

Abstracts for ISAS 2009

Note: Abstracts are arranged in order of sessions as they appear in the conference program

1	Minding Old English	
	Dan Donoghue	Reading Old English Poems with the help of Cognitive Sciences
		<p>In the last twenty years or so a number of substantial studies have increased our knowledge of some fundamentals of Old English poetry, particularly its meter, its syntax, and its relation to the oral tradition. Over the same period, in a quite different field, another set of studies have made ground-breaking discoveries in our understanding of how the eye and brain co-ordinate the activity of reading. The scientific literature has reached a level of development that allows me to apply insights to the basic question of how the Anglo-Saxons read their vernacular poems in manuscript. My approach involves a great deal more than a simple application of current science to a writing system that never imagined such techniques. It synthesizes what we have learned about manuscript contexts and readers after seminal work by Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe, Paul Saenger, Malcolm Parkes, and others. It draws extensively on recent work that explores the interplay between syntax and meter by Haruko Momma, Mary Blockley, Calvin Kendall, myself, and others. Finally, it draws on the recent application oral theory to the reception of poems in studies by John M. Foley, Albert Lord, Mark Amodio, and more than a few others.</p> <p>Building on a recent study of mine that appeared in the festschrift for Bruce Mitchell, the talk will pay particular attention to scribal pointing in several manuscripts. The central question (which has been around for a long time) is why Anglo-Saxon scribes were parsimonious with punctuation in the vernacular verse, when the conventions were relatively well developed for their prose, Latin verse, and even Old Saxon poetry copied by Anglo-Saxon scribes. My contention is that the pointing appears more rational and even systematic (in some specific instances) if our perspective expands to include oral reception and metrical grammar. Some fundamental insights from cognitive psychology show how the brain might synthesize these disparate topics (punctuation, metrical grammar, oral context) in the physical activity of reading. Other studies show how different areas of the brain are activated depending on whether the reading is carried out in silence or if the words are uttered. Still other studies show what happens (in modern languages) when word spaces are eliminated and again when punctuation is removed. The parallels with Old English are intriguing, even though any application must be made with circumspection. The talk will give special attention to the way parafoveal vision scans the line ahead; in Old English poetic manuscripts do word spacing and punctuation take advantage of parafoveal vision? I argue that the punctuation practices of some scribes (such as Scribe A of the Beowulf manuscript) become more intelligible if seen both in light of cognitive psychology and in light of verse grammar.</p>
1	Carole Hough	Metaphors from Old English
		<p>In describing this conference as a "green ISAS", the organisers used the colour term in a metaphorical sense already present in Old English (<i>DOE</i>, s.v. <i>grēne</i>). Other metaphors also survive from Old English, although in many instances the terminology used to express them has been replaced. Current metaphor theory holds that</p>

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		<p>metaphors are not random but form patterns whereby whole areas of vocabulary map onto other areas (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). Since the mapping is cognitive, conceptual links between the same semantic fields occur in different languages, and at different stages of English. Cognitive metaphors include EXPLAINING IS UNTYING (a <i>knotty</i> problem, <i>solve</i> < Latin <i>solvere</i> 'loosen'), LANDSCAPE IS A BODY (<i>shoulder</i>, <i>foot</i> of a hill, river <i>mouth</i>), LIFE IS A JOURNEY (<i>come into</i> the world, <i>make one's way</i> through life, <i>pass over</i>), REPAYMENT IS REVENGE (<i>pay back</i> an injury) and TIME IS SPACE (<i>length</i> of time, <i>at midnight</i>, <i>in two days</i>). The study of such metaphors in Old English is facilitated by a conceptually organised thesaurus (Roberts & Kay 1995).</p> <p>Previous research has focused on the material as evidence for conceptual categories, metaphorical pathways and processes of semantic change (e.g. Sweetser 1990, Kay 2000, Trim 2007, Hough 2008). This paper addresses issues relating to the study of Old English semantics, with reference to both the onomasticon and the lexicon.</p> <p>Place-names are highly repetitive, so that nonce occurrences are regarded with suspicion. Necton in Norfolk not only contains the sole toponymic occurrence of OE <i>hnecca</i> 'neck', but uses it in an otherwise unattested sense 'strip of land'. However, since other terms for neck (OE <i>heals</i>, OE <i>swēora</i>) are used in the same way, the cognitive basis of the metaphor LANDSCAPE IS A BODY supports this interpretation of the place-name.</p> <p>The metaphors mentioned above may also provide a more convincing explanation of the relationships between different senses of polysemous words than the meaning chains adduced in standard dictionaries. Examples include OE <i>cnotta</i> 'knot, puzzle' (EXPLAINING IS UNTYING), OE <i>forgyldan</i> 'repay, take retribution' (REPAYMENT IS REVENGE), OE <i>forþfaran</i> 'die, depart' (LIFE IS A JOURNEY), and OE <i>hēr</i> 'here, now' (TIME IS SPACE).</p> <p>Finally, there are pedagogical implications. If students understand how meanings are connected, they find them more interesting, and easier to learn. Moreover, they can predict that other words within the same semantic fields may have similar polysemous senses.</p>
1	Antonina Harbus	The Maritime Imagination and the Paradoxical Mind in OE Poetry
		<p>The Anglo-Saxon penchant for expressing imagination via metaphors of sea travel and the habit of conceptualising the mind as a figurative container for thoughts are now well recognised in the field. Several scholars have contributed to our understanding of the Anglo-Saxon use of the container metaphor for the mind, and more broadly, the models of the mind articulated in vernacular poetry. This paper takes the discussion forward by combining insights and methodologies from cognitive science, philosophy of mind, and historical linguistics in order to examine the paradox of embodied consciousness expressed in the extant poetic product of a culture so mindful of the literal and metaphorical possibilities of the sea.</p> <p>In Old English poetry the mind is expressed, incongruously, as being both a container for thoughts and also an entity able to travel out beyond the self. The very existence</p>

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		<p>of multiple examples of these figurative representations of the mental life speaks against a single prevailing conceptual metaphor for the mind in this culture perceived by some scholars. Rather, the evocative language of poetry articulates but leaves unresolved the complexities of consciousness — the view from within, a conundrum that cognitive psychology and neuroscience are stilling struggling to explain — in multiple and competing ways. Anglo-Saxon verse uses the world of ships, sea travel, and the physical sensations of the maritime life to express and to explore emotional experiences and metaphysical matters, through conventionalised and culturally-specific frames.</p> <p>This manner of organising the paradoxical phenomenon of existence both reflects and sentimentalises a particular lifestyle and worldview that becomes a discursive construction of Old English poetry. The pervasive and flexible influence of the maritime imagination perpetuates a rich and pragmatic index for communicating ideas, expressing emotions, and reflecting on the mysteries of human existence and the psychological and spiritual life.</p> <p>This paper will trace this thread of influence throughout Old English poetry, with a particular focus on ways in which the sea is deployed to conceptualise and to articulate a human consciousness which is at once embodied yet metaphysical.</p>
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2	Migrant Sources
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	Damina Fleming	<p>Hebrew Alphabets from across the Sea</p> <p>The sea always loomed large in the Anglo-Saxon mindset: nowhere is this truer than in their perception of themselves as a New Israel, crossing the English Channel instead of the Red Sea and finding their promised land in the British Isles. The sea also served the Anglo-Saxons as a conduit for the transmission of all sorts of information in and out of Anglo-Saxon England—to and from their continental missions and Carolingian centres of learning—including exotic information such as Hebrew alphabets. Given the absence of Jews in Anglo-Saxon England, any knowledge of Hebrew would have been transmitted through manuscripts. Much of this information that circulated in Anglo-Saxon England is fascinating rhetorically, but of little depth, including such knowledge as “scraps of Hebrew” which keen Anglo-Saxons, like Bede, could glean from the works of Jerome and other church fathers.</p> <p>Certainly Anglo-Saxon authors used this knowledge of Hebrew to further their identity as the New Israel, but there is also evidence—which has thus far received virtually no scholarly attention—of direct contact between Christian and Jewish scholars in the Carolingian period, in the form of Hebrew alphabets preserved in both continental and Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. This paper will briefly survey the Hebrew alphabets extant in Anglo-Saxon and other early medieval manuscripts, leading ultimately to a reexamination of the role of “the sea” in textual transmission and its metaphoric function in potentially creating pitfalls in manuscript-based research. Hebrew alphabets in an Anglo-Saxon context have been too hastily dismissed because of their superficial inaccuracies. In fact, they can often serve as a unique indicator of</p>
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		<p>manuscripts' provenance and interconnectedness, while offering rare but concrete evidence of Christian-Jewish relations in the early Middle Ages.</p> <p>For example, some of the alphabets I have discovered are preserved in North French repositories, but their influence is clearly seen across the sea in England. Others are preserved in continental manuscripts containing unambiguous signs of Anglo-Saxon readership, which are suggestive of the reception of these alphabets. In one French manuscript, now in the Vatican, an eleventh century Anglo-Saxon has crudely written an Old English charm with exotic letters in the vicinity of an extensive alphabet collection, which contains a rather accurate Hebrew alphabet. Texts connected to known Carolingian authors, such as Walahfrid Strabo's personal manuscript (St. Gall 878—which contains an unambiguously accurate Hebrew alphabet), or the text <i>De inventione litterarum</i> attributed (wrongly?) to Hrabanus Maurus, further flesh out the intricacies in the transmission of mysterious, but preciously preserved letter-forms. Only when these texts are considered in their original manuscript contexts (where they have been repeatedly overlooked by modern editors) and scrupulously compared with similar continental materials can we begin to appreciate the depth of knowledge about Hebrew that the Anglo-Saxons received from across the sea.</p>
2	Gaby Waxenberger	The Franks Casket in the Context of Runic Culture
		<p>The Franks Casket is the most prominent and the most controversial object in the Old English runic corpus. The inscriptions on its four sides and the lid are believed to belong to different traditions – Germanic, ancient Rome, the Bible, and Celtic (Schwab 2008) – and the purpose of the casket is not known. Copious interpretation has reached no consensus as to the date (Wadstein 1900:54; Page 1973:24) or the origin of the casket (Viëtor 1901:12; Page 1999:27; Wormald 1982:94; Mitchell 1994:Fr1), although an 8th century Northumbrian or North Mercian provenance (Page 1999:31) seems most likely.</p> <p>My paper will evaluate linguistic and runic evidence in the Franks Casket inscription that enables us to narrow both the date and the provenance. The shape of certain runic graphemes such as d narrows the date. Independently, the choice of runes in certain contexts, e.g. g in feġtaþ for fehtan (s. DOE online s.v. feohtan) suggest an early date. Additionally, dateable and dialectally limited sound changes such as retraction, back mutation and smoothing reveal parallels to other Northern runic texts, for example the Ruthwell Cross, while differentiating it from them.</p> <p>The front side of the casket shows the word hronæsban which has long been interpreted as a sentence: 'Whale's bone' (Wadstein 1900:18; Page 1999:174; Osborn 1991:253) and regarded as the material from which the casket was made (Page 1999:174). In Leslie Webster's judgement (private communication 20 March 2003) this material is "the actual skeletal bone, probably from the jaw area". The whale is not only a material but also a linguistic vehicle.</p> <p>The necessarily interdisciplinary nature of studies of these early Anglo-Saxon objects requires careful comparison of art-historical, cultural, and linguistic evaluation of this unique artefact of early Old English contact with other cultures.</p>

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2	Bryan Carella	<p>A Hiberno-Latin Context for the Prologue to the Laws of Alfred</p> <p>The prologue to Alfred's law code begins with an extended translation of the mosaic law (Exodus 20:1-23:13) and continues with a short treatise presumably intended to explain the relationship between this long excerpt from the scriptures and Alfred's largely traditional collection of laws. Scholars since Fournier (writing in 1909), have suspected that Alfred's base-text for his Old English translation of Exodus was a Hiberno-Latin document known as the <i>Liber ex lege Moysi</i>. In a 2005 article in <i>Peritia</i> ("The Source for the Prologue to the Laws of Alfred") I upheld Fournier's thesis with evidence derived from my close textual comparison of Alfred's translation with the <i>Liber ex lege Moysi</i>.</p> <p>This conclusion begs the question: Does the rest of Alfred's prologue show evidence of Hiberno-Latin legal thought as well? In this paper, I compare Alfred's reasoning in the second portion of his prologue with texts of the Hiberno-Latin tradition to which he likely had access. Since we know that Alfred relied on the <i>Liber ex lege Moysi</i>, we can reasonably suspect that he had access to the large collection of Hiberno-Latin canon law known as the <i>Collectio canonum hibernensis</i>, for which the <i>Liber ex lege Moysi</i> appears to have served as an introduction in the manuscript witnesses. My argument shows how features of Alfred's thought, in particular the principle by which he organized precedence among his sources, suggest he was deeply influenced by the ideology of Hiberno-Latin canon law. This thesis, I argue, has significantly more evidence in its favor than prior theories (argued, for example, by Patrick Wormald and Michael Treschow) which suggest that Alfred was influenced primarily by Carolingian models, especially by the political thought of Hincmar of Rheims. The argument I make in this paper is currently in article-form and under review for <i>Studies in Philology</i>.</p>
3	Sea Comments: Anglo-Saxon Exegesis	
	Miranda Wilcox	<p>Tents and Ships in Exodus, Bede, and Arator</p> <p>The enigmatic description of the <i>wederwolcen</i> that protects the Israelites during their flight from the Pharaoh's army to the Red Sea is the most commented passage in <i>Exodus</i>. Many a scholar has attempted to unravel the metaphoric crux of why the <i>Exodus</i>-poet juxtaposed, even melded, the seemingly disparate images of a tent, a net, a shield, and a sail in lines 71-92 to evoke the elusive biblical <i>columna nubis</i>. As a result, allusions to patristic typology, scriptural intertextuality, and skaldic kennings have been persuasively identified in these lines. An additional context for understanding <i>Exodus</i> is the Latin poetic curriculum of Anglo-Saxon monasteries; tantalizing connections among a Latin curriculum text, an Anglo-Saxon student, and a vernacular poem suggest another way of accounting for the series of images in this crux and illuminate new ways in which Anglo-Saxons may have imagined the biblical past and their relationship to it.</p> <p>Anglo-Saxon monks learned Latin by reading Latin biblical epics composed in late antiquity by Caelius Sedulius, Arator, Cyprianus Gallus, Avitus of Vienne, Dracontius, and Juvencus. One of these biblical epics, Arator's <i>Historia Apostolica</i> combines two of the images found in the Old English crux for the first time. The <i>Historia Apostolica</i> outlines the significant events in the ministries of Peter and Paul as narrated in the book of Acts while highlighting the theme of baptism. In the rendition of Acts 18:3, Arator examines the figural significance of Paul's profession as a tentmaker and compares</p>

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		<p>Paul's work to Peter's profession as a fisherman. Bede drew much from the <i>Historia Apostolica</i> while composing one of his earliest exegetical works, the <i>Expositio Actuum Apostolorum</i>. In his comments on Acts 18:3, Bede acknowledges Arator's figural interpretation and establishes the parallel between making tents and fishing more explicitly by comparing tents to nets as objects that provide salvific refuge for mankind. The <i>Exodus</i>-poet expands the nautical implications of Bede's tent-net conceit further to include a ship's sail as a structure of divine protection. Such an expansion may not have been far fetched for archeological evidence suggests that tents were used on early medieval ships and that early sails may have been plaited from strips of cloth in a net-like fashion. An intriguing possible inspiration for the <i>Exodus</i>-poet's addition of a shield to the tent-net-sail conceit may be the Greek paronomasia in Bede's etymology of <i>scenofactoria</i>, "tent-maker". That the <i>Exodus</i>-poet might have had some awareness of Greek would not be surprising in light of the stylistic similarities that have been posited between <i>Exodus</i> and the canon of Aldhelm, whose own interest in Greek has been well documented.</p> <p>Should such a process of metaphoric accretion have taken place from a Latin biblical epic to Anglo-Latin exegesis to an Old English poem, than might the <i>Exodus</i>-poet was a student of Anglo-Latin exegesis as well as the Latin poetic curriculum taught in Anglo-Saxon monasteries? If so, than <i>Exodus</i> may have been self-consciously fashioned using conventions adopted from Latin biblical epics.</p>
3	Peter Dendle	Demons of the Water: Anglo-Saxon Responses to the Gerasene Demoniac
		<p>The story of the Gerasene demoniac (Matthew 8.28, Mark 5.1-20, Luke 8.26), in which Christ casts out a "legion" of demons who then enter 2000 swine and plunge themselves into the sea, lent itself to a wide range of interpretations in early medieval Bible commentary and narrative retelling. The "sea" into which the swine are drowned forms a striking contrast to the transformative waters of the Red Sea, for instance, which is assimilated with the waters of baptism in the Anglo-Saxon liturgy. The "water" of liturgy is, however, itself an ambivalent element: the <i>creatura aquae</i> exorcised in numerous rites is envisioned as infused with demonic presence ("all the power of the enemy, every attack of the devil, every phantasm"), and is abjured to become a "spring of life" through the casting out of these beings. I will explore how the Gerasene demoniac episode—especially in the understanding of the water/sea image—intersected with liturgical conceptualizations of water to form a potent and malleable series of metaphors for Anglo-Saxon authors. The episode was conceptualized in different genres (glosses, Bible translations, Bible commentary, and homiletic exposition) to rework, implicitly, notions of the "other." For instance, Bede interpreted the swine plunging into the lake as those who have heard the Gospel but refuse to commit, and are thus "drowned" (<i>submersi</i>) in their own "blind and deep curiosity" (<i>caeca et profunda curiositate</i>). In another instance, the water over which Christ sails to arrive at Gerasa (Vulgate <i>fretum</i>, <i>fretum maris</i>) is closely translated in vernacular Gospel translations (<i>muđa</i>, <i>sæs muđa</i>). However, Aldred of Chester-le-Street consistently uses the Celtic loanword <i>luh</i> (an Old Northumbrian loanword from Gaelic <i>loch</i>, or else perhaps a British cognate represented by Welsh <i>llwch</i> [<i>*luksu-</i>] lake, pool) to render the Latin <i>fretus</i> in his glosses to this passage. Aldred prepared these glosses shortly after the raids of Malcolm I of Scotland into Northumbria, which (according to the <i>Chronicle</i>) went as far south as the River Tees. He could be</p>

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		appealing to the unholy associations of the gentiles of Gerasa to refer to the Scots, using charged vocabulary (it is this same body of water, before arriving to Gerasa, that Christ rebukes and calms, when his companions are of “little faith”). Beginning with the liturgical conceptualization of water as elemental substance intimately accessible by both the Holy Spirit and by the demonic, I will unpack the ways in which this fluid substance could become fluid metaphor in some culturally significant adaptations of the fascinating Gerasene demoniac episode.
3	Rosalind Love	<i>Metaphora a Mari ad Saeculum</i> . Glossing <i>The Consolation of Philosophy</i> in Anglo-Saxon England
		In <i>The Consolation of Philosophy</i> Boethius has Philosophy observe that he, Boethius, must dry his tears because his anchors in the storm of life are holding firm (Book II, prose iv). The image is one of many drawn from the sea throughout the work. This particular reference to Boethius’s ‘anchors’ received a variety of different comments and glosses in the many annotated manuscripts of the text which survive from before 1100, including the one I have picked out above, seemingly rather self-evident, ‘a sea-metaphor referring to the world’. Other glosses offer a description of what an anchor is (‘a ship’s iron tooth’), or the word’s Greek etymology, or note that the anchors to which Lady Philosophy refers are the members of Boethius’s family and friends, supporting him in his troubles. Altogether the commentary tradition displays a fascinating range of responses to the Boethian text, from sophisticated exegesis to a tenth-century glossator at St Augustine’s Canterbury who felt impelled to write, above very many occurrences of the Latin pronouns <i>qui</i> or <i>aliquis</i> (‘who’ or ‘anyone’) and in other places, the words <i>sc. homo</i> or <i>homines</i> (‘namely, man/men’). The aim of this paper is to use the glossing of sea images in the <i>Consolation</i> as a way of exemplifying the mechanisms by which the commentary tradition was transmitted, and then to explore the motivations and principles which drove the glossators’ work, as well as their occasional lapses in comprehension. The intention is that my paper should also serve as a preliminary report on progress in the <i>Boethius in Early Medieval Europe</i> project funded by the Leverhulme Trust and based at the Faculty of English in the University of Oxford (with collaboration from Cambridge), under the leadership of Professor Malcolm Godden; by the time of the 2009 ISAS meeting, the project will have completed two of its five years, heading towards an edition of the full corpus of commentary on <i>The Consolation of Philosophy</i> in manuscripts from before 1100.
4	<i>Pinga Be-tweoh: Poetry Between Places</i>	
	Mercedes Salvador-Bello	The ‘Obscene’ Category in Anglo-Latin Riddling Tradition
		As Orchard (2005) has recently demonstrated, most of the formal and stylistic features of the Exeter Book Riddles find an echo in Anglo-Latin tradition. However, to my knowledge the employment of double entendre and sexual imagery in Latin enigmata has not been studied by scholarship so far. The cluster of obscene riddles found in the Exeter Book (nos. 41-46) has usually been regarded as an isolated, inexplicable case of bawdy literature that surprisingly managed to survive in a codex with conspicuous religious contents like the opening Advent lyrics. Nothing corresponding to these riddles has apparently been detected in Anglo-Latin enigmata,

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		<p>a fact that has been understood as logical by traditional criticism since most of these collections were composed by outstanding clerics, as is the case of Aldhelm (bishop of Sherborne) and Tatwine (archbishop of Canterbury).</p> <p>Despite this, a careful review of Latin collections can interestingly reveal that some of the riddles, like their vernacular Exeter counterparts, also present obscene clues. An example of this can be found in Aldhelm's Enigma no. 70 in which double entendre is employed to describe the loaf of bread in the oven as something "growing hard in the heat of Vulcan" (Lapidge's translation), which incidentally resembles Exeter Riddle 45, where the dough in the oven is said to be "growing in a corner" (Mackie's translation). Similarly, the wine cask in Aldhelm's Riddle 78 is personified as a woman "making many men drunk," eventually pregnant with alcohol ("my inwards swell to the full with must")--a clue that recalls the allusion to the hen's resulting pregnancy after the sexual encounter with the rooster as found in Exeter Riddle 42. Further in Aldhelm's collection, Enigma no. 80, whose solution is "glass goblet," offers an even more explicit description of an erotic encounter with the presentation of the goblet as a promiscuous woman: "many people wish to grasp my neck with their right hands and to seize my delightfully smooth body with their fingers. But I change their minds as I give kisses to their lips, applying these sweet kisses to their tightly-pressed mouths". By the same token, the reference in Exeter Riddle 12 (ox) to the Welsh slave, described as a "foolish drunken servant-girl," or the allusion to the "proud-hearted bride" kneading the dough in Riddle 45 of the same collection leave no room for doubt that the Anglo-Saxon riddler was acquainted with the obscene genre in Latin enigmata.</p> <p>This paper will therefore explore the possible existence of the "obscene" category in the case of Aldhelm's enigmata and other major Latin riddle collections. The study of this neglected aspect of Latin riddling will thus provide us with relevant information about the ways Anglo-Saxon literature interacted with Anglo-Latin tradition. It may also afford interesting data about the interplay of sexual imagery and the learned contents of Anglo-Latin enigmata in the context of medieval monastic culture.</p>
	Tom Bredehoft	Newfoundland's 'Old Hag' and Anglo-Saxon Folklore
		<p>David Hufford's remarkable book, <i>The Terror that Comes in the Night</i>, describes his fieldwork, based originally in Newfoundland, centered on the phenomenon that Newfoundlanders generally call the "Old Hag." In this experience, subjects generally feel a "subjective impression of wakefulness," experience "immobility" or "paralysis," and have a "realistic perception of [their] actual environment" (25). The experience is often accompanied by a feeling of "presence" (often alevolent), a "feeling of pressure, usually on chest," a "numinous quality," and sometimes a "fear of death" (25). The numinous quality suggests to many subjects of the experience a supernatural dimension, and the experience is sometimes also known as "the nightmare." Further, expressions like "hag-ridden" associate the hag with witch-like riding or control, while some of the case-studies presented by Hufford associate haggings with the use of knives, which either bring about the haggings experience or protect one from it. Hufford notes that the haggings experience is cross-cultural and cross-historical, citing passages (for example) from Cotton Mather that clearly reference the hag experience.</p>

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		<p>In this paper, I will address the Anglo-Saxon evidence for “Old Hag” experiences, beginning with the suggestion that two of the Metrical Charms, <i>Against a Dwarf</i> and <i>For a Sudden Stitch</i> may have overtones of the hag experience, in the first case in the clear implication that the “deores [or dweores] sweostar” rides the afflicted person, and in the second charm’s association between “hægtessan” and the “lytel spere” which causes the affliction. In the second half of the paper, however, I will discuss the ways in which Beowulf’s encounters with Grendel and his mother appear to derive some of their affective impact through their implicit invocations of the hag experience. Beowulf’s apparent immobility during Grendel’s initial attack (and the heroicness of his eventual arising), Grendel’s imperviousness to edged weapons, and even the necessity of an encounter with a female “hag” figure all take on clearer significance in light of the overall structure of hag-experience stories, and I will suggest that the poet makes use of such folklore in structuring his own account, although clearly not intending to replicate the hag experience with precision in the poem. In the end, the paper will suggest that modern folklore about the “Old Hag” experience offers valuable insight into the Anglo-Saxon folkloric world-view, precisely because it offers the opportunity to link together the seemingly separate textual traces of Anglo-Saxon hag tales.</p>
	Lisa Weston	Sailing Seas of Ink: The Psychogeography of the Literate Imagination
		<p>Such is certainly the case when Eangyth and Bugga imagine their letters to and from Boniface as imitating Habbakuk’s journey to comfort Daniel, their anthropomorphized letters’ flight takes them over a storm-tossed sea. Conjured from borrowed literary allusions, that sea physicalizes their troubled life; at the same time, however the metaphor is more complexly informed by their imagining of the literacy in which it is rooted. The seacape of their letter (Tangl 14) also reveals anxieties within the medium of the text.</p> <p>Letters such as that of the two women couch their rhetoric of friendship in terms of an inherent contradiction between the immediacy of human contact and the reality that the friends linked by text may be many miles apart, and often over literal oceans. But a similar imaging of literacy as vicarious travel characterizes many of the Exeter Book Riddles devoted to pens, books, and the work of the scriptorium. Books give voice to authors far distant in time and space, for instance. And pens created out of feathers take back their avian nature and fly once more across seas of dark ink. In their travel they recall, too, the spirit-travel fantasies of the Wanderer and the Seafarer—elegiac conjurations of other times and places where friends and kinsmen might offer companionship and consolation.</p> <p>The “seafarers” within a text may not always be human: the liminality inherent in the voyage is often echoed in the uncertainties of visionary imagination and in slippages between genders and natures, between male and female as well as between the human and the non-human. What is perhaps more significant is the way such liminalities inform the perception of literacy as subject to mystification and potential danger. Writers and readers are neither present nor absent in a text: they are both, simultaneously. The writer’s voice ghosts in the text’s written words; the distant reader is conjured in the text’s address. Sometimes this liminality is as dangerous as the icebergs and whales riddled alongside the pens and books. The secrecy offered in the riddle of a reed pen is a danger and a seduction, the kind of seduction that also informs</p>

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		the landscape of <i>Wulf and Eadwacer</i> . This paper undertakes to examine the way Anglo-Saxon engagements with literacy invoke images of sea-faring to express the paradoxical presence-in-absence of texts. What, it will ask, is the landscape—or rather the seascape—of literacy? What constitutes the psychological geography of the literate imagination?
5	Re-sourced: Manuscript, Text and Language	
	Mary Swan	'The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220'
		No abstract
	Jane Roberts and Carole Hough	Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary
		No abstract
	Michael Drout et al	Lexomics for Anglo-Saxon Literature
		No abstract
6	Coastal Disturbances: Maritime and Military Intersections	
	John Hines	Wessex and the Western Seas
		<p>The importance of the western seas and their seaboard to Anglo-Saxon England — the connections, opportunities and threats they presented — is generally less evident in our historical and archaeological sources than the corresponding situation around the southern and eastern coasts, facing the Continent and Scandinavia. That there is a discrepancy in the level and character of documentary record between these two sides of England is well known; that there were also remarkably contrastive conditions of material life, which can in fact mislead us in respect of the significance of disproportions in the evidence, is less widely recognized. Recent work in the North-West and around the Irish Sea, for instance on the trading site at Meols in the Wirral, and on Northumbrian relations with Ireland, have demonstrated how much can be discovered.</p> <p>This paper will go further in exploring the evidence for regular navigation along and across the Bristol Channel, and particularly the extent to which the Anglo-Saxon settlement pattern and hierarchy in southern Gloucestershire, Somerset and North Devon was specially adapted to this resource. Particular consideration needs to be paid to the possibility that both the Viking and the West-Saxon incursions into these lands were aimed at exploiting long-term Atlantic seaboard trade-routes, although the inconsistency of available evidence on that specific point has to be emphasized. It is demonstrable, nonetheless, that the South-West and its maritime connections played a key role in the development of West-Saxon military organisation in the 9th century, contributing fundamentally to the survival of Alfred's Wessex, and to the 10th-century burghal system. Relevant and informative new results will be presented from archaeological fieldwork and surveys at Carhampton (<i>æt Carrum</i>), North Somerset, and Barnstaple/Pilton, North Devon, revealing the transformation of British social, economic and ecclesiastical centres into late Anglo-Saxon burhs.</p>
	Martin Foys	<i>Of Yrlande mid scyphere</i> : The Irish Sea Raids of King Harold's Sons, and the Redoubling of History
		In the years 1068 and 1069, version D of the <i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> notes a number of

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		<p>Harold's sons who had fled to Ireland mounted successive and unsuccessful, if violent, sea raids on the western coast of England. Though the actions of sons of Godwinson are also recorded in other sources, they garner scant attention from the few commentators who remark upon them, largely because the raids had no lasting impact on the course of William's nascent reign or the Norman Conquest as a whole. But a second look at these "private adventurers" or "freebooters" (as Stenton and Barlow respectively have them) is warranted -- one not from the revisionary perspective of received historical inconsequence, but from due consideration of what now-silenced significance they originally may have had. Drawing both on well-known English and Anglo-Norman sources as well as lesser-known Irish and Welsh historiography, this paper examines the activities of Harold's sons in light of their immediate historical circumstances, the long-standing relationship Harold and his family had with southern Ireland, and emergent political fears of a nascent Anglo-Norman rule.</p> <p>However ineffectual, the seaborne invasions of Godwinsons from the west also stand as a neat inversion of the invasion that had killed the last Anglo-Saxon king, and therefore need to be read with something besides the hindsight of their futility. Accounts of Harold's blood returning to England are enmeshed with the developing struggle to control the subordinated but not subdued English populace, and should be understood as contributing to what for obvious reasons would remain a largely undocumented narrative of insular hope. The Godwinson attacks occurred at exactly the time that continuing native resistance led William to abandon his initial occupational strategy of integrated assimilation in favor of a much starker teardown of the structures of Anglo-Saxon power. Likewise, the Godwinsons' historical use of Ireland as a base for both political refuge and aggression looks ahead to Anglo-Norman anxieties of border stability as Ireland, Wales and Scotland continued to refuse to be quiet neighbors.</p> <p>After the Conquest, historical and literary accounts associated Harold and his kin with regions of resistance both inside and outside England's borders. The documenting of the violent return of Harold's sons from across the sea, in the <i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> raids of 1068-69 and in Anglo-Norman and Scandinavian accounts of other assaults, helped shape a curious cultural memory of Anglo-Saxon rule. This memory both served as a terminus for Anglo-Saxon power, and as a nostalgic genesis of the later and widespread tradition of Harold's own apocryphal survival after 1066. At a time when another legend of a "once and future king" was about to achieve popular currency in support of the ruling Anglo-Norman state, we can still find the most meager hints of an analogous native Anglo-Saxon desire this legend replaced, if not appropriated to silence.</p>
	John Baker	From Ocean to Oxford: Anglo-Saxon Control of Waterborne Threats
		<p>The ocean is an important element in Anglo-Saxon literature and life: a sometimes lonely place of inspiration, a medium of travel and exploration, but also of homecoming. Far from being cut off from the continent by the briny depths of the North Sea and the English Channel, Anglo-Saxon England owed its existence to, and was frequented by seagoing adventurers, and maintained close religious and missionary, commercial, political, and cultural ties with kingdoms across the seas. By the later Anglo-Saxon period, that the English first availed themselves of a navy of sorts, an indication of their seagoing prowess. Yet for much of the ninth century the</p>

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		<p>ocean was a source of considerable menace, as Viking marauders and more organised Scandinavian armies offered a serious threat to the well being of those living in coastal areas of England, and to the very existence of the established Anglo-Saxon order. Calculations based on contemporary voyages, such as the travels of Wulfstan and Ohthere, provide an idea of the speed at which Viking ships could descend on an unsuspecting coastline, and show just how difficult it was for Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, from the late eighth century through to the early eleventh, to combat hostile waterborne activity. The old defensive arrangements that existed in the eighth and early ninth centuries, of central and private refuges and periodically assembled militias, were ill-equipped to deal with this evolving threat, and new military systems had to be implemented.</p> <p>In order to counteract the Viking attacks, the West Saxons developed a complex system of strongly defended sites within a detailed communications matrix. Some elements of this new network are known from contemporary or near contemporary sources, but much of it can be identified only by its material remains, the physical traces it left in the landscape, or through its toponymic commemoration. Consideration of the layout of this system reveals a great deal about the strategic preoccupations of ninth- and tenth-century military planners, particularly in relation to waterborne armies. There is a coherence to the positioning of southern coastal defences that corroborates widely accepted views of the severity of the seaborne threat, while underlining the dual nature of the Viking menace created by the ability to move rapidly by sea or by land. The equally coherent defensive setup along the Thames, on the other hand, shows a different emphasis and highlights a contrast in the nature of, and degree of danger posed by, coastal and riverine attacks. Comparison of these two sections of what was ostensibly a single military system, reveal not only the subtlety of the situation and the need for local and regional variation, but the importance of securing nodal points of transport by land and water. They also reflect the evolution of new offensive objectives, both Viking and West Saxon, and demonstrate the complexity and changing efficacy of military operations in the open sea and on inland waterways.</p>
7	The Poetic Space of the Sea	
	Fabienne Michelet	Sea-Crossings and Memory in Old English Poetry
		<p>The <i>adventus Saxonum</i> is an important landmark in the remembered history of the Anglo-Saxons; many texts in the Old English corpus allude to this event: Wulfstan mentions it at the end of the <i>Sermo Lupi ad Anglos</i>, the <i>Battle of Brunanburh</i> celebrates the Anglo-Saxons' victory as a slaughter never seen since this people first came to Britain, Alcuin gauges the terror of the Viking attacks on Lindisfarne against the 350 years that the descendants of the Germanic tribes have spent in England... Yet, historical records, such as those of Gildas or Bede, do not dwell on the dangers and precariousness of the crossing, even though colourful descriptions of the sea journey could have underscored the travellers' formidable and outstanding character. This is remarkable, especially since Bede does describe storms at sea elsewhere in the <i>Ecclesiastical History</i>, for instance in the coming to Britain of Germanus and Lupus, a scene informed both by biblical parallels and by echoes of classical literature.</p> <p>In vernacular poetry, the existence of a sea crossing theme has been traced throughout numerous poems (<i>Elene</i>, <i>Beowulf</i>, <i>Christ II</i>, <i>Genesis A</i>, or <i>Death of Edgar</i>). Other poems, such <i>Andreas</i> or <i>Exodus</i>, offer accounts of maritime journeys which, however, are not developed as set pieces. Despite this extensive presence of the sea, the open sea</p>

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		<p>fails to function as a geographical space in its own terms; it is negotiable only when conceived as a tract of land clearly charted by a layout of roads. In my paper, I would like to suggest that this failure may have to do with the relationship between space and memory, more precisely with the practice of topographic commemoration. If, as Paul Zumthor points out, culture is inscribed on the ground and events are commemorated in space, then the sea, void and blank territory, does not offer any support in which to anchor memory. Beowulf's burial mound for instance, destined to be seen from afar by seafarers, will be a memorial, in particular for those who venture on distant seas. It will thus organize space by inscribing in it the memory of the hero. By contrast, the dragon is pushed into the sea and disappears, forever obliterated from memory.</p>
	<p>Johanna Kramer</p>	<p>'The Sea of this Life' in Cynewulf's <i>Christ II</i></p>
		<p>In this paper, I address the question of why Cynewulf chooses the topos of the "sea of this life" as a final image to <i>Christ II</i>. For an answer, we need to look to the poem's overarching theme, that is, the Ascension of Christ, in order to see that Cynewulf juxtaposes the image of the unsteady, fluctuating, bodiless sea with the body-centered and grounding significance of the Ascension.</p> <p>Cynewulf famously develops the metaphor for the Christian life as a journey on a rough sea, which can be brought to a safe and calm end by anchoring one's hope in the salvatory harbor of Christ. With this metaphor, Cynewulf resorts to an image that carried important Christian symbolism (as Hugo Rahner explained). However, he also departs significantly from his source, Gregory's Gospel Homily 29. Gregory has only a brief reference to the "fluctuating" soul and an injunction to anchor one's hope in the eternal homeland; he also does not include the paradox implicit in <i>Christ II</i>, by which Christians are both on the voyage and yet already safe in harbor (see T.D. Hill in <i>ES</i> 75.4). What, then, makes this topos particularly appropriate to deploy in <i>this</i> poem?</p> <p>The central message of the Ascension is that, since Christ ascended in his dual nature as God and man, he opened heaven to humanity, making the redemption of all Christians possible. The homilists and authors who narrate the Ascension story therefore remind audiences that Christ indeed ascended in his physical body, and some do so by focusing on the physical aspects of the event: Christ left footprints behind on Mount Olivet and all humans continue to share their physical form with Christ. Cynewulf also mentions Christ's footprints (line 496) and in other ways stresses physical aspects of the Ascension. I argue that he deliberately posits the image of the sea against the physicality of the Ascension to relate the dependence of its success not only on its spiritual, but also especially on its physical dimensions. The sea's fluctuations, perils, and ultimate bodilessness are the opposite of everything that the Ascension signifies and ensures: the founding of the earthly ecclesiastical community; the guarantee of a secure, eternal homeland through Christ's bodily ascension; the importance of the physical, human existence of Christ; the designation of a physical location at which to worship and commemorate this event.</p> <p>The sea voyage acts as counter-image that illuminates the central significance of the Ascension by means of contrast. The "sea of life" does not simply serve as a convenient comparison or appears as otherwise disconnected part of the Cynewulfian "signature topic" of the final judgment. Rather, it fulfills a specific function in Cynewulf's comprehensive and meticulous teaching of Ascension theology. More significantly, this example demonstrates that Cynewulf participates in what I call an</p>

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		Anglo-Saxon “materialist poetics,” that is, a literary tradition that uses images of materiality to treat abstract theological concepts and to evoke a distinctively Anglo-Saxon materialist understanding of divinity.
	Phyllis Portnoy	Biblical Seafaring in Anglo-Saxon Verse: Pictorial Poetics
		<p>Little remains of early biblical art in Britain. We know from Bede’s <i>Historia Abbatum</i> that <i>picturae imaginum sanctarum</i> (‘paintings of sacred images’) were brought from Rome to Northumbria for the adornment of the early Anglo-Saxon church. This accords with Gregory’s notion that pictures are ‘books for the illiterate,’ and suggests that the <i>picturae</i> in question served a mnemonic and catechetical function, leading the people visually through the scripture read aloud to them by the clergy. Such pictorial mnemonics are not unlike the verbal ones used by the Anglo-Saxon scop. I suggest here that a poet might well have used both. While it is commonly held that medieval visual artists worked primarily from pictorial exemplars, textual sources are always assumed for poets. This seems counterintuitive for a culture that was largely oral, notwithstanding the probable literacy of a poet. Indeed, as the biblical subjects of the imported paintings are identical to those of the poetry Bede attributes to the illiterate arch-poet Caedmon, a connection between the two arts seems to have been present from the start.</p> <p>I argue here that such connections persist, and are particularly in evidence throughout the poems of Oxford, Bodleian Junius 11, once thought to be Caedmon’s divinely inspired oeuvre. The 11th-century illustrated codex provides a still-debated <i>terminus ad quem</i> for its four poems, which individually are variously dated as early as the 7th century. Each contains several problematic, non-scriptural verbal details that have been traced to liturgical, apocryphal and exegetical texts, but never before to the visual arts. Representations of seafaring in the manuscript are particularly rich in such detail, possibly attesting to the importance of the sea in Anglo-Saxon life. Accordingly, and in keeping with the theme of this conference, I shall focus on two seafaring episodes, the Flood and Red Sea narratives in Genesis and Exodus, in order to demonstrate that the vivid verbal imagery compares closely in its configurational detail to representations of these subjects in early biblical art. I view the poetry, not as a source for the manuscript’s justly famous drawings, nor as a complement to them, although both of these approaches are valuable ones; rather, I view the poems themselves as verbal reflections and indeed repositories of pictorial as well as verbal traditions. This inter-relationship between art and verse is observable also in secular poetry: the Flood narrative in <i>Beowulf</i> is another much-debated passage with interesting pictorial analogues.</p> <p>By broadening the parameters of our literary investigations to include iconography we can illuminate some of the obscurities presented by Anglo-Saxon versions of biblical history; in the process, we recover an important element of Anglo-Saxon culture. With the story of Caedmon’s inspiration likely a myth and the Roman-Northumbrian paintings no longer extant, the poetry may be the sole surviving evidence for Anglo-Saxon contact with early Christian continental art.</p>
8	Religion: Community and Practise	
	Sarah Larratt Keefer	Anglo-Saxon Liturgy and the Sea
		What evidence do we have of public ritual language used in Anglo-Saxon England to

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		<p>commit sailors or ships to God's care? The mass and benediction texts for those who sail which exist at all, are included scantily and by no means predictably in service-books from the Anglo-Saxon period. This paper will examine the transmission of these liturgical intentions for sailors, and any implications to be drawn from them with respect to English sensibilities. It will also consider items that are (and are not) commonly blessed, together with what we may deduce from ships not apparently being included. Such an examination of mass and benedictional material for sailors forms a first step of a study of votive mass and benediction collections in pre-Conquest England, intended to measure the degree to which they resemble continental avatars or coeval service-books, and to assess the information that they provide to us about issues that were of concern to the Anglo-Saxon spiritual imagination.</p>
John Niles		<p>What Was the Exeter Book For?</p>
		<p>While individual poems included in the Exeter Book of Old English poetry have been the subject of close scrutiny, and while attention has also focused on that book as a late-tenth-century physical production (P. Connor, R. Gameson), no sustained effort has been made to identify what ideological aims the book may have served. I argue that the book is a miscellany with a purpose — namely, to use the medium of vernacular verse so as to confirm the values of the reformed church while modulating society at large in the direction of a more enlightened spirituality.</p> <p>The Exeter Book is a neatly written volume that is physically a product of the Benedictine Reform. In addition, as has been shown only recently (O'Camb, "Bishop Æthelwold and the Shaping of the Old English Exeter Maxims," to appear in 'English Studies'), the specific wording of several of its constituent poems echoes that of texts foundational to the Reform, including Æthelwold's Old English translation of the Benedictine Rule. The implications of these facts deserve attention. While it has long been noted (e.g. by D. Whitelock) that such an Exeter Book poem as "The Seafarer" achieves its didactic ends through a rhetoric of appropriation and subversion, playing upon traditional concepts of heroism and fame in order to promote a concept of Christian ascetic zeal, what has not been recognized is that comparable rhetorical strategies are employed in other poems included in the anthology, as well. An example is "Maxims I," a poem that purports to be a compendium of worldly precepts but that in fact often subverts secular values in order to endorse orthodox Christian ones. The Riddles, too, in all their multiplicity, overwhelmingly promote devotional ends, and they sometimes do by undermining heroic values (as E. Irving as shown). The most prominent saints' lives included in the Exeter Book (Guthlac A and Guthlac B) celebrate a man who renounced the aristocratic warrior society of his birth in order to pursue an eremitic regime involving intense spiritual discipline. Taken as a whole, the Exeter Book thus promotes devotional ideals either directly (e.g. the Advent lyrics, "Vainglory"), or through allegory (e.g. "The Phoenix"), or through one or another oblique strategy of appropriation (e.g. "Deor" and other poems that deal with the heroic or antique past, including even "Widsith").</p> <p>This attempt to confirm the ethos of the reformed church — and thereby to influence society more generally — through the medium of vernacular verse took place not in a haphazard fashion, but rather when members of a religious community located in the southwest of England set out in ca. 970 AD to produce a book of this kind, doubtless drawing on a variety of pre-existing sources as they did so. This tells us something about the partisans of the Reform: namely, that they were not necessarily so puritanical</p>

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		<p>as to reject English-language poetry, even if of an apparently secular kind, as a medium of Christian learning and instruction. This perception urges us toward a new literary history, one that acknowledges that traditional English lore, and traditional verbal entertainments, continued to percolate into monastic circles until late in the Anglo-Saxon period, being converted there to educational purposes consistent with the Reform while being cleansed of their potentially offensive elements.</p>
9	Anglo-Saxon Road Trips	
	David Pelteret	Late Anglo-Saxon Long-Haul Travellers
		<p>Long-distance journeys of the kind so vividly brought to life by the Anglo-Saxon nun, Hygeburg, in her account of Willibald's journey to Jerusalem in the 720s seem only to have become more frequent in the eleventh century, when Anglo-Saxons were motivated by two primary factors: piety and dynastic conflict. This paper will examine a selection of eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon travellers whose journeys were driven by one or other--or both--of these factors.</p> <p>While Abbot Withman of Ramsey in his journey to Jerusalem may be taken as an example of Anglo-Saxons, clerics and laymen, who travelled for reasons of piety, Edward the Exile illustrates the hazards of dynastic politics. Following the death of his father, Edmund Ironside, and the succession of Cnut to the throne, he appears to have been taken as a child to Sweden, subsequently going to Russia, and then to Hungary. Persuaded to return to England in 1057, presumably as a potential successor to the childless Edward the Confessor, he died in unknown circumstances shortly after his arrival. His death probably led Ealdred, the future archbishop of York (who had sought to arrange Edward's return to England in 1054 by a visit to Cologne) to decide to combine the fall-out from dynastic politics with piety by choosing to travel via Hungary to Jerusalem in 1058.</p> <p>A French charter, little known to Anglo-Saxonists, reports that in 1060 Ælfwine, son of 'Heroldus, king of the land of the English', inspired certain local leaders to establish a monastery near Panat in southern France. The founder's father was probably Harold II Harefoot and the most plausible reason for his presence on the Continent was the same as that of Edward the Exile: a desire to preserve his life by escaping the fraught dynastic politics of eleventh-century England. A close reading of the document suggests that the foundation followed Ælfwine's return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.</p> <p>The Battle of Hastings may have terminated the Anglo-Saxon era politically in 1066 but it did not bring Anglo-Saxon long-haul travel to an end; indeed, it acted as an incentive for Anglo-Saxons to undertake yet more journeys. Within two years of the Conquest Ulf and his wife Madselin departed for Jerusalem, possibly for political reasons, leaving a will that bequeathed property to the same Ealdred who had gone to Jerusalem in 1058.</p> <p>Most notable of these post-Conquest travellers was a group of dissident Anglo-Saxons who left England for Constantinople during William the Conqueror's reign to join the Varangian guard; they may even have established an Anglo-Saxon settlement on the shores of the Black Sea. We do not know for certain how they reached Byzantium, but they may well have sailed via the Straits of Gibraltar.</p>

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		In 1096 Urban II preached the first crusade, whose political consequences still resonate today. There is credible evidence that an English fleet played an important role in the resulting siege of Antioch in 1097-8, a continuation by Anglo-Saxons of their earlier maritime endeavours, their warrior ethic and their penchant for travel.
	Juliet Mullins	<i>Herimum in mari: Anglo-Saxon Attitudes towards Pilgrimage</i>
		The high status accorded to the <i>peregrinus</i> within early Irish society is well documented: on numerous occasions Adomnán's seventh-century <i>Vita S. Columbae</i> describes Colum Cille's life on Iona as a pilgrimage; the contemporary Old Irish Penitential decrees that he who desires to reach perfection should sell all he has and go on a pilgrimage (<i>tet i n-ailithri</i>) or live in destitution in a communal church (<i>bith innmnochta ind eclais oentath</i>); and in his <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> , Bede describes the Irish missionary Fursa as one who came to East Anglia ' <i>cupiens pro Domino ... peregrinam ducere vitam</i> '. And yet, despite the esteem accorded to those engaged in peregrinatio, there is ample evidence that the ecclesiastical establishment was concerned about certain forms of pilgrimage. Thus Columbanus in a letter to Pope Gregory I written ca. 600 asks for advice on those monks 'who, for the sake of God, and inflamed by the desire for a more perfect life, impugn their vows, leave the places of their first profession, and against their abbot's will, impelled by monastic fervour, either relapse or flee to the deserts'. Adomnán records the failed attempts of two of Columba's household who set sail ' <i>cupiens reperire desertum in mari</i> ' and makes it clear that he sought to discourage members of his own community from doing likewise. Nor was this a concern limited to the earliest period: the ninth-century text known as <i>The Monastery of Tallaght</i> records the abbot Mael Ruain's injunction against those who abandon their country (<i>déreich a tír</i>) in search of pilgrimage overseas. Kathleen Hughes has suggested that the change of opinion charted in the Tallaght texts reflects the growing influence of the Benedictine ideal in Ireland and the importance of cloistered asceticism amongst those communities known as <i>céli Dé</i> ('companions of God'). Although evidence for the <i>céli Dé</i> in England is limited, there is, of course, far greater evidence for the permeation of Benedictine ideals amongst the Anglo-Saxons, culminating in the late tenth century and the monastic reform. And yet, Anglo-Saxon attitudes towards peregrinatio and other forms of pilgrimage are far from uniform. With this in mind, this paper seeks to examine the complex and changing attitudes towards pilgrimage and peregrinatio in Anglo-Saxon England and analyse how authors, particularly those concerned with the hagiographic record, handled the Lives of those seeking a 'desert in the sea'. If during the time of Bede the life of a peregrinus was an ideal to be aspired to (as is apparent from his descriptions of Aidan and Fursa, amongst others), how was pilgrimage perceived in the ninth and tenth centuries, by those working within and those beyond the reach of the Benedictine reform?
	Robin Norris	<i>The Exile of Saint Theopistis</i>
		For women in Old English literature, exile is usually defined in terms of both geographical displacement and relational disempowerment. Exiled women in <i>Beowulf</i> , for example, are connected to prophesies of doom, in the words of the messenger who reports their king's death to the Geats and in the words of the nameless woman who mourns him. Meanwhile, the female speakers of "The Wife's Lament" and "Wulf and Eadwacer" describe a miserable experience of exile that results not from death but from love relationships gone wrong. In this cultural context, the anonymous Old English <i>Passion of Saint Eustace</i> seems

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		<p>unusual, if not unique, as an Anglo-Saxon text that depicts an exiled woman who triumphs over adversity and single-handedly orchestrates a reunion with her husband and their long lost sons. Saint Eustace was one of the most popular saints throughout the Middle Ages, and he was well-received in Anglo-Saxon England, for multiple Anglo-Latin and Old English redactions of the text survive (in the Cotton-Corpus Legendary and the principal surviving manuscript of Ælfric’s Lives of Saints, for example). Although calendars, litanies, and hagiographic rubrication regularly obscure his wife Theophistis by referring only to her husband, or to her husband “sociorumque eius,” within the passion itself, it is the wisdom, influence, and decisions of Theophistis that drive the narrative forward.</p> <p>A pivotal moment in the passion occurs when Eustace’s wife is abducted at sea by a heathen ship’s captain. One might not expect things to end well for this exiled woman, separated from her husband and living in a foreign land, but Theophistis maintains a position of agency through clever and decisive action. For example, her intelligence enables her to identify and reunite her husband and their missing sons, a connection Eustace was better positioned to make, but not smart enough to accomplish on his own. Theophistis is also bold enough to demand repatriation from the captain of an invading army; when she realizes that this man is her husband, she persuades Eustace to accept her as his wife once again. Ultimately, Theophistis is martyred alongside her husband, and while this conclusion seems bleak to a modern audience, it is worth noting how rare it is for married saints to face death together.</p> <p>Theophistis stands as a counter-example to the dominant representations of exiled women in more canonical Old English literature. Although the Passion of Saint Eustace was imported from the continent, the text found a willing Old English translator who, while closely following his source, sanitized and Anglicized the Latin text as needed, and created a high-quality vernacular prose narrative that exposed a sizeable Anglo-Saxon audience to a depiction of a loving and respectful marriage, and an exiled woman who overcame material hardship through self-reliance. Along with the Geatish women and the female speakers of the elegies, Theophistis treads the paths of exile; what is exceptional about her experience is its happy ending.</p>
10	Books and Coins in Motion	
	Britt Mize	Importing the Saxon Genesis to English Poetic Soil: Denotational Difference and Compositional Technique in <i>Genesis B</i>
		<p>This paper examines the short existing section of overlap between the Old English <i>Genesis B</i> and its source, the Old Saxon <i>Genesis</i>, in order to advance a new characterization of the English poet’s methods in transferring the text from the continental to the closely related insular dialect. It is well known that this passage in which direct comparison is possible indicates rather minute fidelity to the source: the translator generally works word by word and verse by verse to produce a near-exact English equivalent to the Saxon original, favoring cognate words and phrases, and alters the text mainly by tightening up the syntax within verses to better suit the norms of English expression. Because of this close correspondence between the two texts, which provides an almost laboratory-perfect reduction of variables, deviations of any other kind have the potential to be enormously informative about Old English poetic</p>

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		<p>craft.</p> <p>There are three places in the overlapping portion of the two texts where <i>Genesis B</i> shows denotational difference from the Saxon <i>Genesis</i>, by which I mean a difference in what a reader would understand the text to be saying at a literal level. Because previous studies have tended to regard the writer's conversion of the Saxon text to English as "automatic" or "mechanical," these three departures from the source's signification have been treated strictly in terms of linguistic and formal factors that putatively motivated them; there has been no analysis of what the English poet might actually have been <i>doing</i>, as a maker of verse, in writing what he or she wrote. But no matter what the reasons were for initiating a change, the altered text still had to take some positive form, and the outcome of that compositional act, just like any other, will bear some meaningful relationship to its context and to the larger English poetic discourse into which the translator was integrating the Saxon text.</p> <p>I will demonstrate that in each of the three cases of substantive change, the <i>Genesis B</i> poet manifests a strong attraction to attested English poetic formulas and formula systems, and as we know from the work of Foley and others, these cannot be equated with meaningless metrical "filler." The translator is not only solving metrical and lexical problems, as I will show, but taking ownership of the material to create fully functional lines of Old English poetry that activate definable networks of traditional meaning and help naturalize the poem to Anglo-Saxon vernacular versecraft. He or she does this by bringing the received material into participation in what I call the poetics of mentality: a pervasive attentiveness to qualities and states of mind which I argue in my book-in-progress to be a fundamental element of verse composition in Old English, and which serves within that tradition to situate agents and their perspectives in an ethical framework. Each instance of denotational change in the extant <i>Genesis B</i>–Saxon <i>Genesis</i> intersection finds the English poet introducing some dimension of subjectivity that was not present in the original, and doing so in ways inseparable from employment of the traditional poetic idiom.</p>
	Rebecca Rushforth	The Parker-on-the-Web Project and the Anglo-Saxon Collections of Archbishop Matthew Parker
		No abstract
	Catherine Karkov	Travel, Trade and the Missions of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage
		<p>A group of Anglo-Saxon coins minted ca. 710-65 in the south of England, primarily in east Kent, depicts men and women in boats carrying or flanked by crosses. The iconography of the coins has generally been understood within an exclusively religious context and taken to symbolize the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons and/or their subsequent missions to the continent. The figures within the boats have therefore been identified with saintly historical figures such as Augustine, Boniface or Willibrord, or with biblical figures such as Christ and Mary. This interpretation is problematic at best as the figures have neither haloes nor saintly attributes of any kind, although the presence of the crosses does indicate a religious content. The purpose of this paper is to suggest that rather than representing specific journeys and historical figures the coins function more broadly to convey the expansionist concerns of church and kingdom in the south of England in the eighth century, and that rather than simply reflecting the past, they are designed to do social and cultural work in the present. Moreover, coins were designed to travel, to be exchanged, and more than any other group of Anglo-Saxon coins, this group literally references that function. Yet, as this paper will argue, these coins go beyond a representation of the</p>

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		<p>literal to effect a double movement similar to that of the double movement of letters discussed by Kathleen Davis in her recent book <i>Periodization and Sovereignty</i>. As coins they are material traces of wealth and trade that map economic growth, yet their religious imagery enacts a movement from the mundane and material to the eternal and the spiritual, from mere economic exchange to religious mission. The coins become at once a symbol of a single ideal religious community in Christ and the ship of the Church, and a sign of conversion and expansion, the movement of real boats, of people, of goods, and of ideologies that constituted the reality of that community.</p>
11	English and its Scribes in the Eleventh Century	
	Kathryn Powell	Readers on the Edge: Marginal and Interlinear Notes and their Scribes
		<p>A surprisingly large amount of early English writing can be found in the margins and between the lines of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, most of it produced in the eleventh century or later. These occasional marginal and interlinear annotations are effectively buried, in so far as many of them remain unedited.</p> <p>Editions of Old English texts do not necessarily represent spelling alterations, for example, in their apparatuses, especially where those alterations are not judged by editors to be ‘authorial’. Likewise marginalia, if it is judged to be unrelated to the main text in whose margins it appears, is sometimes left out of modern editions. Yet these brief snippets of text, taken together, stand as an important witness to late Old English writing and readership. The only way of recovering many of them, however, is by returning to the manuscripts. Collecting and making available this body of work would undoubtedly alter our understanding of the state of language, learning and culture in England in the eleventh century — a period of rapid linguistic and historical change.</p> <p>It is with this goal in mind that I am currently in the midst of two years’ study and cataloguing of eleventh-century Old English marginal and interlinear annotations in English manuscripts, and this paper will present the preliminary results of that research. Specifically, I will discuss what annotations can reveal to us about how readers in the eleventh century responded to a variety of early English texts. Marginalia, in particular, provide evidence of readers commenting directly upon texts, relating them to contemporary events, or adding material either of their own composition or drawn from other sources. Thus, they provide a fairly direct window onto a scribe’s thoughts about a text and, in many cases, the other texts he had available to him. Even minor corrections, by their mere presence, provide evidence that a text was being read at a particular date and, where a corrector has only marked up selected items from a manuscript, that some texts were not necessarily being read or revised. Taken collectively, such corrections can potentially provide us with a picture of a particular scribe’s intellectual interests or tell us how particular texts were used. In short, the copious annotations made to Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in the eleventh century can tell us a lot about reading practices at a time when exponentially more people were reading and writing English than in the previous century. By analyzing the work of annotators in a variety of different manuscript types (for example, CCC 162, an Ælfric homiliary; CCC 383, an important volume of Anglo-Saxon laws; Cotton Tiberius A. iii, a monastic miscellany; etc.), I will provide a necessarily brief and preliminary sketch of the variety of readerly behaviour that can be observed in such manuscripts and suggest</p>

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		ways in which this material can shed new light on readership in particular, and more generally on the cultural history of England in the eleventh century.
	Peter Stokes	Scribal Influences From Overseas? Vernacular Minuscule in the Reigns of Harold, Harthacnut, and the Confessor
		<p>Neil Ker once wrote that there was ‘no obvious course of development’ in script of the early eleventh century until the ‘round set hand of good proportions’ emerged in the 1040s (BOOKS, COLLECTORS AND LIBRARIES, p. 34). He seems to have intended these comments to apply equally to the scripts used for writing Latin and Old English, although subsequent work by scholars such as Alan Bishop, David Dumville and Richard Gameson has revealed that there were identifiable developments in Anglo-Caroline minuscule throughout this period. On the other hand, the vernacular minuscule has received much less attention, perhaps because it seems to be so much less regulated than the Latin, although recent study has shown that it was more coherent than Ker allowed (P.A. Stokes, ‘English Vernacular Script, ca 990 – ca 1035’, unpubl. PhD dissertation, Cambridge 2005). Nevertheless, Ker described the vernacular script as consistent and ‘thoroughly Caroline’ by the 1040s, a description which suggests a blending of styles and the incorporation of originally Continental practices into writing Old English.</p> <p>However, to my knowledge the emergence of this mid-century Vernacular minuscule has not been examined in detail despite its importance for our understanding of the literature and history of the period.</p> <p>It is perhaps no coincidence that this ‘thoroughly Caroline’ script developed during a time of regular contact across the English Channel and North Sea, with high-level links in both secular and ecclesiastical circles. These links include Scandinavia through the Anglo-Danish kings and nobility, and Normandy through both Cnut’s second wife and Edward the Confessor’s exile to the continent. Ecclesiastical connexions include Leofric, Bishop of Crediton and then Exeter, who spent time in Lotharingia, and Ealdred, Bishop of Worcester who travelled to Rome and Cologne and is said to have reformed English practices based on what he saw there. As well as these potential influences from overseas, however, links can also be found within Anglo-Saxon scribal practices. For example, the Anglo-Caroline minuscule of ‘Eadwig Basan’ is recognised as an early and influential example of script for Latin which soon spread across England, but his writing in Old English also shows striking similarities in style with the ‘round set hand’ which did not become widespread until a generation later. Identifying which of these influences effected the vernacular script is therefore a challenging problem.</p> <p>In this paper I shall discuss the development of Vernacular minuscule in the 1030s and 1040s with particular regard to cultural influences and historical context behind the development of the script. I shall focus on products of those larger centres for which most localisable evidence survives, particularly Canterbury, Winchester, and Worcester, as well as royal writs and charters. My analysis of the script will also draw on new methods in quantitative and computer-aided palaeography, and issues of objectivity in the field will also be addressed. By combining all these aspects, I shall bring a better understanding of influences from overseas on a seemingly local script.</p>
	Donald Scragg	The Rise and Fall of Standard Old English

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		<p>Old English grammars are historically based on 'Early West Saxon', principally because of Henry Sweet's obsession with King Alfred, even though it is now generally accepted amongst linguists that a more widely exemplified form of the written language developed in Winchester in the post-Reform period. It is also generally understood that, while the majority of writers of late Old English adhered to an accepted standard in the later tenth century and the early part of the eleventh, gradually in the post-Conquest period that standard declined, at least in some centres. But although these are universally accepted truths, and while much work has been done in recent years on the vocabulary of the later period, little has been published on the spelling and inflections of late Old English. This paper offers some preliminary findings from a comprehensive study of the orthography of Standard Old English which are the result of a ten-year investigation. The paper is in effect a prolegomenon to a new and detailed study of late Old English which, it is hoped, will be published during the next decade.</p> <p>Amongst my illustrations in this paper, I will show, for example, the scribal distribution of the disyllabic form of 'cyning' as against the monosyllabic 'cyng', and offer suggestions about the source of the variation in the nature of the material copied. I will look at scribal variation between 'sceolon' and 'sculon' and venture ideas about scribal training. And I will suggest why it is wrong for editors to dismiss as minor variants (usually to be excluded from their apparatus) the alternation between 'i' and 'y' in an edition of a text found in more than one manuscript. In other words, I hope that this will not be too dry a linguistic analysis for a given paper but will address wider issues of more general interest such as how this sort of information can help determine more about eleventh-century education when England led the way in Europe in the use of the vernacular, and I shall have some thoughts to offer about how the material might be used in determining the dissemination of texts.</p>
12	The Materiality of Manuscripts: Methods, Discoveries, Stakes	
	Patrick Conner	A Material Approach to the Matched Scribal Hand(s) in the Exeter Book
		<p>In his essay on the script of the Exeter Book published in 1933, Robin Flower wrote that '... [there is] such variety in the quality of the script that we must suppose several scribes to have been employed on the writing.' Kenneth Sisam, however, one eyebrow raised, responded, 'even the authority of Mr. Flower will not persuade me that more than one scribe was employed,' and Neil Ker simply stated without equivocation in his CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING ANGLO-SAXON that the manuscript was written by one scribe.</p> <p>P. W. Conner found reasons to conceive of the Exeter Book as a three-part manuscript partly on the basis of the distribution of scribal choices, such as the use of ligatures and the frequency with which each of the three forms for the letter Y were used. I am interested in these data and the possibility that there is yet evidence for Flower's position. Certainly, the earliest Insular productions, such as the Book of Kells, employed matched hands in its production that still defy narrow disambiguation. There are a few instances much later, too, of hands that do not quite meet the standard of exact matching on which the theories to be examined here can be tested using the palaeographer's eye, in order to begin to define what may be involved for several scribes to write very closely matched hands, such as would be the case in the Exeter Book if it were shown to have more than one scribe at work on it.</p>

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		<p>Using approaches developed at the Obermann Summer 2008 Research Seminar, 'Medieval Manuscript Studies and Contemporary Book Arts: Extreme Materialist Readings of Medieval Books' at the University of Iowa, I shall present slides of exact duplicates of the hand of the Exeter Book from 1833 and in 2008 with reference to personal interviews with the scribe who learned the hand to imitate it in the later sample, in order to determine how one goes about responding to the details of a script in order to control that most illusive quality, its aspect. I shall then turn to a modern analogue of the problem on which I can test methods to ascertain whether it is probable that multiple matched scribes were employed. That analogue is the St. John's Bible, currently in production under the direction of the English royal scribe, Donald Jackson, and a team writing a fully illuminated Bible on vellum with quills using a script Jackson developed based on Caroline minuscule for the Brothers of St. John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minnesota. I have obtained a list of stints identified by scribe and I have full color facsimiles, so that hypotheses I make from working with a modern active scribe, can be tested on this analogue. Using statistical analyses, I plan to show how one can then map onto other scribes' work discoveries we can make from observing choices with regard to the St John's Bible.</p>
	Karen Louise Jolly`	Excavating an Insular Manuscript's History: Durham A.IV.19
		<p>The codicological and paleographic history of Durham Cathedral Library A.IV.19, the so-called Durham Ritual or Collectar, begins in the tenth century, but not with the manuscript we currently possess. Rather, this collection of folios—added and lost, assembled and reassembled—is the product of a longer history that extends down to the present, passing through the hands of medieval cathedral scribes, early modern paleographers, and modern editors. Unsurprisingly, we take the most recent analysis as the best cumulative understanding of a manuscript and its contents, since the author or editor corrects and neatly summarizes for us the previous scholarly work and its relation to the present. And yet the “hands-on” approach of earlier paleographers still has much to teach us about the physical state of the manuscript. Medieval scribes at Durham Cathedral, who may be responsible for assembling the manuscript folios, left pen trials and trails of their own. Sixteenth century enumeration survives from before lost folios. The generation of Wanley painstakingly copied the Old English scripts. And now in the twenty-first century, Anglo-Saxonists are again trying their hand at recreating medieval quires, as at the recent University of Iowa Obermann Center seminar bringing together medievalists, parchment makers, calligraphers, and book binders.</p> <p>This paper examines the history of a manuscript's codicological journey in order to demonstrate that every stage has a role to play in understanding the book. Like an archaeological dig, we cannot just shovel past the layers of history that do not interest us to get to Homer's Troy or Northumbria in 970. We might actually miss some important artifact preserved in the later building history. In the case of Durham A.IV.19, this excavation shows that we are not dealing with a single bound book but a collection of quires and half-sheets assembled and reassembled in different ways throughout its binding history. Marks left on the pages by previous users are quite revealing about what this manuscript meant, first to the community in Northumbria and later to scholars desiring to understand that community, their language, liturgical life, and scribal habits.</p> <p>For this project, a twenty-first century scholar is attempting to both build on, and question, the foundations of Durham A.IV.19's codicology and paleography through</p>

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		<p>an examination of the physical manuscript, research into its scholarly history, and by putting quill to parchment to imitate its scripts. In the course of this study, the manuscript has not only fallen apart into constituent bits that happen to have been bound together but has also taken on flesh and blood as an authentic witness to different moments in its history. Durham A.IV.19 disassembled shows us living and time-consuming processes of copying, correcting, erasing and glossing text; binding, unbinding, collating, and rebinding pages; annotating, numbering, and renumbering quires; and scholarly habits of codifying, classifying, and identifying hands, texts, and ideas. This paper looks at the people who handled the manuscript and reimagines what making a manuscript means.</p>
	Jonathan Wilcox	<p>A Material Sense: Homiletic Circulation in Booklets in the Blickling Homilies and Junius 85/86</p>
		<p>The enigmatic description of the <i>wederwolcen</i> that protects the Israelites during their flight from the Pharaoh's army to the Red Sea is the most commented passage in <i>Exodus</i>. Many a scholar has attempted to unravel the metaphoric crux of why the <i>Exodus</i>-poet juxtaposed, even melded, the seemingly disparate images of a tent, a net, a shield, and a sail in lines 71-92 to evoke the elusive biblical <i>columna nubis</i>. As a result, allusions to patristic typology, scriptural intertextuality, and skaldic kennings have been persuasively identified in these lines. An additional context for understanding <i>Exodus</i> is the Latin poetic curriculum of Anglo-Saxon monasteries; tantalizing connections among a Latin curriculum text, an Anglo-Saxon student, and a vernacular poem suggest another way of accounting for the series of images in this crux and illuminate new ways in which Anglo-Saxons may have imagined the biblical past and their relationship to it.</p> <p>Anglo-Saxon monks learned Latin by reading Latin biblical epics composed in late antiquity by Caelius Sedulius, Arator, Cyprianus Gallus, Avitus of Vienne, Dracontius, and Juvencus. One of these biblical epics, Arator's <i>Historia Apostolica</i> combines two of the images found in the Old English crux for the first time. The <i>Historia Apostolica</i> outlines the significant events in the ministries of Peter and Paul as narrated in the book of Acts while highlighting the theme of baptism. In the rendition of Acts 18:3, Arator examines the figural significance of Paul's profession as a tentmaker and compares Paul's work to Peter's profession as a fisherman. Bede drew much from the <i>Historia Apostolica</i> while composing one of his earliest exegetical works, the <i>Expositio Actuum Apostolorum</i>. In his comments on Acts 18:3, Bede acknowledges Arator's figural interpretation and establishes the parallel between making tents and fishing more explicitly by comparing tents to nets as objects that provide salvific refuge for mankind. The <i>Exodus</i>-poet expands the nautical implications of Bede's tent-net conceit further to include a ship's sail as a structure of divine protection. Such an expansion may not have been far fetched for archeological evidence suggests that tents were used on early medieval ships and that early sails may have been plaited from strips of cloth in a net-like fashion. An intriguing possible inspiration for the <i>Exodus</i>-poet's addition of a shield to the tent-net-sail conceit may be the Greek paronomasia in Bede's etymology of <i>scenofactoria</i>, "tent-maker". That the <i>Exodus</i>-poet might have had some awareness of Greek would not be surprising in light of the stylistic similarities that have been posited between <i>Exodus</i> and the canon of Aldhelm, whose own interest in Greek has been well documented.</p> <p>Should such a process of metaphoric accretion have taken place from a Latin biblical</p>

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		epic to Anglo-Latin exegesis to an Old English poem, than might the <i>Exodus</i> -poet was a student of Anglo-Latin exegesis as well as the Latin poetic curriculum taught in Anglo-Saxon monasteries? If so, than <i>Exodus</i> may have been self-consciously fashioned using conventions adopted from Latin biblical epics.
13	The Anglo-Saxons and the Whale	
	Ian David Riddler	The Middle Saxon Whale
		Fragments of whalebone have been found across a wide range of Anglo-Saxon sites. The largest quantity stems from the Middle Saxon period (c AD 700 - 850) and can be separated into two principal types, which come from different parts of the mammal skeleton. Worked whale vertebrae were adapted for use as working surfaces. They occur at coastal sites of various types, including wics, monasteries and rural settlements. They can be distinguished from the second type, worked whalebone waste, almost all of which comes from the wic sites and has usually been reduced to small fragments, not readily identifiable to species. The same sites also provide some indication of the range of objects produced from this material. Aside from caskets, whalebone was used by Anglo-Saxons in comb manufacture and for gaming boards, needles, pegs and cordage implements, as well as forming the raw material for floats attached to fishing nets. The waste material from Hamwic in particular forms a reasonable quantity from a small number of whales (a minimum number of just two), reinforcing the idea that it was an opportunist material, gathered from strandings and extensively worked, when available.
	Haruko Momma	<i>Ælfric's Fisherman and the Hronrad: A Colloquy on the Occupation</i>
		<p>This paper, which is intended for the separately proposed session “The Anglo-Saxons and the Whale,” will reconsider the character of the Fisherman in <i>Ælfric's Colloquy</i> by examining his attitude towards whales and whale hunting. When asked by the <i>magister</i> whether he would sail out to the ocean and catch whales, his answer is a definitive no (<i>nolo/nic</i>). Although the Fisherman accepts as true the <i>magister's</i> claim that many hunt whales for great profit, he maintains nonetheless that he would rather fish in the river because of his timid nature. Modern readers have tended to take this passage at face value and type-cast the Fisherman as a laborer who lacks gumption compared especially to the royal Huntsman, whose dialogue appears immediately before his.</p> <p>This social realism comes under scrutiny, however, when we take into account whale exploitation in Anglo-Saxon England. Recent scholarship demonstrates that there is no direct evidence that whale hunting was commonly practiced in Anglo-Saxon England. Although there are examples of whale use attested in England from this period, the whales thus exploited are likely to have been stranded. Moreover, whale remains are more commonly found on archaeological sites in Scotland and Scandinavia than in Anglo-Saxon England. Such material evidence raises the question as to why the <i>Colloquy</i>, which was probably first written for oblates at Cerne Abbas, Dorset, should make the <i>magister</i> ask a local fisherman repeatedly why he would not hunt whales.</p> <p>This is not to say that the Anglo-Saxons had no familiarity with whales or whale hunting. The famous kenning <i>hronrad</i> (‘whale road’) occurs in poems such as <i>Beowulf</i> and <i>Andreas</i> to connote the vast expanse of the ocean. The Old English Orosious includes an account of a Norwegian named Ohthere, who visits Alfred’s court and reports that he and his fellows once killed sixty whales in just two days. In both of</p>

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		<p>these cases, however, the representation of whales takes place outside the realm of the ordinary: in Old English poetic imagination, the whale road was reserved for heroes and saints; the boasting about whale massacre comes from an explorer who took an active part in the Viking-age trade. Whales, in other words, are not likely to have been associated with day-to-day life in southern Anglo-Saxon England.</p> <p>If the <i>Colloquy on the Occupations</i> does not present, as has been suggested recently, a slice of life in Anglo-Saxon England but expresses instead the Benedictine monastic ideal, then we may pose the question: what does the portrait of the Fisherman tell us about Ælfric's notion of social order? Unlike the <i>magister</i>, the pupils, or the Huntsman, who are integrated into monastic or aristocratic economy, the Fisherman is a free man who sells his catch to townspeople at a market. Though independent, he is still a lover of hierarchy who prefers to kill small <i>fisc</i> in the river than be killed by big ones in the ocean. Ælfric's Fisherman would never become as affluent as Ohthere, but he is both content and confident about his occupation.</p>
	Carol Neuman de Vegvar	<i>Hronæs ban</i> : Exoticism and Prestige in Anglo-Saxon Material Culture
		<p>Two of the finest and most elaborate small works of sculpture from the middle Anglo-Saxon period are the Franks and Gandersheim Caskets, both made of whalebone. The use of whalebone as a substitute for the ivory used in these caskets' hypothetical continental models should not obscure the relative rarity of whalebone itself in the Anglo-Saxon England. The emphasis on this choice of medium in the inscription on the front of the Franks Casket may be at least partially intended to draw attention to its potential prestige value. In this sense the use of whalebone in the middle Anglo-Saxon period parallels the use of a similarly rare material, aurochs horn, in the production of drinking horns deposited in princely graves, as at Sutton Hoo, Taplow and Prittlewell in the early Anglo-Saxon period. The aurochs had been extinct in England since the Neolithic era, but in the Anglo-Saxon period these ancient wild cattle were still hunted for their horns in Scandinavia. Their large size, and their ferocity when cornered made their horns vessels worthy of signifying a prince's generous hospitality and leadership in battle. Similarly a whalebone casket, made from the bones of an exotic animal famed in the Bible for its size and capacity for evil and violence, was worthy to contain either the power of earthly wealth or subdued in the service of the holy, the sanctity of relics or oils for chrism.</p>
	Carolin Esser	King of the Sons of Pride: Symbolism and Physicality of the Old English Whale
		<p>This paper is designed as part of the proposed session 'The Anglo-Saxons and the Whale.' It will concentrate on the physical whale as a reflection of spiritual understanding. The Whale as symbol of evil was already well established in the latter half of the first millennium. Leviathan as symbol of hell needs to be considered in this context. It is central to the understanding of Jonah as type for Christ during the harrowing of hell. Similarly prominent is the Physiologus tradition which compares the (supposed) hunting methods of the whale with those used by the devil in his quest for souls.</p> <p>The fundamental connection of the whale with evil, the devil and/or hell is relatively well-known, not least because of the popularity of the corresponding pages in the later bestiaries. The familiarity of this association of the whale with the devil will have contributed to the lack of attention granted to the poem <i>The Whale</i> which is found within the Exeter Book <i>Physiologus</i> section. Michelle C. Hoek's claim for Anglo-</p>

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		<p>Saxon innovation in the use of the whale/devil theme still stands, however. As with many Old English Christian poems, The Whale's originality does not lie in the basic outline of the story but in its application. The same holds true for other references to the figural whale - in text or image. This paper therefore aims to explore the way in which the theme is used within Anglo-Saxon narrations and translations.</p> <p>A consideration of The Whale will form the structural centre of this paper. Other occurrences of the theme in Old English will be explored in relation to this discussion. The paper will draw on Anglo-Saxon and continental representatives of the Physiologus and the homiletic traditions as well as etymologies and other narrations in order to provide a context for the Old English references.</p>
14	Vernacular Prose: After the Editions	
	Bruce Gilchrist	Rethinking Alfredian Manuscripts
		<p>This paper presents a recontextualization of the translation project brought by King Alfred and his circle of scholars via a broader rethinking of the manuscript evidence taken collectively. This means not treating the works of the project individually in their source and vernacular copies; instead, the paper will build a diachronic, plural treatment of the manuscript evidence now known for the four major works [Regula, Consolatio, Soliloquia, and Psalter]. In effect, I propose a summary picture tracing possible source-text manuscripts, the manuscripts of the translations themselves, and the glosses made in both these sets over time as they create an extended readership. I believe this global approach will serve best to demonstrate the achievement of Alfred and his circle and to scrutinize where and when these source-texts and translations were being read.</p> <p>Consider, for instance, competing evidence for axes of influence on Alfred's project from Irish, Welsh and Carolingian centres of learning. Alfred's Boethius is surely indebted to the ninth-century production of manuscript copies and commentaries on the Consolatio by Caroline scholars, yet there are no surviving complete copies of English origin or ownership before mid-tenth century, with one key exception: MS Vatican lat. 3363, which is likely made in the Loire, crosses the channel, and acquires multiple levels of glossing and commentary from Welsh and English hands before returning to the continent. This elliptical route contrasts strongly with the Irish influence on the background sources for the Fifty Prose Psalms; here, Alfred's hand is tipped away from the philosophical character of the major patristic works by Cassiodorus and Augustine available on the continent and towards those bearing the narrower literal-historical interpretation.</p> <p>Consider the corollary role of Isidore's Synonyma, surely the next most likely candidate for the translation project, given that it contains both a philosophical dialogue and a dissertation on the vices and virtues. The Synonyma, as with much of Isidore's output, was clearly available, but it intrigues here as a text in combination in manuscript copies of Alfredian source texts, most notably in Cotton Vespasian D.xiv (s.ix^{1/4}) which contains excerpts of Boethian metra (added s.xin), and in Salisbury 173 (s.x^{ex}), where it is paired with the Soliloquia. A third link is Cotton Tiberius A.iii (s.xi^{med}), which has excerpts from the Synonyma, Alcuin's De Virtutibus et Vitiis and a version of Alfred's prayer from his Soliloquies.</p>

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		<p>Third, consider the importance of glosses in this body of manuscripts. Timothy Graham has done a splendid job interpreting the glosses Wulfstan, Tremulous and Joscelyn make in copies of Alfred's Pastoral Care, but there are other scattered glosses, such as those in St. John's College 28 (Regula) and Royal 2.A.xx (Soliloquia Prayer; s.viii²), which warrant inclusion. Likewise, the Latin glosses by an English hand in Paris BN lat. 9561 (Regula; s.viii¹) should be collated.</p> <p>In sum, by extending the frame of manuscript study beyond the narrower range needed for individual scholarly editions, this paper broadens the context of our understanding of Alfred's role in the transmission of scholarly ideas in the first millennium.</p>
	Nicholas P. Brooks	Anglo-Saxon 'Chronicle' or 'Chronicles'? What's in a Name
		<p>The vernacular annals of the English kingdom, generally termed The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, are our principal narrative source for early English history. Their study has been transformed during the last twenty-five years by the publication of scholarly editions of all the main manuscripts, known by their alphabetical sigla: A - G. These editions have focussed the attention of linguists, literary scholars and historians on features that distinguish the individual manuscripts from each other. The effect of giving scholars precise information about each manuscript's wording has been to draw attention to the function, date and agenda of each and of particular annals or groups of annals written in separate ecclesiastical centres by particular scribes or copyists. Modern scholarship has therefore sought to identify the motives of individual annalists or compilers. From the initial dissemination of the 'common stock' of the Chronicle in or soon after 892 until the final entry in the E manuscript for the year 1154 we have been led to think of separate 'Chronicles' produced or extended in separate centres at different times.</p> <p>Comparisons with the ninth-century Carolingian annals, the Annales Regni Francorum and with the contemporary Old Irish annals, recently renamed the Chronicle of Ireland, however, suggest that it may be foolish to lose sight of the common agenda of the different manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Much excellent work has been done in recent years on the role of component parts of the Chronicle in developing a discourse of Englishness and in asserting English identity and the concept of England (Irvine 1994, Thormann 1997, Bredehoft 2001, Shepard 2004, Stafford 2008). There has been less attention, however, on how remarkable it is that all manuscripts of the Chronicle remain predominantly and repeatedly focussed upon the activities of English kings, both in war and peace. Wherever the extant manuscripts were being written in the tenth, eleventh and early twelfth centuries - at Winchester, Canterbury, Abingdon, Worcester, Evesham, York or Peterborough - their focus remained upon the English monarchs. That did not happen by chance; nor was it an obvious or natural concern of monastic or episcopal chroniclers. Attention needs now to be directed towards how information about the kings came to be disseminated in the English language and accepted as the chief subject matter of history, even into an age when the dominant languages of the royal court had become French and Latin.</p> <p>Nineteenth-century debates, reflected in the titles and introductions of the editions of Thorpe (1861), Earle (1865) and Plummer (1892-9) concerned whether the language should be termed 'Saxon' or 'Anglo-Saxon' and whether the works were 'Histories' or 'Chronicles'. Sadly Plummer conservatively avoided adopting either the term 'Old</p>

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		<p>English' for the language or the term 'Annals' in his title, which could usefully have avoided predetermining whether single or multiple works were at stake. The terminology of Thorpe and Plummer has been retained, but it may now be time to rename the 'Chronicle' as The Old English Royal Annals</p>
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