings. For example, is Beowulf "unsettled yet ready, sensing his death" (Seamus Heaney), or "angry, eager for slaughter" (Kevin Crossley-Holland), or "restless and ripe for death" (E. T. Donaldson)? This paper will survey the philological evidence and consider the narrative context of these lines in order to argue that this passage and the extended, gloomy speech that follows are crucial to the reader's interpretation of Beowulf's character in the last section of the poem. This moment creates what George Clark has called a "non-ironic equipoise" as Beowulf's momentary glimpse of his fate closes the gap between hero and audience.

### Session 32: "Defining the Old French Epic"

#### Michael Crafton (U of West Georgia): "From Epic to Romance: The Bayeux Tapestry and Performing Literature"

Especially since C.R. Dodwell's 1966 essay "The Bayeux Tapestry and the French Secular Epic" there has been serious consideration of the BT as a kind of visual epic. This view has been supported more recently by the more overtly theorized treatment by Suzanne Lewis in *The Rhetoric of Power* and supported by Richard Brilliant's suggestion that a jongleur would have perhaps performed the epic presentation of William's Conquest to a feasting hall of sympathetic (whether forced or not) audience members. The Tapestry's connection to medieval epic has been made more romantic by the legend, as reported in Guy of Amiens and Henry of Huntington, that a jongleur named Taillefer led the Norman knights in chanting the *Chanson de Roland* before the opening foray of the Battle of Hastings. (Further connection to the medieval epic is made by a minority of readers who consider the Turolde mentioned in the Tapestry to be the same Turolde who is named as the author of the *Chanson de Roland*.) This paper will review the scholarship on this subject to reveal a tentative agreement with Dodwell that something of an "epic" is woven into the fabric of the Tapestry. There is also, however, a hint that the Tapestry carries the early threads of the medieval romance. Gerald Bond has made the beginnings of this argument in his chapter on the mysterious figure of Aelgyvu in his 1995 book *The Loving Subject: Desire, Eloquence, and Power in Romanesque France*. I will argue that there are in addition some hints at a changing aesthetic that looks forward to a more Gothic sensibility of the Romance that supports Bond's argument and that the development of praise of William and his knights not only echoes the legend of Charlemagne but likewise



forms a subject that is indirectly treated by Geoffrey of Monmouth in his creation of the Arthurian court.

### Session 33: "Death and Its Afterlife"

#### Christopher A. Jones (Ohio State U): "Naming Relics in the Early Medieval West"

Though fundamental to our interpretation of documents concerning medieval saints' cults, the historical development of terminology for relics remains little studied. Except for a few narrowly focused articles, discussion of the topic has tended to be overly general or anachronistic. Beginning with a review of some essential relic-words, I demonstrate why the meaning of even such basic terms from the early Christian period as *reliquiae* or *corpus* is often hard to pin down. My paper then follows the evidence into the eighth through eleventh centuries. There the significations of relic-terms become even more elusive, thanks to a rapid increase of metaphorical and metonymic naming. I argue that the dramatic proliferation of such figurative uses correlates tellingly with early medieval developments in the actual preservation of relics and in the design of reliquaries. Reliquaries in this period, as Cynthia Hahn has noted, more often concealed than revealed their contents, more often leveled than distinguished the *praesentia* of the saint(s) hidden within. Relic-terminology, I suggest, tends to carry out much the same work in the early medieval period, and not just in Latin but in several emergent vernaculars. There are significant parallels of function between the occlusive tendencies of early-medieval Latin relic-terms and their equivalents in early Germanic and Celtic languages. This evidence, especially in Old English, turns out to be a hitherto undervalued index to early medieval notions of what relics were.

### Session 34: "Alliterative Traditions: Beginnings and Endings"

#### Susan E. Deskis (Northern Illinois U): "The Origins of Some Middle English Alliterative Proverbs"

The use of alliteration in later Middle English literature remains largely unexplained, though certainly not unexplored. In a recent article, Harold Zimmerman surveys scholarship on the origins of the Middle English Alliterative Revival and finds that disagreement continues to reign (*Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik* [2003]). In an attempt to assess the continuity of verbal culture from Old English to Middle English, my study examines the use of alliteration in a different portion of the Middle English corpus: the proverb.

Despite the prevalence of end-rhyme in Middle English poetry, proverbs of that period are much more likely to employ alliteration. Here I discuss a subset of Middle English alliterative proverbs that seem to have roots in Old English recurring, alliterative (but often non-proverbial) collocations. These proverbs fall into four categories:

- 1) ME proverbs that represent crystallizations of alliterative pairs commonly found in OE;
- 2) ME proverbs with OE support, but showing significant variation of expression;
- 3) ME proverbs that alliterate in the early part of the period, but lose the alliteration later;
- 4) Alliterative proverbs that occur in OE and ME, but seem supported by a Latin original.

Besides outlining the development of some specific Middle English proverbs, this analysis helps to explain how alliteration—the main poetic feature of an earlier era—persisted in ME verbal art more generally.

### Session 39: "The Art of Early English Prose"

#### Mary Eva Blockley (U of Texas): "Finding the Middle Ground in Old English Prose"

In the introduction to *Aspects of the Language of Latin Prose* (2005), J. N. Adams and Michael Lapidge take on the difficult issue of defining prose. Their definition is partially lexical, but syntactically obligated to Demetrius' commentary on Aristotle for the periodic sentence as practiced since Demosthenes. As defined by their example, it gets its periodicity from the one essential element of any sentence—the finite verb of a non-subordinate clause—withheld to a position towards the end.

What effect did the model of this kind of sentence in Anglo-Latin have for writing in the vernacular, and particularly for Alfredian and Aelfrician prose? What characteristics of subordinating conjunctions and clause-initial adverbs in Old English might make different requirements on the composition of periodic sentences, and how might vernacular prose have evolved in the hands of translators, authors, and copyists?

#### Zoey Shalita-Keinan (Independent Scholar): "The Art of Biblical Narrative in the Old English *Hexateuch*"

The Hebrew Bible abounds with various forms of repetition, including numerous instances of verbal repetition, in a text that concomitantly exhibits profuse economy (and numerous gaps). In the Old English *Hexateuch*, the situation is somewhat similar: both Aelfric and the anonymous translators preserved elaborate patterns of repetition, although the Old English text

is characterized by a much stricter economy of means (by omitting and condensing) than the Hebrew Bible. While many scholars have noted the tendency of the Anglo-Saxon translators to omit and compress verses, passages, even whole chapters in the OE *Hexateuch*, they have largely ignored the multiplicity of elaborate patterns of repetition—and other literary art forms—carefully preserved in the OE text. This study examines how the Ælfrician sections of the *Hexateuch* compare with the anonymous sections in terms of their fidelity to the artistic “principles” of biblical narrative, with special emphasis on the sophisticated and orchestrated use of repetitions. Considerable textual evidence from all six books of the OE *Hexateuch* reveals that both Ælfric and the anonymous translators not only meticulously incorporated various forms of literary art into their translations, but in some instances also seem to have applied their own observations of the art of repetition in Jerome’s Vulgate in original ways. This evidence also demonstrates that the anonymous translators carefully consulted the Ælfrician sections of the OE *Hexateuch* to ensure some level of uniformity and produce a coherent target text that transmits the rich literary art of the original narratives in the anonymous portions.

#### Session 40: “Old English Religious Verse”

##### Howell Chickering (Amherst College): “Poetic Exuberance in the Old English *Judith*”

Dramatic irony is rife in the Vulgate version of the Book of Judith. For example, Judith tells Holofernes, “If thou wilt follow the words of thy handmaid, the Lord will do with thee a perfect thing” (11:6). However, the Old English poet handles his source very freely and makes dramatic irony into a structural principle on several levels: narrative (e.g., lines 64a-65, 237-90), symbolism (the “*fleohnet fæger*” 47a), and individual word-choice (“*sigerofe hæleð*” 177b).

After briefly glancing at the poet’s omissions from his Latin source to give a clearer sense of his focus, I will describe these different types of dramatic irony and will show how they frame and intensify the core message in the three pious speeches of Judith and the Assyrian warrior’s report to the army of Holofernes’ beheading. The force of these dramatic ironies is increased by the poet’s concomitant management of the time-line and viewpoint of his narrative. He is more interested in the significance of the actions than their temporal sequence. The net effect is that Judith’s story in Old English exists in a holy space as much as in historical time.

##### Trish Ward (College of Charleston): “The Incarnational Moment in *Christ I*”

Lines 339b-341 of *Christ I* contain the “incarnational moment”: the poet, after discoursing on the mystery of Mary’s perpetual virginity, simply states that we now gaze on the child upon her breast. The theology of the incarnation is replaced, appropriately briefly, with the simple reality of the moment God became human—the incarnational moment. The purpose of this paper is to analyze this passage in the context of its antiphonal source. Burgert was the first to suggest that line 341 may have been inspired by the antiphonal “*hic jacet in praesepio qui et sidera regit*.” The source for this last clause of the antiphon may well have been inspired by Augustine, who in a Christmas sermon (no. 187) juxtaposes the cosmic with the homely. The poet may have intended this line to accomplish a similar juxtaposition with the preceding lines. Is this treatment of the incarnational moment a convention? How does this passage compare to other early patristic treatments? Do these treatments define a particular devotional mode? These are some of the questions I will consider in this paper.

##### Patrick J. Murphy (U of Wisconsin): “*Dust stonc to heofonum*: The Ending of Exeter Book Riddle 29”

The solving history of Exeter Book Riddle 29 essentially begins and ends with the convincing answer, “Sun and Moon,” which was suggested by one of the earliest scholars to study Old English riddling, Franz Dietrich (1859). In fact, this solution is so convincing (and the celestial imagery so elegant) that certain puzzling aspects of the poem have gone largely undiscussed. Most notably, the imagery of Riddle 29’s ending seems to require more explanation than it has ever received: “*Dust stonc to heofonum, deaw feol on eorþan, / niht forð gewat*” (Dust rose to the heavens, dew fell on the earth, and night departed). Of course, dew is expected at dawn, but we may still reasonably ask why dust should be said to rise up into the heavens at the conclusion of a conflict between a plundering moon and a conquering sun. To date, commentary on this imagery has been sparse, unconvincing, and occasionally bizarre. Indeed, the most cogent explanations involve arbitrary storytelling (Tupper 1910, Cassidy and Ringler 1971), while the most recent editions of the *Riddles* do not discuss the meaning of the ending at all (Krapp and Dobbie 1936, Williamson 1977, Muir 2000). In this paper, I argue that Riddle 29’s enigmatic ending is clarified if we take into consideration the Christian context of the poem and the likely connections an Anglo-Saxon reader might draw between this celestial drama and key events of salvation history. In insisting on the relevance of Christian symbolism in Riddle 29, I am indebted to arguments made by F.H. Whitman (1969), whose work was somewhat unjustly dismissed in Williamson’s edition. My approach,

however, takes on the language and imagery of Riddle 29 much more directly than Whitman's, and I argue for a much more specific set of associations relevant to its reception. In particular, I will show that the Harrowing of Hell as depicted in such influential texts as the *Gospel of Nicodemus* is relevant for understanding both the riddle's ending and indeed the action throughout. In this way, I do not seek to overturn Dietrich's solution, but to expand somewhat our notion of where the Anglo-Saxon genre of riddling begins and ends.

**Session 41: "Beginnings and Endings: Jewish-Christian Relations in the Middle Ages"**

**Marian J. Hollinger (Fairmont State U): "In the Beginning Was Their End: The Jews in England, 1066-1290"**

From the Norman Conquest until the Expulsion order of 1290, the Jewish community in England suffered extreme highs and lows during its tenure on the island. Early in their appearance, the Jews were given protected status by the monarch, despite the fact that they were seen, with suspicion, as unrepentant in their rejection of Christ as the Messiah. Their place within English society fluctuated from monarch to monarch and from accusations of "Christ-killers" to wards of the king. Their protected position was especially prominent during the reign of Henry III. However, by the time his son, Edward I, had ascended to the throne of England, the Jews were in a difficult place vis-à-vis the king and his baronial rivals, and theirs was a cliff-hanging position financially as they were taxed again and again to provide Edward with funds to wage his wars. The barons, whose claims against the Jews arose from the fact that the Jews were their creditors, pressed the monarch for relief from their debts. The Jews were, in effect, pawns in an escalating game of financial and political chess by the late 1280s.

At this time, the king and the barons were determined to use all of their considerable power to bring down the Jews in England, and the Church, always prepared to bring *its* enemies to heel, was enlisted in a very public way to accomplish the final conversion or expulsion of the Jews. With Edward's decree of late 1290, the Jews were on the way out of England. This paper will examine the changing status of the Jewish community from 1066-1290, concentrating particularly upon the royal and ecclesiastical factors which led to their expulsion. Special emphasis will be placed upon the monarchs' public stance regarding the presence of the Jews within the Christian community.

**Plenary Address: Roberta Frank (Yale U): "The Hip Factor in Anglo-Scandinavian England"**

Ray Page once remarked with reference to the vikings in England that there appeared to be no end to the ingenuity historians can bring to bear upon a small supply of facts. In ninth- and tenth-century England, the boundary between Scandinavian and insular culture was porous, open to quick dance-steps of attraction and repulsion, conflict and curiosity. Anglo-Saxon prose writers occasionally reveal a grudging admiration for the raiders' outsized sense of self, their restlessness and rootlessness. In vernacular poetry, the image of the viking as foe of square—lonesome-road wanderer, seafarer on the whale's mean streets, down-at-heart warlord, itinerant bluesman—embodied hip's promise that society's margins held more of its life than the mainstream.

**Session 46: "Anglo-Saxons on the Mind"**

**Britt Mize (Texas A&M U): "Beowulf and the Treasure House of the Mind"**

Anglo-Saxon poets frequently imagined the mind as a metaphysical enclosure, most often realizing this concept through the more specific metaphor of the treasure chamber. The corresponding reification of the mind's "contents" as precious objects evoked a network of associations rooted in traditional ideas about wealth and its management. In this paper I show that *Beowulf* deploys this motif in a way that is conceptually simple, yet unique within the surviving corpus: by repeatedly bringing the metaphorical wealth of the mind into close textual contact with literal, material treasure. Through juxtapositions of these two frames of reference, each informs the other and its role in the text's larger systems of meaning.

A ready example is the pointed contrast between Heremod's stinginess as a gift-giver and his perverse liberality with his *breosthord*, the "treasures" of his wicked mind: murderous impulses that bring about the misery of his people. This statement forms part of an elaborate sequence comparing wise counsel with rich material gifts, as Beowulf and Hrothgar in turn bestow each kind of wealth on the other. Late in the poem, in another interpretively rich collocation of metaphoric and material treasure, Beowulf's dying speech is described as an heirloom weapon bursting out of mental containment as he lies before the dragon's hoard. Beowulf's *breosthord* and the ancient *goldhord* are placed side by side, suggesting that the old king's treasury of wisdom has something in common with the ancient gold, the "*eormenlāfe æðelan cynnes*" (l. 2234), and inviting assessments of the final value or efficacy of both.

**James H. Morey (Emory U): "The Fourth Fate of Men: The Darkened Mind"**

A strict interpretation of the possibilities for dying would agree with the three alternatives enunciated by Hrothgar in his "Sermon" and with the same alternatives outlined in the Exeter Book's *Fates of Men*. One can get sick (*adl*), one can grow old (*ylde*), or one can die violently (*ecghete*). The question of what counts as "death" is, however, as complex in Anglo-Saxon England as it is today. There is a fourth, ambiguous category, designated by variations on the verbs *gesweorcan* and *osweorcan*, that describes a mode of "death" that today we would categorize as some kind of mental illness. This fate is included in the fates enunciated by Hrothgar in lines 1735-39, and I wish to argue that it is not just some kind of emotional condition or rhetorical figure, but is in fact a mode of death. I wish to connect this usage with other passages in Old English, notably in the *Wanderer* when the speaker "*geþencan ne mæg geond þas woruld for hwan <modsefa> min ne gesweorce*" (58-59). This is the epic, heroic analogue to entering a monastery in the world of romance. The body lives, but one is dead to this life. Mental death is as significant a category as bodily death, and Hrothgar's inclusion of the category is far from casual or merely figurative. Heremod is, perhaps, the most memorable victim of the fourth fate of men.

**Leslie Lockett (Ohio State U): "Anglo-Saxon Folk Psychology in *The Rhyming Poem* and *The Ruin*"**

Readers of Old English literature are familiar with the Anglo-Saxon localization of the mind and its activities in the organ of the heart. Anger makes the mind-in-the-heart burn and swell; anxiety squeezes it tight; joy gives it room to expand. This characterization of the mind is sometimes called the "hydraulic model" because the mind's behavior resembles that of a fluid in a closed container.

The paper I propose is part of a monograph in progress, in which I investigate the status of the hydraulic model in the intellectual history of the Anglo-Saxons. Although scholars have traditionally read the mind-in-the-heart as an Old English literary trope, I demonstrate, with the help of recent research in transcultural psychiatry and cultural anthropology, that where the hydraulic model appears in Old English, it usually serves as a *literal* articulation of Anglo-Saxon folk belief about the behavior of the mind.

In this paper, a very brief overview of Anglo-Saxon folk psychology serves as a preface to a discussion of *The Ruin* and *The Rhyming Poem*, both of which demand of their audience a thorough comprehension of the hydraulic model. First, a reading of *The Rhyming Poem* within the framework of Anglo-Saxon folk psychology suggests a way to unravel several cruces in the poem.

Second, an awareness of the behavior of the mind-in-the-heart throws into relief a feature of *The Ruin* that modern audiences overlook, namely the poignant personification of the decaying, grieving buildings.

**Session 47: "Royal Rule: Defining and Establishing Kingship"**

**Wendy Marie Hoofnagle (U of Connecticut): "From One End to the Other": The *Via Regia* and the Advancement of Anglo-Norman Hybridity"**

It is probably not a coincidence that the first Anglo-Norman writers began to focus on Anglo-Saxon kings in their roles as peacemakers through the establishment of effective laws; rather, this change reflects a twelfth-century fascination with law-making that can be witnessed from the substantial production of written legal collections to the evidence of legal process in the *Lais* of Marie de France. William of Malmesbury notes in particular that Alfred's strenuous lawmaking efforts created peace throughout the country and guaranteed that gold rings, hung at the crossroads of public highways, would not be stolen in spite of the greed of travelers (II.122, 187), and Henry of Huntingdon goes so far as to fabricate the myth of the King's Four Highways, which go "from one end to the other, built by royal authority, so that no one would dare to attack an enemy on them ... which are very broad as well as splendid, protected by the edicts of kings and by venerable law codes" (23-5). These interpretations of Anglo-Saxon kingship, however, are the emulative invention of twelfth-century writers who were influenced by the aura of what they perceived as civilized Continental practices. The Anglo-Norman development of the *via regia* in particular, which were linked to Carolingian lawcodes and treatises on good kingship, was reflected in their revisions of Anglo-Saxon history and laws when the Normans rewrote their combined history for an audience of mixed heritage. As a result, many of the goals and ideals of Anglo-Norman dominion are imbued with Carolingian echoes of good kingship, and the *via regia* become an important image for Anglo-Norman sovereignty and identity.

**Session 48: "Legendary Women"**

**Wilkie Collins (Wayne State U): "The Master-Mistress": Complicating Figurations of Power and Desire in the Old English *Judith*"**

This presentation will examine the ways in which modern redactors have transformed the Old English *Judith* by re-mediating the central figure of Judith through



their own ideological episteme. In particular, we will note how the paradigms expressed by modern translators and critics often stumble over the language of the original Old English text in the attempt to transform what is essentially heroic narrative into hagiography. For instance, S. A. J. Bradley in the introduction to his translation of *Judith* gives voice to this trend in modern criticism of the text: "The potential relevance of such a text to [Anglo-Saxon] England in the time of the Danish wars is plain—but so too is its timeless message to the Christian soul beleaguered in any form" (Preface 495). The assertions imposed by such a critical tradition attempt to suggest that for the Old English poet the importance of the story resides in its didactic presence, the moral lesson of the devout and virtuous opposed to the corrupt and morally degenerate. Bradley, for example, argues that Judith is characterized "as a virginal saint and savior," while Holofernes is positioned diametrically "as the moral monster of the poem" (Preface 495), thus firmly establishing the conflict not in the traditional Judaic perception of nation building, but rather in the Christian imperative for faith in the struggle against God's adversaries.

This presentation asks whether the ideological aesthetic informing the characterization of Judith as "virginal saint" is necessarily an accurate treatment of the Anglo-Saxon figural presence. And I argue that interpretations of the text as a moral lesson are precisely the result of translators insisting on the figure of Judith as virginal saint. A modern insistence on Judith's virginal appearance enforces a specific notion of gendered quality that perfectly suits a binary aesthetic of the saintly versus the diabolical; and this presentation of a particular feminized attribute disguises a totalizing principle that reinforces a gendered idealization. This idealization, indeed, is not shared as a constitutive factor in the poet's text. In spite of some attempts to frame Judith squarely in the moralized and valorized position of "virginal saint," the choice of language deployed by modern translators is complicated by the text's resistance to the signifying apparatus articulated by such language. What we find in the Old English *Judith* is a complex feminine figure who defies a modern redactor's attempt to leverage her into an easily definable didactic presence.

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#### Session 9: "Place and Space in Old English Texts"

**Heather Blurton (U of York): "Carmen de situ Dunelmi: The Space of the Past in the Old English *Durham*"**

Recent studies of the poem known as *Durham* have focused on the linguistic question of whether this poem represents the last gasp of Old English or the first breath of early Middle English, as well as the implications of thinking about vernacular literacy in this way in twelfth-century England (I'm thinking, for example, of: Seth Lerer, *Literacy and Power* and "The Afterlife of Old English" in the *CHML* and Christopher Cannon, "Between the Old and the Middle of English" in *NML*).

This paper proposes to reconsider the evidence that a reading of this poem's content might have to offer these investigations of its form. Drawing on the insights of J. Hillis Miller in *Topographies* about the ways in which "topographical setting connects literary works to a specific historical and geographical time ... [and] establishes a cultural and historical setting within which the action can take place," it will suggest that topography is manipulated in *Durham* in order to evoke a geographical and cultural time past.

If not for the naming of the River Wear, the distinctive topographic setting of the city of Durham would be unrecognizable from the evidence of these poetic lines. Like an Old English riddle that does not name its object of description, even more enigmatically, the poem does not describe Durham's most distinctive feature, the Anglo-Norman cathedral that was under construction at the moment of the poem's composition. This omission is even more striking if the critical consensus that the poem was composed for the translation of Cuthbert's relics into the cathedral in 1104 is correct.

The poem instead describes the relics of saintly Anglo-Saxon kings, abbots and bishops belonging to the community and enshrines them in a poem that is artfully crafted in English poetic form and language. The poem's single macaronism, "reliquia," is, in this reading, the key to its meaning: *Durham* offers itself as a reliquary for the past as well as, through its use of Old English poetic forms, a relic of the past. This paper thus reads *Durham* as a struggle for the topography of Durham, as the poem reclaims the space on the bluff overlooking the River Wear from its new Anglo-Norman bishops and substitutes itself for the cathedral as a final resting place for Anglo-Saxon kings and saints.

**Scott Thompson Smith (U of Notre Dame): "Storied Land: Writing History and Making Space in Narratives of Property Dispute"**

This paper uses the concepts of space and place as articulated by Michel de Certeau in *The Practice of Everyday Life* to consider the different conceptualizations of a single estate and its history within two different categories of Anglo-Saxon legal documents, the Latin diploma and vernacular talu. The vernacular charter



known as Sawyer 1447 provides a narrative account of a small estate located at Sunbury prior to its purchase by Archbishop Dunstan in 968. Surviving in a single-sheet manuscript dated to the late tenth century, the charter contains the inscription “Sunnanburge talu” on its dorse, and was probably composed in response to some dispute after Dunstan’s purchase of the property. *Talu* documents, composed in the vernacular rather than in the Latin characteristic to royal diplomas, were intended to serve as evidence in pleas or disputes. Sawyer 1447 provides a particularly artful example of a *talū*, featuring several dramatic scenes presented with direct speech and adorned with alliterative phrases. The complex history of Sunbury as presented in this text spans approximately fifteen years and carefully parallels the political fortunes of kings Eadred, Eadwig, and Edgar.

One of the transactions recorded in Sawyer 1447—Edgar’s granting of the property to Ealdorman Ælfheah—is also witnessed in a royal diploma dated to 962 (Sawyer 702). This Latin diploma grants the property to Ælfheah in perpetual inheritance (*perpetua hereditate*) and records the specific bounds of the property in a vernacular boundary clause. Using the authoritative discourse of land tenure, the royal diploma conceptualizes land as existing outside time, promising eternal possession and defining the precise extent of the property according to landscape features memorialized within the document. This conceptualization resembles de Certeau’s idea of place, which he defines as “an instantaneous configuration of positions” which “implies an indication of stability” and is ruled by “the law of the proper.” In contrast, de Certeau sees space as “a practiced place” which is “situated as the act of a present (or of a time), and modified by the transformation caused by successive contexts.” The royal diploma written in Edgar’s name in 962 attempts to fix the Sunbury property as a place, governed by a stable “law of the proper,” whereas the *talū* (Sawyer 1447) inscribes the land as a space open to the manipulation of multiple agents according to the shifting circumstances. Sawyer 1447, in other words, uses story to produce “a space and to associate it with a history” (de Certeau), thereby attaching the Sunbury property (and Dunstan’s closing claim to the land) to the history of the kingdom and the legitimacy of kingship as exemplified by Edgar. By linking Dunstan’s acquisition of the Sunbury property to Edgar’s own succession to a reunited kingdom in 959, Sawyer 1447 forges a powerful link between the histories of local and national property.

#### Session 143: “Beowulf”

**John Peruggia (Saint Louis U): “Beowulf: The Epic Poem as Epic Homily”**

The problem of identifying a clear, distinct genre for *Beowulf* has been a source of contention for scholars since its manuscript’s initial discovery. While most critics have come to accept that the work is, generally, an epic, they continue to disagree over the tone of many of the poem’s sections. Those intent on placing the work into a specific genre have been met with numerous exceptions to their categorizations as to whether the *Beowulf* poet(s) intended for the tale to serve didactic purposes, to delight as pure entertainment, or to exist as an original work. Reading *Beowulf* in the context of other early medieval homilies, specifically Wulfstan’s *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* and *De Temporibus Anticristi* and the anonymous Vercelli homily IX, one may explore the ways that the challenges posed by a classification of the work may be overcome by exploring its homiletic nature. *Beowulf*’s homiletic elements—the rhetoric used by the major speeches present, the Christian elements located in the poem, and those areas in which the poet(s) offer implicit and explicit clues to the work’s tone—suggest that the poet may have been influenced by the homiletic tradition of the Old English period.

#### **Craig Davis (Smith Coll.): “A Mother from Hell: Love and Violence in *Beowulf*”**

Pollock and Maitland (1968) believe that homicide committed during a feud in Anglo-Saxon England was viewed as a civil offense before the Norman Conquest, as a tort that could be compensated for by *wergild* to family or *manbot* to lord, rather than as a felony necessarily subject to physical punishment or execution by royal authorities. Wormald (1999) insists, to the contrary, that aggressive royal action to criminalize feud began under King Alfred (r. 871-99). Hyams (2003) argues against both scholars that feud continued as a familiar pattern of social interaction well into the 13<sup>th</sup> century. In particular, Hyams cites *Beowulf* as a witness that in “the century before 1066, resentful men avenged themselves with blood when they could, [though] they might with difficulty be persuaded to accept the honorable alternative of a peace negotiated with due concern for their acknowledged social status” (109). The preference for peaceful composition over blood revenge is expressed by the *Beowulf* poet when he laments, after Grendel’s mother has killed Hrothgar’s most faithful thegn Æschere: “that was not a good exchange that on both sides they had to pay with the lives of loved ones” (lines 1304b-06a). In this comment, the poet deplors the effects of feud even as he accepts its inevitability, preferring the payment of monetary compensation, even to a clan of predatory monsters, over the further loss of life wrought by the revenge imperative. I will contend that the *Beowulf* poet dramatizes competing views of

the legitimacy of retaliatory violence and will chart his moral valuation of the dozen or more feuds he depicts on a spectrum from the clearly justified, to the legally problematic but sympathetic, to the partially justified but unsympathetic, to the clearly unjustified. I will also include a category for those feuds the poet leaves quite ambiguous as to the rights and wrongs of the case, as to “who started it.” At one end will be Cain’s murder of Abel and Grendel’s depredation of Danes, which are presented as crimes against God, king and community, patently deserving of summary justice upon those *tyht-bysig* ‘charge-laden’ men.

But with the introduction of Grendel’s mother, the poet extends his exploration of human violence to include a startling depiction of the criminal’s aggrieved kin. It is primordial affection, he suggests, imagined as a mother’s outraged love for her mutilated son, which is the engine of such destructive hatred. The poet uses this image of a perfectly natural but monstrous maternal feeling to convey the predictability and power of the impulse for revenge. He even makes his personification of the *lex talionis* in action to be quite scrupulous in her demand of a life for a life. Yet within seventy lines, the poet associates his own hero with the very same emotional, moral and legal response. “It is better for a man to avenge his loved one than to mourn much,” Beowulf assures the grieving Hrothgar (lines 1384b-85).

The poet thus demonizes in Grendel’s mother the very principle he honors in his hero. This double standard implies that the poet’s prognosis for peace in human affairs is grim. His own conflicted attitude indicates that a *de facto* acceptance of feud and patent approval of blood-revenge for one’s own slain kinsmen and comrades remained a strong force in Anglo-Saxon culture, despite serious royal efforts to put a stop to it and the poet’s own professed endorsement of a broader royal law and peace.

#### **Bruce D. Gilchrist (Laval U): “Beowulf and Negative Figuration”**

Edward Irving begins his excellent close reading of *Beowulf* with an assertion of method: “Most of this chapter will be concerned with negative constructions since they have always been recognized as a striking feature of Germanic rhetoric .... they surely play a major role in creating the impression of a persistent tone of irony and understatement.” Irving is particularly interested in the combination of negatives and “adversative conjunctions,” for, as he argues, they have “much do with the poem’s representation of behaviour in extreme terms.”

My aim in this paper is to provide a systematic analysis of what Irving championed in specific verses, that is, to give a complete statistical picture of the negative

grammar at work in the poem. I shall argue that negative constructions [those formed with conjunctions such as *ne*, the pronoun *naenig*, and adverb/verb contractions such as *næs*] work to intermittent and staccato effect rather than a “persistent” tone. Negative grammar tends to appear in *clusters*, often thirty to fifty lines apart, that well up in passages of peak expression. Such clusters frequently appear in speeches; examples are Beowulf’s narration of the Breca episode, which features fourteen negations, and the opening of the Finnsburh lay, which effectively starts with a negative *Næs huru Hildeburh* and runs through six more in just the next fifteen lines.

My summary analysis reveals that the number of negatives “oscillates violently,” to borrow a phrase from Irving. For starters, the opening two-thirds of the poem features sharp oscillation while the amplitude diminishes in the final third. Near the midpoint of the poem’s structure, there is a peak of negatives in fitts 21 and 22, just in anticipation of Beowulf’s struggle with Grendel’s mother; conversely, there is only one negative in the last 92 lines of the poem and the final fitt contains no negatives whatsoever [the only one to do so]. I also find that *Wealtheow* is the sole character who never utters a negative construction.

Further, I trace patterns of individual words. My surprising discovery is that the spelling of a negative word and its presence in either the A or B verse may be dependent on where the line reading is. For example, starting with line 2221 (on the contested ‘palimpsest folio’ 179r), the word *neallas* appears as the headword in the A-verse in five of the next seven occurrences whereas in an earlier stretch of the poem, it is spelled *nallas* and appears seven times consecutively in the B-verse.

Last, I am particularly interested in passages which combine negative constructions with comparative adjectives or which act via prolepsis; I give these the name of ‘negative figuration.’ Typically, such passages work at a heightened tone and effect a bitter reversal, for instance, the narrator’s litotic projection of Grendel’s demise at line 718: *Næfre he on aldor-dagum ær ne siththan / heardran hæle heal-thegnas fand*.

Collectively, these passages and clusters point to what I would call a pervasive tone of negation and litotes, one which betrays a larger principle of composition and poetic outlook. Such passages are reserved for more than depiction of behaviour: they suggest a negative cosmos of poetic expression, one studded with constellations of litotic grammar and Nordic bitterness. The *Beowulf* poem displays resourceful genius at such manner of expression.

#### **Session 624: “Open Session: Papers on Any Old English Topic (Latin/OE)”**

**Thomas A. Bredehoft (U of Northern Colorado):  
“Echoes of Ælfric in the Late Poems of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle”**

The full extent of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle’s 1067D poem (35 lines; to be published in my forthcoming essay and preliminary edition) has only been recently recognized. But along with the recognition of the full extent of the poem comes a second remarkable discovery: the author of this late poem clearly knew some of Ælfric’s rhythmical works and seems to have quoted from them in his poem. Further, the final line of the 1086E poem also seems to involve a relatively clear echo of an Ælfrician rhythmical line. This paper will consider these remarkable echoes of Ælfric for what they might suggest about late eleventh-century perceptions of Ælfric’s form (arguing—in support of my recent arguments elsewhere—that if poets quoted Ælfric, it is presumably because they found his works to be poetic). Further implications of these identifications involve a reconsideration of the relationship of the post-Conquest annals in the D and E manuscripts and the tentative conclusion that the 1067D and 1086E poems might even have been composed by the same hand.

**Paul L. Acker (Saint Louis U): “Anglo-Saxon Female Troubles: Latin Ladies in the Land of Cockayne”**

In 1864, the Reverend Oswald Cockayne edited and translated an anthology of Old English scientific texts, including the *Herbarium* and its companion text, the *Medicina de Quadrupedibus*. Both works are collections of medical recipes, instructions for preparing potions and ointments from plants and animals. Cockayne’s translation of these texts into English was of a type familiar to anyone who has read William Morris’s saga translations. Cockayne preferred to use English relics of the Old English words, even when those words had changed meaning or survived only in dialects. Another aspect of Cockayne’s translation will be my primary focus, however: his use of Latin and Greek instead of English to bowdlerize what he considered objectionable in his Old English texts.

One such group of medical recipes has to do with Anglo-Saxon ‘female troubles’, a contemporary euphemism for medical ailments having to do with the female reproductive system, but one that is in fact anticipated both in Old English and in Cockayne’s translation. Cockayne used terms from Greek and Latin to disguise terms for female body parts and bodily functions, to render them accessible only to those with a classical education such as he provided to the young men at King’s College School, London. Sometimes he translated whole recipes into Latin, especially if they were too

specific about how and where the medicaments were applied. Cockayne also translated into Latin recipes for certain male troubles, including spermatorrhea and impotence. His sense of what needed to be concealed from uneducated readers was specific and not just part of an undifferentiated Victorian prudery. Ironically, he was dismissed from King’s College School for being too specific about the amorous nature of Horace’s erotic odes, although he was quick to point out that God had sent a plague (syphilis) to libertines in 1500 A.D. But even such a clearly moral approach to sexual practices had real consequences in his particular social and ideological environment. Four years after his dismissal without pension, while walking along the sea-cliffs of Cornwall, Cockayne shot himself and died.

Cockayne’s translation was not the only instance of euphemistic treatment of sexuality. The Old English texts themselves had already set off down the long road to medical circumlocution, translating genitalia as *gecyndelicu limu* (kindly limbs, or procreative members), and pudendum as *sceamlim* (a body part that causes us shame).

Advocates for patients’ rights often point out the alienating effect of our contemporary medical vocabulary. Even the Anglo-Saxons, however, were sometimes reluctant to use plain ‘Anglo-Saxonisms’ to describe their own bodies, when their bodies were subject to the discourse of leechcraft.

But the medical texts together with the glossaries give us some hints of the native vocabulary for the male and female reproductive systems. It is difficult to determine if and when these terms were considered vulgar. In Middle English anatomical texts, however, we find clear instances of authors and scribes sorting out courteous and discourteous terms, and by the end of the Middle Ages words like “ters” and “pintell” (both descending from Old English words for penis) are used for comic effect in poems like “A Talk of Ten Wives on Their Husband’s Ware.”

**Session of the Society for Medieval Feminist Scholarship: “Discursive Strategies for Medieval Women Writers”**

**Jennifer N. Brown (U of Hartford): “Discursive Strategies in the Nun of Barking’s Life of Edward the Confessor”**

The Anglo-Norman *vita* of Edward the Confessor written at Barking Abbey stands out among the landscape of twelfth-century hagiography in England for several reasons. Written at one of the most influential and important abbeys in post-conquest England, it is one of only three Anglo-Norman *vitae* known to be written by a woman and the only one whose subject is a male saint.

Although it purports to be a translation of Aelred of Rievaulx's Latin Life (written in 1163 to commemorate the translation of Edward's relics), and some scholars have argued that it is a straight-forward translation, the nun of Barking's *vita* represents far more than simply a shift from Latin into Anglo-Norman, but is rather what medieval scholar Jocelyn-Wogan Browne calls "a very full vernacularization."

This paper will examine the rhetorical and discursive strategies used by the Nun of Barking throughout the *vita*, and how in this saint's life, written in octosyllabic rhyming couplets, she inserts both her female and her Anglo-Norman identity, expanding and altering Aelred's text as she shapes it into her own. In the process, she ultimately feminizes Edward the Confessor himself and fashions this Anglo-Saxon king as a symbol of Anglo-Norman identity.

**The 42nd International Congress on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan U, Kalamazoo, May 10-13, 2007.**

**Session 38: "Beowulf and Lejre: Assimilating the New Archaeological Discoveries (A Panel Discussion)"**

This session consisted of a panel discussion chaired by Marijane Osborn of the U of California, Davis. Panelists Tom Shippey (St. Louis U), Craig Davis (Smith College), and John D. Niles (U of Wisconsin-Madison) took part in a discussion and fielded questions concerning the most recent (2004-06) excavations at Lejre, Denmark, where the remains of a great hall of seventh-century date have been discovered. This is in addition to the halls of later date (late eighth to tenth century) that were discovered at Lejre in 1986-88. These archaeological developments are of particular interest to specialists in *Beowulf*, for Lejre is the place where the Skjoldung kings of Denmark, equivalent to the Scylding kings of *Beowulf*, are said to have had their seat. This panel was organized in conjunction with the publication of the book *Beowulf and Lejre*, by John D. Niles, featuring contributions by Tom Christensen and Marijane Osborn, with a foreword by John Hines and an afterword by Tom Shippey (Tempe: ACMRS, 2007).

**Session 49: "Old English Religious Poetry I"**

**Katherine H. Terrell (Hamilton College): "Orality and the Borders of Identity in the Old English *Andreas*"**

This paper addresses the complex symbolic interplay of food and speech in the Old English *Andreas*, arguing that the mouth becomes the poem's primary site for the figuration of difference. I contend that the poem treats the mouth as the body's most significant threshold,

the site at which food may enter and become absorbed into both body and spirit, as well as the physical orifice through which speech emerges to signify the state of the soul within. Linked by their necessary connection to orality, speech emerges to signify the state of the soul within. Linked by their necessary connection to orality, food and speech both become primary signifiers of divine grace—or the lack thereof. The monstrous Mermedonians are thus doubly marked as inferiors by their idol-worship and their cannibalism: neither praying nor eating correctly, these "*sylfætan*" threaten Matthew and Andreas with a literal incorporation into the bodies of their community that is also, symbolically, a spiritual descent that collapses the distinction between "self" and "other."

In contrast to the Mermedonians' degraded orality, the poet establishes the word of God and the Eucharist as ideals, and Andreas's defeat and eventual conversion of the Mermedonians depends both on his learning to emulate divine speech, and on his substitution of the "*heofonlicne hlaf*" for the cannibals' customary cuisine. Speech is primary to Andreas's apostolic mission: it provides the locus of his power to the extent that it approximates the performativity inherent in God's speech. Having been educated in the powers of speech by Christ himself during the voyage to Mermedonia, at the climactic moment Andreas is able to successfully ventriloquize God, commanding water to gush forth from a stone pillar in a miracle that leads to the Mermedonians' conversion and their consequent abandonment of cannibalism. Christ, as the "*sawla symbelgifa*" (1417)—the nourisher of souls—assumes the central place in their consciousness that bodily hunger once filled, and their praise of God demonstrates the full efficacy of Andreas's efforts.

The *Andreas*-poet locates the power of God to work through man in the intersections of interior with exterior, of body with soul, of what is consumed with what is said. God's Word is perfect, while the Mermedonians are perfectly enmeshed in their bodily needs. Andreas is situated in between, feeding his body while retaining his focus upon the spiritual food of the Eucharist, and drawing closer to God as he develops his understanding of his own and God's speech. When he finally succeeds in bringing the Mermedonians into the Christian community through his triumphant act of speaking with God's voice, his speech and their eating habits converge, the former effecting the conversion of the latter and ensuring that their mouths, like Andreas's own, will henceforth be used only in the service of God.

**Roger Wilkie (St. Thomas U): "Gendering Judith: Masculinity Through Word and Deed in the Anglo-Saxon *Judith* Fragment"**



The question of whether the Anglo-Saxon Judith is portrayed in a more masculine or a more feminine light has yielded no clear answer. While Lucas focuses on her scriptural role as a seductress (17), Magennis notes her “resolution, courage and clear thinking” as well as her violent heroism (18). Clover provides a theoretical position that may help resolve this conflict. She posits a gendered powerful/powerless binary (1993, 380) for medieval Scandinavia, which could be applied to Anglo-Saxon texts. Clover asserts that the dominant variable in determining gender was power and that in sex, “the role of the penetrator is regarded as not only masculine but boastworthy regardless of the sex of the object,” while the role of sexual object was essentially shameful (374-75). The gendering patterns in *Judith* suggest a powerful/powerless binary in Anglo-Saxon society similar to that which functioned in Scandinavia.

The construction of Judith’s character through linguistic and narrative patterns suggests just such a binary. Belanoff, for instance, observes martial terms common to descriptions of both Beowulf and Judith (253). While Judith is described in non-martial terms and portrayed as an object of carnal desire, her physical descriptions tend to be followed by spiritual ones, as though the poet is introducing her potential as sexual object simply for the purpose of de-sexualizing it. And while Judith is thus masculinized, her opponent Holofernes is feminized. He is described as being so drunk that his men have to lead him to bed (61b-73a), thus demonstrating powerlessness even over his own body, while a later passage shows Judith pushing him about *bysmerlice* (shamefully, a word with connotations of sexual violation, 100), and controlling him *eadost* (most easily, 102).

Thus, the poet’s characterization of Judith as powerful and aggressive masculinizes her at the expense of the feminized “object” of her aggression.

**Nicholas Sparks (U of Melbourne): “*The Dream of the Rood*: Its Rhetorical Strategies and Relation to the Liturgy”**

This paper will argue that *The Dream of the Rood* is a unified poem that employs the principles of rhetorical oratory in a vernacular liturgical address. I will argue that *The Dream of the Rood* represents a medieval model of Anglo-Christian vernacular poetry, which developed the principles of classical rhetoric to serve the devotional practices of an Anglo-Saxon audience. I will present a rhetorical analysis of *The Dream*, demonstrating its structural, stylistic, and thematic unity in relation to the homiletic traditions of Anglo-Saxon England.

I will argue the case for the unity of *The Dream of the Rood* as well as its role in the Christian liturgy. I will

achieve this by analysing the rhetorical patterns in the poem’s style and structure. I will demonstrate that the schemes, figures, and tropes that characterize the poet’s treatment of the Crucifixion and the symbol of the cross correspond to formal patterns in the poem’s narrative. These transitions are topically arranged and correspond with the classical divisions of a discourse into *exordium*, *narratio*, *argumentum*, and *conclusio*. The adaptation of rhetorical precepts in Old English poetry will be attributed to a developing body of Anglo-Saxon homiletics that recast the role of secular, rhetorical learning to meet the demands of doctrinal experience.

I will demonstrate the ways in which the style of *The Dream of the Rood* was influenced by the rhetorical precepts of St. Augustine, while the poem’s themes and structure incorporate specific liturgical influences associated with the celebrations of Good Friday. Christ’s salvation, the renewal of faith, and the exhortation to Christianity are all themes common to the Passiontide Masses and parallel the narrative and rhetorical strategies of *The Dream of the Rood*. The symbol of the Cross and the verbal iconography of the Crucifixion are devotional expressions that fit naturally into the Anglo-Saxon *topos* of Easter, while the eschatological emphasis and overt didacticism of the poem make it an appropriate reading for the Prone at Passiontide. The diction and imagery of the poem are reminiscent of the offices of Good Friday and the *Adoratio Crucis* rite, while the structure of the poem is of a piece with the devotional requirements of the liturgy, where persuasion and influencing an audience are matters of dedicated concern. The organization of *The Dream* can be shown to be formally congruent with an Augustinian homiletic model and illustrates conformity with the rhetorical schemes set forth in Book IV of *De Doctrina Christiana* and *De catechizandibus rudibus*, two sources of doctrinal and catechetical instruction which were known by such medieval rhetors as Aldhelm, Bede, and Alcuin. I shall show the ways in which the style of *The Dream of the Rood* was influenced by these rhetorical precepts, while the poem’s themes and structure incorporate specific liturgical influences associated with the celebrations of Good Friday.

**Session 96: “Swords make the Man? Gender and Material Culture in the Viking Age”**

**Jane Kershae (U of Oxford): “Cultural Identity and Gender in the Danelaw from an Archaeological Perspective: The Small Finds Evidence”**

This paper considers the growing corpus of metal-detected finds, recorded by the Portable Antiquities Scheme, to shed new light on an area of study where



more traditional settlement and cemetery approaches have been of limited value, cultural interaction and identity in the Danelaw. It is argued that small yet highly visible dress accessories were worn by both settled and incoming groups to express ethnic and cultural allegiances and aspirations at a time of considerable social upheaval. These allegiances, however, were far from clear-cut; they shifted over time, acquired different meanings and had distinct gender-dimensions. Purely Scandinavian dress items associated with the earliest settlers soon gave way to hybrid Anglo-Scandinavian types, and this paper asks what this meant in the context of the Danelaw. Was this a conscious effort on behalf of the Scandinavian population to integrate with the British, or do hybrid types reflect British attempts to adopt the fashions of a politically and militarily superior group? How can changes in artefact style and distribution elucidate processes of cultural interaction between Scandinavians and 'native' British? Particular artefact types were more likely than others to display Scandinavian influences. This paper suggests that 'female' rather than 'male' dress items were selected to express and communicate cultural affiliation and identity. Women, whether ethnically Scandinavian or not, had a vital role in reconfiguring Scandinavian identity in the British Isles.

#### **Session 101: "Manuscript Studies: Manuscripts and their Readers"**

**Sharon M. Rowley (Christopher Newport U): "Late Medieval Readers of Bodleian Library MS Tanner 10 and the Old English Bede"**

Bodl. Lib. MS Tanner 10 has been studied extensively as the oldest surviving manuscript of the OE translation of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum* (OE Bede) and because of its beautiful zoomorphic initials, but the fact that it contains 13th-14th century Latin glosses, numerations, and running titles has been almost entirely ignored. While all five of the extant OE Bede manuscripts contain contemporary or later medieval interventions in English, only two, Tanner 10 and CUL MS K.k. 3.18, contain later Latin glossing. This is not surprising—Latin glossing and annotation are quite unusual in vernacular Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Christine Franzen has dramatically increased our knowledge of the habits of the Tremulous Hand of Worcester, who glossed about twenty OE manuscripts, including K.k. 3.18, in the thirteenth century. According to Neil Ker, however, only five OE manuscripts contain Latin glosses dating to 13th-14th centuries which are *not* by the Tremulous Hand. "There is evidence," Ker declares in his *Catalogue*, "that manuscripts in

Old English were considered to be practically without value in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries" (xlix). While Ker acknowledges that Old English manuscripts were not completely unread, his list of Old English manuscripts with later use signs is short enough to support his contentions. It seems clear from the material evidence that interest in—and the ability to read—Old English manuscripts decreases dramatically in the 13th and 14th centuries. But then who was reading Tanner 10 in the 14th century, and why?

This paper looks closely at the glosses, annotations, running titles and annotations in Tanner 10, in comparison to the Tremulous' glosses in K.k.3.18, and other late medieval use signs in the three other extant OE Bede manuscripts. In contrast to the Tremulous Hand's widely scattered glosses in K.k. 3.18, the 14th-century glosses in Tanner 10 occur in sections specifically concerning Gregory the Great and pastoral care, while the other use signs and marginalia in the manuscript occur in sections where the OE translation has chapter breaks that differ from those in Bede's Latin, and where decorated initials emphasize saints' lives and miracles, especially those of St. Cuthbert, the nuns of Barking and John of Beverley. A preliminary examination of these glosses and annotations in the context of the differences between the OE Bede and the Latin original (*HE*) suggests that the OE Bede manuscripts may have been used as a corpus of vernacular local saints' stories, intended for refectory readings or a vernacular office.

The differences between the annotations in the five OE Bede manuscripts may reflect the interests of the people who were reading and using these books, depending on their provenance. If this is the case, such uses may shed new light on the ways in which this vernacular text was used in Anglo-Saxon England. Consequently, I also analyze the Latin interventions in Tanner 10 in relation to the book lending lists which were entered in the fly-leaves of the 14th-century binding. These fly leaves, which were originally from a mortuary roll from Thorney Abbey, constitute the principal evidence as to the manuscript's medieval provenance. As the lending lists include names, this component of my comparative analysis may shed light on the identity of the glossator. Most of all, however, a careful, comparative study of the Latin glosses and annotations in Tanner 10 will help us better understand who was reading Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in the 13th-14th centuries, and why.

#### **Session 145: "Topics in Medieval Law"**

**Bryan Carella (U of North Carolina at Chapel Hill): "Old English *seonað*, Latin *synodus* and Alfred's View of English Legal History"**

In the Prologue to his law code, Alfred makes a highly intellectualized argument about the place of Anglo-Saxon law in Christian history. His Prologue begins with an extended quotation from Exodus, chapters 20 through 23, and then continues with a statement of the Golden Rule (Matthew 7.12), and an account of the first Christian synod, the so-called Synod of Jerusalem, as narrated in Acts 15. After these biblical extracts, Alfred explains that similar synods have been held throughout Christendom ever since the time of the Apostles, including England; and—furthermore—that Anglo-Saxon traditional law is the product of such synods.

Alfred's claim is striking, since Anglo-Saxon vernacular law—while certainly concerned with ecclesiastical matters—can hardly be viewed as purely a product of the Church. What was Alfred attempting to accomplish by aligning Anglo-Saxon secular law so closely with canon law? In this paper, I examine this question, looking in particular at his use of OE *seonað/sinoð* (> L. *synodus*) in comparison with other early Anglo-Saxon intellectual figures, writing in both Latin and the vernacular. The semantic range of Latin *synodus* has already been explored by Adolf Lumpe ("Zur Geschichte der Wörter *Concilium* und *Synodus* in der antiken christlichen Latinität," *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum* 2 [1970] 1-21). However, use of the Latin term has never been systematically compared to its OE equivalent *seonað*, which is usually taken (I believe incorrectly) as covering the same semantic range as its Latin etymon. In this paper, I compare these terms, and show what light differences in their usage sheds on Alfred's reform agenda in the Prologue to his law code.

#### **Session 169: "In Honor of A. N. Doane II: The Old English and Old Saxon Genesis Poems"**

**J. R. Hall (U of Mississippi): "A. N. Doane's Editions of *Genesis*"**

In 1978 the University of Wisconsin Press published a book by Professor A. N. Doane entitled *Genesis A: A New Edition*. In his introductory remarks on the content and style of *Genesis A* (pp. 44-96) and in his detailed notes on individual passages (pp. 225-325), Doane convincingly supports his view of the poem as a vernacular writer's successful attempt to transmit the literal text of Scripture in a manner consonant both with his own literary tradition and with the patristic commentary grown up around the biblical book. Doane's text of *Genesis A* is notable for the convenient reprinting of the scriptural sources opposite the poem, for the attention given to some manuscript features (especially metrical pointing) generally ignored in earlier editions and for the frequent retention of manuscript forms "even in

cases where the text obviously seems to be disturbed" (p. x). Thirteen years later the University of Wisconsin Press published another book by Doane entitled *The Saxon Genesis: An Edition of the West Saxon Genesis B and the Old Saxon Vatican Genesis*. Like Doane's earlier edition, *The Saxon Genesis* is comprehensive in scope, coherent in arrangement, and lucid in presentation. The author's learning is both wide and deep, displaying intimate familiarity with the manuscripts and their recorded history and with the languages of Old Saxon and Old English and their literary backgrounds and traditions. The texts are soundly and meticulously edited, the textual notes generous and circumspect, and the glossaries a lexicographer's delight. And once more the author repeatedly defends manuscript readings by his philological erudition. For scholars (like me) who think that the goal of editing should be to produce "definite" editions rather than "definitive" editions (as Doane once put it), these two editions of *Genesis* illumine the way.

#### **Session 177: "Old English Religious Poetry II"**

**Jerry Denno (Nazareth College): "Concentricity in *Advent*"**

While a number of editors and critics have discussed the significance of the edifice or architectural motif in *Advent*, none has yet adequately noted that motif's larger resonance within what we might call the hall-ruin dialectic. Reading through other Exeter Book poems—especially *The Ruin* and *The Wanderer*—we can discern a recurring fascination with an imaginative polarity between integral and breached enclosures, ranging from the Temple of Solomon to the heavenly city to the womb of Mary. Like those other Exeter poems, *Advent* imagines spiritual deliverance as restoration, the reintegration of scattered parts.

Peculiar to the *Advent*, though, the imaginative flickering between hall and ruin, between the inviolate and the fallen, frames a central mystery—a koan upon which the poem's congregated speakers meditate. With the mystery of the virgin conception featured at the extant poem's approximate center, Mary's womb becomes itself a runic text to be deciphered, and Mary herself holds the key to her own riddle. She assumes authority, becoming an ideal reader, able to interpret the vortex of images around her miraculous impregnation, the centermost of concentric enclosures.

**David Swanson (Florida State U): "Law, Tradition, and the *Advent Lyrics*"**

In *A New Critical History of Old English Literature*, Greenfield and Calder note the importance of the

“contractual basis of Anglo-Saxon law,” stating that an understanding of this basis “provides a key to many aspects of [Anglo-Saxon] life and society” (115). Given the importance of law and tradition, and using de Certeau’s ideas on reading consumership, I will explore the potential resonances of the *Advent Lyrics* within Anglo-Saxon culture.

The *Advent Lyrics* would have resonated with its audience in a number of ways. First, the antiphonal form of the *Lyrics* contains within it a petition. These petitions reflect established relationships and expectations between rulers and the ruled. Second, specifically through word choice, the *Lyrics* grow in emotional intensity that blossoms in a sense of obligation raised by good behavior, to a point bordering on Pelagianism, and, in doing so, re-emphasizes contractual aspects of the *Lyrics*.

An understanding of the influence of legal tradition within the larger culture offers an interesting way to examine perhaps the most perplexing of the lyrics, Lyric VII. Lyric VII deviates from Latin tradition, with Mary answering Joseph when confronted by questions about her pregnancy and possible infidelity. This lyric, while at odds with the larger Church tradition, would have seemed all the more compelling to its Anglo-Saxon audience.

**Patricia Ward (College of Charleston): “Mary as ‘wealldor’ in *Christ I*, 301-347”**

Drawing on the antiphonal source for lines 275-347, Augustine’s nativity sermons, and various commentaries on Ezekiel (Jerome, Gregory, Hrabanus), I will examine the way in which the *Christ I* poet moves from his discourse on Ezekiel’s vision, to his assertion that Mary is the “wealldor” through which Christ came to earth, and finally to his statement, “Siððan we motan/ anmodlican ealle hyhtan,/ nu we on þæt bearn foran breostum stariað.” (“Henceforth we may all hope with one accord, now that we gaze on the child upon your breasts.”) Robert B. Burlin has noted, “With this simple and undramatic statement, we suddenly realize that the long-awaited Advent has been accomplished” (149). Mary Clayton calls this image “remarkable,” and suggests that the poet may have been influenced by pictures of Mary with the Christ child (212). I will show how the antiphonal source, “O mundi Domina,” informs this progression from the cosmic to the homely, and how sources such as Augustine’s nativity sermons and commentaries on Ezekiel shed light on the development of this passage, which culminates in the sudden appearance of the Christ child.

**Session 215: “Text and Image in the Old English *Genesis*”**

**Margaret M. Quintanar (U of Wisconsin-Madison): “*Genesis A* and Cyprian of Gaul’s *Poetae Heptatevchos*: A Comparison”**

Cyprian of Gaul’s *Poetae Heptatevchos*, a fifth-century poetic rendering of the first seven books of the Bible, was popular from the fifth through the mid-twelfth centuries. Rudolf Peiper, editor of the only published edition, conjectures that copies were in the libraries of Malmesbury and Wearmouth-Jarrow in the seventh century and asserts that in the ninth century Æthelwulf not only read Cyprian’s *Heptateuch*, but also imitated its *Exodus*. A number of manuscripts of the *Heptateuch* survive, one impressive tenth-century specimen in Canterbury (Canterbury College S. Trinity B.1.42). Given the popularity of Cyprian’s works and their availability in Anglo-Saxon England, the possibility exists that the author of *Genesis A* knew and borrowed from the *Poetae Heptatevchos*. A comparison of the two works reveals that, in places in the texts where the poets have significantly shaped the biblical verses, rearranging them for the sake of avoiding repetition, making the text more concise, or interpreting particular points, the verses of *Genesis A* follow an order similar to Cyprian’s *Genesis* in at least three locations. While it could be argued that both poets coincidentally made the same logical narration choices, the two poems also contain similarity in word choice and in theological concepts that cannot be refuted so easily, such as God’s anger (“yrringa” [918]; “ira” [101]) when pronouncing judgment on Eve, a commonality only between *Genesis A* and Cyprian of Gaul’s *Genesis*, whereas God in the Vulgate and other Old Latin texts is emotionless. Additionally, both stress Adam and Eve’s punishment in terms of physical separation from the garden of Eden (“procul sacratis ... hortish” [127]; “Gesaeton ... sorgfulre land” [961]) rather than the necessity of laboring. These and other similarities warrant further exploration to determine the relationship between *Genesis A* and Cyprian of Gaul’s *Poetae Heptatevchos*.

**Matt Kohl (New York U): “Anger from Envy’: Finding the Ancestry of the Emotion in *Genesis A* and *Beowulf*”**

This paper examines the role of anger in Cain’s fratricide in *Genesis A* and *Beowulf*. I consider how this emotion is treated in the Cain episode of *Genesis A* in relation to the relevant section in the Vulgate. The *Genesis A* version reads, “Hygewælm asteah // beorne on breostum,/ blatende nið // yrre for æfstum” (‘a thought-surge welled in the man’s breast, a stark fury, anger from envy’ 980b-982a). The Vulgate account, however, reads, “... iratusque est Cain vehementer et concidit vultus eius” (‘and Cain was vehemently angry, and his face sunk’ Gen 4:5).

When compared with the Vulgate rendering the additional stylistic weight given to Cain's anger in the Anglo-Saxon counterpart is evident. *Genesis A* prioritizes a welling physical embodiment of the emotion, which is all but absent in the Vulgate account.

I use these observations as a starting point to offer a new reading of *Beowulf*, in which the poet traces Grendel's lineage back to Cain. With my reading of *Genesis A*'s emphasis on Cain's anger, I argue that this genealogy serves to inform Grendel's disposition of rage in his frequent attacks on Hrothgar's court. For example, the *Beowulf* poet describes Grendel traversing a fen on his way to Heorot as, "*Godes yrre bæŕ*," literally 'bearing Gods' anger' (711b). Upon Grendel's arrival, the poet portrays him as "*gebolgen*" ('enraged' 723b), and as he bursts through the door, he is described as being "*yrremod*" ('angry of mood' 726a). I characterize Grendel's frequent rage and subsequent violent outbreaks as descendent not of Cain himself, but his anger and resulting fratricide. In reading *Beowulf* against *Genesis A*, I aim to demonstrate that the *Beowulf* poet presents anger as a sinful emotion whose inevitable self-expression is an act of violence. The unambiguously Christian interpretation of Grendel is problematic, because anger is frequently given a sanctioned place in the Anglo-Saxon poetic tradition.

**Angela B. Fulk (Buffalo State College): "World-Trees and Well-Springs: Tree and Water Imagery in the Old English *Genesis* Poem"**

In his 1982 book *The Well and the Tree: World and Time in Early Germanic Culture*, Paul C. Bauschatz expounds his theory that the companion symbols of well and tree are the central metaphors of Germanic cosmography. The source of his image is the Norse *Voluspá*, which depicts the world tree, Yggdrasil, growing beside a spring of water called Urth's Well. The Germanic concept of time is divided only into the two categories of past and not-past; present and future are united in a state of change and indeterminacy. Bauschatz links the image of the tree with the non-past—the temporal realm of unfinished action in which living human beings dwell. The well signifies the past, which Bauschatz describes as "a realm of experience including all of the accomplished actions of all beings, men, gods, etc. It is ever growing, and it has a direct, nurturing, sustentative effect upon the world" (15-16). This paper applies Bauschatz's reading of tree and water imagery in Germanic paganism to the Old English *Genesis* poem and its illustrations in the Junius manuscript. Viewed through the lens of Bauschatz's work, it becomes quickly apparent that the *Genesis* poet uses these symbols in much the same way as they are used in pagan mythology.

The obvious example of a sacred tree in the *Genesis* poem is the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, depicted in the poem with a serpent coiled around it just as the serpent Níðhöggr coils around Yggdrasil in Germanic myth. The poem, however, makes use of an extended comparison between that tree (called "*deaðes beam*," 488) and the tree of life ("*lifes beam*," 468), both of which come to represent possible worlds that may result from the choices made by Adam and Eve. (The word "*worulde*" is directly used in reference to both trees in lines 474 and 481.) In Germanic myth, tree and well are always found in conjunction, and the presence of water in the garden is stressed both in illustration and in the text. Water becomes the primary focus later in the Flood episode. Here, sacred waters change the structure of the world by the force of their encounter with it. Noah journeys from one world to another over water, much as Scyld Scefing and other leaders of Germanic myth transition by ship from this world to the next. My paper highlights the ties between the *Genesis* poem and earlier pagan myth, demonstrating some of the ways in which the *Genesis* poet uses echoes of earlier beliefs to explicate Judeo-Christian theological concepts.

**Session 216: "Linguistic Patterning in Old Saxon and Old English"**

**Hans Sauer (Ludwig Maximilians-U München): "Deverbal Formations in Early Old English"**

In order to analyse and classify the patterns of word-formation in Early English, I start by using the material from the Épinal-Erfurt glossary, the earliest attested English text of any length (archetype ca. 680-690). In this paper I concentrate on deverbal formations and try to explore (1) which word-classes could (and still can) be derived from verbs (mainly nouns and adjectives); (2) which suffixes were (and partly still are) used for derivations from verbs; (3) the semantic categories involved, e.g. (a) agent nouns in *-ere* > ModE *-er* (e.g. OE *flitere* 'quarreler'), in *-end* (e.g. OE *bisuicend* 'deceiver'; this suffix died out in Middle English), and without a suffix (e.g. OE *mund-bora* 'protector', lit. protection-bearer, from *beran*—in formations of this type compounding and derivation without a suffix actually seem to go hand in hand), etc.; (b) action nouns, e.g. in *-ung* (e.g. *ymbdrihtung* 'deliberation'); (c) instrument nouns, e.g. in *-el(s)* > ModE *-le* (e.g. *gyrdils* 'girdle'). I shall also discuss difficult, unclear and disputed cases, e.g. whether the derivation has been really made from a verb or rather from a noun or a stem common to a corresponding verb and noun, or whether derivation in *-end(e)* should be classified as agent nouns or rather as present participles.



**Mark Sundaram (U of Toronto at Mississauga): "Old English Syntactical Formulae: Developing a Methodology"**

Much has been made of the formulaic nature of Old English poetry. The majority of scholarship on Old English poetic formulae naturally focuses on lexical formulae such as set phrases and expressions. The proposed paper will instead examine syntactical formulae. By syntactical formula I mean repeated use of syntactical patterns without reference to their lexical content. Language is of course naturally formulaic, but one of the questions I wish to address is whether Old English poetry has particular concentrations or patterns of these formulae.

This work is at a very preliminary stage, and before conclusions can be drawn, data must be collected. The proposed paper seeks to develop a methodological approach to analyse and record syntactical formulae in Old English poetry. To do this, the greatest challenge is to develop a way to represent syntactical formula so that it can be categorized and compared across different texts in a manner divorced from lexical meaning. I will consider formulae as simple as the doublet (noun and noun, adjective and adjective, etc.) and as complex as a clause. For the purposes of this paper I will use short texts such as *The Dream of the Rood* and *The Wanderer* as test cases. My eventual goal is to develop a database of syntactical formulae of the entire Old English poetic corpus. This resource would be useful in examining such things as techniques of poetic composition and stylistic variations among authors. It is hoped that feedback from this paper will aid in this project.

**Megan Hartman (Indiana U-Bloomington): "Kuhn's Laws in Old Saxon"**

As metrical theory has started to reemerge as an important area of study among medievalists, the validity of Kuhn's Laws has been reconsidered. Many metricists have questioned the theory because it combines syntax and metrical ictus, proposing various solutions as to how the phenomena observed by Kuhn are instead either purely metrical or purely syntactical. At the same time, others argue that Kuhn is correct and the new theories are not adequate specifically because a combination of metrics and syntax are required to explain the placement of unstressed particles at the start of a clause.

This paper will take a different perspective by investigating the issue from the point of view of Old Saxon poetry. While Kuhn himself does look at Old Saxon in his article "Zur Wortstellung und -betonung im Altgermanischen," he focuses more on the Old Norse and

Old English tradition, as have most other metricists discussing his laws. By analyzing the *Heliand*, I will show that while some of the new theories proposed to replace Kuhn's Laws provide a partial explanation of Kuhn's observations, only the combination of syntax and meter that Kuhn proposes is sufficient to explain in full the patterns of stress at the start of a clause. This investigation will focus specifically on how the Old Saxon poet adapts his treatment of particles in order to fit the rather unusual metrical and syntactic schemas that developed in the Old Saxon language. By showing that the poet maintains the placement of particles described by Kuhn's Laws despite the other changes to the line in Old Saxon poetry, I will demonstrate that the treatment of particles at the beginning of a clause must have been an important consideration for the *Heliand* poet.

**Session 310: "Orality and Memory"**

**Joshua Goldman (U of Wisconsin-Madison): "Voicing History: Vocality, Technology, and the Poetics of Memory in 'The Wanderer'"**

The Old English poem "The Wanderer" has been explored critically through a number of fruitful avenues, including, most prominently, thematic and formal/stylistic studies. In this paper I will synthesize these two rather divergent avenues by examining the poem through the theoretical framework of what Paul Zumthor called "vocality," reading the poem as a vocal performance recorded in text. I read the text of "The Wanderer" as a textualization of the voice—an important distinction which has implications both thematically and stylistically and which blurs the lines between those two critical approaches, much as in an oral performance in which the meaning and the mode are often indistinguishably and inseparably connected in the voice of a performer. I argue that the poem is constructed as a primarily vocal artifact and that the way the progression from one way of historicizing events to another plays out in the text has its roots in an oral poetic heritage that has been adapted to function in a textual literate culture. The tension between secular and Christian historicization in the poem is mirrored and complemented by a tension between two poetic and literary inheritances, creating a drama not only of a secular past transitioning toward a Christian future, but fundamentally also of a vocal poetics transitioning towards a poetics based on the technology of letters. This tension-driven movement might also be understood as a transformation of a poetics of memory towards a poetics that has its foundation in a way of thinking and epistemologically positioning oneself in the world (poetically as well as socially) based on a literary Christian



inheritance. I argue then that “The Wanderer” is as much a poem about a struggle for a new way of understanding events and remembering as it is a poem about a new way of thinking and recording.

#### Session 328: “Style and Re-vision in Tolkien”

##### Anna Smol (Mount Saint Vincent U): “Beorhtnoth’s Journey: Alliterative Style and Poetic Tradition in Tolkien’s Re-vision of ‘The Battle of Maldon’”

Tolkien’s verse drama “The Homecoming of Beorhtnoth Beorhthelm’s Son” is probably best known to medievalists for its endnote on “ofermod” (translated as “overmastering pride” by Tolkien), a word that has inspired scholarly battles fiercer than the fighting at Maldon itself. Whether agreeing with or refuting Tolkien’s reading of “The Battle of Maldon” as severe criticism of Byrhtnoth, critics often seem to take up the endnote first and then, if they are at all interested in the drama, to read from the endnote into the play, making the character of Tída into Tolkien’s critical mouthpiece about “heathenish” verses. I propose reading in the other direction, looking first at the drama itself and its development through numerous drafts (Bodleian MS Tolkien 5. 1-117) before taking into account the “ofermod” endnote, which appears to have been added only in the final draft before submission to the journal *Essays and Studies*.

Christopher Tolkien has published just over 25 lines of an early draft of “The Homecoming,” but otherwise the process of stylistic revision that the drama has undergone is largely unknown. The most striking feature of Tolkien’s process of revision is that after several versions of the drama in rhyming couplets, he completely rewrites the play in alliterative meter. His subsequent drafts and notes explore ways in which Old English alliterative rhythms can be employed in modern English, including proverbial expressions, dialogue, and echoes of various Old English poems. If we recognize that one of Tolkien’s main concerns in writing the drama was to experiment with a poetic style and meter, then we might allow that the other character in the play, the young poet Totta, is as much a mouthpiece for Tolkien’s ideas as is the more world-weary Tída. Neither character represents the sole perspective that would speak entirely for Tolkien’s thought and art.

It is my contention, then, that “The Homecoming” should be recognized, first, as an achievement of alliterative art by a modern poet and, second, as an exploration of the ambivalence of that modern poet’s relationship to the Anglo-Saxon poetic tradition.

#### Session 375: “Capital and Corporal Punishment in Anglo-Saxon England”

##### Valerie Allen (CUNY): “Anglo-Saxon *Bót*: When Compensation Costs an Arm and a Leg”

It was a commonplace of nineteenth-century legal history that as compensation systems replaced revenge systems, such a development—encouraged by the Church—represented an evolutionary advance toward public peace and more humane social control. But the most recent thinking of legal historians has moved away from this evolutionary model to emphasize the coexistence of revenge and compensation systems, and to demonstrate how opposing pro- and anti-revenge arguments similarly coexisted. It is not helpful to regard revenge and compensation systems as either chronologically separable or as in ideological conflict, for both are forms of payment, of redress that settles the score between the aggressor and the aggrieved party. Body parts and coins were commensurable and fungible. As one law pithily put it: a slave who fails the ordeal twice will not be able to make any amends [*bót*] except by his head (I *Æthelred* 2.1). In Anglo-Saxon studies, we have shied away from identifying the culture with talionic law in part because of this misunderstanding of the compensation laws as the successor rather than alternative to retribution, and in part because *lex talionis* is so routinely caricatured by punishment theorists as irrational revenge, something that one cannot detect in the carefully reticulated Anglo-Saxon laws. Yet Lantfred in the tenth century attributes King Edgar with having introduced punishments that adhered to the *lex talionis* (*Translatio*); and the poetics of revenge are already evident in laws governing mutilations that anticipate Dante in their aptness: the thief loses his hand, and the false witness his tongue (*Alfred* 32 and 6.1), while the rapist slave must forfeit his genitals (*Alfred* 25.1). (Note that in many of such cases, the forfeited member could also be redeemed with monetary compensation.) The body of my paper will be devoted to a consideration of the textual evidence in the Anglo-Saxon corpus, and of the extent to which we can rightly describe Old English corporal punishment as retributive.

##### Jay Paul Gates (Purdue U): “Cleaving to Gods Law: The King’s Mercy and the Condemned’s Body in Cnut’s Laws”

I am examining the blending of the pastoral function with secular government in early 11th-century Anglo-Saxon law. In particular, I am looking at how Archbishop Wulfstan approaches secular matters in writing laws through his pastoral function. Two primary examples demonstrate that a pastoral approach focuses on the individual and his relationship to the community, hence recognizing and valuing the individual in

secular society in a way unacknowledged in the scholarship. First, focusing on the individual as Christian and writing the law as Christian law, Wulfstan is able to overcome national divisions; in particular, he is able to legitimate the Christian Danish Cnut, who has taken the Anglo-Saxon throne, as an Anglo-Saxon ruler, and bring members of the Danelaw and of Anglo-Saxon England together into a single nation. Second, Wulfstan challenges capital punishment and emphasizes mercy in the law by supporting mutilation and shame, keeping the individual member of the society alive, but satisfying secular society's demands for punishment.

**Daniel O'Gorman (Loyola U Chicago): "Ne wearð dreorlicre dæd gedon on þison eared": The "Trial," Mutilation and Death of Alfred the Ætheling**

Following the untimely death of King Cnut in 1035, a succession crisis wracked Anglo-Saxon England. One of the contenders for the throne appears to have been Alfred, a son of Cnut's predecessor Æthelred II and the younger brother of Edward the Confessor. Alfred met with little success; shortly after landing in England, he and his party were seized, and he was tried, blinded and sent to live out his few remaining days at the monastery of Ely. Although Alfred was something of a marginal political factor, his plight garnered a fair share of notoriety. Alfred's tribulations are recorded in two roughly contemporary texts: the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, written in praise of Alfred's mother, Queen Emma. In this paper, I contend that insufficient scholarly attention has been given to the similarities that these accounts share. In fact, these texts are constructed to emphasize two common themes. First, both see Alfred's death as an example of the particularly reprehensible crime of royal murder. In inveighing against his death, they partake of a one-hundred-fifty year tradition that dates back to King Alfred's law code and is echoed in subsequent law codes, saints' lives, chronicles and sermons. Second, both accounts are hagiographic in nature. Alfred's death, tragic though it is, is seen as a martyrdom, and in death his intercessory power is recognized by friend and foe alike, and both narratives lay the ground for his subsequent veneration.

**Session 391: "Old Icelandic and Old English Texts: Cultural Studies"**

**Donna Beth Ellard (U of California, Santa Barbara): "Violence, Historicism, and the Rite of the Blood-Eagle"**

This paper addresses the relationship between cross-cultural violence and historicism. It begins by examining

historical evidence of the Viking practice of "blood-eagle," a sacrificial ritual connected to the Norse god, Odinn. This gory ritual is a constant matter of historical debate, and while there are only two 'documented' accounts of this practice performed on Anglo-Saxons, many more Anglo-Saxon deaths have been attributed to this ritual. This paper examines the expansive histories of two ninth-century figures that were victims of the blood eagle: King Ælla from Northumbria and King Edmund from East Anglia. According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Ælla reigned only one year and was killed along with many other Northumbrians during battle with the Vikings. However, in Danish lore, Ælla's death became an act of blood eagle: Saxon Grammaticus recounts it in his twelfth-century *Gesta Danorum*, and it is repeated in the fourteenth-century saga, *Ragnars saga Loðbrókar*. Similarly, the account of Edmund's death is transformed from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*'s pithy notice at the hands of the Danes, to Abbo of Fleury's recount of his martyrdom, and finally to modern historians' interpretations of his death as an act of blood-eagle.

By tracing the legacy of the blood-eagle, this paper investigates the processes by which the documentation of violence is transformed into cultural narratives and historical scholarship. It argues that a thousand years of hagiographic, biographic, and scholarly interpretations of Ælla's and Edmund's deaths produce histories that render their bodies and their last moments even more elusive now than in their Anglo-Saxon pasts. Likewise, the paper recognizes that these historical layers represent an unconscious need to refine, replay, and rewrite the violence that one group has done to another. The paper concludes by examining the relationship between violence and historicism and questions the degree to which ritual acts and cultural folklores can be accounted for by the projects of history-writing.

**Session 397: "Alfredian Tests and Contexts"**

**Joseph S. Wittig (U of North Carolina at Chapel Hill): "Macrocosm, Microcosm, and Neo-Platonic Thought in Early Glosses on Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*"**

At the time of Calcidius' early fourth-century translation of and commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*, a fairly sophisticated understanding of Platonic ideas of the world soul and the fabric of the universe was available at least to some in the west. By the time of the ninth- and tenth-century school glosses on Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, only vestiges of that understanding seem to remain, though it was to reemerge in the work of individual commentators like Bovo of Corvei. In the process of editing the early Latin glosses on the *Consolation* I

am currently studying the sources of those school comments, the tradition of learning they seem to reflect or echo, and the relationship of the early named gloss collections (“the anonymous of St. Gall,” “Remigius of Auxerre”) to one another and to earlier, scattered glosses (e.g., those in Orleans BM 270 and Bib. Ap. Vat. lat. 3363). This tradition would most likely have been what was available to Alfred and his circle, and in this paper I will explore how these glosses approaches the synopsis of the *Timaes* presented in 3 m 9, “O Qui Perpetua,” of the *Consolatio*. The discussion will focus on specific glosses, their relationship to sources and to each other, and what they tell us about the interests and preoccupations of their authors or compilers.

**Scott Gwara (U of South Carolina): “One Passage from the Alfredian Meters of Boethius Minus Four Cardinal Virtues Equals Two Germanic Vices Illustrated in Six Old English Poems”**

In 1971 F. N. M. Diekstra drew attention to the amplification of *Consolatio* I metr. vii in the Old English *Meters of Boethius* (5). He concluded two things. First, he professed that the Alfredian passage actually illustrates the opposition “ne to forht ne to fægen” from “The Wanderer” 68. Second, he alleged that the passage revealed how its author had “assimilated the current teachings about the nature of the affects.” In the Christian Stoic tradition to which Diekstra alludes, the four cardinal virtues, *fortitudo* (*patientia*) “fortitude,” *prudentia* “prudence,” *temperantia* “moderation,” and *iustitia* “justice” oppose the “affects” or “passions,” which include *dolor* (*tristitia*) “dejection,” *metus* “fear,” *gaudium* “joy,” and *spes* “hope.” I will argue that Diekstra’s first observation is almost certainly true but that an alternative explanation of the Alfredian adaptation is more probable. In my view, Alfred sieved Boethian philosophy through native literary treatments of warrior discretion. After explaining why “ne to forht ne to fægen” in “The Wanderer” describes excessive fear (cowardice) and excessive happiness (over-confidence), I will show how Meter 5 illuminates certain literary contexts of heroic arrogance. Aspects of the same native precepts advocating heroic moderation can be found in six Old English poems: “Precepts,” “The Wanderer,” “Vainglory,” “Gifts of Men,” *Beowulf*, and “Daniel.”

**Britt Mize (Texas A&M U): “Living Water, Broken Cisterns, and a Philosophy of Education in Alfred’s *Metrical Epilogue to the Pastoral Care*”**

While Alfred’s *Metrical Epilogue* to his translation of Gregory the Great’s *Cura pastoralis* has attracted some scholarly attention, it has usually been seen as inept

or unsuccessful according to the aesthetic priorities of modern Anglo-American literary criticism. I will not address the question of Alfred’s technical skill as a maker of verse, but I will suggest that at the level of concept there is much of interest in this poem. I wish to argue that the *Metrical Epilogue* undertakes a deft manipulation of both scriptural learning and the received stock of traditional Anglo-Saxon poetic imagery. Alfred coalesces familiar but richly nuanced imagery from both cultural sources into an innovative metaphor which, as it happens, bears directly on the project of lay education he famously envisions in his prose preface to this same work.

The scriptural image Alfred adopts and adapts is that of the *aqua viva* (in the words of the poem, the *libbendu wætru*), for which he is indebted to John 7:38–39 and Jeremiah 2.13, as prior scholars have noted. But in his identification of it as the *wæterscipe* of divinely-endowed wisdom—drawn from by the saints, directed through the world in “streams” like Gregory’s book, and collected into vessels by their readers—Alfred brings the recurrent scriptural motif of the *aqua viva* into contact with traditional Old English poetic treatments of wisdom as a figurative substance that can be gathered and stored in the containing mind. Most often, the mental container is figured by Anglo-Saxon poets as a treasure chamber (I discuss this convention at length in an article forthcoming in *ASE*), and Alfred himself uses the device in his *Metrical Preface* to this same translation as well as introducing it into the *Meters of Boethius*.

Alfred’s innovation in the *Metrical Epilogue* is to adjust the widespread metaphor of the concrete mental containment of a precious substance so that the mind becomes, instead of a *hordloca* or *breostcofa*, a *cyll* or *fætels* for the living water of wisdom. Besides firmly associating the scriptural *aqua viva* with wisdom—itsself not a negligible maneuver—Alfred’s handling of the metaphor of mental containment has a number of interesting implications. The most important of these have to do with the concept of education and the system of responsibilities associated with it. First, most other poems about wisdom, in modeling the ethics of its exchange and management on the parallel with treasure that is conventionally asserted, insist that wisdom must not be hoarded privately but must be shared. They treat it as an inherently social phenomenon to be developed and propagated through cyclical processes of giving and receiving. By contrast, Alfred’s shift from treasure to water enables him to speak permissively of the accumulation of wisdom for strictly private use: the *Metrical Epilogue* attaches no opprobrium to those who choose not to send streams running across the land, those in whose hearts “the spring abides, deep and quiet.” It is not necessarily incumbent upon the wise to teach.

Second, this easing of the responsibility traditionally placed on those who possess wisdom is exactly complemented by the heightened responsibility Alfred places on those who might wish to acquire it. The *Metrical Epilogue* stresses the idea that the mental vessel can fail to be watertight. Nowhere in Old English poetry is wisdom-as-treasure represented as being unproductively or wastefully released: never do we find the discharge of mental treasure portrayed as profligate spending, unwise giving, or careless loss (despite the availability of scriptural models such as Matthew 7.6, the familiar “pearls before swine” passage, that might seem capable of inspiring a sapiential analogue). Alfred’s modification of the received metaphor thus presents a new and convenient means of representing the dispensation of wisdom to those who cannot or will not collect it into their mental containers, and it also advances the idea that some minds gather in but do not successfully retain wisdom, just as damaged vessels hold water imperfectly. These changes introduce into the conventional mind-as-container system what we might call an ethics of learning. In Alfred’s formulation in the *Metrical Epilogue*, responsibility for the proper valuation and preservation of wisdom rests primarily on its recipients or consumers, those who may or do newly receive access to it, rather than those who already safeguard it.

#### Session 449: “Rewriting Saints’ Lives I”

##### Sally Shockro (Boston College): “Bede’s New Cuthbert”

Bede’s prose *Life of St. Cuthbert* is heavily dependent on the anonymous *Life of St. Cuthbert* written by a monk of Lindisfarne. But Bede’s rewriting of this *vita* is not just an expansion for the sake of increased clarity and detail; rather it is a reworking of the most fundamental aspects of Cuthbert’s character. In the hands of Bede, the simply holy Cuthbert of the anonymous *Life* becomes a biblical figure with the potential to be the center of a powerful cult.

Part of Bede’s method of refashioning Cuthbert was to develop some central stories from the anonymous *Life*, while removing others less suited to his vision. But the key, I believe, to Bede’s program of rewriting Cuthbert’s *Life* can be found in the allusions that he makes to other texts. Although the anonymous author certainly followed hagiographical tropes, Bede’s Cuthbert is freshly compared to iconic figures, Anthony and Benedict, and mirrors some of their actions. Bede’s Cuthbert is linked to Old Testament prophets by means of biblical allusion and imagery, making for a saint with more authority and power than the anonymous’s Cuthbert, yet without altering the basic chronology of Cuthbert’s life (or *Life*).

Bede’s new Cuthbert is well able to be the pivotal Northumbrian saint because he (unlike the Anonymous’s Cuthbert) possesses divine clout—he is of the rank of Anthony, and although Bede never states it explicitly, he hints through biblical allusions that Cuthbert is like a Northern Elijah. This reworking was certainly in response to the growing influence of Wilfrid’s followers, but I think that there is more to Bede’s Cuthbert than ecclesiastical politics. By making Cuthbert such an exceptional and exalted figure, Bede was subtly incorporating Northumbria, and all of England, into the story of sacred history.

##### Nicole Marafioti (Cornell U): “Hagiography and History in the Icelandic *Saga of Edward the Confessor*”

The Icelandic *Jatvarðar saga* recounts the life and influence of the Anglo-Saxon king Edward the Confessor, who died in 1066 and was canonized in 1161. The saga, which survives in two 14th-century manuscripts, is compiled from various source texts: Latin chronicles, Old Norse sagas, and liturgical materials were all used in its composition, as well as 12th-century Anglo-Latin *vitae* by Osbert of Clare and Aelred of Rievaulx. The central portion of the saga is devoted to Edward’s piety and miracles, which are drawn from the Latin hagiographical material and have therefore led modern scholars to classify *Jatvarðar saga* as a saint’s life. Upon closer inspection, however, it can be debated whether the saga should in fact be considered a devotional work. First, the account of Edward’s life and miracles comprises only part of the saga; approximately half of the work consists of political history, which rarely refers to the king’s sanctity and is virtually devoid of hagiographical themes. Secondly, instead of celebrating Edward’s lasting influence or posthumous glory—as do the Latin *vitae* and other Old Norse saints’ lives—*Jatvarðar saga* concludes with the destruction of its subject’s kingdom and the failure of his brand of Christian kingship, with the ascension of the impious William the Bastard. Finally, there appears to have been no Icelandic cult of Edward that would have necessitated the composition of a devotional work in his honor, implying that the saga was intended to be a historical, rather than a hagiographical text.

In this paper, I will contend that the saga’s moderate focus on Edward’s sanctity and the apparent lack of a saint’s cult in Iceland suggest that *Jatvarðar saga*, unlike its Anglo-Latin sources, was not compiled to glorify Edward as a saint. Rather, the king’s unwavering faith and constant cooperation with the Church would have provided an imitable example of lay piety for an Icelandic audience interested in the final days of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy.



**LaTarsha Pough (Duke U): “Raising the Picts: *The Scottish Legendary’s* ‘St. Ninian’ as Revision”**

St. Ninian, a British bishop who ministered to the southern Picts in the fifth century, is one of two Scottish saints included in the *Legends of the Saints in the Scottish Dialect of the Fourteenth Century*, or, as it is more widely known, *The Scottish Legendary*. After his appointment to a bishopric in Galloway, the Ninian of this legend builds the first church in Britain, performs a number of miracles, and leaves behind relics that attract visitors to Scotland (which is imagined as distinct from England and Wales though they occupy the same British isle) in large numbers. The latter half of the poem treats Ninian’s afterlife, in which he is a particularly political Scottish saint whose miracles consist of protecting Scots from English hosts and rescuing penitent Englishmen from wrongful death.

This paper wishes to examine the ways in which the compiler/author of *The Scottish Legendary* engages in re-writing St. Ninian’s life. First of all, how does this legend, in which St. Ninian becomes a political saint, engage with the lives of Ninian written by the Venerable Bede (as a part of his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*) and Aelred of Rivelax? What does he leave out or add, and to what end? This paper also hopes to engage the national anxieties that animate this life’s revisionary transformation of the Picts of the first half of the poem into the “Scottis-m[e]n” of the second.

**Session 518: “Early Medieval Europe II”**

**Deanna Forsman (North Hennepin Community College): “Bede, Bertha, and the Frankish Contribution to the Conversion of the English”**

In his *Ecclesiastical History*, Bede sets up a well-known bipartite model for the conversion of the English peoples, discussing contributions from the Irish on the one hand and the Romans on the other. Conspicuously absent from Bede’s narrative are substantive treatment of the indigenous British population and the neighboring Franks. While modern scholars recognize political interactions between the Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian kingdoms, there has been little examination of the role played by Merovingians in the early conversion of the English, despite the fact that it is common knowledge that Bertha, a Christian Merovingian princess, was present in Kent before Pope Gregory’s mission of 597. This paper argues that scholars have overstated Bertha’s political value while simultaneously undervaluing her connection with Tours and the Cult of St. Martin. A careful examination of the sources suggests that not only did Bertha play an instrumental role in the initial

conversion of the English, but she also served as an intermediary between her pagan husband and British Christians. A reevaluation of Bertha’s role as a Christian wife not only refines our understanding of late 6th century Anglo-Saxon England, but also provides insight into Bede’s use—or lack thereof—of available source materials for the *Ecclesiastical History*.

**Session 563: “Medieval Sermons: Composition, Reception, and Preservations in the Early Middle Ages”**

**Miranda Wilcox (U of Notre Dame): “Epithets for the Creator in Genesis A: An Early Anglo-Saxon Trinitarian Catechesis?”**

The Anglo-Saxons produced a large corpus of vernacular homilies. Yet they also composed a number of vernacular poems which address similar Christian themes, poems which may have functioned, like the homilies, as vernacular alternatives to the Latin scriptures and liturgy for teaching the tenets of Christianity. Explicating the nature of God was one of the fundamental topics of medieval preaching and catechesis, and the story of creation was a key narrative used by patristic exegetes to highlight the role of Christ as the Word of God directed by God the Father. Ælfric’s homilies on the creation follow this patristic model; however, a poem that versifies the first book of the Bible, *Genesis A*, characterizes the Creator through epithets in apposition as a single persona. In the 195 lines recounting the periods of creation, the *Genesis A*-poet uses some thirty-two different epithets for God, epithets which embrace characteristics of both God the Father and Christ the Son in an undifferentiated portrayal of the majesty and transcendent sovereignty of the Trinity. The theological implications of the epithets for the Creator in *Genesis A* portrays an understanding, perhaps pedagogically motivated, of the members of the Trinity that differs from the Christologically-centered sermons and poetry produced between the seventh and ninth century on the Continent and the vernacular corpus of homilies written during the Benedictine Reform in tenth-century England. This paper suggests that evangelization and Christianization movements which were specific to early Anglo-Saxon society motivated the Trinitarian concentration of this Old English poem.

**Session 570: “Beowulf: Comparative Studies”**

**Keri Wolf (U of California, Davis): “The Social Functions of Seating and Benches in *Beowulf*”**

Benches and stools as fixtures in the mead hall appear frequently throughout *Beowulf*, beginning in line five



where the poet describes Scyld Scefing: “*Oft Scyld Scefing sceaþena þreatum, / monegum mægþum meodosetla ofteah, / egsode eorl[as], syððan ærest wearð / feaceaft funden*” (4-7a). Depriving enemies of their mead benches might seem a curious action to modern readers, but it indicates that benches fulfilled a powerful role within the culture of the community the poet describes. In *Beowulf*, the bench becomes a cultural icon: placement on the bench is symbolic of acceptance into the culture, and the bench is a center for gift giving, singing, feasting, and storytelling. Informed by the theories of French cultural historian Henri Lefebvre that every society produces its own space and “any space implies, contains, and dissimulates social relationships” (83), this paper will examine the mead bench as a part of “social space,” and demonstrate how the bench participates in the production of that space. This paper will conclude by comparing the social use of benches in *Beowulf* with that in *King Hrolf Kraki’s Saga*, proposing that the differing treatments can be accounted for by the *Saga* author’s inhabitation of a “social space” in which benches and positioning on them did not have the same symbolic spatial function as they did to the Anglo-Saxons.

**Hyde Abbott (Horry-Georgetown Technical College):  
“Literary and Linguistic Cultural Collisions in the  
Nowell Codex”**

Since the publication of Kenneth Sisam’s book *The Structure of Beowulf* (1965) critics interested in the textual unity of the Nowell Codex have agreed that it comprises a kind of *liber monstrorum*. Andy Orchard’s volume *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf Manuscript* (1995) has gone a long way to enhance and validate Sisam’s study, and, correspondingly, to solidify the impression that the entries in Nowell comprise a medieval anthology. In a twenty-minute presentation at Kalamazoo, I propose a new way of thinking about the Nowell Codex as a record of cultural collisions: between Alexander and the peoples he conquers, Christopher and the people he converts, Beowulf and the monsters he slays, and Judith and the Assyrian Holofernes she beheads. In each case, the exotic “other” is “familiarized” or defined by reference to the familiar plus a description of the unfamiliar. Thus, Grendel is a “man” or demon, has eyes that glow and talons like extended fingernails. Grendelsmere is like a Germanic hall but exists underwater and possesses items from a race of giants. Exotic animals like panthers and tigers in Alexander’s letter can hunt like domestic dogs. Women in Alexander’s travels and in the *Wonders of the East* are like familiar women but they have beards down to their waists. Holofernes sleeps in a mosquito net like a one-way mirror. He also behaves like a Germanic

warlord but he and his entire army are defeated by a single woman. The texts are unified because they profile the exotic, but in each case the boundary between the familiar and unfamiliar also displaces the subject.

Alexander, for example, consistently places too much trust in his faithless—or hapless—guides, but he never seems to apprehend their cultural difference. Nor does Dagnus understand Christopher’s passive resolve until the cultural divide causes Christopher’s martyrdom. Beowulf seems comfortable battling Grendel because he and his enemy are both manlike and monstrous at the same time. My paper will conclude by highlighting the language of difference in Alexander’s letter: heroic terms that suggest Alexander’s ancient “Germanic” lineage as a warband leader, such as *londliod*, *herebeacn*, *wæfersien*, *þeodkyningas*, *ege*, *ongrislic*, *nicoras*, *byman*; barely assimilated Latinisms like *comp*, *cartan*, *epistole*, *torras*, *columnan*, *cristallum*, *cristallisce*, and *columnan*; rare or unique vernacular terms giving a pretension of an alien encounter, such as *brydburas*, *heahcleofan*, *stýþeo*, *goldhord*, *gimmiscu*, *eorcnanstanum*, *wæstmberendeste*, *hrifra*, *stanholum*, *gehyldrum*, *godwebwyrhtum*; and morphological patterns that conjure up the precise but artificial language of scholasticism, such as nouns terminating in *-nes*: *gesegeenis*, *gesetenisse*, *widgalnisce*, *freceenisce*, *ongietenisse*, *gleawnis*, *missenlicnisce*, *micelnisce*, *asprungnes*, *hrednes*, *heanes*, *sælignesce*, *gesælinnesce*, *gelicnes*, *fromnisce*, *hefignes*, *geswencness*. After outlining examples of literary and linguistic cultural collisions from ca. 1000 A.D., I will claim that the Nowell anthology reflects Anglo-Saxon England’s experience of a wider cultural exposure.

**Dongmei Xu (Purdue U): “Peace-weavers’ Reconsidered: Upsetting Echo in Their Chinese Counterparts”**

Ever since the study of gender roles in *Beowulf* started, “peace-weaver” has been a term of much interest. It is interesting because it tells something about women so far away in the past, speaking to us across the distance of many centuries. It is interesting also because much is untold so that we can indulge in our imagination, fantasies, and often unfortunately prejudices to finish the picture. The most interesting thing about the peace-weaver perhaps is what Andrew Welsh has observed: “There may be successful peaceweavers—perhaps Hygd, Hygelac’s queen, is an example—but in that case there is no story. A Peaceweaver tale seems always to be a tragic tale” (Andrew Welsh, “Branwen, Beowulf, and the Tragic Peaceweaver Tale,” *Viator* 22 [1991]: 8). And that reminds me of the typical representation in Classic Chinese literature of women in similar situations, commonly called the wed-for-peace princess: there were indeed successful transnational marriages and happy

royal brides, but in that case there are few verses chanted; a poem about a wed-for-peace princess seems always to be a tragic poem.

The historical tracks of different cultures from time to time intersect, and it is not surprising that both English and Chinese courts once had the poignant experience of exchanging women for peace. What is striking is that both “peace-weaver” and “wed-for-peace princess,” literally related to that historical practice, have been commonly taken as epithets for a certain group of women, which has formed the basis for their perception as passive figures. This paper compares the representations of women in such situations, and argues that the deliberate tragic coloring of them, which underplays the importance of their individuality and subjectivity, is in both literary contexts grounded in a partial perception of women’s social roles.

**Session 575: “Anglo-Saxon Space: Textual, Physical, and/or Spiritual I”**

**John D. Niles (U of Wisconsin-Madison): “Beowulf the Goth’: Mapping Anglo-Saxon Heroic Geography”**

How did the people of later Anglo-Saxon England conceive of the geography of the lands, eastward of Britain, from which they believed their ancestors had come?

Since nothing resembling maps of the kind that are familiar today were available to the people of that era, answering that question requires a good deal of guesswork and frustration. When one looks to the two northern voyagers Ohthere and Wulfstan, whose accounts of Scandinavia were added to King Alfred’s translation of Orosius’s *Historiae adversum paganos*, what one finds are selective navigational guides that embody a sailor’s pragmatic knowledge of the relative position of significant bodies of water and land. One could scarcely generate a topographical map of Scandinavia from the information provided here. The late eleventh-century Cotton Tiberius map, on the other hand, which is the only true Anglo-Saxon *mappa mundi*, is chiefly a learned creation dependent on Orosian historiographical tradition. It cannot well be taken as evidence for popular conceptions of northern geography; moreover, some of its toponyms are obvious blunders (e.g. *Island* as a label for Scandinavia). Still, when these sources are read in conjunction with others—*Beowulf*, *Widsith*, and the Old English version of Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History*, in particular—a coherent picture of Anglo-Saxon “heroic geography” begins to emerge.

What I mean by that term is a set of geographical ideas that, whatever their basis may be, are subsumed into a “mode of seeing” that has a validity independent of the actual features of the physical world. Such

modes of perception tend to be radically ethnocentric. Moreover, they tend to flourish during periods of active ethnopoiesis—that is, during periods when national, tribal, or ethnic identity is in the process of manufacture. Tenth-century England was such a period, and it is no coincidence that a heroic geography keyed to the period of imputed national origins was in the process of formation at that time.

This paper is meant to contribute to the understanding of Anglo-Saxon heroic geography by addressing two major problems, amidst several other minor ones. (1) Who were Bede’s troublesome “Jutes,” the third of the three tribes that conquered Britain—or who did Anglo-Saxons of the era from Alfred to Ælfric think they were, and who did historians living later in the Middle Ages think they were? (2) What was the homeland of the *Gēatas* of *Beowulf*—or what would an informed person of the late Anglo-Saxon period, lacking modern philological training, have taken that shadowy people to have been? Responses to these questions will lead to greater understanding of why it was such a natural thing, in the nineteenth-century reception history of *Beowulf*, for scholars and translators to have spoken of “Beowulf the Goth” in the assumption that the poet’s *Gēatas* were the Goths, or were a branch of that great race. This error, if it can be called that, will be seen to be rooted in pseudo-geographical ideas that emerged in Anglo-Saxon England in tandem with pseudo-genealogies and “mythhistories” that, reinforcing one another’s effects, helped form the basis of an emergent national identity.

**Lemont Dobson (U of York): “Early Medieval Monuments in East Riding”**

This paper is an assessment of the role of monuments in the construction of social power in Anglo-Saxon England. Specifically it focuses on the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Deira and argues that the choices inherent in elite investment in monuments signal statements of economic, social and political values that tell us about who they believed themselves to be or how they wished to be perceived. The landscape of Deira provides the stage for these displays of ideologically charged discussion. The relationship between the natural landscape and pre-existing manmade monuments of the region, and the social actors of the fifth to the tenth century is assessed. From this it is argued that the Anglo-Saxon elite adopted and adapted the landscape in ways that created artificial links to the real and imagined past.

The material culture from early medieval Deira was reviewed and mound burial, i.e., burial in pre-existing mounds, and stone sculpture were identified as ideologically laden forms of material culture, i.e., monuments.

These were catalogued and the data mapped to identify areas or 'zones' of concentrated investment. These were used to select three Case Study Areas where the broader observations made about the distribution of monuments across the landscape are assessed on a smaller scale which the social actors of the past would have interacted with the monuments.

From these multiple political communities in Deira were identified. This is in contrast to the documents which describe a single political entity and a homogenous conversion to Christianity. Through an historical archaeological approach that gives equal voice to 'text and dirt' this paper reconstructs the arguments that were edited out of the documents and instead of the orthodox *Gentis Anglorum* envisioned by Bede, multiple communities were negotiating their future and Western European Christianity was only one of a range of ideas considered.

**Asa Simon Mittman (Arizona State U): "In the same place': The Location of Identity in the *Wonders of the East*"**

The Anglo-Saxon *Wonders of the East*, surviving in an illustrated copy in the *Beowulf* Manuscript, are very much about how humans locate themselves. Explicitly and literally, most entries begin by situating the creatures to be described: "At the beginning of the land," "as you go towards the Red Sea," "between these two rivers," "in the same place." These passages can disorient—they follow no geographic logic and map no possible journeys—yet they shape for readers a progression though a loose 'narrative' in which one is led deeper and deeper into the unknown, almost mythical East and, thus, back again to the spaces of our own identities. Where is the space of the Anglo-Saxon reader/viewer in this impossible journey? Since we can locate identity within the body, as it is presented in both the texts and illuminations of the manuscript, the identity of the viewer, Anglo-Saxon and modern, is intimately tied to the presentation of these alien bodies, embodied within this very fleshly manuscript. We redefine ourselves as we gaze on these wonders, learning what we are by examining what we are not. But at the same time, we locate identity in the acts of representation and reading themselves, acts which in these texts often appear in violent opposition to the integrity of the body: as these monsters and the humans with whom they interact tear themselves and each other apart, they also enact the negotiation of violently conflicting demands (that one be at once a human, a body, a man or a woman, a name, an Anglo-Saxon, a Christian, a speaker, a reader), negotiation nonetheless necessary for constructing and maintaining an understanding of one's self and one's place in the world.

**Session 593: "England and Her Monasteries"**

**George Beech (Western Michigan U): "How *Engla lond* (England) Replaced *Britene* (Britain) as the English Country Name Around 1000 AD: The Evidence of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle"**

*Britannia*, the name by which the ancient Romans from pre-Christian times knew the islands off the northwest coast of continental Europe, has shown a remarkable durability over the past 2000 years and is still being used in the forms of Britain, Great Britain, and the British Isles. Not until the end of the first millennium, halfway through that immense stretch of time, did *Engla lond*—the land of the English—take over as the name for the country which still bears it today. The adoption of *Engla lond* at that time was directly related to far reaching changes in the ways the English looked on themselves as a people in their European setting and thus symbolically ushered in a new era in their history. The English have always been aware of this change yet no one has studied and written about the introduction and imposition of this new name as a subject in and of itself. The key questions are: what were the origins of the name; who were the first people to use it; what prompted them to do so, and how did its usage spread with the passage of time? These are the subject of my paper. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is the critical source of information although I also make use of the writings of Ælfric, Wulfstan, the laws of Cnut and some charters, but I have not systematically explored these latter.

**Frederic Lardinois (U of Connecticut): "The Creation of Sacred Space in Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval England"**

While the technicalities of monastic foundations have been studied in depth from the perspective of various disciplines in medieval studies, there has been almost no work done on the legends that so often surround these foundations.

In England, for example, the priory of St. Mary de Pree in Hertfordshire was founded after St. Amphibalus appeared to a man in Warden in 1190, who then relayed the saint's desire for a monastery to be built to the local bishop. The saint had pointed out that the monastery was to be constructed on the spot where his body had been laid to rest before it was translated to St. Albans in 1178. The nunnery at Wroxall was founded after St. Leonard teleported an imprisoned crusader from the Holy Land to the forest of Wroxall, where he was to establish a community of women in honor of the saint at a location which St. Leonard himself marked with stones.

In surveying the various foundation legends, it becomes apparent that a lot of these, such as the ones mentioned above, feature the common trope of a saint calling for the foundation of a monastery, but beyond that, a large number of these narratives also have the saint appoint the exact geographical location of this monastery.

As I will argue in this paper, these legends aid the religious community in establishing a sacred space and, through this, facilitate the creation of an identity for the newly established religious community. For this, I will draw upon the theory of sacred space as defined by Mircea Eliade in 1957 and more recent work on the idea of sacred space in medieval England by John Howe, Michael Harrington and others. According to Eliade, a sacred space can be established through an “act of manifestation of the sacred.” In this paper, I will argue that these visions of a saint were seen as such manifestations and the specific designation of a space for the foundation of a monastic community creates a sacred space different from one which was established by a charter only.

**Joseph Grossi (Canisius College): “Bury Sanctity: St. Edmund and His City from Ælfric to Cromwell’s Visitors”**

This paper surveys changing attitudes towards the relationship between St. Edmund and the East Anglian town that bears his name. Although Anglo-Saxon ‘Bedricsworth’ gained recognition when King Sigbert established a monastery there in the seventh century, Bury St. Edmunds truly launched the reputation of its surrounding shrine as ‘holy Suffolk’ when that monastery received the body of the martyr-king of the East Angles in or shortly after 903. Beyond Edward the Confessor’s reference to the city as ‘St Edmund’s Bury’, the process of identifying the place with its saint nevertheless took time. Before King Edward, Ælfric in the *Passion of St Edmund* had linked the saint’s virtue with East Anglia generally (*‘his folc’, ‘pysum lande’, ‘Engla landa’*). Although the town itself was controlled later by the Sacrist of the Abbey, the chronicler Jocelyn of Brakelond was more concerned with monastic authority as it extended to the surrounding vill, hundreds, woods and manor houses. Only in John Lydgate’s minor poems, his *Cartae versificatae* and his *Life of St. Edmund* do we see the explicit merging of Edmund’s holiness with the urban identity of Bury, precisely when the Abbey’s influence over the town had begun to wane. Lydgate suppressed memory of the monks’ earlier clashes with the townspeople in order to exalt divine harmony between them. This illusion of peaceful transcendence would be shattered a century later, though, when Legh and Ap Rice

reduced the Abbey to the fixed value of £1656 7s 3½ d ‘after deductions’ (A.B. Whittington)—a figure much higher than its eventual selling price at the Dissolution. But the cries of the wolf in Edmund’s *passio* were not uttered in vain, for Bury’s motto ‘Shrine of a King, Cradle of the Law’ testifies to the readiness even of Post-Reformation observers such as Camden and Defoe to number the saint and his monastery among the glories of the town.

**Session 617: “Anglo-Saxon Space: Textual, Physical, and/or Spiritual II”**

**Karen Eileen Overbey (Seattle U): “Re-Placing the Saints: Anglo-Saxon Cults and Post-Conquest Devotion”**

In the early eleventh century, Bishop Hugh of Bayeux oversaw the translation and enshrinement of the bodies of SS. Rasyphus and Ravennus to Bayeux Cathedral. According to the twelfth-century *Passio* composed by a canon at Bayeux, the sainted brothers had fled their native Britain during the fifth-century invasions and taken refuge in France, where they were eventually martyred. Their relics were kept for a time at Macé and then at Saint Vaast-sur-Seulles. In the text, chronology and topography are vague, perhaps intentionally so, and complicated by hints at the concealment and loss of the relics during the Viking invasions. Their location, miraculously, was revealed to Hugh in a series of visions, and once their relics were installed devotion the expatriate saints flourished at Bayeux. By the late eleventh century, the cult of Rasyphus and Ravennus was second only to that of the Virgin Mary, the Cathedral’s primary dedication.

Bayeux churchmen likely invented this cult, as the fifth-century martyrs provided a devotional focus for a Cathedral badly in need of prestigious relics. But the cult also provided, through the martyrs’ exilic status, a re-imagining of the pre-Conquest space of England: holiness endangered in Anglo-Saxon lands could be recovered when *replaced* within Normandy. How did this strategy of ‘re-placement’ function more broadly in post-Conquest Anglo-Norman culture, especially for the cults of Anglo-Saxon saints? A simple, colonizing opposition between ‘Anglo-Saxon’ and ‘Norman’ sanctity is not sufficient here: post-Conquest responses to old English saints are complex and varied, and in many cases (such as Kenelm, Ethelred, Oswald, Oswine) the hagiography foregrounds connections between royal/political activities, territory (and its loss) and martyrdom, a discourse even more central in devotions to the sainted kings Edmund and Edward. This paper explores the complexity of hagio- and historiographic responses



to Anglo-Saxon sacred space, and locates such cultic formation within shifting conceptions of territorial authority.

**Sachi Shimomura (Virginia Commonwealth U): “Spaces of Time in the OE Bede and the Benedictine Rule”**

Both the OE Bede and Benedictine Rule suggest an inward impetus of spirituality measured by space: the space of Anglo-Saxon England, or of specific monasteries, in the OE Bede; the space of monastic activity, in the Rule. I analyze how these texts recurrently juxtapose inner, close-up time/space with an outer, broader time/space scheme to define a communal spiritual space that supersedes time; I then argue that the OE Bede genders its formulations of spiritual space, and that its manuscript layouts seemingly reflect these concerns about spatial connections. Monastic enclosure, with its inward impetus, implies that completeness is communal, entailing inclusion within a broader spiritual space. Similarly, spatial relations within a monastic community (or for holy men and women, and their miracles) work both inward and outward. The Rule’s requirement that brethren working outside the monastery maintain liturgical hours suggests that how a monastery operates in unison (by the same time scheme) overrides its individuals’ physical space/location. Time similarly overrides space in stories about sisters miraculously detecting their abbess’s death from a distance (e.g., Hild’s death), or in revelations of Aethelburh’s death that connect her with deaths of other members of her plague-ridden community. Such personal miracles that create communal time and thus space are gendered, as comparisons with male saints, such as Aethelburh’s brother, suggest. Further spatial metaphors contextualize this connection of spiritual time with communal space: i.e., narratives of how bodies fit into their sarcophagi, such as King Sebbi’s which requires a public miracle for the proper fit. Such uses of space reveal a close-knit community of women and spiritual landscape of men in parallel stories joining inner space and outer space. Both the Tanner Bede and Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 41 have text layouts and decorated initials that reinforce such parallels.

**Robert Stevick (U of Washington-Seattle): “Spaced-out Beowulf, a Latin Grammar, Royal Writs”**

It is time to begin understanding the Anglo-Saxons’ intelligent uses of space in writing their texts, and to stop thinking that their use of it was primitive or capricious. They learned writing from the Irish, who had introduced spacing between words in order to construe Latin texts. When they wrote texts in their own

language there was fresh experiment with use of space (along other things). The steady march from Latin *scriptura* continua to “canonical” word spacing in English has obscured the other interesting things they did with space when writing their own language. Certain ones of their texts exasperate editors and ordinary readers with space left at the oddest places (and not left where we, of course, *know* it should be). These texts are not among the earliest, and certainly not on naive topics—just the contrary. Even as writing *per cola et commata* served an intelligent purpose for Latin texts, so variable spacing—where it occurs and how large it is—served another intelligent purpose for some prime Anglo-Saxon texts.

**Session 618: “New Light on Old English Literature”**

**John Peruggia (Saint Louis U): “See You at the Crossroads” The Intersection of *Beowulf* and *The Dream of the Rood*”**

The aged body of a warrior-king is burned on a pyre; his ashes are buried with his kingdom’s abundant riches. The wooden limbs of a cross are bejeweled by his followers and then placed in an unmarked grave for its protection. In their respective poems, *Beowulf* and the *Rood* are offered send-offs which are reflective of both their cultural importance and heroic actions. While comparative interpretations of the *Beowulf* and *The Dream of the Rood* have often sought to explore and explain the similarities between the heroic warriors, my essay focuses on the context surrounding their burials in order to explore the possible conflation of pagan and Christian religious practices in the works. Through a discussion of the manner and perpetrators of their deaths, the location of their burial spots, the treatment of their treasures, and the prophecies of their futures, I set out to explore the similar natures of *Beowulf* and the *Rood*, furthering our understanding of the latter’s personification within the poem and the former’s role as icon for a threatened society. Among the questions I seek to address are: What textual similarities exist between *Beowulf* and *The Dream of the Rood* apart from those previously discussed in existing scholarship? Does the location of *Beowulf*’s barrow serve as a warning to future warriors? How might the *Rood*’s decoration and burial offer scholars new insight into the oft-discussed pagan ritual performed at the end of *Beowulf*?

**Maria Cesario (U of Manchester): “Ant-lore in Anglo-Saxon England”**

There are two similar versions of an Old English prognostication concerning the shining of the sun during the twelve nights of Christmas. They appear in the



mid-eleventh century Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 713, and a twelfth-century addition to Oxford, Bodl. MS Hatton 115, fols. 149v-150r. Almost all the prophecies in these two texts foretell fortunate events. Among standard and straightforward predictions promising joy, gold, peace, blossom, abundance of milk, leaves and fruit, and a great baptism sent by God, we find the following enigmatic statement:

*Gyf þy .iiii. dæge sunne scyneð, þonne þa olfenda  
mycel gold oðberað þan ætmettum þa þone gold-  
hord healden scolden* (If the sun shines on the  
fourth day, then camels will bear off much gold  
from the ants which should hold the treasure).

On first view, this prophecy, oddly bringing together camels and ants which guard gold, looks quite out of step with those around it, and might provoke suspicion that the text has been interpolated and corrupted. However, these gold-digging ants have a long pedigree, one which links Old English with much earlier literature. There is, to begin with, another contemporary reference in *The Wonders of the East*, in all three versions of which 'dog-sized ants' are described as digging gold from the ground and attacking camels. Monstrous and abnormal ants appear also in other texts found in Cotton Vitellius A. xv, the *Liber Monstrorum* and the OE version of *Alexandri magna vita, de situ Indiae*.

The striking similarity between the prognostic test, *The Wonders of the East* and Herodotus raises many questions about the derivation of this story from its Greek original and the knowledge of Herodotus in Anglo-Saxon England.

The main purpose of this paper, apart from proving the existence of an ant-lore pattern in Anglo-Saxon England, is to explore the meaning of the prophecy and, more generally, to consider the history of prognostications involving the sun in the twelve nights of Christmas. The Latin origin of sunshine prognostications cannot be proved since the only known Latin text which has this kind of prophecy is no earlier than the fifteenth century. The Old English texts are the oldest ones. It is likely that there were some Latin texts, now lost, which pre-date then the Old English texts, where the sun, as a propitious natural element, was inserted into the Christian context of the twelve nights of Christmas. However, this does not exclude the possibility that there were earlier Greek versions of the prognostications, or that much of the material found in the Anglo-Saxon versions was invented by the Anglo-Saxon monks and reflects their own interest in prophecies involving the weather.

**Patrick J. Murphy (U of Wisconsin-Madison): "The Cursed Brother of the Earth: Tubalcain and Exeter Book *Riddle 83*"**

Despite the burn-marks in the Exeter Book that obscure *Riddle 83*'s fiery opening, its basic sense seems straightforward. Most scholars agree that the poem refers to metal ore ripped from the ground, purified by fire, and crafted into objects of a special power and strength (cold steel or cold cash are notable possibilities). The poem is thus typically read as a particularly fine, through fragmentary, instance of the Old English "transformation riddle," wherein some facet of material culture (whether flesh-born parchment or barley for beer) laments its painful manufacture from raw material to useful object. Frederick Tupper, in the notes to his classic edition of the *Riddles* (1910), complicates this reading by pointing out that the middle section of *Riddle 83* contains a very probable reference to Tubalcain, grandson of the cursed Cain, and the father of metalsmithing known to the Anglo-Saxons from Genesis 4:22. However, Craig Williamson, in his more recent edition of the *Riddles* (1977), dismisses this reading, pointing out that the speaker of *Riddle 83* locates this innovative metalsmith in the present day by declaring, *Nu me ... warað* "Now he guards me," a statement nonsensical for Tubalcain, but one that might refer to human craftsmen in general. I would argue, however, that Williamson's reading does not resolve the problem, since the metalsmith in question is clearly defined and an *individual* member of the human race, *se me ærest wearð/ gumena to gyrne* 'he who first among men became eager for me.' My answer to this riddle begins with the simple observation that the verb *warian* here many mean, not 'to guard,' but 'to occupy,' a sense well-attested elsewhere in Old English poetry. Thus, the earthen speaker of *Riddle 83* says of Tubalcain (long dead and buried): "Now he occupies me, he who first among men became eager for me, that cursed brother of the earth." This reading not only overcomes Williamson's objection to Tupper's reading; it also reveals *Riddle 83* to be participating in a rich early medieval tradition of connecting Cain's murder of Abel to Tubalcain's innovations in metalcraft and the rise of weaponry and warfare in the world, a nexus of ideas evident elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon poetry, including *Genesis A* and the Exeter Book's own *Maxims I* (Pope 1995, Wright 1996). By linking Tubalcain's metalsmithing to Cain's curse, then, *Riddle 83* produces a complicated enigmatic meditation on the roots of violence in the world: no simple conceit of the origins of ore.

**Melinda J. Menzer (Furman U): "Mapping Textual Space to Physical Space: Using GIS to Understand Othello and Wulfstan's Voyages in the Old English *Orosius*"**

New technologies can, sometimes surprisingly, help us understand old things. One obvious example is the

*Electronic Beowulf*, which, by making the manuscript accessible through digital technology, has allowed scholars at all levels to experience a well-known text in a new way. A second would be the Bayeux Tapestry Digital Edition. In a similar way, another new technology, geographic information systems (GIS), can help us experience and understand texts from a useful new perspective.

The voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan, recorded as part of the Old English *Orosius*, give us a window into the Anglo-Saxon perspective of the physical world. Yet as long as these voyages remain abstract—words on a page without physical referent—it is difficult to see what was important about these voyages to those who recorded them. Using GIS technologies, we can map these voyages to the physical spaces they describe. For example, information about the range of walrus from Ohthere's first voyage or about the dimensions of Estmere from Wulfstan's trip can produce maps and give us images of the places they saw. This information is useful on the small scale, helping us answer questions about these accounts: Is Ohthere really talking about Ireland, or is the text's "Ireland" a mistake for Iceland? Where are the Este, whose funeral procedures and abilities to freeze liquids are described by Wulfstan? But the results of GIS mapping may be even more useful on a theoretical level. By mapping the space created by the descriptions within the *Orosius* accounts to physical space in Northern Europe, we are better able to understand the Anglo-Saxons' concepts of distance and relation; comparing the space on the map to the space in the text allows us to see what is important to the Anglo-Saxons, and what is left out. Placing the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan in physical space, then, will give us new understandings of Anglo-Saxon space, which can be useful not only in interpreting these accounts, but also in reading other Old English texts.

*The International Medieval Conference 2007, "The Medieval City," U of Leeds, July 9-12, 2007.*

**Session 110: "Problems and Possibilities of Early Medieval Diplomatic, I: Formulas and Realities—Did Charters Reflect Real Life?"**

**Martin J. Ryan (U of Manchester): "Charters in Plenty, If Only They Were Good for Anything": The Origins of the Charter and the Emergence of Bookland in Early England"**

This paper will question whether the introduction of charters into Anglo-Saxon England reflects a change in legal procedures or simply a differing way of recording negotiation and compromise.

**Session 201: "Bernicia"**

**Felicity Clark (U of Oxford): "Bounding Bernicia"**

**Nicholas Evans (U of Glasgow): "Do Celtic Sources Preserve British Chronicles from 7th-Century Northumbria?"**

**Sarah Groves (U of Durham): "Living and Dying in Bernicia: The Bowl Hole Burial Ground, Bamburgh"**

Session abstract: The Anglo-Saxon polity of Bernicia lay at a crux of early medieval northern British cultures, and comprised a region which was to straddle the later Anglo-Scottish border. Beginning with Felicity Clark's consideration of Bernicia's early expansion and borders, this session will integrate textual and archaeological approaches to present new evidence for and perspectives on the Bernician polity. Nick Evans considers the evidence of surviving Celtic chronicles for a 'North British Chronicle', including the possibility that this chronicle was written inside Northumbria, rather than in Strathclyde or elsewhere in British-controlled territory. Sarah Groves provides an early analysis of nearly one hundred skeletons recently excavated at the royal fortress at Bamburgh, giving an insight into health, burial practice and identity at this unique site.

**Session 210: "Problems and Possibilities of Early Medieval Diplomatic, II: New Light from Old Charters"**

**Alaric A. Trousdale (U of Edinburgh): "Reassessing the Reign of King Edmund, 939-46: The Charter Evidence"**

This paper will focus upon the court politics of King Edmund's reign, illuminating a generally unknown period of the tenth century.

**Session 301: "Divination and Religion in Anglo-Saxon England"**

**Emily Baynham (U of Sydney): "Reading Anglo-Saxon Charms in Their Manuscript Context"**

**Rosa Maria Fera (U of Cambridge): "Incubatio in Old English Literature"**

**Conan Turlough Doyle (U of Cambridge): "Oftost on Tiwes niht: The Medical and Prognostic Contexts of the Old English Formation of the Foetus"**

Session abstract: This session discusses Old English Charms and Prognostics. Works of kind, which are

part of a well-established monastic tradition in Anglo-Saxon England, have been erroneously and superficially associated with magic and heathen worship, and classified as 'folklore', 'popular superstition', 'monastic superstitions', or 'secular works' without reference to the cultural context of the manuscripts which contain them. What needs to be recognised is that prognostics and charms appear alongside Psalms, homilies, *Regularis Concordia*, penitential prayers and scientific works such as Ælfric's *De temporibus anni*. The session speakers will address this conjunction, focusing also on contemporary connections between divination and religion.

**Session 501: "Broadening the Focus: Learned and Unlearned Culture in Anglo-Saxon England"**

**Alaric Hall (U of Leeds): "Ladies of the Night?: Witches, Valkyries, and Other Women"**

**Philip A. Shaw (U of Sheffield): "Mother knows best?: Matron Cults and Early Germanic Paganisms"**

**Martha Bayless (U of Oregon): "Compress Narratives in Anglo-Saxon Culture"**

Session abstract: This session seeks to expand our awareness of Anglo-Saxon culture by seeking to integrate aspects of folkloric and popular culture into the mainstream of modern scholarly understanding. It will consider beliefs about women and supernatural women and popular stories and show how these belong not to the margins of Anglo-Saxon beliefs and society but to the whole of early English society.

**Session 601: "In War and Peace: The State of Marriage in Medieval English Literatures"**

**Pirkko Koppinen (U of London): "Captured or Given?: The Sorry Saga of Hildeburg's Marriage in *Beowulf*"**

This paper investigates the potential reasons for Hildeburg's marriage in *Beowulf* in the light of Anglo-Saxon law and argues that Hildeburg is not as unequivocal a model of a peace-weaver as has been previously assumed.

**Melanie Heyworth (U of Sydney): "Marital and Manuscript Accord: Contextualising Marriage in *Apollonius of Tyre*"**

This paper looks at *Apollonius of Tyre* in CCC MS 201 and argues that marital morality in *Apollonius* is congruent with that of the manuscript as a whole.

**Session 701: "Forging the National History"**

**Julia Crick (U of Exeter): "Forging the British Empire: Anglo-Saxon Charters and Their Early Modern Readers"**

**Alfred Hiatt (U of Leeds): "Hickes v. Mabillon: Anglo-Saxon Forgeries and the Diplomatic Art"**

Session abstract: The purpose of this session is to address the connection between medievalism and national histories. Papers will examine in particular the study of medieval documents and literary texts as a means of constructing European national(ist) identities from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries.

**Session 719: "The Sacred City: Earthly and Celestial Sites of Sanctity in Anglo-Saxon Literature"**

**Alexandra Ramsden (U of York): "Fighting for the Heavenly City: Psychomachia and Psychology in Cynewulf's *Juliana*"**

See session abstract, below.

**Aleisha Olsen (U of York): "Building the Heavenly City: Almsgiving and the Forgiveness of Sin in the Anglo-Saxon Homilies"**

Almsgiving was an important aspect of devotional practice in Anglo-Saxon England. Giving alms allowed a person to outwardly express his piety and devotion, repent for his sins and achieve eternal life in heaven. This paper outlines preliminary research into the textual expressions of almsgiving in Anglo-Saxon England in the homilies of Ælfric and Wulfstan, as well as the anonymous Vercelli and Blickling codices. The references to almsgiving in these texts show that almsgiving could occur through a variety of diverse practices in Anglo-Saxon England. This paper will establish a working definition for almsgiving which will serve as a basis for further research into evidence for almsgiving in Anglo-Saxon England according to contemporary wills, charters and law codes. This paper also introduces related themes of almsgiving, including its place in contemporary material culture and as an indicator of contemporary attitudes toward giving in Anglo-Saxon England.

**Christine E. Phillips (U of York): "Entering the Heavenly City: The Martyrdom of St Agnes in Aldhelm's *De uirginitate*"**

Session abstract: The session seeks to explore Anglo-Saxon literary concepts of sacred place in terms of both physical and spiritual urban settings. A variety of

approaches will be employed in order to investigate the roles which both the image and the idea of the city played in the Christian Anglo-Saxon imagination. The session will consider the function of saints' shrines on earth and the manner in which the soul sought the heavenly city; the interplay between heavenly and earthly cities and how sacred urban sites were perceived to act as gateways between the mortal and divine realms; and ways in which physical manifestations of holiness contribute to the construction of local and national identity.

**Session 801: "Interpreting Birds in Anglo-Saxon England"**

**Jane Hawkes (U of York): "Divine Inspiration: Gregory, Angels, and the Dove of the Holy Spirit in 9th-Century Anglo-Saxon Sculpture"**

**Janina Ramirez (U of York): "Birds of the Soul: From Bede's Sparrow to the Franks Casket"**

**Jennifer Neville (U of London): "Birds in the Exeter Book Riddles"**

Session abstract: Although animals of all kinds have served as signs in a wide range of contexts, birds often convey a special significance. This interdisciplinary session thus draws together scholars from the fields of history, art history, and literature to examine the interpretation of birds in Anglo-Saxon England. The papers are designed to give an indication of the range of approaches to birds during the period, across different genres and media, including patristic exegesis, historical narrative, material culture, and riddles.

**Session 819: "Transforming Cities in Medieval English Texts"**

**Mark Atherton (U of Oxford): "Changing Images of the Town in Old English Literature"**

This paper examines the tenth-century *Legend of the Seven Sleepers* as a work which reflects the changing urban landscape of the late Anglo-Saxon period. The text depicts an anglicised Ephesus which includes features of the tenth-century English city, and dramatises the mixed responses of wonder and anxiety which contemporary urban transformation might evoke.

**Session 901**

**Susanne Sara Thomas (U de Puerto Rico, Cayey): "Issues in Contemporary Museology: What is a Museum, and What Does It Do?—A Round Table Discussion"**

The institution of the Museum exists in a tension between its role as a preserver and displayer of artefacts, and the need to create a context for these artefacts. Because of the growing emphasis on creating an interpretive context, the Museum has evolved from being defined by its role as a storehouse and gallery, into an Interpretive Centre. The contemporary museum strives to create a context in which the visitor can 'read' its objects, and thereby provides a specific kind of interpretive model. On the other hand, the traditional museum, following the model of the art gallery, provides a protective and un-distracting environment in which to view its artefacts, but in doing so, may turn them into unreadable ciphers. This session will start with a presentation on 'Preserving Artefacts, Creating Context: Discovering Beowulf in Roskilde's Viking Ship Museum'. Following this, members of the audience are invited to contribute ideas on the issues raised. Members of all fields of medieval studies are welcome. Participants include Keith Merrin (Bede's World, Jarrow) and Robert C. Woosnam-Savage (The Royal Armouries, Leeds).

**Session 1001: "Bede's Writings"**

**Masako Ohashi, (Nanzan U, Nagoya): "Did Bede Write Ceolfrith's Letter to King Nechtan of the Picts?"**

Some historians suggest that the letter of Abbot Ceolfrith to King Nechtan of the Picts on the Easter reckoning (706/716) quoted in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Book V, Chapter 21, was actually written by Bede. Bede was at the time one of the most learned people on the computus; it can then be easily imagined that he was the very person who wrote the letter for his abbot. But when we study other materials such as Bede's *De temporum ratione* and the Letter to Wihtried (Wichtede) more carefully, we may find some problems with Bede's authorship of the letter.

**Gregory Laing (Western Michigan U): "Nation Building: Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and the Use of Old Testament Tradition"**

The paper addresses how Bede's history regarding the use of Roman walls is influenced by his work as a biblical exegete. The major contention is that Bede uses the Old Testament religious tradition of Nehemiah and Ezra, regarding the rebuilding of Jerusalem's fortifications, as a template for his comments regarding British and Anglo-Saxon defences in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Through an examination of Bede's exegetical work in *Esdras et Nehemiam* the military passages of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* are given even greater religious significance. This understanding of the history links Bede's



comments regarding the decline of British military strength more closely to the collapse of moral and religious value of the citizens and leaders.

**Session 1010: “Texts and Identities, V: Monastic Landscapes and Political Structures in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages (II)”**

**John-Henry Clay (U of York): “Minsters and Monasteries in the Wessex of King Ine, 688-726”**

Session abstract: The period between 400 and 900 is determined by deep changes of political structures on a global level as much as on regional and local levels. In the same period the first ascetic communities transformed into monasticism as a powerful institution, or rather into a diversity of powerful institutions adjusting to the respective social and political structures emerging in the post-Roman world. The papers in this double session focus on the mutual influences between changes of political structures and the processes of monastic institutionalization, assuming that not only political and socio-economical structures shaped and changed monasticism, but also that monasteries and monastic ideals had a determining impact on late antique and early medieval ‘politics’ as well.... [Within this context], John Clay analyses the role of monastery and church in the establishment of the West Saxon kingdom of King Ine.

**Session 1101: “Editing and Analysing Old English Literature”**

**Heide R. Estes (U of Cambridge): “Constructing Solomon and Saturn”**

Editing the Old English Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College manuscripts 41 and 422 presents interesting challenges and opportunities. The text is generically vexed, mixing poetry with prose and gnomic wisdom with riddles as well as a lengthy discourse on the powers of the individual letters of the Pater Noster prayer. Previous editors have variously constructed two poems out of the text, more or less ignoring the intervening prose passage. In this paper, I will discuss my work on creating a new edition that reprints the text in sequence as it appears in the manuscript, allowing future readers access to the entire text of the dialogue.

**Alison Gulley (Lees-McRae College): “Affective Piety in Early English Writing”**

It has generally been accepted that true affective piety—piety reflecting an individual emotional response—

developed in the late medieval period, as evidenced by the replacement of stylised representations of Christian passion with realistic ones. While this may be true generally, Anglo-Saxon writings do exist which suggest that audiences were expected not simply to ponder Christ’s suffering but to emotionally identify with it and Him. My paper will explore this idea through a study of lay and religious writings such as *The Dream of the Rood*, sermons, and saints’ lives.

**Paula Frances Tarratt Warrington (U of Georgia, Athens): “Memory Without and Within: Keys to the Treasure Hoard”**

In Old English, collocations containing nouns such as *gemynd* often invoke spatial relationships between physical objects to represent interactions between the faculty of memory and the human mind. The resulting figurative representations—such as mind-as-container metaphors—reveal the intersections and divergences between modern and Anglo-Saxon conceptions of memory, and also highlight the role of metaphor in the very creation of this fundamental but abstract concept. In this paper I shall explore Old English representations of memory as stored treasure, and I shall contend that such images spring from the writers’ inherent belief in the value of human memory.

**Session 1201: “New Thoughts on Old Textiles”**

**Alexandra Mary Lester (Manchester Metropolitan U): “A Repository of Anglo-Saxon Embroidery: Anglo-Saxon Stitches and their Modern Counterparts”**

Session abstract: The session focuses on archaeological textiles from north-west European sites in England, Germany and Scandinavia, reinterpreting the techniques by which they were made and re-describing them in the light of new research.... [Among other papers in this session], Alexandra Mary Lester discusses some famous embroideries from Anglo-Saxon England, including the Bayeux Tapestry which has generic relations with the Overhogdal Tapestry, as well as some less well-known examples.

**Session 1212: “Archbishops and their Flocks: Pastoral Care in and around York, 600-1100”**

**Zoë L. Devlin (U of York): “Power and Punishment in Early Medieval York: The Lamel Hill Cemetery in Context”**

This paper focused on the Anglo-Saxon cemetery of Lamel Hill in York, arguing that previous interpretations

of this site had been shaped by an evolutionary view of early medieval burial practices that essentially cast it as a 'failed experiment' in Christian burial on the way to the finished product of interment in churchyards. It argues that this attitude overlooked the importance that this place held in the world view of those that actually used it. My aim is to show how, by putting this cemetery within its landscape context in relation to the city of York and the surrounding area, we may be able to understand the power it had within the social relations of the local community, in particular with regard to the controlling of access to the past and the carrying out of justice. The burial practices at this site suggest that, far from being marginal to the city of York, Lamel Hill was a place that was powerful enough to rival the ecclesiastical centre in the city's heartland.

**Joseph Sebastian Brown (U of York): "Manifestations of the Impact of the Archbishopric of York on the Rural Religious Landscape of the East Riding of Yorkshire"**

See session abstract, below.

**Caroline N. J. Holas-Clark (U of York): "The Cost of Living and Dying in Anglian York: The Economic Implications of Pastoral Care"**

Session abstract: From 735 York lay at the centre of an archdiocese that was responsible for much of northern Britain, but churches and churchmen based in York played a particularly important role in the life of the city itself, and its surrounding region. This session will explore the practical work of the church in York in the early medieval period, considering the church's role in the major life-events of its local population.

#### Session 1401

**Patrizia Lendinara (U of Palermo): "Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and Texts Used for Instruction—A Workshop"**

This project aims to identify the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts which might have been used for teaching purposes, whether in the classroom or for self-study. A database of the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts (and works either of continental or insular origin), which were used as teaching tools, has been planned and set up; it contains, at the moment, a complete description of the content of 20 codices, with identification of all the other witnesses in the database (either in Latin or in Old English, including glosses and glossaries). The analysis of the contents of the manuscripts in question

has provided a number of criteria for the assessment of their didactic character and has so far allowed the identification of further codices meeting such criteria. The purposes, choices, and the progress of the database will be presented and discussed at the conference. Alongside well-known curriculum texts, such as the *Disticha Catonis* or Sedulius's *Paschale Carmen*, several minor works (e.g. *Iudicii signum* [ICL 8945], *Nocte pluit tota* [ICL 10279], *Sedulius Domini* [ICL 14842], *Sedulius Christi* [ICL 14841]), occurring in Anglo-Saxon miscellaneous manuscripts, have been identified and studied in the light of a possible didactic use; a choice of these poems will be presented at the conference, as well as other features of the content of the manuscripts in the database. As the construction of the database is still in progress, the data gathered by July 2007 will doubtless be much more numerous and detailed. Purpose: the project, which is being carried out by a research group from the University of Palermo (including P. Lendinara, L. Teresi, C. Giliberto and F. Alcamesi) in connection with two other Italian research groups—based in Udine and Rome (LUMSA)—aims to offer a better understanding of the forms and contents of instruction in Anglo-Saxon England.

#### Session 1501: "Approaches to Ælfric"

**Catherine Cubitt (U of York): "Ælfric's Patrons: Lay Piety in Late Anglo-Saxon England"**

**Gabriella Corona (U of York): "Ælfric's Schemes and Tropes: Ekphrasis"**

Session abstract: This session arises out of the organisers' preparatory activity as editors of a forthcoming collection of new scholarly essays on Ælfric. Opening out new directions in scholarship, the session provides a forum for exchange of ideas between contributors and for feedback and criticism from participants.

**Hugh Magennis (Queen's University Belfast): "Early Ælfric Scholarship"**

This paper considers the first three hundred years of scholarly interest in Ælfric, regarded today as a key figure in Old English literary studies. Beginning with the first mentions of Ælfric among sixteenth-century antiquarians and the first publication of writings by him by Archbishop Parker in a context of religious controversy, it goes on to detail Ælfrician scholarship in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As with other aspects of Anglo-Saxon studies, the eighteenth century, after its opening decade, did not bring significant advances, but in the nineteenth century more, and

better, scholarly activity is discernible. It is notable that throughout these early centuries the true identity was never established. The survey ends with the work of Eduard Dietrich, who finally identified Ælfric as Ælfric of Eynsham and who instigated the modern philological study of the Anglo-Saxon writer.

**Session 1601: "Working with Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts"**

**Elaine Treharne (U of Leicester): "Objectivity in Manuscript Studies"**

**Maria Cesario (U of Manchester): "The Manuscript Context of Prognostics"**

**Catherine E. Karkov (U of Leeds): "Scribes, Illuminators, and the Visual Language of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts"**

**Chris Tuckley (U of Leeds): "The Manuscripts of St. Guthlac's Minster, Hereford"**

Session abstract: The manuscript increasingly takes centre-stage in the study of Anglo-Saxon. While access to original manuscripts is progressively restricted with a view to preservation, digital projects are opening up the possibilities for close study. This session brings together work from the Leicester/Leeds 'The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220' project and contributors to a new book arising from a Manchester study weekend and conceived to assist the formal research training that is now vital for graduate students. The session will consider a variety of aspects of the study of manuscripts and stimulate discussion.

*The Tenth Cardiff Conference on the Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages, "Lost in Translation?" Université de Lausanne, Lausanne, Switzerland, July 17-22, 2007.*

**Session: "Old English Translation"**

**Sharon Rowley (Christopher Newport U): "Say What I Am Called': The Vernacular Contexts of the Old English Translation of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum*"**

The Old English translation of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum* (OE Bede, c. 870-900) was long attributed to King Alfred the Great, principally because of an attribution to this effect by Ælfric of Eynsham, one of the most prolific and admired writers (and translators) of Anglo-Saxon England. As part of Alfred's ambitious

programme of translation and education, the work was one of several books "most needful for all men to know" translated to help raise levels of literacy amongst the laity in Anglo-Saxon England.

In 1876, however, Sweet questioned the attribution to Alfred on the basis of the overly literal translation style. Sweet's suspicions were corroborated by several dialectal analyses, especially those of Miller (1890) and Deutschbein (1901); subsequently, the OE Bede was disassociated from Alfred's educational programme. This scholarly consensus notwithstanding, the OE Bede has usually been grouped with the Alfredian translations anyway, for lack of a better context. While the lexis and syntax of the OE Bede have been carefully analyzed during the last century, the purpose for, and uses of, the translation has never been re-examined. Why did Ælfric use Bede's Latin works as a source for his own vernacular translations in some instances, other (sometimes anonymous) Latin sources in others, and the OE Bede in other instances still? The anonymous author of the Old English Martyrology also used Bede's Latin as a source for many of his entries. While there is some lexical evidence that the translators of the OE Bede may have known or used this work, correspondences between these two texts have not been fully interrogated. How do the stylistic and rhetorical strategies adopted by the translators of the OE Bede compare to those in the vernacular saints' lives and homilies? And what can an analysis of such strategies tell us about the purposes and uses of vernacular translations in Anglo-Saxon England?

Although modern editions of the OE Bede have discouraged awareness of the differences between Bede's Latin *Historia ecclesiastica*, the Old English translators transformed their base text radically. The OE version has had an independent, parallel textual tradition: it circulated in early Medieval England alongside the Latin original, as well as alongside a large number of other vernacular texts, such as the OE Martyrology, anonymous Lives of Saints and diverse homilies by Ælfric, all of which recount versions of the lives, miracles, and histories of key historical and religious figures such as Gregory the Great, St. Cuthbert, St. Chad, St. Fursa, and the visionary Dryhthelm. Some of these vernacular texts exist in multiple versions; they constitute a rich—but still untapped—set of vernacular contexts for the study of the OE Bede as a translation.

My study of the medieval signs of use in the five surviving OE Bede manuscripts (including annotation, glossing, and re-punctuation) suggests that the OE Bede manuscripts were used in a variety of ways, including use as a corpus of vernacular local saints' stories intended for refectory readings or a vernacular office. Using these material signs as a starting point, this paper

undertakes the questions of the purpose and uses of the OE Bede through a comparative study of parallel or related translations, to see whether such an analysis can shed light on the role this vernacular translation played in early England. The Anglo-Saxons translated biblical, theological, philosophical, and historical texts in numbers unparalleled in Europe at the time, but these translations have usually been studied in conjunction with their Latin sources. This essay interrogates one of the most important translations from Anglo-Saxon England, the OE Bede, in the contexts of other early English translations to examine whether these contexts can shed light on how the OE Bede translation was used and understood in early Medieval England.

**Raeleen Chai-Elsholz (Independent Scholar): “Lost and Found in Hakluyt’s ‘Principall Navigations’”**

This paper addresses various questions and raises hypotheses about the Anglo-Saxon material that was translated and included in Richard Hakluyt’s *Principall Navigations Voyages Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation* (2nd ed. 1598-1600). Although Hakluyt draws on a number of medieval sources, this paper will focus specifically on translations from the Old English Orosius and passages from Bede’s *Historia ecclesiastica*. The incorporation of such texts and/or translations into the second edition of the *Principall Navigations* illustrates the overlap between antiquarian and commercial interests from the mid-sixteenth century. Hakluyt’s choice and arrangement of Anglo-Saxon sources (in Latin, in translation from the Latin, or in translation from Old English) underscores in no uncertain terms one of the ‘lesser’ themes of the second edition of the *Principall Navigations*—that of conquest and supremacy.

Hakluyt’s work is a fascinating witness to the development of Old English studies, but at the same time it is apparent that its end purpose is linked only tenuously to Anglo-Saxon scholarship. This paper surveys possible and known provenances of Hakluyt’s Anglo-Saxon material in an attempt to shed light on the influences shaping the geographical and historical vision of the Elizabethan cosmographer. How Hakluyt came to know of the Old English Orosius, who translated the passage that found its way into the *Principall Navigations*, as well as why some suitable medieval sources were ignored while others were retained and even retranslated are among the ‘riddles’ that will be investigated.

**Dieter Bitterli (U of Zurich): “Found in Translation: The Old English Riddles of the Exeter Book and the Anglo-Latin Riddle Tradition”**

It is a well-known fact that the ninety-five Old English verse riddles of the tenth-century Exeter Book had their genesis from within a tradition of predominantly Latin riddle-making which permeated the literary culture of medieval England from the age of Bede to the Norman Conquest. This paper argues that the Exeter Book Riddles should be read against the backdrop of this long-standing intellectual tradition in order to understand how they engage with their Latin models in a vibrant intertextual process of translation, adaptation and recreation. The anonymous authors of the Exeter Book Riddles were familiar not only with the polished Latin riddles of the Anglo-Saxon bishop Aldhelm of Malmesbury (d. 709/10) and his Anglo-Latin imitators, but also with the earlier riddle collection of the late Roman poet Symphosius. This authoritative influence of Latin riddle-making on the vernacular Exeter collection is most evident in the fact that two of its items are close translations from Aldhelm, while five of them rephrase short riddles by Symphosius, always playfully expanding upon their Latin source. The extent and nature of this influence will be illustrated by four exemplary Old English poems, namely the ‘fish in the river’ (Riddle no. 85), an ingenious rewriting of a three-line riddle by Symphosius, and the three ‘ox’ riddles (nos. 12, 38 and 72), which develop a number of themes first addressed in the Anglo-Latin enigmata of Aldhelm and his successors. Reading the Exeter Book Riddles against their Latin counterparts will alert us to the inventive ways in which the Old English poets respond to an authoritative Latin canon in the autochthonous context of their own vernacular poetry. The Riddles both emulate and reassess their Latin models by employing and expanding their generic conventions and rhetorical strategies, and, in doing so, they re-create received topics and themes in a vernacular whose distinctive poetic language and archaic imagery provides a powerful response to this authoritative legacy.

**Session: “Eleventh-Century Texts and Translations”**

**Rebecca Stephenson (U of Louisiana at Monroe): “The Politics of Translation: The Status of Vernacular Translation in Byrhtferth’s *Enchiridion*”**

This paper will examine issues of translation in Byrhtferth’s *Enchiridion* (written between 1010 and 1012), a bilingual schooltext written for the monastic classroom at Ramsey where Byrhtferth was schoolmaster. This text provides an interesting commentary on the practice of translation in the late Anglo-Saxon period, because it contains a variety of registers of English and Latin, a microcosm of Anglo-Saxon multilingualism. Both the Latin and English in the text represent translations



of sorts, since the Latin of the *Enchiridion* presents a commentary on a Latin computus that Byrhtferth wrote some years earlier, and the English is a translation of the Latin. The text opens in a bilingual layout with a Latin explanation of computus, accompanied by an English translation. The bilingual arrangement of the text must have been difficult to sustain, because this arrangement soon breaks down. Byrhtferth refuses to translate some topics into English, claiming that it would be too tedious to translate into English for clerics things that the monks can readily understand in Latin. Comments such as this on the status of the vernacular are peppered throughout the text and have clear political implications in the context of the English Benedictine Reform. Latin is for the diligent, hard-working, and intelligent reformed monks, and English is for the lazy and inept secular clergy, who are too undisciplined to accept the *Rule of Benedict*, or so Byrhtferth would have us believe.

Despite the fact that Byrhtferth impugns the status of the vernacular by associating it with the unreformed secular clergy, English is a very important language throughout the text of the *Enchiridion*. At first he claims to write in English for the remediation of the secular clergy, but at the end of Book II, he writes that he will continue in English for monks, who know Latin well. Although Byrhtferth emphasizes that the monks have read Priscian, Cato, and Sergius, he proceeds with his English-language explanation. Instructing monks in English flies in the face of Byrhtferth's many comments on the appropriate uses of Latin and the vernacular. My paper will investigate the disjunction between Byrhtferth's linguistic practices in the *Enchiridion* and his frequently stated opinions about the proper roles of Latin and English. It seems that Byrhtferth's reformed monks were not able to live up to the educational ideals, especially the emphasis on Latin literacy, propagated by the leaders of the Benedictine Reform. This study of the multilingual translation practices of the *Enchiridion* will help to position both the linguistic politics of the reform and its project of English-language translation best known in the writings of Ælfric of Eynsham.

**Colette Stévanovitch (Nancy U): "Translating Old English Poetry: What about Grammar?"**

A poem is not made only of words, rhythm and sounds: grammar too can be used for poetic purposes. Language is in constant evolution, so that several forms are possible on many points of grammar at a given time, but they are always distinguished by slight shades of meaning that a poet can exploit. In Old English, for instance, the use of the third person pronoun is compulsory in dependent clauses only, while in main clauses

the author can choose whether or not to use it. Even when only one form exists, for instance in the passive voice or in noun declensions, it is always possible to rephrase a sentence so as to favour or avoid it. The various effects which a poet can derive from a careful use of grammar are too often lost in translation. I intend to compare a number of translations of Old English poetry into English or French and try to bring out various ways in which grammatical effects can be transposed or compensated for when translating into a language with a different structure. I shall focus on proper names and epithets bearing case endings and on their translation into non-inflected languages such as English or French.

**Basil Dufallo (U of Michigan): "Translatio imperii, translatio elegiae: The *Carmen de Hastingae proelio* and Elegiac Consciousness"**

Long mined for information about the momentous event it recounts, the *Carmen de Hastingae proelio* has received scant attention as a literary and cultural text, specifically as an elegiac poem drawing, surprisingly, on the tradition of Latin love elegy (bibliography in Barlow's Oxford edition). A reader of the Latin classics approaching the poem for the first time may be struck by its programmatic reminiscences of Lucan's epic, *Bellum civile*, but Guy of Amiens' self-conscious renunciation of his prologue's epic hexameters for elegiac couplets in the body of the *Carmen* (18: *Elegi potius levibus cantare Camenis* [I have chosen rather to sing in a light verse form], an allusion to Ovid, *Amores* 1.1.19: *numerus levioribus*) requires that we take seriously his decision to frame the battle as an occasion fit for elegiac commemoration even as it verges on horror worthy of Lucan. One passage in particular rewards such attention while providing an excellent point of access into the poem's overall mobilization of elegiac conventions: the burial of Harold at verses 573-92. By representing Harold's interment in traditionally elegiac terms, Guy portrays the Norman *translatio imperii* as a literal "translation" of elegiac consciousness onto English soil, where the Lucanesque decline into fraternal conflict had previously determined the management of martial energies and their outcome (cf. esp. verse 135, an allusion to Luc. 1.1). *Carmen* 590-92, which report the setting-up and inscription of Harold's tombstone, are an echo of Tibullus 1.3.54-56, where an ailing Tibullus famously requests a tombstone for himself and dictates its inscription. Where Tibullus has *Fac lapis inscriptis stet super ossa notis. / 'Hi iacet immiti consumptus morte Tibullus, / Messallam terra dum sequiturque mari'* (See that a tombstone stands over my bones with the inscription: "Here lies Tibullus, consumed by a harsh death while he followed Messalla on land and

sea”), Guy describes the actions of the person who buries Harold with the words *Imponens lapidem, scripsit et in titulo: / ‘Per mandata ducis rex hic Heralde quiescis, / Ut custos maneat littoris et pelagi’* (placing a tombstone, and he inscribed it: “By order of the duke, you rest here King Harold, so that you may remain as guardian of the shore and the sea”). The Norman Guy thus couches the English Harold’s burial, itself probably reminiscent of a Viking ceremony, in a brilliant show of allusive Latin literary play: while Tibullus claimed he had been forced, by his illness, to remain in the “unknown land” of Phaeacia (Corcyra) (Tib. 1.3.3) rather than follow his patron, Messalla, “on land and sea,” Harold must now “remain,” a captive in his own land, as a magical guardian “of the shore and the sea.” Tibullus laments that his mother will not be able to gather his bones (*ossa*) to her grieving breast (Tib. 1.3.5-6); Harold’s grieving mother, Gytha, is likewise deprived of her son’s *ossa* (Carmen 580), which William refuses to return to her.

The Tibullan allusion has important implications for how we understand other key moments in Guy’s text, in particular his prologue. Insofar as the burial of Harold makes William into a patron, if not an author, of elegiac poetry like that inscribed on Harold’s tombstone (even if William did not in fact patronize literature; see van Houts in *Journal of Medieval History* 15 [1989]: 39–62), Guy’s own choice to write in elegiac verse is made to reflect a cultural milieu fostered by William himself. Guy’s expressed preference for singing in a “light verse form” (18) rather than devoting his talent to “empty concerns” (19: *Ingenium mentis vanis quam subdere curis*) can in turn be seen to equate the production of Lucanesque hexameter verse with the fruitless campaigns of Harold, whose regime, both political and cultural, William has now displaced through favoring an elegiac outlook on the war and its commemoration. Guy implies that both he and William, while celebrating the Norman victory, lament the dead and look forward to a cessation of bloodshed like the Pax Augusta in which the genre of Latin elegy first flourished at Rome.

**Winfried Rudolf (U of Jena): “The Old English Translations of the *Vitas Patrum* in Late Eleventh-Century Worcester”**

Together with the complementary *Dialogi* of Gregory the Great in the Latin West, the lives of the ancient monastic fathers of the East, the *Vitas patrum*, were regarded as key texts for spiritual instruction and exemplary biographies by the monastic clergy of the Middle Ages. While a number of Latin manuscripts testify to the Desert Fathers’ importance as a reading matter of the Anglo-Saxon clergy, only three Old English excerpts from the *Vitas patrum* survive in a single manuscript,

MS London, BL Cotton Otho C.i (part 2). This paper presents these Old English passages (Verba Seniorum Book V, v 73 & 38 and Jerome’s Vita S. Malchi), analyses their translational style for the first time and discusses their possible functions in the material and historical context of a late eleventh-century manuscript from Worcester Cathedral Priory. Special attention is paid to the exceptional Latin “best of” selection from the *Vitas patrum* in MS Worcester Cathedral F.48 and the relation of this manuscript with Otho C.i as a possible source, which may be evident from the layout and the annotations added in both manuscripts by the monk Coleman. Moreover, the selected Old English translations in Otho C.i (part 2) are introduced by a passage that displays features of Wulfstanian style. As this passage is unique, the late date of the manuscript may suggest that senior churchmen at Worcester, such as Coleman or even Wulfstan himself, were capable of writing in the homilist’s style and might even be responsible for the Old English translation of the *Vitas Patrum*.

Looking at these tailor-made appeals for *imitatio* before the background of the contemporary tracts of Anselm and Abaelard, the analysis of both manuscript and text also promises a deeper insight into the ascetic, hagiographic and scholastic interests of the monastic community at Worcester.

**Session: “Medieval Texts and Modern Media I”**

**David Clark (U of Leicester): “Translating *Beowulf* into Film”**

The text of the Old English *Beowulf* survives in only one manuscript copy from around the year 1000, yet, more than a millennium later, the poem is more accessible to popular audiences than perhaps at any time in its history. In 1998 it was turned into an animated film directed by Yuri Kulakov and voiced by Derek Jacobi, Joseph Fiennes and Timothy West. The following year saw both the translation of Nobel Laureate Seamus Heaney and Christopher Lambert’s futuristic film adaptation. Summer 2006 brought the UK cinematic release of Sturla Gunnarsson’s *Beowulf and Grendel*, starring Gerard Butler and Stellan Skarsgård, and two further film adaptations are scheduled for release in 2007: *Beowulf: Prince of the Geats*, directed by Scott Wegener and featuring unknowns, and Robert Zemeckis’s *Beowulf*, featuring a stellar Hollywood cast. This plethora of film versions is perhaps appropriate, however, for a text the narrative technique of which was early on analysed in cinematic terms by Alain Renoir. This paper will analyse the acts of cultural translation inherent in these film adaptations as appropriations of or responses to the medieval poem and use them to consider key issues

and decisions that confront the film maker and the cultural work that the text performs for both auteur and audience. Since some of the films will not be available for private viewing until later in the year, the questions below represent my general approach only, which will be tailored to suit the details of the individual films.

Although a film-maker is faced with a bewildering array of choices in adapting any text for the screen, these choices are still more fraught with difficulty when the text is a thousand years old. If he or she aims to remain faithful to the text, how far is this in fact possible when moving from one medium to another? If authenticity of material culture is aimed at, how successful is the 'costume drama' approach? Is it more effective, on the one hand, painstakingly to research and then reproduce correct period detail (cf. Baudrillard's contention that the image can often be more real than the real, as explored in Umberto Eco's *Travels in Hyperreality*), or, on the other, to manipulate the viewer's horizon of expectations based on previous film and media creations of 'the medieval'? Is it possible to accommodate the conflicting desires of both learned and lay audiences, given that the very details which may create authenticity for one viewer (such as horned helmets) can often alienate the more expert viewer aware of their anachronism? How far have studio and commercial pressures inhibited or compromised film-makers such as Sturla Gunnarson's original aims? Christopher Lambert's *Beowulf* (1999) startlingly transposes the medieval to a post-apocalyptic neo-medieval context. What motivates this kind of choice and what effects does it have? What makes some adapters emphasise the exotic and unfamiliar in *Beowulf* (invoking Shklovskian notions of defamiliarisation), and others play down the same qualities? Many modern film adaptations of premodern texts attempt to redress a perceived gender imbalance in their originals by introducing extra female characters or building up the role of existing ones, and yet very often this entails stereotypical and misogynistic portrayals of women justified in the name of realism. How do the gender dynamics of film and medieval text relate and interact? How far can (and should) a film-maker take account of a text's history, meaning and canonicity for later audiences? To what extent is *Beowulf* appropriated as a means of enjoying contemporary desires for violence, projected onto a medieval past, and what is the significance of this, given that many critics argue that a critique of violence is integral to the original text.

By addressing these kinds of questions and issues, this paper seeks to unpack the profits and perils of translating *Beowulf* from one time and medium to another, what motivates different adapters to represent, appropriate or mediate for the text, and the various types of cultural work it performs.

#### Session: "The *Vitae* of Edward the Confessor"

##### Jennifer Brown (U of Hartford, CT): "Translating Edward the Confessor"

Hagiographies in many ways tell more about the writers and readers of the saints' lives than the saints themselves. This is especially true of the *vitae* of Edward the Confessor, which allow us a unique entry into that pivotal and influential period in England's history—before and after 1066. The first *vita* was written under the instruction of Queen Edith and most of it was written while Edward was still alive. It began as more of a biography than a hagiography, but after Edward's death was reformed to celebrate his holiness and the chaste marriage of Edward and Edith. The second *vita* was an official one written by Osbert of Clare in 1138. Aelred of Rievaulx re-wrote Osbert's *vita* into a new official one for the translation of Edward's relics in 1163. A Nun of Barking Abbey wrote her own version in Anglo-Norman, based on Aelred's that seems to be dated around 1182 (although the date is disputed). Matthew Paris followed with his beautifully illustrated version, also in Anglo-Norman, dated to around 1230. Finally, there are a few later Middle English versions, both in prose and verse. While many events and instances are the same throughout all of these incarnations, some key points are changed in relation to the political climate of the time and the hagiographer's relation to it. For example, the Battle of Hastings gets "translated" in very different ways from one author to the next. In this paper I would like to look at how the original *vita* of Edward gets reformed and re-worked with each subsequent author.

I would like to focus particularly on the translation of Edward's life from Latin into Anglo-Norman and then ultimately into Middle English, and how the hagiographer brings their own cultural biases and nuances into the very words and descriptions of Edward, his life, and his works.

##### Domenico Pezzini (U of Verona): "Writing and Re-Writing the *Life* of Edward the Confessor"

Aelred of Rievaulx's *Vita Sancti Edwardi Regis*, besides being itself a rewriting of a previous *Vita*, enjoyed a considerable literary popularity very soon after its production: it was rendered in Latin verse, translated into a Middle English and an Old French Verse Life, a French prose Life and an Anglo-Norman poem. This huge material constitutes in itself a largely promising field of research in that it offers quite a number of various specimens of what may happen when a text is transferred from one genre and/or from one language into another. Unfortunately, the richness of this corpus, for which in

some cases we have bad editions or no edition at all, has not yet been properly exploited.

The purpose of my paper is to survey first this literary tradition, and second to give some glimpses of what can be gleaned from a comparison between these different renderings of the *Vita* read in the light of more recent views about medieval translational techniques and their implied meaning.

**Marsha Dutton (Ohio U): “Early Modern Edward: Caxton’s Version of Aelred’s *Vita Sancti Edwardi*”**

Upon the 1161 canonization of Edward the Confessor (d. 1066), Aelred of Rievaulx was invited to write a new Life of the Confessor. He based that work, *Vita Sancti Edwardi, regis et confessoris*, on Osbert of Clare’s 1148 *Vita Beati Edwardi*, itself based on an anonymous Life written soon after the Confessor’s death. Since 1163, however, Aelred’s *Vita*, which he presented at the Westminster translation of Edward’s relics in October 1163, has been the basis for all subsequent Lives of Edward.

The authors of the first three Lives had aims as much political as spiritual, regularly recreating Edward as an icon for *translatio imperii*. The unknown author of the first one portrayed Edward’s life to extol Queen Edith’s family, the Godwins, even criticizing Edward when his acts contravened Godwin interests; Osbert’s Life sought Edward’s canonization as demonstration of papal support for King Stephen’s war-torn reign. Aelred’s *Vita*, which declared Henry II to be Edward’s heir by divine prophecy, established the legitimacy of the Plantagenet dynasty. In 1483, the first year of the reign of Richard III, William Caxton printed a new English translation of Aelred’s *Vita*.

The *Lyf of Seint Edward*, included in Caxton’s *Legenda aurea sanctorum*, thus represents a new stage in the transmission of the legends of the Confessor and the political function of his life. It replaces the dedicatory letter to King Henry II in which Aelred sets forth the political meaning of his *Vita* with an inaccurate history of the final century of Anglo-Saxon kings and their struggles with the Vikings and inserts miraculous episodes not present in any of the early texts. This paper explores the political and ecclesiastical ramifications of Caxton’s innovations to Aelred’s *Vita Sancti Edwardi* and his contribution to the transmission and development of the image of the eleventh-century king as the iconic exemplification of English monarchy.

*The 2007 Conference of the International Society of Anglo Saxonists (ISAS), University of London, July 30-August 4, 2007.*

**Session 1**

**Jennifer O’Reilly (U College Cork): “The Topography of Islands in Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica*”**

In his commentaries on the Old Testament descriptions of the Mosaic tabernacle in the desert, the building of Solomon’s temple in Jerusalem and the re-building of the temple in the time of Ezra, Bede’s spiritual interpretation of the construction, dimensions and building materials of these historical buildings expounds many aspects of the contemporary and continuing process of building up the living community of the Church, its individual members and leaders. A number of the same teaching objectives appear in his historical account of the establishment and spiritual development of the Church among the Angli, but with very few traces of the building metaphor.

Instead, the single most important extended image in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* is of the islands at the ends of the earth. Repeated references to the geography and topography of the island of Britain, and detailed descriptions of the dimensions, type, productivity and tides of neighbouring islands in the Ocean archipelago, provide an appropriate composition of place in the telling of local histories, but also constitute a major unifying theme whose exegetical implications are made apparent in some of the quoted papal letters on the mission to Angli. Bede skilfully adapts classical, biblical and patristic concepts of the nature of islands at the ends of the earth as a means of describing their inhabitants at different stages of conversion and of showing where centre and periphery truly lie in the universal Church.

This paper, part of a larger project on the general theme, discusses a previously unexamined example of the island topos used by Bede and suggests how its underlying patristic exegesis, which readily mixes metaphors to combine islands and building stones as rhetorical images of the Church and its members, may have influenced his account of the conversion and formation of the *gens Anglorum*.

**Diarmuid Scully (U College Cork): “Among the Ruins: Bede and His Sources on the Geography and Built Environment of Roman Britain”**

Commenting on the Acts of the Apostles, Bede pauses at Acts 19:29, ‘And with one mind they charged into the theatre’. He quotes Isidore’s *Etymologies* 15, 2, 34-35: ‘A theatre is a place with a semi-circular shape, in which people stand and watch theatrical performances inside’. This statement indicates Bede’s interest in the built environment of the Roman world and the gulf separating his audience from the imperial past; he must interpret the meaning of its physical remains for his readers. Bede’s historical works provide evidence for Anglo-Saxon



fascination with the ruins of Roman Britain and use those ruins as a testament to the empire's greatness and its dominion over the island: Bede lists the northern wall, rampart and towers (the Antonine and Hadrianic walls), along with 'cities, lighthouses, bridges, and roads' as evidence of Roman power (*HE* 1.11). Moreover, Bede's wider spatial understanding was profoundly shaped by Graeco-Roman geographical thought: the *HE*'s opening description of the Atlantic archipelago and its oceanic location in relation to the *orbis terrarum* makes extensive use of Solinus, Pliny, Orosius, and Isidore, and indeed Gildas, whose own description of Britain also makes use of those earlier sources.

Bede, however, does not slavishly imitate his Classical sources or Gildas on Insular geography, and this paper will consider his innovations and re-interpretation of their evidence in his account of the archipelago's defining geographical and topographical features. Turning to Rome's physical remains on the island, the paper will consider Bede's account and interpretation of those ruins, viewed in the context of his sources and their presentation of the built environment under and after Rome. It will examine Isidore's account of cities and buildings in the *Etymologies* in order to assess the significance of Bede's precise itemisation of the physical evidence for Roman rule in Britain. It will also examine how Bede dated and identified the great northern wall and rampart, and the implications of his conclusions. Gildas' *De Excidio Britanniae* is Bede's most immediate source for those defensive works and the urban ruins of Roman Britain, though Gildas' own account of Britain devastated by the barbarians was influenced by earlier models: scripture on the ruin of Jerusalem, Babylon and other cities, Virgil on the fall of Troy, and Orosius and other Late Antique authorities responding to the Gothic sack of Rome in 410. Bede was equally familiar with those sources and the meaning and implications of their accounts of urban devastation. Here again, he differs in significant matters of fact and interpretation from Gildas and the earlier texts. Why, for example, does he omit any reference to the pagan idols that decorated Britain's Roman cities, while Gildas was keen to emphasize their presence? And why and how does Bede approach the Anglo-Saxon use and appropriation of British sacred spaces in the post-Roman period, such as Alban's shrine and the ruined Roman churches of Canterbury? In brief, what can we learn about Bede's objectives and techniques as an historian from his account of the landscape and built environment of Roman Britain, viewed in the light of Classical geographical thought?

**Joshua Westgard (The Catholic U of America): "Traces of Bede?: The Moore Continuations and the Transmission of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*"**

In considering the transmission of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* (*HE*), Roger Mynors once remarked that "nothing lends itself so easily to later addition, whether authentic or alien, as annals" (Colgrave and Mynors, p. xli). While this fact certainly complicates the study of annals, their sources, and their re-use in later works, it also means that annals, by virtue of such tampering, have the potential to be uniquely useful in sorting out manuscript traditions, assuming that the inherent ambiguities to which Mynors alludes can be overcome.

The set of annals Bede included near the end of the *HE* (v.24) was continued on at least two occasions. The better known case is that of the set of annals for the years 731-766 commonly referred to as the *Continuatio Bedae*. Another continuation, consisting of four annals covering the years 731-734, is known as the "Moore Continuations," (MC) after the Moore manuscript (Cambridge University Library, Kk. 5. 16). In Moore, these annals were added to the end of the manuscript, after the main text had been brought to a close, but in the same hand as the main text. Their position after end of the entire work—and not at the end of the annalistic recapitulation in v.24—suggests that they may have been year-by-year additions to the exemplar from which Moore was copied. Further, because all four annals date from within Bede's lifetime, we cannot rule out the possibility that they were the work of Bede himself. To date, however, their position after the end of the text in a single manuscript—unfortunately, the St. Petersburg MS is defective in v.24—has suggested that, at best, they were an afterthought.

The significance of MC is enlarged by the fact that two of its annals are found in manuscripts of the so-called C-type recension of *HE* manuscripts, incorporated into their logical place at the end of v.24. Their presence there has, on occasion, been used as evidence for the primacy of the C-type over the other main recension, the M-type, though these arguments do not generally hold sway today. In its complete form, however, MC has to date only been known to have survived in Moore. In this paper I will introduce several newly discovered copies of MC in which all four MC annals have been incorporated into their logical position in v.24. Textual evidence excluding the possibility that these new manuscripts are derived from Moore will also be presented, which in turn leaves open the possibility that these manuscripts are the independent progeny of the exemplar of Moore, or perhaps that these manuscripts are descended from a copy that more perfectly embodied corrections and additions to the text of the *HE* made at Wearmouth-Jarrow in the last years of Bede's life. Finally, the politically charged content of MC (e.g., the notice of Ceolwulf's temporary deposition in 731) will be taken into consideration.

## Session 2

**Richard North (U College London): “Revenue and Real Estate: Archbishop Wulfred and the Strange Case of Cynehelm”**

The early ninth century in England is known for a growing tension between King Cenwulf of Mercia (796-821) and Southumbrian church dioceses over the ownership of ecclesiastical land. Cenwulf's chief antagonist here was Archbishop Wulfred of Canterbury (805-32). Much has been written already about the ill-feeling between these men, albeit one mingled with their exchanges of real estate, and about the open feud between them which, in about 815, resulted in Cenwulf's depriving Wulfred of his ministry for nearly six years. This was no ordinary dispute between a king and his archbishop. The picture of what lay behind it is clear enough if we treat the last bone of contention between Wulfred and Cenwulf's family as the revenue from Reculver and Minster-in-Themet. But it is still not clear why Wulfred was away in Rome in 814-15, what later led Cenwulf to accuse him to the Pope, what the king's charges against him were and why Cenwulf ended by fining Wulfred £120 conditionally and unconditionally taking possession of his large estate in *Iognesham* (probably Eynsham). What on earth was going on? My lecture aims to clear up some of the mystery of this breakdown in royal-archiepiscopal relations with the aid of the ASC and later chronicles, laws and necrologies, contemporary letters and charters along with charter rankings and various accounts of the life and death of St Cynehelm. I use these sources to make a number of suggestions. One is that the Cynehelm who appears in charters in the early ninth century is identical with St Cynehelm, Cenwulf's martyred son, on whom the king settled the estate of Glastonbury, Somerset; that Cynehelm was first groomed by his father for the kingship of Kent, then murdered in a wood in the NW Midlands in 811 or 812 by a man from Wulfred's retinue. I suggest that Wulfred went to Rome nearly two years later to recover the rights to Glastonbury; that it was in compensation for this estate that Cenwulf eventually relieved him of *Iognesham*; and that Cenwulf fined the archbishop £120 for regicide, that is, charged him for the killing of Cynehelm.

**Juan Camilo Conde-Silvestre & María Dolores Pérez Raja (U of Murcia): “Language, Landscape and Social History in Medieval Lincolnshire: Traces of the Anglo-Saxon Past in ME Dialectology”**

Medieval Lincolnshire is an interesting area in linguistic terms, not only because the boundary between the Northern and East Midland varieties of ME runs

horizontally along the shire, but also because some historical dialectologists have claimed, on the evidence afforded by place names mentioned in ME documents, that some linguistic features could have diffused from neighbouring counties situated to the south and west. Additionally, parts of Lincolnshire seem to have been unreceptive to linguistic innovations from the north, even if some general features agree with basic characteristics of that ME area (see: Kristensson 1967; McIntosh, Samuels, Benskin 1986).

The development of Historical Sociolinguistics in the past two decades has allowed researchers to extend some of the tenets which have proved useful in contemporary situations of language variation and change to the interpretation of linguistic data from the past. In addition to the possibility of correlating independent variables like gender, social status, educational background, social network, etc., with the linguistic output of individuals in later periods of the history of English (see, for instance, Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 1996, 2003), this methodological framework has allowed historical linguists to speculate on the possible connections between general patterns of language change and the socio-historical circumstances of particular areas in earlier periods, like OE and ME, when information on the profile of speakers/informants hardly exists. In this paper, we intend to reconstruct some socio-historical aspects of late Anglo-Saxon and early Norman Lincolnshire (c. 900 – c. 1100) which could have affected the (socio)linguistic panorama in ME.

Attention will be paid to: (i) characteristics of the medieval landscape which, by hindering or promoting communication, may have naturally conditioned the distribution of linguistic features; (ii) aspects of early political history and their possible linguistic sequelae, such as the early connections of different regions of Lincolnshire (Lindsey or Kesteven) to the early kingdoms of Mercia or Northumbria; (iii) patterns of Danish settlement and the possible effect of language contact on the receptivity of speaker to linguistic innovations; and, mainly (iv) the specific social, economic, and demographic characteristics of different regions in the shire, as reflected in Domesday Book, which could have favoured the diffusion of innovations by promoting the concentration of people in urban settlements, the social and/or geographical mobility of speakers, and, in general, the dissolution of close-knit networks and the establishment of weak ties between individuals, which, according to modern sociolinguists, are the fundamental bridges for linguistic innovations to diffuse (see: Darby 1977; Sawyer 1998; Hadley 2000).

**Lesley Abrams (Balliol College, Oxford): “People of the Danelaw”**

The region later known as the Danelaw, where Viking armies ‘divided up the land and began to plough and to support themselves’, as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle puts it, is notoriously obscure. The record of its conquest and settlement in both English and Scandinavian tradition is extremely sparse. A narrative of military engagements is sketched out by the Chronicle, and assumptions about collaborative rule have been made on the basis of surviving coinage minted in York. Once the region was absorbed into a unified England, the laws of Kings Edgar, Æthelred, and Cnut provide a cryptic reflection of its multicultural mix, and sermons and other ecclesiastical condemnations paint a gloomy picture of its spiritual life (although most of their evidence dates from after ‘evil’ once again came forth from the North). Analysis of the workings of society north and east of Watling Street has therefore rested heavily on post-conquest evidence, Domesday Book and later manorial records providing material especially for the study of personal names and tenurial patterns. Local political life and the nature of relations between the Anglo-Saxon centre and the Scandinavian regions have been little illuminated by these sources. Witness-lists of royal diplomas of the tenth century, however, provide neglected evidence about men with Scandinavian names who moved in the king’s circle. Not just ealdormen—whose presence next to the king might be expected—but thegns with Norse names occasionally appear as witnesses to the king’s exchanges of land from the mid-tenth century. A study of the changing pattern of the appearance of apparently Scandinavian individuals in charters from the reign of Athelstan to that of Cnut (helped by the Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England database) should reveal something about their status, their influence at court, and their role in the governance of the regions. Personal names from place-names, inscriptions, and coins, as well as the occasional surviving narrative source such as the *Liber Eliensis*, can supplement the documentary record. Essential to the analysis is a consideration of the ethnicity of personal names, the extent to which Scandinavian names declared a regional identity, and the degree of their dissemination throughout the rest of England. Personal names offer a rare but vivid reflection of the social composition of the Danelaw in the tenth and eleventh centuries. My paper aims to show how they allow us glimpses into the obscure world of local power in action and offer welcome insight into the regional diversity of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom.

**Session 3: “Surveying the Past: Charters, Mapping, and the Anglo-Saxon Countryside”**

**Hafed Walda and Martyn Jessop (King’s College London): “Gaining a Sense of Place in Anglo-Saxon England”**

Information about place is an essential part of the study of history. People live, events occur, and artefacts are produced by human hand at specific geographical locations and much of what people do is spatially determined or leaves spatial signatures. In order to gain insight into human activity, past and present, the influences of geography must be taken into account. Digital scholarship has made powerful new tools to gain this insight freely available and at relatively low cost. However, the new research opportunities offered by these methodologies remain relatively unexplored. Geography and an understanding of a sense of place play key roles in the study of Anglo-Saxon England. This paper will discuss how geographical aspects of Anglo-Saxon England can be explored using the computer-based methods that are now emerging in our field of study.

Historical Geographical Information Systems (HGIS) provide a compelling new methodology for historical research. Over the last ten years a set of common techniques, sources and issues have emerged from the work of historians in a diverse range of fields. There are many obstacles to the application of computing methods to historical geographical information; some of these are real, while others are only perceived obstacles with little substance. These issues will be discussed and illustrated with examples. Much has been written about the advantages that the application of GIS brings to the analysis of spatial data by historians but is there any common ground between the different fields of scholarship that can be of direct benefit to Anglo-Saxonists?

This paper will explore the use of relatively simple digital tools that are currently being used in Anglo-Saxon projects, and other related projects, at the Centre for Computing in the Humanities (CCH) at King’s College London. These projects include “The Language of Landscape: Reading the Anglo-Saxon Landscape” (LangScape) and “The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England” (PASE). The research at CCH is performed in a highly collaborative and interdisciplinary environment and is ideally positioned to draw out scholarly common ground and methodologies from a wide variety of disciplines and fields within them. The digital tools and methodologies applied at CCH will be described and demonstrated. The issues that they raise will be discussed and the implications will be expressed in terms of existing and potential research outcomes in Anglo-Saxon studies.

**Joy Jenkins (King’s College London): “Walking the Trail: The Westminster Surveys”**

Just twenty minutes’ stroll from Senate House lies St Andrew’s church, Holborn. To reach it you walk along Oxford Street and High Holborn, or, in the words of a

tenth-century charter, ‘æfter ð[ære wide] here stræt to ðære ealde stoccene sancte andreas cyricean’. These directions are part of a boundary clause which survives in a contemporary or near-contemporary single-sheet copy of a charter of King Edgar restoring 5 hides of land to the church of St Peter, Westminster (S 670). A twelfth-century copy of a related composite charter (S 1450) provides the supplied reading WIDE, now eaten away in the earlier manuscript, and adds the words ON HOLEBURNE ‘to the stream in the hollow’—Holborn. Intriguingly, the ISAS conference is taking place more or less on the boundary of a farm (BEREWIC) described in and appended to the above boundary clause in a grant of King Æthelred to the Abbey in A.D. 1002 (S 903). Delegates could literally follow the track after tea.

In this paper, however, I shall walk delegates around the boundary ‘on mode’, following, incidentally, in the footsteps of the late great place-name scholar John McNeil Dodgson. Our route will take us from TEMESE (Thames), by fens and ditches to the cow ford (now under Buckingham Palace) and thus to TEO BURNAM (Tyburn). The old army road (once Roman, now Oxford Street) takes us via the old wooden church, then as now dedicated to St Andrew, into LUNDENE FENN (the City). If we are willing ‘to ðæm spore onlutan’ we will need to examine drain covers and sewer plans. Early prints, changes in street tarmac, road patterns, slight dips and gradients, street and house names, building lines, and other visible clues in 21st century London will also be examined. On the way, we will extract information about the topography of 10th-century London from clues in the wording of the charter itself.

The main focus of the paper is the LangScape database with its lemmatised and partially translated corpus of all known surviving Anglo-Saxon boundary clauses, together with their pre-reformation and most of their early modern copies. I shall use the Westminster boundary as it is displayed on the LangScape website to demonstrate historical and geographical mapping using GIS. Applications for comparative linguistic and lexicographic analyses over the wider corpus of bounds will also be explored. By providing access to this material, the LangScape project aims to encourage not only specialists but also the wider public to examine the tracks of the Anglo-Saxons in our landscape and not only ‘hiora swæð gesion’ but physically to ‘æfter spyr-ian’.

**Peter A. Stokes (King’s College London): “A Previously Unnoticed Version of the Pershore Orthodoxorum Charter (S 786)”**

The Pershore Orthodoxorum charter has received a great deal of attention over the last hundred years. Its

importance is manifold: it is the earliest and perhaps the only surviving authentic Anglo-Saxon PANCARTA, that is, a statement of all the land-holdings of a single abbey. It is one of a group of charters, the so-called Orthodoxorum group, which has played an important role in the debate about the Anglo-Saxon chancery. It has received attention for the fifty-three estates it names and the fifteen boundary-clauses it includes. It is even important for the foundation-date of Pershore Abbey, and therefore for our understanding of the tenth-century Benedictine reforms. But, despite all this attention, and despite it surviving as an apparently contemporary single sheet, its authenticity has been debated for over a century without resolution. Indeed, Nicholas Brookes has written that if this charter can be proved authentic then ‘the diplomatic of the monastic reform movement will have received a welcome foundation in a sea of uncertainty’ (ASE 3, p. 230). For all these reasons, it is striking that a second, significantly different version of the text has lain unnoticed all these years.

The second version is a transcript made by John Joscelyn and preserved in one of his notebooks. It is included in Peter Sawyer’s *Handlist*, but to my knowledge it has never been closely examined, and so important differences between it and the single-sheet version have not been noticed. Joscelyn’s version names seventeen estates which were not included in the single sheet, and it omits three estates that were. It omits one set of bounds and includes two extra ones; these extras are as yet unidentified and perhaps previously unknown. The hideage for some estates is different, the order of material is different, and the phrasing of bounds and some of the boundary-points are also different. Joscelyn’s text also refers to an as-yet unidentified grant by Bishop Werferth of Worcester. Such differences cannot be the result of Joscelyn’s editing or selection, but rather his transcript must be witness to a variant tradition, presumably one from a now-lost document which he found at Worcester Cathedral.

In this paper I shall present both versions of the text and examine the differences between them. I shall then assess the two documents from several points of view: their historical contexts; their relative agreement with other sources including Domesday Book; examination of the Old English language; and an examination of the boundary clauses, how the boundary-points differ, and how difficulties in previous solutions of the bounds might now be resolved. My discussion will be aided by use of the new LangScape database, Geographical Information Systems, and digital image-enhancement of the eleventh-century manuscript. The implications of my findings will then be considered, with respect not only to Pershore’s history, but also to Joscelyn’s work and its importance for us today. The early modern scholars left



their own reminders of Anglo-Saxon England, and, as I hope to show, it behoves us not to forget them.

#### Session 4

##### **Carol Farr (Independent Scholar): “Irish Pocket Gospels in Anglo-Saxon England”**

Eight Irish ‘pocket’ gospel books survive: two are known to have been in Anglo-Saxon England during the tenth century. Today both are in London: the incomplete British Library, Additional MS 40618, and Lambeth Palace, MS 1370 (Macdurnan Gospels). While Anglo-Saxon artists and scribes made more alterations to the British Library manuscript (rewritten and inserted leaf with colophon, inserted evangelist portraits, re-decorated incipits and minor initials), its precise English provenance is far less certain than the Macdurnan Gospels’. Partial erasure of its *ex libris* (12-13c, f. 66v) removed the single definite clue, leaving only the portraits’ stylistic evidence. The Lambeth Palace book received one conspicuous addition, an inscription in display capitals (f. 3v) implying ownership by Mael Brigte mac Tornain (great Irish ecclesiastic, d. 927), and stating that King Athelstan gave it to Christ Church, Canterbury (backed up by Christ Church’s mark, f. 5r).

What did these two small gospel books signify to the Anglo-Saxons? What they may tell us about the importance of Irish manuscripts in the late Anglo-Saxon period? Did pocket gospels have a particular status as holy books in England? Are both to be seen within the context of royal gift-giving attested in Macdurnan’s inscription, or did Additional 40618 more likely immigrate into another context, embarking upon an English career unconnected with that of its compatriot?

Three features suggest the manuscripts’ careers and significance in England. First, following Keynes’s analysis (in Lapidge and Gneuss, 1985, p 156), I suggest that the Macdurnan inscription resembles the Rushworth or Macregol Gospels’ (Oxford, Bodleian Libr., Auct. D.2.19) cross-framed colophon page bearing Iuvencus’s evangelists poem, a shortened version of which is in Macdurnan. The poem and Macdurnan’s Irish four-symbols page may have inspired the form and poetic figures of the inscription. Second, the evangelist portraits in Additional 40618—added in a campaign subsequent to Eduard the Deacon’s early tenth century insertion of the colophon leaf—have iconographic and stylistic similarities with paintings in the Benedictional of Aethelwold (c. 973), suggesting a date in the late tenth century and origin connected with Winchester. Like Athelstan, Aethelwold was a patron of visual art and made gifts of books to monasteries he restored. Third, while both are marked with a small number of marginal crosses, these

appear in Additional 40618 only in the Gospel of John. Written in gold probably for the late tenth-century re-decoration, they suggest a likening of it with the small manuscripts of the Gospel of John often associated with saints’ tombs, such as the Stonyhurst or Cuthbert Gospel (British Library, Loan MS 74), and gift-giving in Irish saints’ lives. Eduard had earlier removed the last leaf of John and replaced it with his rewriting of the text with his colophon at the end, perhaps also an appropriate modification to a gift book. These features suggest that Irish pocket gospels provided forms which harmonised with general Anglo-Saxon practices of high-level bibliographic giving and readily inspired elaboration.

##### **Catherine Karkov (U of Leeds): “Tracing the Anglo-Saxons in the Epistles of Paul: The case of Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.69”**

Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, m.p.th.f.69 is a manuscript of the Pauline Epistles produced in the second half of the 8th century in one of the nunneries founded in the wake of the Anglo-Saxon missions. As such, it provides valuable evidence both of the link between the missionary church and the Anglo-Saxon homeland, and of female learning, literacy, and cultural production at the end of the 8th century.

The manuscript is functional, by no means lavish, and was clearly made for use within the convent; nevertheless, it contains a frontispiece that is one of the most complex images to survive from the period. The original frontispiece to the manuscript is a drawing (now fol. 7), depicting the crucifixion floating above a boat that carries Christ (or a Christ-like figure) and nine companions, seven of them ambiguously gendered. Birds and angels arrive for the souls of the two thieves flanking Christ, turning the crucifixion into an image of judgment as well as of salvation. The birds and angels fly diagonally upwards from the boat, suggesting that the crucifixion is also a sail for the ship below. The drawing is unique in both its composition and its iconography, although it draws on a variety of insular and continental sources. Its symbolism alludes to a complex set of meanings. As a frontispiece to the Pauline Epistles, the image clearly refers to themes taken up in the texts of the manuscript, such as baptism, exile, the missionary church, judgment and salvation, and the relationship of the body of Christian believers to that of Christ. As a product of the Anglo-Saxon missions, it provides a visual reminder of the typological relationship between the mission of the apostles and the early church, and those of the Anglo-Saxons. The combination of crucifixion and boat has been linked to an interrelated set of biblical episodes and exegetical texts, including Mark 4,

John's account of the crucifixion, the image of the *navis crucis*, Cassiodorus's commentary on Psalm 106, Bede's gospel commentaries, and the writings of Columbanus. It may also be understood as representing the theme of exile and return that is, as Nick Howe has shown, so prominent a part of Anglo-Saxon culture.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the meanings of the drawing in its manuscript and larger cultural context. More specifically, it will focus on the miniature and manuscript as physical traces of the early Anglo-Saxon church and its missions. The boat floating on the sea in the drawing is not just symbolic of the church in the world, the boat is also a reminder of the homeland, and the water a reminder of the real sea crossed by the men and women of the missions. The nuns who created this manuscript, like the original recipients of Paul's letters are members of a newly founded church still tied in many ways to a not so distant homeland.

**Peter Dendle (Pennsylvania State U, Mont Alto): "Exorcisms in A-S Liturgical Manuscripts: Problems of Context and Application"**

The presence of many dozens of exorcisms in Anglo-Saxon liturgical manuscripts is normally taken to reflect the church's ongoing response to vibrant traditions of possession behavior in Anglo-Saxon England. The diverse manuscript contexts of liturgical exorcisms—the actual *swæð* or "track" we have left as evidence—paint a more problematic picture, however. The vital, elaborate exorcisms of the earliest continental tradition (the Old Gelasian Sacramentary, as preserved in the Paris Supplement of the Vatican Sacramentary) soon give way to procedural exorcisms in the Eighth Century Gelasians and the Gregorian Sacramentaries (especially pre-baptismal exorcisms). In Anglo-Saxon manuscript traditions, these continental threads become even more problematic in a number of ways.

Prayers appearing as solemn exorcism in the Leofric Missal, for instance, appear more generally for a sick person in the Missal of Robert of Jumièges and in CCC 422 (*ab hac vexatione* becomes instead *ab hac valitudinis*; references to demons and the devil are omitted). Two more prayers, which are assigned specifically for a possessed catechumen in the Leofric Missal and for a possessed baptized person in the sacramentary tradition in general, appear in the Lanalet Pontifical as available rather to treat all demoniacs. Other prayers lose their rubrics entirely, and so it becomes uncertain what performance context is intended: the prayers labeled 'Exorcismus contra demonum' in the Lanalet Pontifical have no title or rubric whatsoever in the Anderson Pontifical (BL Additional 57337). As far as one can tell from the manuscript presentation, the exorcisms of

water and salt that begin this section still fall under the preceding rubric, *Oratio contra fulgora* ('Prayer against Lightning'). Possibly, the priests and bishops who regularly used these books knew what they contained and what they were for, and so rubrics were not strictly necessary. Or, as rubrics were shuffled around, added, and lost—and as manuscripts were copied or disseminated outside of the contexts of those intimately familiar with their original use and intent—new applications were deduced based on the new manuscript presentation. More broadly, it seems that the rhetoric of exorcism drew from a common pool of tropes for casting out demonic influences or presences, and this could apparently be applied to any of a number of circumstances. This fluidity could reflect a diversity of local ecclesiastical needs, a diversity which led in many cases to creative, dynamic responses on the part of early medieval liturgists in interpreting their received body of church prayers and practices.

I will discuss these and several other manuscript problems which help us better understand the role of exorcism in Anglo-Saxon church and society, grounded in the manuscript contexts—the only retrievable traces of exorcisms that have come down to us. Only in certain times and places did exorcisms appear to be of use for demoniacs (persons actively possessed), and this appears to have been the minority case. Much more frequently and obviously, the rhetoric of exorcism provided, more generally, a symbolic matrix for the public articulation of communal anxieties and aspirations.

## Session 5

**Scott T. Smith (U of Notre Dame): "Latin Diplomas and the Turn to Verse in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle"**

No explanation has fully accounted for the dramatic turn to verse in the tenth-century annals of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. One long-established view holds that the content of the first Chronicle poems somehow merited the 'heroic' associations available through poetry, and that chroniclers thus shifted the style of the work accordingly. This paper instead situates the Chronicle with tenth-century Latin diplomas to argue that the first Chronicle poems follow stylistic developments evident in contemporary diplomatic production. "The Battle of Brunanburh" and "The Capture of the Five Boroughs" both celebrate the acquisition of territory under the West Saxon kings, continuing the Chronicle's attention to the expansion of dynastic property evident in the Edwardian annals 900-924A. Reading the tenth-century annals alongside diplomatic texts dedicated to recording and asserting land rights shows the Chronicle itself to function as a kind of land document

charting the holdings of the West Saxon kings. Latin diplomas record the granting of estates to individual or corporate holders under certain terms, and while they deal in individual estates, they nonetheless work to establish and maintain land rights within an authoritative textual record. The Chronicle annals 900-946AB engage in a similar project, but they do so by recording the expansion of dynastic lands within an accumulative record.

"Brunanburh" and "Five Boroughs" had been composed by c. 950 when they were entered in A by a single scribe. The poems, then, were written sometime between 937 and 950. During the years immediately preceding this window, a single scribe known as 'Athelstan A' produced a series of Latin diplomas between 928 and 935 distinguished by their enthusiastic use of hermeneutic Latin and by their ambitious nomenclature for designating the sway of royal authority. A radical departure from the charters of Alfred and Edward, these diplomas situate documentary land matters within a highly stylized literary form and language. In a parallel development, "The Battle of Brunanburh" introduces vernacular poetry to the Chronicle in order to celebrate the securing of lands to the north by Athelstan and Edmund. As a vernacular production interested in dynastic land claims, the Chronicle could not directly draw upon the Latin stylistics evident in contemporary diplomas; such aesthetic ornamentation would have demanded a vernacular prose equivalent for the distinguished register of hermeneutic Latin. An 'artistic prose' in the vernacular had not yet been developed, leaving vernacular verse as the most readily available option for such aesthetic ornamentation in English. While the 'Athelstan A' charters are not alliterative or rhythmical, their arcane vocabulary finds a counterpart in the specialized diction of vernacular poetry. Beginning in Athelstan's reign, land claims demanded and deserved aesthetic elaboration. The turn to verse in the Chronicle, then, follows contemporary literary fashions evident in other land documents. This argument contextualizes the first Chronicle poems with other contemporary literary productions and accounts for the productive intersection of Latin and English textual forms in tenth-century Anglo-Saxon England.

**Patrick W. Conner (West Virginia U): "Five Anglo-Saxon Guilds and How They Grew"**

As early as the ninth century, clear references to parish guilds on the continent can be traced to churchmen, e.g., Hincmar, but references to guilds in England are either older or just as old—indeed, as old as the first mention of the word, "gild," (?) in the laws of the seventh-century King Ine. In fact, five early guild statutes survive

from pre-twelfth century England, and to identify, localize, relate and fully describe these statutes constitute the aims of this presentation.

The Great Bedwyn statutes share more transparent attributes with other guild records. Like the statutes for the Exeter guild, and the Cambridge guild, the Great Bedwyn statutes are also found in a Gospel book. In fact, three of the five surviving early guild statutes are to be found in early Gospel books, and several lists of village parish guild names were originally recorded in Leofric's Old English Gospels at Exeter. The so-called London Frith-gild or "peace-guild" was incorporated into King Æthelstan's laws, and the latest of the statutes, the Abbotsbury document, appears to have been treated as a single-sheet charter. These are all high-status contexts. These details and others I shall present may very well tie the development of parish guilds to the minsters around which the parishes developed. If that could be shown to be true, the implications would be significant. It would suggest, contrary to the implications of early continental reactions to guilds by disdainful Frankish churchmen as well as to the sentiments of modern scholars who hang the many forms of popular piety on the felt need of a people to oppose the colonizing forces of Christianity, that the Church functioned somewhere between being a matter of convenience and a central organizing core to maintain and strengthen the early guilds.

*Five Anglo-Saxon Guilds and How They Grew* suggests an area for research that promises to bring together history, literary study, archaeology, and liturgical studies in new ways. For example, it is possible to trace the development of the parish guild at Exeter from what is described in a document written in a hand contemporary with King Athelstan the Kalendar Guild at Exeter of the later medieval period, to the restoration of that guild into the old minster there once the Norman Cathedral was completed in one direction, and into the development of municipal structure in another direction. The issues that come to the fore include the problem of performance and its likely vernacular dimension at guild banquets, the role of local dignitaries in forming public opinion through the guild meetings, the interaction of fashion and doctrine to create popular attitudes toward piety in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries and the creation of a public space in which a public sphere might grow, ultimate to wield municipal power in Canterbury, Exeter, London, and Cambridge.

**Lisa Weston (California State U, Fresno): "Enclosing the Space of Miracle"**

Recent archaeological investigations of the site of the Abbey of Saint Mary and Saint Ethelburga, Barking,

have cast more light on the convent's refoundation during the later Saxon period. Excavation within the limits of the medieval abbey's grounds has revealed signs of extensive rebuilding in the early tenth century. An additional excavation to the northeast of the Abbey suggests that the same period saw the resettlement of lay retainers—on a site which would become the core of the medieval and later Barking town—at a greater distance from the reformed and refounded convent. Taken together, the archaeological evidence implies a later Saxon redefinition of the community, likely in conjunction with the Monastic Reform movement, as more strictly enclosed and more completely separate from its surroundings.

This paper seeks to plot that redefinition of social space against changes in the narrative space of two *vitae* of the abbey's foundress, Saint Ethelburga. The first and oldest is a *libellus* from soon after Ethelburga's death, as received and passed on by Bede as a source for portions of his *Ecclesiastical History*. Remembered and written down within a generation of the abbey's original seventh-century foundation, the miracles and visions of this earlier, pre-Reform age take place within a landscape, a space which is open and fluid. Goscelin of Canterbury's later *vita*, written for the nuns of Barking shortly after the Norman Conquest, supplements a reiteration of Bede's narrative with the memories of nuns from the period after the convent's refoundation. These "new" miracles imply an experience of a less expansive space and one fraught with anxiety about contact with a world outside the abbey walls.

## Session 6

**Vicky Bristow (U of Nottingham): "Elene, The Anonymous Homily on the *Invention of the Cross* and the *Acta Cyriaci*: Their Dramatic Structure and Style"**

The matter of the source for *Elene* has generated much debate over the last century, but consensus has yet to be found on the most effective way of analysing the poem in relation to the sources Cynewulf used. The absence in the manuscript record of the exact redaction of the *Acta Cyriaci* (or *Inventio Sanctae Crucis*) employed in the poem has been seen as the main obstacle to effective analyses of *Elene* and its source. However, it will be demonstrated that many of the problems originate from the lack of a critical edition of the manuscripts which best represent that which Cynewulf used (those manuscripts of the Beta branch of Stephan Borgehammar's stemma of the *Acta Cyriaci*), and an incorrect identification of the eclectic and non-critical printed editions with individual stemmata in the legend's transmission. It will be demonstrated that only a close analysis of

*Elene* with those Beta manuscripts of the *Acta Cyriaci* in the first instance, and then a further analysis of the narrative details in *Elene* which still remain unaccounted for with all the other relevant insular manuscripts, can provide the most accurate list of the textual features which Cynewulf introduced. In order to make these manuscript readings available to scholars, a critical edition of the Beta branch of the *Acta Cyriaci* is essential. Conclusions about Cynewulf's achievement in *Elene* would then be based on all the manuscript evidence extant, rather than on non-critical editorial versions.

Furthermore, the anonymous homily on the *Invention of the Cross* (Cameron number B 3. 3. 6) found in the composite manuscript known as St. Dunstan's Classbook (Oxford, Bodleian, Auct. F. 4. 34) provides crucial information about the versions of the *Acta Cyriaci* which were available in Anglo-Saxon England. Although Mary Catherine Bodden identified the potential of the homily to reveal information about the source for *Elene* in her edition of the text and in her PhD thesis, her analysis of the relationship between *Elene* and the homily employed only Holder's transcript of an early manuscript of the *Acta Cyriaci* for comparison, which compromises and distorts her findings.

An analysis of the unique textual features of the anonymous homily and its manuscript context in St. Dunstan's Classbook will reveal that the performance of the *Invention of the Cross* liturgy (May 3rd) was dramatic in nature and that the homily itself is one particular manuscript example of the popular, lively and interactive tradition of performance of the *Invention* story in Anglo-Saxon England. The dramatic nature of the performance of texts relating to the *Acta Cyriaci* legend in Anglo-Saxon England can account for the fitting numbering in *Elene*, which creates breaks in the narrative, the meaning and significance of which can only be satisfactorily explained within the context of an oral performance. A similar narrative structure can be discerned in the homily and this demonstrates the consistent deployment of the dramatic potential of structural devices, which are related to, but are not dependent on, the Latin source.

**Samantha Zacher (Cornell U): "Locating *Andreas*: Its Place in the Book, and the Book in Its Place"**

Despite the prominent position of *Andreas* as the first poem in the Vercelli Book (highlighted by its manuscript-association with *Fates of the Apostles*), scholars generally ignore the poem's immediate manuscript-context, looking instead at contemporary prose narratives on the life of the saint as well as other poems patterned on the model of the warrior-saint to illuminate its themes and genre. But there is still much to be



gained from careful attention to the place of the poem in the Vercelli Book, both in the Anglo-Saxon period while the manuscript remained on English soil, and as the manuscript lived out its expatriate existence in the distant recesses of Vercelli in Northern Italy. It has been over two decades since this line of inquiry has received any serious attention, although it was once thought possible that the Vercelli manuscript was preserved (despite its foreign idiom) in this well-established hub for pilgrimages from England to Rome, precisely because of local interest in the life of Andrew. It seemed a striking fact to some that a church dedicated to St Andrew was founded in Vercelli in 1219 (though possibly built on the ruins of an earlier site dedicated to the saint), using funds drawn from the church of St Andrew at Chesterton in England. Although, as Sisam demonstrated, the paleographical placement of the manuscript in Italy by the late eleventh century would seem to rule out its specific function as a dedication-gift at that point, the potential appeal of this manuscript to an earlier community in Vercelli cannot be too readily dismissed; indeed, the presence of marginalia written in an eleventh-century Italian hand positively identifies some kind of readership. Moreover, it has almost escaped scholarly attention that a medieval scribble originally written on one of the fly-leaves of the Vercelli Book seems to reflect the opening of the liturgy for St Andrew (using precisely the portion of text on the adoration of the cross adapted by the author of *The Dream of the Rood*, lines 33–41; it might be noted that a connection between *The Dream of the Rood* and *The Passion of St Andrew* was long ago suggested by Calder & Allen). In combining afresh the codicological evidence with the historical, and in addition by drawing newly on themes shared between *Andreas* and the homilies of the Vercelli Book, this paper will seek to examine the place of *Andreas* within the Vercelli Book, and to treat the preservation of the manuscript in Italy as a potentially fertile means of gauging how it was read and regarded both in England and abroad. Finally, the paper will seek to investigate what this so-called *homiliarum liber ignoti idiomatis* may have represented as an artifact of importance for both native and foreign audiences, even after it could likely no longer be read.

**Andy Orchard (Centre for Medieval Studies, Toronto):**  
**“How Anglo-Saxon is *Andreas*?”**

The Old English poem *Andreas* is perhaps the most high-profile victim of the continuing fifty-year wrangle over so-called oral-formulaic theory. Scholars and students are understandably nervous about weighing in on the now somewhat stale controversy about the relationship between *Andreas* and *Beowulf*, fully ana-

lyzed by Anita Riedinger, Carol Hughes Funk, and Alison Powell, not to mention the supposedly still more glaring links between *Andreas* and Cynewulf asserted by Alison Powell and Andy Orchard, and the result has been a sad neglect of the originality and literary quality of this extraordinary text. The apologetic tone of the title of Edward B. Irving Jr’s ground-breaking paper “A Reading of *Andreas*: the Poem as Poem,” is indicative of the feelings of anxiety or embarrassment that have characterized scholarship on the text, and Irving’s fine piece is itself now almost twenty-five years old. The time seems ripe for a reappraisal.

This paper seeks to consider not so much *if* the poet of *Andreas* deliberately echoed earlier poems that still survive, but rather *how* and *why* the poet sought so deliberately to align himself with an essentially English tradition of vernacular verse that is also reflected in other extant texts. To that end, the analysis will not simply restrict itself to *Beowulf* and Cynewulf, but will draw on a broader range of poems, including (and especially) *Guthlac A*, *Guthlac B*, and *The Phoenix*, as well as on various prose works, including the versions of the Andrew-Legend in the Vercelli Book and CCC 198, as well as on the prose versions of the Guthlac-legend in both Anglo-Latin and Old English. The primary focus will be on the original features of *Andreas*, as determined not only by comparison with these Anglo-Saxon intertexts, but also with what can be deduced about the source of the poems from the surviving fragments and versions in Latin and Greek. Individual passages of the *Andreas* with increasingly tenuous connection to the putative source will be read in detail, with particular attention to the way in which the poet appears not only to manipulate inherited compounds, formulas, syntax, themes, and generic expectations for his own artistic purpose, but also to inject a considerable degree of originality in the style and substance of his verse. The poet’s choice of subject will be examined in the same light, and it will be argued that *Andreas* is a thoughtful and well-crafted poem which, if it has suffered in the past from unfair comparison with other texts these days deemed more palatable to modern taste, has nonetheless much to teach about precisely how and why an Anglo-Saxon author went about taking the tale of Galilean fisherman and making of it a poem of a quintessentially Anglo-Saxon fighting-man.

**Session 7: “Turning the Page: Late Old English Manuscript Culture Re-assessed”**

**Orietta Da Rold (U of Leicester): “Making the Book”**

This paper will examine the most fundamental aspects of book production from the late eleventh to the early

thirteenth centuries to reappraise the importance of codicology for our understanding of the ways in which texts were copied and understood. Focusing in detail on representative manuscripts, chief among them CUL Ii.1.33 (Old English homilies and saints' lives from Canterbury and Ely), I shall argue that modern scholarly assessments of manuscript coherence, of textual continuity, of processes of compilation, and of the sequence of copying depend almost solely on the contents of the texts themselves representing exemplary textual relationships, and not on the books themselves.

By systematically analysing codicological features such as ruling, *mise-en-page*, quire signatures, catchwords, and paratextual elements—*litterae notabiliores*, decorated initials, rubrics, marginalia—it might be possible to refine our assessments of the manufacture of manuscripts and of critical issues about the processes of composition. This paper will thus build on Malcolm Parkes's work in his 'Ordinatio and Compilatio' in Parkes, *Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London, 1991). He comments at p. 36 that: "It is a truism of palaeography that most works copied in and before the twelfth century were better organised in copies produced in the thirteenth century, and even better organized in those produced in the fourteenth." He uses the concepts of *ordinatio* and *compilatio* to illustrate the differences between author and compiler, and between different kinds of readers. For Parkes, therefore: 'the two kinds of reading required different kinds of presentation of the texts, and this is reflected in changes in features of layout and in the provision of apparatus for the academic reader ... from the twelfth century onwards developments in the *mise-en-page* of texts were bound up with developments in method of scholarship and changes in attitude to study'.

This paper will therefore ask to what extent this argument—applied by Parkes to Latin manuscripts—can be said to be true of vernacular codices too. For CUL Ii.1.33, metaphorically disassembling the codex in this way will insist upon a reevaluation of our understanding of its origin and provenance, compositional chronology and overall design. Traxel, in his exemplary study of the manuscript, has already established and analysed linguistic and textual boundaries. His work is an excellent starting point for a codicological reassessment which will dovetail on how this reassessment can be employed to evaluate the producers and production of late Old English manuscripts and their culture.

#### Elaine Treharne (Florida State U): "Writing the Book"

This paper will build upon the preceding presentation by focusing specifically on the palaeography of Old

English manuscript books in the twelfth century. The previous presentation will have demonstrated how expertly Cambridge University Library Ii.1.33 was put together by its makers; here, I shall ask how expertly it might be said to have been written by its various scribes. The bigger question of how we are able to judge scribal 'expertise' or 'professionalism' in vernacular manuscripts is key here.

In determining how expertly we think a manuscript is composed, one of the major issues is the resources the compilers and scribes had available to them. We tend to extrapolate from one example of one scribe in one Old English manuscript confident assertions about the contexts of production and particularities of the writing environment. If one were to make such assertions about CUL Ii.1.33, we might deduce that it was produced by at least three scribes, who were well trained and who were working in a well-resourced scriptorium where Old English was valued. It is, however, easy to forget how little of the whole picture one manuscript actually reveals. In the case of the scribes of CUL Ii.1.33, we have the very rare opportunity to broaden our view by tracing the other activities of one of the main hands, who also produced Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 367, Part II. This scribe's Old English work in Corpus 367 is altogether different from that in CUL Ii.1.33 as the former project clearly merited none of the resources given over to the latter, and this is despite the fact that the scribe's writing is equally formal and 'professional' in both manuscripts.

Given this unusual occurrence of having two very diverse extant Old English books containing the work of the same scribe, specific questions can be asked of the circumstances, both physical and cultural, in which these volumes were produced. Do these manuscripts, possibly produced in different centres, starkly illustrate a lack of uniformity in textual production that might indicate something about the relative status of English at particular religious institutions? Rather than assuming Old English to be consistently central or marginal to certain scriptoria's work during the twelfth century, was the whole process built around the very practical concerns of using any and all resources as and when they became available? This scribe, then, as with many others presumably, seems to have been writing Old English in a number of different situations which make imperative a reassessment of our arguably oversimplified view of vernacular textual production in this period.

#### Mary Swan (U of Leeds): "Using the Book"

This paper will move outwards from the production of manuscript Cambridge University Library, Ii.1.33 and the writing of its main text to the evidence provided

for its use, in the form of annotations and marginalia. The manuscript is extraordinarily richly layered in terms of sequences of writing on its pages which range across genres, registers and four languages: Old English, Early Middle English, French and Latin. The heavy annotation of some items provides key information about relationships amongst the manuscript's scribes and relationships between these scribes and the texts around whose edges they write.

A particular focus will be Ker's items 10 and 41: a copy of part of Ælfric's *Life of Andrew* and a translation of Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis*. Both of these items are heavily annotated at key points, and the result is manuscript pages on which are traced reading, response and re-use. The single, carefully-controlled narrative voice of Ælfric's hagiographical text is amplified and made into a multi-lingual chorus, whilst Alcuin's treatise is turned by its marginal annotations into something profoundly rooted in liturgy, preaching and performance.

The using of CUL li.1.33 is an excellent test of the fundamental categories we use to think about textual production and reception. It is not a simple pattern of main text plus marginal response; at least one scribe of the main text in parts of the manuscript becomes an annotator of it in other parts. The apparent hierarchy of main, principal text and subsidiary marginalia is disrupted by the often contradictory layering of languages and genres and voices. The centrality of Old English throughout the manuscript allows us to scrutinise its vitality and functionality at a late date.

The layering of annotations in this manuscript raises important questions about the boundaries between, and relative status of, the different languages available for writing in England in the second half of the twelfth century and about the place of Old English amongst them and its centrality to continuing traditions of writing, reading and preaching. The two other papers in this panel will have demonstrated the scrupulous attention to detail and the careful agenda behind the making and writing of this book. This paper will ponder the specific circumstances and resources which might have led to its use.

## Session 8

### Frederick M Biggs (U of Connecticut): "The Demise of Joint Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England"

Edgar's path to the throne between 955 and 959 provides an opportunity to consider a political practice—joint kingship as a means to control the succession—better represented in early Anglo-Saxon England as well as the reasons for its demise. The practice itself offers a way to understand the contradictory accounts of these years

recorded in three versions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*: D, representing a secular northern view, recognizes the immediate division of the kingdom in 955 by noting Eadwig's accession in Wessex and Edgar's in Mercia; A, written from a secular southern stance, overlooks the division altogether, listing only the beginning of Eadwig's rule in 955 and Edgar's in 959; and B, reflecting Æthelwold's and Dunstan's disapproval of the division, places Edgar's assumption of power in Mercia two years into Eadwig's reign. Each, in its own way, is right and together they show that joint kingship was planned in the final years of Eadred's reign and put into effect at his death although Edgar only took up his responsibilities in Mercia in 957. The evidence of both charters and coins from the period offer support for this interpretation.

Yet the confusion in the sources indicates that by the mid tenth century joint kingship was already falling out of practice, and Dunstan's and Æthelwold's criticism may help to explain why. While not a matter of doctrine (such as the prohibition against a son marrying his father's widow), joint rule seemed contrary to a Christian ideal of kingship where succession, under God's control, should simply be a legitimate son following his father to the throne. It is, indeed, possible to uncover this same bias in the *Ecclesiastical History* where Bede's occasional comments on what must have been, as Barbara Yorke has shown, a wide-spread practice in his day reveal his discomfort with this tradition.

From these points of reference I will discuss other successions in the later period, particularly those of Alfred (871), Ælfweard and Æthelstan (924), and Edward and Æthelred (975-978). The topic, however, has literary implications as well. Frederick M. Biggs has recently argued that on his return from Denmark Beowulf is offered joint rule with Hygelac as a way of involving him in the question of the Geatish succession (*Speculum* 2005). Although the case of Edgar prevents us from relying on the poet's use of this tradition to exclude the later period for the composition of the poem, it makes it more likely that *Beowulf* was written in the early Anglo-Saxon England.

### Christina Lee (U of Nottingham): "Body Talks: Disability in Anglo-Saxon England"

Irina Metzler has recently suggested that medieval concepts of 'disability' may be radically different from modern perceptions. Metzler suggests that we should separate 'impairment' from 'disability' and challenges the belief that a physical defect was automatically regarded as a disadvantage.

This paper considers what constituted a 'disability' in Anglo-Saxon England by looking at evidence from

burial archaeology, legal texts and literary sources. Is Metzler's distinction between 'impairment' and 'disability' applicable to Anglo-Saxon evidence? Was there a difference in the treatment of impaired/disabled people over the period, or a difference in the perception of congenital abnormalities versus acquired impairment? The paper aims to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of the place and status of the afflicted in the period.

**Josh Davies (King's College London): "The Reverse Chronology of St. Alfege's Church: A Suitable Monument for Anglo-Saxon England?"**

On the south side of the river Thames, about one mile from the Royal Maritime Museum, St. Alfege's Church stands in Greenwich. It is the third church to exist on the site and was built in the eighteenth century to a Hawksmoor design when the previous building, weakened by burials, collapsed in a storm. The destroyed church had been built in the late thirteenth century (in 1491 Henry VIII was baptised there), and was itself a replacement of the original church which had stood since shortly after the martyrdom of St. Ælfheah in 1012.

Ælfheah was taken hostage by raiding Danes when he was Archbishop of Canterbury in 1011. Transferred to the Danish stronghold in Southwark, he frustrated the Danes by refusing to allow a ransom to be paid for his release and was held hostage until April 1012 when drunken Danes pelted him with animal carcasses and he was killed by the strike of an axe to the head. Ælfheah was buried at St Paul's until 1023 when King Cnut arranged the translation of his relics to Canterbury. It is recorded in Osbern's *Life of St. Alfege* (a twelfth century hagiography of the Normanised Ælfheah) that as he lay dying, a wooden Danish oar that had been dipped in his blood sprouted. The story of Ælfheah and his church represents a place where death meets regeneration, locomotion meets stillness, and presence meets absence, and the sprouting oar offers a richly symbolic moment suggestive of these themes. M. K. Lawson, Pamela Nightingale and David Hill have all speculated about the reasons behind Cnut's translation of Ælfheah's relics, and Nicholas Howe has investigated the cultural geography of the early English Church more generally. What I aim to do in this paper is develop their work and offer an examination of how space, place, and historic event are defined, examined, and imagined across time.

Like the history of St. Alfege's Church, the sources which piece together the story of Ælfheah's martyrdom are fragmented, and defined by gaps and inconsistencies. Each of the manuscripts of the Chronicles offers a slightly different record, and Osbern's account views

events from another angle entirely. Similarly, St. Alfege's Church is the 'very place' of death and the seat of Ælfheah's legacy, but it is also the place that he is absent from and, moreover, was built some seven hundred years after his death. By reversing the chronology of St. Ælfheah's martyrdom and saintly afterlife I will attempt to connect the Ælfheah of Anglo-Saxon England to that of twenty-first century London, and demonstrate how these sites and stories continue to signify today.

## Session 9

**Jacqueline Stodnick (U of Texas Arlington): "Her Again: Deictic Syntax in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle"**

Peter Clemoes commented of the perhaps casual attitude of readers to the formula "Her" that begins the majority of entries in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, "we could be brushing aside something that matters." For Clemoes this was the idea that the combination of numerical dating with "Her" makes the *Chronicle* into "a sort of diagram" by linking present to past via a "chain of eventful years." Clemoes's analysis, itself tantalizingly brief, initiated a direction for reading "Her" that has perhaps subsequently been more accepted than it has been developed or interrogated. If it is now customary to think of the *Chronicle* precisely as a diagram or map of time, how exactly does this map work?

In this paper I will position the use of "Her" in the *Chronicle* within overlapping and complementary textual strategies for representing the materiality of time's passage—literalizing Clemoes's motif that "Her" is "something that matters." While the *Chronicle* is distinctive among contemporary annals texts for its use of the "her" formula, this word (or the Latin equivalent "hic") is commonly used in tombstone, church or altar dedications, many of which *tituli* circulate in textual collections, or *sylogae*, during the earlier Anglo-Saxon period, with Bede, Aldhelm, and Milred of Worcester making contributions to the genre. Transcriptions of tombstone dedications are also given in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, the *Old English Martyrology*, and elsewhere, supplementing the rather scant physical evidence surviving from the period. Inscriptions provide historical information, such as dates and details of major events in a person's life, linked by means of the deictic term "her" to the physical trace of their body. The term "her" is thus used to build a bridge between what is left behind—textual history, the inscription, and matter, the corpse—and to insist that the one is embodied in the other. While, as Joanna Story has noted in her work on the Frankish annals, tombstone inscriptions functioned to turn the early medieval church into a material text of history, their appearance within textual



collections destabilizes this relationship between physical and textual remnants, dislocating the reference of their deictic terminology from the church building to the space of the book itself.

Reading the *Chronicle*'s use of "her" as an opening formula against the background of epigraphical writing, a connection never before made, not only provides a convincing origin for this innovation in historiographical diction, but also greatly enriches our potential precisely for reading the text as a special type of historical diagram. Foregrounding the relation between history and record, "her" refers to the place within the book that preserves the event and reminds readers that it is the materiality of this book that substitutes, always imperfectly, for the intangible and transient event itself. To read the *Chronicle* in this way is to argue that its formal properties are both drawn from and function within a continuum of ecclesiastical and communal techniques of record, practiced inside and outside the pages of books.

**Margaret Scott (U of Glasgow): "Scottish Place-Names and Anglo-Saxon England"**

During the last fifty years, English place-name studies has made a substantial contribution to our understanding of Anglo-Saxon toponymy and lexis. Major works include Margaret Gelling and Ann Cole's *The Landscape of Place-Names* (2001) and the ongoing publication of county volumes for the English Place-Name Survey (EPNS). Distillations of the work of EPNS are also available, in A. H. Smith's *English Place-Name Elements* (1956), a new edition of which is currently in progress at Nottingham under the new guise of *The Vocabulary of English Place-Names* (Parsons et al. 1997-). Detailed onomastic studies by scholars including Carole Hough (e.g. 'OE \*græg in place-names', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 96 [1995]: 361-365) and Peter Kitson (e.g. 'Old English Bird-Names (I)', *English Studies* 78/6 [1997]: 481-505) have revealed senses and definitions hitherto unknown, thus enhancing our understanding of Old English vocabulary.

Scottish place-name evidence has seldom been taken into consideration in such studies, largely because the Scottish Place-Name Survey is considerably less advanced than its English counterpart, and because much material remains difficult of access, or has yet to be subjected to a detailed onomastic analysis. Simon Taylor's four-volume work on the place-names of Fife (forthcoming) will be the first comprehensive study of a Scottish county, and much work is needed in Scottish name studies. Nevertheless, the archives of the Scottish Place-Name Survey, and a variety of early works provide invaluable raw data on Scottish names. Of particular

relevance are three PhD dissertations completed at the University of Edinburgh in the early twentieth century, namely Norman Dixon's *The Place-Names of Midlothian* (1947), Angus Macdonald's *The Place-Names of West Lothian* (1937) and May Gordon Williamson's *The Non-Celtic Place-Names of the Scottish Border Counties* (1942).

This paper aims to examine some of the Scottish place-name elements which have a direct impact on our knowledge of the Old English lexicon and onomasticon. Place-name evidence has been taken into account in some lexicographical studies of Scots, including *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* (1931-2002), and greater attention is being paid to onomastic evidence by the editors of the Third Edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, *OED Online* (2000-). Although Scottish evidence is often later than that for English place-names, there are still many ways that comparative material from north of the border can shed light on lexical and onomastic analogues in the south. By looking at a number of case studies of problematic words and names, this paper seeks to demonstrate the value of Scottish comparative evidence as a tool for Anglo-Saxon linguistic studies. Historical lexicography already owes many philological debts to the onomasticon of England, especially in cases where terminology is recorded in place-names earlier than in literature, or where terminology is only attested in onomastic contexts. An examination of Scottish place-name evidence reveals further information directly pertinent to Old English and Anglo-Saxon England.

**Antonette diPaolo Healey (U of Toronto): "Searching for Words: DOEonline: A to G"**

This paper will illustrate, through a PowerPoint presentation, some of the important features of *DOEonline: A to G*, the latest research tool developed by the Dictionary of Old English (DOE) project, to be published in 2007. The migration of the *Dictionary* to the Web parallels the earlier migration of the *Corpus* to the Web, and now makes the DOE accessible to all operating systems.

Two important enhancements of *DOEonline: A to G* over *DOE: A to F* on CD-ROM are: the hotlinking of short titles of the Latin sources cited in DOE to their full bibliographic references; and the hotlinking of *OED* headwords, thus allowing users with site licenses to go instantaneously from *DOEonline* to the online *OED*. This linkage of two of the historical dictionaries of English has been brought about by technology, collegiality, and trust, is one of the most exciting developments of the past year.

The paper will also describe some of the powerful searches that are now possible with *DOEonline: A to G*,

including Boolean searches across multiple fields of a DOE entry, to aid users in answering specific research questions. This type of search has not been previously available. As we create more sophisticated search engines to mine the data in the DOE, we hope that the DOE itself will become an even more useful research tool for illuminating the earliest forms of English.

#### Session 10

**Debby Banham (U of Cambridge): “Here you can see their tracks’: Ridge and Furrow, Open Fields and Anglo-Saxon Farming”**

The snaking, undulating contours of the ground surface, known as ‘ridge and furrow’, in many old pasture fields are linked to the former existence in the same locations of open fields. These huge fields were undivided by hedges, each comprising a third or a half of the entire arable lands of the community they belonged to, and each was subdivided into furlongs, in turn made up of long thin strips, or selions. An individual farmer might hold a substantial number of strips within the same field, which he farmed in common with his neighbours, in the sense that all the adjacent strips were devoted to the same crop, and therefore had to be cultivated, or sown, or harvested, at the same season. Each farmer would hold strips in each of the fields, so that each year he would have part of his land under crops, and part fallow, where his animals would graze along with those of his neighbours. The open fields, which ceased to exist from the late middle ages, constitute a system of arable farming introduced at some point in the Anglo-Saxon period.

Is it therefore true that, when we look at ancient ridge and furrow in the grass, we have before us a relic of Anglo-Saxon agriculture? There is certainly evidence for open-field farming in early medieval England. But for the vast majority of places where open fields existed at some point in the middle ages, the evidence does not go back nearly so far, and some scholars have proposed that, as a system, open-field farming is much later. However, agriculture changed in many ways within the Anglo-Saxon period: new technology was introduced, the climate improved, and more of some crops was grown, less of others, as the period went on. The balance between arable and pastoral farming may have changed, and the area of land under human management probably increased. These changes may have provided a more plausible context for the origins of open-field farming than later circumstances.

This paper will examine first of all the evidence for open-field farming within the Anglo-Saxon period, and the likelihood that it existed in the period even in places

where there is no firm evidence. It will also look at other changes in arable farming in the Anglo-Saxon period, and how they may be related to the origins of the open fields. It may well turn out that, although few, perhaps no, surviving examples of ridge and furrow go back to the Anglo-Saxon period, ridge and furrow in general does represent the ‘track’ of Anglo-Saxon farmers in a more complex way than has hitherto been supposed.

**Sue Hirst (Museum of London Archaeology Service): “Mucking-East Tilbury: Meeting Place and Mart in the Early and Middle Saxon Periods?”**

The Early to Middle Saxon settlement of Mucking, in south Essex, was strategically sited on a gravel terrace forming one of the few hills on the north bank of the Lower Thames. The site commands long views along and across the estuary, and is adjacent to a probable prehistoric and Roman north-south routeway, which took advantage of the lowest natural crossing point of the River Thames at nearby East Tilbury.

Mucking is among a small group of extensive Early Saxon settlements, which may have acted as central places, perhaps providing a context for short- and long-distance exchange. The settlement comprised 53 post-built structures and 203 sunken-featured buildings spread across ca. 18ha and dating from ca. 425 to at least ca. 685 (the date of three stratified silver sceattas) and probably into the early 8th century (the date of two sceattas found in unexcavated ground on the hilltop). The two associated cemeteries have a narrower date range of ca. 425–600 and suggest a total buried population of 808–970 individuals—on average a reproductive generation of 38–46 individuals occupying 8–10 households.

Agriculture, wood working and textile production were probably dominant activities. There is also evidence for small-scale craft working including iron smelting and smithing, and, unusually, some non-ferrous metalworking. No kilns were located but fabric analysis suggests that pottery, including distinctive zoomorphic bossed pots found at other sites in the region, was being made nearby. Early 5th-century military belt buckles and 5th- and 6th-century weaponry from graves reflect the significant military capacity of this community.

The earliest cultural affinities of Mucking are with the Elbe-Weser area; the quality and quantity of the evidence from graves of the middle third of the 5th century is unsurpassed. By the late 5th and 6th century the grave goods were primarily Saxon in character, but with some Anglian and eastern Kentish influences. Frankish artefacts were also found. Itinerant craftsmen may have produced many of the dress fittings and weapons found in the cemeteries, with definite evidence

for brooch making on site. True imports were probably restricted to amber, from across the North Sea; and glass, stave-built and wheel-made-pottery vessels, and glass and crystal beads from Merovingian Gaul and the Rhineland, probably traded via Kent and then up the River Thames.

The discovery of very large numbers (146+) of sceattas at East Tilbury, c 2km from Mucking, near the river crossing, prompts a closer look at the relationship between the two sites. The sceattas primarily date to the first half of the 8th century but continue through the 9th century with four dated after AD 900. They have been interpreted as evidence for a Middle Saxon productive site, possibly related to the (undiscovered) monastery recorded by Bede as founded by St Cedd in 'Tilaberg' in AD 653. It is possible that East Tilbury also served as a 'landing and lading' place associated with the important Mucking settlement at an earlier date and that Mucking functioned as an occasional meeting place for regional and local exchange in the Early Saxon period, succeeded by East Tilbury in the Middle Saxon period.

**Bruce Watson (Museum of London Archaeology Service): "The Southwark Domesday Entries: An Enigma Reconsidered"**

The text of the Southwark Domesday has long been an enigma to historians. Recently it was described as "unclear and confusing, but what it seems to record is that Southwark in both 1066 and 1086 was an unmanorialized settlement without a direct lord of its own... . Nowhere does the entry say that that anyone 'held' or 'holds' Southwark" (M. Carlin 1996 *Medieval Southwark*, 15). A number of properties in Southwark are recorded as part of rural manors, which shows a clear pattern of linkage between urban and rural properties. There is evidence of similar linkage of properties in both London and Guildford.

The entries show that Southwark possessed a Minster (St Mary's), moorings in a tide-way (probably the mouth of creek later St Mary Overy dock), another landing place situated in a tidal-stream (probably the mouth of an inlet, which later became Topping's dock), a church (St Olav's), an area of strand (an area of Thames foreshore for beaching and unloading boats down stream from London Bridge), a water mill, meadow, one house (domus) and at least 35 other properties. The men of Southwark held a haga and its toll, in Kingston, showing that while their settlement was not recorded as a borough, they apparently possessed a formal or informal civic standing on a par with burgesses. As the Lord of Ditton received in rent 500 herrings and another 2,000 went to Godstone, there was clearly an established sea fishery in Southwark. It was clear that Southwark was a

successful urban centre and a port. However, there is no evidence for a Domesday period market in Southwark, but presumably markets were being held here. A corn market was being held outside old St Thomas's hospital in 1215.

The aim of this paper is reconsider the evidence for Domesday entries and try link this evidence with the topography and available archaeological evidence. There was a small-fortified area around the bridgehead, which had been successfully defended against Duke William's army in 1066, so his army burnt down the rest of Southwark as a reprisal. This shows that there is actually more evidence than is generally realised and we have a vivid portrait of a complex and thriving urban centre. Its value rose between 1066 and 1086 from £18.0s. 3d. to £30, but it paid £32. In fact it is tempting to see the apparent confusion in the Southwark entries simply as the result of a scribe struggling to record to the complexity of dynamic urbanism, which could be the reason why the Normans decided not to survey the City of London.

**Session 11**

**Gabor Thomas (U of Kent): "Excavations at Bishopstone 2003-5: A Late Anglo-Saxon Manorial Settlement in Its Regional and National Context"**

This paper delivers provisional reflections on a recent campaign of excavations at Bishopstone, East Sussex—one of the few in-depth studies of recent decades examining the phenomenon of pre-Conquest village origins from a southern English perspective. Launched by the writer in 2003, the scheme of research seeks to reconstruct the character and economy of Bishopstone in its immediate pre-Conquest phases and to inform broader perspectives exploring the impact of manorialisation on the Late Anglo-Saxon landscape.

Home to one of Sussex's better known and arguably earliest pre-Conquest churches (possibly a minster founded on an estate which had become an episcopal manor by c. 800.), Bishopstone has long been known to Anglo-Saxonists. Wider attention within the archaeological community was secured by Martin Bell's seminal 1970s excavations on a chalk ridge named Rookery Hill overlooking the village, which demonstrated the presence of an Early Anglo-Saxon (5th-7th-century) settlement and cemetery occupied within the vestiges of earlier and Romano-British and prehistoric activity. The recent excavations have extended the settlement sequence at Bishopstone into the Late Anglo-Saxon period (albeit following a location shift from hilltop to vale) and, in the process, provided one of the most coherent pictures yet revealed of a pre-Conquest village

nucleus, fossilized below the village green and other open areas flanking the churchyard.

The main thrust of the paper will be directed at characterising the settlement using both contextual sources and external comparisons to the corpus of excavated Late Anglo-Saxon settlements. Analysis will draw attention to a number of attributes which arguably serve to place Bishopstone within an expanding group of Late Anglo-Saxon manorial complexes. The spatial layout of the settlement, notable for its highly formalised rectilinear plan, bears close comparison to a number of southern English sites assigned to this suggested stratum. A similar conclusion emerges from a consideration of the unusually wide range of timber building styles represented at Bishopstone, including a unique timber tower with a cellared basement which may be regarded as a rather more explicit symbol of the high status—perhaps, given Bishopstone's historical associations, signalling the pretensions of an episcopal reeve. The concluding part of the analysis will turn to the contribution being made by ongoing artefactual and ecofactual analyses to an assessment of Bishopstone's status and economic role within the settlement hierarchy.

In an attempt to draw together the various strands, it will be concluded that whilst Bishopstone conforms tolerably closely to the expected archaeological blueprint for a Late Anglo-Saxon manorial curia (whether in secular or ecclesiastical control), the results also reinforce an impression of physical diversity among the corpus as a whole, perhaps underpinned by as yet unrecognised regional/cultural traditions. Such a conclusion chimes with recent evaluations ranging across the social spectrum of Late Anglo-Saxon settlements, and encourages the need for a systematic programme of research and excavation designed to fill gaps in our understanding.

**Richard Mortimer (Cambridgeshire Archaeological Field Unit): "Excavations at West Fen Road, Ely, Cambridgeshire 1999: Exploring Conceptions of 'Rural' and 'Urban' Space in the Anglo-Saxon Settlement Record"**

The Saxon and medieval settlement recently examined by large-scale excavations on the limits of the city of Ely is remarkable for several reasons. Covering a maximum extent of 18 hectares and comprising over 700 ditched features, 500 pits, and in excess of thirty buildings, it ranks as one of the largest expanses of Mid-to-Late Anglo-Saxon occupation yet sampled in the country. The settlement also stands out for the longevity of its occupation which, thanks to detailed site phasing, can be calibrated into a refined sequence spanning the 8th to the 15th centuries, with a recognisable flourish (the focus of this paper) restricted to the first four hundred years of its history.

Informed by this remarkable site biography, this paper seeks to highlight issues of continuity and change in the settlement record contextualised against the wider backdrop of Ely's development as a major religious centre, from its 7th-century beginnings as a double monastery to its emergence, after the Norman Conquest, as the seat of an episcopal see. Whilst certain notable thresholds are documented in the settlement sequence in relation to house styles, and economic/craft activities, the overall impression gained is of an essentially stable community. The character of the occupation throughout its pre-Conquest phases (as reflected in modest-sized buildings, low-level craft production, broad-based agricultural regime, infrequent imports, coinage and jewellery) supports the view of a low-status 'producer' settlement most likely engaged in supplying food and other resources for consumption by Ely's religious community.

The organisation of the settlement from its inception, comprising spacious ditched enclosures occupied by single or small groupings of buildings, also persists relatively unchanged into the Late Anglo-Saxon period. Low-density occupation of this general type compares well with the results of rural excavations undertaken elsewhere in England, especially in eastern and Midland counties, but with the significant difference that at West Fen Road the settlement appears to sprawl over a comparably much wider area, perhaps reflecting the growth of suburban activity outside the central religious precinct. On this basis, it will be argued that the results of the current excavations fit much better into the conceptual framework of a 'Late Anglo-Saxon small town', a class of settlement that in both physical and historical terms appears to have straddled the divide between 'rural' and 'urban' conditions. The continuity in settlement form revealed at Ely raises the exciting prospect that settlements occupying this ambivalent position, previously regarded as a 10th-/11th-century phenomenon, may have earlier, 8th-century precedents. The implication to be drawn from this is that our current conceptions of urban and proto-urban life during this key period of economic intensification may be modelled rather too narrowly on the specialised character of archaeologically-conspicuous trading emporia investigated at Southampton, Ipswich, London and York.

**Michael Drout (Wheaton College): "The Invention of Cynewulf: Albert S. Cook, Philology, Romanticism and English Studies in America"**

Organizer of the Johns Hopkins English department, Professor of English at Yale for thirty-two years, founder and for thirty years editor of the *Yale Studies in English* series, President of the Modern Language Association,



co-editor of the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, and President of the Concordance Society for seventeen years, Albert S. Cook was the single most powerful American Anglo-Saxonist of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. A bibliography, privately issued in 1923 (four years before his death) contains more than 300 entries. Cook was one of the first, and perhaps the most successful, of the American converts to the German philological method. He studied with Eduard Sievers in Jena and maintained a correspondence with Sievers long after his return to America. Cook's great work, *The Christ of Cynewulf*, combined the philological method with Cook's romantic sensibilities, producing a template that remained remarkably influential, even as late as the 1960s, in such works as Edward R. Irving's *Reading Beowulf* and the essays in Donald Fry's *The Beowulf Poet*. Cook's creation of an authorial persona for Cynewulf allowed him to insert Cynewulf into the canon of great writers along with Shakespeare and Chaucer (sadly, without very much long-term success). In this paper I discuss the origins and development of Cook's own version of the philological method in which technical philology was allied to biographical criticism and a romantic sensibility. My discussion of Cook's unpublished correspondence with Sievers and George Lyman Kittredge (the first "star" of English studies in America) illustrates how Cook developed his individual approach to Old English texts, combining German philology and American romanticisms and focusing on the persona he had invented for Cynewulf. Cook's ideal of Cynewulf shaped not only his introduction to the poem but also technical decisions embodied in the edition of *The Christ of Cynewulf* (and thus nearly a century of studies on Christ). Cook's work and influence needs to be remembered and discussed not only to clarify his contribution to Anglo-Saxon studies, but also for the purpose of correcting significant errors and distortions in the received history of English studies in America, Gerald Graff's *Professing Literature*. An incorrect understanding of Cook distorts the role of philology, inscribing as truth one side of a partisan debate (that philology was perceived by students as trivial and boring and was thus unpopular) and erasing the other (that romantic criticism with an emphasis on the 'genius' of individual authors was not incompatible with philology). Understanding Cook, his work and his influence thus is important for Anglo-Saxonists who want to understand how we have come to our current position in contemporary English studies.

#### Session 12

#### Robin Norris (Carleton U): "A Three-Dimensional View of Anglo-Saxon Saints' Lives"

Scholars have long acknowledged two distinct sub-genres of hagiography, each with a separate set of generic conventions. To this binary of *passio* and *vita*, the categories of martyr and confessor have been assumed to correspond. Yet the extrapolation from two genres to two modes of sanctity is problematic in an Anglo-Saxon context, where 'martyr' and 'confessor' are terms intended to label male saints. Because this traditional lens has obscured our view of the place of holy women in the Anglo-Saxons' own taxonomy, the argument of this paper is that a return to the contemporary classification will more clearly illuminate our understanding of gender in Anglo-Saxon literature and culture.

The three-tiered taxonomy that dominates Anglo-Saxon conceptions of sanctity is best represented through a "non-literary" body of texts, the litanies. Though the contents of the various prayers may differ, their hierarchical framework remains entirely consistent. There are always not two but three classes of saints, and the order of the three classes always remains the same: the martyrs, who are exclusively male; followed by the confessors, whose rank includes monks and hermits; and finally the virgins, an umbrella term including all female saints whether widows, chaste women, or wives. Under this arrangement, the litany splits married couples depicted together in passions so that Julian and Chrysanthus appear as martyrs, whereas Basilissa and Daria qualify as virgins. With the second tier also reserved for men, female saints who die of natural causes, from Æthelthryth to Mary of Egypt, must join the virgins as well.

Although Ælfric acknowledges the *passio/vita* distinction in both his prefaces to *Lives of Saints*, it is the terminology of the litany, employed with complete compliance, which titles each individual text, perhaps indicating an attempt by Ælfric to tie hagiography to liturgical practice. In fact, Ælfric adheres so closely to this triple distinction that titles for all eight of his female saints include the label *uirgo* or *sponsa*, all four non-martyred men are identified with an appropriate honorific (e.g., confessor and/or bishop), and all seven individual men who die in passions are labeled martyrs. This tripartite scheme appears not only in the litany, where it seems to originate, but also in homilies and even pictorial depictions, as in the Æthelstan Psalter. A return to this common Anglo-Saxon conception of sanctity raises many important questions. For example, feminist medievalists have done much groundbreaking work on the "virgin martyr," a double term which seems unproblematic for later authors, including Chaucer, who labels Cecilia "maid and martyr" in her "lyf and passioun."

Although this conflation of terminology does not function fully in Old English texts, it has dominated

discussions of gender and hagiography. In the Anglo-Saxons' own arrangement, the experience of female saints is multiple rather than monolithic, and though gender is essentialized, female sanctity must be performed. Ultimately, this performative model of holiness requires readers not only to rethink what female saints share in common, but to ask what they may share with males of their respective genres.

**Juliet Hewish (U College Dublin): "From Alcuin to Ælfric: Tracing the Dissemination of the Life of St. Martin in late Anglo-Saxon England"**

As the Irish evidence reveals, the Life of St. Martin of Tours was known in an insular context from a very early period, and a copy of the works of Sulpicius Severus almost certainly existed on Iona by the seventh century. In Anglo-Saxon England, the earliest references to St Martin are found in the writings of Bede. Prior to that time, Sulpicius's writings are known to have been studied during the seventh century at the school of Canterbury under Theodore and Hadrian. Furthermore, numerous Anglo-Latin texts demonstrate the influence of Sulpicius's writings, from the anonymous Whitby *Vita S. Gregorii* to Wulfstan of Worcester's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*. Unfortunately, despite the abundant evidence of knowledge of the Martinian corpus in Anglo-Saxon England, the earliest copies of the *Vita S. Martini* are found in manuscripts dating to the eleventh century, post-dating the writings of Ælfric by over fifty years. In these manuscripts, I have found a number of readings which call into the question the established divisions of the Martinian manuscripts into three distinct families. For this paper, therefore, I propose to trace the dissemination of the Martinian corpus from Europe to Anglo-Saxon England, and to demonstrate the important place the Anglo-Saxon witnesses to Martin's Life hold within the continental tradition of Sulpicius's works. Particular attention will be paid to the verse vita composed by Alcuin whilst bishop of Tours, and its relationship to the later prose translations produced by Ælfric of Eynsham. According to Zettel, for his Catholic Homilies translation of the Life of Martin, Ælfric used an exemplar similar to that found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 354, which included Alcuin's vita as one of its many readings for the feast of St Martin. More recently, Biggs has argued that the version of Alcuin's text found in Cambridge, Pembroke College 25—a copy of the Carolingian Homiliary of St Pére, Chartres—is closer to Ælfric's translation than either Bodley 354 or the edition printed in *Patrologia Latina*. What neither of these scholars have pointed out, however, is that these two witnesses to the Alcuinian vita and the Life produced by Ælfric reveal that the Anglo-Saxons knew

a version of the Life of St. Martin which included readings not only from the Carolingian tradition of manuscripts, but also readings found in a seventh-century Italian manuscript which, it has been suggested, represents a copy of the author's first revision of Martin's Life. We have to ask ourselves, therefore, whether and why these late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts appear to contain traces of a much older version of the Life of St. Martin than was available to their Carolingian counterparts, and what this might tell us about the literary and liturgical traditions that survived on Anglo-Saxon soil.

**Erika Corradini (U of Leicester): "The Use of Ælfric's Homilies in Secular Cathedrals: Exeter, 1050-1072"**

Many of the homilies composed during the years of the tenth-century Benedictine Reform are now preserved in eleventh-century manuscripts both in composite form and copied *verbatim* from the original; that is, these texts were still in use almost a century after they were composed. Some of these homilies were given wide circulation, others, especially those in composite form, were less widespread as indicated by their unique nature. Tenth-century homilies appearing in eleventh-century manuscripts can tell us a great deal about the availability and usage of certain texts in particular centres or areas; about the purposes to which they were copied; and about patterns of transmission.

A set of quires containing five homilies composed by Ælfric opens up Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 421, a manuscript of unknown origin dating to the beginning of the eleventh century that was at Exeter during the pontificate of Leofric in the mid eleventh century. These texts were copied by Exeter scribes and then inserted into Corpus 421 after the manuscript reached Exeter. The homilies in this section are particularly interesting to study because they reflect the way in which Ælfric's texts were used in a secular cathedral in the middle of the eleventh century and to the analysis of these five texts I intend to dedicate my paper. My aim is to show that they were specifically selected for Leofric to carry out his pastoral remit and that their selection and insertion into Corpus 421 was particularly congenial to a secular cathedral such as Exeter.

In the eleventh century, monastic sermons were transmitted through the existing and expanding network of monastic houses and certainly parallels and relations can be found in homiliaries attributed to major centres such as Canterbury, Winchester, Worcester etc., what seems however to be particular to Exeter is the fact that monastic sermons were there used to accomplish the injunctions of the Rule of Chrodegang, both in public and private practices. The homiliaries compiled and assembled at Exeter appear to have had a function

slightly different to that associated to the vernacular homiliaries adopted in monastic centres. The collections of homilies that belonged to Leofric were in all probability assembled at the bishop's request and therefore may have served a particular use beside showing a characteristic pastoral flavour. This usage appears to have been mainly related to the new spirituality exemplified in the rule of Chrodegang, according to which the provision of pastoral care was duty of the bishop and the canons who were directly subject to his authority. My paper will therefore analyse through the example of Corpus 421 why bishops in secular cathedral communities, and more specifically at Exeter, may have employed monastic materials in the English vernacular—such as Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*—for their preaching duties, instead of having homiliaries composed and compiled anew. This study will hopefully point to a more comprehensive examination of possible connections between eleventh-century monastic and secular institutions that were involved in the transmission of tenth-century Benedictine Reform materials.

### Session 13

#### Malcolm Godden (Oxford U): "Reading the *Consolation of Philosophy* in Anglo-Saxon England"

Of the sixty-five or so manuscripts of Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae* dating from before 1100, at least sixteen are of Anglo-Saxon origin or provenance, and they can tell us a great deal about the reading and interpretation of the text in England from the Alfredian period onwards. The paper will examine in particular (and illustrate with images) a manuscript of the early tenth century providing the earliest datable evidence for knowledge of the text in England; the nature of the glossing by St. Dunstan in another early manuscript; a manuscript conflating Continental-type commentary with the kinds of commentary material that can be shown to have been used in the Old English translation; and a copy owned and used by a community of nuns. These will be used, alongside details of other manuscripts from England and the Continent, to demonstrate the variety of ways in which the text was used and understood. The paper will then turn to the Old English Boethius and examine its relationship to the tradition of reading and interpreting the text that is evident in the Latin manuscripts, including the translator's use of commentary material. It will conclude by trying to determine where the Old English version fits in the history of Boethian reading in Anglo-Saxon England, and how far its characteristic concerns and emphases, and the responses of Anglo-Saxon readers to it, reflect ways of reading the Latin text in England in that period.

#### Nicole Guenther Disenza (U of South Florida): "Following in the Tracks of Bede: Science and Cosmology in the Benedictine Reform"

Bede's *De temporum ratione* provided a Latin computus that was copied and used for centuries, but the text suddenly gained a new kind of life around the first millennium when two monks of the Benedictine Reform produced their own works based on Bede's, translating portions into Old English for students illiterate in Latin. Despite great differences in style, both Ælfric and Byrhtferth conveyed not only basic moral teachings and liturgical practices but also scientific concepts to a broad group of clerics. Ælfric's *De temporibus* had a Latin title but was almost solely in Old English; Byrhtferth's bilingual *Enchiridion* contained many portions in both Latin and Old English, although some information appeared only in one language or the other.

My paper will investigate the two monks' common goals and divergences. Both teach the less educated about the workings of the universe, because God's plan embraces the rotations of the heavens as well as the timing of feasts and fasts. Although the Anglo-Saxons have no one word exactly equivalent to our "science," both writers introduced their students to several aspects of the physical sciences, drawing on Bede's chapters on day, night, the months, the moon, equinoxes, solstices, comets, the four winds, and the four elements. The two monks also avoided some of the same topics, greatly abridging or omitting Bede's detailed explanations of the moon's course, shadows, and how to reckon indictions. They take a pragmatic approach to science for their audience, using the vernacular to explain to Anglo-Saxons the workings of the world they can see around them every day by looking at the sky, observing tides, and following the church calendar. They leave more difficult material for those prepared to grapple with Latin.

The two monks do not agree on everything, however. Ælfric's *De temporibus* offers material on timekeeping but not the calculation of Easter; his primary goal is not teaching the computation of church feasts, but giving Latin-illiterate students an understanding of the workings of the sun and moon. Byrhtferth certainly knew Ælfric's work and used it in a number of places in his *Enchiridion*, yet his text covers far more material than Ælfric's. Byrhtferth goes beyond basic timekeeping to teach the calculation of Easter in English for all students to learn, even taking the time to explain multiplication as a series of additions. Although Byrhtferth criticizes "lazy" clerics, he imposes a more rigorous scientific curriculum on them.

Both *De temporibus* and the *Enchiridion* end by pointing towards divine Judgment. While Ælfric and

Byrhtferth sometimes take divergent paths, they agree that the study of the cosmos leads ultimately to God. Though the Benedictine Reform may be best known for its liturgical practices, emphasis on religious orders, and literary and artistic production, science played an important role in the Reform as well. The workings of the universe reveal God's design in action, and Ælfric and Byrhtferth illuminate that design even for students who cannot share in the Latin flowering of the Reform.

**Daniel Anlezark (U of Sydney): "Learning about the Jews in BL MS Harley 3271"**

BL MS Harley 3271 for the larger part contains the text of Ælfric's Grammar (item 5); the last item in the manuscript dates it to 1032. The manuscript is written in multiple contemporary hands. The Grammar and another text present, Book 3 of Abbo of St. Germain's *Bella Parisiacae urbis* (items 17 and 18), are standard texts of the late Anglo-Saxon schoolroom. Other items—a Latin dialogue (14), and lists of Latin words (1, 16) and declensions (2)—also demonstrate this context. Another set of texts which can be grouped according to a common interest are items 8-12, 23 and parts of 14 and 19, dealing with lucky days and computus. Two short liturgical excerpts are present, item 15 from the office for the Invention of St. Stephen, and 19, a *Missa pro sacerdote*. In addition, Harley 3271 contains a number of notes, mostly edited by Napier, which have not been the subject of close study. There is also an interest in the nations of the world, which are characterized in a six line piece (4) which follows a tribal hidage.

This paper will examine the contribution of one of the latest hands, which wrote items 6 (*De triginta argenteos*), 7 (extracts from Ælfric's *Interrogationes Sigewulfi*), 13 (on Solomon's gold), 21 and 22 (excerpts from Ælfric's 'Letter to Sigeward'), and 23 (on the ages of the world). A number of this scribe's contributions add to the 'mathematical' element of the collection: items 6, 13 and 23 show an interest in reckoning. However, these also reveal a strong interest on the part of the scribe in the Jewish people and their place in history. This thematic element is first found in item 4, characterizing the nations ('*Victoria ægyptorum. Invidia iudeorum*'), and developed in the discussion of the thirty pieces of silver (6), Solomon's gold (13), the Office of St. Stephen (15), but most of all in item 21, which excerpts Ælfric's account of the siege and destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. This item and 22 are the only two narrative pieces in Harley 3271, both in English, and both, I contend, are aimed at schoolboy readers. Item 22 is the story of a wayward Ephesus schoolboy who, when given too much freedom by his master, becomes a highwayman, only to be rescued by St. John before taking holy orders. This story is

of direct interest in the classroom, but also suggests that the compiler thought the story of Titus to be appropriate classroom material.

I will argue that the thematic interest in Jews running through the manuscript constitutes an important didactic element of Harley 3271, suggesting that for this compiler inculcating an anti-Semitic frame of mind was a desirable classroom goal. This anti-Semitism does not appear to have a theological element, but develops associations characteristic of later stereotypes—between Jews and money, and of Jews as the killers of Christ. This presentation will be discussed in relation to the makeup of eleventh-century English society.

**Session 14**

**Emily V. Thornbury (Churchill College, Cambridge): "Building with the Rubble of the Past: Three Case Studies in Anglo-Saxons' Use of Flawed Texts"**

The cultural and literary achievement of the Anglo-Saxons involved reconstruction as much as it did transmission or new creation, particularly since the economy of Dark Age textual culture meant that multiple copies of a particular work were not always available to early scholars. Through an analysis of three instances in which Anglo-Saxon authors relied upon physically damaged or imperfectly transmitted texts, this paper aims to increase our knowledge of the Anglo-Saxons' relationship to their cultural heritage.

The case studies presented here cover three very different types of relations between source and product texts. The first, 'Bede's Textbooks', explores the methods of a scholar working to synthesize Late Classical texts. Clearly, Bede was alive to the presence of error in the manuscripts he possessed, and his comments on discrepancies (in *De temporum ratione* and the *Epistula ad Pleguinam*, for instance) show that he compared multiple works on similar subjects. By focusing on *De arte metrica*, but using his computistical works as comparanda, we can see that Bede constructed 'hierarchies of reliability' to resolve points on which his sources contradicted each other—a practice which he himself seemed to feel was open to question.

Bede's work illustrates the methods open to a scholar with a relative wealth of available material. Many Anglo-Saxons, however, must have had to make do with a single text, even when they knew it to be badly flawed: the recent discovery that the damaged and eccentric manuscript Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, 202, underlies the Old English translations of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* and *Vindicta salvatoris* provides an ideal opportunity for examining the methods of an Anglo-Saxon scholar in such a situation. A close look at the



translator's strategy at points where the Latin text of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* is faulty allows us to ask whether his practice of expunging cruxes whenever he could was common to other Anglo-Saxon translators of rare Latin texts.

Unfortunately, we do not possess the direct exemplar of any work of Old English poetry; but in a few cases, textual peculiarities permit the hypothesis that here, too, Anglo-Saxons have used damaged works. The final – and perhaps most speculative—of the three case-studies examines significant instances of hiatus in *Christ and Satan*, looking for clues as to whether this poem, like *Genesis* and *Daniel*, exhibits signs of a layered textual history. I argue that it does—and that the fact that most of the works in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11 have demonstrably undergone modification says as much about the availability of Old English verse texts as it does about the Anglo-Saxons' attitude toward them.

By bringing together these three diverse instances of Anglo-Saxons' use of imperfect texts, we can begin to see an outline of a common attitude toward source texts—one which tended toward pragmatic reconstruction, rather than reverent preservation. I hope that these findings may stimulate further discussion regarding the textual criticism, literary analysis, and intellectual history of the Anglo-Saxon heritage.

**Karen Jolly (U of Hawaii at Manoa): "Scribal Tracks: Aldred's Bilingual Colophons"**

Much has been made about what Aldred's mid-tenth century colophon in the Lindisfarne Gospels tells us about the nature and date of that illustrious manuscript's production two and a half centuries earlier. In a 2003 *Speculum* article, Lawrence Nees argued that Aldred's description of the "four makers" (including himself) was inspired more by a structure of fours than accurate knowledge of the original designers. In the same year, Michelle Brown's magisterial treatment in *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality and the Scribe* addressed Nees' concerns about Aldred's accuracy and argued for an early eighth century date for the manuscript's production. Both Nees and Brown examined Aldred and his colophon solely for what they can tell us about the Lindisfarne Gospels, while Richard Gameson in 2001 analyzed it and its companion in the Durham Ritual in the context of colophon genre, of which Aldred is a chief exemplar. However, more can be said from and about the colophons when the focus is on Aldred and his era at Chester-le-Street in the second half of the tenth century. This paper offers a biography of Aldred in the context of St. Cuthbert's community by following his scribal tracks in the Lindisfarne Gospels and Durham Ritual colophons. Aldred is known

only through his scribal work and, conversely, we know little about the 950-990 era at Chester-le-Street except through Aldred's activities in these two manuscripts.

This paper specifically argues that Aldred's colophon in the Lindisfarne Gospels is a carefully constructed bilingual text that reflects Aldred's interests in language and word play. His macaronic use of Latin and Old English in the colophon reverses oral and written applications of these two languages as a kind of commentary on the act of vernacular glossing, in which he engages in both in the Lindisfarne Gospels and the *Durham Ritual*. Both colophons reveal Aldred as a religious specialist with a keen interest in exploring the relationship between the universal ecclesiastical language of Latin (in the Gospels and in the liturgy) and the spoken local Northumbrian dialect found in the Old English gloss. The colophons suggest that for Aldred and his community, the hermeneutical play between vernacular and Latin, oral and written, was a mechanism for exploring meaning and localizing the text. The multivalence of the Lindisfarne Gospel's colophon tells us a great deal about Aldred's philosophy, while the Durham Ritual colophon and texts illustrate his views in application to religious practice. The uniqueness of Aldred's scribal activities—including glossing and experimenting with liturgical Latin texts—offer a rare window into communal life and pastoral care in late tenth century northern England.

**Chris Fern (Fern Archaeology): "The Importance of Horse Symbolism and Equestrianism in Early Anglo-Saxon Society"**

The development of equestrianism through history has been inextricably linked with the creation of cultural and political European identities since the Bronze Age, including those of the Mycenaeans, Scythians and Sarmatians. This study will show, through an evaluation of existing historical and material evidence, together with new archaeological sources, that the horse was similarly a fundamental symbol for the articulation of social and political relations and characters in the early Anglo-Saxon period.

In the late Roman and early medieval periods the great horse sacrifices of Skedemosse, south Scandinavia, and the influence of the eastern Hunnic confederation, provide strong precedents for the centrality of equine beliefs and culture. The more distant account of Tacitus recalls horse beliefs amongst Free Germans from the 1st century AD, though it is likely that 5th-century contact with the Huns was more central in informing the emergent horse-burial traditions of the Lombards, Saxons and Thuringians. The a priori statement of power associated with the funerary offering of

horses and their equipment is above all demonstrated by the great 5th-century royal burial of King Childeric. From the 7th century the prerogatives and requirements of the Frankish-Alamannic nobility to ride and own quality horses was enshrined in law, an undertaking mirrored by the proliferation of high-status horse and weapon burials evidenced in Rhineland regions in this and the previous century.

Anglo-Saxon mytho-historical sources demonstrate the value of quality steeds and harness for gift giving, and in the famous embodiment of the Kentish kingdom founders, Hengest and Horsa, intimate a manifest link between political identity and equestrianism. The art of the accompanying pre-Christian period, abstract though it is, includes elements of horse imagery, with motifs of paired horses presenting a pictorial parallel for the horse-named Kentish warleaders. It is in the funerary record, however, that horse symbolism is most pronounced. Over 300 such burials are now known. The vast majority are cremation burials from the cemetery of Spong Hill, Norfolk, where the horse functioned as the symbol of a wealthy social caste. Horse inhumations, though fewer, are conspicuous for their association with rich burials, which typically include weaponry and prestige goods. Moreover, at the 'royal' cemetery of Sutton Hoo, Suffolk, six of the twelve excavated barrow burials included possible horse sacrifices.

The artefact record further illustrates the significance of equestrianism in the period. Recent archaeological discoveries and a growing corpus of metal-detected finds show that the harness of riding steeds could be richly decorated with gold and silver trappings and in the animal art of the period. Such materials and styles were part of the ideological repertoire of the elite, being otherwise reserved for jewellery and weaponry.

Combined, this multi-disciplinary approach demonstrates the central importance of horse symbolism for the identity of the Anglo-Saxon elite. Though the concept of cavalry warfare is premature in the period, the prerogative of equestrianism doubtless provided warleaders with self-evident advantages in battle, a privilege, it is argued, that is reflected in the use of the horse as an emblem of warfare, leadership and wealth.

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phone: 865-974-6970 / fax: 865-974-6926  
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oswald@uwp.edu

Information about research in progress, including current research, work completed, and forthcoming publications, should be sent to:

Heide Estes  
Department of English  
Monmouth University  
West Long Branch, NJ 07764  
fax: 732-263-5242  
email: hestes@monmouth.edu

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