OLD ENGLISH NEWSLETTER

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Subscriptions: The rate for institutions is $20 US per volume; the rate for individuals is $15 per volume, but in order to reduce administrative costs the editors ask individuals to pay for two volumes at once at the discounted rate of $25. Individual back issues can be ordered for $5 each. All payments must be made in US dollars. A subscription form is online at http://www.oenewsletter.org/OEN/subscription_form.pdf.

Correspondence: General correspondence regarding *OEN*, including changes of address, should be sent to the Editor; correspondence regarding the *Year's Work, Bibliography*, Research in Progress or Abstracts should be sent to the respective Associate or Contributing Editors. Editorial addresses appear on the inside back cover.

Submissions: OEN is a refereed periodical. Solicited and unsolicited manuscripts (except for independent reports and news items) are reviewed by specialists in anonymous reports. Scholars can assist the work of *OEN* by sending offprints of articles, and notices of books or monographs, to the Editor.

In this Issue

Note from the Editor

In *OEN* 41.1 I noted that the cost of printing and mailing an issue of *OEN* has finally and irreversibly overtaken the price of a subscription, so that every volume represents a net loss of several thousand dollars. The current volume has been underwritten by a subvention from the Hodges Better English Fund of the English Department at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. Their support has been generous, but it is not bottomless. A year ago we began exploring ways to address this financial problem; after discussion with the *OEN* Editorial Board, the Executive Committee of the Old English Division of the MLA, and a number of librarians and long-time subscribers, it was decided that *OEN* would return to its original publishing schedule of two issues a year.

For the first twenty-three years of its life, from 1967 to 1990, *OEN* appeared twice a year, in spring and fall. The fall issue contained the *Year's Work in Old English Studies* and the spring issue contained the annual Bibliography; each issue also contained news, reports, essays, and other material. With volume 24 *OEN* moved to four issues a year; the odd-numbered issues were separated from the *Year's Work* and the Bibliography so that the information they contained could reach subscribers in a timely manner. In its first quarterly issue the editor wrote:

> [t]his issue of *OEN* continues the journal's development … under the twin *daemons* of computers and knowledge explosion. For quite some time it has been clear that the heavy flow of information has overwhelmed the pages and the schedule of *OEN*. Accordingly, in an attempt to render time-sensitive information fresher, the editors are moving to four issues per academic year. While this adjustment will increase mailing costs, printing costs should remain about the same (*OEN* 24.1, p. 3).

In 1990 the internet was still ARPANET, and Gopher (a menu-driven interface for finding texts on university servers, for those readers too young to remember it) was still under development in Minnesota. Today, those twin *daemons*, unimaginably larger and more powerful, continue to drive the newsletter's development; the *daemon* of computer technology now offers a way to "render time-sensitive information fresher" by placing it online, while also fending off an unwelcome third *daemon* of rising production costs.

Beginning with vol. 42, *OEN* will publish the *Year's Work* and the annual Bibliography in the Fall and Spring, respectively, of each academic year. Other content—news, calls for papers, notices of recent publications, reports, abstracts of conference papers, and essays—will be available on the *OEN* website, http://www.oenewsletter.org/OEN/. We should state as clearly as possible that the print edition of the *Old English Newsletter* will continue, simply on a different schedule; we recognize the usefulness and convenience of having the *Year's Work* and Bibliography in printed form, and will continue to publish them in that form.

Putting *OEN*'s more time-sensitive material online, however, not only makes financial sense, it offers some significant advantages over the print edition—announcements will be updated more frequently, and can include emails and links to relevant websites; conference abstracts are now in a searchable database; essays can be read online or downloaded to read offline; a growing archive of essays and reports offers access to the most valuable parts of earlier issues. The *OEN* website is freely available to subscribers and non-subscribers alike; your continued support of the print edition of *OEN* will make this possible. By going online, we will be better able to fulfill our purpose of bringing useful information to our readers in a timely and cost-effective way. We hope you will find the online *OEN* convenient, accessible, and easy to use, and we welcome any and all suggestions for ways to improve it. Feel free to send your comments by mail, or by email to *editor@oenewsletter.org*.

RML

Summer School in Latin Palaeography

PONTIFICAL INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES, TORONTO

This four-week course is an intensive introduction to mediaeval handwriting in the Latin West from the late Roman period until the dawn of print. It is designed for those who wish to acquire the skills that will enable them to work with unpublished Latin manuscript materials from the mediaeval period, whether as researchers or as librarians and collectors who have an interest in manuscripts, rare books, and mediaeval documentary survivals. Students will be introduced to all the main mediaeval systems of abbreviation, along with the principles of transcription, through daily exercises in identifying, dating, and transcribing various scripts. Scribal practices and the basics of mediaeval manuscript production will also be considered, as the context within which palaeographical developments occurred.

The venue for the course is the Palaeography Room in the Library of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, and the Institute's own collection of mediaeval manuscripts and *diplomata* will be used to illustrate what is taught in class. Reading knowledge of Latin is essential and will be assumed.

The course meets three days per week, Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday from 2:00–4:00 PM, and is taught by M. Michèle Mulchahey, Leonard E. Boyle Professor of Manuscript Studies at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, and by Greti Dinkova-Bruun, Associate Fellow of the Institute.

The Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies inaugurates its new Summer School in Latin Palaeography

1–26 June 2009

Deadline
The deadline to register is **1 May 2009**. Spaces are limited; early registration is encouraged.

Fees
$1,000 (CAD) to be paid by **1 May 2009**. Fees Refund Policy (in the case of withdrawal): *From date of payment to the start of classes*: full refund minus $50 for administrative services. *In the first week*: 50% of fees will be refunded. *After the first week*: NO refund.

Registration
To register for the programme send a letter and the fee by **1 May 2009** to:

> Summer School in Latin Palaeography
> Institute Registrar
> Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies
> 59 Queen's Park Crescent East,
> Toronto, Ontario, M5S 2C4
> CANADA

Further information
Please visit http://www.pims.ca/academics for further details.

PIMS

News and Announcements

For updated news and announcements, please visit http://www.oenewsletter.org/OEN/

CALL FOR PAPERS

OLD ENGLISH DIVISION

2009 MLA ANNUAL MEETING

Philadelphia, PA
December 27–30, 2009

The Executive Committee of the Old English Division of the Modern Language Association invites papers for its 2009 program. The committee has planned three sessions:

1. *Burga, Beagas, and Barrows: Archaeological Approaches to Old English Literature*: papers on the illuminating interplay between literature and archaeology.

2. *The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly: Aesthetics and Old English Literature*: Papers on standards for assessing quality in OE poetry, prose, or manuscript composition.

3. **Open Session**: papers on any topic in Old English language and literary studies.

DEADLINE: Papers or 1-page abstracts must be received by 15 March 2009
NOTE: All participants must be members of the MLA by 1 April 2009

Additional information may be requested from the Program Chair:

Professor John M. Hill
Department of English
United States Naval Academy
107 Maryland Ave.
Annapolis, Maryland 21402-5044
email: jdomars@aol.com

News: Parker Library Temporary Closing to Readers
June 2009 – May 2010

During the construction of a new reading room and secure vault, the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, will be closed from early June 2009 until Easter 2010. The manuscripts, which by then will all have been digitised, will be stored off-site. Online access to the digital images will be available from October 2009 via Parker on the Web (http://parkerweb.stanford.edu). Library staff also hope to maintain a photographic and general enquiries service throughout the closure.

Limited access may be available to selected manuscripts during this period, and researchers should contact the library, giving as much advance notice as possible. Email parker-library@corpus.cam.ac.uk or telephone 01223 338025.

Conference: "Gildas Sapiens: New Perspectives," University of Manchester
19-20 May 2009

Our knowledge of Britain in the fifth and early sixth centuries still depends to a remarkable degree on the surviving work *De excidio Britanniae* ("Concerning the Ruin of Britain") by Gildas, a learned British writer using Latin and working from a self-consciously Christian perspective. However, there has been comparatively little work published on Gildas since the seminal volume *Gildas: New Approaches*, edited by Michael Lapidge and David Dumville in 1984.

25 years on, this Symposium offers an opportunity for scholars to come together once more and debate the nature and significance of Gildas and his writings. Papers will focus on historical and philological aspects of his work, the later fortunes of *De excidio* as a piece of medieval literature, and the meaning and value of this mysterious author for the 21st century.

Speakers include: Damian Braken, Thomas Charles-Edwards, David Dumville, Kate George, Nicholas Higham, David Howlett, Thomas O'Loughlin, Jonathan Wooding. For further information, please contact Luca.Larpi@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk.

Conference: "'Divers Manuscripts both Antient & Curious': Illuminated Treasures from the Harley Collection," British Library, London
29–30 June 2009

One of the finest private libraries in Europe was formed in the eighteenth century by Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford and his son, Edward. Consisting of 7,639 manuscripts, 14,000 charters, and countless printed books, the collection was kept by the Harleys' librarian, Humfrey Wanley, whose humble origins and lack of academic qualifications did not prevent him from becoming one of the most celebrated antiquaries of his day. After its purchase for the British nation in 1753, the Harleys' private library was transformed into an unparalleled public resource; today it forms one of the most important foundation collections of the British Library. Reflecting the broad and eclectic taste—and very considerable wealth—of its two founders, it is probably the most important intact privately-formed collection of illuminated manuscripts anywhere in the world. Access to the extraordinary riches of the Harley collection is now greater than ever courtesy of a generous Getty Foundation grant funding the creation of an online catalogue of illuminated Harleian manuscripts.

By the end of the project in June 2009, descriptions and digital images of over 2000 manuscripts will be available to all at the click of a mouse. The purpose of the Harley conference is to celebrate and advertise this achievement. For information, a list of speakers, and registration material, please visit http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelprestype/manuscripts/msscollect/conference.html.

Conference: SEMA, "Knowing and Unknowing," Vanderbilt University
15-17 October 2009

The annual meeting of the Southeastern Medieval Association will be held on October 15-17, 2009, at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, TN, on the theme "Knowing and Unknowing." Papers on all aspects of the Middle Ages are welcome, but the organizers particularly encourage papers that consider the role of knowledge. Suggested topics include medieval education, medieval philosophies of what can and cannot be known, material artifacts such as manuscripts that let us "know" more about the Middle Ages, the exploitation of the Middle Ages by post-medieval scholars and artists, the limits of knowledge in medieval literature, knowledge of self, and knowledge (or lack thereof) of others.

The conference will feature plenary lectures by Sarah Kay (Princeton University), author of *Subjectivity in Troubadour Poetry* (1990), *The Chansons de geste in the Age of Romance* (1995), *Courtly Contradictions* (2001), and *The Place of Thought: the Complexity of One in Late Medieval French Didactic Poetry* (2007), and John Tolan (Université de Nantes), author of *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (2002), *Sons of Ishmael: Muslims through European Eyes in the Middle Ages* (2008), and *St. Francis and the Sultan: The Curious History of a Christian-Muslim Encounter* (forthcoming).

Papers should be 20 minutes in length. Please submit abstracts (250 words or less) electronically at the conference website: http://sitemason.vanderbilt.edu/site/gShQhq/sema2009.

Call for Papers: Medieval Translator 2010, "*In principio fuit interpres*"
23-27 July 2010

Papers are invite for The Cardiff Conference on the Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages, to be hosted by the Università degli Studi di Padova, Italy, from July 23-27, 2010. Linguistic and literary traditions include translation in their myth of origin—the linguistic and scholar Gianfranco Folena proposed to substitute the motto *In principio fuit poëta* with the humbler *In principio fuit interpres*. Following his suggestion, the organizers welcome papers addressing translation in the Middle Ages, marking the relationship between classical, Middle Eastern and vernacular languages, and studying translation as the representation of ideas and texts in different media. Plenary speakers for the conference include Roger Ellis, Domenico Pezzini, and David Wallace.

Papers may be given in English, French, or Italian, and should be twenty minutes long. Please send a 500-word abstract and brief *curriculum vitae* by 31 August 2009 to:

> Alessandra Petrina and Monica Santini
> Dipartimento di Lingue e Lett. Anglo-Germaniche e Slave
> Via Beato Pellegrino, 26
> 35100 Padova
> Italy

Or as an email attachment to both alessandra.petrina@unipd.it and monica.santini@unipd.it.

Call for Papers: International Medieval Congress, Leeds 2010
12-15 July 2010

The seventeenth International Medieval Congress will take place in at the Institute for Medieval Studies, University of Leeds, from 12-15 July 2010. In 2010, to commemorate the 550th anniversary of the death of Prince Henry 'the Navigator' of Portugal the International Medieval Congress has the special thematic focus '**Travel and Exploration**'.

The voyages undertaken in the name of Henry of Portugal exemplify many of the motives that had long driven people to travel and explore: the prospect of wealth, trade, and territory, knowledge and curiosity, piety and religious zeal, legends and external salvation. The Congress seeks to provide a forum for debates on the motives, processes, and effects of travel and exploration, not only by Latin Christians in the so-called 'Age of Discovery', but across cultures, and throughout the medieval period.

What motives prompted travel and exploration in the Middle Ages? Were the factors that drove exploration and travel in and from Europe the same as in other cultures? How do travel and exploration and their

effects resonate through written, material, and visual culture? We welcome papers and sessions on all aspects of travel and exploration, broadly understood, including travel as a means of cultural, political, and commercial interaction, ethnography, mental travel, spiritual journeys, the literature of utopia, travel to any place in our world and beyond, journeys 'real' and 'fictitious'. We would particularly encourage submissions with cross-cultural and comparative approaches, and in this context welcome sessions that reach beyond the conventional chronological and geographical borders of the European Middle Ages.

For further information, please visit http://www.leeds.ac.uk/ims/imc/imc2010_call.html.

Lynne Grundy Memorial Trust Awards

Lynne Grundy was a Researcher and Lecturer at the University of London from 1988 until her untimely death in 1997. The Lynne Grundy Memorial Trust was established with help from her students, colleagues, friends and family to commemorate her life and continue her work by supporting students in her special fields. The Trust gives several grants a year (up to £500 each) to scholars and students in the disciplines of Old English/Anglo-Saxon or Humanities Computing who do not already have a permanent full-time academic post or adequate funding, to contribute towards knowledge and to continue Lynne's passionate involvement in these disciplines. Awards from the Trust are not intended to replace primary sources of funding but rather to fill a gap where additional funds are needed for the completion of a research project or for essential studies; the Trust has helped younger scholars with specific projects—to attend a conference to present a paper, get a book published, stage a theater production, finish a thesis, or purchase books or research materials.

In 2008, as a result of an extremely successful fundraising year in which over £3000 was donated by ISAS, TOEBI, colleagues and friends, the trustees were delighted to be able to make 10 awards to very appropriate applicants:

- Chris Tuckley in the final year of his PhD at Leeds, towards his costs in giving a paper on two Anglo-Saxon manuscripts at the International Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo.
- Kathrin Prietzel in her first PhD year at Belfast, to give her paper on animals in OE literature at the Leeds International Medieval Congress.
- Andrea Nagy and Kata Miklos, Hungarian translators of *Beowulf*, and 2007 award-winners, were awarded a second grant from the Trust to give their paper on translating OE alliterative poetry into Hungarian at the Kalamazoo conference.
- Rosa Maria Fera, in her third PhD year at Cambridge, was given an award to enable her to finish her thesis on the bodily senses in Anglo-Saxon literary contexts.
- Johanna Green, a second year PhD student from Glasgow, towards giving her paper on the Exeter Book at the Leeds IMC.
- Dr Alex Burghart, a scholar working part-time at the Kings College London Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England project, for his costs in commissioning specially drawn maps for his forthcoming book on Anglo-Saxon England in the eighth and ninth centuries.
- Nicholas Sparks, in his first PhD year at Cambridge, towards his costs in giving his paper at Kalamazoo on the Anglo Saxon Chronicle and Anglo-Saxon runes.
- Stephen Graham of Trinity College Dublin in the first year of his PhD, towards giving his paper at the Leeds IMC on Anglo-Saxon riddles in the Exeter Book.
- Mary Rambaran-Olm, in the third year of her PhD at Glasgow (who won a Trust award in 2006), towards her costs in giving her paper at Leeds IMC on restoring the lacunae in the Exeter Book.

Two of these awards (to Dr Burghart and to Rosa Maria Fera) were funded by a special donation of £1000 given by the choir and congregation of St Paul's Covent Garden London ('Lynne's choir') to mark the retirement of their choirmaster Ernie Warrell; this gift was donated to the Trust by Ernie Warrell in memory of his long friendship with Lynne Grundy. In addition to these ten awards, the Trust expressed its support for the inaugural year of the Cambridge International Chronicles Symposium by pledging to contribute towards publicity which would benefit both the new Symposium and the Trust.

The Lynne Grundy Trust has helped many people make a difference to the discipline and to their own careers. Donations to the Trust are always welcome; for information please visit http://www.lynnegrundytrust.org.uk. To apply for a grant, please send full details of your project, your CV and two references, to arrive by Easter 2009, to:

> LYNNE GRUNDY MEMORIAL TRUST
> 116 Lady Margaret Road
> London N19 5EX   UK
> 020 7697 0881

AHRC Project Announcement: Early English Laws

The Centre for Computing in the Humanities (CCH) at King's College London and the Institute of Historical Research (IHR) have been awarded a major research grant by the Arts and Humanities Research Council for a project entitled 'Early English Laws'. The three-year project started on 1 January 2009.

The project aims to edit or re-edit, translate, introduce and comment on all 142 early legal codes, edicts, manuals and treatises composed in England before the issuing of Magna Carta in 1215 and to make these materials available online and in a printed volume. The period c. 600–1215 saw the origins of England's common law, and the publication of these documents in a searchable and freely accessible form has the potential both to transform scholarship in the field and to open up a potentially difficult subject to a wider, non-specialist audience. The historical research will be based at the IHR and will be led by Bruce O'Brien and Jane Winters.

The technical research and development will be based in CCH and will be led by Paul Spence. The online publication will contain facsimile images and transcripts of all the legal code manuscripts, as well as transcripts of classic publications by Felix Liebermann and William Stubbs. All the transcript materials will be encoded using the guidelines of the Text Encoding Initiative, the internationally recognised standards body for text markup in humanities research. This will form the basis of a fully indexed and fully searchable publication.

The work will be carried out within a technical framework developed by CCH, building on innovative work in the Fine Rolls of Henry III project (http://www.frh3.org.uk), which makes it possible to document and manage not only the different types of source materials but also references to persons, places, institutions and subjects, and the complex relations between them. This in turn makes it possible to create rich indices and to develop complex search facilities, and to give readers at many levels of interest and expertise a number of ways to access and retrieve information they are seeking.

 The Centre for Computing in the Humanities is also responsible in part for the *Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England* (http://www.pase.ac.uk). For a more complete guide to the research projects and online publications in which CCH is involved, see the Centre web site at http://www.kcl.ac.uk/cch.

Center for Medieval & Renaissance Studies, St. Louis University, NEH Research Fellowships

The Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies at St. Louis University annually awards NEH Research Fellowships of five-week or ten-week duration to scholars who can make use of the resources available at Saint Louis University. These resources include the Vatican Film Library as well as the manuscript and rare book collections of Pius XII Library. The Vatican Film Library holds extensive portions of the Vatican Library's Medieval and Renaissance manuscripts on microfilm. In addition, it has one of the largest collections of microfilmed Jesuit historical documents from the 16th to the 19th centuries.

Applicants must possess an earned doctorate or be a Ph.D.-candidate at the dissertation stage. Topics proposed for research may include any medieval or early modern subject in areas such as history, philosophy, theology, science, literature, paleography, codicology, illumination, text editing, scriptural and patristic studies, Roman and canon law, etc. Scholars affiliated with Saint Louis University or who reside within commuting distance of the campus are not eligible.

The appointment includes a stipend of $1,750.00 per five-week period, all travel expenses to and from St. Louis, and a fully furnished two-bedroom apartment (utilities included). Since fellows are expected to devote themselves to their research, the only requirement of the fellowship is one public lecture on the topic of that research. Fellows are not permitted to teach courses or to engage in other employment during the tenure of their fellowship.

Applications should include a cover letter briefly describing the proposed project; the intended dates of research; a description of the project not to exceed five double-spaced pages; a description of manuscripts, documents, or other resources available at Saint Louis University that will be used for the research; and a current curriculum vitae. Fellowships are usually awarded for one five-week period or two consecutive five-week periods within the following schedule:

Fall Semester, 2009

> August 24-September 25
> September 28-October 30
> November 02-December 04

Spring Semester, 2010

> January 11-February 12
> February 15-March 19
> March 22-April 23

Review of applications begins on April 1. There is no formal deadline; applications will be accepted until all time-periods are filled. Applications should be sent to the Center at the address below. For more information please visit http://www.slu.edu/x19690.xml or contact:

> Teresa Harvey, Administrative Assistant
> Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies
> Saint Louis University
> 3800 Lindell Blvd.
> St. Louis, MO 63108
> Email: cmrs@slu.edu

Medieval Academy Travel Grants
1 May 2009

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 May 1 for meetings to be held between 1 September and 28 February, and November 1 for meetings to be held between 1 March and 31 August.

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.

British Academy Neil Ker Memorial Fund Awards
15 March 2009

Many of the funding opportunities offered by the British Academy are restricted to residents of the United Kingdom; one of the few that is not may be of special interest to Anglo-Saxonists. The object of the Neil Ker Memorial Fund, established by the family and friends of Neil R Ker, FBA, is to promote the study of Western medieval manuscripts, in particular those of British interest. Applications are invited from scholars of any nationality engaged on original research intended for publication. Applicants should be of postdoctoral status or have comparable experience. Normally grants will only be given for monographs, secondary works, editions or studies of documents, texts, or illustrations, that include substantial analysis of the physical characteristics of original manuscripts. Awards are offered to support any aspect of research, including travel and publication, up to a limit of £2000. Applications must be received by 15 March 2009. Further details and application forms may be obtained from The Secretary of the British Academy, 10 Carlton house Terrace, London SW1Y 5AH, UK, or online at http://www.britac.ac.uk/funding/guide/nkmf.html.

Medieval Academy awards John Nicholas Brown Prize to Anglo-Saxon Book

The Medieval Academy of America's 2008 John Nicholas Brown Prize for a first book in the medieval field judged to be of outstanding quality is awarded to Andrew P. Scheil for *The Footsteps of Israel: Understanding Jews in Anglo-Saxon England* (University of Michigan Press, 2004). The prize was announced at the 83rd Annual Meeting of the Medieval Academy of America in Vancouver, British Columbia, April 3-5, 2008. Recognition of any sort for work in our field is cause for celebration; a prestigious award like this brings greater visibility to Anglo-Saxon studies and benefits all who teach or publish in this area. We congratulate Professor Scheil on this richly-deserved award.

Recent and Forthcoming Publications

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

Barrow, Julia and Andrew Wareham, eds. *Myth, Rulership, Church and Charters: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Brooks* (Ashgate, 2008). For more than forty years Nicholas Brooks has been at the forefront of research into early medieval Britain. To honour the achievements of one of the leading figures in Anglo-Saxon studies, this volume brings together essays by an internationally renowned group of scholars on four themes that Brooks has made his own: myths, rulership, church, and charters. This stimulating and wide-ranging collection will be welcomed by the many readers who have benefited from Nicholas Brooks's own work or who have an interest in the Anglo-Saxon past more generally. It is an outstanding contribution to early medieval studies. Contents include "Introduction: Myth, Rulership, Church and Charters in the Work of Nicholas Brooks," Julia Barrow; "Nicholas Brooks at Birmingham," Christopher Dyer; "Anglo-Saxon Origin Legends," Barbara Yorke; "A Nearly, but Wrongly, Forgotten Historian of the Dark Ages," James Campbell; "Anglo-Saxon Charters: Lost and Found," Simon Keynes; "Reculver Minster and its early Charters," Susan Kelly; "Stour in Ismere," Margaret Gelling; "Was There an Agricultural Revolution in Anglo-Saxon England?" Alex Burghart and Andrew Wareham; "'The Annals of Æthelflæd': Annals, History and Politics in Early Tenth-Century England," Pauline Stafford; "The First Use of the Second Anglo-Saxon Ordo," Janet L. Nelson; "Where English Becomes British: Rethinking Contexts for *Brunanburh*," Sarah Foot; "Archbishop Dunstan: a Prophet in Politics?" Catherine Cubitt; "A Mass for St Birinus in an Anglo-Saxon Missal from the Scandinavian Mission-Field," Alicia Corrêa; "The Saint Clement Dedications at Clementhorpe and Pontefract Castle: Anglo-Scandinavian or Norman?" Barbara E. Crawford; "England and the Norman Myth," Nick Webber; "What Happened to Ecclesiastical Charters in England 1066–c.1100?" Julia Barrow. 286 pp., ill. £55. ISBN 9780754651208 (cloth).

Bitterli, Dieter. *Say What I Am Called: The Old English Riddles of the Exeter Book and the Anglo-Latin Riddle Tradition* (Toronto Anglo-Saxon Series. Toronto: UTP, 2009). Perhaps the most enigmatic cultural artifacts that survive from the Anglo-Saxon period are the Old English riddle poems that were preserved in the tenth century Exeter Book manuscript. Clever, challenging, and notoriously obscure, the riddles have fascinated readers for centuries and provided crucial insight into the period. In *Say What I Am Called*, Dieter Bitterli takes a fresh look at the riddles by examining them in the context of earlier Anglo-Latin riddles. Bitterli argues that there is a vigorous common tradition between Anglo-Latin and Old English riddles and details how the contents of the Exeter Book emulate and reassess their Latin predecessors while also expanding their literary and formal conventions. The book also considers the ways in which convention and content relate to writing in a vernacular language. 328 pp. £48 / $75. ISBN 9780802093523 (cloth).

Blake, Martin, ed. *Ælfric's De Temporibus Anni* (D. S. Brewer, 2009). *De temporibus anni*, a concise handbook of calendar and computus, astronomy and natural science, seems to have circulated anonymously, but analysis of its language and content shows it to be by Ælfric, one of the most prolific and widely-studied authors of Anglo-Saxon England. Unlike the earlier works of Bede and Isidore, it is written in the vernacular (despite its Latin title), possibly the earliest such work in a vernacular language in western Europe. This new edition incorporates the fruits of modern research into the scientific and religious background to the work, as well as the findings of recent studies on palaeography and textual criticism. It is also the most comprehensive edition yet produced, including notes, glossary and bibliography, and the first modern English translation [presented *en face*] for some 140 years. 192 pp. $95.00 / £50.00. ISBN 9781843841937 (cloth).

Blanton, Virginia and Helene Scheck, eds. *Intertexts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Paul E. Szarmach* (Tempe, AZ: MRTS, 2008). Paul E. Szarmach has demonstrated time and again that Anglo-

Saxon literary culture is intertextual, that as a corpus it resonates with allusions from many disparate sources. Given his engagement with and support of inter- and multi-disciplinary studies, *Intertexts* brings together a range of traditionally isolated or disparate texts in a synergistically productive manner. Contents include "Sharing Words with *Beowulf*," Roberta Frank; "Old English Poetic Compounds: A Latin Perspective," Michael Lapidge; "Working the Boundary or Walking the Line?: Late Old English Rhythmical Alliteration," Joseph B. Trahern, Jr.; "Reconstructing *The Ruin*," Andy Orchard; "The Baby on the Stone: Nativity as Sacrifice (The Old English *Christ III*, 1414-1425)," Thomas D. Hill; "*Hnescnys*: Weakness of Mind in the Works of Ælfric," Rhonda L. McDaniel; "Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*: Numbers, Hard Data, and Longevity," Joel T. Rosenthal; "A Context for *Resignation A*?" Mechthild Gretsch; "A Man '*boca gleaw*' and His Musings," Jane Roberts; "Reading the Franks Casket: Contexts and Audiences," Carol Neuman de Vegvar; "Why the Left Hand is Longer (or Shorter) than the Right: Some Irish Analogues for an Etiological Legend in the Homiliary of St. Père de Chartres," Charles D. Wright; "A Picture of Paul in a Parker Manuscript," Frederick M. Biggs; "King and Counsellor in the Alfredian Boethius," M. R. Godden; "*Beowulf*'s Foreign Queen and the Politics of Eleventh-Century England," Helen Damico; "Ending on a Giant Theme: The Utrecht and Harley Psalters, and the Pointed-Helmet Coinage of Cnut," Robert L. Schichler; "Parish Guilds and the Production of Old English Literature in the Public Sphere," Patrick W. Conner; "Pictured in the Heart: The Ediths at Wilton," Catherine E. Karkov; "The Armaments of John the Baptist in Blickling Homily XIV and the Exeter Book *Descent into Hell*," Thomas N. Hall; "Spiritual Combat and the Land of Canaan in *Guthlac A*," David F. Johnson; "Ciceronianism in Bede and Alcuin," George Hardin Brown; "Ælfric and Haymo Revisited," Joyce Hill; "Eugenia Before Ælfric: A Preliminary Report on the Transmission of an Early Medieval Legend," E. Gordon Whatley; "The Vercelli Homilies and Kent," Donald G. Scragg; "Archbishops, Lords, and Concubines: Words for People and their Word-Formation Patterns in Early English (*Épinal-Erfurt Glossary* and Ælfric's *Glossary*)–A Sketch," Hans Sauer; "More Old English from Manuscripts," Helmut Gneuss; "New Old English Texts: The Expanding Corpus of Old English," Jonathan Wilcox. 448 pp. $57 / €50. ISBN 9780866983822 (cloth).

Carver, Martin, Catherine Hills, and Jonathan Scheschkewitz. *Wasperton: A Roman, British and Anglo-Saxon Community in Central England* (Boydell Press, 2009). For decades scholars have puzzled over the true story of settlement in Britain between the fifth and eight centuries. New light on these questions comes unexpectedly from Wasperton, a small village on the Warwickshire Avon, where archaeologists had the good fortune to excavate a complete cemetery and its prehistoric setting. The community reused an old Romano-British agricultural enclosure and built burial mounds beside it. There was a score of cremations in Anglo-Saxon pots; but there were also unfurnished graves lined with stones and planks in the manner of western Britain. In a pioneering analysis, including radiocarbon and stable isotopes, the authors of this book have put this variety of burial practice into a credible sequence and built up a picture of life at the time. Here there were people who were culturally Roman, British and Anglo-Saxon, pagan and Christian in continuous use of the same graveyard and drawing on a common inheritance. Here we can see the beginnings of England and the people who made it happen—not the kings, warriors and preachers, but the ordinary folk obliged to make their own choices: choices about what nation to build and which religion to follow. 384 pp., ill. $115.00 / £60.00. ISBN 9781843834274.

Davis, Kathleen. *Periodization and Sovereignty: How Ideas of Feudalism and Secularization Govern the Politics of Time* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008). Despite all recent challenges to stage-oriented histories, the idea of a division between a "medieval" and a "modern" period has survived, even flourished, in academia. *Periodization and Sovereignty* demonstrates that this survival is no innocent affair. By examining periodization together with the two controversial categories of feudalism and secularization, Kathleen Davis exposes the relationship between the constitution of "the Middle Ages" and the history of sovereignty, slavery, and colonialism. This book's groundbreaking investigation of feudal historiography finds that the historical formation of "feudalism" mediated the theorization of sovereignty and a social

contract, even as it provided a rationale for colonialism and facilitated the disavowal of slavery. Sovereignty is also at the heart of today's often violent struggles over secular and religious politics, and Davis traces the relationship between these struggles and the narrative of "secularization," which grounds itself upon a period divide between a "modern" historical consciousness and a theologically entrapped "Middle Ages" incapable of history. This alignment of sovereignty, the secular, and the conceptualization of historical time, which relies essentially upon a medieval/modern divide, both underlies and regulates today's volatile debates over world politics. The problem of defining the limits of our most fundamental political concepts cannot be extricated, this book argues, from the periodizing operations that constituted them, and that continue today to obscure the process by which "feudalism" and "secularization" govern the politics of time. 208 pp. £28.00 / $42.50. ISBN 9780812240832 (cloth).

Di Sciacca, Claudia. *Finding the Right Words: Isidore's Synonyma in Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto Old English Series 19. Toronto: UTP, 2008). Isidore of Seville's *Synonyma* became one of the classics of medieval spirituality. Indeed, it was the *Synonyma* that were to define the so-called 'Isidorian style,' a rhymed, rhythmic prose that proved influential throughout the Middle Ages. *Finding the Right Words* is the first book-length study to deal with the transmission and reception of works by Isidore of Seville in Anglo-Saxon England, with a particular focus on the *Synonyma*. Beginning with a general survey of Isidore's life and activity as a bishop in early seventh-century Visigothic Spain, Di Sciacca offers a comprehensive introduction to the *Synonyma*, drawing special attention to their distinctive style. She goes on to discuss the transmission of the text to early medieval England and its 'vernacularisation,' that is, its translations and adaptations in Old English prose and verse. The case for the particular receptiveness of the *Synonyma* in Anglo-Saxon England is strongly supported by both a close reading of primary sources and an extensive selection of secondary literature. 304 pp. £48.00 / $85.00. ISBN 9780802091291 (cloth).

Fraser, James E. *From Caledonia to Pictland: Scotland to 795* (New Edinburgh History of Scotland. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009). *From Caledonia to Pictland* examines the transformation of Iron Age northern Britain into a land of Christian kingdoms, long before 'Scotland' came into existence. Perched at the edge of the western Roman Empire, northern Britain was not unaffected by the experience and became swept up in the great tide of processes which gave rise to the early medieval West. Like other places, the country experienced social and ethnic metamorphoses, Christianisation, and colonization by dislocated outsiders, but northern Britain also has its own unique story to tell in the first eight centuries AD. This book is the first detailed political history to treat these centuries as a single period, with due regard for Scotland's position in the bigger story of late Antique transition. *From Caledonia to Pictland* charts the complex and shadowy processes which saw the familiar Picts, Northumbrians, North Britons and Gaels of early Scottish history become established in the country, the achievements of their foremost political figures, and their ongoing links with the world around them. It is a story that has become much revised through changing trends in scholarly approaches to the challenging evidence, and that transformation too is explained for the benefit of students and general readers. 448 pp. £70.00 (HB), £19.99 (PB). ISBN 9780748612314 (cloth).

George, Karen. *Gildas's De Excidio Britonum and the Early British Church* (Boydell Press, 2009). Gildas's *De excidio Britonum* is a rare surviving contemporary source for the period which saw the beginning of the transformation of post-Roman Britain into Anglo-Saxon England. However, although the *De excidio* has received much scholarly attention over the last forty years, the value of the text as a primary source for this fascinating if obscure period of British history has been limited by our lack of knowledge concerning its historical and cultural context. In this new study the author challenges the assumption that the British Church was isolated from its Continental counterpart by Germanic settlement in Britain and seeks to establish a theological context for the *De excidio* within the framework of doctrinal controversy in the early Continental Church. The vexed question of the place of Pelagianism in the early British Church

is re-investigated, and a case is put forward for a radical new interpretation of Gildas's own theological stance. In addition, this study presents a detailed investigation of the literary structure of the *De excidio* and Gildas's use of verbal patterns, and argues that his use of the Bible as a literary model is at least as significant as his well-documented use of the literary techniques of Classical Latin. 212 pp. $95.00 / £50.00. ISBN 9781843834359 (cloth).

Gunn, Vicky. *Bede's Historiae: Genre, Rhetoric and the Construction of Anglo-Saxon Church History* (Boydell Press, 2009). This book reappraises the impact of Bede's writings. Focusing on genre and rhetoric and their respective roles in audience reception and the construction of a narrative of Anglo-Saxon Church history, the author explores Bede's text and audience from the perspectives of both literacy and textual community, using internal evidence from his writings to illuminate bias and monastic politics. Contents include "1. Understanding Bede's Audience"; "2. The Historical and Contemporary Context of Northumbrian Hagiography and *Historiae* Production"; "3. Bede's Agenda Revisited: Monastic Superiority in the *Ecclesiastical History*"; "4. Bede's Approach to the Genre of *Historia*"; "5. A Case of Generic Discomfort: Bede's *History of the Abbots*"; "6. A Case of Innovation within Generic Boundaries: Bede's *Martyrology*"; "7. Bede's Compositional Techniques in the Genre of Ecclesiastical History"; "8. Conclusion." 256 pp. $95.00 / £50.00. ISBN 9781843834656 (cloth).

Momma, Haruko and Mike Matto, eds. *The Blackwell Companion to the History of the English Language* (Blackwell/Wiley, 2008). This Companion brings together more than 60 distinguished contributors to offer a wide-ranging survey of the history of the English language, from its Indo-European and Germanic past, through British and American usage, to the rise of colonial and post-colonial English. Many of the essays investigate regional and ethnic varieties and take up issues of class and gender. The book explores the many diverse approaches to the study of English in one volume, ranging from linguistics and etymology to the philosophy of language and literary history. Concise introductions place individual essays within larger contexts; notes on phonetics, a chronological list of events, and a glossary of linguistic terms facilitate use and connect the reader to the uses of the English language over the centuries. A meeting ground for students of language and literature, this broad-ranging volume, assembled with the care and quality one expects of its outstanding roster of editors and contributors, considers cultural, social, literary, material, and theoretical approaches to the study of language. 728 pp. $199.95. ISBN 9781405129923 (cloth). The book is available online through the Blackwell reference online site, http://www.blackwellreference.com/public/book?id=g9781405129923_9781405129923.

Mortimer, Richard, ed. *Edward the Confessor: The Man and the Legend* (Boydell Press, 2009). The millennium of Edward the Confessor's birth presents an appropriate occasion for a full-scale, up-to-date reassessment of his life, reign and cult, a reappraisal which is provided in the essays here. After an introduction to the many views of Edward's life and a reinterpretation of the development of his cult, the volume considers his childhood in England and its influence upon his later life; the time he spent in Normandy and the relationships that developed there; and his later life, including an examination of the role played by Edith, his queen. There is also a particular focus upon Westminster Abbey and the major new discoveries which have recently been made there. Incorporating both broad surveys and the fruits of detailed new work, this book will be essential reading for all those interested in late Saxon and Norman England. Contents include "Introduction: Edward the Confessor: the Man and the Legend," Richard Mortimer; "Edward the Ætheling [c. 1005-16]," Simon Keynes; "Edward and Normandy," Elisabeth M. C. van Houts; "Edward the Confessor and the Succession Question," Stephen Baxter; "Edith, Edward's Wife and Queen," Pauline Stafford; "Edward the Confessor's Westminster Abbey," Eric C. Fernie; "New Glimpses of Edward the Confessor's Abbey at Westminster," Warwick Rodwell; "Craftsmen and Administrators in the Building of the Confessor's Abbey," Richard Gem; "The Sanctity and Canonization of Edward the Confessor," Edina Bozoky. 228 pp., ill. $90.00 / £45.00. ISBN 9781843834366 (cloth).

Parkes, Malcolm. *Their Hands Before Our Eyes: A Closer Look at Scribes. The Lyell Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford 1999* (Ashgate, 2008). This new book by Malcolm Parkes makes a fundamental contribution to the history of handwriting. Handwriting is a versatile medium that has always allowed individual scribes the opportunity for self-expression, despite the limitations of the pen and the finite number of possible movements. The purpose of this study is to focus on the writing of scribes from late antiquity to the beginning of the sixteenth century, and to identify those features which are a scribe's personal contribution to the techniques and art of handwriting. The book opens with three chapters surveying the various environments in which scribes worked in the medieval West. The following five chapters, based on the author's Lyell Lectures, examine different aspects of the subject, starting with the basic processes of handwriting and copying. Next come discussions of developments in rapid handwriting, with its consequent influence on new alphabets; on more formal 'set hands'; and on the adaptation of movements of the pen to produce elements of style corresponding to changes in the prevailing sense of decorum. The final chapter looks at the significance of some customized images produced by handwriting on the page. 278 pp., ill. £65.00. ISBN 9780754663379 (cloth).

Scheck, Helene. *Reform and Resistance: Formations of Female Subjectivity in Early Medieval Ecclesiastical Culture* (SUNY Series in Medieval Studies. Albany: SUNY Press, 2008). *Reform and Resistance* explores the relationship between gender and identity in early medieval Germanic societies, centering mostly on competing perceptions of female subject formation in times of conversion, reform, and resistance. While women played an active role in the spread of Christianity during the Middle Ages, their freedoms were often restricted by the Church during periods of reform, when uniformity and conformity were important. Scheck's inquiry extends beyond one specific region or historical moment through two centuries and three diverse Germanic regions: Carolingian France, late Anglo-Saxon England, and Ottonian Saxony. Each of these moments exhibits distinct yet interconnected stages of conversion and reform, different stages of cultural amalgamation out of which various possibilities for female subject formation emerge. The book also connects with current conversations about the interrelatedness of power, knowledge, and subjectivity, opening new possibilities for the study of women in early ecclesiastical cultures. Contents include "1. Women in/and Early Ecclesiastical Culture: An Overview"; "2. The Limits of Orthodoxy: Being Female and Female Being under Charlemagne"; "3. Soul Searching: Alcuin of York and His Circle of Female Scholars"; "4. Redressing the Female Subject: Women, Transvestite Saints, and the Anglo-Saxon Benedictine Reform"; "5. Resounding Silences: Mary and Eve in Anglo-Saxon Reform Literature"; "6. Hrotsvit of Gandersheim: Claiming Her Voice"; "7. Hrotsvit of Gandersheim: Recasting Female Subjectivities"; "Conclusion." 238 pp. $70.00. ISBN 9780791474839 (cloth).

Valtonen, Irmeli. *The North in the Old English Orosius: A Geographical Narrative in Context* (Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki LXXIII. Helsinki, 2008). This study examines the description of the North in the Old English *Orosius* in the form of travel accounts by Ohthere and Wulfstan and a catalogue of northern peoples, and places them in the context of ancient and early medieval textual and cartographic descriptions of the North, with special emphasis on Anglo-Saxon sources and the reign of King Alfred. This is the first time that the sources, an interdisciplinary approach and secondary literature from Scandinavia and Finland, have been brought together. These travel accounts are discussed in relation to geographical perceptions and nomenclature of northern lands, archaeological theories of the Viking Age and Anglo-Saxon culture, and geographical imagination. 672 pp. €55. ISBN 9789519040295 (cloth).

Williamson, Tom. *Sutton Hoo and its Landscape: The Context of Monuments* (Windgather Press/Oxbow Books 2008). The location of the Anglo-Saxon burial ground at Sutton Hoo, on a ridge overlooking the estuary of the river Deben, has always appeared strange and challenging. This is not so much because the site is today an isolated and lonely one, but rather because it lies on the very periphery of the early medieval kingdom of East Anglia, whose rulers, the *Wuffingas*, were buried there. In this extended meditation on

the geography of a very special and evocative place, Tom Williamson explores the meaning of the cemetery's location. To understand the location of ancient monuments, we need to examine not only the character of past landscapes but also the ways that contemporaries may have experienced and felt about them: we need to reconstruct aspects of their mental world. Williamson argues that the cemetery was placed where it was not in order to display power and dominance over territory, but because the river, and its brooding estuary, had long held a special and central place in the lives and perceptions of a local society. As King Rædwald and his family rose to dominance over this river-people, they chose to be buried at the heart of their territory. Such approaches may help us to understand why the cemetery was established where it was within the territory of the *Wuffingas*: but they cannot explain why that group came to dominate the whole of East Anglia. For this, Williamson argues, we need to examine wider geographical contexts—patterns of movement, contact, and social allegiance which were engendered and shaped by landforms and topography at a regional and national level. It is only by joining aspects of the new 'phenomenological' approaches to the archaeology of landscape to more traditional geographical interpretations, that we can appreciate the full significance of this important site. Combining a keen understanding of local and regional geography, Anglo-Saxon history, and current debates about approaches to past landscapes, this book is a masterly exploration of the context and meaning of an iconic set of monuments. 165pp., ill. $40.00. ISBN 9781905119257.

Zacher, Samantha. *Preaching the Converted: The Style and Rhetoric of the Vercelli Book Homilies* (Toronto Anglo-Saxon Series. Toronto: UTP, 2009). The Vercelli Book is one of the oldest surviving collections of Old English homilies and poems, compiled in England in the tenth century. *Preaching the Converted* provides a sustained literary analysis of the book's prose homilies and demonstrates that they employ rhetorical techniques commonly associated with vernacular verse. The study argues that the dazzling textual complexity of these homilies rivals the most accomplished examples of Old English poetry. Highlighting the use of word play, verbal and structural repetition, elaborate catalogues, and figurative language, Zacher's study fills a gap in the history of English preaching by foregrounding the significance of these prose homilies as an intermediary form. Also analyzing the Latin and vernacular sources behind the Vercelli texts to reveal the theological and formal interests informing the collection as a whole, *Preaching the Converted* is a rigorous examination of Old English homiletic rhetoric and poetics. 320 pp. £48.00 / $75.00. ISBN 9780802091581.

Anglo-Saxon Plant Name Survey (ASPNS): Tenth Annual Report for 2008
Dr. C. P. Biggam, Director of ASPNS, University of Glasgow

ASPNS has acquired another author. He is Prof. T. L. Markey, a retired professor of German and linguistics who has held positions in Harvard University and the University of Michigan, as well as visiting professorships in Austria and Germany. His present work centres on the word *leek* and its relatives.

ASPNS presented a session at the International Medieval Congress for 2008, held at the University of Leeds. The session was entitled 'Problems with Plant Names', and it was organized by Carole Biggam, moderated by Prof. Graham Caie, and sponsored by the Department of English Language, University of Glasgow. The speakers were as follows:

> Carole P. Biggam, University of Glasgow: *Entering the Jungle: the Nature of Plant-Names.*

> Maria A. D'Aronco, University of Udine, Italy: *Some Problematic Plant-Names:* Elehtre *and* Gall-uc*, a Reconsideration.*

> Alaric Hall, University of Leeds: *'My Sigurðr Was to the Sons of Gjúki as is Garlic Growing Up from Grass': Why Were Medieval Germanic Speakers So Passionate about Alliums?*

An excellent outcome of presenting this session was that we were able to make the acquaintance of several Scandinavian researchers into plant and garden history, as well as meeting again some of the staff of the *Dictionary of Old English Plant Names.*

Thanks is due to our umbrella organization, the Institute for the Historical Study of Language, University of Glasgow, and also to the Department of English Language of the same university, where ASPNS is based.

Plant-Related Publications by ASPNS Members

Bierbaumer, Peter, Hans Sauer, Helmut W. Klug and Ulrike Krischke, "Old English Plant Names Go Cyber: the Graz-Munich Dictionary Project." *…Un tuo serto di fiori in man recando: scritti in onore di Maria Amalia D'Aronco*, edited by Patrizia Lendinara (Udine: Forum, 2008). vol. 2: 43-62.

Biggam, C. P., 'Anglo-Saxon Plant Name Survey (ASPNS): Ninth Annual Report, for 2007', *Old English Newsletter* 41.1 (2008): 34-5.

Hooke, Della, 'Early Medieval Woodland and the Place-Name Term *Lēah*', *A Commodity of Good Names: Essays in Honour of Margaret Gelling*, edited by O. J. Padel and David N. Parsons (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2008), 365-76.

Paleography and Codicology: A Seminar on Medieval Manuscript Studies
University of New Mexico, Institute for Medieval Studies   June 9 – July 3, 2008
Rhonda L. McDaniel, Middle Tennessee State University

When Timothy Graham first mentioned his plan to offer his successful seminar on Medieval Manuscript Studies (first offered in 2006) again in 2008, I immediately knew that I wanted to participate. I had dabbled in manuscript studies and done minor editing projects for various courses while a doctoral candidate but had not had the opportunity to pursue that interest. This Paleography and Codicology seminar presented an occasion to expand the range of knowledge I could use in teaching courses at my own university and also develop the skills I would need for any possible editing projects I might attempt in the future. (My participation in the seminar was generously funded by the Department of English and a Faculty Development Grant from Middle Tennessee State University.)

Participation in the seminar is decided on a competitive basis, and all applicants are required to submit a cover letter outlining their research interests, a *curriculum vitae*, and a letter of recommendation from a professor familiar with the applicant's proficiencies and scholarship. This process is designed more for current graduate students than for faculty, but as a faculty member I asked a colleague to write on my behalf in lieu of a professor. Those selected to participate in the seminar represented a considerable diversity of fields of study and universities:

Sean Albert (English, University of Arizona)
Nicolino Applauso (Romance Languages, University of Oregon)
Mary Blanchard (Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University)
Lyle Dechant (Art History, University of Oregon)
Elizabeth Dickenson (History, University of Texas)
James Dory-Garduño (Law, University of New Mexico)
Rebecca Jacobs-Pollez (History, University of Missouri)
Rhonda McDaniel (English, Middle Tennessee State University)
Israel McMullin (Classical Studies, University of New Mexico)
Katherine Meyers (History, University of New Mexico)
Annalisa Moretti (Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University)
Katherine Thompson Newell (History, University of New Mexico)
William Sherrill (Musicology, University of Texas)
Mark Singer (History, University of Missouri)
Douglas VanBenthuysen (English, University of New Mexico)
Shawn Weeks (History, University of New Mexico)
Peninah Wolpo (History, University of New Mexico)

This diversity of interests enriched the seminar as participants offered insights from their own specialties or asked questions pertinent to their own areas of study. Whether the manuscript under consideration was intended for liturgical use, instruction of the laity, authentication of land grants, biblical commentary, monastic or lay devotions, or to track festival days, illustrate perceptions of the physical world, record legal or conciliar determinations, or preserve literary works, each participant in the seminar had the opportunity to contribute his or her specialized knowledge to the discussion and to expand that knowledge in the process.

Covering a wide variety of book forms (such as Gospel books, Great Bibles, and Books of Hours), we learned how manuscripts were made, from the flaying of an animal's hide and the concoction of inks to the binding and decoration of the completed book. We studied and transcribed all of the major (and some

of the minor) scripts used in western Europe throughout the Middle Ages. Substantial daily transcription exercises, both in class and as homework, gave us the opportunity to wrestle not only with the variations in letter forms that occurred as scripts evolved but also with abbreviations and different systems of punctuation. In addition we had group projects that focused on the codicological analysis of a facsimile codex of the *Valladolid Beatus* and production of an edition from two manuscript witnesses of a brief portion of Bede's *Life of St. Cuthbert*. This demanding regular practice within the compressed time of four weeks gave us a much keener appreciation of the differences between scripts and the challenges of editing. It also rapidly built up our ability to recognize and expand a repertoire of abbreviations without constant reference to guides.

Though the transcription homework and the significant amount of reading assigned for each day occupied the days devoted to class meetings and part of the weekends, our time was not all work and no play. We still had ample time to explore Albuquerque and the surrounding areas; weekends gave seminar participants the chance to visit Old Town Albuquerque, nearby national monuments and parks, museums, and other areas of cultural interest. Many of us from beyond the Albuquerque area stayed together in university housing on campus, which made it convenient to organize group trips to sites such as Bandolier National Monument, Petroglyph National Monument, and the Sandia Tramway. Tim and Marian Graham hosted a barbeque at their house for all of those attending the seminar and their families; later during the seminar Doug VanBenthuysen and his family provided a stunning shish kebab feast for all as well. We also took in an Albuquerque Isotopes baseball game (the Isotopes won) and a celebratory luncheon at Scalos Italian Restaurant at the end of the seminar.

All in all, participating in the seminar was a very intense, rich, and rewarding experience on many levels and I would strongly encourage any who might be interested in medieval manuscript studies—graduate students and faculty alike—to take advantage of the opportunity to attend future seminars. Dr. Graham plans to conduct the seminar every two years, so make plans now for 2010.

(Photographs courtesy of Rhonda McDaniel)

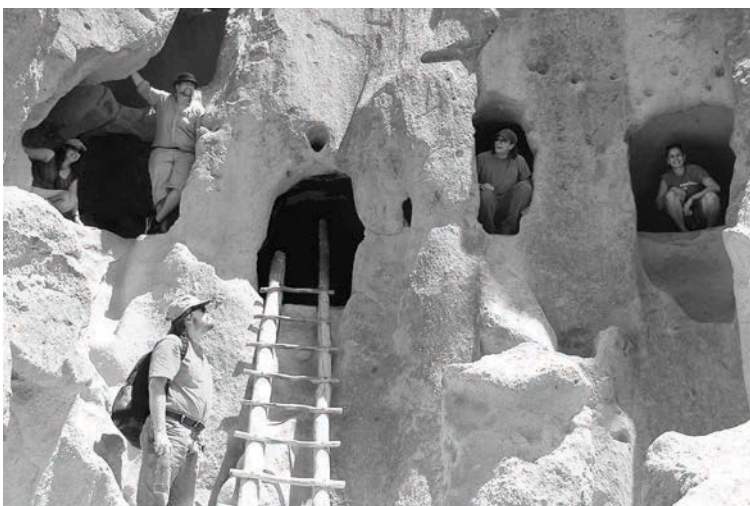*Seminar Director Timothy C. Graham discusses the components of Books of Hours.*

Seminar members take the final examination on features of palaeography and codicology.

Palaeographers relax at a party at Doug VanBenthuysen's home.

Seminar members explore cliff dwellings at Bandolier National Monument (Top row: Katherine Newell, Shawn Weeks, Sean Albert, Mary Blanchard. Bottom row: Mark Singer.

Dictionary of Old English: 2008 Progress Report

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We began our report last year with the news that Eric Stanley, Rawlinson and Bosworth Professor Emeritus of the University of Oxford and a thirty-year member of our International Advisory Committee, was to be awarded a Doctor of Sacred Letters degree from the University of Trinity College in the University of Toronto in May 2008. We are delighted to announce that in June of this year he was, as well, awarded a Doctor of Laws degree from the University itself. We extend to Eric our most sincere congratulations.

The highlight of the year has been the publications of the project. Following on the release, in December 2007, of the *Dictionary of Old English: A to G* online, our first Web-based dictionary, we published in April a Windows-based version of *DOE: A to G* on CD-ROM for those users who wish to install the DOE on their own computers. We have incorporated into the CD-ROM version a number of new features which we introduced into the online DOE: Boolean searches; the bundling and hotlinking of a bibliographic list of Latin sources; and hotlinks to the *Oxford English Dictionary*. In addition, we published, in October, *Dictionary of Old English: G* on microfiche for users who, for various reasons, are not able to use the electronic DOE. The CD-ROM and the microfiche are distributed by the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto. Their website is www.pims.ca. We look forward to comments and suggestions on all three formats from users of the Dictionary. We can be contacted at support@doe.utoronto.ca. Meanwhile, the drafting of entries for the letters *H, I, Y, L* and *M* is progressing well and the lemmatization (the assignment of spellings to headwords) of *N* is close to completion. We were sorry to lose Dorothy Haines from the editorial staff this year. She had been with the project since 2002. We wish her every success in her future career.

Technological Advances

The project, as part of a University of Toronto team, is applying again to the Canada Foundation for Innovation (CFI), as one of thirteen universities across Canada, for funds to enlarge the TAPoR (Text Analysis Portal for Research) project: a grant from CFI in 2002 gave us the initial infrastructure we needed to develop DOEonline, and future funding would facilitate our plans to develop interlinks among databases and to try to create a common search interface across large-scale and heterogeneous language databases.

Our systems analyst, Xin Xiang, has begun preliminary work on building links with the *Middle English Dictionary*, using improved techniques which provide more accurate matches.

Early in 2009, we plan to issue an updated release of the Web Corpus, incorporating corrections found in our citation check for G. We can be contacted with inquiries about the Web Corpus at corpus@doe.utoronto.ca.

Grants and Gifts

We continue our search for funds to ensure the completion of the Dictionary, a particularly difficult task in the present economic climate. We are happy to report that in the course of the year we have been awarded a two-year grant (2008-2010) from the National Endowment for the Humanities. One-year grants from the Triangle Community Foundation, Raleigh, the Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation, New York, the British Academy, London, and the Peter Munk Foundation, Toronto, as well as gifts from the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists and from colleagues and friends, are helping us fulfill the matching requirement for our 2008 NEH grant. We are, as always, immensely appreciative of the generosity of our funding agencies and of individual donors. We would welcome suggestions concerning the names of foundations or individuals who might be interested in helping support the Dictionary. A list of gifts to the project in the past year appears below.

Dissemination and Outreach

A happy outcome of the conferring of the honorary degrees on Professor Eric Stanley is that he had reason to visit the Dictionary offices several times in the course of the year, where he was put to work consulting with us on entries and delivering a lecture sponsored by the

project. His first convocation was attended by Professor Joyce Hill of the University of Leeds, who also gave a lecture sponsored by the project. We were delighted that the second convocation gave us an opportunity to see another member of our International Advisory Committee, Professor Roberta Frank of Yale University.

We are always eager to display and talk about our work when the opportunity arises. In May, Antonette diPaolo Healey and Xin Xiang represented the project at the Humanities Book Fair at the University of Toronto when we were able to display our latest publications; we had overwhelmingly positive responses to demonstrations of the electronic DOE and especially to the links to the OED. In May, Antonette diPaolo Healey attended the 43rd International Medieval Congress at Western Michigan University and attended the annual board meeting of the Richard Rawlinson Center for Anglo-Saxon Studies and Manuscript Research. In June, she attended the meeting of the Canadian Society of Medievalists in Vancouver, British Columbia, which was held in conjunction with the annual Congress of the Social Sciences and Humanities. At the meeting she was appointed to the Advisory Board of the Society. Also in June, Joan Holland gave a paper at the Fourth International Conference on Historical Lexicography and Lexicology in Edmonton, Alberta. In November, Antonette diPaolo Healey gave a workshop on the research tools of the DOE and a lecture to the Center for Medieval Studies, University of Minnesota. In December, she attended the meeting of the MLA in San Francisco, where she gave a report on the project to the Old English Executive Committee.

Joan Holland

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The publication of the *Dictionary of Old English: A to G* online would not have been possible without the financial support we have received from friends, colleagues, learned societies, and foundations, as well as our granting agencies.

We wish to acknowledge the very generous contributions the project has received during the past year. Donors who supported our research in honour of or in memory of individuals are also noted separately at the end of the list. All of us on the project are grateful to each one of you. We would like to mention especially the generous donation of $1,312 US from the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists. The strong support of the most important scholarly organization in our field has been invaluable to us. We are also very grateful to all those scholars who have kindly donated books to the DOE library. Such contributions of publications, both old and new, enable us to maintain our research collection. We hope to have included all who have so generously supported our work but must apologize to any of our donors inadvertently left off this list of acknowledgements. This list encompasses gifts given between December 15, 2007 and December 15, 2008.

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Beowulf: Prince of the Geats, **Nazis, and Odinists**
Richard Scott Nokes, Troy University

Beowulf, a poem written in a language identified with the Anglo-Saxons but without mention of England or a single English character, has always been entangled with the complexities of issues of nationalism. The tribes and peoples mentioned in the story are little more than names to us, but the original audience may well have had strong feelings about them. There may be strong ethnic or nationalist themes running through the poem to which we are blind in the dim light of historical distance. These issues of national identity are more than minor details; Anglo-Saxon England had, of course, a complicated relationship with the Scandinavian peoples, and as Dorothy Whitelock pointed out, the matter of how the Danes would be perceived by the audience of *Beowulf* is a central question in the debate over the dating of the poem.[1]

Modern scholarship on the poem is also fraught with issues of nationalism, but in this case we can see the details and distinctions more clearly. The dual catastrophes of the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII and the Ashburnam House fire of 1731 left *Beowulf* without any serious competition for the title of "Old English Epic," and as such, the poem was a prize for the taking. Claims upon *Beowulf* have often served as proxies for claims on national identity, whether English or otherwise. John D. Niles stated with dry irony that "Thorkelin's chief motive for transcribing and publishing *Beowulf* was nationalism: Danish nationalism, to be precise."[2] *Beowulf* is by no means unique in medieval literature in serving the interests of nationalism. In *Inventing the Middle Ages*, Norman E. Cantor traced the deep interest in and profound impact of the Nazis upon medieval studies, particularly in the ways in which they promoted the use of history, linguistics, and folklore as tools for shaping a myth of pan-Germanic identity.[3] Though they used medieval studies for their own purposes, the Nazis were part of a long tradition of underwriting national identity through medieval literature, a tradition that includes less malevolent incarnations such as the work of the Brothers Grimm or, in the case of *Beowulf,* the work of Frederick Klaeber.

Scholars and teachers of *Beowulf* tend either to ignore or downplay this aspect of *Beowulf*'s critical reception, or they may work actively to challenge such readings through more sophisticated analysis of the poem's origins and history. Unlike many other medieval works, however, *Beowulf* has a life beyond the academic world and a place in popular culture, where the nuances of scholarly caution and restraint have little effect. *Beowulf* has been adapted into fantasy novels, comic books, and video games; a number of recent film adaptations have tried various approaches to the poem, from the 1999 futuristic Christopher Lambert version[4] to the 2007 Robert Zemeckis motion-capture animated version.[5] Most film versions have tended to focus on action sequences (Beowulf fights Grendel with everything from his bare hands to explosive crossbow bolts), on what might generously be called sexual politics (Grendel's mother is often transformed into a siren figure), or on conflicts between paganism and Christianity. Most are basically monster-hunting stories; they take little interest in questions of national identity. But the producers of one film, *Beowulf: Prince of the Geats,*[6] have inadvertently discovered just how seriously some fans of *Beowulf*

1   Dorothy Whitelock, *The Audience of* Beowulf (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951).

2   John D. Niles, introduction to *A* Beowulf *Handbook*, by Robert E. Bjork and John D. Niles (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 4.

3   Norman F. Cantor, *Inventing the Middle Ages* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1993).

4   *Beowulf*, directed by Graham Baker (Capitol Films, 1999).

5   *Beowulf*, directed by Robert Zemeckis (Paramount Pictures, 2007).

6   *Beowulf: Prince of the Geats*, directed by Scott Wegener (David Garrison Productions, 2008). The film was shown only briefly in theaters; it is available on dvd from http://princeofthegeats.com. 100% of the profits of all sales goes to the American and Norwegian Cancer Societies.

do take such questions. In this film, Beowulf, although raised among the Geats, is the son of an African explorer, a Pushkin-esque figure who looks like an outsider but who is ultimately a product of the culture that raised him. While the film was still in production, neo-Nazi, neo-pagan, and other nationalist groups learned about the black Beowulf and accused the filmmakers of "calumniating, misrepresenting, [and] traducing" the poem.[7]

When Scott Wegener, the executive producer and director of *Beowulf: Prince of the Geats*, originally conceived of the project, he was unaware of the history of nationalistic readings of the poem. Wegener was looking for a project to raise money for the American Cancer Society and decided to create an all-volunteer film version of a classic work of literature. *Beowulf* seemed a good fit, and Wegener particularly looked to Seamus Heaney's best-selling translation for guidance. He recruited others who were interested in the project and willing to donate their time and talent to raise money to fight cancer. In the process, they created a film that is more properly called "no budget" than "low budget"—*Beowulf: Prince of the Geats* was produced entirely on donated time and services.[8]

The innovation of casting a black actor in the role of Beowulf came early in the project. Wegener though the actor Jayshan Jackson would be ideal for the title role, but Jackson was African-American. Rather than opt for the 'colorblind' casting sometimes used in stage productions (in which the ethnicity of the actors is irrelevant to the role and, presumably, to the audience), Wegener began re-working the script in order to explain this oddity, and eventually developed an idea that he felt was both thematically appropriate and historically plausible. Given how far some Vikings fared, he reasoned that African explorers might also have been able to journey equally far. In the film, the traditional story of *Beowulf* is bracketed by two scenes in Africa. We learn through this backstory that Beowulf's father Ecgtheow is from an African fishing tribe, the Ombra. In order to facilitate their fishing, the Ombra have developed the compass, but Ecgtheow prefers exploring to fishing, and sets off to find the end of the world. He travels north until he reaches the land of the Geats, and decides that it is as far as he will go. He settles there, marries a local woman, and produces a son, Beowulf. From that point on, the film's narrative generally follows the outlines of the poem.

Jayshan Jackson on the set of
Beowulf: Prince of the Geats

Negative reaction to the casting of a black Beowulf began with e-mail messages in February 2005. Under the subject header, "beowulf is not a nigger!!!"[9] came a death threat: "You sicken me. Why must you steal white culture and replace it with your multi-cultural filth? Why do you fear white culture? You should be killed for what you are doing, and maybe you will, you can never tell."[10] A second e-mail was sent on the same day, under the subject heading, "beowulf_a filthy NIGGER???"[11] This one read, "You have got to be kidding me. Do you think you will get away with this?

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7   "An Open Letter to the People Behind Prince of the Geats," Prince of the Lies, posted November 29, 2005, http:// princeofthelies.blogspot.com/2005/11/open-letter-to-people-behind-prince-of.html

8   Scott Wegener, personal interview, June 23, 2008.

9   Note that the actual subject heading has dozens of exclamation marks.

10   Mcginnis1488, e-mail message to David Garrison Productions, February 3, 2005.

11   Note that the actual subject heading has dozens of question marks.

I am insulted."[12] A third e-mail under the subject heading "beowulf_webmistress Aryan culture IS FOR WHITES" simply read, "You should be killed for this disgrace."[13]

All three e-mails were sent from a single account within the space of about an hour, so it might have been possible to dismiss the threats as the bizarre rantings of a single racist crank. Over the next three years, however, various eruptions appeared on the internet, from a variety of individuals and groups, from neo-Nazis to neo-Odinists. In addition to occasional posts and articles, one Australian writer created a blog dedicated to opposition to the film, called "Prince of the Lies," asking people to "Join the campaign to stop the appropriation of a North Seas cultural icon!"[14]

This characterization of Beowulf as a "North Seas cultural icon" reveals some of the confusion that still surrounds questions of nationalism and *Beowulf*. Elsewhere on the same site, the author refers to the ancestors of the Anglo-Saxons as coming from "Scandinavia and Germany," and in an earlier post he refers to the setting of *Beowulf* as "either northern Denmark or Southern Sweden." The phrase "North Seas cultural icon," then, seems chosen to include England, Germany, Denmark, and Sweden. The website "Asatru Update" also uses shifting terminology to characterize *Beowulf* and describe their preferred cast for a film version. The poem's characters are alternately "Northern European," "whites," "blondes," or "European-descended people"; all "Germanic folk" should be offended by the film. For the author of one post, the problem is as much European neglect of identity as it is a problem of "cultural predators." The author writes,

> At the bottom, the problem is that most Eurofolk do not realize we are a people. Men and women of Germanic ancestry form a distinct group, nested inside the larger but still very distinct European group that constitutes our "Greater Family." We are not just isolated and disconnected individuals. We are bound to each other by networks of ancestry and culture that transcend space and time.[15]

Here, the writer seems to understand that the cultural identity of the "Greater Family" is a complicated issue, though interestingly enough he also refers to "American society," presuming an audience of Americans of either Germanic or "Eurofolk" descent. This seems a reasonable assumption considering that the "Asatru Folk Assembly," a neo-pagan group promoting worship of Odin and other northern gods and goddesses, constructs itself around a notion of Germanic identity. The Asatru Folk Assembly website defines Asatru as

> [...] an expression of the native, pre-Christian spirituality of Europe. More specifically, it is the Way by which the Germanic peoples have traditionally related to the Divine and to the world around them.

> From Iceland to Russia, from the frozen north of Scandinavia to the Mediterranean, the Germanic peoples wandered and settled over a span of thousands of years. Today, their descendants are spread around the world. We may refer to ourselves as Americans or English, Germans or Canadians, but behind these labels lurks an older, more essential identity. Our forefathers were Angles

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12   Mcginnis1488, e-mail message to Pro Tech Computer Services (web host for *Beowulf: Prince of the Geats*), February 3, 2005.

13   Mcginnis1488, e-mail message to Pro Tech Computer Services, February 3, 2005.

14   Prince of the Lies, http://princeofthelies.blogspot.com.

15   "Beowulf Was Black? (Are We Angry Yet?)," Asatru Update, March 24, 2007, http://asatruupdate.blogspot.com/2007/03/beowulf-was-black-are-we-angry-yet.html

and Saxons, Lombards and Heruli, Goths and Vikings—and, as sons and daughters of these peoples, we are united by ties of blood and culture undimmed by the centuries.

Asatru is our native Way. Just as there is Native American religion and native African religion, so there is native European religion. Asatru is one of its expressions. It gave our ancestors comfort in millennia past, and it can give us strength and inspiration today.[16]

Asatru is defined here as a sort of ethnic or national religion and is clearly at odds with Christianity. But where one might expect issues of paganism and Christianity in *Beowulf* to capture the interest of such readers—as they have certainly fascinated scholars for almost two centuries—the uproar surrounding *Beowulf: Prince of the Geats* focuses entirely on ethnicity. In the posts complaining about Wegener's film, Beowulf is portrayed as a champion of the Germanic peoples, not a champion of paganism.

Odinists who took umbrage with *Beowulf: Prince of the Geats* often depicted their faith as closely intertwined with their national identity, describing it as a "tribal heritage" and Beowulf, therefore, as a "tribal hero."[17] One email to David Garrison Productions, from a poster who identified himself as "Baz," claims kinship with the Geats, and even goes so far as to claim that "Beowulf is a sacred text to us."[18] Another writer explains:

Beowulf is a sacred texts to Odinists. This is not to say that we necessarily take every single line literally. Probably most Odinists regard the Beowulf epic in much the same way as Christians and Jews regard the heroic Biblical stories about King David.[19]

These readers take the poem as an accurate depiction of fifth-century Scandinavian culture; they are generally oblivious to or silent on the poem's English provenance, Christian authorship, and late-tenth-century manuscript context. The writer goes on to explain that this reverence extends beyond the *Beowulf* poem to the personage of Beowulf himself: "Odinists also hold our ancestors to be sacred, as is well-attested in the surviving medieval literature…. If the hero Beowulf really existed, he or his relatives would have contributed to the gene-pool of modern Odinists."[20]

Objections to the film's casting that seem to rest on quasi-religious grounds, then, are inextricably tied to questions of national or ethnic identity arising from the slippery and romantic notion of "ties of blood and culture undimmed by the centuries." Religious identity and national identity are of course often closely intertwined; in some cases, however, anger at the film's casting was more explicitly a matter of identity politics. The National Socialist Movement, an unabashedly pro-Nazi political group, was also harshly critical of *Beowulf: Prince of the Geats*. Regarding the original poem, the writers state: "Most scholars have agreed that the epic of Beowulf is a study in Germanic heathen morality. Beowulf, in short, is generally perceived as the ideal Germanic aristocratic warrior, and therefore a moral model for his society."[21] Critical interpretations aside, it is clear from the post and its context that the main objection to the film is not that Beowulf is depicted as being heathen or Christian, model or moral, but that he is portrayed by a black actor.

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16   Asatru Folk Assembly, http://runestone.org/ (accessed July 16, 2008).

17   Mikel Crees, e-mail message to *Beowulf: Prince of the Geats* webmaster, June 14, 2005.

18   Baz, e-mail message to David Garrison Productions, October 29, 2005.

19   Alain James, e-mail message to David Garrison Productions, November 1, 2005.

20   Alain James, e-mail message to David Garrison Productions, November 1, 2005.

21   "A Black Beowulf," National Socialist Movement, May 14, 2006, http://www.nsm88.org/articles/color_confusion.html

What might otherwise have been barely noted as simply one more in a series of recent film versions of *Beowulf*—undistinguished, perhaps, but interesting, and certainly well-intentioned—found itself the target of a toxic spew of racism, rage, and religious confusion from various dark corners of the lunatic fringe. Yet it was not the first version of *Beowulf* to receive this dubious distinction. Viewers of the Robert Zemeckis *Beowulf* film might have objected to many aspects of its reworking of the poem, but a site called the Vanguard News Network (with the slogan "No Jews. Just Right.") takes umbrage specifically with its depiction of Germanic culture, describing the film as "a bastard product of Jewish cultural perversions" and complaining about its "Calumny against Christianity: The ex-king's adviser wore a big cross on his chest and man-handled his crippled slave…. how Jewish!"[22] The site has, thankfully, little to say about *Beowulf: Prince of the Geats*, but its response to the Zemeckis film might suggest a hierarchy of sins against the identity of Beowulf: a non-Christian Beowulf is bad, but a non-European Beowulf is worse.

While some simply vented their rage against *Beowulf: Prince of the Geats*, other websites try to justify their objections on the grounds of historical accuracy. In a few cases, the argument is simply that there could not have been any Africans in Scandinavia at the time. One commenter on the website Majority Rights. com expresses this view [spelling, grammar, typography, and coherence all *sic* throughout]:

> Once more[ala Wegner's Beowulf],the blind Liberal establishment,is attempting to enhance "self-esteem", by portraying Negros as intelligent,brave,intelluctual beings,who built the pyramids ,created the "great city of Zimbawe", gave rise to Euclidian thought, invented most of the White man's devices, AND PEANUT BUTTER!!! One question-just how the hell did a nigger wind up in 1000 AD Europe, unless as an oddity akin to a monkey? And to think that a Scandinavian woman would indulge in beastiality in those days is absurd-she and her offsping would have immediately put to death. Romantisizing a Stone age race thats greatest achievement is the harnessment of fire, and how [hopefully] to keep dry when it rains is an insult modern mankind.[23]

Others who objected to Wegener's film tried to present a more coherent argument for the film's historical inaccuracy, while at the same time suggesting that this historical inaccuracy was an insult to whites. The website "Prince of the Lies," for example, lays out the case:

> Mr Wegener's [the producer] fantasy is, of course, at odds with the original Beowulf poem, and with the heroic ethos that it expresses. There is also absolutely no literary, historical, archaeological, ethnological or other evidence to give the slightest credence to Mr Wegener's attempt to distort the facts about the ancestors of the majority of the population in most English-speaking nations. Therefore to give any support to Mr Wegener's film proposal is, at best, culturally insensitive.[24]

Others drew specific parallels between Beowulf as an icon of "white" culture and the icons of other cultures. One writer on Asatru Update asks rhetorically, "What would be the reaction if Bruce Willis was chosen to play Martin Luther King? Or Brad Pitt cast as Pancho Villa? If this is 'no big deal,' why do African Americans get so upset about whites in blackface?"[25] Such sentiments were repeated elsewhere.

22   "I just watched 'Beowulf'," http://www.vanguardnewsnetwork.com/?p=2727 (March 14, 2008).

23   Nick Tamiroff, comment on "A modern Beowulf," MajorityRights.com, comment posted February 24, 2006, http://majorityrights.com/index.php/weblog/comments/http_majorityrightscom_indexphp_mark_richardsons_a_modern_beowulf/#c22916 (accessed July 16, 2008).

24   "An Open Letter to the People Behind Prince of the Geats," Prince of the Lies, posted November 29, 2005, http://princeofthelies.blogspot.com/2005/11/open-letter-to-people-behind-prince-of.html.

25   "Beowulf Was Black? (Are We Angry Yet?)," Asatru Update, March 24, 2007, http://asatruupdate.blogspot.com/2007/03/beowulf-was-black-are-we-angry-yet.html.

Damon Lynch III portrays the aged Beowulf.

Though the filmmakers knew that their black Beowulf would raise some eyebrows, they did not seem aware of the complex interlaced history of nationalism and criticism of *Beowulf* from the antiquaries through the Second World War. Nor does the angry reaction of groups from the political fringes exemplify the typical reaction; according to Eric "Greer" Scott, a producer and stunt coordinator on the film, most people are much more reasonable, yet still find the casting curious and in need of justification: "People inevitably ask, 'How does that work?'" when they learn that Beowulf is black in the film.[26] Jayshan Jackson, who plays the young Beowulf, thinks that the reaction is to be expected: "You say 'Beowulf' and people immediately think 'Viking'."[27]

The filmmakers, too, apparently had that expectation, because they uniformly expressed surprise that no one had ever heard of Beowulf when they filmed in Norway. They assumed that the Norwegians would feel some kind of cultural affinity toward Beowulf, perhaps as a legendary Viking hero, but "in Norway, people were, like, 'Beo-who?'" That very reaction convinces the filmmakers that their choice of a black actor to play Beowulf is not culturally insensitive. While the filmmakers expected some racist reaction, they did not expect it from the Anglophone world but rather from Scandinavia. As Scott says about the negative response from nationalist groups outside Scandinavia, "If nobody in the area he was from knows who he is, why do you care so much?"[28]

For their part, the response of the filmmakers to this reaction against the casting of a black Beowulf reflects in its own way a complex and inconsistent application of history; they argue on one hand that an African Beowulf is historically plausible, and on the other that since the character is fictional, historical

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26   Eric "Greer" Scott, personal interview, June 18, 2008.

27   Jayshan Jackson, personal interview, June 23, 2008.

28   Eric "Greer" Scott, personal interview, June 18, 2008.

probabilities are irrelevant. The filmmakers expressed pride in the efforts they put into accurately depicting "Viking" culture—notwithstanding the fact that the period in which the poem is set predates the beginning of Viking culture by several centuries—and defended the black Beowulf as historically plausible. In his conversation with me, Scott Wegener argued that since the Vikings traveled as far as Turkey, it is conceivable that other contemporaneous people traveled equally far.[29] Jayshan Jackson also pointed to the wide-faring Vikings, and added that there were African explorers as well.[30]

None of those involved with the production suggested that the character Beowulf was black, merely that the presence of a black warrior in Viking Scandinavia was not beyond the realm of historical possibility. Indeed, the question of whether or not Beowulf was black was largely subsumed under the argument that he is a fictional character. Many of the e-mails of protest drew parallels between depicting Beowulf as black and depicting historically black figures such as Nelson Mandela, Martin Luther King, Jr., Shaka Zulu, or Malcolm X as white. In response to these arguments, the filmmakers responded that Beowulf is a work of fiction, not history. Jayshan Jackson, for example, specifically responded to the comparison with casting a white man as Martin Luther King, Jr. with the argument that King was an historical figure, while Beowulf was not. When pressed on this issue, however, he felt that even if Beowulf were a historical figure, it would still be appropriate to cast a black man in that role, saying, "Why not? It's something different, something new." Jackson argued that there was a double standard even in the area of depicting historical figures, and pointed to Elizabeth Taylor's depiction of Cleopatra in the 1963 film. "The minute you flip that perspective, it's not the same rules anymore," he said.[31]

Beowulf: Prince of the Geats, intended simply as a fundraiser for cancer research, found itself instead at the center of controversies over ethnicity, religion, and national identity. Those of us who deal with *Beowulf* in the relatively sanitized conditions of academia might do well to remember that the poem has an ardent readership among those who find in it support for ideologies most scholars would find ridiculous or repugnant. Their response to the poem must be acknowledged as part of the "cultural heritage" of *Beowulf*; their arguments, however offensive, can reveal some of the ways that popular audiences read medieval texts. Likewise the creators of popular versions of *Beowulf* might work from assumptions that might not survive scholarly cross-examination, but their logic can tell us a great deal about how a thousand-year-old poem finds and keeps its ambiguous place in modern culture.

In an early draft of the script, one of the Danes encountering Beowulf thinks his face is dirty and covered in mud, and Beowulf has to explain that it is his normal color. Eventually, the scene was removed, because it came across as cliché and perhaps racist, so that in its final form, there is very little acknowledgement that Beowulf looks unusual, beyond Hrothgar remarking that there is "no doubt" Beowulf is the son of Ecgtheow, and Nils (an invented character) telling Beowulf, "you never belonged here." Scott Wegener argues that the less race is acknowledged, the better, as it is the best way to get rid of racism.[32] Jayshan Jackson, on the other hand, hopes that the difference "will inspire people to read between the lines of poems," and that people will see in Beowulf and his band "how this group of men who are different all join together and work together."[33] Both hope that while this *Beowulf* might look different from others, it might be judged more thematically faithful to the poem than previous films.

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29   Scott Wegener, personal interview, June 23, 2008.

30   Jayshan Jackson, personal interview, June 23, 2008.

31   Jayshan Jackson, personal interview, June 23, 2008. [*Jackson presumably alludes here to the popular belief that Cleopatra was of African origin. – Ed.*]

32   Scott Wegener, personal interview, June 23, 2008.

33   Jayshan Jackson, personal interview, June 23, 2008.

Anglo-Saxon Women Before the Law:

A Student Edition of Five Old English Lawsuits

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Introduction

The status of women under Old English law is among the most contested topics in Anglo-Saxon studies. Some have argued that the years before the Norman Conquest were "a surprisingly bright period" during which women owned land, exerted significant political influence, and exercised many of the same rights as men.[1] Others have said that during this period women were viewed as little more than men's property, subject to the same second-class treatment they received in other early medieval cultures.[2] The five charters edited here record lawsuits in which the principal litigants are women of different backgrounds. These documents raise many questions—legal, social, and rhetorical—and illustrate the difficulties involved in addressing this issue. At the same time, they provide vivid depictions of the ways law was practiced, politicized, and (perhaps most importantly) narrated during this period. The way a dispute was recorded influenced not only the future adjudication of similar cases but also the manner in which the law was understood by subsequent judges, lawmakers, and litigants. Records like these can give us deeper understanding of the interactions between competing notions of gender, textuality, and legal authority in Anglo-Saxon England.

Old English Lawsuits and Lawsuit Records

To understand how pre-Conquest lawsuits were resolved requires knowledge of the surviving case records, yet the source material for this sort of study presents a number of difficulties. Unlike modern law, which has official procedures governing how trials and other disputes are documented, Anglo-Saxon England lacked any formal system for recording what transpired in court. Our knowledge of early legal disputes instead derives from the accounts—often ambiguous, incomplete, or partisan—preserved in other sorts of texts, including saints' lives, chronicles, *Domesday Book,* and charters. The result is that far fewer lawsuits survive from Anglo-Saxon England than from elsewhere in Europe; the historian Patrick Wormald identified 178 Anglo-Saxon lawsuits suits recorded over approximately 330 years (ca. 740-1066), compared to

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1   Christine G. Clark, "Women's Rights in Early England," *Brigham Young University Law Review* (1995): 207. Similar assertions may be found as early as 1876 in Henry Cabot Lodge's essay on "The Anglo-Saxon Land-Law": "In all the law to be drawn from the books, women appear as in every respect equal to men." Henry Cabot Lodge, "The Anglo-Saxon Land Law," *Essays in Anglo-Saxon Law*, ed. Henry Adams (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1876), 113. More recently, analogous views may be found in Sheila G. Dietrich, "An Introduction to Women in Anglo-Saxon Society," *The Women of England: From Anglo-Saxon Times to the Present*, ed. Barbara Kanner (Hamdon, CT: Archon Books, 1979), 43, F. M. Stenton, "The Historical Bearing of Place-Name Studies: The Place of Women in Anglo-Saxon Society," *Prepatory to Anglo-Saxon England: Being the Collected Papers of Frank Merry Stenton*, ed. Doris Stenton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 314.

2   See, for instance, Anne L. Klinck, "Anglo-Saxon Women and the Law," *Journal of Medieval History* 8 (1982): 108, Clare Lees and Gillian R. Overing, *Double Agents: Women and Clerical Culture in Anglo-Saxon England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 78, Julie Coleman, "Rape in Anglo-Saxon England," *Violence and Society in the Early Medieval West*, ed. Guy Halsall (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998), 193-204, Shari Horner, *The Discourse of Enclosure* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2001), Shari Horner, "The Language of Rape in Old English Literature and Law: Views from the Anglo-Saxon(ist)s," *Sex and Sexuality in Anglo-Saxon England: Essays in Memory of Daniel Gillmore Calder*, ed. Carol Braun Pasternack and Lisa M.C. Weston (Tempe, AZ: ACMRS, 2004), 149-83, Carole A. Hough, "The Early Kentish 'Divorce Laws': A Reconsideration of Aethelberht, Chs. 79 and 80," *Anglo-Saxon England* 23 (1994): 19-34, Carole A. Hough, "Two Kentish Laws Concerning Women: A New Reading of Æthelberht 73 and 74," *Anglia* 119 (2001): 554-78, Janet Nelson, "The Wary Widow," *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 82-113, Mary P. Richards and B. Jane Stanfield, "Concepts of Anglo-Saxon Women in the Laws," *New Readings on Women in Old English Literature*, ed. Helen Damico and Alexandra Hennessey Olsen (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 89-99, Victoria Thompson, "Women, Power, and Protection in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century England," *Medieval Women and the Law*, ed. Noël James Menuge (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000), 1-17.

more than 600 Frankish cases surviving from the same period.[3] These records were frequently sponsored by the victorious litigants, who presumably made little effort towards objectivity, and thus the events they recount must always be viewed with a certain suspicion. Their reasons for recording them are indicated by the sorts of cases preserved: most involve disputes over land ownership rather than crimes such as murder, assault, or other forms of personal injury. This focus on property suggests that the primary function of such legal records was to provide litigants with clear proof of ownership and protection against future claims. Since literacy and manuscript production lay largely in the provenance of the Church, it is not surprising that the majority of extant case records concern religious institutions and that the lawsuits preserved are mostly those that the Church won.

The legal world depicted in the records that do survive is one in which the settlement of disputes was influenced more by local practice and regional politics than by the dictates of centralized royal or judicial authority. Although many extant law-codes—most notably *II Edmund*, *III Edgar*, and *IV Edgar*—contain statutes governing dispute settlement, surprisingly, no surviving charter mentions the royal laws being used to settle a dispute. Indeed, the settlement procedures and criminal penalties depicted in the lawsuit records often differ markedly from those prescribed in royal legislation. As one historian writes, "apart from formal claims and denials, procedure and argument displayed considerable informality and flexibility. Personality and power, honour and shame came into play explicitly or implicitly. Argument did not focus on legal rules; indeed the legal was not clearly distinguished, if distinguished at all, from the social or the religious."[4] The procedures used in settling a lawsuit differed depending on the region, the status of the litigants, the issues involved, and the local traditions of those trying the case. Even with all these variables, however, pre-Conquest lawsuits do display some common features. In particular, surviving case records indicate that lawsuits were brought before the court by individuals proceeding on their own or on behalf of their families rather than by agents of the state; disputes were generally adjudicated by panels rather than individual judges (except in cases where the king himself sat as the judge); evidence was presented in the form of witness testimony sponsored by the disputants; and though "oath-helping" (having a witness attest to the credibility of another witness) was common, it was neither as widespread nor as influential as is frequently portrayed. Even these practices were not universal, however, and variation seems to have been the norm. As Wormald has famously observed, "'typical' Anglo-Saxon dispute settlement (if there ever was such a thing) remains elusive."[5]

One result of this flexible approach to legal procedure is that many surviving lawsuits record a preference for compromise over strict adjudication, an emphasis reflected in the frequent opening sentence, *Her cyð on ðysum gewrite hu* [N] *7* [X] *wurðon gesybsumode* 'here is made known in this document how [N] and [X] were reconciled.'[6] In Text 3 below, the king orders the judicial panel to settle the dispute *swa rihtlice*

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3   Patrick Wormald catalogued all surviving Anglo-Saxon legal disputes in "A Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Lawsuits," *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West: Law as Text, Image, and Experience* (London: Hambledon Press, 1999); the citation here is from p. 283.

4   John Hudson, "Court Cases and Legal Arguments in England, *c.* 1066-1166," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6th series, v. 10 (2000): 92.

5   Patrick Wormald, "Charters, Law, and the Settlement of Disputes in Anglo-Saxon England," *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West,* 292, 94.

6   S 1456, ed. A. J. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, Cambridge Studies in English Legal History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939), no. 69. pp. 140-3. Charters are generally referred to by their "Sawyer number" (abbreviated S) taken from P.H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1968) and recently superceded by *The Electronic Sawyer*, <http://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/chartwww/ eSawyer.99/eSawyer2.html>. For ease of reference, I have cited disputes by the Sawyer number (S) of the charters in which they are recorded and the Wormald number (W) that corresponds to their place in Wormald's "Handlist." For

geseman swa him æfre rihtlicost þuhte 'as justly as seemed most right to them', and the panel eventually concludes that *wæron þæt betere wære þæt man þene aþ aweg lete þonne hine man sealde forþan þær syþþan nan freondscype nære* 'it would be better to set aside the oath rather than give it, because thereafter there would be no friendship'. Similarly, Text 4 depicts Queen Ælfthryth intervening with Bishop Æthelwold to work out a compromise that would prevent the litigants from losing their property. Of course, the availability and efficacy of such compromises depended on the influence of the litigants or their protectors, and those without powerful patrons could just as easily find themselves in the position of the unnamed widow of Text 2—having been evicted from her lands, she is accused of witchcraft and drowned while her son is exiled as an outlaw. The same political networking and procedural flexibility that made possible creative resolutions to knotty legal problems also fostered an environment in which the powerful could easily prey on those without influential patrons or friends.

Perhaps the most important stage of dispute resolution took place after case itself had been settled: the production of the lawsuit record, often in the form of a charter. These texts provided necessary documentation of the settlement, but they also served an important ideological function. The opportunity to enshrine a narrative in an official or semi-official venue, whether a Gospel book, a church library, or some sort of government archive, offered litigants the chance to communicate their own perspectives on the nature of law and legal authority. The responsibility for producing such a document generally fell to the victor, and it would have been very much in his or her interest to do so. As Paul Hyams points out, recording lawsuits in charters functioned as "preventive law … [that is,] the all important effort to arrange matters in advance in order, above all, to avoid future dispute."[7] The importance of the case narrative is testified to by the emphasis placed upon it in the charters edited here. Text 5, for instance, ends by relating how the victorious litigant's advocate hurriedly *rad ða to sancte Æþelberhtes mynstre be ealles þæs folces leafe 7 gewitnesse 7 let settan on ane Cristes boc* 'rode then to Saint Æthelberht's Church and, with the permission and consent of all that folk, arranged for [the case] to be set down in a gospel book'. Likewise, in Text 4, Queen Ælfthryth, as proof that an earlier case had been resolved, cites the fact that the litigant had received *ane niwe boc* 'a new charter' recording the terms of the settlement. The ideological purposes of such texts emerge in a variety of ways both obvious and subtle. One charter, for example, observes that the Church lost its claim to some disputed properties only after the claimants appealed to *ðane ealdorman Eadwine 7 þæt folc ðe wæs Godes anspreca* 'the *ealdorman* Edwin and those folk that were the enemy of God',[8] while another charter in Latin attributes a forfeiture of Church lands by Cenwulf, not to the king's power or prerogative, but to royal "enmity, violence, and avarice" (*per inimicitiam et violentiam avaritiamque*).[9] In their potential to shade the narrative of the case, such documents functioned as propaganda in the Church's continuing struggle for power with the Crown. In other cases the record of a lawsuit offered women a way of emphasizing their legal rights or political influence. In the charters edited here, it is significant that, although documents of this sort typically omit the names of female participants, the texts either written by or associated with Queen Ælfthryth (Texts 3 and 4) explicitly identify all the women associated with each

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other examples of charters emphasizing compromise over adjudication, see S 1454 (W 49) and S 1460 (W 77), which states that *hit betere wære þæt heora seht togæ[ddre wur]de ðonne hy ænige [sa]ce hym betweonan heoldan* 'better it were that they were reconciled together than that they had any suit between them'. Ed. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 83, pp. 162-4. Paul Hyams has argued that reconciliation is the paramount function of a charter: "I would suggest that we understand each charter as recording the reconciliation of many forces into a *convencio*, a private agreement between more or less willing partners." Paul R. Hyams, "The Charter as a Source for the Early Common Law," *The Journal of Legal History* 12.3 (1991): 174.

7   Hyams, "The Charter as a Source for the Early Common Law," 173.

8   S 1457 (W 46). Text taken from Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 59, p. 122.

9   S 1436 (W14). Text taken from Walter de Gray Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum: A Collection of Charters Relating to Anglo-Saxon History* (London, 1885), v. 1, no. 384, pp. 528-31.

dispute. Text 3 not only names the primary female litigant, but also incorporates a lengthy list of female witnesses testifying on her behalf. In Text 4, Ælfthryth names the women with whom she collaborated in settling the dispute yet leaves anonymous the male claimants accusing her of wrongdoing—a reversal of the standard practice. These case records provide Ælfthryth and the women of her circle with a way of controlling their characterization in the legal archive. More generally, as these records illustrate, controlling the production of a legal narrative enables litigants to influence both the future disposition of their property and the future understanding of the individuals and issues involved in the case.

Charters provide some of our clearest depictions of the lived experience of the law in Anglo-Saxon England, yet they leave many questions unanswered. What was the relationship between the law set down in royal legislation and the law practiced daily throughout the realm? How accurately do these documents report the cases they claim to record? Are these cases "typical" of Anglo-Saxon dispute settlement? Did charters and legal records function, not just as case reports, but as means of communicating different concepts or competing ideologies of law, jurisdiction, and royal authority? And what can these documents tell us about the status of women in early English law?

Women and the Law

The challenges that arise in trying to understand female agency and identity under Anglo-Saxon law resemble those confronting the student of Old English dispute settlement generally. Once again we are faced with a complex, often contradictory, body of sources in which the treatment of gender varies widely depending on the type of document, the region concerned, and the social class of those involved. The depiction of a female aristocrat in an eighth-century Northumbrian saint's life might bear few, if any, similarities to that of an female servant in an eleventh-century West Saxon charter. Likewise, the statutes concerning women in royal legislation often yield a picture of gender in Old English law which differs significantly from what is presented in charters and other case records. If, as Anne Klinck has said, "the laws indicate that women's basic rights increased during the Anglo-Saxon period and remained rather similar during the next 150 years," surviving case records suggest that such "basic rights" were recognized only inconsistently, and that women could rarely rely on the protection of juridical authority or even on the support of their own relatives.[10] Instead, these charters depict women developing a variety of strategies, both legal and extra-legal, to achieve some sort of limited agency under the law. Yet as Janet Nelson reminds us, the many social and legal obstacles standing in their way suggests that "female agency" during this period should be understood less as a gauge of a woman's "empowerment" or "autonomy" than as a measure of her "room for manoeuvre in shaping the future for herself, her property and other persons in her social network."[11] As such, using these documents to reconstruct the place of women in the Anglo-Saxon courtroom requires us to be sensitive to the ways that these texts communicate competing notions of class, gender, and authority. We must pay attention to the various strategies—legal, political, and rhetorical—used by these women to achieve "room for manoeuvre." What causes some strategies to succeed, and what happens when such strategies fail?

In large part, the depiction of women in surviving Anglo-Saxon legal texts is shaped by the type of document and the purpose for which it was written. Royal laws, for example, afford women certain legal protections, yet these protections often comprise part of a larger agenda to centralize legal authority and homogenize it across different regions. In the tract *Wifmannes Beweddung*, a short collection of statutes

10   Klinck, "Anglo-Saxon Women and the Law," 115. The full extent of the disjunction between legislation and practice has been the subject of some scholarly debate. For a different perspective, see Richards and Stanfield, "Concepts of Anglo-Saxon Women in the Laws," 90.

11   Nelson, "The Wary Widow," 82-3.

regulating marriage practices, the opening clause concedes that a potential groom must be "agreeable" (*ge-lige*) to the bride (*Wif* 1); however, protecting a bride's right of consent here serves as the first step towards asserting legal jurisdiction over her movements, her behavior, and the rights of her family. Subsequent clauses regulate the manner in which the groom and the bride's family may divide their property, the sorts of oaths that may be exchanged between the two parties, the type of cleric that may preside at the wedding ceremony, and what happens if the bride should fall under the jurisdiction of another lord. Implicitly, regulating bridal consent allows the legal powers behind *Wifmannes Beweddung* to extend public jurisdiction into a private sphere hitherto controlled by families and kingroups. By usurping the family's traditional role as guardian of its unmarried women, the law affirms its authority over individual practice and local tradition. Legislating the terms under which families may marry off their eligible female relations provides an opening for lawmakers to legislate other aspects of family behavior. Statutes concerning women are put to similar use elsewhere in the surviving legal corpus as well. For instance, *V Æthelred* explicitly subjects all widows to the king's guardianship, while *VI Æthelred* categorizes rape as a crime against the state and rules that compensation must be paid to Church and king rather than to the woman herself.[12] In each case, the special legal protection afforded to women serves as a means of extending royal authority. These statutes suggest that even though Old English legislation provided women with certain rights rarely found elsewhere in Europe during this period, this legislation may well have been motivated by an agenda for enlarging royal jurisdiction rather than by a desire to confer on women a status equal to men.

Whatever motivations influenced the framers of Anglo-Saxon legislation, the royal laws nonetheless do afford women limited protection against men with designs on their persons or property. The extent to which such protections were observed in practice, however, is subject to some debate: surviving charters and case records indicate that women's rights in an Anglo-Saxon court were far more tenuous than the laws would seem to suggest. A woman of sufficient social standing might own land and pursue litigation, but her ability to do so depended upon the status and consent of her male relations. Extant legislation as well as other types of legal documents indicate that widows may have had more flexibility in matters of land ownership than other women, yet even their rights were strictly limited. Few women held anything more than a life-time interest in their property and, as Julia Crick has observed, "wealth and social position by no means guaranteed a woman's freedom to bequeath."[13] These limitations emerge most acutely in the documents relating to legal disputes. Case records rarely note down the names of female litigants—referring to them instead as the daughter, wife, mother, or widow of their closest male relative—and women seldom seem to have spoken in court or addressed a judicial panel on their own behalf. In Text 5, for example, not only is the Herefordshire widow whose lands are at the center of the dispute left nameless, but she is absent while the allocation of her property is decided. Instead, as was common practice, her interests were represented by a male advocate, often called a *forespeca*.[14] In this case the widow's advocate, Thurkil the White, appears to represent her interests honestly (doing so is to his own benefit, since he will be the ultimate recipient of her property), but other charters record advocates who abused their positions. One document describes how Brihtric, kinsman and guardian of an unnamed widow whose lands were under dispute, "coerced" (*genedde*) his kinswoman into violating an agreement with the Church concerning ownership of her property.[15] Women's rights in disputes, these examples suggest, largely depended on the good offices of their male relations or protectors.

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12   *V Æthelred* 21, *VI Æthelred* 39.

13   Julia Crick, "Women, Posthumous Benefaction, and Family Strategy in Pre-Conquest England," *The Journal of British Studies* 38.4 (1999): 417.

14   On the use of advocacy in pre-Conquest dispute resolution, see Andrew Rabin, "Old English *forespeca* and the Role of the Advocate in Anglo-Saxon Law," *Mediaeval Studies* 69 (2007): 223-54.

15   S 1457 (W 46). Text taken from Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 59, p. 122.

One possible exception to this practice may be found in the career of Queen Ælfthryth, who features prominently in Texts 3 and 4 below. The third wife of King Edgar "the Peaceable," Ælfthryth is the only woman known to have been referred to as a *forespeca*.[16] We have evidence of her participation in seven lawsuits, as well as her intervention as an advocate in three further land transactions.[17] Texts 3 and 4 provide the most detailed records of Ælfthryth's activities as an advocate. In Text 3, she appears at the head of a contingent of witnesses testifying on behalf of the primary litigant, Wynflæd, a noblewoman known to be part of Ælfthryth's inner circle. Text 4, the only surviving document in Ælfthryth's own voice, describes her advocacy on behalf of some tenants of the archbishopric of Winchester and defends her against accusations of wrongdoing that grew out of the case. Her involvement in these cases exemplifies the sorts of interventions she engaged in elsewhere—in all but one of the seven disputes in which she is known to have participated, Ælfthryth not only acts primarily on behalf of female litigants, but the surviving record explicitly highlights gender as the principal reason behind her intervention.[18] She enters the case described in Text 4 only after a petition by the principal litigant's wife and sister;[19] Text 3 twice mentions Ælfthryth's status as *þæs cyninges modor* 'the king's mother' and emphasizes that the support marshalled by Ælfthryth was made up largely of other prominent women. If male protection could be ambivalent at best, Ælfthryth appears to have been perceived not merely as a potentially sympathetic patron but as an authority specially qualified to represent female concerns to male authority. Furthermore, just as petitions for Ælfthryth's aid seem to have been guided primarily by gender, so the Queen's legal strategies also reflect concerns regarding female agency and identity. In particular, limitations on women's participation in arguments in court compel Ælfthryth to develop alternate means of representing her principals, most frequently by acting as an *ex parte* negotiator seeking to resolve her principal's dispute outside of court. Each of the suits with which Ælfthryth was affiliated—including those edited here—ends, not with a final judgment, but with a negotiated settlement. And even though they took place outside of the courtroom, Ælfthryth's actions were perceived not as extra-legal circumventions of traditional adjudication but rather as alternate means of achieving justice. Her negotiated settlements are as much acts of law as formal judgment, a fact the judicial panel in Text 3 recognizes when it recommends compromise over formal oath-taking. These negotiated settlements may indicate the limitations of women's legal rights—Ælfthryth never does succeed in preserving a woman's land-rights beyond her own lifetime—but her interventions as an advocate reveals one way in which women could wield agency in pre-Conquest law.

Ælfthryth was unique, however; other women lacked both the independence she could exercise as queen and the protection her royal status offered her. The posthumous notoriety she acquired for her role in the assasination of her step-son, King Edward "the Martyr," meant that her example was not followed by her

16   S 1511.

17   The lawsuits in which Ælfthryth intervened are W 45, 46, and 69 (recorded in S 1457 and 1511); 49 (in S 1454); 66 and 67 (both recorded in S 1242), and 150 (in the Ramsey *Chronicon*). The other examples of Ælfthryth's actions as an advocate are recorded in S 806, 1449, and 1485. Additionally, Ælfthryth appears as a witness in a further thirty-five charters: S 671, 731, 739, 745, 746, 766, 767, 771, 779, 786, 788-9, 794-5, 800-1, 805, 807, 835, 837-8, 840-3, 845, 849, 855, 876-9, 888, 891, and 896. She is also the recipient of land grants or bequests in six charters: S 725, 742, 877, 1484, 1486, and 1503. It should be noted also that the number of lawsuits in which Ælfthryth intervened is somewhat tentative: there may be other instances of her advocacy that did not survive, and in at least one case, the allusion to her participation is so vague as to leave the exact nature of her intervention nearly undecipherable. For a more extensive discussion of Ælfthryth's interventions as an advocate, see Andrew Rabin, "Female Advocacy and Royal Protection in Tenth-Century England: The Legal Career of Queen Ælfthryth," forthcoming from *Speculum*.

18   The one exception is W 150, in which she acts on behalf of the abbot and community of Ramsey Abbey. It is likely that she acted on behalf of male litigants more often than the surviving records indicate, yet it is striking that the vast majority of the surviving records—six out of seven—and all of those preserved in charters emphasize the gendered nature of her advocacy.

19   W 66 (in S 1242).

royal successors. Nonetheless, her experience highlights the sorts of questions we should ask concerning the documents edited here: what strategies did women use to achieve even limited agency in an Anglo-Saxon court? What types of women could exercise some independence under Anglo-Saxon law? How did they acquire such independence, and what sorts of responses or anxieties did this independence provoke? How did gender and social status intersect in the settlement of Old English lawsuits? And how do these documents function, not simply as reflections of what was thought to be "normal" behavior, but as ways of communicating particular ideologies about gender, social status, and legal practice?

The Texts

Each text has been re-edited from manuscript. Because these charters reflect different regional scribal practices, they contain numerous minor variations in spelling and language which I have not tried to regularize. Accent marks have been omitted, and punctuation and capitalization have been altered to reflect modern grammatical conventions. I have retained the Tironian *et* (7) when used as an abbreviation for **and**. Following standard practice, Old English wynn (**ƿ**) has been transcribed as **w**, but the characters thorn (**þ**) and eth (**ð**) have been retained. Abbreviations have been expanded and italicized. In the few instances where emendations have been thought necessary, they are enclosed in brackets. Each charter is listed according to its Sawyer number (S) and to the number(s) assigned on Wormald's "Handlist" (W).

TEXT 1: QUEEN EADGIFU
S 1211 (W 32, 33, 34, 35)

Source: British Library, Stowe Charter 28 (mid-tenth century, Christ Church, Canterbury)

This charter, which survives as a single sheet currently in the British Library, records the circumstances under which Eadgifu, third wife of King Edward the Elder, came to donate a series of estates at Cooling to Christ Church, Canterbury in the year 960. Eadgifu had inherited the property from her father upon his death in battle in 902, but Goda, a local landholder, claimed the estates as payment for what he claimed was an outstanding debt of her father's. The dispute stretched through the reign of Edward into that of Æthelstan, at whose order the dispute was settled in Eadgifu's favor. Following his death, Eadgifu suffered a series of political setbacks which Goda's sons exploited to seize the estates. Finally, in 959, the newly-crowned King Edgar intervened on his grandmother's behalf to grant her the estates, which she then donated to Christ Church. The extended duration of the dispute—more than half a century, spanning three generations—is not uncommon in lawsuits of this period. More importantly, the extent to which the ups and downs of the dispute correspond to changes in Eadgifu's status (the loss of her father in 902, her marriage to Edward in 919, her widowhood in 924, her dispossession under King Edwy between 955 and 959, and restoration under Edgar in 959) reflect how reliant even a noblewoman, queen, and queen-mother was on the generosity of her male relatives. Despite her high status, Eadgifu's successes in the dispute depended as much upon the influence and good offices of her protectors as they did upon her own efforts and political influence. Likewise, as the charter records, when she suffered reversals, Goda and his family were quick to capitalize upon her misfortune.

> + Eadgifu cyþ þam arc*e*bisc*ope* 7 Cristes cyrcean hyrede hu hire land com æt Culingon. Þ*æt* is þæt hire læfde hire fæder land 7 boc, swa he mid rihte beget, 7 him his yldran læfdon. Hit gelamp þ*æt* hire fæder aborgude XXX punda æt Godan 7 betæhte him þæt land þæs feos to anwedde, 7 he hit hæfde VII winter. Þa gelamp emb þa tid þæt man beonn eall Cantware
> 5   to wigge to Holme, þa nolde Sigelm hire fæder to wigge faron mid nanes mannes scette unagifnum, 7 agef þa Godan XXX punda 7 becwæþ Eadgife his dehter land 7 boc sealde.

Þa he on wigge afeallen wæs, þa ætsoc Goda þæs feos ægiftes 7 þæs landes wyrnde oð þæs on syxtan geare. Þa spræc hit fæstlice Byrhsige Dyrincg swa lange oð þa witan þe þa wæron gerehton Eadgife þæt heo sceolde hire fæder hand geclænsian be swa myclan feo. 7

10   heo þæs aþ lædde on ealre þeode gewitnesse to Æglesforda, 7 þær geclænsude hire fæder þæs ægiftes be XXX punda aþe. Þa gyt heo ne moste landes brucan ær hire frynd fundon æt Eadwearde cyncge þæt he him þæt land forbead swa he æniges brucan wolde. 7 he hit swa alet.

Þa gelamp on fyrste þæt se cynincg Godan oncuþe swa swyþe swa him man ætrehte bec 7

15   land ealle þa þe he ahte. 7 se cynincg hine þa 7 ealle his are mid bocum 7 landum forgeaf Eadgife to ateonne swa swa heo wolde. Þa cwæð heo þæt heo ne dorste for Gode him swa leanian swa he hire to geearnud hæfde, 7 agef him ealle his land buton twam sulungum æt Osterlande; 7 nolde þa bec agifan ær heo wyste hu getriwlice he hi æt landum healdan wolde.

Þa gewat Eadweard cyncg 7 fencg Æþelstan to rice. Þa Godan sæl þuhte, þa gesohte he

20   þone kynincg Æþelstan 7 bæd þæt he him geþingude wiþ Eadgife his boca edgift; 7 se cyncg þa swa dyde. 7 heo him ealle agef buton Osterlandes bec. 7 he þa boc unnendre handa hire to let 7 þara oþerra mid eaðmettum geþancude. 7 ufenan þæt twelfa sum hire aþ sealde for geborenne 7 ungeborenne þæt þis æfre gesett spæc wære. 7 þis wæs gedon on

25   Æþelstanes kynincges gewitnesse 7 his wytena æt Hamme wiþ Læwe. 7 Eadgifu hæfde land mid bocum þara twegea cyninga dagas hire suna.

Þa Eadred geendude 7 man Eadgife berypte ælcere are, þa namon Godan twegen suna, Leofstan 7 Leofric, on Eadgife þas twa forespecenen land æt Culingon 7 æt Osterlande. 7 sædon þam cilde Eadwige þe þa gecoren wæs þæt hy rihtur hiora wæren þonne hire.

30   Þæt þa swa wæs oþ Eadgar astiþude. 7 he 7 his wytan gerehton þæt hy manfull reaflac gedon hæfden. 7 hi hire hire are gerehton 7 agefon. Þa nam Eadgifu, be þæs cynincges leafe 7 gewitnesse 7 ealra his bisceopa, þa bec 7 land betæhte in to Cristes cyrcean mid hire agenum handum upon þone altare lede þan hyrede on ecnesse to are 7 hire sawle to reste. 7 cwæþ þæt Crist sylf mid eallum heofonlicum mægne þane awyrgde on ecnesse þe þas gife

35   æfre awende oþþe gewanude. Þus com þeos ar in to Cristes cyrcean hyrede.

NOTES

1 Eadgifu (d. 968) was the third wife of Edward the Elder. Her children included Kings Edmund and Ead-red, and her grandchildren included Kings Edwy and Edgar. Married to Edward in 919, she was widowed five years later. Although she is not known to have remarried, Eadgifu would remain among the most prominent women in the kingdom for the remainder of her life. During the reign of her grandson Edwy, political turmoil caused her to lose much of her land and power (an event referred to in this document), but she regained much of what she had lost at Edgar's accession. Her career, and especially her long widowhood, would provide a model for subsequent royal women attempting to consolidate their position at the Anglo-Saxon court, most notably Queen Ælfthryth, who features prominently in Texts 3 and 4 below.

    The addressees of the document are the archbishop and foundation of Christ Church, Canterbury. Assuming that the text of the document roughly corresponds with the date of the donation (ca. 960), then the archbishop mentioned here would be Dunstan (909-988), a leading figure of the Benedictine Reform. First monk and then abbot of Glastonbury, he served as an advisor to Kings Edmund, Eadred, Edgar, and Edward. In 959, he was elevated to archbishop of Canterbury, from which position he attempted to spread the reforms he had instituted at Glastonbury throughout the kingdom. Cooling, the property at issue in the dispute, lies in Kent.

6 Eadgifu's father was Sigehelm, *ealdorman* of Kent, who was killed at the battle of Holm against the vikings in 902. Goda (fl. 897-909) was a prominent Kentish landowner.

7 That is, Sigehelm.

9 "that she should exonerate her father by [an oath] equal to the sum [he owed]." Nothing else is known of Byrhsige Dyrincg other than what is written here. He appears to be acting as an advocate or protector on behalf of Eadgifu, who likely remains underage at this point. The *witan* here requires her to make an oath equivalent in value to the amount borrowed from Goda, that is, thirty pounds. To do so, she must produce oath-helpers to testify to the veracity of her claim whose combined *wergild* was equal to thirty pounds. The oath-swearing ceremony takes place at Aylesford in Kent.

12 The Edward refered to here is King Edward the Elder (870-924), son of Alfred the Great and Eadgifu's husband.

20 Athelstan (895-939) came to the throne in 924 and ruled until 939. He was the son of Edward by his wife, Ecgwinn.

22 Osterland has not been identified.

29 That is, "chosen king"

33 The reasons behind Eadgifu's ultimate donation of the estates to Christ Church remain unclear: was it simply an attempt to get rid of some troublesome property, perhaps in exchange for an unspecified favor or benefit—not an uncommon strategy among Anglo-Saxon litigants? was it her own free will, or in response to royal pressure, perhaps as a condition of Edgar's intervention on her behalf? or was the donation an attempt to circumvent royal confiscation of disputed property?

TEXT 2: THE "PETERBOROUGH WITCH"
S 1377 (S 43)
Source: London, Society of Antiquaries, MS. 60, fols. 54v-55r (mid-twelfth century, Peterborough Cathedral)

This charter describes how one Wulfstan Uccea came into the possession of the property at Ailsworth which he is now granting to Bishop Æthelwold. Wulfstan inherited the property from his father Ælfsige, who received it from King Eadred in 948 following the dispossession of the unnamed widow who was its previous owner, her execution for witchcraft, and the exile of her son. Nothing whatsoever is known about the widow or her son other than what is recorded here; it is unclear whether she received a trial for her offense—although it seems unlikely—and the penalty assessed is unusually severe. Indeed, one cannot help but wonder whether the widow's guilt, or at least her punishment, resulted more from Ælfsige's desire for her property than from her alleged dabbling in the dark arts.

Her sutelað on þyssum gewrite þet Aþelwold bisceop 7 Wulstan uccea hwyrfdon landa on Eadgares cyninges 7 on his witena gewytnesse. Se bisceop sealde Wulstane þet land æt Hwessingatune 7 Wulstan sealde him þet land æt Jaceslea 7 æt Ægeleswurðe. Þa sealde se bisceop þet land æt Jaceslea into Þornige 7 þet æt Ægeleswyrðe into Buruh. 7 þæt land æt

5 Ægeleswyrðe headde an wyduwe 7 hire sune ær forwyrt forþanþe hi drifon [i]serne stacan on Ælsie, Wulfstanes feder, 7 þæt werð æreafe, 7 man teh þæt morð forð of hire inclifan. Þa nam man þæt wif 7 adrencte hi æt Lundene brigce, 7 hire sune ætberst 7 werð utlah. 7 þæt land eode þam kynge to handa 7 se kyng hit forgeaf þa Ælfsige 7 Wulstan Uccea, his sunu, hit sealde eft Adeluuolde bisceope swa swa hit her bufan sægð.

NOTES

1 Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester (d. 984) was a prominent figure in the tenth century Benedictine Reform. An ally of Bishop Oswald of Worcester and Archbishop Dunstan of Canterbury, he aggressively pursued a policy of consolidating church lands, enforcing theological orthodoxy, and sponsoring ecclesiastical scholarship and manuscript production. He was a close associate of both King Edgar and his wife, Ælfthryth (see Text 4 below). About Wulfstan Ucca less is known. His only other appearance in a surviving document occurs in the will of Brihtric and Ælfswith (possibly his cousins), in which he is bequeathed some lands in Surrey and a short sword.

3-4 Washington lies in Sussex, Yaxley in Huntingdonshire, and Ailsworth in Northamptonshire. Þornige is Thorney Abbey in Cambridgeshire. *Buruh* refers to Peterborough Cathedral.

6 The widow's *morð* provides the only example of someone practicing *invultuacio*, inflicting harm through the use of an effigy, surving from Anglo-Saxon England. The word *inclifan* (nom. *incleofa*) is also that used to describe a lion's den.

7 The widow's punishment here does not conform with the penalties found in either Old English legal or penitential texts. In neither tradition is the sticking of pins into an effigy considered sufficient justification for capital punishment. According to *II Æthelstan* 6, a witch can be put to death only if someone dies as a result of his or her actions. Likewise, the Old English Penitential decrees, "If anyone drives pins into another person, let him fast for three years: one year on bread and water, and then for two years let him fast three days a week on bread and water. And if the person dies on account of the pin sticking, the let him fast

for seven years (three years on bread and water, then four years for three days a week on bread and water).” Quoted in Anthony Davies, “Witches in Anglo-Saxon England: Five Case Histories,” *Superstition and Popular Medicine in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Donald Scragg (Manchester: Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies, 1989), 50. A second problem is the statement that the widow was drowned *æt Lundene brigce* 'at London Bridge'. Ailsworth is roughly 80 miles from London, and it seems unlikely that the widow was taken so far for an execution. It is more probably, as Anthony Davies speculates, that she was drowned at the bridge over the River Nene on the road to London. See Davies, “Witches in Anglo-Saxon England,” 51.

TEXT 3: WYNFLÆD
S 1454 (W 49)
Source: BL, Cotton Augustus II.xv (late-tenth or early-eleventh century, Christ Church, Canterbury)

This case, taking place sometime between 990 and 992, illustrates the complex and delicate negotiations which the settlement of Anglo-Saxon lawsuits often required. Over the course of the dispute, the two litigants, the noblewoman Wynflæd and the landowner Leofwine, disagree over the venue for adjudication, the integrity of each others’ oaths, and the nature of the settlement. The result is a record in which the precise details are often confusing yet, as Wormald writes, the “loss of legal precision” is compensated for “by the ventilation of some of the emotional heat” generated by the lawsuit (Patrick Wormald, “Giving God and King Their Due: Conflict and Its Regulation in the Early English State,” *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West,* 343). The dispute is precipitated by Leofwine’s seizure of lands at Hagbourne and Bradfield in Berkshire that his father, Ælfric, had given to Wynflæd in exchange for property at Datchet. The account opens with Wynflæd appealing to King Æthelred to ratify her ownership of the property. She marshals a number of powerful supporters, most notably the king’s mother Ælfthryth, yet Leofwine successfully argues that jurisdiction over the case more properly belongs to the shire court. Wynflæd subsequently appears before the *scirgemot,* accompanied by Ælfthryth at the head of an impressive contingent of male and female witnesses. Faced with this evidence of Wynflæd’s powerful political influence, the judicial panel negotiates a settlement whereby Leofwine would not be subjected to an oathtaking ceremony as long as he hands the land and compensation equal to his wergild over to the presiding bishop. For her part, Wynflæd must produce the gold and silver she had received from Leofwine’s father as part of the original land deal. The charter further notes, however, that Wynflæd repaid only as much of the gold as was necessary to secure the deal. When Leofwine then demands that she swear that all his father’s money was present, she refuses, presumably believing that she should no more be required to swear an oath than he had been.

+ Her cyþ on þysu*m* gewrite hu Wynflæd gelædde hyre gewitnesse æt Wulfamere beforan Æþelrede cyninge: þæt wæs þon*ne* Sigeric arcebiscop 7 Ordbyrht biscop 7 Ælfric ealderman 7 Ælfþryþ þæs cyninges modor, þæt hi wæron ealle to gewitnesse þæt Ælfric sealde Wynflæde þæt land æt Hacceburnan 7 æt Bradanfelda ongean þæt land æt Deccet.

5   Þa sende se cyning þærrihte be þam arcebiscope 7 be þam þe þær mid hi*m* to gewitnesse wæron to Leofwine, 7 cyþdon hi*m* þis, þa nolde he butan hit man sceote to scirgemote. Þa dyde man swa.

Þa sende se cyning be Æluere abbude his insegel to þam gemote æt Cwicelmeshlæwe 7 grette ealle þa witan þe þær gesomnode wæron, þæt wæs Æþelsige biscop 7 Æscwig biscop

10   7 Ælfric abbud 7 eal sio scir, 7 bæd 7 het þæt hi scioldon Wynflæde 7 Leofwine swa rihtlice geseman swa hi*m* æfre rihtlicost þuhte. 7 Sigeric arcebiscop sende his swutelunga þærto, 7 Ordbyrht biscop his. Þa getæhte man Wynflæde þæt hio moste hit hyre geahnian.

Þa gelædde hio þa ahnunga mid Ælfþryþe fultume, þæs cyninges modor, þæt is þonne
ærest Wulfgar abbud, 7 Wulfstan priost, 7 Æfic þara æþelinga discsten, 7 Eadwine, 7 Eadelm,
15   7 Ælfelm, 7 Ælfwine, 7 Ælfweard, 7 Eadwold, 7 Eadric, 7 Ælfgar, 7 Eadgyfu abbudisse, 7
Liofrun abbudisse, 7 Æþelhild, 7 Eadgyfu æt Leofecanoran, 7 hyre swustor, 7 hyre dohtor,
7 Ælfgy[fu 7 hyr]e dohtor, 7 Wulfwyn, 7 Æþelgyfu, 7 Ælfwaru, 7 Ælfgyfu, 7 Æþelflæd, 7
menig god þegen 7 god wif þe we ealle atellan ne magon þæt [þær] forþcom eal se fulla
ge on weru*m* ge on wifu*m*. Þa cwædon þa witan þe þær wæron þæt betere wære þæt man
20   þene aþ aweg lete þon*ne* hine man sealde forþan þær syþþan nan freondscype nære. 7 man
wolde biddan þæs reaflaces þæt he hit sciolde agyfan 7 forgyldan 7 þ*am* cyninge his wer.

Þa let he þone aþ aweg 7 sealde Æþelsige biscope unbesacen land on hand, þæt he þanon
forð syþþan þæron ne spræce. Þa tæhte man hyre þæt hio sciolde bringan his fæder gold
7 siolfor eal þæt hio hæfde. Þa dyde hio swa hio dorste hyre aþe gebiorgan. Þa næs he þa
25   gyt on þ*am* gehealden butan hio sceolde swerian þæt his æhta þær ealle wæron. Þa cwæþ
hio þæt hio ne mihte hyre dæles ne he his. 7 þyses wæs Ælfgar þæs cyninges gerefa to
gewitnesse 7 Byrhtric 7 Leofric æt Hwitecyrcan 7 menig god man toeacan him.

CPILREOTGVRMAEFSVTM

NOTES

2 Little is known about the primary litigants in this dispute other than what is written here. However, Patrick Wormald has pointed out that a number of Wynflæd's backers, as well as Wynflæd herself, may be linked to Ælfthryth via bequests in wills, property exchanges, and the queen-mother's role as overseer of the court's children during the reign of Æthelred. In this charter, he suggests, we may be "glimpsing the outlines of a circle around Ælfthryth, of which Wynflæd was herself a member." (Wormald, "God and King," 345). The *Wulfamere* where Wynflæd brought her witnesses may be related to the modern Woolmer Forest in Hampshire.

4 Sigeric succeeded Dunstan as Archbishop of Canterbury from 990-994, Ordbyrht was Bishop of Selsey, and the *ealdorman* Ælfric (not to be confused with the Ælfric mentioned in the following line as a party to the dispute) was *ealdorman* of Hampshire. Ælfthryth, mother to King Æthelred, was the most powerful woman at court and a frequent participant in legal disputes. For more on Ælfthryth, see Text 4 below. The properties in question are Hagbourne and Bradfield in Berkshire and Datchet in Buckinghamshire.

6 "would not [consent to a judgment]." Nothing else is known of Leofwine other than what is recorded in this charter. Leofwine's appeal here, that the king should not decide the dispute until it had been tried by the local shire-court, is in keeping with Old English law. See *II Cnut* 17-19.2 and *III Edgar* 2.5-5.2. (Wormald discusses this point in "God and King," 346-7).

11 The site of the shire meeting is unidentified, but it might be Cuckhamsley Barrow or Scutchamfly Knob, both in Berkshire. *Æluere abbude* may be Abbot Ælfhere, possibly of Bath, whose career spanned the late tenth century. The other members of the shire council are Bishop Æthelsige of Sherbourne (fl. 978-990 × 992), Bishop Æscwig of Dorchester-on-Thames (fl. 975 × 979-1002), and Abbot Ælfric of Ramsey, later Archbishop of Canterbury (fl. 990 × 993-1005). Ælfric is also one of the addressees of Text 4.

12 It may be significant that Ealdorman Ælfric does not send his statement to the shire council.

13-19 Not all of those supporting Wynflæd's case can be positively identified, but those that can include Abbot Wulfgar of Abingdon (fl. 989 × 990-1016); Æfic the *discðegn* (lit. 'thegn of the table', later 'seneschal'),

possibly the same person as the Æfic killed by Ealdorman Leofsige in 1002; Abbess Eadgifu of Winchester; and Abbess Leofrun of Reading.

20 That is, Leofwine.

23 It is unclear why Æthelsige should receive the estates here. Robertson suggests that either Wynflæd had previously deeded the property to him or that he received it in his capacity as president of the shire court. However, the fact that no further evidence connects the estates with Æthelsige's establishment at Sherbourne raises a third possibility: that Æthelsige here receives the estates only as an intermediary on Wynflæd's behalf. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* 381-2.

24 Why Wynflæd should have gold and silver from Leofwine's father is never made clear. As Robertson notes, "apparently there was something to be said on Leofwine's side as well as on Wynflæd's." Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* 382.

24 "then she produced [just as little] as she dared to protect her oath, and he was not yet satisfied."

27 The Leofric of Whitechurch listed here as a witness may be the same person as the Leofric listed in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as being killed in battle by Vikings in 1001.

28 Only the top halves of these letters survive. As a means of ensuring the authenticity of legal documents, scribes often wrote two copies of a charter on a single piece of vellum. Between the texts, the scribe would write the word **CIROGRAPH**, and the vellum would then be cut down the middle. If questions arose regarding the authenticity of either text, the parties could then bring the two halves of the vellum together—if the cirograph matched, the document was authentic. Here, in order to make the would-be forger's task even more difficult, the scribe has written **CIROGRAPHUM PLETUM EST** ("The cirograph is complete"), but the phrase can be decoded only if one reads every other letter.

Text 4: Queen Ælfthryth

S 1242 (W 66, 67)
Source: BL, Additional 15350, fols. 26rv (twelfth century, originally Old Minster, Winchester)

A rare example of a text attributed solely to an Anglo-Saxon queen, this writ, composed sometime between 999 and 1001, stands out as the only extant document in Ælfthryth's own voice. Although it survives in a twelfth-century copy, scholars agree on the authenticity of the text itself. Recording her participation in a land dispute approximately twenty-five years earlier, the writ offers Ælfthryth's response to accusations that she had behaved improperly in her representation. The known facts of the dispute are these: sometime between 965 and 975, the bishopric of Winchester petitioned King Edgar to return a collection of estates at Taunton that the king had previously absorbed into his own property. Although Taunton had been associated with royal consorts since the reign of Edward the Elder,[20] Ælfthryth nonetheless intervened on Winchester's behalf at the request of Bishop Æthelwold, long her political ally.[21] Edgar granted the request and, as a result, royal tenants on the estates were required either to renegotiate their lease with Winchester or relinquish their property.[22] One tenant, Leofric, refused to submit to these terms, and so found himself in a dispute with Bishop Æthelwold. Leofric's wife, Wulfgyth, a relation of Ælfthryth's, appealed to the queen

20	Marc A. Meyer, "The Queen's 'Demesne' in Later Anglo-Saxon England," *The Culture of Christendom: Essays in Medieval History in Commemoration of Denis L. T. Bethell*, ed. Marc A. Meyer (London: Hambledon and London, 1993), 81-2.

21	S 806. On the relationship between Æthelwold and Ælfthryth, see Barbara Yorke, "Æthelwold and the Politics of the Tenth Century," *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence*, ed. Barbara Yorke (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1988), 81.

22	On this point of law, see Pauline Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh Century England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), 154 n. 302.

to intervene with the bishop on her husband's behalf. Ælfthryth did so, and Æthelwold granted Leofric a lifetime tenancy on the estate, which would then revert to Winchester at his death. Years later, accusations were brought against Ælfthryth and Æthelwold, probably by Leofric's heirs, that together they employed undue force to compel him to settle the dispute and yield his land against his will. Nothing more is known of the case; however, the absence of further documentation or record of punishment suggests that the queen either was cleared of any wrongdoing or that her death in 1001 put an end to the suit.

ALFÐRYÐ gret Ælfric arcebiscop 7 Eþelwerd ealdarman eadmodlice. 7 ic cyðe inc ðet ic eom to gewitnysse þæt Dunstan arcebiscop getehte Aþelwolde biscope TANTUN eal swa his bec specon. 7 Eadgar cyning hit agef ða, 7 bead ælcon his þegna þe enig land on þan lande hafde, þæt hi hit ofeodon be þes biscopes gemedon oððe hit agefum. 7 se cyning

5 cwæð þa þet he nahte nan land ut to syllanne, þa he ne dorste fram Godes ege him sylf ðet heafod habban 7 ma gerad þa Risctun to þes biscopes handa. 7 Wulfgyþ rad þa to me to Cumbe 7 gesohte me.

7 ic ða, for þan þe heo me gesib was, 7 Ælfswyð, for þan þe he hyre broþor was, abedon æt AÐELWOLD biscope þæt hi moston brucan þes landes hyra deg, 7 efter hyra dege eode þet

10 lond into Tantune mid mete 7 mid mannum, eal swa hit stode. 7 wit hyt swiðe uneaðe to þan brocton.

Nu cydde man me þæt AÐELWOLD bisceop 7 ic sceoldon ofneadian þa boc æt Leofrice. Nu ne eom ic nanre neade gecnewe þe libbe, þe ma þe he wolde þeah he lyfode. Ac Leofric hafde ane niwe boc; þa agef he þa, þa cydde he mid þan þet he nolde nan fals þer on don.

15 Þa cydde AÐELWOLD bisceop him þæt hine ne mihte nan his EFTERGENGA bereafian. Het þa gewritan twa gewritu, oðer him sulf hefde, oþer he Leofrice sealde.

NOTES

1 Ælfthryth (d. 999 × 1001) was the third wife of King Edgar "the Peaceable." Possibly the first queen to have a formal coronation, Ælfthryth was an active proponent of the Benedictine Reform, which she used to expand her influence and formalize her place at court. Following Edgar's death in 975, she attempted to have her son, Æthelred, named his successor. However, a rival court faction led by Archbishop Dunstan supported Edward, Edgar's son by a previous wife, and Ælfthryth was compelled to submit. In 978, Edward was murdered (thus earning his posthumous sobriquet, "the Martyr") while visiting Ælfthryth at Corfe Castle. While the precise nature of Ælfthryth's involvement in the assassination plot remains unclear, it seems unlikely that such an act could have been carried out without at least her tacit consent. Æthelred succeeded Edgar on the throne, and Ælfthryth remained the dominant female presence at court for the rest of her life. Although condemned after her death as the prototypical "wicked stepmother," during her lifetime Ælfthryth seems to have attracted a large number of followers and supporters, most notably Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester. She also seems to have made a practice of intervening in legal disputes, especially on behalf of female petitioners, as she does here.

Archbishop Ælfric (d. 1005), originally of Abingdon, was raised to the archbishopric of Canterbury in 995 (this allows us to date the writ to sometime between 995 and Ælfthryth's death four to six years later) following the death of his predecessor, Sigeric the Serious. Ealdorman Æthelweard (fl. ca. 979-999) was a

prominent West Saxon nobleman. His name appears on the witness lists of numerous charters surviving from the reign of King Æthelred.

3 For information on Dunstan, see the notes to Text 1 above. His presence in this document is significant: despite their shared commitment to reform and loyalty to King Edgar, he was a lifelong political rival of Queen Ælfthryth. He regarded her as an immoral influence on the king and court and vigorously opposed the accession of her son Æthelred. Upon Edward's assassination and Æthelred's elevation to the throne, he stepped down as archbishop of Canterbury—possibly because of pressure exerted by the queen and her faction—and spent his last ten years in retirement.

Taunton, the property at issue in the dispute, lies in Somerset and had been associated with the see at Winchester at least since the reign of Æthelwulf, father to King Alfred. In describing the initial transfer of the estates, Ælfthryth revises the legal record by significantly downplaying her role in the exchange. Her statement that she was merely a witness to the original transaction and that Dunstan played the operative role in assigning the estates to Winchester reverses the roles each is depicted as playing in the record of the exchange preserved in an earlier charter. S 806 records that Ælfthryth actively petitioned on Winchester's behalf (and received 50 mancuses for her efforts) while Dunstan, in contrast, appears in that document only as a witness.

6 *to handa geridan* 'to place into [someone's] power or possession.' Ruishton, a village a bit more than two miles from Taunton, had been included in previous transfers as part of the larger estate.

8 *he*: Leofric, a tenant on the Taunton property and main petitioner in the dispute.

9 *hi*: That is, Wulfgyth and Leofric.

12 Ælfthryth does not name her accusers, but given the nature of the charges, it seems likely that they are Leofric's heirs.

13 Both Æthelwold and Leofric have died in the interim, and Ælfthryth does not specify which of them the "he" refers to here. The syntax of this sentence recalls that of a legal oath, such as those found in the Old English formularies *Swerian* and *His becwæð*.

Text 5: A Herefordshire Widow
S 1462 (W 80)
Source: Hereford Cathedral, Dean and Chapter, MS. P.I.2, fols. 134rv (eleventh century)

The final document concerns a land dispute between one Edwin and his mother during the reign of Cnut (1016–1035). Preserved in the Hereford Gospels, the text provides a detailed account of how a *scirgemot* might respond when confronted with a legal dispute. In particular, the actions of Thurkil the White on behalf of Edwin's mother illustrate how women's legal interests may have been represented to the court through the intercession of advocates or protectors. The charter records that Edwin appeared before the shire council to challenge his mother's ownership of estates at Wellington and Cradsley in Herefordshire. Although Thurkil professes to be able to speak on the widow's behalf before the court, his unfamiliarity with the her legal affairs leads the council to send three representatives to consult the widow in person. Summoning Leofflæd, Thurkil's wife and her kinswoman, the widow formally grants her all of her possessions upon her death. The three representatives subsequently return to the council and testify to the widow's wishes, which Thurkil then asks the council to ratify. They do so, and charter concludes with an account of Thurkil riding to the cathedral in order to record the event in a gospel book.

Much is omitted from this account, including the widow's name, the reasons behind the son's claim, and the justification for the council's final decision. Indeed, in recording the circumstances of the dispute, Thurkil's goal seems to have been to secure his own family's rights to the property by leaving out any as-

pect of the lawsuit that might call those rights into question. However, this narrative does provide one of the clearest surviving accounts of how women might be represented in a court of law. Several features of Thurkil's advocacy should be noted. First, he serves simultaneously as the widow's advocate and as a sitting member of the judicial panel. This was not uncommon, and there is no evidence that this sort of dual role was seen as inappropriate; rather, it appears to have been expected that a *forespeca* would participate in the panel's deliberations. Second, despite his role as the widow's advocate, Thurkil claims to be unfamiliar with her legal affairs. Although he may be telling the truth, it is worth noting that these sorts of claims are also found relatively frequently in the legal record, especially in those cases where alleged wrongdoing might result in the confiscation of property from the criminal as well as those advocating on his behalf (cf. Andrew Rabin, "Old English *Forespeca* and the Role of the Advocate in Anglo-Saxon Law," *Mediaeval Studies* 69 [2007]: 244-6). While it seems unlikely that the widow is guilty of some sort of unrecorded felonious act, under the proper circumstances, her son's attempt to seize his mother's land might well provide an acquisitive royal with just the excuse necessary for confiscation. Finally, although the widow remains absent from court and must rely on Thurkil to represent her interests, it is not Thurkil but his wife who she summons and to whom she wills her property. Even as the widow requires male advocacy in order to have a voice in court, she nonetheless relies on female community and kinship ties to protect her rights and make her interests known.

Her swutelað on ðissum gewrite þæt an scirgemot sæt æt Ægelnoðesstane be Cnutes dæge cinges. Ðær sæton Æðelstan b*iscop*, 7 Ranig ealdorman, 7 Edwine þæs ealdormannes [sunu], 7 Leofwine Wulsiges sunu, 7 Þurcil Hwita, 7 Tofig Pruda com þær on þæs Cinges ærende, 7 þær wæs Bryning scirgerefa, 7 Ægelgeard æt Frome, 7 Leofwine æt Frome, 7
5   Godric æt Stoce, 7 ealle þa þegnas on Herefordscire.

Þa com þær farende to þam gemote Edwine, Enneawnes sunu, 7 spæc þær on his agene modor æfter sumon dæle landes, þæt wæs Weolintun 7 Cyrdesleah. Þa acsode se bisceop hwa sceolde andswerian for his moder. Þa *and*sweorode Þurcil Hwita 7 sæde þæt he sceolde gif he ða talu cuðe. Þa he ða talu na ne cuðe, ða sceawode man þreo þegnas of þam gemote
10   [ridan] þær ðær heo wæs—7 þæt wæs æt Fæliglæ—þæt wæs Leofwine æt Frome 7 Ægelsig þe Reada 7 Wynsig Scægðman. 7 þa ða heo to hire comon þa acsodon heo hwylce talu heo hæfde ymbe þa land þe hire sunu æfter spæc. Ða sæde heo þæt heo nan land [h]æfde þe him aht to gebyrede, 7 gebealh heo swiðe eorlice wið hire sunu.

7 gecleopode ða Leofflæde hire magan to hire Þurcilles wif, 7 beforan heom to hire þus
15   cwæð: "her sit Leoffled min mage þe ic geann ægðer ge mines landes ge mines goldes ge rægles ge reafes ge ealles þær þe ic ah æfter minon dæge." 7 heo syððan to þam þegnon cwæþ: "doð þegnlice 7 wel abeodað mine ærende to ðam gemote beforan eallon þam godan mannum, 7 cyðaþ heom hwæm ic mines landes geunnen hæbbe 7 ealre minre æhte, 7 minon agenan suna næfre nan þingc, 7 biddað heom eallum beon þisses to gewitnesse." 7
20   heo ða swæ dydon: ridon to þam gemote 7 cyddon eallon þam godan mannum hwæt heo on heom geled hæfde.

Ða astod Þurcyll hwita up on þam gemote 7 bæd ealle þa þegnas syllan his wife þa land clæne þe hire mage hire geuðe. 7 heo swa dydon. 7 Þurcyll rad ða to s*ancte* Æþelberhtes mynstre be ealles þæs folces leafe 7 gewitnesse 7 let settan on ane Cristes boc.

NOTES

1 *Ægelnoðesstan* is probably Aylton in Herefordshire.

5   The identifiable members of the shire council include Æthelstan, bishop of Hereford (fl. 1012-1033 ×
1056); *Ealdorman* Ranig (fl. 918-1041, although the length of time represented by these dates makes it like-
ly that the lives of two individuals of the same name have been conflated), who may have taken part in
Hardacnut's harrying of Worcester; Edwin, probably Ranig's son, although Robertson speculates that he
may have been the son of Earl Leofric of Mercia and thus served as his representative at the shire meeting
(Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* 400); Thurkil the White, one of the wealthiest landowners in Hereford-
shire; and Tofi the Proud, who sponsored the first church in Waltham, although the "king's errand" that
brought him to Herefordshire remains unspecified.

6-7 Nothing else is known of Edwin other than what his recorded here. The name of his parent, *Enneawn*,
has caused some disagreement: early editors of this charter read this name as a corrupted version of the
female "Eanwen." More recently, however, readers have pointed to the masculine genitive "-es" ending to
suggest that the name is the masculine "Enniaun," although this name is otherwise unattested during the
Anglo-Saxon period. The lands in dispute are Wellington and Cradley, Herefordshire.

10-11 *Fæliglæ* refers to Fawley, nine miles southwest of Aylton. Nothing is known of the three representa-
tives of the court, however Wynsig's cognomen *Scægðman* indicates that he may once have been a crew-
member on an English longboat (s*cægð*).

23 To own property "cleanly" referred to the possession of land free from any entailment or outstanding
dispute. Thurkil here asks the council to deny in perpetuity the validity of Edwin's claim so that his wife
(and he) might possess them without the threat of further litigation.

24   s*ancte Æþelberhtes mynstre:* Hereford Cathedral, and the *Cristes boc* presumably is the manuscript of
the Gospels in the margins of which the narrative of this case is preserved.

Glossary

The glossary is intended to be complete, although not all occurences of some common words are record-ed. Proper names of persons and places have also been excluded. Weak verb classes are indicated by Ara-bic 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.' Entries are in-dexed by text and line number, so that '4.32' refers to a word found on the 32nd line of Text 4. The following common abbreviations are used:

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

7 'and' (the 'Tironian *et*') 1.1, 1.2, et.

abbud m. 'abbot' ns. *abbud* 3.10, 3.14; ds. *abbude* 3.8

abbudisse f. 'abbess' ns. *abbudisse* 3.15, 3.16

abeodan II 'to announce,' 'to deliver' imp. *abeodað* 5.17

abiddan V 'to get by asking,' 'to obtain' 1p pt. *abedon* 4.8

aborgian II 'to borrow' 3s pt. *aborgude* 1.3

ac conj. 'but' 4.13

acsian 2 'to ask' 1s pt. *acsode* 5.7; 3p pt. *acsodon* 5.11

adrencan 1 'to drown' 3s pt. *adrencte* 2.7

æfre adv. 'ever' 1.24, 1.35, 3.11

æfter adv. 'after,' 'next' 4.9, 5.7, 5.12, 5.16

ægift m. 'restitution,' 'repayment' gs. *ægiftes* 1.7, 1.11

ægðer conj. *ægðer ge … ge…* 'both … and …' 5.15

æht f. 'property,' 'possession' np. *æhta* 3.25; gs. *æhte* 5.18

ælc adj. 'each,' 'every' asf. *ælcere* 1.27; dsm. *ælcon* 4.3

ænig adj. 'any' gsn. *æniges* 1.12

ær I. conj. 'until' 1.11, 1.18 **II.** adv. 'earlier,' 'previ-ously' 2.5

æreafe p ptc? 'detected' *hapax legomenon* 2.6

ærende n. 'errand,' 'message' ds. *ærende* 5.4; as. *ærende* 5.17

ærest adv. 'first' 3.13

æt prep. 'at,' 'from' 1.1, 1.3, etc.

ætberstan III 'to escape' 3s pt. *ætberst* 2.7

ætreccan I 'to declare forfeit' 3s pt. *ætrehte* 1.14

ætsacan VI 'to deny' 3s pt. *ætsoc* 1.17

æþeling m. 'prince,' 'man of noble or royal lineage' gp. *æþelinga* 3.14

afeallan VII 'to fall' p ptc. *afeallen* 1.7

agan pret-pres. 'to own,' 'to possess' 1s pr. *ah* 5.16; 3s pt. *ahte* 1.15; p ptc. *aht* 5.13. With negative: 3s pt. *nahte* 4.5

agen adj. 'own' asf. *agene* 5.6; dsm. *agenan* 5.19; dpf. *agenum* 1.33

agiefan V 'to give' or 'to give back' inf. *agyfan/agi-fan* 1.18, 3.21; 3s pt. *agef* 1.6, 1.17, 1.22, 4.3, 4.14; 3p pt. *agefon* 1.31; 3p. pr. subj. *agefum* 4/4; p ptc., negative *unagifnum* 'unrepaid' 1.6

agifan alternate spelling of *agiefan*

agyfan alternate spelling of *agiefan*

geahnian 2 'to own' infin. *geahnian* 3.12

ahnung f. 'proof of ownership,' 'patent' ap. *ahnun-ga* 3.13

alætan VII 'to relinquish' 3s pt. *alet* 1.13

altare m. 'altar' as. *altare* 1.33

an adj., indefinite article 'one' nsf. *an* 2.5; nsn. *an* 5.1; asf. *ane* 4.14, 5.24

andswerian 2 'to answer' inf. *andswerian* 5.8; 3s pt. *andsweorode* 5.8

anwedd n. 'pledge' ds. *anwedde* 1.4

ar f. **I.** 'property' ns. *ar* 1.35, as. *are* 1.15, 1.27, 1.31 **II.** 'honor' ds. *are* 1.33

arcebiscop m. 'archbishop' ns. *arcebiscop* 3.2, 3.11, 4.2; as. *arcebiscop* 4.1; ds. *arcebiscope* 1.1, 3.5

astandan VI 'to stand' 3s pt. *astod* 5.22

astiþian 2 'to assume power' 3s pt. *astiþude* 1.30

atellan 1 'to count,' 'to enumerate' infin. *atellan* 3.18

ateon II 'to dispose of,' 'to deal with' gerund *ateonne* 1.16

aþ m. 'oath' as. *aþ* 1.10, 1.24, 3.20, 3.22; ds. *aþe* 1.11, 3.24

aweg adv. 'away' 3.20, 3.22

awendan 1 'to change' 3s pr. subj. *awende* 1.35

awyrgan 1 'to damn' 3s pr. subj. *awyrgde* 1.34

bannan VI 'to summon' 3p pt. *beonn* 1.4

be prep. w/d. 'about,' 'concerning,' 'by'1.9, 1.11, etc.

bec see **boc**

becweðan V 'to say' 3s pt. *becwæþ* 1.6

beforan prep. 'in the presence of' 3.2, 5.14, 5.17

begietan V 'to acquire,' 'to receive' 3s pt. *beget* 1.2

*ge***belgan** III 'to grow angry' 3s pt. *gebealh* 5.13

beodan II 'to command' 3s pt. *bead* 4.3

beon anomalous 'to be' infin. *beon* 5.19, 1s pr. *eom* 4.2, 4.13; 3s pr. *is* 1.2, 3.13; 3s pt. *was/wæs* 1.7, etc.; 3p pt. *wæron* 1.9, etc.; 3s pt. subj. *wære* 1.24, 3.19; 3p. pt. subj. *wæren* 1.29. With negative: 3s pt. *næs* 3.24; 3s pt. subj. *nære* 3.20

beonn see **bannan**

*ge***beran** IV 'to bear,' 'to be born' gerund *geborenne* 'alive' 1.24; negative: *ungeborenne* 'unborn' 1.24

bereafian 2 'to plunder' infin. *bereafian* 4.15

berypan 1 'to plunder,' 'to rob' 3s pt. *berypte* 1.27

betæcan 1 'to hand over,' 'to entrust,' 'to offer' 3s pt. *betæhte* 1.3, 1.32

betera adj. 'better' nsn. *betere* 3.19

biddan V 'to ask,' 'to request' infin. *biddan* 3.21; 3s pt. *bæd* 1.21, 3.10, 5.22; 2p pr. imperative *biddað* 5.19

*ge***biorgan** III 'to protect' infin. *gebiorgan* 3.24

bisceop m. 'bishop' ns. *bisceop/biscop* 2.1, 2.2, 2.4, 3.2, 3.9, 3.12, etc.; ds. *bisceope/biscope* 2.9, 3.22, 4.2, 4.9; gs. *biscopes* 4.4, 4.6; gp. *bisceopa* 1.32

biscop see **bisceop**

boc f. 'deed,' 'charter,' 'document' as. *boc/bec* 1.2, 1.6, 1.22, 4.12, 4.14, 5.24; np. *bec* 4.3; ap. *bec* 1.14, 1.18, 1.32; gp. *boca* 1.21; dp. *bocum* 1.15, 1.26

bricg f. 'bridge' ds. *bricge* 2.7

bringan I 'to bring' infin. *bringan* 3.23; 1p pt. *brocton* 4.11

broðor m. 'brother' as. *broðor* 4.8

brucan II 'to enjoy,' 'to use' infin. *brucan* 1.11, 1.12, 4.9

bufan adv. 'above,' 'previously' 2.9

butan prep. 'outside,' 'except,' 'excluding' 1.17, 1.22, 3.6, 3.25

buton see **butan**

*ge***byrian** I 'to belong to,' 'to befit,' 'to be proper to' 3s pt. *gebyrede* 5.13

*ge***ceosan** II 'to choose' p ptc. *gecoren* 1.29

cild n. 'child,' 'child of noble or royal birth' ds. *cilde* 1.29

cing see **cyning**

clæne adv. 'cleanly,' 'utterly,' 'entirely' 5.23

*ge***clænsian** 2 'to clean,' 'to purify,' 'to clear,' 'to exonerate' infin. *geclænsian* 1.9; 3s pt. *geclænsude* 1.10

*ge***clipian** 2 'to call,' 'to summon,' 'to cry out' 3s pt. *gecleopode* 5.14

*ge***cnawan** VII 'to understand,' 'to know,' 'to be aware' 1s pr. *gecnewe* 4.13

cuman IV 'to come' 3s pt. *com* 1.1, 1.35, 5.3, 5.6; 3p pt. *comon* 5.11

cunnan pt. pr. 'to know' 3s pt. *cuðe* 5.9

cweðan V 'to say' 3s pt. *cwæð/cwæþ* 1.16, 1.34, 3.25, 4.5, 5.15, 5.17; 3p pt. *cwædon* 3.19

cyning m. king ns. *cyning/cyncg/cynincg/kyng* 1.14, 1.15, 1.20, 1.22, 2.8, 3.5, 3.8, 4.3, 4.4; as. *kynincg* 1.21; gs. *cinges/cyninges/cynincges/kynincges* 1.25,1.31, 2.2, 3.3, 3.13, 3.26, 5.2, 5.3; ds. *cyncge/cyninge/kynge* 1.12, 2.8, 3.2, 3.21; gp. *cyninga* 1.26

cyrice f. 'church' gs. *cyrcean* 1.1, 1.35; ds. *cyrcean* 1.32

cyðan 1 'to reveal,' 'to make known,' 'to inform' 1s pr. *cyðe* 4.1; 2p pr. imperative *cyðaþ* 5.18; 3s pr. *cyþ* 1.1, 3.1; 3s pt. *cydde* 4.12, 4.14, 4.15; 3p pt. *cyddon/cyþdon* 3.6, 5.20

dæg m. 'day' instrumental *deg/dæge/dege* 4.9, 5.1, 5.16; np. *dagas* 1.26

dæl m. 'part,' 'portion' gs. *dæles* 3.26; ds. *dæle* 5.7

dehter see **dohtor**

discten m. 'dish-servant' ns. *discten* 3.14

dohtor f. 'daughter' ns. *dohtor* 3.16, 3.17; ds. *dehter* 1.6

don anomalous 'to do' infin. *don/gedon* 1.24, 1.31, 4.14; 2p pr. imperative *doð* 5.17; 3s pt. *dyde* 1.22, 3.7, 3.24; 3p pt. *dydon* 5.20, 5.23

drifan I 'to drive' 3p pt. *drifon* 2.5

durran pt. pr. 'to dare' 3s pt. *dorste* 1.16, 3.24, 4.5

eadmodlice adv. 'humbly' 4.1

ealdorman m. 'nobleman' ns. *ealderman/ealdorman* 3.3, 5.2; as. *ealdarman* 4.1; gs. *ealdormannes* 5.2

eall I. adj. 'all' ns. *eal/eall* 3.10, etc; as. *eal/eall* 1.14; gs. *ealles* 5.16, 5.24; gp. *ealra/ealre* 1.32, 1.10, 1.32, 5.19; dp. *eallon/eallum* 1.34, 5.17, 5.19, 5.20 **II.** adv. 'entirely,' 'fully' 1.15, etc.

geearnian 2 'to deserve' p ptc *geearnud* 1.17

eaðmettu n. 'humility' dp. *eaðmettum* 1.23 (NB: *eaðmettu* declines in the plural, yet can and should be translated into ModE as a singular)

ecnes f. 'eternity' ds. *ecnesse* 1.33

edgift f. 'restitution' ds. *edgift* 1.21

eft adv. 'again,' 'afterwards' 2.9

efter see **æfter**

eftergenga m. 'follower,' 'descendant' gp. *eftergenga* 4.15

ege m. 'fear,' 'awe' ds. *ege* 4.5

emb prep. 'about,' 'around' 1.4

geendian 2 'to end,' 'to complete' 3s pt. *geendude* 1.27

enig adj. 'any' ns. *enig* 4.3

eode see **gan**

eorlice adv. 'angrily' 5.13

fæder m. 'father' ns. *fæder/feder* 1.2, 1.3, 1.5, 2.6; gs. *fæder* 1.9, 3.23; as. *fæder* 1.10

fæstlice adv. 'steadfastly,' 'firmly' 1.8

fals n. 'falsehood' as. *fals* 4.14

faran VI 'to go' 3p pt. *faron* 1.5; p ptc. *farende* 5.6

feo n. 'money,' price,' 'fee' gs. *feos* 1.3, 1.7; ds. *feo* 1.9

findan III 'to find,' 'to obtain (from)' 'to induce' 3p pt. *fundon* 1.11

folc n. 'people,' 'community' gs. *folces* 5.24

fon VII 'to catch,' 'to seize,' 'to succeed (to the kingdom)' 3s pt. *fencg* 1.20

for prep. 'on account of,' 'because of' 1.16, etc.; **for ðan þe** conj. 'because'

forbeodan II 'to forbid' 3s pt. *forbead* 1.12

foresprecan adj. 'aforesaid' apn. *forespecenen* 1.28

forgiefan V 'to give' 3s pt. *forgeaf* 1.15, 2.8

forgyldan III 'to requite' infin. *forgyldan* 3.21

forð adv. 'forth,' 'forward' 2.6

forþan adv. 'henceforth,' 'thereafter' 3.20

forþanþe conj. 'because' 2.5

forþcuman IV 'to come forth' 3s pt. *forþcom* 3.18

forwyrcan 1 'to forfeit' 3p pt. *forwyrt* 2.5

fram prep. 'from' 4.5

freond m. 'friend' np. *frynd* 1.11

freondscipe m. 'friendship' ns. *freondscype* 3.20

full adj. 'full' nsm. *fulla* 3.18

fultum m. 'help,' 'support' ds. *fultume* 3.13

fyrst m. 'period of time' ds. *fyrste* (*on fyrste* 'in due time,' 'in the course of time') 1.14

gan anomalous 'to go' 3s pt. *eode* 2.8, 4.9

ge conj. 'and,' 'both...and' 3.19, etc.

gear n. 'year' ds. *geare* 1.8

giefu f. 'gift' gs. *gife* 1.34

gif conj. 'if' 5.9

gife see **giefu**

god adj. 'good' nsm *god* 3.18, 3.27; nsn *god* 3.18; dpm *godan* 5.18, 5.20

gold n. 'gold' as. *gold* 3.23; gs. *goldes* 5.15

gretan 1 'to greet' 3s pr. *gret* 4.1; 3s pt. *grette* 3.9

gyt adv. 'yet' 1.11, 3.25

habban 3 'to have,' 'to hold' infin. *habban* 4.6; 1s pr. *hæbbe* 3s pt. *hafde/hæfde/hefde/headde* 1.4, 1.25, 2.5, 3.24, 4.4, etc.; 3p pt. subj. *hæfden* 1.31

hand f. 'hand' ns. *hand* , as. *hand* 1.9; ds. *handa/hand* 1.23, 2.8, 3.22, 4.6; dp. *handum* 1.33

hattan VII 'to command' 3s pt. *het* 3.10, 4.15

he, hio, hit pron. 'he,' 'she,' 'it' nsm. *he* 1.2, 1.4, etc.; asm. *hine* 1.15, etc.; gsm. *his* 1.2, etc.; dsm. *him* 1.2, etc.; nsn. *hit/hyt* 4.10, etc.; asn. *hit* 1.2, etc.; nsf. *hio/heo* 1.9, 3.12, etc.; gsf. *hire/hyre* 1.1, etc.; npm. *hi/hy* 1.18, etc.; gpm. *hire/hiora/hyra* 1.29, etc.; dpm. *heom* 5.14, etc.

heafod n. 'head,' 'headship' as. *heafod* 4.6

healdan VII 'to hold,' 'to protect,' 'to preserve,' 'to satisfy' infin. *healdan* 1.18; p ptc. *gehealden* 3.25

heo see **he**

heofonlic adj. 'heavenly' dpn. *heofonlicum* 1.34

her adv. 'here' 2.1, 2.9, 3.1, 5.1, 5.15

hit see **he**

hu adv. conj. 'how' 1.1, 1.18, 3.1

hwa, hwæt pron. 'who,' 'what' nsm. *hwa* 5.8; nsn. *hwæt* 5.20; dsf. *hwæm* 5.18

hwierfan I 'to turn, 'to change' 3p pt. *hwyrfdon* 2.1

hwita adj. 'white' nsm. *hwita* 5.3, 5.8, 5.22

hwylce pron. adj. 'which' nsf. *hwylce* 5.11

hyred m. 'community' ds. *hyrede* 1.1, 1.33, 1.35

ic/wit/we pron. 'I' ns. *ic* 4.1, etc.; as. *me* 4.7; ds. *me* 4.6, 4.84.12; np. dual *wit* 4.10; np. *we* 3.18

in prep+*to* 'into' 1.32, 1.35

inc dual pron. 'you' apm. *inc* 4.1

incleofe f. 'chamber,' 'closet' ds. *inclifan* 2.6

insegel n. 'seal' as. *insegel* 3.8
into prep. 'into' 2.4, 4.10
isern adj. 'iron' asm. *iserne* 2.5

lædan 1 'to lead,' 'to bring' 3s pt. *gelædde, lædde* 1.10, 3.1, 3.13
læfan 1 'to leave,' 'to bequeath' 3s pt. *læfde* 1.2; 3p pt. *læfdon* 1.2
lætan VII 'to let,' 'to allow,' 'to permit,' 'to leave un-done,' 'to leave behind' 3s pt. *let* 1.23, 3.22, 5.24; 3s pr. subj. *lete* 3.20
land n. 'land' ns. *land* 1.1, etc.; as. *land/lond* 1.2, etc.; gs. *landes* 1.7, 1.11, 4.9, 5.7, 5.15, 5.18; ds. *lande* 4.4; gp. *landa* 2.1; dp. *landum* 1.15, 1.18
lang adj. 'long' temporal clause *swa lange* 1.8
leaf f. 'permission,' 'consent' ds. *leafe* 1.32, 5.24
leanian 2 'repay,' 'reward' infin. *leanian* 1.17
lecgan 1 'to lay,' 'to place' 3s pt. *lede* 1.33; pt ptc. *geled* 5.21
libban 3 'to live' 1s pr. *libbe* 4.13; 3s pt. subj. *lyfode* 4.13
gelimpan III 'to befall' 3s pt. *gelamp* 1.3, 1.4, 1.14

ma adj. 'more' 4.6, 4.13
mægen n. 'army,' 'host' dp. *mægne* 1.34
maga m. 'kin,' 'relation,' 'family member' ns. *mage* 5.15, 5.23; ds. *magan* 5.14
magan pret-pres. 'to be able' 1p pr. *magon* 3.18; 3s. pt. *mihte* 3.26, 4.15
man m. 'man,' 'person' ns. *man* 1.4, etc.; gs. *mannes* 1.5; dp. *mannum* 4.10, 5.18, 5.20
manfull adj. 'wicked,' 'sinful' asn. *manfull* 1.30
me see **ic**
gemede n. 'consent,' 'wish' dp. *gemedon* 4.4
menig adj. 'many' nsm. *menig* 3.18, 3.27
mete m. 'produce' ds. *mete* 4.10
mid prep. 'with' 1.2, etc.
min pron., adj. 'mine' nsm. *min* 5.15; asn. *mine* 5.17, gsn. *mines* 5.15, 5.18; dsm. *minon* 5.16, 5.19; dsf. *minre* 5.18
modor f. 'mother' ns. *modor* 3.3, 3.13 ds. *modor, moder* 5.7, 5.8
morð n. 'crime,' 'sinful object' as. *morð* 2.6
gemot n. 'assembly,' 'meeting' ds. *gemote* 3.8, 5.6, 5.9, 5.17, 5.20, 5.22
motan pret-pres. 'to be allowed,' 'may' 3s pt. *moste* 1.11, 3.12; 3p. pt. *moston* 4.9
mycel adj. 'great,' 'much' ds. *myclan* 1.9
mynster n. 'church' ds. *mynstre* 5.24

na adv. 'no,' 'by no means,' 'never' 5.9
næfre adv. 'never' 5.19
nære = **ne wære** see **beon**
næs = **ne wæs** see **beon**
nahte see **agan**
nan pron., adj. 'none,' 'not any' nsm. *nan* 3.20, etc.; asn. *nan* 4.5, etc.; gsm. *nanes* 1.5; gsf. *nanre* 4.13
ne I. conj. 'neither ... nor' 3.26 **II.** adv. 'not' 1.11, etc.
nead f. 'compulsion,' 'force' gs. *neade* 4.13
niman IV 'take,' 'seize' 3s pt. *nam* 1.31, 2.7; 3p pt. *namon* 1.27
niwe adj. 'new' asf. *niwe* 4.14
nolde = **ne wolde** see **willan**
nu adv., conj. 'now' 4.12

of prep. 'from,' 'of' 2.6, 5.9
ofgan anom. 'to hold' 3p pr. subj. *ofeodon* 4.4
ofneadian 2 'to obtain by force,' 'to extort' infin. *ofneadian* 4.12
on prep. 'on,' 'onto,' 'in' 1.7, etc.
oncunnan pret-pres. 'to grow angry,' 'to blame,' 'to accuse' 3s pt. *oncuþe* 1.14
ongean prep. 'against,' 'toward' 3.4
oð/oþ prep. 'up to,' 'as far as,' 'until' 1.7, 1.8, 1.30
oðer/oþer adj., pron. 'other,' 'another' gpf. *oþerra* 1.23; asf. *oðer, oþer* 4.16
oððe/oþþe conj. 'or' 1.35, 4.4

priost m. 'priest' ns. *priost* 3.14
pruda adj. 'proud' nsm. *pruda* 5.3
pund n. 'pound' gp. *punda* 1.3

rægl n. 'clothing' gs. *rægles* 5.16
read adj. 'red' nsm. *reada* 5.11
reaf n. 'clothing,' 'rainment' gs. *reafes* 5.16
reaflac n. 'robbery,' 'crime' as. *reaflac* 1.30; gs. *reaflaces* 3.21
gereccan 1 'to direct,' 'to order,' 'to give judgment,' 'to explain' 3s pt. *gerehton* 1.9, 1.30, 1.31
gerefa m. 'steward,' 'reeve, 'sheriff' ns. *gerefa* 3.26
rest f. 'rest,' 'repose' ds. *reste* 1.33
rice n. 'kingdom' ds. *rice* 1.20
ridan I 'to ride,' infin. *ridan* 5.10; 3s pt. *rad* 4.6, 5.23; 3p pt. *ridon* 5.20. Idiomatic: *to handa geridan* 'to place into [someone's] power or possession' 3s pt. 4.6
riht n. 'right,' 'justice' ds. *rihte* 1.2
rihtlice adv. 'rightly,' 'justly' 3.10
rihtlicost adj. 'most right,' 'most just' 3.11
rihtur adj. 'more just,' 'more right' ns. *rihtur* 1.29

sæl m. 'time,' 'occasion' as. *sæl* 1.20

sanct m. 'saint,' 'holy person' gs. *sancte* 5.23

sawol f. 'soul,' 'life' gs. *sawle* 1.33

scægðman m. 'shipman,' 'sailor' ns. *scægðman* 5.11

sceawian 2 'to see,' 'to choose,' 'to select' 3s pt. *sceawode* 5.9

sceatt m. 'money' ds. *scette* 1.5

sceotan II 'to assign,' 'to allot' 3s pr. subj. *sceote* 3.6

scir f. 'shire,' 'district' ns. *scir* 3.10

scirgemot n. 'shire-meeting,' 'shire council' ns. *scirgemot* 5.1; ds. *scirgemote* 3.6

scirgerefa m. 'shire reeve' ns. *scirgerefa* 5.4

sculan pret-pres. 'must,' 'ought to' 3s pt. *sceolde/sciolde* 1.9, 3.25, 3.21, 3.23, 5.8; 3p pt. *sceoldon/scioldon* 3.10, 4.12

se, þæt, seo dem. pron./def. art. nsm. *se* 1.14, etc. [for **se**, see also **beon**]; nsf. *sio* 3.10; nsn. *þæt/ðæt/þet* 1.3, etc.; asm. *þane/þone/þonne/þene* 1.34, etc.; asf. *þa/ða* 5.9, etc.; asn. *þæt/ðæt/þet* 1.3, etc.; gsm. *þæs/ðæs/þas* 1.10, etc.; gsn. *þæs/ðæs/þas* 1.28, etc.; dsm. *þæm/ðæm/þam/ðam/þan* 1.1, etc.; dsn. *þæm/ðæm/þam/ðam* 1.1, etc.; apm/f/n. *þa/ða* 3.9, etc.; gpm/f/n. *þara/ðara* 1.23, 1.26, 3.14; dpm/f/n. *þæm/ðæm/þam/ðam* 5.20, etc.

gesecan I 'to seek,' 'to look for' 3s pt. *gesohte* 1.20

secgan 3 'to say' 3s pr. *sægð* 2.9; 3s pt. *sæde* 5.8, 5.12; 3p pt. *sædon* 1.29

sellan 1 'to give' inf. *syllan* 5.22, 3s pt. *sealde* 1.6, 1.24, etc.; gerund *syllanne* 4.5

geseman 1 'to reconcile,' 'to settle' inf. *geseman* 3.11

sendan 1 'to sendan' 3s pt. *sende* 3.5, 3.8, 3.11

settan 1 'to set,' 'to put,' 'to set down' inf. *settan* 5.24; p. ptc. *gesett* 1.24

gesibb adj. [as noun] 'kin,' 'relation' ns. *gesib* 4.8

siolfor n. 'silver' as. *siolfor* 3.24

sittan V 'to sit' 3s pr. *sit* 5.15; 3s pt. *sæt* 5.1; 3p pt. *sæton* 5.2

gesomnian 2 'to gather,' 'to assemble' 3s pt. *gesomnode* 3.9

spæc f. 'suit,' 'dispute' ns. *spaec* 1.24

specan V 'to say,' 'to sue' 3s pr. subj. *spræce* 3.23; 3s pt. *spæc/spræc* 1.8, 5.6, 5.12; 3p pt. *specon* 4.3

staca m. 'pin' as. *stacan* 2.5

standan VI 'to stand' 3s pt. *stode* 4.10

sulf see **sylf**

sulung n. a Kentish property measurement corresponding to amount of land contained in a hide elsewhere. dp. *sulungum* 1.17

sum pron. 'some' nsm. *sum* 1.23; dsm. *sumon* 5.7

sunu m. 'son' ns. *sunu/sune* 2.5, 2.7, 2.8, 5.3, 5.6, 5.12; ds. *suna/sunu* 5.13, 5.19; np. *suna* 1.26; gp. *suna* 1.27

swa adv., conj. 'thus,' 'like,' 'so,' 'just as' 1.2, etc.

swæ see **swa**

sweotolian 2 'to reveal,' 'to expose' 3s pr. *sutelað/swutelað* 2.1, 5.1

swerian 2 'to swear' inf. *swerian* 3.25

swiðe/swyþe adv. 'very,' 'exceedingly' 1.14, 4.10, 5.13

swustor f. 'sister' ns. *swustor* 3.16

swutelung f. 'sign,' 'seal' as. *swutelunga* 3.11

sylf pron., adj. 'self,' 'himself' nsm. *sylf/sulf* 1.34, 4.5, 4.16

syllan see **sellan**

syððan/syþþan adv. 'after,' 'afterwards,' 'later' 3.20, 3.23, 5.16

syxta 'sixth' ds. *syxtan* 1.8

tæcan 1 'to instruct,' 'to direct,' 'to assign' 3s pt. *getæhte/tæhte/getehte* 3.12, 3.23, 4.2

talu f. 'case,' 'suit' ns. *talu* 5.9, 5.11

teon II 'to draw,' 'to drag,' 'to take' 3s pt. *teh* 2.6

tid f. time ns. *tid* 1.4

to prep. 'to,' 'as' 1.4, etc.

toeacan prep., adv. 'besides,' 'moreover,' 'also' 3.27

getriwlice adv. 'truly' 1.18

twegen numeral 'two' nsm. *twegen* 1.27; asf *twa* 1.28, 4.16; gpm. *twegea* 1.26; dpm. *twam* 1.17

twelf num. 'twelve,' gp. *twelfa* 1.23

þa/ða adv. 'then,' 'when' 1.4, etc. [for pron. uses, see **se**]

þær/ðær adv., conj. 'there,' 'where' 1.10, etc.

þæron adv. 'therein' 3.23

þærto adv. 'thereto' 3.11

þæt/ðæt conj. 'that, 'so that' 1.1, etc.

þagyt adv. 'still,' 'yet' 3.24

geþancian 2 'to thank' 3s pt. *geþancude* 1.23

þanon adv. 'thence,' 'therefrom' 3.22

þe relative particle 'which,' 'who,' 'that,' 'as' 1.8, etc.

þeah adv. 'though,' 'yet,' 'however'

þegen m. 'nobleman,' 'thane' ns. *þegen*, np. *þegnas*, ap. *þegnas*, gp. *þegna*, dp. *þegnon*

þegnlice adv. 'loyally,' 'nobly'

þeod f. 'people' gs. *þeode*

þer adv., conj. 'there'

þes/þeos/þis demonstrative pron. 'this' nsm. *þes*, nsf. *þeos*, nsn. *þis* 1.24, 3.6; asn. *þis*, gsm/n. *þisses/þyses* 3.26, 5.19; dsn. *þysum/þyssum/þissum* 2.1, 3.1, 5.1

þing n. 'thing' as. *þingc* 5.19

*ge***þingian** 2 'to pray,' 'to beg' 3s pt. *geþingude* 1.21

þrie num. 'three' ap. *þreo* 5.9

þus adv. 'thus,' 'in this way,' 'as follows' 1.35, 5.14

þyncan I 'to seem' 3s pt. *þuhte* 1.20, 3.11

ufenan prep. 'moreover' 1.23

unagifnum see **agiefan**

unbesacen adj. 'uncontested,' 'undisputed' asn. *un-besacen* 3.22

uneaðe adv. 'with difficulty' 4.10

ungeborenne see **geberan**

*ge***unnan** pret-pres. 'to grant,' 'to allow' 1s pr. *geann* 5.15; 3s pr. *geuðe* 5.23; p ptc. *geunnen* 5.18. Idiomatic: *unnendre handa* 'willingly,' 'voluntarily' 1.22

unnendre see **geunnan**

up adv. 'up' 5.22

upon prep. 'on,' 'upon' 1.33

ut adv. 'out' 4.5

utlah adj. 'outlawed' asm. *utlah* 2.7

*ge***wanian** 2 'to curtail,' 'to diminish' 3s pt. subj. *ge-wanude* 1.35

we see **ic**

wel adv. 'well' 5.17

weorðan II 'to become' 3s pt. *werð* 2.6, 2.7

wer m. **I.** 'man' dp. *werum* 3.19 **II.** 'man-price,' 'wegeld' as. *wer* 3.21

wif n. 'woman' ns. *wif* 3.18, 5.14; as. *wif* 2.7; ds *wife* 5.22; dp. *wifum* 3.19

wig n. 'battle' ds. *wigge* 1.5, 1.7

willan anom. 'to wish,' 'to desire' 3s pr. subj. *wolde* 4.13; 3s pt. *wolde* 1.12, 1.16, 1.19, 3.21, 4.13. With negative: 3s pt. *nolde* 1.5, 1.18, 3.6, 4.14

winter m. 'winter' dp. *winter* 1.4

wita m. 'wise man,' 'counsellor,'pl. *witan* 'the council' np. *witan/wytan* 1.8, 1.30, 3.19; ap. *witan* 3.9; gp. *witena/wytena* 1.25, 2.2

witan pret-pres. 'to know' 3s pt. *wyste* 1.18

*ge***witan** I 'to die' 3s pt. *gewat* 1.20

*ge***witnes** f. 'witness,' 'knowledge,' 'awareness,' 'approval' ds. *gewitnesse/gewitnysse/gewytnesse* 1.10, 1.25, 1.32, 2.2, 3.3, 3.5, 3.27, 4.2, 5.19, 5.24; ap. *gewit-nesse* 3.1

wið/wiþ prep. 'against,' 'from,' 'with' 1.21, 1.25, 5.13

*ge***writ** n. 'writing,' 'document' ds. *gewrite* 2.1, 3.1, 5.1; ap. *gewritu* 4.16

gewritan I 'to write' inf. *gewritan* 4.16

wyduwe f. 'widow' ns. *wyduwe* 2.5

wyrnan 1 'to withhold' 3s pt. *wyrnde* 1.7

yldran m. pl. 'ancestors' dp. *yldran* 1.2

ymbe prep. 'about,' 'concerning' 5.12

Abstracts of Papers in Anglo-Saxon Studies

edited by Dana Oswald

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. 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:

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33rd Annual Meeting of the Southeastern Medieval Association, Wofford College, Spartanburg, SC, 4-6 October 2007

Christie, Edward J. (Georgia State University): "Paying Back and Selling Out: The Economics of Redemption in Anglo-Saxon England"

This paper examines the Old English language of exchange that links spiritual redemption to more material ideas of exchange: specifically the various uses of the verb *bicgan* (to buy) which is systematically used to represent Christ's "purchase" of mankind from sin with his own blood in homiletic literature (e.g. The Blickling Homily for Easter Day, "he us mid his blode abohte of helle hæftnede"). I argue that Anglo-Saxon culture was a "culture of redemption." The spiritual redemption of mankind through the sacrifice of Jesus Christ is a master trope of Anglo-Saxon society, but the discourses of spiritual redemption and economic exchange interpenetrated and the effects of this interpenetration were far reaching. A moment's reflection reveals the astounding array of "redemptive" transactions directing the course of Anglo-Saxon life: gifts and loans of land, the payment of tithes, the payment of wergild, manumission, debts of loyalty secured by treasure-giving like those that feature prominently in *Beowulf*. A sense of obligation or debt underpins all such transactions. Redemption, at the abstract level, is a reciprocal transaction: not simply receiving a good or service in exchange for payment but trading something in to capitalize on a debt previously owed. Of course from a certain Christian standpoint the defining feature of grace, or *godes gife* as the Anglo-Saxons would have it, is precisely that such a gift is freely given without incurring any debt. However, a gift culture so strongly structured by a variety of material "redemptions" exerted an opposing pressure on the idea of an obligation-free gift (and indeed, different theological traditions vary in their interpretation of the obligation incurred by Christ's sacrifice). The Anglo-Saxon idea of redemption can thus be understood as a form of gift giving in the anthropological sense famously defined by Marcel Mauss. Although gift theory has been usefully applied to Old English texts before, most notably by Robert Bjork in "Speech as Gift in *Beowulf*" (*Speculum* 69.4 [1994]: 993–1022), Anglo-Saxon gift giving has for the most part been viewed as a dim persistence of ancient germanic cultural habit linked to the warlike, aristocratic ethos depicted in heroic poetry. This paper shows how the culture of a contemporary Christianity contributed powerful models of gift exchange that sealed social relationships and reinforced social hierarchies.

Dumitrescu, Irina (Yale University): "Humour and the Teaching of Latin in Ælfric Bata's *Colloquies*"

In the quiet forest of glosses, commentaries and grammars that comprise our knowledge of Anglo-Saxon

education, Aelfric Bata's *Colloquies*, meant to teach young oblates conversational Latin, offer us a hint of something radically different: a rough and brutally funny glimpse into the daily life of a monastic school. Bata writes that he combined jokes with wise words in his instructional dialogues because boys are "drawn to foolish speech" and "naughty chattering," but the extent of this is shocking: his fictional oblates neglect their studies, steal, and threaten each other with knives; they cower before the *magister*, who carries a whip and rods and eventually scourges a boy with relish; there is a wild drinking party; a fight between two students introduces more scatological pejoratives than modern English can translate. Slipped in among the pithy dialogues are also several lengthy passages composed of biblical proverbs and borrowings from Isidore's *Synonyma*, which, in this context, also take on an element of parody and farce.

Out of the many interpretative problems the *Colloquies* offer the modern reader, I intend to focus on two. First, how do we make sense of a pedagogic text that combines humour with the repeated depiction and expression of pain? Second, how are we to read the longer "wisdom" passages in light of this tension? I intend to argue that pain and humour serve a similar rhetorical function in the *Colloquies*, in that both serve to fix language in memory, but, at the same time, threaten to undermine the communication of wisdom. The *Colloquies* show how the techniques used to teach elementary Latin can subvert the very texts that are the putative object of that study. Nor is this, I would argue, accidental: Bata's repeated quips about his own teaching methods reveal the critical and self-reflective attitude he brings to the pedagogical project

Hall, J.R. (University of Mississippi): "*Beowulf* 1741a: *weþ*… and the Supplementary Evidence"

Hrothgar's homily (1700-84) includes both praise and warning for Beowulf, fresh from vanquishing Grendel's dam. To alert Beowulf to the danger of pride, Hrothgar portrays a ruler long favored by fortune who becomes high-handed and mean-spirited. Lines 1740-42a describe the transition: "And then a measure of arrogant thoughts grows and flourishes within him, when the watchman sleeps, the soul's master." The word I have translated as "grows," Old English *weaxeð*, does not occur as such in *Beowulf* but must be reconstructed in part from supplementary evidence. The reconstruction is, I think, correct. Not all the evidence supporting it has been brought forward, however, and one piece brought forward is doubtful. My purpose is to establish *weaxeð* on a more secure footing. First, I report on my examination of the damaged reading at the end of line 10 on folio 168r in the *Beowulf* manuscript. Second,

I evaluate the reports of other scholars on the reading. Third, I survey the supplementary evidence on the state of the manuscript at 168r10 as recorded by readers in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Finally, I evaluate the supplementary evidence, finding that the source cited since 1882 in support of *ð*(eth) is not credible but that there is strong evidencefrom another early witness, hitherto uncited, to support the disputed letter.

Southeastern College Art Conference, Marshall University, October 17-20, 2007.

Christie, Edward (Georgia State University): "Neither on the Right hand nor on the Left? Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Bodl. 579 49r and its Literary Context."

Folio 49r of Oxford Bodleian Library MS Bodleian 579 (otherwise known as the Leofric Missal) is one of the canonical images of Anglo-Saxon studies. A depiction of Pachomius, the Egyptian monk and founder of cenobitical monasticism, receiving from the hand of God a mnemonic verse for the calculation of Easter, this image easily evokes uncontroversial biblical and theological contexts. It similarly evokes the legendary transmission of this verse described in Old English religious prose. One aspect, however, of the artist's interpretation of this legend demands consideration from a less conventional vantage point. Unlike similar transmissions of divine messages in Anglo-Saxon literature, which are typically depicted on the model of earthly message-bearing and thus handed over in documents, this graphic version of the Pachomian legend shows the *Nonae aprilis* verse "shining forth" in varicolored letters inscribed on the hand of God itself. Coupled with literary descriptions of golden letters as the medium of divine messages, and considering the ambivalent iconography of the hand in the middle ages, this inscribed hand is a complex semiotic gesture that juxtaposes the symbolic economy of spiritual gift-giving with the labor of material writing.

"Landscapes of Defence in the Viking Age: Anglo-Saxon England and Comparative Perspectives," University College London, November 9-10, 2007

Abels, Richard: "Keynote address: The Costs and Consequences of Anglo-Saxon Civil Defence"

The late Anglo-Saxon state was precocious in terms of its administrative sophistication and the degree of control that the king exercised over its inhabitants and their economic resources. At the same time, late Anglo-Saxon England socially and economically was characterized by a greater degree of seigniorial power over the free peasantry than had been the case in the pre-Viking

era. An engine that drove forward both of these developments was the reforms in civil defence sponsored by Alfred and his immediate successors. These military reforms transformed the landscape of royal administration while simultaneously increasing demands upon the population for money and services. The changes that military reorganization produced outlived the reorganization itself, in part because of the correspondence between the mechanisms for the defence of a region and for the maintenance of order within it, and, in part, because the military districts established to maintain the burghal network proved valuable to kings for regulation of commerce and currency. Paradoxically, the abandonment of the Alfredian system under Edgar and Edward and Æthelred's inability to revive it effectively also contributed to the growth of centralized power because it necessitated the creation of mechanisms for the levying of systematic taxation (the *heregeld*) to pay first for a mercenary fleet under Æthelred and then, under Cnut and his Danish successors, a standing navy.

Baker, John and David Parsons: "The Language of Anglo-Saxon Defence"

Various attempts have been made to identify defensive networks by using place-name evidence. In almost all cases, the place-name evidence alone has proved insufficient for such a task, demonstrating the importance of a multidisciplinary approach. In fact, even the simple identification of military place-names can be a difficult exercise. Significantly, the language used to describe armies, forts and battles in the written sources does not always have the same use in place-names. Some military terms have non-military applications when they occur in place-names. For example, the Old English term here is used to describe Viking forces, but in place-names is often thought to denote 'a multitude', so that here-pæð is usually translated as 'main road' rather than 'military road'. On the other hand, some defensive sites leave no trace in the toponymic record, bearing essentially non-military place-names. Close study of place-name elements, their usage and the landscape context in which they occur, can make an important contribution to our understanding of military place-names.

Brookes, Stuart: "Mapping Anglo-Saxon Civil Defence"

In this paper will be proposed some possible methods for the analysis of warfare in the Viking Age. Two main research agendas will be outlined: a chronological and typological synthesis of military institutions, and an analysis of systems of defence. These two agendas and some of the concepts that accompany them may help to clarify the way we can study conflict in the Viking Age

landscape. The main implications of these ideas are: 1) new methods for systematically recording and analysing archaeological landscapes, (with an emphasis on visual and modal communications between sites, and groups of sites set in their full strategic, economic, social, political and topographic context), 2) a classificatory system for describing defence structures, to include civil and private defence, and the evolution of defence structures through time, and 3) a framework for developing causal explanations about Late Anglo-Saxon civil defence (e.g. the existence of permeable frontier zones developing into borders defending territories). Preliminary applications of these ideas are outlined.

van Dommelen, Dorn: "Social and Political Reconstruction in late Anglo-Saxon England"

Scholars of the burghal system, developed in Wessex and throughout late Anglo-Saxon England during the late 9th and 10th centuries, have focused on the strategic, military advantages of this system. However, previous work has done little to demonstrate the innovative nature of this system at a strategic and territorial level. This article argues that the development of late Anglo-Saxon boroughs, while being innovative at a military level, also constituted a strategic application of social/ institutional change that created new social relations in Anglo-Saxon England. Such an argument suggests that changes to the geographic landscape of Anglo-Saxon England, in other words the arrangement of settlements, can have profound effects on Anglo-Saxon social arrangements beyond the level of either settlement form or military organization and effectiveness.

Williams, Gareth: "Civil Defence or Royal Powerbase? Military and Non-military Functions of the late Anglo-Saxon *burh*"

This paper considers both the military and non-military functions of the burh, arguing that from the reign of Alfred at least, these are closely related, with the different functions of the burh expressing different aspects of a deliberate and coherent policy based around the extension of royal authority within the West Saxon kingdom. Under this interpretation, even the defensive role of the burh is as much an issue of royal authority over military resources as anything to do with 'civil' defence.

The paper will focus on the development of the burh from the reign of Alfred to the early part of the reign of Ethelred II, but will also look at the pre-Alfredian Anglo-Saxon burh as well as comparators in the Frankish and Danish kingdoms. The paper argues that, contrary to some previous interpretations, the burghal

system developed rather than declining during the reign of Edgar, but that for a variety of reasons the burghal model that Alfred had developed for Wessex was not appropriate in its original form for the newly unified kingdom of England.

Yorke, Barbara: "Keynote address: The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Civil Defence in the Viking Age"

There can be little doubt that the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is a key text for understanding the defensive systems of the Anglo-Saxons, but its entries cannot always be taken at face value. In addition to longstanding problems about the authorship and viewpoint of different sections, recent studies by Old English literature specialists such as Thomas Bredehoft have stressed the literary and formulaic nature of the annals. Bearing such issues in mind, with particular attention to aspects of relevance to archaeological interpretations, this paper will re-examine some key passages from the Chronicle that concern fortresses and their use in the 9c and 10c, as well as considering the contrast in the coverage of aspects of civil defence in the annals for the reigns of Alfred and Æthelred. It will end by drawing (new?) conclusions about the terminology and the nature of fortresses in the Chronicle annals in the 9c and 10c, and on how the Chronicle evidence sits alongside that of other texts such as the Burghal Hidage.

South Atlantic Modern Language Association, Georgia State University, November 9-11, 2007

Christie, Edward (Georgia State University): "'When the Battle's Lost and Won: Grief and the Interior Life of Men in *Beowulf*, ll.2425-2471"

Klaeber summarizes lines 2425-2471 by suggesting that Beowulf "in a long speech reviews the days of his youth, especially events at the Geat court and the feud with the Swedes" (xi-xii). On the basis of this characterization, however, one might well believe that Beowulf's preparation is primarily physical and political. On the contrary, this particular speech serves less of a social purpose than any other. In it Beowulf reconciles himself to anticipated loss by reflecting on the nature of grief. Beowulf presumably has an audience near at hand in the form of the Geats to whom he wishes luck (*hǣlo abǣd*, 2418a). Nevertheless, by comparison with the distinctively formal and boasting *beot-wordum* Beowulf speaks in the lines that follow (2510-2515), this passage reads like a soliloquy. Before he begins, for example, Beowulf sits down on the cliff (*gesæt nu on næsse*). Furthermore, as a recollection, this speech stands apart in purpose and tone from the speeches that participate in social rituals, for

example those made by Wealtheow when Beowulf sits in Heorot between her sons Hrethric and Hrothmund (1167b-1231).

Considering this speech a "soliloquy" invites an interesting comparison to grieving Shakespearean nobles like Macbeth and Hamlet. For Hamlet's grief is also, according to the traditional interpretation, characterized by intertia: an inability to take revenge which, like his feigned insanity, hinges on a distinction between the "exterior" and the "inward man" (II.ii.6). Although *Beowulf* is overwhelmingly "exterior," formal and formulaic, in passages like the one above the poem nevertheless conveys an intimate sense of the "inward man." This inward man is most suggested in the culminating lines 2460-63a. In these lines, Beowulf attempts to define grief by imagining a scenario in which a bereaved father retreats into loneliness. Beowulf's assertion that to such a man "everything seems too large" (*þuhte him eall tō rūm*) can be compared to Macbeth's guilt-induced hallucinations ("Is this a dagger …"), which depict the states of altered perception induced by extreme pscyhological states. Hinging on this scene, my paper examines in detail Beowulf's attempt to depict the inward grief of men. Although Tacitus suggests that among german peoples it is virtuous for mean to bear grief internally, in this secene Beowulf employs both inward (remembrance) and outward tactics (analogy, projection) to express his grief. In particular I will attempt to unpack the grief-induced state of altered perception depicted here as a response to the trauma of violent death.

6th Medieval English Studies Symposium, Poznań, Poland, 24-25 November 2007

Boryslawski, Rafal (University of Silesia): "Twist and Turn: On the Visual Rhetoric of Old English Variation"

The paper investigates aspects and functions of repetition and cyclicity present in Anglo-Saxon visual and literary culture, whose principal emanation to be discussed here is the poetic device of variation. Along with the form of kenning, it is fundamental to Old English literary discourse and is widespread in Old English poetry. Anglo-Saxon variation, reminiscent of classical periphrasis, is arguably best defined by Arthur Brodeur in his *The Poetic Art of Beowulf* as "a double or multiple statement of the same concept or idea in different words, with a more or less perceptible shift in stress." All content-words in an Anglo-Saxon poetic text may lend themselves to variation and the forms the figure may assume are manifold. Variation then appears as a model of creative recycling, but—what is much more interesting for the scope of the paper—its idea shares some basic similarities not only with the construction

of numerous Anglo-Saxon poems, but also with what constitutes their content. Cyclicity and repetition permeate Anglo-Saxon literary world to the point nearing obsession, and, in an intriguing manner, the themes and techniques parallel to Old English textual variation are also present among Anglo-Saxon artifacts of visual culture, abounding in cross-references to Celtic and Norse convoluted animal patterns.

The chief aim of the paper is to present various manifestations of Old English textual and visual variations and enquire about their possible purposes and origins, stretching, I believe, much further than mere embellishment of texts and objects on the one hand, and the consciousness of earthly mutability and unpredictability on the other. I shall argue that the functions of Old English poetic and visual variations, much as they were concerned with the external artistry of poems or artifacts, were chiefly mnemonic. Thus from an outwardly purely ornamental purpose, the function of variation extended to representations of an intertwined macro- and microcosmic model, combining the labyrinthine ornament with memory and portraying the twists and turns of fate as possessing an unpredictable rhythm.

Buczek, Katarzyna: "Old Frisian and Anglo-Saxon Legal Texts—Lexical and Stylistic Comparison"

This paper delivers the linguistic and lexical comparison of fragments of Germanic legal corpus; Anglo-Saxon legal texts: from *Æthelberht's Code of Laws for Kent* to *Laws of Alfred and Ine,* and Old Frisian: *Seventeen Statutes* and *Twenty-four Land Laws* from *First Riustring Codex*. These two groups of texts provide certain legal limitations, however are of slightly different structure. Old Frisian laws are, most of the time, the result of analysis of individual cases which are later on generalized, whereas Anglo-Saxon legal codes are of more organized form, prepared for promulgation by one authority. The paper will contrast the lexical choices of the scribes, especially the level of formality of the language, structures of the sentences, whether they are organized in a dialog or prescriptive vs. proscriptive form, as well as the sophistication and abstractness of the words and phrases. The analysis of lexical preferences in Old English and Old Frisian words will also be provided. The styles of the texts will be compared and analyzed with the main focus on the usage of the different text types. Thus, the presence of the descriptive, narrative or argumentative elements in the texts is to be taken into consideration while presenting the differences and similarities between them.

The paper is going to show the variety of stylistic methods used within the same Germanic linguistic culture, as far as legal texts are concerned.

Kahlas-Tarkka, Leena (University of Helsinki): "Verging on Totality? On 'Minority Indefinites' Conveying Totality in Old English"

Most of the Germanic indefinite pronouns conveying totality are formed from a common Proto Indo-European stem, used for both indefinite and interrogative pronouns. These formations have partly been produced by grammaticalisation processes, in which prefixes have lost their function as independent lexemes. Similar processes can explain the etymologies of several Old English indefinites for 'every' and 'each'. There are a considerable number of words used for expressions with universal reference, but the present study is devoted to the low frequency words used in this function. The paper sheds some light on the great variety of expressions available in Old English, supplements earlier studies on some of these structures, and especially maps reasons for the low frequencies of others. The words in focus are *gehwæþer, æghwæþer, welhwylc, welhwa, gewelhwylc* and *æthwa*, which not only illustrate developments in the intensification and grammaticalisation of early English function words, but also their simplification and gradual loss. The data have been retrieved from the *Dictionary of Old English corpus*.

Kaminska, Anna (University of Lodz): "Word Order Patterns in Old English and Old High German Subordinate Clauses: A Corpus-based Comparative Study"

The aim of this paper is to present, analyse and compare word-order patterns of subordinate clauses in two closely related Germanic languages: Old English and Old High German. The development and gradual differentiation of word order in those languages, stemming from the common Proto-Germanic source, is a complex story which must take into consideration foreign influences as well as internal mechanisms. Nowadays, the word order of English and German subordinates is completely different. The former one retains the basic SVO order characteristic of the whole English system, whereas the other follows the V-final pattern.

This paper compares OE and OHG word-order patterns in different types of subordinate clauses: nominal, relative and adverbial of time, place, condition, comparison, concession, cause, purpose and result. The analysis will address the theory of Davis and Bernhardt (2002), who claim that there are no differences between OE and OHG word order, and that there exists a common "West-Germanic," or even "Old-Germanic" syntax.

The corpus used for the purpose of the study contains more than 3500 clauses, including 1296 subordinates. The present paper is specifically devoted to subordinate clauses, but it is a part of a larger project entitled *The*

influence of text type on word order of Old Germanic languages: a corpus-based comparative study of Old English and Old High German (for conclusions regarding non-conjoined declarative clauses, see Kaminska 2007).

Kilpio, Matti (University of Helsinki): "Auxiliation in Progress: Diachronic Grammaticalisation Changes in Old English and Early Middle English *have* Perfects"

This paper discusses developments in Old English and early Middle English HAVE perfects. It focuses on changes in the inflection of the past participle and word-order changes connected with the HAVE perfect (typically sentence-bracing, exbraciation and adjacency of HAVE and the participle, all in relation to the placement of the direct object).

The most important findings are that the inflection of the past participle, already a marginal feature in early Old English, becomes ever rarer in late Old English and disappears in early Middle English. Word-order changes seem to take place at a slower pace: the sentence-brace and the placement of the direct object before the past participle are still common word-order patterns in early Middle English. The loss of inflection and word-order changes are parallel processes contributing to the grammaticalisation of the HAVE perfect, but they do not appear to be closely interdependent. The grammaticalisation of HAVE perfects and the auxiliation of HAVE take decisive steps towards completion within the time period studied.

Krygier, Marcin (Adam Mickiewicz University): "What is Weak? What is Strong? Identifying Verbal Forms in Old and Middle English"

There exist a whole range of complex interrelations between the two main classes of verbs in Mediaeval English, weak and strong. Theoretical studies so far have focussed on the systemic aspects of these interrelations (e.g., Price 1910, Wełna 1991, 1997, Krygier 1994), while synchronic accounts of the verbal inflection in individual texts, manuscripts, and authors usually have been descriptive in their approach (cf. among others. Thüns 1909, Füller 1937, Francovich-Onesti 1993). This reflects a more universal tendency to approach the issues of paradigmatic competition in Old and Middle English only in an impressionistic, slightly superficial fashion, cf. Lass' 1997 assumption of a "roughly equal text-likelihood of any noun form", which Lass himself admits to be probably counterfactual.

The present paper aims at redressing this imbalance to a certain extent. On the basis of data extracted from two major texts from more or less the same dialectal area, the *Vespasian Psalter* and the *Ancrene Riwle*, the

following questions will be addressed: (1) what is the relative frequency of individual verbal forms in Old/Middle English, (2) how distinctive are the weak and strong paradigms in Old/Middle English, especially in the present tense, and (3) what can be gleaned from the data about the synchronic organisation of the verbal paradigm in Old/Middle English.

Lecki, Andrzej (University of Silesia): "The Rise of *had better/rather* Structure"

The competition between 'have' and 'be' has already been much discussed in literature. Being the verbs of very low semantic content they could often be used almost interchangeably, e.g.: *Iordan is haten seo ea þe se hælend on gefulwad wæs, & heo is swiðe mycel wæter & swiðe strang stream hafað, & sæflod on yrneð* 'This is a river called Jordan where Jesus has been baptised. It has a lot of water and a very strong current and it flows to the sea' (971) HomS 2 (Verc 16) 64. Crosslinguistically, but also within one language, the struggle between 'have' and 'be' is often observed in the way age is given. In Middle English, for instance, the structure with HAVEN is commonly attested, compare: *Þet knaue child for-tene ger Schel habbe* 'That male child fourteen years shall have' c1350 (a1333) Shoreham *Poems* (Add 17376) 61/1726.

In addition, the rivalry between 'have' and 'be' is perceivable when the two verbs function more like auxiliaries rather than full verbs. Visser (1963-1973 [2002]: 1471ff.) examines in detail the appearance of *is to do with* construction in the twentieth century in lieu of *has to do with* – present in English since Mediaeval English. Another example concerns the use of BE in the perfect tense with transitive verbs, which seems quite an innovation, e.g.: *He must be finished it by already. I'll be broken another tennis racket. He must be got a new one.* Stephen Nagle (p.c.). Such exchangeability of HAVE and BE must be due to a very high frequency of appearance of these verbs, which in turn has resulted in their wearing off the semantic content to the point where they are nothing more than meaningless phonetic substance.

This paper explores the development of English HAD BETTER/RATHER structure. I try to show that the employment of HAVE before BETTER is a case of substitution of BE in the original construction which is composed of the verb BEON 'be' accompanied by BET 'better' or alternatively by a comparative form of LEOF 'desirable' and a Noun Phrase (usually a pronoun) in the dative case followed by a *that*-clause. Compare: *betere him is þæt he þæs dæges hit forga* 'It is better for him to refrain from it this day' Conf 3.1.1 (Raith O) 3.14. *Prima facie*, the initial construction does not have much to do with Present-Day English HAD BETTER where the

Noun Phrase is in the Nominative case and in the stead of *that*-clause, a bare infinitive is used. It is clear that the development is much more complex and it might constitute a perfect example of a grammaticalisation path of HAVE. In fact, the changes that have affected HAD BETTER are easily accommodated by the theory of grammaticalisation. I attempt to show how the mechanisms and principles of grammaticalisation set out by Lehmann (1982) [2002], Hopper (1991) and Heine (2003) [2005] apply in this particular case of grammaticalisation.

Lowe, Kathryn A. (University of Glasgow): "Plenary: Linguistic Geography, Demography, and Monastic Community: Scribal Language at Bury St Edmunds"

We know little about the East Anglian dialect of English during the Anglo-Saxon and early Middle English period, and the paucity of sources stands in sharp relief to the richness of the material surveyed for the area for the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*. We do, however, have an important series of vernacular charters from the important Benedictine monastery of Bury St Edmunds which span the period and which have rarely been investigated. They potentially offer insight into the nature of the dialect written in the diocese from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries and its development during this period. A scriptorium-based approach to dialect study permits the inclusion of a centre from this area and accords with Richard Hogg's suggestion that classification of dialect based on diocese, whence most text production originated during the period, might be a more tenable and more fruitful approach to Old English dialect study than one based on imposed political structures. The paper examines the language of those private documents produced during the Anglo-Saxon period and their copies in a number of registers and cartularies in the thirteenth century. The charters selected for study include S 1225, S 1486, S 1494 and S 1489. The cartularies discussed include CUL, Ff. 2. 33 and BL, Add. 14847, both datable to the end of the thirteenth century. I present evidence for the so-called 'Kentish' development of the front vowels /æ(:)/ and /y(:)/ to /e(:)/ in these texts. I also offer a number of potential explanations as to why a series of quintessential Norfolkisms (including *kirke* and the adverb ending -*lik(e)*) appear in several cartulary copies of Old English texts from the foundation.

Malak, Janusz (Opole University): "The Categorisation of the Infinitive in the Old English ACI constructions"

The Old English ACI constructions are believed to be characterized by propositional properties similar to structures which within the GB format are classified as control (both subject and object) constructions, Exceptional Clauses, and Small Clauses. What is unexpected about the Old English ACI is the observation that this structure is found as the complement of roughly two types of verbs, i.e. causative and perception verbs. The evidence corroborating the existence of the structures comparable with Modern English Exceptional Clauses is so meager that it is believed that Exceptional Clauses did not exist in Old English, the extant examples of this structure being Latinisms. Attributing the propositional properties to the Old English ACI constructions is mainly based on the assumption that the infinitive form in such structures plays the analogical role to that of the predicate in tensed clauses. Such an analysis is also based on the observation that the role of the object of the higher verb in relation to that of the infinitive is analogical to that found in the Modern English control and Exceptional Clause constructions. It will be argued in this paper that such an assumption is not justified because the categorial specification of the Old English infinitive appears to have differed to a certain extent from that of its Modern English counterpart. It is the categorial specification of this constituent that will be held responsible for the lack of the predicational relation between the oblique marked NPs and the infinitival forms following them. This, in turn, will account for the lack of the structures in Old English corresponding to Exceptional Clauses in Modern English.

The problems addressed in this paper pertain to two issues. One of them is the criterion helpful in determining the syntactic category specification of a given word. In this case the analysis is aimed at determining whether the form classified as 'infinitive' is characterized by exclusively nominal or verbal features. The other issue pertains to the interpretational category 'predication'. It is assumed here that the existence of structures termed Exceptional Clauses in Modern English is possible due to the unequivocal verbal syntactic specification of the infinitive. The lack of such structures in Old English can be attributed to the syntactic categorization of the infinitive distinct from its Modern English equivalent. Its syntactic categorization will be held responsible for a different role this constituent assumes in the derivation of ACI structures. This remark points to the theoretical model in which the material will be analysed. The analysis will be set in the minimalist model which describes structures as the products of derivational process where formal syntactic features connected with the syntactic categorisation play a most important role.

Nykiel, Jerzy (University of Silesia): Participant-internal and Participant-external Necessity: The Case of *þurfan and *þearf*

In this paper the shades of the meaning of necessity conveyed by the OE verb *þurfan and the OE noun þearf are contrasted. It has been demonstrated by Loureiro-Porto (2005) and Nykiel (2007) that, contrary to earlier assessments, e.g. Warner (1993), *þurfan is predominately a token of necessity external to the obligee. The noun þearf, when used in collocation with agan and beon, yields structures like we agan þearfe and us is þearf and, concurrently, it is in such structures that the meaning of necessity lends itself to comparison with that of *þurfan. Some of the queries to be raised are to what extent the types of necessity occurring in the relevant structures are compatible with each other and how they relate to the necessity of *þurfan.

The concept of necessity to be used in this study builds on van der Auwera and Plungian's (1998) scheme where non-epistemic necessity is divided into participant-internal necessity and participant-external necessity. This specification of necessity when combined with the tenets of Sweetser's (1990) and Talmy's (2000) force dynamic approach, which assigns the roles of the Agonist and Antagonist to the two participants in a context of necessity, allows a corpus-based scrutiny of the occurrences of *þurfan and þearf. Working on a sample of examples retrieved from the OE part of the Helsinki Corpus and the DOE corpus, I aim to check the occurrences of *þurfan and þearf found in the sample against such parameters as, among others, the source of the necessity, the role played by negative/non-assertive contexts, performative use. A factor that should not be overlooked is the fact that the noun þearf as used in the aforementioned collocations is a more frequent item than *þurfan.

I hope to contribute to a better understanding of the means of the expression of necessity in Old English. Importantly, besides commonly acknowledged tokens of necessity like the pre-modal verbs, I take into account the role played by the less central lexical expressions.

Sauer, Hans (U of Munich): "Tehee! Interjection, Emotion, Grammar, and Literature in Medieval English"

In some modern grammars of English, e.g. Quirk et al. 1985, the interjection (or exclamation) is seen as a nuisance which disturbs the orderly structure of the language, or at least the grammarians' idea of how language should function properly, and is accordingly condemned and largely ignored. This negative treatment is a relatively new phenomenon, however. In traditional grammars, e.g. in Aelfric's bilingual grammar from around 1000, the interjection was regularly listed as the last of the eight word-classes (parts of speech), and the grammars usually explained that interjections have the specific function to express emotions. To be fair, the

most recent grammars such as Biber et al. 2002 see the interjection in a much more positive light than Quirk et al. and recognize their function to "signal relations between speaker, hearer(s), and discourse".

In any case interjections played an important part in Old and Middle English literature. For example, several Old English poems, including *Beowulf*, begin with the exclamation *hwaet,* which has been much discussed; the *Advent lyrics (Christ I)* are structured round the interjection *eala,* and the Old English version of the *Soliloquies* comes up with emphatic sequences such as *nese la nese* 'no oh no', *gea la gea* 'yea oh yea'. The inventory of interjections largely changed from Old English to Middle English, and loan-words such as *alas, fie, harrow, hay* etc. became dominant among the interjections. Chaucer, the foremost Middle English author, also provides us with a rich array of exclamations; sometimes, several interjections were combined, as in [Absolon] "Fy! allas! What have I do?" [Alisoun] "'Tehee!' quod she and clapte the window to."

In my paper, I shall look at theoretical aspects of the interjection as well as attempt to establish an inventory for Old and Middle English, and I shall comment at their use in Medieval English literature.

Wojtys, Anna (Academy of Management): "*In fyr gesended* or *in fyre sended*: The past participle marking in the *Lindisfarne* and the *Rushworth* Gospels"

The paper examines the past participle marking in the two collections of interlinear glosses in Northumbrian, namely the *Lindisfarne gospels* and the *Rushworth gospels.* Although in slightly different varieties, both collections contain glosses to one Latin version of the *Bible* and the chronologically later *Rushworth gospels* are to a great extent based on the earlier *Lindisfarne gospels.* Thus, the glossaries provide valuable material for tracing changes in the marking of the past participle in Northumbrian. Additionally, as the *Rushworth gospels* contain the gospel by St. Matthew glossed in Mercian (*Ru¹*), the examination of that text from the two collections is expected to reveal potential differences between the marking of the past participle in Northumbrian (*Lindisfarne gospels*) and Mercian (*Ru¹*).

The discussion focuses on the dropping of the prefix *ge-*, the process usually dated to Middle English. Lass (1992: 147), however, assigns its initial stage to tenth century Northumbrian. Consequently, the study is expected to verify whether any traces of the elimination of the prefixal past participle marking could be identified in the two collections of glosses as representative of Old English texts localised in the north of England.

The data come from Skeat's editions (1871-1887) included in *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus in*

Electronic Form (2000), while *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (1898) is used for their verification.

"England and the Continent in the Tenth Century" Durham University, December 14-17, 2007

Bihrer, Andreas: "Exiles, Abbots, Wives and Messengers: Anglo-Saxons in the Tenth-Century Reich"

This paper adopts an innovative approach to the way in which relations between England and the German Reich were envisaged by the actors on either side of the North Sea. It applies this to case-studies, such as the marriage between the future emperor Otto I and King Æthelstan's half-sister Edith in 929, the mission of sent Abbot Cenwald, one of King Æthelstan's closest confidants, to visit German monasteries, and the career of the Anglo-Saxon Lioffin, who was a monk in Ghent, abbot in Mettlach, and a monk in Echternach.

Billett, Jesse D.: "The Divine Office and the Secular Clergy in Later Anglo-Saxon England"

The present paper offers a critical assessment of the theory that one of the chief motives for the expulsion of the secular clerks from the Old and New Minsters in Winchester in 964 was that the offices might be more worthily accomplished. It shows that the Benedictine reformers themselves had direct experience of a lively and robust tradition of the secular Office liturgy whose character, though now largely obscure, can still be appreciated through indirect witnesses.

Coz, Yann: "The Image of Roman History in Anglo-Saxon England"

This paper shows that tenth-century political thinkers in England only turned to the Roman past at a time of crisis, when the king's traditional legitimacy was starkly diminished. In 'normal' times, there seems to have been no sustained attempt at stressing either the Roman past of Britain or the imperial tradition. In this respect, tenth-century Anglo-Saxon kings had a very different attitude from that of their Carolingian counterparts and predecessors.

Crick, Julia: "Insular History? Forgery and the English Past in the Tenth Century"

This paper takes one acknowledged reflex of reform in tenth-century England, reference to the specifically insular past, and considers whether the historicising impulse is as English as some commentators have argued. Using a distinctly Levisonian kind of evidence,

documentary forgery, it argues that the form and function of the historical claims thereby advanced raise significant questions about cultural and historical processes at work on both sides of the English channel. Textual forgery and imitative copying were practised in major reform centres. This activity suggests homage to the past and a dexterity in appropriating it, certainly, but also, at least in its English manifestation, a polarity in cultural production and consumption. Imitative documents (and forgeries of other sorts) were designed not simply to replace, but to deceive, and this observation does not sit easily with the prevailing notion of tenth-century cultural production in England. It presupposes either a tension within the lettered elite, a group usually seen as dominating the written record to the exclusion of all others, or that external appearance mattered in relations with those beyond it.

Davies, Wendy: "Where are the Parishes? Where are the Minsters? The Organization of the Spanish church in the Tenth Century"

This paper pursues the question of why aspects of the 'Minster Hypothesis' observable in tenth-century England, notably the organization of ecclesiastical dues and subsidiary churches, are not seemingly observable in northern Spain. It pursues the possibility that the contrast may arise from differences in source-material and in historiographical approaches.

Foot, Sarah: "Dynastic Strategies: the West Saxon Royal Family in Europe"

This paper explores the dynastic strategies pursued by the royal family of Wessex across four generations from Æthelwulf (reigned 839-53) to the time of his great-grandson Æthelstan (reigned 924-39), concentrating particularly on decisions made about the futures of the latter's numerous sisters.

Gameson, Richard: "England and Saint-Bertin at the End of the Tenth Century: the Evidence of the Boulogne Gospels"

This paper uses the evidence of manuscripts to reconstruct the cross-Channel career of the master of the Boulogne Gospels, and to show the wide range of books with which he was concerned.

Hamilton, Sarah: "The Early Pontificals: The Anglo-Saxon Evidence Reconsidered from a Continental Perspective"

Focusing on the surviving pontifical tradition in England and the Continent this paper examines the

emergence of the pontifical as a book with particular reference to: the significance of the inclusion of local traditions in reform-orientated collections; the function of MSS containing pontificals as didactic texts; the role of pontificals as repositories of local record; and the importance of pontifical books as both personal artefacts and as the focus for the memory of a particular bishop, and sometimes his successors, in a particular see.

Insley, John: "Continental Germanic Personal Names in Tenth-Century England"

This paper makes available advanced philological research on the linguistic character of names in order to provide some indication of the numbers of people with Continental Germanic names in England in the tenth century, and so to provide an estimate of the degree of interchange across the Channel and the North Sea.

Kjolbye-Biddle, Birthe: "Winchester: Æthelwold and the Architecture of Europe"

This paper explores the Continental and other models for the design and architecture of the Old Minster Winchester, examining in particular the churches of Abingdon, Bethlehem, Germigny-des-Près, Reichenau St Georg, and Aachen.

LeBecq, Stephane and Alban Gautier: "Routeways between England and the Continent in the Tenth Century"

This paper examines the archaeological and historical evidence for routes, principally trading routes between England and the Continent in the tenth century. It deals with the fate of the *emporia and* the nature of Viking activity, the organisation of ships and traders, and it contains an analysis of the section King Æthelred's laws containing a tariff of tolls for the port of London.

Leyser, Conrad and David Rollason: "England and the Continent (1943-2008)"

This paper introduces readers to the range of problems posed by research into both linkages between England and the Continent and parallel developments in England and on the Continent, as well as an overview of the most important publications since Levison's time.

MacLean, Simon: "Monastic Reform and Royal Ideology in the Late Tenth Century: Ælfthryth and Edgar in Continental Perspective"

Beginning from Deshman's demonstration of how King Edgar of England, in collaboration with his chief

adviser Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester, had himself represented in a wide range of texts and images simultaneously as a type of Christ and a type of abbot, this paper is concerned with the implications of this form of thinking for the representation of queens, in particular Edgar's wife Ælfthryth. It places the way that Ælfthryth's power was articulated in monastic terms in a wider European context by comparing her queenly persona with that of one of her Continental contemporaries (Queen Gerberga of West Francia).

Meijns, Brigitte: "The Policy on Relic-Translations of Baldwin II of Flanders (879-died 918), Edward of Wessex (899-†924) and Æthelflæd of Mercia (died 924): A Key to Discover Anglo-Flemish Relations?"

This paper explores the striking similarities between the policy on relic-translations in Flanders and England, with particular regard to the use of relics in urban and fortified centres, and it examines the possible reasons for this parallelism of development.

Mostert, Marco: "Relations between Fleury and England"

This paper is a re-evaluation of the evidence offered by surviving manuscripts for the relations between England and the abbey of Fleury in the tenth century, and it thus deepens and makes more immediate the context for Abbo of Fleury's contribution to the development of the English Church.

Nelson, Janet L.: "Kingship Comparatively"

This paper casts new light on approaches to the study of kingship by pursuing the little-studied Kingdom of Burgundy, from which a rich sequence of charters survives, and relating the nature of its kingship to that of the more extensively studied cases of England and Francia.

Noble, Thomas F.X.: "The Interests of Historians in the Tenth Century"

This paper examines the work and priorities of a range of contemporary historians on the Continent and in England and establishes comparisons between them: Flodoard of Reims; Richer of Reims; Rodulfus Glaber; Widukind of Corvey; Thietmar of Merseberg; Liudprand of Cremona; Æthelweard; and the writers of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

Ortenberg, Veronica. "'The King from Overseas': Why Did Æthelstan Matter in Tenth-Century Continental Affairs?"

This paper focuses on how King Æthelstan of England was perceived and how he perceived himself. It argues that he really did think of himself as a Carolingian, the descendant quite literally of the great Emperor Charlemagne, and that he was so regarded on the Continent.

Pratt, David: "Written Law and the Communication of Authority in Tenth-Century England"

Starting from the contrasts in the 'chronology' of law-making in England and on the Continent, this paper examines the possible reasons for that, and the level and nature of Continental influence on England in the tenth century. It does this particularly through an in-depth study of the laws of King Æthelstan, showing that these amounted to a deep and far-reaching reform of legal structures no less important than developments under King Alfred two generations earlier. Building on that inheritance, this further extension of royally-oriented peace-keeping fused in Æthelstan's case with the grandiose 'imperial' dimensions of his rule.

Tinti, Francesca: "England and the Papacy in the Tenth Century"

This paper uses the relatively neglected evidence of the letters written to England by the popes to help fill the gap in the evidence for Anglo-Papal relations in the tenth century. It shows that, notwithstanding all that was going on in Rome in the tenth century, the English continued to maintain an affectionate link with the papacy. In fact, they even developed some significant new practices, as is shown by the evidence concerning archiepiscopal trips to collect the *pallium*, the origins of Peter's Pence and penitential pilgrimage. In this relationship the Anglo-Saxon Church clearly played the most active and enthusiastic role.

Vanderputten, Steven: "Flemish Monasticism, Comital Power, and the Archbishops of Canterbury: A Written Legacy from the Late Tenth Century"

This paper explores the relations between Flanders and England in the context of the political situation of Flanders itself. Although the evidence for these relations is limited, the paper makes vivid and productive use of a series of relatively little studied letters, including a letter from Abbot Wido of Saint-Peter at Ghent to Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, a letter from Abbot Falrad of Saint-Vaast of Arras, and the letters of Odbert, abbot of Saint-Bertin.

Warner, David A.: "Comparative Approaches to Anglo-Saxon and Ottonian Coronations"

This paper pursues a comparative approach to accounts of the coronation of King Edgar of England and the German Emperor Otto I. Applying the approaches of Continental historians to the English case underlines the value of considering Byrhtferth's account of King Edgar's coronation in the context of his literary work, not apart from his themes and strategies, but rather as 'part and parcel' with them. However accurately or inaccurately his account reflects what happened on that day in Bath, the description found its way into the biography of St Oswald because it suited Byrhtferth's purposes.

West, Charles: "Legal Culture in Tenth-Century Lotharingia"

This paper uses manuscript research to question the testimony of contemporary writers that violence, unpredictability, and a lack of engagement with legal texts characterized tenth-century Lotharingia. It argues that Lotharingians were not uninterested in anciently established laws, nor that these laws could easily be dissolved, but that they should be understood as texts of authoritative orientation as much as texts of constraint. As with tenth-century England, Lotharingia was developing changing patterns of integration between legal culture and political and social power, united by an interest in the normative which nevertheless found increasingly divergent expression, textually, politically, and socially.

Wood, Michael: "A Carolingian Scholar in the Court of King Æthelstan"

This paper is a study of the career and writings of a remarkable scholar called Israel, who from being the tutor of Archbishop Bruno of Cologne, went on to lead a life of travel and intellectual discovery, meeting and talking to some of the greatest figures of the tenth century: Æthelstan and Otto, Hugh the Great, Louis IV, and Bruno of Cologne, and no doubt too the likes of Queen Edith, Hadwig, and Gerberga, Æthelwold and Dunstan, Byzantine ambassadors, Irish bishops, not forgetting an oddball genius like Liutprand of Cremona.

Woolf, Alex: "Submission and Itineration: Meeting the King in the Tenth Century"

This paper offers comparative observations on the practice of itineration amongst Continental and English kings, and it is especially concerned with archaeological and landscape evidence relating to the places where their councils met.

Zotz, Thomas: "Kingship and Palaces"

Based on the research of the Deutsche Pfalzenforschung project, this paper offers a comparative perspective on tenth-century royal palaces in England and on the Continent.

Gender and Medieval Studies: "Gender and Difference in the Middle Ages," University of Edinburgh, January 11-13, 2008

Aird, William M. (Cardiff University): "The Tears of Bishop Gundulf"

This paper examines the *Vita Gundulfi*, 'The Life of Gundulf', bishop of Rochester from 1077 to 1108. Gundulf was born in the Vexin around 1023 or 1024 and joined the monastery at Bec. During his time there Gundulf's deeply felt spirituality first manifested itself in the floods of tears for which he was later to become famous. Repeatedly, in the account of his life written by an anonymous monk of Rochester, Gundulf's piety was expressed in copious weeping. His preaching often dissolved into a tear-drenched dumb show with the congregation responding in kind. Gundulf's tears were attributed to his 'habitual compunction of the heart', that is, a keen sense of his own sinfulness. This paper explores this representation of the bishop's piety and relates it to Gundulf's devotion to the cults of the Virgin and Mary Magdalene. In describing Gundulf's relationship with St Anselm the *Vita* states that 'one [Anselm] took the part of Christ, the other [Gundulf] of Mary.' The cult of Mary Magdalene had a particular resonance for Gundulf and his biographer tells us that this was because, as a reformed sinner, she was more able to understand his needs. Gundulf's relationships with women provide a central theme of the *Vita*. He secured his mother a place in the newly founded convent of the Holy Trinity at Caen and, as bishop of Rochester, founded a nunnery at Malling in Kent. Given these striking characteristics of the *Vita* and the fact that Gundulf's behaviour was seen as unusual, it is hoped that an exploration of the text will reveal aspects of medieval masculine identity and spirituality.

Clark, David (University of Leicester): "Self-abuse: Blurring/Defining Sexual Difference in Medieval Texts"

Masturbation can be said to come into its own with the publication of the anonymous tract *Onania* in around 1712. Before this it formed part of a range of sexual and other sins sometimes grouped together under the title of 'sodomy'. Because of this, scholars have misinterpreted some allusions to sodomy or references to Sodom as concerning anal intercourse when they in

fact might arguably be better interpreted as allusions to masturbation. This paper looks at the associations of the masturbatory act in a variety of medieval texts, from Anglo-Saxon penitentials to late Middle English literary productions. Drawing on modern theoretical approaches to gender and sexual difference in the Middle Ages, the paper discusses the terms used to describe such acts and those who carried them out, assesses some cases the interpretation of which is problematic, and reviews their implications for the study of sexual identity and gender difference in the Middle Ages and the contested category of the sodomite.

Pasternack, Carol Braun (UC Santa Barbara): "Keynote address: Ruling masculinity: From Adam to Apollonius of Tyre in Corpus 201"

The dominant codex in CCCC 201 opens with "Adam the first man" and closes 153 pages later with "Apollonius the king gave birth to a son by his consort, whom he established as king in the kingdom of Arcestrates his grandfather." In between these biblical and late antique accounts of generation and governance come sermons, kings' laws, penitentials, and treatises on civil and ecclesiastical polity. Considered severally, as they have always been edited, they present diverse efforts to direct sexual practices and govern masculinity in connection with other concerns for the state. More instructively, considered as a composition, the codex displays the work of incorporating the competing cultures and social purposes that were part of the late Anglo-Saxon state. Through the hierarchies of its compilation, Corpus 201 negotiated the conflicting concerns for sexual practice and constructions of masculinity, attempting to govern divergences between the sexual practices of kings and the teachings of the Church, among varied ecclesiastical arguments, between traditions of the Danelaw and other regions of England, and between church doctrine and classical and late antique literature. In this paper, I hope to show both the variety and contentiousness in the constructions of masculinity that were part of eleventh-century England and how reading the codex rather than the individual text reveals the work of governing cultural diversity.

Vagantes Graduate Student Conference, Ohio State University, February 28–March 2, 2008

Damiani, Adrienne. (University of Minnesota): "*fah from feondum?:* Christian coloring and the mark of Cain"

Throughout *Beowulf*, irrefutably the most famous Old English work, the description of surroundings and

objects plays an important role in the setting of the scene and creation of the mood. One adjective that is commonly associated with these descriptions is the word *fah/fag*, which is glossed with both positive and negative connotations, from "adorned, decorated" to "blood-stained, guilty". Due to the myriad interpretations of *fag/fah*, the adjective is incredibly versatile but also quite ambiguous as it is at times difficult to decipher if *fah/fag* is a physical description ("adorned, decorated, blood-stained") or an aspect of character ("guilty") or a mixture of both. Although *fah/fag* is often used in reference to the gold adorning Hroðgar's hall, Heorot, there are four instances during the fight sequence between Beowulf and Grendel when *fag/fah* is used to describe both adversaries as being "stained" with past deeds or crimes. While it is fitting to employ a term such as "stained" with Grendel due to his violent nature and association with the kin of Cain, the suggestion that Beowulf is "stained/marked" does not correlate with his otherwise positive reputation. Are these uses of *fag/fah* an indication of a Christian interpretation of Beowulf, damning him because he is not Christian and a part of a warrior society, or is there another possible reading of *fag/fah*? Through a comparison of the descriptions of Grendel and Beowulf in the first half of *Beowulf* and the Old English Genesis story of Cain's exile, the significance of *fag/fah* used within the above context will be addressed to posit the idea that both Beowulf and Grendel are in fact "marked" by their past deeds (i.e. Beowulf "marked" as the best adversary to Grendel and Grendel indeed by his crimes) and both are governed by the hand of *wyrd* or fate.

MacLean, Brianna (University of Toronto): "Monstrous Mirrors: Reading Monsters as Text in *Beowulf*"

My research asks how we might contextualise representations of the monstrous in *Beowulf* and their centrality in the narrative. From the work of J.R.R. Tolkien onwards, critics have examined the monsters in *Beowulf*, yet oddly, there has been no comprehensive study describing the central, instrumental role of monstrosity and justifying the poet's reasons for positioning monsters in that role. Studies concerning monstrosity in *Beowulf* typically examine how Grendel and his mother function in opposition to the heroic code; however, my reading of the text analyses how the monsters in *Beowulf* function as a text themselves, mirroring the heroic text rather than diametrically opposing it, and how it is through this Grendel-text that the audience learns about the heroic community. Beowulf and Grendel are flipsides of the same paradigm, as the existence of one is predicated on the existence of the other. Thus, monsters were not at the edges of the map, as they were often

depicted, but at the core of heroic society, functioning as catalysts for heroic deeds and reflections of society itself. Furthermore, monsters are a byproduct of culture, necessary to define what it means to be human. Grendel's applicability to humanity is more threatening than the dragon's deviance from humanity, as Grendel illustrates the human potential for monstrosity. The dragon, an archetypal monster, cannot reflect heroic society because its form is too divergent from humanity. "Human" and "monster" were not discrete categories; through integrating textual and theoretical approaches, I will provide a deeper understanding of what the Anglo-Saxons deemed culturally antithetical, how they understood figures and roles of the Other, and how they translated these understandings into narrative.

O'Camb, Brian (University of Wisconsin, Madison): "Building Belief: Medieval Ekphrasis and Monastic Meditation in Old English Gnomic Poetry"

The Exeter Book Maxims (a.k.a. *Maxims I*) is the longer of two gnomic poems included among the approximately 30,000 lines of surviving Old English verse. It is most often assumed that the poem is a time capsule, preserving for posterity "popular" statements originating in different times and places. This "time capsule" view is predicated on the assumptions that the poem contains different historical layers and that it is devoid of structure or purpose. I find these assumptions unsatisfying and so propose a different structural principle for the poem based on Mary Carruthers's notion of medieval ekphrasis (explained in *The Craft of Thought*). Caruthers's defines a medieval ekphrasis as "a trope of vision" that "summons in the mind the imagined structures required for inventive meditation" (222). Caruthers's notion of ekphrasis usefully allows us to perceive narrative structure in the seemingly disparate words and images of medieval gnomic poetry.

Focusing on *Maxims I*, I argue that the tenth-century poem's seemingly diffuse contents are best interpreted as an exercise in monastic meditation. Specifically, I focus on the recurring image of a tree at the poem's beginning and end. The ekphrasis provided by the tree image is developed through the poet's pun on the word *treow* (a noun meaning both "tree" and "faith" or "belief"). As a medieval ekphrasis, the tree image neatly encapsulates Christian history from the fall of mankind (the tree of knowledge) to its salvation through belief in a different tree (the cross of cavalry). Interpreted in this way, the tree image functions not as a time capsule, but as time machine – that is, as a trope of vision for imagining the entire narrative of Christian history. My study of *Maxims I* enhances our understanding of medieval conceptions of history and the formal engagement with

history through poetry. Moreover, my paper sheds light on the social function and poetic art of the Exeter Book Maxims and its structure.

Rambaran-Olm, Mary (University of Glasgow): "Descending into Editing Hell: Editing the Exeter Book's 'The Descent into Hell'"

Although editing any medieval text comes with many challenges, some of the editing problems confronted in editing 'The Descent into Hell' are not typical. Apart from the regular codicological problems and difficulties in working with folios that contain serious damage, the peculiar poem's narrative, theme and language have frustrated scholars for more than a century. Additional problems that further complicate the editing of the poem include a hapax legomanon, curiosities involving the number of speakers presented in the poem and the poet's questionable word choices, which has not only left many critics baffled about the poem's ending but also left an overall impression of perplexity on readers.

The aims of this paper are to discuss the various problems in editing 'The Descent into Hell,' the approaches and methods taken to reach practical solutions, and to feature the fact that the poet did not seem to subscribe to a generic or traditional approach in dealing with the poem's theme. While shedding light on the poem's perplexing language, curious theme and the damaged folios itself, I also intend to highlight the benefits of using computer technology on damaged manuscripts. Ultimately, I intend to emphasize that approaching a text with caution is probably a wise choice when editing any text, but always keeping an eye out or eyes open to new approaches and methods to allow for persuasive and effective critical editions is also important and mediating between past assessment and judgments whilst making my own critical evaluations will hopefully benefit Old English scholarship in years to come.

Royal, Susan (University of Louisville): "The Venerable Bede, John Foxe, and the Creation of English Identity"

The debate surrounding the origins of English nationhood has recently been brought to the medieval period, thanks to scholars such as Anthony D. Smith, Patrick Wormald, and Adrian Hastings. Hastings, like Smith, rejects the modernist view of nationhood, claiming that its origins lie in the medieval period, and not in the late-eighteenth century, as authors such as Eric Hobsbawm, Benedict Anderson, and Ernest Gellner have contended. This paper seeks to add to this discourse on the idea of medieval nationalism, using a comparative approach. An analysis of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* and the Protestant reformer John Foxe's *Actes and monuments* will show that England's national origins should be situated in the Middle Ages and the Reformation, and further, are found in religious, and not exclusively political, writings.

The works of Bede and Foxe articulated a particularly English identity and did so when they perceived this identity to be at risk. Bede saw immorality around him, and saw an Irish church—which opposed the Roman date for Easter—influencing Northumbrian monasteries. For Foxe, the 1500s saw a divide not just between Catholics and Protestants, but between a false, imperial church and a true grassroots church in which England played a significant role. In order to articulate to the English who they were as a people and what their destiny as God's people was to be, these men wrote religious histories of England. These histories, despite their differences, use the same method to voice this English identity: hagiographical narratives. Through religion these men found English identity, and a collective identity is a stepping stone for nationalism. Therefore, a comparison of these men's works provides continuity within the study of nationhood, comparing the origins of unified religious identity from the eighth century to those in the sixteenth.

Zweck, Jordan (Yale University): "'The postal service … does not extend to heaven': The *Sunday Letter* from the Ninth to Fifteenth Centuries"

Although the *Sunday Letter* was incredibly popular in medieval Britain (we know of seven witnesses from Anglo-Saxon England alone), it is little known to scholars today. First mentioned in sixth-century Spain, it is found among nineteenth-century Ukrainian peasants, the Pennsylvania Dutch, and was even carried by soldiers in World War I. The *Letter* purports to have been written by Jesus Christ while in heaven and sent by an angel to Rome or another holy site. In the *Letter*, Christ admonishes the people that if they do not observe holy Sunday, they will face terrible retribution in the form of burning rain, sulfurous fire, poisons, gnats, and flying adders.

Whereas most scholars have studied the transmission of the various redactions of the *Letter*, this paper will explore how the *Letter* both accounts for and demands its own circulation. More specifically, this paper will examine how the *Sunday Letter* reproduces itself, and how it changes as it circulates. Almost all medieval *Sunday Letters* include an injunction to the audience to circulate the message further. This command to circulate the message transforms the audience from passive to active participants, creating a community of disseminators and enforcers of the message.

This paper will also trace the development of the *Letter* from preaching text to talismanic object. Old English versions of the *Letter* do not venerate it as a physical object. Instead, they emphasize the potential rewards and punishments for those who do or do not spread the message. In the later traditions, including Middle English, the *Sunday Letter* is believed to have the power to heal or to protect a person who copies it or wears it on his body. What led to this shift in emphasis from the negative to the positive effects of the *Letter*, from curses and threats to benedictions? Why would texts become more talismanic in a period when people were more literate? Since no single-sheet copies survive, it is impossible to know how these texts were used by individual people in medieval Britain, but by looking at how the text constructs itself as an object, I believe that we can learn much about the changing functions of documents in medieval Britain.

Medieval Association of the Pacific, UCLA, March 2-3, 2008

Ellard, Donna Beth: "Writing in Stone, Writing in Ink: Writing the Body in Anglo-Saxon England"

This paper addresses the relationship between epitaph writing, the body, and commemoration in Anglo-Saxon England. It begins by examining archeological examples of inscribed Anglo-Saxon grave-stones and funerary markers. These epitaphs ranged from simple memorial formulas to unique inscriptions. Some are re-used and re-inscribed Roman grave-stones; others are Latin-inspired funerary crosses. The paper then places this archaeological evidence in context with the practice of epitaph writing in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. It performs a close reading of three textually-inscribed epitaphs: Bede's Latin transcription of Archbishop Theodore's epitaph, the *Chronicle's* commemoration of King Edgar, and what some scholars have considered to be Beowulf's self-epitaph. The paper sets lapidary and textual epitaph writing in apposition in order to discuss the relationship between the body and memory. It explores differences between markers that locate the body *in situ* and texts that remember the body *in absentia*. These material differences prompt the paper explore three theoretical questions: 1) How does epitaph production mark a separation of the physical body from the textual body? 2) What is the relationship between literacy, the body, and remembrance? 3) How does the epitaph permit the body to circulate within and among communities, both geographic and textual?

Hensel, Marcus: "You are What You Eat: The Grendelkin, Diet, and the Making of a Monster"

For decades now, critics have wrangled over the nature of the Grendelkin, spilling much ink over the issue but making little headway. One of the basic problems with the current debate is that we have been trying to apply an ontological definition to the Grendelkin when a functional definition would be much more instructive. That is, if we want to learn about/from the poem we should be less concerned with whether the Grendelkin are trolls, zombies, or exiled humans and more concerned with what they tell us about the cultural moment of the Anglo-Saxon poet who created them. In keeping with the above approach, this essay, which is part of a larger research project, will examine how the *Beowulf*-poet characterized the Grendelkin as monsters in part by manipulating significant cultural markers to underscore their difference from the humans (fictional and historical) associated with the poem. Although language (their speechlessness) and their relationship to material goods (weapons and armor) also play a significant role in monsterizing them, it is the Grendelkin's dietary customs on which I will focus in this paper. Because food and the ceremonies that accompanied its consumption were so culturally significant to both the fictional Scandinavians and historical Anglo-Saxons, I argue that the poet used the Grendelkin's desecration of foundational cultural values to emphasize the differences between the "humans" and the "monsters" in the poem. The Grendelkin's cannibalism is a shocking violation of human cultural values that works with other cultural deviances to create a pastiche of what the Anglo-Saxon poet *thought a monster would be*. The *Beowulf*-poet, then, created his monster from the cultural materials at hand, not from thin air; his process of creation and the end result can tell us much about the fear, mores, and tensions of the cultural moment that spawned *Beowulf*.

Huld, Martin E.: "Old English i(n)cge"

The consensus is that the unique items *icge* (*Beowulf* 1107b) and *incge* (2577a) represent two separate occurrences of a single lexical item. The interpretation of these forms remains uncertain. The usual view, summarized by Dobbie (1953:178), is that the words in question are adjectives, but translators have adopted different strategies for dealing with the pair. The most common views are that one or both represent either a comment on the age of the treasure or the sword (rendering *i(n)cge* as "ancient" or the like), their visual qualities (using terms like 'bright', 'gleaming', or even 'refulgent'), or the supposed physical qualities (describing the sword as 'strong'. A second strategy, offered by Rosier (1968) has been to compare *incge lāfe* with *ingesteald* and treat in (or *in-ge-*) as a "prefix" and taking

the phrases to mean 'native gold' and "native heirloom" respectively. The first of these views is grammatically unsound. An adjective *incge* with identical desinences cannot modify both a neuter accusative gold and a feminine dative-instrumental *lāfe* 'sword'. Morphologically, semantically, and palaeographically, Rosier's suggestion also fails. While *in-* 'internal' does occur as an element in compounding, it does not occur with the prefix *ge-*, unless that prefix is employed for the nominal or adjectival base that has been compounded with *in-*; thus, while a a form like *ingefolc* (< *in-gefolc*) is plausible because *gefolc* is attested, *in-ge-gold* is unlikely because there is not attestation of *ge-gold*. Moreover, the meanings "native gold" or "native heirloom" are culturally questionable. Finally, even if this compounding is accepted, such forms cannot account for the graph <c> clearly preserved in both occurrences. I therefore propose that *incge* is the dative-locative-instrumental of an unrecorded noun *incig* meaning 'apex, tip'. Thus, the phrase *i<n>cge gold ahæfen of horde* means "and gold from the horde was raised to the top" while *geata dryhten gryrefahne sloh incge lafe* should be translated "the captain of the Geats struck the horrific foe with the tip of the sword."

Jankowski, Eileen S.: "Beowulf and Grendel: Stars of Stage and Screen"

Both Hollywood and the operatic world recently have shown great interest in the epic poem *Beowulf*. In 2006 a film version, "Beowulf and Grendel," filmed in Iceland and directed by Sturla Gunnarsson, enjoyed a limited theatrical release, moving straight to DVD in September, 2006. A second film, "Beowulf," is due out November 16, 2007; directed by Robert Zemeckis and using motion-capture technology similar to that of "Polar Express," the film features Angelina Jolie as "The Queen of Darkness," aka Grendel's mother. In addition, the opera "Grendel" premiered in Los Angeles in June, 2006, composed by Elliot Goldenthal and designed/directed by Julie Taymor of "Lion King" fame. I was fortunate to attend the opera in L.A. before it moved to Lincoln Center in NYC. Why this sudden flurry of interest in a ninth-century Old English poem? I argue that given the fact that the United States' most recent enemies seem to be faceless terrorists, these directors and screenwriters were perhaps drawn to an epic poem that seems to offer a clear-cut scenario—the enemy is identifiable and evil, while the hero possesses all the skills to defeat this enemy, and does. However, my paper notes the fact that the two productions that I have seen in fact complicate such a simplistic hero/monster dichotomy in particular ways. Of course, Gardner's *Grendel* is told from the monster's point of view, and Goldenthal and

Taymor preserve this focus, claiming that Grendel is much more than merely an evil outcast, but "an artist and a thinker trapped in the body of a beast" (Taymor's Director Notes). The opera's almost complete switch to Grendel as Hero and Beowulf as Monster asks us to consider the "enemy" more closely than perhaps we'd like, and to question the source of designations such as hero and enemy—the *scop* in the opera is appropriately called "the Shaper," who valorizes the warriors' violence while condemning Grendel's. The Gunnarsson movie also calls into question the terms "hero" and "monster," implying, as the director claims, that in today's world it is more important than ever to avoid stark distinctions. The movie notes for the Zemeckis film indicate drastic liberties with the plot, at this stage imagining Grendel as the child of Hrothgar and Grendel's mother, and further hinting at a possible romantic entanglement between Beowulf and Grendel's mother. These alterations and additions, while perhaps shocking to a medievalist, further my point that these screenwriters see a potential in the poem itself for a "humanization" of Grendel, developed by Gardner, but definitely hinted at by J.R.R. Tolkien when he points out, famously, that "Grendel is maddened by the sound of harps" (Nicholson 88). *Newsweek* International Editor and columnist Fareed Zakaria points out in his essay "Why They Hate Us" that terrorists simultaneously desire the luxuries and freedoms of the West and despise our materialism and arrogance—my paper will examine *Beowulf* in its most modern incarnations as embodying just this irony and paradox.

Mittman, Asa Simon: "Naked Monsters and Men in Monster-Suits: Looking at the Body in the *Beowulf* Manuscript"

Strange, indistinct creatures peer out at us from darkened, charred pages. They writhe on brittle vellum, leap off the page, and refuse to be contained by frames. The headless *blemmye*, the fire-breathing, dog-headed *cynocephalus*, the man- (or woman-) eating *donestre*—these wonders fill London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A.vx, commonly known as the *Beowulf Manuscript*, after that most famous Anglo-Saxon epic. To be sure, *Beowulf*, itself, has received abundant scholarly attention, but the other works bound with this poem remain understudied. This paper focuses on one such work, the *Wonders of the East*, a collection of illustrated descriptions of monsters and other marvels thought to live at the other end of the world. A close examination of the images in the *Wonders* reveals a surprising feature. Many of the 'monsters' seem at first glance to be nude—a common trait of such images—but a closer inspection shows that these 'nude' figures seem to

be, in fact, clothed. Indeed, many figures seem to be wearing curious naked-suits, costumes over their bodies that present the appearance of nude bodies (such as the *sigelwara*, a man "of dark color," whose body is dark, but who seems to have cuffs at the wrists and a collar at the neck, and distinctly lighter hands and face beyond them). This raises several questions, which will form the core of this paper. Why present monsters in this fashion? Why present other members of the *Wonders* as clothed? What would it mean to look at such images, as an Anglo-Saxon (or modern) viewer? And finally, what do these decisions tell us about how the body, clothed and unclothed, can be conceived?

Roddy, Kevin: "Egyptian and Celtic Influences in Bede's Accounts of Saint Cuthbert"

The main source for the life of Cuthbert (ca. 634–687) is Bede, who, not many years after Cuthbert's death, wrote two separate *Lives* and also devoted a number of chapters in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* to the saint (4: 26–32). While Cuthbert's name is English, a number of sources (some modern) believe him Celtic by race, as he was trained entirely in Celtic monasteries, and in Bede's account his practice of spirituality was more Celtic than English. Like many of his Celtic contemporaries, Cuthbert wished for the life of a hermit, but in fact his life began and ended in public service: in preaching, in healing, and in extensive communal prayer. Even when he prayed alone, there was a sense of community, as was true of Ciaran and numerous other Celtic saints. When he was finally able to give up his office of prior at Lindisfarne, he became a solitary on the island of Inner Farne on the west coast of Northumbria, not far from Lindisfarne. There, following his spiritual forebears among both the Desert and Irish saints, he lived a life in which God provided for him. Like Antony, Cuthbert first drove the resident demons from his deserted dwelling; like Paul the Hermit (though Bede attributes the precedent to Benedict), Cuthbert's need for fresh water was met by a miraculous spring; like Antony, he planted cereals and had to remonstrate with animals—in his case, birds—for harvesting what they did not sow. Like Antony, too, his hermitage attracted a number of visitors, to be treated hospitably, however much they might not be welcome. This paper seeks to distinguish those elements in Cuthbert's solitary life dependent on the Desert Fathers (notably Athanasius' *Life of Antony*) from those that suggest Celtic traditions, as Bede emphasized or as Cuthbert might have chosen for himself.

Saltzman, Benjamin A. "Tracing St. Goscelin's Spiritual Friendship: The Legacy of Late Anglo-Saxon Sherborne and its Subversive "Rules of Confraternity"

This paper is born from my recent work on the Old English Rules of Confraternity (c. 1035) found in Paris, BN, ms. lat. 943, a mid- tenth-century pontifical. The peculiarity of the confraternity, a monastic phenomenon typically restricted to later periods on the continent, along with the poetic nature of the Rules makes this text stand out; yet, it has received only passing attention. Originating in Sherborne and partially duplicated in a New Minster manuscript of the same period (BL, Cotton Titus D. xxvi), these Rules contain a brief set of regulations concerning daily rituals, prayers, and almsgiving. Initially the Rules preclude the possibility of individual bonds of friendship, bonds that might disrupt the unity and authority demanded of Anglo-Saxon monastic communities. However, the end of the Paris Rules stealthily subverts this claustrophobic structure of community by suggesting that exclusive friendship between two beings is not only possible, but is deserving of God's grace. By setting forth these Rules, the Sherborne community interrogates prior restrictions on friendship and opens up space for a future of friends. This future is to be found in later forms of both insular and continental monasticism; for, after the lull of friendship through most of the Anglo-Saxon period, discussions of friendship begin to blossom and flourish again in monastic writings as early as the 12th century. In such light, St. Goscelin composes his best-known work, the *Liber Confortatorius* (c. 1090), a text written to and disclosing his friendship with the anchoress Eva of Wilton. From 1058-1078, Goscelin acted as an assistant to Herman, the last Bishop of Sherborne. In this position, Goscelin would have had the opportunity to read through the book known today as lat. 943. The present paper will examine some of the passages in his writings that suggest contact with this codex and its Rules of Confraternity, exploring the ways in which his possible encounter with these Rules exemplifies their profound effect on the monastery and their influence on Goscelin's understanding of spiritual friendship.

Sparks, Nicholas Andrew: "*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 analyzing 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 structure. These devices form a clear rhetorical strategy and express the poem's central themes and liturgical purpose. I will argue that rhetorical patterns in *The Dream of the Rood* cause transitions 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 that 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. Above all, this paper is designed to engage with contemporary scholarship and contribute to the critical debate regarding *The Dream of the Rood's* rhetorical strategies and relation to the liturgy.

Stepongzi, Sara: "King Alfred and *Beowulf*: The Politics of the Anglo-Saxons"

Beowulf has the reputation as the pinnacle of Anglo-Saxon national literature. However, even though it is often considered the national epic of the Anglo-Saxons, no one has explored to what extent *Beowulf* participates in the Anglo-Saxon national consciousness. The challenge of doing so lies in the difficulties of establishing the date, authorship, and region where the poem was composed; these factors make it difficult to situate the poem historically. A similar problem afflicts national scholars when dating the rise of national consciousness. While Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm and Benedict Anderson assert that a national awareness began after the seventeenth century, Anthony Smith and Adrian Hastings argue that a national consciousness began much earlier, in the medieval period. Specifically, Hastings suggests that the rise of national awareness is in the eighth century. By demonstrating how Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* constructs unity amongst the Anglo-Saxons, Hastings argues that a national consciousness was present amongst the Anglo-Saxon community in this era. Similarly, in the ninth century, West-Saxon King Alfred developed a program that established a canon of literature that further facilitated an Anglo-Saxon identity during a time when the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were reorganizing after continuous Viking raids. He translated and adapted into English Latin works of literature that emphasized a Christian identity and reworked literary pieces to highlight their Christian elements. By doing this, Alfred was able to merge the political leadership of the West Saxons to the religious identity the Anglo-Saxon people already had. The kingship then become closely associated with Christianity and therefore served to connect all the subjects of the kingdom to the central leadership of the king. The association of the king to religion is one feature that gives rise to a national consciousness; since a continuity of time is present in religious doctrine, the combination of religion with the kingship consequently gives the nation continuity. Correspondingly, *Beowulf* is an Anglo-Saxon text that contains many of the same features that facilitate a national consciousness. However, *Beowulf* is usually not spoken about in theories of nationalism because it is theoretically problematic. *Beowulf* clearly contains many features that contribute to the construction of nationhood but the way this is accomplished involves bringing together two distinct, contending traditions to comprise one work that has a national theme; the nationalist sentiments are accomplished by fusing two separate contradictory identities, Germanic and Christian, to form a new, distinct Anglo-Saxon identity. The Germanic history and the Christianity of the Anglo-Saxon people are combined to form the Anglo-Saxon cultural continuity. This identity forges an ethnic continuity to the Anglo-Saxon national character

that comes to identify the Anglo-Saxon people as well as link them together under a central political authority: kingship. How *Beowulf* creates a national awareness in this way is the problem my paper will address.

Vejby, Mara: "*Wyrd* in *Beowulf*"

Though society is increasingly aware of, and sensitive to, cultural differences, there is a tendency to disregard these variant cultural perspectives when faced with the translation and interpretation of ancient texts. Paradoxically, such an emphasis is paramount to an accurate understanding of these texts. The following lines from *Beowulf* appear to contain a deep-rooted conflicting logic as a result of the traditional translation of *wyrd* as 'fate,' which, arguably is a translation that overlooks the culturally-specific meaning that *wyrd* carries. "*Wyrd oft nereð unfægne eorl, þonne his ellen deah*! 'Fate often saves the undoomed warrior, when his courage is strong!'" (lines 572b-73). If the warrior is not doomed, then why does he need saving, and what does the courage of the warrior have to do with his fate if fate is written and immutable as we normally understand it? When a paradox in a translated work hangs on the definition of a single word, one ought to question whether the source of the contradiction is a manifestation of the original statement, or a construct of the translation from one language and culture to another. By analyzing the various uses of the word *wyrd* in *Beowulf*, and looking for congruencies of meaning, it is possible to compare *wyrd* to 'fate' and thereby reexamine the source of the aforementioned paradox. Analysis of the lines in which *wyrd* occurs reveals that *wyrd* can encompass a concept that is both actionary and reactionary, preordained and contingent, absolute and transient. While fate and *wyrd* do seem to overlap in the general breadth of their definitions, they are not synonymous in the key sense that 'fate,' in each of its dictionary definitions, is absolute. Alternatively, *wyrd* cannot only be the agent of change, but it can also be the subject. A translation of *wyrd* as 'fate,' therefore, is simplistic at best and misleading at worst, because it does not reflect an interpretation of the word based on its original contexts. The zeal to translate an abstract concept has lead to the alteration of its meaning and the formation of a paradox. When *wyrd* is left to its own devices, the translation-based paradox disappears, and allows for a truer interpretation of the text.

Wolf, Keri: "Unferth's Sword: Another Foil to Beowulf?"

What is the relationship between Unferth's verbal attack on Beowulf when the hero arrives at Heorot and Unferth's loan of the sword Hrunting to Beowulf? The solutions proposed to this problem have failed to account for all the questions the interactions between Beowulf and Unferth generate. Eliason argues that Unferth is a type of jester, but his interpretation does not explain why Unferth would possess a sword, much less why he would lend it to Beowulf. In contrast, Rosier posits that Unferth is treacherous, yet this assertion seems to ignore the characteristics of flyting inherent in the verbal exchange between the two men. Clover argues convincingly for assigning this initial verbal duel to the context of Norse flyting. However, while her interpretation sufficiently accounts for why Unferth begins the seemingly unprovoked attack on Beowulf's character, it emphatically severs any possible connection between the verbal duel and Unferth's loan of Hrunting to Beowulf. Examining the patterns of flyting, Parks observes that the flyting exchange often concludes with reconciliation through gift giving, and he explains the loan of the sword in this way. However, no one has yet posited that Unferth's loan of Hrunting to Beowulf might not be the gesture of reconciliation conventional in flyting but a continuation of the flyting exchange— or battle of wits—between Unferth and Beowulf. This paper will examine the verbal duel of Beowulf and Unferth in connection with the loan of Hrunting, arguing that this loan is an extension of the former battle of wits. Furthermore, this paper will explore the possibility that Unferth knew that Hrunting would fail Beowulf against Grendel's mother, making the perceived "gift" to Beowulf Unferth's ultimate challenge to the hero. The duel concludes when Beowulf returns Hrunting to Unferth, announcing his superiority by essentially making the statement that he overcame Unferth's challenge by thwarting Unferth's intentions to outwit him through the loan of an ineffective sword.

Wolf, Kevin: "Sleeping in Heorot: a Marker for Criticism of the Danes?"

Sleep is such a mundane activity, yet it poses one of the greatest challenges to a Germanic warrior. Readiness is at stake. Honor and social praise stand on a precipice when a warrior closes his eyes, that is, if he does not sleep prepared to grasp a weapon, ready to do battle at any moment. The challenge that sleep brings to a warrior is depicted numerous times throughout *Beowulf*. By focusing on the author's phrasing and how these scenes fit in their respective contexts, this essay seeks to understand how the *Beowulf* poet portrays sleep. In scenes of the Danes sleeping, this paper will conclude that the poet criticizes the manner and perhaps even the places where they sleep. This reading is compatible with that of scholars like Edward Irving, John Niles,

and R. W. Chambers, who all believe the poet's descriptions and epithets of praise of Hrothgar and his court are judgmental and often ironic. In contrast, the sleep scenes concerning Beowulf and his troop provide a heroic model from which the reader or audience can judge the actions of the Danish court.

New College Conference on Medieval & Renaissance Studies, 6-8 March 2008, Sarasota, FL

Bruce, Alexander M. (U of Montevallo): "*Magna Mater on the Moors? The Complexity of Grendel's Mother*"

Grendel's mother is a difficult figure in Beowulf. She is clearly a monster, but one of lesser intensity than Grendel or the dragon. Her gender is unexpected—as is the viciousness of her attack. One even wonders why her episode is included: couldn't the poet have gone from Grendel to the dragon easily enough? (Tolkien certainly skipped her when discussing the role of the monsters in Beowulf.) Yet the poet gave her to us, and we must come to some terms with her. This paper will consider the complex nature of Grendel's mother, specifically possibilities of her mythic function(s). Drawing upon the work of Georges Dumézil, Gilbert Durand, Gaston Bachelard, E. N. Genovese, and Metka Zupančič, among others, I will explore how Grendel's mother can be seen as both a representation and a distortion of several figures familiar from Indo-European myths, including the magna mater, the three-fold goddess, and the valkyries. In short, what I hope to illustrate is that the inclusion of Grendel's mother within Beowulf is a resonance (if not a perfect reflection) of an Indo-European mythic past.

Vince, Raymond M. (U of South Florida): "Dogmatic Precision or Symbolic Ambiguity? Rune, Word, and Mystery surrounding *The Dream of the Rood*"

The *Dream of the Rood,* masterpiece of religious poetry and icon of Anglo-Saxon England, exists in three artifacts, all found ironically outside England. Earliest are fragments in Northumbrian runes, inscribed on Ruthwell Cross, Scotland. Second is the poem itself, in West Saxon dialect, found in the Vercelli Book in Italy. Finally, there is an allusion to the poem, engraved on the Brussels cross-reliquary in Belgium.

An extraordinarily bold interpretation of the Cross of Christ, the poem spoke eloquently to Anglo-Saxon warrior society but also to the theological controversies of the medieval church. What complex set of strange *word-hoard*, metaphor, and symbol enabled *The Dream of the Rood* to communicate so broadly? How does such an imaginative fusion of the suffering Christ and the suffering cross achieve its rhetorical power? Why was

the daring product of Anglo-Saxon art and faith—the Ruthwell Cross—condemned in 1642 as an "idolatrous monument"? How could such a magnificent example of the Northumbrian golden age induce such religious wrath that, in an orgy of iconoclastic zeal, Presbyterian Covenanters mutilated and dispersed the cross?

In the Christian Church, there is a tension between dogma and symbol, which may become a battle between the precision of the literal and the ambiguity of the metaphor. Perhaps all art risks idolatry. The tragedy of Ruthwell is that, despite the middle way of both poem and cross, iconoclasts would try to destroy one of the most creative fusions of word and image in Christendom. Yet, despite such misplaced zeal, the mysteries of this great poem, and its associated artifact, remain.

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Bredehoft, Thomas A. (West Virginia University): "Old Saxon Alfredian Contexts"

Mechthild Gretsch has recently pointed out that the word "ofermod" first appears in Old English in Alfredian texts (*Intellectual Foundations*), and she suggests that the word is an Alfredian borrowing from Old Saxon, used to replace or supplement the native Old English word "oferhygd." Likewise, *Genesis B* has long been seen as an Alfredian-era translation, and Alfred is well known for having employed "John the Old Saxon" as one of his helpers. This paper will explore the implications of recently uncovered lexical, metrical, and formulaic evidence for further Old Saxon influence in Alfredian texts.

Specifically, I will build upon the metrical (and occasionally lexical) arguments I made in my 2005 ISAS paper (forthcoming) that unrecognized metrical evidence suggests Old Saxon influence on four Old English poems: *The Dream of the Rood, Solomon and Saturn, Finnsburg*, and Wulfsige's Metrical Preface to Waerferth's Translation of Gregory's *Dialogues*. Further, I will briefly recap the evidence from my upcoming 2007 MLA paper, in which I will present a new argument for the mutual intelligibility of Old Saxon and West Saxon in the late ninth century. This evidence will largely take the form of poetic formulas apparently borrowed directly from Old Saxon texts without an intervening translation (unless we posit a lost Old English translation of *The Heliand*). Specifically, there is evidence that Old Saxon formulas that were not current in Old English appear not only in the four poems identified above, but also in King Alfred's *Meters of Boethius* (if we ascribe the poetic revisions to Alfred).

Thus, the paper I propose will gather together and present a variety of mostly unpublished evidence (lexical, metrical, and formulaic) for Old Saxon influence on Old English literature that can almost certainly be localized to Alfred's time and place. The conclusion section of the paper will address some of the implications of these new discoveries, especially the importance of *The Heliand* as a possible literary influence and/or textual source that might lie behind various Alfredian texts. As such, I hope this paper will open the door for new research questions into Alfredian texts and contexts.

Čermák, Jan. (Charles University, Prague): "Constraints of Culture, Limits of Language: Old English Poetry in Czech"

I propose to offer an analysis of the most salient points of *how* and *why* my renderings of *Beowulf* (2003) and *The Dream of the Rood* (2005), the first full-length poetic translations of Old English into Czech produced to date, differ and diverge from the original poems.

By looking closely at several collated passages, I will touch upon the major external circumstances—a total lack of literary precedents and the virtual absence of a receiving context—as well as discuss some of crucial internal factors that are likely to predetermine the process of translation from Old English into Czech. The latter concern literary idiom as well as linguistic structure and include:

1) Scarcity of analogous literary forms: The history of Czech literature knows no epic tradition comparable to the complex register of the two poems. The earliest idiom available to the translator is that of romance of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

2) Lexical deficiencies and cultural crosscurrents: While carefully sifting the chivalrous vocabulary, the translator must also strive to steer clear of the romantic lexical layer, coined during the Czech National Revival (1780-1860) largely on Slavonic and German models in an attempt to fill the lexical gaps created in the preceding period when Czech had been ousted from the position of an official language by German and Latin.

3) Syntax and style: The inflectional sentence structure of Czech depends on the verb as a nuclear component and is ill-adapted to nominal condensation. The heavy nominalizations of the Old English poetic register that allow of syntactic openness and implicit semantic marking must therefore be often resolved into concatenated Czech finite verb phrases, thus giving rise to more explicit semantic marking, fewer paratactic junctures and, generally, less fluid rhythm of the verse.

Dumitrescu, Irina (Yale University): "Classroom Performances in Anglo-Saxon Colloquies"

G.N. Garmonsway once complained that "one of the disappointments of Old English literature is the absence of anything cast in the dramatic mould." By "dramatic" he meant the use of dialogue to develop characters and establish verisimilitude, and he meant it strictly in a literary sense. The scholastic colloquies he was studying clearly did not satisfy him, but they are the closest thing to drama or theatre to be found in Anglo-Saxon England.

Ælfric's *Colloquy* and his student Ælfric Bata's *Colloquies* are essentially scripts requiring memorization and some measure of enactment and personification. Because they lack the evidence of staging sought by many scholars of later medieval drama, and because they do not fit into a narrative of origins which finds the beginning of medieval drama in the liturgical *Quem quaeritis* trope, these texts have only been discussed as textbooks. However, their pedagogical use would have allowed boys learning Latin to take on a variety of roles in a fictional framework, to be, in other words, actors in a classroom performance.

This paper will examine the colloquies using modern notions of performance, which, though broad, have at their core a separation between the self and a certain behaviour. In Ælfric's *Colloquy* this separation is obvious, since the students learning it would have impersonated a variety of working men, thus imagining a life outside the monastic setting. From a modern perspective, Ælfric Bata's textbook is even more interesting: by performing as monastic oblates, his boys explored their own possible identities within the monastery.

I will be referring to *De raris fabulis*, the colloquy collection which inspired these textbooks, to demonstrate how both teachers intentionally create a sense of dramatic conflict in their dialogues. This conflict would have allowed them to work through issues of monastic life; in the case of Bata's dialogues, those problems border on the traumatic. Considered together, the two textbooks show a surprising variety in both the nature and purpose of classroom performances. I will end by briefly comparing the colloquies to modern techniques using drama in education.

Faulkner, Mark. (St John's College, Oxford): "Translating the Translation: Latin and Vernacular Glossing in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, c. 1066-1200"

Study of the production and use of vernacular manuscripts after the Norman Conquest has provoked interest in the way Anglo-Saxon manuscripts themselves were treated after 1066. This paper examines how manuscripts of a variety of Anglo-Saxon translations, including the Old English Hexateuch, West Saxon Gospels, the Martyrology, Alfred's translation of the *Pastoral*

Care, Werferth's translation of Gregory's *Dialogues* and the Old English Bede, were glossed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Latin and English. It explores the curious, but frequent phenomenon of the glossing of a vernacular translation back into its original language, and attempts to contextualise this glossing within the more general post-Conquest reaction to Anglo-Saxon books and book collections. I conclude by suggesting that twelfth-century readers came to value the emphasis placed on the vernacular in the late Anglo-Saxon church, a conclusion which has important consequences for how we understand the production of new vernacular manuscripts and texts after 1066.

Ferhatović, Denis. (Yale University): "How to Fit 'Wulf and Eadwacer' into the Bosnian Literary Tradition"

This paper will treat the problem of creating an appropriate Bosnian poetic style, complete with intertextual echoes, into which to translate that highly idiosyncratic example of Old English elegy, the poem from the Exeter Manuscript conventionally named "Wulf and Eadwacer." I will discuss the reasons for and against imitating the following genres and individual works: South Slavic heroic epic (made popular in the English-speaking world, of course, by the work of Parry and Lord and much beloved by certain Anglo-Saxonists); the mixed "epico-lyric" poem "The Wife of Hasan Aga" (an inspiration in the Romantic period for its translators Goethe and Walter Scott); the *sevdalinka,* or "Oriental" song of love-longing, especially the type in which a woman speaks of separation from her lover (that might be linked to the larger Mediterranean tradition of *Frauenlieder*); Mak Dizdar's *Stone Sleeper* (1966), in which he famously uses the idiom of medieval Bosnian tombstone inscriptions (13th–15th centuries). Finally, I will reflect on some solutions to the general problem of translating Anglo-Saxon poetic style into a non-Germanic, but inflected and gendered language, that Mate Maras presents in his Croatian rendition of *Beowulf* (2001). Some combination of these resources will be essential, and taking my own Bosnian version of "Wulf and Eadwacer" as an example, I will show where one might draw on one genre (or work) or another, but, ultimately, I will suggest that the text's uniqueness requires a translation that only lightly alludes to a larger literary tradition.

Friesen, Bill: "*Confitebor tibi in cithara*: The Liturgical language of the Old English Prose *Andreas*"

Though the Old English verse *Andreas* has recently received a considerable amount of scholarly attention, the Old English prose versions of that legend remain comparatively neglected. This paper considers the performative contexts and ecclesiastical aims to which these Andrean legends speak, in *Blickling Homily XIX*, and especially in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 198. It will undertake this by tracing out and analyzing the framework of liturgical language which inhabits these texts.

This talk ties into two present streams of scholarly activity. The dynamics which distinguish Anglo-Saxon prose saints' lives from their verse analogues has been the subject of a number of articles, most recently by Peter Godman and Gernot Wieland, and the manner in which the prose style of the Old English *Andreas* varies from the verse legends has been examined lately by scholars such as Alison Powell and Anita Riedinger. This inquiry builds upon these conversations by reflecting upon the purposes for which these prose lives were written and, more specifically, the ways in which their liturgical language collaborates with those purposes.

Consequently, this discussion tracks the points in the narrative where this language appears and how this operates upon other elements of the plot. This is not to say that the Old English prose *Andreas* introduces the liturgical language, which is also in earlier Greek, Latin and Old English versions of the legend, but rather that it considerably enhances that language and deploys it much more deliberately than previous versions. Thus, overall, the tracing of this liturgical language operates with an eye toward elucidating in sharper relief the cultural milieu for which these lives were fitted.

George, Tricia (University of Tennessee): "Searching for the Voices of Anglo-Saxon Women"

How does one assess the position of women in a society where wives are "bought" and yet characters like Modthryth (or Thryth) in *Beowulf* are created? This paper addresses the challenging question as to whether Anglo-Saxon England represents a Golden Era for women or if it was, on the contrary, an oppressive society for women. Rather than tackling that question head-on, however, I have probed the Anglo-Saxon culture with the dual lenses of their law code and of their literature in order to ascertain whether the voices of the Anglo-Saxon women themselves will emerge and speak to this question in some way. Via the increasing penalty for women committing adultery in the Old English law codes, I have concluded that the presence of such adultery represents a level of agency on the part of the women. And, after some discussion of women as counselors and saints in the literature, *Beowulf's* Wealtheow, Modthryth, and Hildeburh are then studied carefully. While Wealtheow obviously fulfills the role of counselor, examination of her speech reveals that she claims to keep peace in her domain. And though Modthryth's

violent scorn for her suitors demonstrates obvious agency, in Hildeburh I see a profound feminine strength in her devoted love for her kin despite the chaos they bring. Finally, in the poems of *The Wife's Lament* and *Wulf and Eadwacer* I find haunting sentiments of longing and love worthy of attention as authentic voices of Anglo-Saxon women. Indeed by examining the domain of life related to women via both the law code and the literature, I have concluded that while Anglo-Saxon England might not have been a Golden Era for women there was enough freedom for strong or passionate women to assert themselves into the public spaces and literary landscapes of the tumultuous and warrior-focused Anglo-Saxon culture. And what is particularly striking is that when their voices emerge into this space, the women's voices are distinctly feminine and their concerns are in relation to kin, marriage and loved ones. What we see here, then, are women whose love and passions are strong enough to leave impressions equal to that of the actions of their men. Or, in other words, the Anglo-Saxon women demonstrate their strength in that they—some of them anyhow—dealt aptly with the Anglo-Saxon men.

Grubb, Andrew B. (U of Connecticut): "And especially that they did not have the head for the body": Bodily Transformation and Group Dynamics in the Old English *Passion of Saint Christopher* and *Passion of Saint Edmund*"

The dog-headed protagonist and his obdurate foe Dagnus have heretofore claimed much attention in the scholarship that examines the *Passion of Saint Christopher*. However, the groups of people that witness and respond to Christopher's martyrdom and interact with his body play important roles in expressing an attitude toward bodily transformation. Within the work, issues of fragmentation and reconstitution transcend specific and well worn concerns for deciphering Christopher's apparently hybrid identity as saint and monster. Indeed, one can locate the significance of Christopher's preternatural body and its transformations beyond his body as much as within it. The same is true for Saint Edmund, King of East Anglia, whose passion bears a striking resemblance to Christopher's in its structure and in some of its details. Nevertheless, the two works convey very different opinions regarding the saintly body: whereas Christopher anticipates and accepts the fragmentation of his body, Edmund and his constituents express a marked anxiety toward such fragmentation. Analysis of those differences and the ways in which each work expresses a view of the body will contribute to a greater understanding of how the saintly body might function in relation to its audience both within and external to a literary work, and those considerations will also illuminate attempts to distinguish between saint and monster in the *Passion of Saint Christopher*. Christopher and Edmund remain vital elements within their respective stories, but their relationships to broader communities—the Christians prepared to reclaim Christopher's body, the harried East Anglian people, and even the ruthless Vikings—reveal much about the possible significance of the individual body. Considering those possibilities in conjunction with relevant theoretical concepts, including the connection between physical and mental fragmentation, this study will suggest a broader application for the combined analysis of bodily transformation and group activity in medieval literature and culture.

Hartman, Megan (Indiana University): "The Meter of *Maxims*"

Gnomic poetry has always been one of the more enigmatic, and more ignored, varieties of Old English poetry. This trend extends to the study of gnomic meter as surely as to any other aspect of analysis of gnomic poems. Gnomic meter differs from that of other poems primarily because it has such a high incidence of hypermetric lines. But even among hypermetric lines, the poems present some unusual patterns. In his study of hypermetric meter, A.J. Bliss finds six verses which he cannot fit into any pattern, five of which are found in *Maxims I* (and the other in *Solomon and Saturn*, another gnomic poem). Bliss also shows that in *Maxims I* the poet frequently begins the off-verse with a stressed syllable, a metrical pattern which, in other Old English poems, is limited to the on-verse for hypermetric lines. Lastly, he notes that *Maxims I* has a high number of lines which appear to have four fully stressed positions, as opposed to the usual three. R.D. Fulk notes further irregularities beyond specific stress patterns. In a study of hypermetric patterns, he shows that *Maxims I* also has a variety of alliterative patterns, in contrast to the surprisingly standard *aax/xax* pattern that is evident in most hypermetric lines. He also shows that the way syntax and meter interact in these poems is equally unusual, for in hypermetric lines in general, poets prefer to put the finite verbs in the unstressed position at the start of the off-verse, whereas in the gnomic poems the pattern is not nearly so regular.

This paper investigates these irregularities more fully within the context of other hypermetric lines, analyzing to what extent the irregularities appear in other poems and to what extent they present a verse grammar that is unique to gnomic poetry. *Maxims I* displays a verse grammar that, while adhering to most of the major principles of Old English meter, must nevertheless show

some distinct patterns in order to accommodate the peculiar diction that characterizes gnomic poems. The specific shifts in the verse grammar, therefore, seem designed to accommodate the formulas appropriate to gnomic utterances. Furthermore, by making these shifts away from the metrical patterns that dominate most Old English poems, oftentimes by creating lines with more fully stressed positions than elsewhere, the poet would have created a noticeably longer line that could perhaps have signaled to his audience the elevated status of his material.

Hawley, Kenneth (Lubbock Christian University): "English Translations of Boethius and the Afterlife of *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*"

The English translations of *De Consolatione Philosophiæ* preserve Boethius in the language of another nation, another people, from times and places far beyond the reach of the man who died in 524 AD—and far beyond the range of the original's contemporary influence. The various renderings illustrate the mutability that Lady Philosophy warns the Boethius character about in Book II, many of Boethius's translators having personally experienced the transitory nature of the universe: fighting off invasion; negotiating political intrigue; witnessing renaissance, reformation, and restoration; experimenting with neologisms; supplanting an unintelligible precursor with a new rendering; educating students about an historically important philosophy whose immediate cultural relevance has diminished. While the passing of time has had an influence on how the text has been read, understood, and appropriated, the varying degrees of fame that Boethius the author has endured and enjoyed over the centuries demonstrate the validity of Lady Philosophy's exhortation to consider the fleeting nature of earthly fame. However, her argument emphasizes the geographical and political limitations of worldly renown, thus assuming a considerable measure of cultural isolation—nations rarely interacting because of different languages, customs, and value systems. However, something like immortality has been granted, not only through the Latin biographies of Boethius, the editions of his text, and the commentary traditions that surround it, but also through the adaptations and translations of such materials into other languages. It is through its many vernacular versions, then, that *De Consolatione Philosophiæ* lives on, taking on another mode of existence and reaching beyond the scope of the original—Boethius going where Rome could not. The renderings of the *Consolation* into English, then, have contributed to its "afterlife," enabling it to survive centuries of political revolution, cultural transformation, linguistic variation, and philosophical reassessment,

and so become Boethius's most famous and influential text.

Imai, Sumiko (Osaka Ohtani University): "The Stylistic Features of *Beowulf* and Japanese Translation"

The potential word order freedom of Old English, which showed the case of each noun phrase with inflections, enabled the *Beowulf* writer to produce highly intricate sentences. In Japanese translation, such freedom is not as salient; Japanese is an agglutinating language and has relatively free word order, even in ordinary prose. Though strictly literal translation is impossible, we can find two devices in Japanese translations that serve as equivalents to the intricacy of the Old English: the omission of subject, sometimes even full NP, and the inversion of constituents of the sentence.

The omission of subject is often seen in Japanese sentences. When the context enables readers to infer the subject, omission makes sentences plainer and avoids the impression of redundancy. The Japanese translations use this device to achieve an inexplicitness that reflects the complexity of *Beowulf*'s structures.

The inversion of constituents of the sentence is based on the word order freedom of the Japanese language. Though basic Japanese word order is S-O-V, the inversion of constituents is used to give rhetorical effect, such as emphasis, to the sentence.

Another salient feature of *Beowulf* is the abundant variation, 'a sequence of variational expressions—words or phrases that have the same referent and occur in parallel grammatical positions' (Jack 1994: 16). In Japanese translation, while appositions are sometimes reproduced directly, the variations may be combined into a single phrase. This is because too many appositions make Japanese translation unnatural.

Thus, the Japanese translations of *Beowulf* use four methods, the omission of subject, the inversion of sentence constituents, retained appositions, and combining variations into one phrase as equivalents to two stylistic features of *Beowulf* sentences, the word order freedom and the variation.

Joy, Eileen (Southern Illinois University-Edwardsville): "Dying Is an Art, Like Everything Else: The Lowly, Unsettled Aesthetics of Guthlac-Becoming"

Drawing upon Sylvia Plath's poem "Lady Lazarus," Judith Butler's account of ethical violence in "Giving an Account of Oneself," and Jonathan Dollimore's work on death and desire in Western culture, this paper explores the death-haunted erotics of becoming a saint in the wildernesses of Anglo-Saxon England entailed by the violences of normative hagiography. This paper

also explores the queer phenomenology and "dynamic intermezzo" produced by Guthlac in flight through time and space with his demons, and the ways in which the very flux and mutability of the world [and demons] which the saint shuns are also the very means of his "being born/e" as a saint.

Jurgens, Eric (Indiana): "Dagnus or Decius, Dog Head or No: The Many Forms of the St. Christopher Story"

The story of St. Christopher is one of the more tangled and contradictory of all the more well-known saints. There are several distinct strains of motifs contained in the different accounts of Christopher's origin and martyrdom. The most "fantastic" of these, of course, is that he had a dog's head, and was given human speech through the grace of God. In addition, the antagonist of the story differs. In some accounts, it is the Roman Emperor Decius, and in others, it is a barbarian king named Dagnus. However, there does not seem to be any pattern in who the antagonist is. For instance, the two relatively full surviving accounts of Christopher's Life in Old English, though both mentioning his dog's head, differ in who the villain is. More important are the variations in how much torture and what kinds of torture the saint is subjected to. There seems to be two distinct traditions, one tends to be found in the martyrologies which are terse and not detailed as opposed to the longer, self-contained accounts that are. The two old English accounts of Christopher's life seem to represent these two traditions. Further and more detailed research is necessary on this subject, but at the very least, an extensive collation of the texts is useful to trace the evolution of the story.

Kightley, Michael R. (University of Western Ontario): "Communal Interdependence in *The Battle of Maldon*"

Scholarship on *The Battle of Maldon* has tended to emphasize the importance of loyalty, be it the lord-retainer paradigm or the warrior-country paradigm. I would suggest, however, that loyalty is only one of a multiplicity of social connections that underlie the poem. As well as thinking about loyalty *towards*, perhaps we should also be thinking about influence *upon*. I argue in this paper that the social connections of *The Battle of Maldon* are a full web rather than simply a series of rays converging on the English general. More specifically, I hypothesize that the poem is an extended exploration of the relationship between the individual and the communal, and that it presents the fateful battle as evidence for the thorough dependence of the entire community—military, regional, racial, or national—on each of its component members. It does so in part by employing

what I call a causative style: the repeated emphasis on the relationship between causes (often the actions of individuals) and their direct effects (often on the army as a whole).

Kustarz, Michelle (Wayne State University): "The Betrayal of Alexander: Self-fashioning, Hybridity and Unreliable Narrative in the *Letter of Alexander to Aristotle*"

The Letter of Alexander to Aristotle emerges from a larger corpus of texts concerning both monstrous beings in the East and the adventures and battles of Alexander on his journey to and through India. Though the opening of the *Letter* claims that its purpose is to describe India and its various inhabitants and creatures with the intention of increasing Western knowledge, this paper takes the overall stance that Alexander is the prime figure of description and attention, with his surroundings serving more to illustrate Alexander's person rather than their own. From this initial belief, this paper explores the figure of Alexander in three ways: historical figure, literary character, and questionable narrator. Using historical depictions, literary passages, and theories concerning ethnography and the monstrous in the middle ages, I argue that Alexander undergoes various levels of blending and hybridity with the East as he battles against it, making him simultaneously the conqueror and the conquered. As a historical figure, Alexander commits deeds that continuously contradict each other and exhibit a tension between a need to conquer the East and the desire to succumb to it. It is not until the tenth century that Alexander is declared an admirable pagan, and so with the *Letter* pre-dating this declaration a certain ambivalence and tension emerges in the *Letter* in its presentation of Alexander as a literary figure. Along these lines the paper discusses the monstrous attributes of Alexander, the lines he crosses as an outsider and outside observer, and the ultimate unreliability of Alexander as a textual narrator and correspondent.

Marafioti, Nicole: "Executed Criminals and Conquered Kings: Shameful Burial in Anglo-Saxon England"

This paper explores two scandalous episodes in the English succession crisis which followed Cnut's death in 1035: the mutilation of the ætheling Alfred by the reigning king, Harold Harefoot, in 1036; and the exhumation and desecration of Harold's body by Harthacnut, his half-brother and successor, four years later. Both of these acts were politically driven, undertaken by kings who wanted to promote their own dynastic line at the

expense of their rival's. At a time when kings were almost invariably provided with public funerals and intramural monastic tombs, it is remarkable that Harold and Harthacnut each demonstrated their superiority by abusing or desecrating a royal body. Harold had Alfred captured and blinded, a punishment normally prescribed for thieves and traitors in 11th-century England, and the dead body may have been abandoned without burial—a fate normally reserved for excommunicants and the worst secular offenders. Harold himself was interred in a prestigious Westminster tomb when he died in 1040, but when Harthacnut claimed the kingdom later that year, he had the body ejected from its monastic grave and thrown into a swamp. Although these two incidents were described by contemporary commentators as shocking and exceptional, they should not be dismissed as irrational or isolated acts. I argue that both kings appropriated the familiar symbolic vocabulary of criminal punishment in order to re-identify royal bodies as deviants, thereby subverting rival dynasties' claims to the English throne.

Mesley, Matthew (Exeter U): "Searching for a Model Life: Contrasting Two Post-Conquest *Vitae* of St Aldhelm"

This paper will examine the ways in which two monks of Malmesbury abbey sought to reinvent their patron saint, St Aldhelm (d. ca. 709), for a post-conquest audience. In the aftermath of 1066, two lives of St Aldhelm were composed: the first, by the Italian-born Faricius of Abingdon in ca. 1080-1100, and a later biography by William of Malmesbury ca. 1125. Faricius's account has been neglected by most scholars, who have favoured William's 'historical' approach. In so doing, they have overlooked the potential of a comparative textual analysis, which is sensitive to the relationship between the ideology of religious reform and the use of models for the exemplary life.

To redress this lacuna, I will begin my paper with an account of Faricius's *vita*. I will then compare how both authors construct the sanctity of St Aldhelm, investigating the terminology and spiritual models employed to describe the saint's monastic and episcopal vocation. Drawing upon the methodology used by continental scholars such as Stephanie Coué and Thomas Head, I will also examine the narrative structure of each *vita*, and its intended audience. Thus, I hope to show that through the construction of Malmesbury's past, each life served a similar but separate hagiographical function.

Mikuljan, Yvonne (U of Notre Dame): "'Spyrian æfter wisdome 7 æfter cræftum': Wisdom and Virtue as Skill in Alfred's *Boethius*"

During his reign, King Alfred commissioned various translations of Latin texts into Old English as part of his educational program, including Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae*. As in any translation project, Alfred had to negotiate between maintaining faithfulness to the source text and adapting it to his Anglo-Saxon audience. There were both cultural and personal concerns in transferring an earlier Latin work into an Anglo-Saxon society, and these come forth in Alfred's interpretations and linguistic decisions, particularly in his appropriation of *cræft* to mean virtue through its translation of the Latin *virtus*. As has been shown, such a linguistic move not only expands the meaning of *cræft* but illustrates an inherent understanding of virtue as a skill. The meaning of *cræft* is further complicated by the *Boethius*' slippage between wisdom as separate from *cræft* and wisdom as *cræft*. Despite this confusion of terms, the text suggests that there is a direct influence by wisdom on *cræft*, not only as a virtue, but also as a skill. The *Boethius*' emphasis on wisdom, and the slippage between the definitions of wisdom as separate from *cræft* and as a *cræft* or virtue, while unsystematic, indicates that Alfred may have understood wisdom not to be a virtue in the intellectual sense, but that wisdom functions on a moral and practical level. Just as the word *cræft* creates an intimate connection between the performance of skill and virtue, identifying wisdom as *cræftas* suggests a functional relationship between wisdom and skill. Such a resituating of wisdom and virtue within *cræft* suggests that wisdom is required for a person to excel at their *cræft*, the practice of which is located within a particular social structure and for the benefit of that community, thus transforming skill into virtue.

Mittman, Asa Simon: "Anglo-Saxon Frames of Reference: Spatial Relations on the Page and in the World"

Modern notions regarding the function of the frame in art tend to center on the metaphor of the frame as a window into a fictive space beyond, but this idea is entirely rooted in Renaissance theories of vision and perspective. When confronted with the far more dynamic interaction between image and frame in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, we see this metaphor does not apply. James Elkins writes that "paintings seem to be exempt from the world, as if their frames were parentheses letting the text of the world flow on around them, or little fences keeping the picture from straying into the world." But if we turn to the illuminated *Wonders of the East* in the *Beowulf* Manuscript, we find frames that are incomplete, broken and partial. If they are parenthesis, they are opened but not closed again. If they are fences, they are missing many of their posts, and they thereby fail

to contain the threatening beings they ought confine. These creatures do not let the "text of the world"—or of the *Wonders*—flow around them but rather, they reach out that text, attack it and occasionally capture it.

In this talk, I will begin with a close examination of the spatial politics of the page, with particular attention to the literal frames partially surrounding the images of the *Wonders*, but I will then move outward to consider the *Wonders* themselves as a framework though which we can view the theoretically normative Anglo-Saxons. In this context, frame becomes frame of reference; if we browse through the Wonders, turning folio after folio, what we find is a conglomeration, an aggregation, a unified monstrous entity, stitched together by the binding of the manuscript. The images seem to serve to create out of the non-narrative collection of the *Wonders* a unified, monstrous identity against which the collective identity of the English might be established.

Derrida writes that the frame's "transcendent exteriority touches, plays with, brushes, rubs, or presses against the limit." The violence of framing is the violence of division of one from its other. The breakdown of the frames of the *Wonders* is also, though, a form of violence; it allows the meeting of parties that may be hostile to one another. Text and image are usually segregated into their own protective boxes, but in the *Wonders* they are allowed to conflict openly. This is most clearly the case with the Ant-Dogs, though it appears elsewhere, as well, such as the two-headed serpents that lick or breath flames on *deor,* wild beast, or the homodubii (onocentaur), whose open mouth seems to be speaking *gefaran*, to travel, to go, to proceed. Here, bursting from the broken frame, this hybrid being seems to be challenging the statement made by the text, that "no man can easily travel on that land," since he seems on the brink of bursting out of his inadequate containment, traveling not only "on that land," but also into the space of the text and therefore into the space of the reader.

Here, we find the juncture between space on the page and space in the world. Just as the frame fails to reify the division of text from image, so too, it fails to maintain the spatial separation of east and west, of *Wonder* and reader. As the space between the viewer and the viewed collapses, and the images on the page seem to enter the space of the reader, these apparently distant threats become local, and the *Wonders of the East* become a present and active danger.

Mittman, Asa Simon: "Session Respondent: 'Answering the Call of the Severed Head'"

Ælfric of Eynsham translated into English an account of the martyrdom of Saint Edmund, King of East Anglia in the ninth century. Known for his holiness, Edmund

was the unfortunate victim of a series of attacks by the Danes in 870. After having been captured and riddled with arrows that failed to kill him, Edmund was decapitated, and his head was left in the woods by the Danes. His followers sought him, and, as Ælfric tells us, "frequently called out, just as is the custom of those who often go into the woods: 'Where are you now, companion?' And that head answered them, saying 'here, here, here' as often as any of them called." I will use the framework of the *Life of Edmund* to pull the three papers together and then, following the actions of the martyr-king's followers, I will call out to each of these severed head speakers, asking them to answer a few pointed questions (based on a reading of their papers in advance of the conference), in order to spark discussion among the participants and audience.

Nagy, Andrea (Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church) and Kata Ágnes Miklós (Budapest College of Management): "Re-Creating a Tradition: The Problems of Translating Old English Alliterative Poetry into Hungarian"

Translators of poetry often experience the frustration of having to choose between beauty of expression and truthfulness to the original in form and content, especially since the perception of the "beauty" of a literary work is the construct of a given cultural-aesthetic tradition. The difficulty facing the translator is even greater if there is a significant discrepancy between the cultural tradition to which the original work belongs and the cultural tradition behind the target language.

Translating Old English poetry into Hungarian means introducing readers to an unfamiliar poetic and cultural tradition, which requires recreating this tradition in a different linguistic and cultural context. The present paper would like to offer insight into the problems and difficulties facing Hungarian translators of Old English poetry. These problems primarily derive from the peculiar features of Hungarian poetry, characterized by the predominance of rhyming lines and the importance of a fixed number of syllables. Although the native tradition of poetic epic employs a four-stressed, 12-syllable line, and alliteration can play an important part as a decorative device, the formal requirements of Old English poetry remain hard to grasp for both its translators and readers. The dissimilarity of the cultural traditions poses another difficulty: the beginnings of Hungarian literacy are much later than that of Old English, while the image of the Middle Ages in Hungarian literary culture stems from the after-Conquest period.

Our aim in translation is to prepare formally faithful texts based on the Hungarian epic and alliterative traditions, while simultaneously creating the framework of

conventions in which these texts can be read. Beyond simply acquainting Hungarian audiences with Old English poetry, we strive to recreate the tradition in our language and demonstrate its relevance to the modern reader.

Olson, Aleisha (York University): "Almsgiving and the Expression of Lay Piety in Late Anglo-Saxon England"

The giving of alms was a central aspect of lay religious devotional practice in Anglo-Saxon England. The act of almsgiving allowed a person to outwardly express his or her piety as well as allowing that person to inwardly repent and atone for his or her sins. In this way, the giving of alms allowed a person to express many different aspects of Christianity here in life, while at the same time allowing him or her to earn eternal life in heaven as a reward for this Christian behaviour. While there has been much scholarship on almsgiving in Classical and Carolingian studies, almsgiving has been understudied in the field of Anglo-Saxon studies. The homilies of Ælfric of Eynsham and Wulfstan the Homilist, as well as those in the anonymous Blickling and Vercelli codices, are particularly helpful in examining contemporary attitudes toward almsgiving in Anglo-Saxon England, as they were meant to represent the church's teachings on the subject. These homilies are a key source of evidence for lay piety in late Anglo-Saxon England and as such they need to be understood in the context of their dependence on their original sources. With this in mind, this paper will examine the textual references to almsgiving in the Anglo-Saxon homilies with the intention of shedding new light on contemporary attitudes toward this aspect of Christian piety in Late Anglo-Saxon England, roughly the period 900-1066. It seeks specifically to examine the Anglo-Saxon use of the patristic and Carolingian sources dealing with almsgiving and to highlight the problems and effects of this transmission. This paper will also briefly point the way toward future research on the related theme of almsgiving as an indicator of contemporary attitudes toward gift-giving and wealth distribution in Anglo-Saxon England.

Reynolds, Burnam (Asbury College): "*Potior Peregrinatio*: Life Pilgrimage and Place Pilgrimage in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries"

Sometime around the year 560, a teenaged Columbanus, deeply troubled about his life's calling, sought counsel from an anchoress living near Carlow. According to Columbanus' hagiographer, Jonas of Susa, the woman advised the young man to seek the *potior peregrinatio*, or "better pilgrimage." But what did that term mean? There was no consensus in that day as to exactly what

peregrinatio might mean, much less which version of pilgrimage might be "better."

There were two major contending models: life pilgrimage, wherein the individual went wherever God might lead, and place pilgrimage, which consisted of a trip to a holy location with accruing spiritual benefits. The victory of place pilgrimage over life pilgrimage is usually attributed to the emerging popularity of relics and saints' shrines. I contend that an additional factor was the shift of life pilgrimage from a generalized journey wherever God might lead to a more specific, missionary calling.

This shift occurred primarily as a result of the Anglo-Saxon reinterpretation of the Irish model that had brought them to Christianity and led to English missionaries, such as Boniface, taking the lead in condemning "wandering" Irish *peregrini* on the continent in the eighth century and thereafter. I hope this paper will provoke discussion and contribute to a fuller understanding of how place pilgrimage came to predominate in the Christian West.

Sprenkle, Melissa (Whitworth U): "Giving Worms: Contemplating the Feast of Disaster in *Soul and Body*"

The Old English *Soul and Body* can be read as a poetic exemplar prepackaged for insertion into Judgment Day homilies, and its placement in manuscript collections of homilies and religious poetry supports this reading; however, as Douglas Moffat points out, this poem "stands somewhat apart" from the body-and-soul theme tradition developed in England, and it bears only a very general structural resemblance to earlier works. For example, unlike analogues of the soul's address to the body in the homilies, neither version of the poem fully develops a description of the blessed soul to counter-balance the devastation of the damned soul. The Exeter version ends with the condemnation of the damned soul's body, while in the Vercelli version, the blessed soul is given a short thirty-nine lines to complete its "happier" errand where the soul and body are "wound together in joy" and experience the splendor of heaven in rather abstract terms. As Allen Frantzen argues, both versions of the poem climax and seem completed in the infamous "Gifer" passage in which the named worm's progress through the body is described in gruesome detail with seeming relish. According to the poet, Gifer clears the way for other worms to feast (*and to ætwelan / oþrum grymeð / wyrmum to wiste*). This project will trace sources and parallels of the explicit argument and performative force of this extreme scene of bodily abjection in Anglo-Saxon sermons of penance (with emphasis on the Vercelli Homilies) circulating in England during the period in which the poem was copied into the

manuscripts where it now appears. Looking at echoes in penitential literature of this idea that contemplation of excessive bodily suffering and denial provides a better feast for the subject, I will explore how Gifer's service to the his fellow worms would also have been viewed as providing a service to contemporary readers of the poem.

The purpose of such discourse, I will argue, was to produce a Christian subject through the act of reading or listening to this description of a scene of supposed physical and spiritual disaster. Critics, including Frantzen, usually view the poem as a literary theological experiment gone awry either because it fails to fully realize the parallel structures developed in other medieval soul and body literature or because it (perhaps revealingly) gets derailed by literal implications of soul and body distinctions inherent in classical Western thinking. However, the poem's construction of the body/soul relationship may have been particularly productive or interesting to Anglo-Saxon readers because it expresses the soul's dilemma in terms of kinship ties that are not easily translated in classical models of the subject. Furthermore, given the context of contemporary discourses of penance and ideas about how the soul is shaped and perhaps even brought fully into being through such penance, *Soul and Body* may have been viewed as complete and uplifting in ways that seem alien to modern readers. This poem articulates contemporary anxieties about the body's corruption of the spirit and at the same time it grapples on an explicit linguistic level with the notions of kinship that were central to Anglo-Saxon identity. In order to make such textual and cultural relations more visible, this project takes seriously the idea that Gifer is indeed a "giver" to the reader who provides a spiritual discipline and a rhetorical feast in this culminating scene of abjection in the poem.

Thomas Cramer (U of Washington): "The Creation of a New Language of Moral Distinction in Anglo-Saxon England"

This paper argues that Aldhelm of Malmesbury's seventh-century *De Virginitate* was intended to support the authority of religious women within a political environment that increasingly threatened their position both within society and their individual communities. When Aldhelm's text is examined in relation to the patristic sources upon which he relies, it becomes clear that he skillfully manipulated this received tradition in order to create a novel language of moral distinction that was based on performative chastity rather than intact physiology. In the end this paper strives to show that this reconceptualization of virginal prerogatives had important consequences for both religious women

and men and marks Aldhelm's highly-popular *De Virginitate* as an important contribution to an early medieval "feminist" discourse.

Treharne, Elaine M. (Florida State U): "Dangerous Liaisons: Scribal Connections, 1060-1220"

This presentation analyzes the way in which manuscript scholars have researched English codices in the last twenty or so years. Building on the foundational work of James, Ker, Parkes and others, we have made great strides in our understanding of the origins and development of manuscript production. What is also apparent, however, is that hypotheses and suggestions of the earlier major researchers have quickly and erroneously become accepted as 'fact' in the published investigations of later students. This paper seeks to uncover this transformation from suggestion to 'truth' by examining manuscripts with a probable Worcester provenance, such as Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 322, which, during the course of some twenty years and without any further evidence being adduced, appear as of certain Worcester origin in recent publications. These fundamental slips in research have a major impact on the accurate and meticulous apprehension of the development of English manuscripts and need to be brought to light and appraised objectively or corrected where necessary.

Tuckley, Chris (U of Leeds): "An Anglo-Saxon Minster in the Margins: Detecting the Influence of St. Guthlac's Minster in Twelfth-Century Hereford"

My paper attempts to trace the legacy left by St Guthlac's Minster, Hereford, to its successor, the twelfth-century Priory of SS. Peter, Paul and Guthlac. All of the evidence for continuities between minster and priory are taken into account, encompassing the persistence of the dedication to Guthlac and the continued association between the priory and the site of the minster, as well as the survival of a shrine to Guthlac at that site. I use these examples to demonstrate that materials and traditions relating to the priory's secular past (both before and after the Conquest) were preserved into the late twelfth century and beyond, giving a unique colour to certain aspects of daily life at the priory.

I suggest that this is especially evident in a consideration of the priory's book collection, which seems to have contained at least two manuscripts old enough to have come from the minster. I go on to argue that the minster's influence extended into the composition and development of the priory's book collection, with a number of its manuscripts helping to form the nucleus of a new library. This argument depends, of course, on

my being able to situate these manuscripts at the minster before their arrival at the priory, so I intend to illustrate the case for allocating a St Guthlac's Minster provenance by making reference to their contents and structure.

Wang, Stella (Tamkang University, Taiwan): "Chinese Translations of *Beowulf*: Production and Context"

Based on nine partial or complete Chinese translations of *Beowulf* independently published in China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, ranging from the earliest and most unusual examples of 1926/1927 through two important recent efforts of 1992 and 2006, the paper proposes to give the first historical account of these literary productions. This study will place them in a broad cultural context by comparing the Chinese renditions with the contemporary Japanese and western output. In this way the paper attempts to open up a previously unexplored area of investigation in the study of *Beowulf* translation that has been admirably launched by Chauncey Brewster Tinker (1903) and sharply expanded by Marijane Osborn (1997, 2003). In addition, the paper seeks to describe these historical Chinese renderings of *Beowulf* not just in terms of their global connections but also their local and regional significance. Above all, the Chinese renditions of *Beowulf* reveal complex conditions of literary production that have been closely linked with local and regional ideas of modernity and modernization. To scholars of Chinese culture bent on imagining a modern Chinese nation state, the epic poem offered an important model of a western cultural heritage. At the same time, the aspects of the poem that spoke to the early literary elite's imagination and made introducing and translating it desirable varied from one endeavor to the next. The initial attempts were further complicated by the circumstances of western medieval studies in China, where specific Anglo-Saxon studies were virtually nonexistent till very recently. Any discussion and treatment of OE materials would therefore have to rely on sources in more accessible modern languages such as English and, particularly in the early twentieth century, Japanese. Still, poignantly reminiscent of the early western *Beowulf* scholarship and translations that were also impacted to various degrees by Romantic nationalism, a deep interest in the issues of cultural heritage and national character runs through the first paraphrases and translations by Zheng Zhenduo (1926, 1927) and [Liang] Zhi pan (1934). After 1949, competing approaches to the question of Chinese modernity take a political split across the Taiwan Strait. The ensuing translations of *Beowulf* by Chen Guohua (1959) in China and Yan Yuanshu (1974, 1985) and Liang Shiqiu (1983) in Taiwan appear to provide a footnote to the

regional ideological tension that affects the reading of *Beowulf* on issues such as class conflicts and the significance of the fantastic in the poem. But to focus on one academic point, the translations show the continuous limited attention to OE literature as a distinct field within the broad scope of western medieval studies in Chinese-speaking regions. The disciplinary ambiguity has been addressed from the late 1980s through the present, which witnesses, among other efforts, the publication in China in 1992 of the first complete Chinese verse translation of *Beowulf* from the OE text by Feng Xiang, a partial prose translation by Feng's mentor, the late Li Funing (2006), and another verse rendition that I am now preparing.

Wang, Stella (U of Rochester): "Genre Trouble (?): Teaching Tolkien to Chinese-speaking Students of the Multimedia Era in Taiwan"

This presentation is based on my experience with teaching Tolkien to Chinese-speaking students in Taiwan during the years 2003-2006. But it has educational implications for teaching Tolkien in broader cultural and geographical contexts as well. I suggest that, while the boundaries of literary genres are necessarily tentative and oftentimes territorial, fantasy, particularly since the onset of the multimedia era, has displayed phenomenal generic and physical border-transgression around the globe. The concurrent evolution and trafficking of modern fantasy has complicated the reception of Tolkien and the related imaginary texts for the e-generation readers. This complexity deserves even more critical attention when distinct local, regional, and transnational genealogies of fantasy are taken into account. The challenge, then, for teaching Tolkien in a number of pedagogical settings may be a question about how to overcome and indeed take advantage of the intriguing genre trouble. While the art of Tolkien's works cannot be adequately addressed without due attention to the texts and their mythological, linguistic, literary, and socio-political backgrounds, the text-based cultural-studies approach takes on a new meaning in the multimedia era of neo-fantasy. Close reading, for instance, allows the students to see Tolkien's texts and all adaptations thereby as a result of sophisticated manipulations of intersecting sub-genres of fantasy that have immediate local and global relevancy to the students' own e-generation cultural experiences. This acknowledgment can be quite liberating and empowering. Tolkien's Middle-earth fantasy is engaged, performatively—neither being limited by the time-and-cultural-specific mythic and literary elements of the texts, nor being prescribed, for instance, by the narrative sequences and visual effects of the immensely popular film renditions.

Wehrman, Michael (Yale University): "A Saintly Employee: Willibald's *Life of St. Boniface* as an Alternative to the Holy Man Model"

Winfrid, better known as St. Boniface (d. 754), was a pivotal missionary figure in Frankish lands, and his *vita* (c. 765) written by Willibald differs in some ways from typical hagiographies. In particular, through Boniface's ceaseless obedience and devotion to Rome, his organizational work, and the general lack of miracles within the *vita*, Willibald portrays Boniface not as an independent, wonder-working holy man, but as someone fitting into the larger Church hierarchy. In this paper I will discuss how Boniface is set up as a model figure as envisioned by Pope Gregory the Great and how Boniface (who shares his name with several figures associated with Gregory) reenacts scenes from Gregory's *Dialogues* and exhibits the qualities espoused in his *Regula Pastoralis*. This offers an alternative to the modes of sanctity previously offered by holy men in Francia such as Martin of Tours, and, in particular, Columbanus. In contrast to those more-or-less independent individuals, Boniface is instead offered as a model of regulation, efficiency, and obedience, akin to the "Organization Man" discussed by William H. Whyte in the 1950s. Instead of focusing on miracles, Willibald puts his energies towards Boniface's earthbound qualities. Even when Boniface does work a miracle (his notable destruction of an oak tree dedicated to Thor at Geismar), this event recalls a scene from the *Dialogues* and serves to show Boniface's Roman methods as being superior to traditional, local, Frankish church practices. In Willibald's *vita*, Boniface is portrayed as an archetypal employee of Rome whom other churchmen should strive to emulate.

Canadian Society of Medievalists, 2008 Congress of the Humanities and Social Sciences, 1-3 June 2008

Kightley, Michael (U of Western Ontario): "Socialism and the 'Folk' of William Morris's *Beowulf*"

Fiona MacCarthy was perhaps justified in her dismissal of William Morris and A.J. Wyatt's 1895 translation of *Beowulf*: "few people have had a good word to say for Morris's *Beowulf*," she wrote, "I will not attempt one. It is Morris at his most garrulous and loose." Unfortunately, with a small number of notable exceptions (including Robert Boenig and Chris Jones), few people have had any words to say about it at all. "Garrulous" Morris and Wyatt's *Beowulf* may be, but its aesthetic value should not determine the amount of critical attention it receives, particularly since it is a text so invested in racial ideas that even its garrulousness has ideological significance. In this paper I examine this racial ideology,

specifically Morris's use of the poem as a platform for representing the Viking Age Danes (and the Germanic tribes in general) as exemplars of his Socialist ideals.

More specifically, I place Morris and Wyatt's translation in two contexts. First, I demonstrate how their translation choices, from their archaisms to their insistent use of the word "folk," reinforce ideas that Morris detailed in his collaboration with fellow Socialist E. Belfort Bax (*Socialism: Its Growth and Outcome*, 1893). Second, I compare Morris and Wyatt's text to samples from earlier translations of the poem, particularly the 1892 version by John Earle. By placing Morris and Wyatt's translation within these contexts, I show how they construct the medieval Danish and Anglo-Saxon races not only as England's past, but also as its ideal future.

Medieval Education in Perspective Conference, Bangor University, Wales, June 13, 2008

Dumitrescu, Irina (Yale University): "Bede's Pedagogy of the Unexpressed"

In Book V, Chapter 2 of his *Ecclesiastical History*, Bede relates a miracle in which St John of Beverley heals a mute youth from the local village. After making the sign of the cross over the man's tongue, John has him say "yes" in English, and then repeat the letters of the alphabet, syllables, words, and finally, full sentences. The young man, suddenly able to communicate his inner wishes and thoughts, does not cease speaking as long as he can stay awake. Bede's painstaking and detailed description of the way John heals the unfortunate man's muteness flags this miracle as representative of more than another line on the saintly *curriculum vitae*. Bede, I will argue, stages here an instructional moment, and by dramatizing one young man's entry into language, reveals a mode of thinking about language itself.

The dumb man's transformation from muteness to speech is slow and painstaking; he does not miraculously possess speech, but he is aided by a divine teacher while he *learns* to speak. And, while it is implied that the man learns to speak English, John teaches him language as it would have been understood theoretically, shaped by literate, Latin culture. By suggesting that English can be thought of in grammatical terms, Bede anticipates the achievement of Ælfric's Grammar.

In his study of child language and aphasia, Roman Jakobson distinguishes between "true apraxia," an inability to carry out the physical movements required for the production of sounds of language, and "sound-dumbness," that is, "an apraxia for conventional linguistic signs." By comparing the miracle in the *History* to analogous miracles in the Bible, Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*, and later lives of John of Beverley, I

demonstrate that Bede deliberately writes an aphasic patient who suffers, not from a physical impediment, but from an inability to use linguistic signs. Indeed, just as Jakobson provides a model for how aphasics progressively (re)acquire language in accordance with the Saussurean theory of linguistics, Bede shows an aphasic acquiring language through the grammatical model available to him. In this respect, John's gesture over the mute man's tongue goes beyond the charmlike powers of the Christian cross on a fleshly but inadequate organ: in making the *signum sanctae crucis*, the saint releases the man into the realm of signification, allowing him to express his inner world.

The International Medieval Congress 2008, University of Leeds, July 7-10, 2008

Kato, Takako (U of Leicester): "Towards a Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing English: 1060 to 1220"

The major function of a catalogue is to provide users with a set of data in an organized manner so that the users can find the necessary information; hence the advantage of using digital tools for a catalogue is, in a sense, self-explanatory.

The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220 Project (http://www.le.ac.uk/ee/em1060to1220/), a collaborative project between the Universities of Leeds and Leicester, is currently creating the first ever full and accurate electronic catalogue of the texts, including documents written in, or containing, English from c. 1060 to 1220. The Project aims to establish the corpus, demonstrate its validity within English literary culture, and illustrate its implications for a wholesale reinterpretation of textual production in the post-Conquest period. It will address fundamental research questions about vernacular textual culture and the strategic use of written English in a period that saw both continuity and innovation from pre- to post-Conquest England.

The manuscripts are described in TEI-compliant XML, which ensure longevity and portability of the data. The descriptions will be fully searchable. We also hope to optimize the computing technologies and provide sophisticated and advanced enquiry facilities, which will not only help us answer the research questions we initially set for the project but also will foster further research questions in our fields.

Panel: After Fontes: Anglo-Saxon Authors and their Literary Sources

Olson, Aleisha (U of York): "From Augustine to Ælfric: Textual Sources for Almsgiving in Late Anglo-Saxon England"

Stepongzi, Sara (U of St Andrews): "England's Place in Space and Time: Anglo-Saxon Authors and their Sources"

Fera, Rosa Maria (St Catharine's College, Cambridge): "The Five Senses in Old English Prose"

Following the publication of its vast register of Anglo-Saxon literary sources, the collaborative research project *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* recently decided to disband. Over three decades, this AHRC-funded project produced research on Anglo-Saxon textual composition, leaving a lasting impression in the field of medieval source study. As one of its last undertakings, the project decided to sponsor a session at the IMC 2008 which was to encourage younger scholars in the study of literary sources used in Anglo-Saxon England. The proposed session has therefore gathered three postgraduate students and one academic moderator (all now based in the United Kingdom, but originally from three different countries and two continents), who are engaged in research on literary comparison. The focus of the proposed session is on the relationship between texts and the influences of literary authors upon one another. Although related in their methodology, the three papers will study a variety of literary and historical themes (sensory perception, the changing image of a nation in space and time, and almsgiving). The session hopes to highlight the widespread and long-lived distribution of these themes in the history of ideas, and the importance of source study.

Panel: Anglo-Saxon after the Middle Ages

Crawforth, Hannah J. (Princeton University): "Spenser's *Shepheardes Calendar* and Early Old English Studies"

Jones, Chris (U of St Andrews): "Old English Poetry in the 19th Century"

Davies, Joshua (King's College London): "Anglo-Saxon Studies in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction"

This panel will examine refractions and constructions of Anglo-Saxon language and literature from the Renaissance to the 20th century. Anglo-Saxonism is not a stable phenomenon, but permanently evolving and always historically situated. The study of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Saxonism cannot be separated; the two are co-dependent and coincide. Focusing on Spenser and his contemporaries, Victorian poetry, and modern technologies of reproduction, this panel will examine some of those coincidences and co-dependencies.

Panel: Conceptualising Objects: Presentation, Responses, and Display

McCormick, Elizabeth L. (U of York): "High Crosses Going Abroad: Plaster Casts at International Exhibitions"

Boulton, Meg (U of York): "The Book as 'Church': The Illuminated Gospel Book as Conceptualized Space"

Maddern, Christine Frances: "Northumbrian Books of the Dead: Early Medieval Name Stones"

The emphasis of this session will be on the form and function of early medieval, especially Anglo-Saxon, material culture. All three papers build on the object-based themes of presentation, audience, and the act of contemplation. The papers are unified in their exploration of objects which take on alternative forms and additional meanings, for example the casts as cultural symbols, the manuscripts as 'Church' and sculpture as memorial. Broadly speaking, the session aspires to generate both an exchange of methodological ideas and to shed new light on the relationship between the form and function of early medieval objects.

Panel: Women in Power, Women Without: The Wives, Widows, and Sisters of Kings and Dukes in the Anglo-Norman World, I

Thompson, Kathleen (U of Sheffield): "Being the Duke's Sister: The Role of Adelaide of Aumale"

Cartwright, Charlotte (U of Liverpool): "Before She Was Queen: Matilda of Flanders as Countess of Normandy"

Green, Judith A. (U of Edinburgh): "The Lady Vanishes: Duchesses of Normandy in the Early 12th Century"

While much work has been done on prominent and powerful high-status women in the medieval period, less attention has been paid to those who were pawns in the games of diplomatic marriage, who were excluded from power by their husbands or circumstances, or who chose not to seek power or to operate the power at their disposal. These two linked sessions contrast powerful and powerless women in the Anglo-Norman and Angevin worlds. Five of the papers use case studies of individual royal and ducal women, mostly ones who have been relatively neglected in the scholarship and whose lives display different positions in relation to their menfolk: as wives, sisters, mothers, fiancées and widows. The sixth provides an overview of and reflection on the wider topic of why some women exercised power and others did not.

Panel: Early Medieval Coinage, I: Sceattas—Current Developments

Metcalf, David Michael (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford): "The Circulation of Sceattas in the East Midlands"

Blackburn, Mark (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge): "The Chronology of the Sceattas Revisited"

Abramson, Tony (Leeds): "The Wim de Wit Collection of Sceattas in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge"

Presentation and discussion of results of current research and other activity in the field of early Anglo-Saxon coinage relating to distribution, usage, and trade as discerned from established accumulations, recent metal detection finds, and acquisitions.

Panel: The Dictionary of Old English Plant Names Project (DOEPN)

Sauer, Hans (Universität München): "The Structure of the DOEPN"

Bierbaumer, Peter (Karl-Franzens-Universität, Graz): "The Identification of the OE Plant Names"

Krischke, Ulrike (Universität München): "The Semantics of the OE Plant Names"

In this session we shall present the DOEPN (Dictionary of Old English Plant Names) which is a joint project of the Universities of Graz and Munich, and which is also associated with the ASPNS (Anglo-Saxon Plant Name Survey). This electronic dictionary will list all the OE plant names, including rare and doubtful ones. It will deal with the identification of the plants as well as with linguistic aspects of plant names. Information will be provided on spelling, declension, number of occurrences (including the quotations), meaning, etymology, morphology (including word-formation) and semantic structure.

Panel: The Unnatural World, IV: Socio-Political Monsters

Davis, Craig R (Smith College): "Natural Monstrosity in *Beowulf*"

Blurton, Heather (University of York): "Unnatural Bodies: Cannibalism and Gender"

Gilpin, Sally-Jayne (Collin County Community College): "*The Wife's Lament* and the Elusive Abode"

Many scholars have turned to issues of monstrosity and abnormal geographies, using these themes to draw conclusions about medieval cultures and discourses. Such subjects are often viewed as being aberrations, outside of nature. One of four interrelated sessions proposed on 'The Unnatural World' (conceived in response to and in accordance with the year's theme), this panel focuses on the interplay of monstrosity and society. As notions of monstrosity were often rooted in a sense of difference from the standards of normative society, the definitions of these two seeming disparate categories were mutually dependant, as will be explored in these papers.

Panel: Gender in Old English Hagiographic Texts

Heyworth, Melanie (U of Sydney): "Emulating *Sponsus Christus*: Marriage and Masculinity in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*"

Koppinen, Pirkko (Royal Holloway, U of London): "The Stripped Hero: Masculinity in the Old English *Andreas*"

Lees, Clare A. (King's College London) and Diane Watt (Aberystwyth University): "Transgender in the Desert: The Old English *Life of Mary of Egypt*"

Gender is no longer solely an issue of women vs. men. In this session, we seek to explore gender in three very different Old English hagiographic texts. Melanie Heyworth will compare the construction of an active, masculine Christ with that of husbands in Ælfric's *Lives* of married saints. Pirkko Koppinen will offer a semiotic reading of the naked body in *Andreas* and explore what it is to be an adult male occupying the heroic space. Clare Lees and Diane Watt's joint paper will examine the complex interplay of gender issues in *The Old English Life of Mary of Egypt*.

Panel: Early Medieval Coinage, II: Iconography

Karkov, Catherine E. (University of Leeds): "The Boat and the Cross: Church and State in Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage"

Webster, Leslie E. (Independent Scholar, London): "The King's Beasts?: The Sceatta Menagerie Revisited"

Naismith, Rory (Trinity College, Cambridge): "Kingship and Learning on the Broad Penny Coinage of the 'Mercian Supremacy'"

The purpose of this session is to explore the iconographic sources and parallels for, and meanings of, the imagery that appears on sceattas and later pennies. By setting the imagery of the coins within their larger cultural context we will be able to understand what sort of messages would have been conveyed by the coins to those amongst whom they circulated. By including a consideration of the later pennies, we can gain some insight into the ways in which early Anglo-Saxon imagery, and the practices of early Anglo-Saxon kings, affected those of the later period.

Panel: Problems with Plant Names

Biggam, Carole (University of Glasgow): "Entering the Jungle: The Nature of Plant-Names"

D'Aronco, Maria (Università di Udine): "Some Problematic Plant-Names: *Elehtre* and *Galluc*, A Reconsideration"

Hall, Alaric (University of Leeds): "'My Sigurðr was to the sons of Gjúki as is garlic growing up from grass': Why Were Medieval Germanic Speakers So Passionate about Alliums?"

The session tackles some puzzling plant names in Old English and Old Norse. D'Aronco considers the meaning of *elehtre* and *galluc* as examples of how the Anglo-Saxons coped with translating Latin plant names in Old English medical texts, and Hall considers why Germanic-speaking cultures were so interested in alliums (plants such as garlic), ranging widely through runic inscriptions, Scandinavian literature, and Anglo-Saxon medicine.

Panel: Marriage and Mothers

Brown, Linda Dorothy (University of Missouri, Kansas City): "Marriage and the Cloister"

Incorporating the stories of individual women, including Mary of Blois and Elizabeth Juliers, I will explore the interplay between marriage and the cloister. Though seemingly at odds, an examination of these two avenues for medieval girls and women reveals significant parallels, including the bridal imagery associated with the *sponsa Christi* as well as the legal overlap regarding age and consent. Additionally, chronicles, visitation records, genealogies, and charters demonstrate that legal and spiritual barriers were at times overcome or ignored when familial and political pressures required. As such, I will explore how women moved between marriage and the cloister—and vice versa.

Yazigi, Maya (University of British Columbia): "Your Mother's Memory: Celebrating Women in the Arabic Genealogical Tradition"

Aside from providing information about descent, Arabic genealogies often contain anecdotal material relating to some of the men and women mentioned in the text. This information usually pertains to a memorable occasion involving this person or to a glorious feat by the individual, whether very briefly mentioned, or slightly more elaborately told.

This paper explores stories that were recounted about women in a number of works of Arabic genealogy of the classical period. It isolates the types of deeds that women are noted for in this literature, and attempts to explain the choices made by the authors of these works.

Blud, Victoria (King's College London): "The Monsters of Marriage: Hybridity and Performativity in Medieval Matrimony"

In this paper I will be examining the rites and economics of marriage in medieval culture, referring particularly to the development of marriage contracts and the performative character of the marriage rites. The spiritual, legal and economic features of the relationship of marriage, I would suggest, come to resemble hybridity more closely than union. This hybridity, as Stephanie Hollis argues, incorporates "the construction of women as essentially 'other' and inferior beings." I will be looking at the significance of hybridity and otherness to both medieval marriage customs and to medieval concepts of monstrosity (for instance in bestiaries), tracing the development of this 'construction of women' from the Anglo-Saxon period through to the later Middle Ages.

Bullimore, Katherine J. (Independent Scholar, Thirsk): "Unpicking the Web: The Divorce of Ecgfrith and Æthelthryth"

In 672 the marriage of Ecgfrith of Northumbria and his wife, St Æthelthryth, was dissolved on grounds of non-consummation. The historian Bede's claims that Ecgfrith was reluctant to let his wife go are usually regarded as hagiographic convention, but might Bede have been right? The intention is to consider what reasons Ecgfrith might have had to want to keep up the marriage by looking at politics in the English kingdoms of the period, the importance of seventh-century marriage alliances, and what the consequences of dissolving the marriage may have been.

Panel: Bede Studies

Darby, Peter (University of Birmingham): "Eschatological Thought in Bede's Commentary on 1 Samuel"

The end of the world is a significant theme in Bede's work, recurring particularly often in his Old Testament exegesis. Bede's commentary on 1 Samuel was written circa 716 and dedicated to Acca, bishop of Hexham. The opening lines of the fourth book explain that the completion of the commentary had been delayed because of a period of great personal distress, caused by the unexpected departure of Abbot Ceolfrid for Rome. This paper will consider passages from the Samuel commentary, and assess whether the circumstances surrounding the work's composition can be related to its eschatological content.

Nanzan, Masako (Ohashi University, Nagoya): "The 'Pelagianism' in the Papal Letter of 640"

In the Ecclesiastical History (II:19), Bede quotes from the letter of pope-elect John IV (640) addressed to the Irish clergy, which suggests that there were two serious problems (Quartodecimanism and Pelagianism) in Ireland. The Irish Easter was sometimes criticised as being Quartodecimanism, because it included the fourteenth day of the moon (thus *Quartodecimans* 'Fourteeners'), and the papal accusation might come from such a situation. But concerning Pelagianism, which is said to be a 'revival' in the letter, it is difficult to take the information at face value, since there is no clear evidence about the former existance of Pelagianism in Ireland. This paper will investigate the nature of the 'Pelagianism' accused in the letter by examining sources including those written in later period.

Tinti, Francesca (Università di Bologna): "People, Names, and Miracles in Bede's *Lives of Cuthbert*"

This paper will examine Bede's treatment of Cuthbert's miracles with special attention to the way in which the author refers to and describes his informants. These reports will be compared with those provided in the earlier *Anonymous Life of Cuthbert*, Bede's main source for his own *Lives of Cuthbert*, to try to identify the reasons which in several cases led the later hagiographer to divert from the earlier text and mention different witnesses to the same miracles.

Panel: Englishness and the Sea, I: Writings in Old English

Clarke, Catherine A.M. (Swansea University): "Unstable Spaces: Imagining Sea Tides in Early Medieval England"

Michelet, Fabienne (University of Toronto): "*Ne me herestræta | ofer cald wæter cuðe sindon* (*Andreas* 200b-201): Treading the Sea Roads in Old English Accounts of Migrations and Sea Journeys"

Neville, Jennifer (Royal Holloway, University of London): "Endless Resistance: The Everchanging Sea in the Exeter Book Riddles"

Geographically and culturally, the sea 'defines' Britain as well as a large part of England. But whilst Prospero's elemental mastery over water and his subjugation of Caliban express an insular understanding of Englishness that embraces both land and sea, many premodern texts appear to resist such integrative readings. For the most part, today's scholarly literature is content with making assumptions about the sea's cultural role. These two sessions, concerned with writings before and after the Norman Conquest, explore the sea's contribution to changing models of Englishness and their at times unfixed insularity.

Panel: Contexts for Bede's Writings

Papahagi, Adrian (Warburg Institute, University of London): "Aldhelm, Bede, Cædmon, and the Beginnings of Old English Poetry"

Each of the few surviving pieces of Northumbrian vernacular poetry is luckily associated with a name: Cædmon is the alleged author of the Hymn quoted by Bede, Aldhelm is the author of the riddle translated into the Northumbrian dialect in Leiden, MS Voss 106, and the numerous copies of the *Epistola Cuthberti de obitu Bedae* attribute the five lines of the so-called 'Death Song' to Bede. This situation is amazing and utterly atypical, if one considers the anonymous nature of the poetry of later ages, with the notable exception of Cynewulf's signed poems. However, only Bede and Aldhelm are identifiable historical characters, which did not prevent critics from ascribing attributed texts like Bede's 'Death Song' to possible ghost-writers like Cædmon, who is until further evidence only a character in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*. The circle is thus narrowed to include only Bede and Aldhelm, and the latter may well have translated his own riddle from Latin into his native tongue. In any case, if we believe the testimony of King Alfred's lost *Handboc*, reported by William of Malmesbury, Aldhelm was a consummate poet in his mother tongue, and indeed, as Michael Lapidge pertinently argues, some of his Latin poetry discloses the influence of homespun formulas and alliterative patterns.

Is it not surprising then to find as the only named fathers of Old English verse the undisputed masters of Latin learning? What is the actual relationship between the Latin and the Old English poetic traditions in those times? Are Latin riddles popular in the Merovingian age (Aldhelm, Tatwine, Boniface) because they appeal to the Germanic taste, or do they find their way into Old English because of the Anglo-Saxons' sudden passion for Symphosius? Are Aldhelm and Bede the true inventors of the literary tradition of Old English verse, or do they rely on forerunners like Cædmon and other less divinely inspired *woðboran*? Was Bede a poet with 'a distinctive voice' in vernacular poetry, and 'one which deserves to be better heard', or are his two poems rather awkward *probationes pennae* in an as yet undeveloped poetical language? The learning of Aldhelm and Bede is immense, and still full of surprises; but does it include Old English verse craft more than accidentally? Are they just two known names in the Northumbrian vernacular poetic tradition? Why then does no other contemporary poetry survive outside the learned circle of Aldhelm and Bede? Why was Bede's comparatively insignificant 'Death Song' copied forty-five times in three different versions, whereas practically every other poem in Old English survives in only one version?

The present paper offers to address these and other vexed questions that tantalise the readers of the earliest Old English poetry, in an attempt to better assess the relationship between the Latin literary tradition and the Anglo-Saxon vernacular one. As so often, Bede is the main key to the understanding of his age.

Ó Broin, Brian (William Paterson University): "How Bede Received, Altered, and Moulded the Anglo-Saxon Understanding of Christ's Ascension"

Bede was a key figure in the development of Anglo-Saxon Ascension theology, placing the Blessed Virgin in his Ascension hymn as *mater ecclesia*, the church founded at the Ascension by Christ. Bede also emphasized the regal nature of Christ and his role as head of the church, a body whose members all Christians are. One of the major Christological developments in Ascension theology of the early medieval period is the idea of Christ as king, which was intimately related to the doctrine of Christ's two natures and his role as priestly mediator between two realms. This thinking gains importance within and outside Anglo-Saxon Ascension material from the time of Bede on.

Morawski, Marcin (Dominican College, Warsaw): "'*Iuxta illud psalmistae*': Psalms in Bede's *Homilies*"

In his two books of homilies for Sundays and major festivals, Bede frequently quotes from the Psalter, the book he knew by heart from daily office. I would like to

explore different uses of those quotations according to the medieval theory of four senses of the Scripture.

Panel: New Voices in Early Christian Art: Rome, Ravenna, and Jerusalem

Izzi, Luisa (University of York): "Rome: Anglo-Saxon Pilgrim Itineraries and Graffiti"

Sanchez, Becky (University of York): "Ravenna: Mosaics and Christian Triumph"

Denton, Amanda (University of York): "Temples and Tabernacles: Early Anglo-Saxon Visions of Jerusalem"

This session looks at the artistic legacy of Rome, Ravenna, and Jerusalem and considers their enduring influence on the art, architecture, and material culture of early medieval England. Using art historical analyses, this session questions the impacts, both physical and symbolic, of these Christian centres in the construction of early Christian iconographies.

Panel: Anglo-Saxon Riddles

Graham, Stephen (Trinity College, Dublin): "Partitions and the Construction of Identity in Riddles 14 (Horn) and 26 (Book/Bible) of the Exeter Book"

Jorgensen, Alice D. (Trinity College, Dublin): "Unmaking the World in the Exeter Book Riddles"

A substantial corpus of Latin and Old English riddles survives from Anglo-Saxon England, affording a distinctive perspective both on the meeting of Latin and Germanic poetic tradition and on Anglo-Saxon constructions, and deconstructions, of the self and the world. Aldhelm's riddle on Creation illuminates his debt to and departure from the late antique poet Symphosius; it exemplifies how the *Ænigmata* explores God's world as simultaneously paradoxical and familiar. The Exeter Book riddles present inanimate speakers in human terms, producing multi-faceted personal identities. They draw on the social categories embedded in traditional heroic poetry but subvert and extend them. The world-view they reveal may be Christian but is often deeply pessimistic and violent.

Panel: Representations of the Natural World: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Text and Image

Semper, Philippa J. (University of Birmingham): "Representing Creation: Text and Image in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts"

Shepherd, Sianne (University of Birmingham): "'For everything there is a season': Images of the Natural World in Anglo-Saxon Calendars"

Ward, Mary (University of Birmingham): "Concealed by the Wood: Tree Imagery in Old English Poetry"

This session will examine a range of texts, images, and imagery in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, moving from creation through the seasons to a close look at a single aspect of the natural world. We will apply a variety of critical approaches—literary, historical, art historical—to trace the ways in which these manuscripts present specific aspects of relationships with and attitudes to nature in the Anglo-Saxon period. Our analyses will reveal interactions between artistic, scientific and religious ideas and representations, reshaping everyday experience of the world into a complex model which both contributes to and conforms to cultural expectation.

Panel: Signs, Symbols, and Imagery in Old English Texts

Hayes, Mary (University of Mississippi): "Rood Awakening: Vision, Compunction, and Tangible Signs of the Cross in *The Dream of the Rood*"

This talk examines the Rood-poet's representation of gazing informed by Barthes's *Camera Lucida* (1980). According to Barthes, the photograph is an emanation of its subject's 'luminances' that once touched the photographic image's surface and are taken in when the viewer gazes upon it. The viewer's gaze also attends to the photograph's *punctum*, a trenchant detail that seems to wound him. Barthes's notions of photographic spectatorship resonate in the dreamer's descriptions of the rood's light and wounds, which suggest an emanating presence and thus disclose his desire for a tangible association with the true cross and Christ's wounded yet glorious body.

Warrington, Paula Frances Tarratt (University of Georgia): "The Cultivated Mind: Agrarian Imagery in Old English Texts"

There is a long tradition of using agrarian and horticultural imagery when exploring the 'inner experiences' of humankind, and many such images can be found in Old English texts. Life in Anglo-Saxon England was closely attuned to the rhythms of the agricultural year, of course, and the texts available to educated Anglo-Saxons were themselves produced within predominantly agricultural settings (note, for example, the many allegorical uses of horticulture within biblical parables).

In this paper, I shall show that Old English descriptions of mental processes employ such imagery systematically, particularly in the context of transmitting Christian teaching.

Znojemská, Helena (Univerzita Karlova, Praha): "Images of Exile and Wilderness in *Guthlac A*"

The paper aims to complement recent readings of the saintly hero's venture into the wilderness in *Guthlac A* focusing on his appropriation and (re)ordering of that space which brings it from the sphere of the hostile and unknown to that of the pleasant and familiar. The analysis of the poem's general vision of the world and society as well as the verbal contests in which Guthlac and the devils negotiate the right of possession to the site shows that the proposed dichotomy is complicated by the introduction of the opposition between homeland and exile, and the way it is used by the narrator, the protagonist and his tempters to define the saint's status.

Panel: From Birth to Death: Vernacular Instruction on How to Live a Good Life in the Middle Ages

Scammell, Jennifer (University of Glasgow): "Negotiating the Nativity: Motherhood and Meaning in Late Medieval Society"

Dallachy, Fraser James (University of Glasgow): "Morality for Dummies: Pedagogical Use of the *Disticha Catonis* in Glasgow MS Hunter 259"

Green, Johanna (University of Glasgow): "Seeking Salvation: Preparing for Death in the Exeter Book's *Judgement Day I* and *Contrition A* and *B*"

The panel considers the didactic qualities of a range of moral and religious works in Old and Middle English. The first paper explores the social function of late medieval literary, as well as artistic, accounts of Christ's birth, with particular regard to lay female audiences and the role of Mary as mother. The second paper examines the potential educational uses of the Middle English translation *Distichs of Cato* contained in Glasgow University Library. The final paper compares the effectiveness of three adjacent poems in the Exeter Book in preparing men for death and afterlife when considered individually and as a 'conceptual unit'.

Panel: Rethinking the 12th Century

Mesley, Matthew (U of Exeter): "Searching for a Model Life: Contrasting Two Post-Conquest *Vitae* of St Aldhelm"

Mullins, Edward (U of Exeter): "On Medieval Selfhood"

Rowe, Tamsin (U of Exeter): "'*Benedictio frugum*': Liturgy and Nature in Central Medieval England"

The papers in this session present new thinking on three areas which impinge very closely on the question of the twelfth century as a period of transition: changes to the notion of spiritual direction and guardianship, to ideas of the self, and to notions of liturgy and ritual. While the main focus of these communications is on English evidence, the questions addressed draw on wider continental trends and their historiography. It is our intention that the papers will provoke discussion and will contribute to the wider debate about the twelfth century in England already in train.

Panels: Monsters and the Margins

Newman-Stille, Derek (Trent U, Ontario): "Werewolves as Enduring Symbols of Liminality between Nature and Culture: The Influence of Classical Beliefs about Animal Transformation on Medieval Conceptions"

In the classical world, werewolves and others capable of animal transformation represented the fringes. They were associated with witchcraft and with the foreign, and were depicted existing on the borders of the known world: on distant islands (like Circe) and on the borders of 'barbarian' territory (like the Thessalian witches). They represented the border between the natural and the unnatural. It is therefore not surprising that the werewolf was an enduring symbol of liminality, and appeared often in medieval literature and art. Wolves were the perfect symbol of the wild, epitomising the danger of venturing into the deep woods. Therefore the werewolf, as the wolf inside of man or woman, represented the internal struggle between concepts of civility and natural impulses, and echoes the external quest to tame the wild.

Hooke, Della (U of Birmingham): "Perceptions of Liminality in Medieval Literature and Thought"

Some environments in particular were perceived as liminal spaces where the borders between man and the spirit world were thin and this concept instilled both fear and awe, some of it captured in medieval literature and legend. Some examples of this are discussed, including expressions of contests and shape shifting, monster and other fearsome beasts. Certain natural features, too, were considered to possess supernatural power, whether it was the features themselves or the

spirits that were associated with them. Early documentation suggests that such beliefs were not easily eradicated by the Christian church and the ways in which the church met, and in some cases absorbed, such concepts are discussed.

Gkounis, Spyridon (Independent Scholar, Athens): "Depictions of Monsters and Monstrous Races in Medieval World Maps"

The mapmakers in the Middle Ages had specific, both ancient and medieval, verbal material they could use, whereas the pictorial tradition was more vague and thus representations in the maps often vary. The aim of this paper is to examine the illustrations of monsters and monstrous races on medieval world maps and find similarities or differences between them. The best two examples of large-scale *mappaemundi*, the Hereford and Ebstorf maps, will mainly be used for purposes of comparison, but other maps will be studied as well, although to a lesser degree.

Panel: Monastic Ideas of Nature and Bestiaries between the 12th and 14th Centuries

Schmitz, Max (Université Catholique de Louvain): "Engelbert of Admont (c. 1250-1331) and his *Tractatus de naturis animalium* with Special Attention Paid to the Chapter of Fish"

The abbot Engelbert of Admont (c. 1250-1331) wrote many works, especially on theological and moral subjects, but he was also interested in nature. In the first part of his *Tractatus de naturis animalium* he gives a description of the human nature. In the second part he presents the world of animals. In this paper, I will present the main sources used by the Styrian and highlight some remarkable aspects of this work. I will focus my attention on the chapter of fish. This will allow me to compare the text with others of its kind.

Muratova, Xenia (Université de Rennes II): "The Hereford *Mappamundi* and the Medieval Bestiaries: Reflexions and Observations"

The paper is dealing with the representations of animals on the Hereford *Mappamundi*. The author proposes the comparisons with several Bestiary manuscripts and establish the particular proximity with the representations in BL MS Royal 12.F.XIII. The author investigates the problem of the image and the text, the legends on the *mappamundi* not being connected with the extracts from Solinus used in the Bestiaries. The problem of the creation of the *mappamundi* and of the specific use of

images from medieval Bestiaries is also investigated. The study of this relationship represent a great interest for the study of the Hereford *mappamundi*, as well as for the localisation and dating of some Bestiary manuscripts.

Panel: Textiles and Jewellery: The Colours of Anglo-Saxon England

Owen-Crocker, Gale R. (U of Manchester): "Natural and Unnatural: Colour in the Bayeux Tapestry"

Hall, Alan Richard (U of York): "All the Colours of the Rainbow: Archaeological Plant Remains and Medieval Textile Dyeing"

Hinton, David A. (U of Southampton): "Colour and Light: The Materials of Anglo-Saxon Jewellery"

This session will present certain aspects of colour in Anglo-Saxon England, with particular emphasis on textiles and jewellery. Owen-Crocker will discuss the colours of the Bayeux Tapestry, including their sources, and the often strange portrayal of trees, water, and animals. Hall will survey the archaeobotanical evidence for dye-plants from medieval Britain and Ireland, with particular reference to the extensive finds from the Anglo-Scandinavian period in York. Finally, Hinton will demonstrate the wide range of colour and light effects in Anglo-Saxon jewellery, and the various materials which created such visual delights.

Panel: The Unnatural World, I: Visualizing Wonders

Kim, Susan (Illinois State University): "*Ungefraegelicu deor*: Monsters and Truth in the Wonders of the East"

Ford, Alun James (University of Manchester): "Bodleian Library, Bodley 614: Reading the Wonders of the East in a Norman Context"

Mittman, Asa Simon (School of Art, Arizona State University): "The Wandering Wonderer: Spectatorship, Scopophilia, and the Wonders of the East"

Many scholars have turned to issues of monstrosity and abnormal geographies, using these themes to draw conclusions about medieval cultures and discourses. Such subjects are often viewed as being aberrations, outside of nature. One of four interrelated sessions proposed on 'The Unnatural World' (conceived in response to and in accordance with the year's theme), this panel focuses on the depictions of the Wonders of the East, an illustrated text central to understandings of 'The Unnatural World'

and a major source for monstrous imagery throughout the Middle Ages. Each of these talks uses the Wonders as the means toward gaining a more complex understanding of the medieval contexts in which they were produced.

Panel: The Unnatural World, II: Visualizing Monsters

Scully, Diarmuid (University College Cork): "Where are the Monsters?: Ireland as Civilised Space on the Hereford Map"

Oswald, Dana (U of Wisconsin-Parkside): "Unnatural Women, Invisible Mothers: Monstrous Female Bodies in the Wonders of the East"

McLennan, Alistair (U of Glasgow): "Ghoul, Interrupted: Society, Religion, and the Undead in *Njáls saga*"

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Panel: The Unnatural World, III: Monstrous Spaces

Joy, Eileen A (Southern Illinois U Edwardsville): "The Thousand Tiny Itinerants of St Guthlac's Body: Redux"

Ó Carragáin, Éamonn (University College Cork): "Bringing Borderland Monsters in from the Cold: Christ Acclaimed by the Beasts on the Bewcastle and Ruthwell Crosses"

Aakhus, Patricia (U of Southern Indiana): "Trespass and the Unnatural World: Werewolves and Gorgons"

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Old English Newsletter

Research in Progress Report

Each year, the editors of the *Old English Newsletter* solicit information concerning current research, work completed, and forthcoming publications. The Research in Progress reports are an important collaborative enterprise, recording information of common interest to our colleagues. Please complete the form below (type or print clearly) and return it to Heide Estes, Department of English, Monmouth University, West Long Branch, NJ 07764 (fax 732-263-5242 or email hestes@monmouth.edu). If the subject of your project is not obvious from the title, please add a note indicating its best classification. For dissertations, please provide the name of the director.

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