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**Abstracts for Papers and Project Reports**

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## PAPERS

### **Adair, Anya – ‘(Un)Diplomatic Sources, Contested Composition, and the Prologue to the Alfredian Law Code’**

The Prologue to the Alfredian Law Code remains an understudied text. Such critical analyses as have been undertaken tend to focus on its possible sources, and have resulted in the association of the Prologue with a disparate array of works – religious, diplomatic, and legal. This study reconsiders the proposed sources of the Prologue (none of which is beyond doubt), and seeks thereby greater insight into the pressures and processes of composition in a ninth-century administrative court. It argues that the choice and treatment of the Prologue’s source materials tells us more about the lives of working writers than simply the contents of their library.

The letter of Archbishop Fulk to King Alfred regarding the scholar Grimbald (suggested as a source for the legal theory in the Prologue) is an important case-study here. The source itself is complex: its tone has been decried as intensely rude and defended as politely complimentary; its political and theological motivations are intriguingly ambiguous; and it opens a generous window into then-current diplomatic life, and international and Church/State relations. Its alleged use as a source for the Prologue, however, can also tell us a great deal about the intellectual and physical processes by which a major Anglo-Saxon administrative production came about. What did the writer in Alfred’s court think of Fulk? Is the Prologue a defensive response to Frankish accusation, or a complimentary homage to it? Can Fulk’s letter have inspired the composition of the entire Prologue?

A reconstruction of the function of the source (and a re-evaluation of modern assumptions about this function) permits the drawing of wider inferences, and implies much about relations between authors, about what Anglo-Saxon writers thought of the texts they handled daily, and about the process of writing itself as it may have occurred in the scriptoria and schools. This paper argues that unpacking the sources of the Prologue to the Alfredian Law Code – and tracing the political and personal origins of these sources – provides a fuller understanding of the practical processes of textual production in Anglo-Saxon England.

### **Banham, Debby – ‘*Ymbhwyrft*: The Annual Cycle of Food Production in Anglo-Saxon England’**

Many aspects of Anglo-Saxon daily life are lost to us for ever, but one thing is certain, that it varied enormously through the year. The lengthening and shortening of the days, and the changing weather, had a much greater impact than they do today, and, since most of the population was involved in producing food, not only their diet but their working lives changed from month to month, even week to week, in a more or less regular cycle, repeated year after year. Seasonal agricultural labour, like the feasts of the Church, offered a much more tangible sense of chronological succession than the sequence of one, essentially similar, year after another. Thus the laity, as well as ecclesiastics, must have been more aware of where they were in the year than which year they were in. Cyclical

time was more important than linear time in the early middle ages, and for most people, it was work in the fields that embodied its changes.

Some of the evidence for the Anglo-Saxon farming cycle is well known: the two illustrated calendars in BL Cotton Tiberius B v and Julius A vi, the *Rectitudines* and *Gerefa*, Bede's Old English names for months in his *De temporum ratione*. Some of it less obvious: place names, the evolution of certain English words, a substantial amount of archaeological, especially bioarchaeological, evidence, the laws of King Alfred, the poetry of Alcuin, the Lives of St Cuthbert, to name but a few.

One of the late David Hill's final publications was on 'agriculture through the year'. This paper will expand upon Dr Hill's work, taking as its theme the Old English noun *ymbhwyrft*, literally 'a throwing around', used for both the turning of the year and the act of cultivating the soil. The presentation will plot the changing character of agricultural labour through the seasons in early medieval England, using a wide range of evidence, as well as recent research on Anglo-Saxon farming. It will also engage with some of the major lacunae in our knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon farming year, such as the date at which the staple cereal crops were sown and harvested. The result will be a unique insight into the changing textures of everyday life for the vast majority of the early medieval English population, the background against which the events of Anglo-Saxon history were played out.

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### **Bayless, Martha – 'Dance in Anglo-Saxon England'**

This paper will illuminate the history and uses of dance in Anglo-Saxon England, using a wide range of evidence from texts and images, and conclude by identifying a hitherto unrecognized instance of the depiction of dance.

The scattered nature of references to dance and the ambiguity of its vocabulary have seemed to suggest that dance was not an important practice in Anglo-Saxon England, but the assembled evidence shows that dance was in fact a significant cultural phenomenon. The earlier centuries saw the depiction of weapon dances on artifacts such as the Sutton Hoo helmet, the helmet foil fragment from Caenby, and the Finglesham buckle, all part of a much more extensive context of similar iconography from the Continent; controversy remains about their intent and the meaning of their details. Later sources also allow us a glimpse of lively secular dance: notice of these appears in a series of edicts and admonitions showing how widespread the practice of dance was, reportedly taking place even in the houses of clerics. Performance traditions include dance combined with satirical songs, a practice which may be fleshed out by examining some possible Scandinavian parallels, as well as possible secular ritual dance such as the Abbots Bromley Horn Dance, with its complex and

ultimately unknowable questions of dating. Dance might also be regarded as holy, particularly in depictions of David (2 Samuel 6.14, 'David danced before the Lord with all his might' et al.) and of Miriam. By contrast, the dance of Salome gave rise to a tradition of the lascivious female dancer, illustrated in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of the *Psychomachia* and assigned an England iteration in the *Vita Wulfstani*, where Wulfstan shuns the advances of a seductive dancing-girl. This wide range of examples reveals a rich and varied tradition of Anglo-Saxon dance and attitudes towards dance.

Finally, I will suggest that, based on its affinities with similar depictions discussed in the course of the paper, a prominent image from Anglo-Saxon England is an overlooked depiction of dancing.

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### **Bolotina, Julia – ‘The Broader Relevance of Anglo-Saxon Medical Texts’**

Death and disease are the great levelers: kings and slaves, abbots and ploughmen, all faced illness and the choice of how to treat it. What that choice entailed in Anglo-Saxon England, however, is a question that has frustratingly remained unanswered.

Bald's Leechbook and the Lacnunga are two of the Anglo-Saxon medical texts that have received the most critical attention, and groundbreaking scholarship over the past three decades has shown that they circulated widely and were meant to be practical. Scholars have shown that remedies and remedy collections were adapted for specific purposes as they circulated (1); that some remedies may have worked (2); that they could have been used in England (3); that far from being unsanctioned, verbal charms draw on Christian liturgy (4); and that the texts stayed abreast of medical developments and incorporated cutting-edge medical work from the continent, such as the so-called Petrocellus, which Bald's Leechbook draws on extensively (5).

These studies are invaluable in showing that the Lacnunga and Bald's Leechbook were living, dynamic, and practical texts, but they seem to bypass questions about their relevance to daily life.

Questions such as: who could have read or contributed to the texts? Were they known widely, or were they niche products of royal courts or monastic scriptoria? Does the medicine we see in them reflect general medical knowledge at this time, or are these texts unique blends of knowledge created in particular settings? In other words, how reliable are the texts as a source for Anglo-Saxon medicine and medical practices in real, daily life?

This paper seeks to answer some of these questions. It will situate the medical texts in the context of: the non-medical manuscript contexts in which parallel remedies or remedy motifs are found (6); the chronological and geographic spread of such parallels; the socio-economic conditions of use suggested by such parallels; the greater body of medical and scientific writing in Anglo-Saxon England; and/or the use of medical metaphors in non-medical texts such as the anatomical lorica hymns, the works of Bede, or the Old English translation of Gregory the Great's *Cura Pastoralis*. This kind of examination will provide information on how these remedies were viewed and in what social circles, and in what manner they were circulated. This will shed light on who, if anyone, understood and used these texts, and what relevance they held for Anglo-Saxon daily life.

(1) E.g. Meaney, 'Variant Versions of Old English Medical Remedies and the Compilation of Bald's Leechbook' ASE 13 (1984), pp. 235-68; p. 244.

(2) E.g. Cameron, M. L., 'Anglo-Saxon Medicine and Magic', ASE 17 (1988), 191-215. p. 201-2.

(3) Voigts, L. E., 'Anglo-Saxon Plant Remedies and the Anglo-Saxons', *Isis* 70 (1979), 250-268; p. 259-66.

(4) E.g. Jolly, K. *Popular Religion in Late Saxon England* (Chapel Hill, 1996).

(5) E.g. Cameron 'Medicine and Magic'; Talbot, C. H., 'Some Notes on Anglo-Saxon Medicine', *Medical History* 9.2 (1965), pp. 156-69.

(6) This will complement work done by Meaney in 'Variant Versions' (above) on remedy variants in medical manuscripts.

### **Brady, Lindy – 'The *Dunsæte Ordinance*, the Welsh Frontier, and Marcher Society in Anglo-Saxon England'**

This paper argues that a closer look at the daily life and environment of those Anglo-Saxons living along the Welsh frontier, via the understudied tenth-century Old English legal text known as the *Dunsæte Ordinance*, counters recent postcolonial conclusions that Anglo-Welsh relations before the Norman Conquest were ethnically divisive. From the perspective of high-status political figures reflected in texts like the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, encounters between the Anglo-Saxons and the Welsh have been read, in postcolonial studies of early Britain, as moments of violence and awareness of 'otherness'. Yet as recently suggested by George Molyneaux (ASE 40 [2012]) and T. M. Charles-Edwards (*Tair Colofn Cyfraith* [Bangor, 2007]), the *Dunsæte Ordinance* - a short text governing procedure for the recovery of cattle taken across the river which ran between the Welsh and English banks of the *Dunsæte* territory - demonstrates not Anglo-Welsh divisiveness (as in *Ine's laws*), but equality. Building on these studies, this paper argues that close attention to the landscape in which the Anglo-Saxons spent their daily lives more accurately reflects the lived reality of Anglo-Welsh relations along the frontier. While the frontier is usually - from the perspective of high-status politics - defined in terms of *Offa's Dyke* as a sharply divisive border, the *Dunsæte Ordinance* reveals that the

river which runs through this territory, rather than a would-be boundary that divided the Dunsæte, united them in the shared responsibilities of community stewardship.

This paper considers the Dunsæte Ordinance as more than a legal outlier, instead reflecting a deeper cultural pattern of Anglo-Welsh hybridity in the daily lives of those Anglo-Saxons who inhabited the landscape of the Welsh frontier. While the March of Wales has traditionally been viewed as a product of the Norman Conquest, created when necessity compelled the granting of greater legal and political autonomy to those lords living along the tumultuous border with Wales, I use the Dunsæte Ordinance to explore the possibility that there are historically and conceptually compelling reasons why the pre- and post-Conquest Marches can be productively interpreted as analogous spaces: namely, that the Dunsæte Ordinance can be fruitfully understood as an earlier iteration of the post-Conquest Law of the March. The Dunsæte Ordinance, like the post-Conquest *Lex Marchie*, identifies the Anglo-Welsh frontier as a legally hybrid space that stands outside the laws of both Anglo-Saxon England and Wales, yet blends together features of both. Because the key defining feature of the Anglo-Norman March of Wales was the Law of the March, understanding the Dunsæte Ordinance as an earlier instance of Marcher law suggests that the Anglo-Welsh frontier before the Conquest can be productively interpreted as a Marcher society in similar ways. Crucially, this suggests that the daily lives of those Anglo-Saxons along the frontier were ones of cultural and territorial hybridity, reflecting not Anglo-Welsh divisiveness but the cooperation of a community, and a frontier that was not a border but a porous landscape.

### **Cavell, Megan – ‘Everyday Monsters: Adapting Pests for an Anglo-Saxon Audience’**

The historical, archaeological and literary records make clear the significance of animals in Anglo-Saxon culture, and yet, when it comes to discussions of Old English literature, scholarship tends to revisit the same creatures time and time again. It is no coincidence that the animals that have proven most popular in the past are associated with particularly high status figures: the kingly stag, the noble horse, the beasts of battle. Indeed, when non-‘heroic’ animals capture scholarly imagination, they are often lent status from their place within the poetic canon, as the birds of *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer* demonstrate. While these animals and texts carry their own fascinating histories and historiographies, concentrating solely on them fails to represent the creatures most commonly encountered in the daily lives of Anglo-Saxons: pests.

This paper will focus on Anglo-Saxon depictions of two particular pests – spiders and flies – as they appear in poetry and prose. Specifically, it will address the adaptation of these creatures during the translation of well-known sources into English. One text to be discussed is the *Paris Psalter*’s Psalm 89. This verse translation dynamically embellishes verse 9’s reference to the years of human lives being considered *sicut aranea* (as a spider), adding three full half-lines that depict the spider’s eager hunting of the fly. The fly’s own aggressive behaviour is itself the focus of a passage from the Old English version of Boethius’ *De consolazione philosophiae*. Chapter 16 of the B-text and Prose 8 of the C-text expand a brief mention of fly-bites in the Latin source to include a detailed list of the harms flies and associated creatures pose to humans. Human concerns are also evident in the continuation of the tradition into Early Middle English, as the thirteenth-century translation of Theobald’s *Physiologus* demonstrates. There, the nastiness of human deception is expressed in a passage depicting a spider catching and devouring a fly, the diction of which clearly derives from Old English.



In synthesizing the above texts, this paper will draw on interdisciplinary resources, with research in the fields of history, archaeology and the natural sciences contextualizing the paper's literary content. Together, I will argue that these wide-ranging sources demonstrate a vested interest in the pests whose regular interaction with humans often led to (or was thought to lead to) illness and injury. Medical interest in spiders and flies also meant that their behaviours were closely observed, and this observation initiated an amplification of passing references in source texts. In highlighting depictions of spiders and flies when adapting works into English, the translators of the texts in question demonstrate a deep-seated association between pests and human fragility. It is this uneasy recognition of personal weakness, I will argue further, that contributed to the use of diction associated with monstrosity in depictions of common pests. As everyday monsters, spiders and flies constantly infiltrated the boundaries of human civilization, an infiltration that did not go unnoticed then and should not continue to do so now.

### **Cavill, Paul – 'A Vocabulary of the Everyday'**

It has long been recognised that place-names reflect and identify quotidian realities: topography, ownership, location and so on. Some elements change their meaning in response to changes in everyday agricultural practice or landscape-use in Anglo-Saxon England, such as *feld* (from 'open land' to 'enclosed cultivated land'), or *w(e)ald* (from 'woodland, forest' to 'open high ground') (e.g. Gelling and Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*, new ed., Donington, 2014). The focus of this paper, though, is an exploration of the relatively distinct range of lexis employed in names on the one hand and literature on the other. An outstanding example of this is the word *stoc* 'a (religious) place, a town or settlement', which occurs twice in literary prose, a dozen or so times in charters, but over a hundred times in place-names, many from Domesday Book or of earlier attestation, where it seems to mean more generally 'dairy-farm' (Ekwall, *Studies on English Place-Names*, Stockholm, 1936; Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, Cambridge, 1956; Gelling and Probert, 'Old English *stoc* 'place'', *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 42 (2010)). There are other elements that similarly make almost no impact on the vocabulary of literary prose or poetry, but are relatively widely distributed in place-names.

This paper will explore some of the issues that arise from this apparent distinction between the literary and place-name vocabulary in Old English, interacting with Carole Hough's work, 'Toponymicon and Lexicon' (Cambridge, 2010) and other recent theorising on the subject of the processes involved in name-giving (e.g. Townend and Coates, in Carroll and Parsons, ed., *Perceptions of Place*, Nottingham, 2013). Using some examples from the survey of Shropshire place-names (proceeding with the support of the AHRC), it will examine semantic differences in elements between the two spheres, and compare literary usage (where available) with the toponymic. For some, at least, of the names to be considered there are Welsh (and/or Latin) versions of the names, which makes the processes of name-giving and interpretation interestingly complex. It will conclude overall that there was an everyday vocabulary that would almost be lost to us without names.

## **Christie, Edward – ‘Personal Privacy, Polity, and the ‘Secret Singularity’ of the Self: The Old English Apollonius of Tyre and the Encomium Emmae Reginae’**

The concept of privacy is widely understood to be a modern one, while secrecy has invariably been an important sociological force in the creation of group and individual identity. Similarly, a sense of identity rooted in an inner Self is often linked – in the scholarly literature on later periods – both to the increasing sophistication of nation states, particularly in the development of surveillance societies (to the prevalence, in other words, of “secrecy” in the structure of the state) and to a concomitant shift in literary genre. This is a shift, in Michel Foucault’s formulation, “from Epic to Novel, from the noble deed to the secret singularity, from long exiles to the internal search for childhood” (Discipline and Punish 193). Yet antiquity and the early middle ages did have models of personal interiority, most prominently Augustine’s conception of the inner self, the connections of which to narrative strategy have been most recently and thoroughly explicated by Brian Stock. Old English literature likewise depicts clearly how social relationships are managed on a spectrum of revealing and concealing. The preoccupation of this literature with riddle, dialogue, wisdom competition, for example, suggests fundamental social themes of trust, skepticism, and fiduciary contract that in turn pivot on what philosophers call “the problem of other minds”: the problem of the possibility of knowing anything about another’s inner life. By pursuing the theme of secrecy, my work thus interrogates the critical commonplaces that traditionally separate genres of epic and romance, modern selfhood and ancient interiority.

The potent ideas about personal and political secrecy conveyed in the Old English Apollonius of Tyre explain its apparently anomalous situation as a singular romance in a manuscript which also contains Wulfstan’s Institutes of Polity alongside other legal and confessional texts. This Old English Romance, especially in its representation of secrecy, comes alive with nuance when read as an intertext of contemporary English politics as recounted in the Encomium Emmae Reginae. I hope, thus, to present a comprehensive explanation of the reception of the Old English Apollonius by connecting theological ideas about secrecy, individual interiority, and hermeneutics, with representations of such basic daily encounters as interpersonal dialogue, confrontation, and interrogation.

## **Clark, Amy – ‘More than Meets the Eye: Cultural Color Resonances in Old English Literature’**

Color is a funny thing. In one sense, it is an objective phenomenon; light enters and is processed by the eye, and this process manifests in the brain as the perception of a color – say, blue (or *fealu*, or *marron*). In another, it is deeply subjective; color is or has been imbued with complex cultural significance in most human societies, including that of Anglo-Saxon England. While semantic studies to date have greatly enhanced our denotative understanding of color in Old English texts,\* the symbolic significance of these terms remains unclear. Yet color resonances in the early English-speaking world were likely then, as now, a deeply ingrained aspect of everyday life; without knowledge of these cultural associations, we remain essentially blind to the symbolic and affective contributions of OE color terms within Anglo-Saxon literature. “To see” is not simply to process visual stimuli: it is also, as most native Modern English speakers would attest, to understand.

In light of this, I offer a refocusing of OE color semantics towards the goal of a symbolic, rather than visual, understanding. I begin with a systematic analysis of the OE color terms *read*, *fealo*, and *sweart* in their respective literary contexts; to avoid superimposing modern English color associations onto OE color lexemes, I utilize the online Dictionary of Old English Corpus to identify potential patterns of color resonance. I then test the hypotheses drawn from these patterns using both traditional and more recently developed analytical tools, including etymological cognates, collocational patterns, kennings, metaphorical precedent, and trends within modern corpus linguistics.

My findings indicate that many visually ambiguous aspects of *read* (particularly the phrase *read gold*) and *fealo* may be resolved or informed by a wider cultural context. The sense of fading seen in the Middle High German *val* and Early New High German *fahl*, for example, also seems to have been present in the Anglo-Saxon understanding of *fealo*. This inference, supported in part by the cross-genre use of *fealo* to describe dying vegetation (representing, with 10 occurrences, the most common context outside of Latin glosses), suggests that *fealo*, in many poetic contexts, has been chosen to connote a sense of temporality rather than hue. Similarly, *read*, in a crafted or artificial context, may function as an indicator of luxury in addition to color; 76%-87% of man-made items described by *read* and its compounds are high value luxury goods.

Understanding cultural color associations in Anglo-Saxon texts will allow for new forms of analysis; in poems depicting gold objects, for example, it may be worthwhile to consider the presence or absence of *read* in light of the term's association with excess. Ultimately, re-establishing a nexus of OE color resonances has the potential to enrich future literary scholarship as it once enriched the lives and literature of the Anglo-Saxon people.

\*See C.P. Biggam, *The Semantics of Colour* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), and Carole Hough, "Colours of the Landscape[...]," in *Progress in Colour Studies*, Vol. I, eds. Biggam and Kay (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 2006) pp. 181-198.

## **Clancy, Thomas – 'Anglo-Saxon Ayrshire?'**

Ayrshire is a large county in south-west Scotland, formed as such in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century, and comprising three historic regions, Carrick, Kyle and Cunningham. Virtually nothing is known, historically, about this region in the early middle ages. One annal reference suggests Northumbrian expansion into Kyle c.750, but it is an entry bracketed by silence. The possibility that the vision of Drythelm described by Bede as occurring in *Cuneningan* took place in Cunningham has long been noted, but has been supported by little other evidence. Some putative references to the area in early Welsh poetry mainly confirm what we might have guessed anyway: that the region was linguistically and culturally Brittonic at the earliest period of the post-Roman era. In the 12<sup>th</sup> century Ayrshire becomes suddenly knowable, owing to it being a region strongly caught up in the settlement of 'Anglo-Norman' retainers of the Scottish kings. The earliest charters from the region, from the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, allow us for the first time to appreciate its linguistic and cultural complexity: we find names deriving from Brittonic, Old English, Old Norse, Gaelic, Middle English/Older Scots, and indeed Old French. This mix is confirmed by modern survey.

This paper aims to explore in particular the stratum of this toponymic history pertaining to Old English. It has long been recognised that there are some place-names which might be assigned to Old English in Ayrshire (Prestwick, Fenwick, Turnberry, Maybole). Recent work has expanded the number of such names, and also pointed to the way in which contextualisation of their appearance allows us to appreciate these not simply as stranded fossilised toponyms, but as registering the importance of Anglo-Saxon settlements in the medieval social structure of the area. This may also be supported by reference to saints' cults, particularly those of Cuthbert and Oswald, who are found in hagiotoponyms and dedications in key places (Turnberry, Maybole, Prestwick). All this makes a period of Anglo-Saxon (i.e., Northumbrian) overlordship and settlement in the area in the 7<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries very plausible—some detail may be put on this by examining the prevalence or otherwise of major places with Brittonic names in different regions within Ayrshire in 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century charters. Understanding all this is easier if we pan back to view this region as part of a large portion of south-west Scotland capable of being described as in 'Gall-Gaidil' in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, that is part of a region Gaelic in speech and Scandinavian in orientation. This was the fate of the region between 870 and 1100.

The paper will finish by briefly considering the problems inherent in securely separating Old English from names in Older Scots, perspectives on which affect our sense of just how 'Anglo-Saxon' Ayrshire was in the early middle ages.

### **Coatsworth, Elizabeth – '(Soft) Furnishing the Anglo-Saxon House'**

Evidence for many textile objects which represent soft furnishings have survived from the Anglo-Saxon period (and its immediate aftermath) as a whole (450-1100). Such evidence indicates that rooms were, or could be, furnished, as appropriate, with cushions, pillows, mattresses, seat covers, wall hangings, curtains, table-cloths, and possibly even carpets. The material evidence has been found in archaeological contexts or as in the case of the Bayeux Tapestry at least, as actual survivals, from both secular and ecclesiastical centres. The bulk of such survivals, however, with the same exception, comes from the early centuries, from pagan, or conversion period, usually high-status burials. Documentary sources (for example wills, inventories, saints' lives), survive mainly from later centuries, and provide evidence suggesting that such furnishings were then ubiquitous, at least among the royal and aristocratic elite. Visual media, primarily manuscript illumination and ivory carving, some sculpture, although requiring careful use in an age when copying from models of varying antiquity was common, can be used in conjunction with the documentary sources to fill out the picture, but again the bulk of these come mainly from the later centuries.

An added dimension can be supplied by linking what is known of these soft furnishings with what is now known of the development of domestic (and ecclesiastical) buildings through the period, and by considering possible furniture, and other non-textile materials, for example for floors, windows, and wall finishes, using again both archaeological and documentary sources. In this context, recent approaches in archaeology considering artefacts as evidence of life style and social change are particularly interesting. A broader context can be supplied by considering archaeological and other survivals and some documentary sources from contemporary northern and western Europe.

Clearly, the imbalance in types of evidence across the period will have to be taken into account, as well as changing ideas of what distinguishes a secular from an ecclesiastical site. This paper will consider the impact of the surviving evidence and new ideas on the discussion of what furnishing, and finishes, would have been available for utility and/or display, in the Anglo-Saxon elite interior, and will endeavour as far as possible to locate these at specific periods within the overall time frame.

### **Curran, Colleen – ‘Coping with Script Change in Tenth-Century Cornish Manuscripts’**

In the mid-tenth century, English scribes began writing Latin in Caroline minuscule, the supranational script of the Carolingian empire, despite having used the native Insular minuscule tradition for nearly the previous three centuries and consciously rejecting Caroline minuscule for nearly a century and a half. Previous scholarship has attributed this acceptance of Caroline minuscule in tenth-century England as part of the Benedictine Reform that swept over England in the 960's. Yet such previous explorations of this Continental script's entrance have primarily examined how the religious and political elite brought about this particular script change. T.A.M. Bishop, in his pioneering work on the subject English Caroline Minuscule, focused on Dunstan and argued that through his pivotal position as archbishop of Canterbury, Dunstan was able to change English scribes' writing training. David Dumville subsequently argued in his English Caroline Script that in addition to Dunstan's efforts, Aethelwold as bishop of Winchester was able to exert authority in amalgamating the Continental script in English scribes' writing repertoire. Subsequent studies have focused in particular on these two men, their connections with Edgar, and their influence on English monastic life in the mid-tenth century to form the current scholarly consensus that Caroline minuscule entered as a facet of a larger religious reform centered in major religious establishments in England.

Very little of the previous scholarship has explored how scribes themselves coped and embraced working with this new script that was so different to their native Insular minuscule tradition. In my paper, I propose to explore specifically how at least two scribes in early tenth-century Cornwall – which had just recently been annexed into the kingdom of England – embraced and interacted with this script change. London, British Library MS Add. 93801 (otherwise known as the Bodmin Gospels) has long fascinated scholars due to the Cornish manumissions on the flyleaves information about Cornish personal names and property laws in the mid-tenth through the twelfth centuries. But the Cornish manumissions can also indicate to us how Caroline minuscule was amalgamated into the scribes' native Insular minuscule tradition, since at least two scribes are using Caroline graphs prior to the Benedictine Reform. Due to the manumissions mentioning kings, we can roughly date the manumissions as well as the scripts in which they are written. Although most of the manumissions date from later reigns, two scribes write in the mid-tenth century. These two earlier scribes present differing levels of comfort with the new script: one scribe is able to write in a nearly complete Caroline minuscule by the end of his manumission entries. The other scribe, however, still clings onto several Insular graphs through his final entry. Through these earlier script changes in the Bodmin Gospels, we can begin to uncover how everyday English scribes embraced this script change. Rather than seeing Caroline minuscule as merely a product of a reform brought about by elite ecclesiastics centered in Canterbury and Winchester, we can explore how scribes from the major centers of English monastic life adapted to writing the Continental script.

## **Edmonds, Fiona – ‘Árge Place-Names and Cattle in Northern England’**

The element árge was borrowed by Norse-speakers from Gaelic and was used in parts of the Insular world and the Faroe Islands. The term also continued to be used by Gaelic-speakers in western Scotland, on the Isle of Man and in Ireland. The northern English árge place-names were coined in the tenth and eleventh centuries, that is, after the implosion of Anglo-Saxon Northumbria. These place-names have long attracted attention (Ekwall 1918), and several scholars have advanced our understanding of their cultural background more recently (Fellows-Jensen 1977–8; 1980; Grant 2003: 128–177). One point of debate has been the function of the árge sites: the element is often translated as ‘shieling’ but the place-names seem to designate sites at relatively low altitude. In this paper I draw inspiration from Mary Higham’s suggestion that the árge sites of the Forest of Bowland were associated with intensive cattle farming (Higham 1977–8; 1995). Higham did not provide detailed evidence for this interesting suggestion, and so I will provide several case studies from Lancashire and Cumbria in order to support her argument.

In northern English place-names, the term árge seems to have a similar range of meanings to áirge in Old and Middle Irish texts: ‘herd of cattle’ and ‘summer milking-place’ (Kelly 2000: 40, 44). Cattle were significant in social as well as economic terms in early medieval Ireland; for example, transfer of stock forged relationships between lords and clients. It is worth asking whether parts of northern England were similar, given that cattle renders lie behind some of the ‘Northumbrian institutions’ that J. E. A. Jolliffe discussed long ago (Jolliffe 1926). Historians have often been reluctant to compare the power structures of Anglo-Saxon England with those of Ireland, but such parallels may be relevant to a part of England where the pastoral economy was to the fore. In short, this paper aims to shed light on a significant aspect of daily life in a poorly recorded area of northern England, and thus complements the overall theme of ISAS 2015.

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## **Findell, Martin – ‘Pre-Old English from the Ground up’**

In investigating the language of the early Anglo-Saxon period, c.400-650/700 (often labelled pre-Old English or pre-OE), a serious obstacle is the small quantity of linguistic data available. The well-

established methods of linguistic reconstruction allow us to use the much more substantial evidence of Old English from later centuries to model the structures of pre-OE, using laws of regular phonological change. The principle of regularity is valid from a longer-term diachronic perspective, mapping input and output conditions of the language system; but the route by which a regular change arises and spreads is not straightforward. A synchronic snapshot of a sound change in progress may reveal a complex and varied situation which is not visible in the language observed once the change is complete, nor in the reconstructed pre- or proto-language before the change had begun.

Historical linguistics is principally concerned with general properties of language change, so it is natural for us to generalise from the data that we have, even when that data is sparse. For example, the disc brooch from the Harford Farm cemetery (Norfolk), manufactured c.610-650 and deposited towards the end of the 7th century, is commonly – and not unreasonably – taken as a *terminus ante quem* for the completion of i-umlaut (Hines 1991; Parsons 1999:53-54; Bammesberger 2003; Waxenberger 2010:142-145); but it is possible to interpret this single piece of data in more restricted ways. We could speculate, for instance, that the maker of the inscription spoke a dialect which was progressive (or relatively conservative) in regard to the phonologisation of umlaut, relative to the dialects of other areas. At issue is the extent to which we can, or should, generalise from a single data point (although we might reasonably expect written practice to lag behind speech in manifesting innovations).

This paper will examine Harford Farm and several other “pre-OE” inscriptions from furnished burials using a “micro-reading” approach, treating them first as individual instances of linguistic performance, and only secondarily as evidence of more general processes of change. In taking this approach, we must come to terms with a reliance on the interpretation of archaeological data, which is not uncontroversial; and with the fact that all of our inscriptions are on portable objects, so the linguistic forms which they contain may not belong to any part of the community which buried them. Taking these reservations into account, applying a more atomistic perspective to the early epigraphical material can help us to refine our understanding of language in this period.

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### **Gallagher, Robert – ‘The Occasion and Reception of Latin Poetry in the Reigns of Alfred and Æthelstan’**

The Latin poetry of Æthelstan’s reign has in recent years received an increasing amount of scholarly attention, with recent publications by, amongst others, Sarah Foot, Emily Thornbury and Samantha Zacher successfully stressing both the historical significances and the salient literary features of this poetic corpus. The seminal publication on these Latin poems – and of those associated with Alfred’s

reign – remains, nevertheless, Michael Lapidge’s 1980 article, which established, translated and surveyed this corpus. Aspects of Lapidge’s editions and translations are, however, open to interpretation. With this in mind, I wish to focus on one particular theme as it is represented in a selection of Latin poetry associated with Alfred and Æthelstan’s courts, namely the relationship between the composition and the subsequent transmission of these texts. Lapidge associated several of these poems with specific historical occasions, but what can we say of their quotidian lives after the initial moments of their creation?

My discussion will focus primarily on two collections of verse, the hexameter acrostics in honour of King Alfred that survive as an addition to a Cornish or Welsh gospel-book (now Bern, Burgerbibliothek 671) and the rhythmical poem 'Carta dirige gressus', which celebrates King Æthelstan’s political dominion over Britain and which survives in two divergent late tenth- or eleventh-century copies (now respectively in Durham, Cathedral Library, A. II. 17, part 1 and London, British Library, Cotton Nero A. ii). Both sets of verse reveal clear influence from the Frankish world, but the exact circumstances of their composition are somewhat unclear; I will offer some thoughts on this matter. Moreover, both of these examples have evidently suffered from corruption. This raises important questions regarding the reception of these poems and points towards a possibly performative and indeed, perhaps oral, dimension to their transmission. I will use these two cases studies to offer a wider discussion of the settings and ways in which Latin poetry may have been communicated during Alfred and Æthelstan’s reigns; in doing so, I will also consider evidence from elsewhere in the contemporary corpus of Latin literature.

As Thornbury has recently suggested, Alfred’s court was possibly the first Anglo-Saxon royal milieu in which a culture of Latin poetic composition was fostered. The period in question here, therefore, is highly significant in the developing history of Anglo-Latin poetics. In examining how – and potentially why – Latin poetry was transmitted, I will offer a reappraisal of Lapidge’s editions. Ultimately, however, I wish to consider the social and cultural values that this literature may have possessed: in what contexts did people copy out these verses? And to what end?

### **Gilchrist Bruce – ‘Verse as Verse: A Diplomatic Edition of the Boethian *metra* in Cotton Vespasian D.xiv’**

Although Cotton Vespasian D.xiv records the earliest excerpts of Boethius’s *Consolatio* inscribed by an insular hand (dateable by context to the reign of Edward in 912), the four *metra* therein have remained unedited. This paper presents a remedy to this oversight and argues for the necessity of a diplomatic edition in order to capture the unusual diversity in *mise-en-page* and letter-forms these *metra* present.

The four verse extracts from the complete set of *Consolatio* metres are inscribed as an envelope around an early ninth-century Caroline text of Isidore’s *Synonyma*. It is especially noteworthy that the hand of D.xiv on both 170r and 224v is transitional insular square minuscule; that is to say, the hand is representative of a key juncture in the post-Alfredian era of rapid development in insular scribal practice.

The particular *mise-en-page* of these four *metra* cannot be captured by a conventional edition, for, just as a hierarchy of graded scripts survived ever-so-slightly into the Alfredian era, the D.xiv *metra*



present a hierarchy of verse layout. To explain: the opening poem on 170r is Im1 (“*Carmina qui quondam*”), written in high-status elegaic meter; hence, its first 11 lines are presented in a beautiful single column with large offset capitals mixing Caroline and insular graphs, majuscule and minuscule; however, it switches mid-poem to a full-width layout typical of insular verse practice, with puncti now marking the line-divisions. Then, as IIIIm8 starts atop 224v, the layout changes to double-column, with short triplets of 6, 6, and 8 syllables, and each triplet marked by an initial just one minim higher, so as to match the 12/8 syllable count of ‘*asclepiadeus minor and dimeter iambicus*’. Finally, as 4m7 starts *in media res*, the lineation lengthens to reflect its hendecasyllabic form. To add to all this variation, there is a strong diagonal cant to the columns of 224v and arbitrarily irregular vertical spacing within both *metra*.

Still, while the presentation of the four *metra* of D.xiv is ungainly compared to earlier Caroline exemplars (as typified in the beautiful double columns and coloured initials of Paris BN lat. 1154) and is obviously experimental—even playful—it nonetheless offers a superior remediation, one responsive in layout to the metrical nature of each verse. This paper therefore will query not only the need for a diplomatic form but also the curiously shared levelling effect of standard scholarly editions and deluxe manuscript presentations alike. Last, the edition will trace the layout and errors of the five earlier continental manuscripts to record the *Consolatio metra* in whole or part (Paris 1154 and 13026; Bern 455 and A.92; Verona LXXXVIII) in order to demonstrate stemmatic relation to Vespasian D.xiv.

Hence, while these *metra* have heretofore been mis-catalogued and misread, they can now be proven as integral to our understanding of the inscription of verse by English hands at an evolutionary moment in Anglo-Saxon literary history.

### **Graham-Campbell, James – ‘The Galloway (2014) Viking hoard: Some Preliminary Observations’**

The Galloway Viking hoard was discovered in September 2014 by metal-detectorist Derek McLennan and excavated by Andy Nicholson of the Dumfries & Galloway Archaeology Service. Subsequent investigation of the find-site was undertaken by AOC Archaeology for Historic Scotland.

The hoard consists of over 100 pieces of silver and gold, with some glass beads, including the contents of a Carolingian vessel which are still undergoing investigation and conservation. Although deposited within a single pit, the hoard consists of two separate parcels, the lower being separated from the upper by a layer of clean gravel.

The upper parcel, as excavated, consists of 22 ingots and Hiberno-Scandinavian broad-band arm-rings, in varying flattened states (both plain and decorated, complete and cut) and an Anglo-Saxon pendant cross (with chain); in addition, some ingots, a complete arm-ring and further fragments were recovered from the plough-soil. The unique cross has niello-inlaid and gilt ornament in late 9th-century Trewhiddle style, featuring the four evangelists’ symbols, but with its central setting missing. The lower parcel consists of the lidded Carolingian vessel, wrapped in textile, an Anglo-Saxon gold bird pin (with a gold ingot and plain finger-ring), a bundle of complete decorated band-shaped arm-rings, a plain rod arm-ring, and a further 45 ingots and assorted Hiberno-Scandinavian arm-rings (in various states), four of which have short runic inscriptions.

The contents of the vessel include the remains of several Anglo-Saxon and Irish brooches, together with other objects, on top of which had been placed some glass beads and three pendants (one incorporating an Anglo-Saxon coin).

Overall, the preponderance of Hiberno-Scandinavian broad-band arm-rings (taken together with the rest of the contents as so far known) suggests that the hoard will have been deposited in the late 9th or early 10th century.

Excavation around the hoard pit revealed that it was located within and towards one corner of a rectangular timber building, situated within a large enclosure which may have been that of an early Christian ecclesiastical foundation, but it remains to establish whether or not the hoard and the building were contemporary.

### **Grossi, Joseph –“East Anglia is a Nation” Regional Character and its Viking Impetus’**

It is now well known that the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of East Anglia had possessed Scandinavian elements in its culture long before the ‘Great Army’ swept over it and destroyed its ruler Edmund in 870. Nor did Viking invasion always mean devastation: the two cultures interacted, the town of Thetford offering an important example of the kind of urban prosperity that Danish influence sometimes made possible. Nevertheless, there is some truth — even in the earliest English contexts — to Jack Ravensdale and Richard Muir’s seemingly waggish claim that ‘there is a schizophrenic quality to East Anglian culture’ (*East Anglian Landscapes* (1984), p. 13). Although William Camden’s *Britannia* (1586, 1607) has no Anglo-Saxon equivalent, some interest in East Anglia’s ‘chorography’ or regional description can be discerned in pre-Conquest English writers whose aims, whether narrative, documentary or moralistic, required some attention to massive cultural shifts in the local landscape.

The paper proposed here concentrates on ninth- and tenth-century texts, specifically the Alfred-Guthrum Treaty, entries from the ‘A’ or Winchester manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for 869-920, and the *Lives* of St Edmund by Abbo of Fleury and Ælfric of Eynsham. These works depict the kingdom of East Anglia as a distinctive place in its own right: as an autonomous kingdom ruled by a king, and as an earthly paradise bordered to its west by a forbidding but resource-rich Fenland. More importantly, those texts represent East Anglia as a bearer of both catastrophe and catalysis for the rest of the Island. From Edmund’s time onward, the easternmost of the English provinciae became a neighbouring Scandinavian ‘other’ that helped to create the idea of a unified *Ongelcyn* even as it threatened to deprive that people of its very Englishness. To cope with this perceived threat, Abbo of Fleury exaggerated the sanctity of East Anglia, claiming that, thanks to Edmund’s piety, it could boast a holiness not to be found anywhere else in England. Reacting to Abbo, Ælfric of Eynsham translated the *Passio* with a view to reaffirming the English ‘national’ context of Edmund’s martyrdom rather than promoting a uniquely East Anglian cultural triumph.

Ninth- and tenth-century authors strove to impart stable representational and definitional form to a territory that struck them as being highly liquid, and not solely because of its rivers, coastal marshes and inland fens. Because those authors had different purposes and wrote in different genres (saints’ lives, treaties, annals), the place of East Anglia necessarily emerges through the negotiation of various kinds of boundary, textual as well as ideological. The resulting chorography, while less sustained than

Camden's descriptions of Norfolk and Suffolk, nevertheless warrants further attention than it has yet received, for the Anglo-Saxon 'fashioning' of East Anglia has been more than productive enough to justify the succinct claim by David Collyer, a transplanted forester in Ronald Blythe's *Akenfield* (1969), that 'East Anglia is a nation, which makes it different' (p. 111).

### **Harbus, Antonina – 'The Emotional Life of the Anglo-Saxons'**

Given the semantic range of OE *drēam* to include both 'joy' and 'music', it is open to speculation how culturally-specific the Anglo-Saxon idea of joy was, how it is represented in literary and other texts, and how much overlap there is with current western perceptions of this emotion. This paper will consider these questions, with specific reference to poetic expressions of both positive emotions and positive perspectives on negative emotions (including guilt, shame, and anger).

It has become conventional to distinguish universal emotions (fear, anger, disgust, sadness, joy, surprise) from social emotions, subject to cultural variation (shame, guilt, embarrassment), and background emotions (well-being or malaise, calm, tension). A further level of complexity arises at the level of language: cross-cultural studies have shown how difficult the terminology around the emotions is in relation to semantic range and translation across cultures. In Old English poetry, where a large or uncertain semantic range, and the impacts of alliterative and other factors come into play, the emotional lexicon acquires further complications.

This paper will take one small part of this larger issue, to contribute to our understanding of joy as it is expressed in brief examples from: 'The Wife's Lament'; 'The Wanderer'; 'Beowulf'; and 'Elene'. The way in which joy is offset with instances of other emotions will also be considered, in order to explore both expressions of compound or unresolved emotions, and the rhetorical impact of emotional counterpoint.

Building on work by Diller, Geeraerts, Gevaert, Ogura, Heikkinen, Tissari, Fabiszak, and Kay, the discussion will combine linguistic and literary analyses with ideas from the history of the emotions, to gain further insight into the Anglo-Saxon apprehension and poetic expression of their everyday emotional life.

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### **Hicklin, Alice – 'Retelling Rebellion: Accounts of the Godwinist Revolt of 1051 and its Impact on Anglo-Saxon England'**

The rebellion, exile and restoration of the Godwine family has been identified by many as a pivotal moment in the history of Anglo-Saxon England. Described as an 'English revolution' by Sir Frank Stenton, the outcome of the conflict crystallized the nature of Edward the Confessor's interaction with the Godwines until his death in January 1066. The crisis had far-reaching implications for all levels of Anglo-Saxon society: local men across southern England were forced to choose between king and earl, while William the Conqueror's justification for his invasion of England in October 1066 centered upon the claim that, free of the Godwines' influence in the autumn of 1051, Edward had designated the Norman duke his heir.

The extraordinary nature of the conflict is matched by an unprecedented number of accounts purporting to narrate the events of the crisis. No two sources agree on the finer details of the narrative, and different authors blame different individuals or parties for the escalation of the dispute. Whilst some sources portray the Godwine family as bellicose and even treasonous, others depict Earl Godwine as a pacific figure, a folk-hero who is welcomed back to England as 'father' of a kingdom (Anon. *Life of Edward the Confessor*). Despite these differences, the sources are 'often seen as the key to the enigma' of what precisely happened to prompt the Norman Conquest (Mortimer).

This paper will identify and analyse trends in the historiography of the crisis, demonstrating that since Freeman's *History of the Norman Conquest* many scholars have either assumed, or sought to prove, the superiority of one account over competing versions. Others have attempted to create composite narratives that resolve the disagreements mentioned above.

This paper will take a somewhat different approach, comparing in detail the many differences of language, tone and content evident in the accounts. These discrepancies will be employed to examine the textual relationships between the sources; it will be argued that traditional representations of authorial bias are not necessarily borne out by closer analysis. The paper will deliberately eschew an approach that attempts to reconstruct the events of 1051 and 1052, instead focusing on the compositional context of these accounts, and the intentions of their authors in creating historical narratives of recent events that were universally perceived to have been extraordinary: 'It would have seemed remarkable to everyone in England if anybody had told them that it could happen' (ASC D 1051).

## Hurley, Mary Kate – ‘Communities of the Page: Translation Effects in Ælfrician Homiletic Manuscripts’

Most critics understand the homiletic tradition of Anglo-Saxon England as governed by the ways in which texts facilitate the formation of communities around them, communities that use specific texts in specific ways. Speaking of the Catholic Homilies, Mary Swan notes that “Even for Aelfric, the Catholic Homilies was a changing, not a static, group of texts, which he adapted linguistically and structurally for reuse.” (1) This commitment to histories of use extends to the manuscripts themselves: Hugh Magennis argues that that British Library Cotton MS Julius E VII is perhaps best described as a representative example of “the evolving book, the book in process, with transmission governed by use rather than by fixed status.” (2) Similarly, in her assessment of Cambridge University Library Ii.I.33 (and other, related codices), Susan Irvine notes that a “twelfth-century compiler seems to have selected and organized the material. The evidence takes a variety of forms: physical composition of the MSS, textual transmission, and inclusion of post-Conquest compositions.” (3) These texts, that is, exist as individual documents but also as an archive of interactions that can be traced.

In light of these understandings of Ælfrician homiletic manuscripts both pre- and post-Conquest, my own argument will take as its point of departure that these manuscript books exist as archives of quotidian interactions between manuscripts and their users. Both the Cotton MS Julius E VII and CUL MS Ii.I.33 include ancillary materials alongside their main texts – marginalia, emendations, and interlinear glossing -- that of necessity expands the idea of “textual communities” to include a community that exists solely on the page. Through their users’ interaction with the book as a living and changing archive, we can begin to understand the manuscripts as one way in which communities of readers extended across time can come into being. Moreover, the multilingualism of the marginalia and emendations offers an intriguing opportunity to understand how such communities of users understand themselves. My argument will address the theoretical problems that multilingual models of manuscript production can pose for understanding not only the textual communities that produced and utilized these manuscripts, but also the communities that these books envision in both their composition and their annotation. Through an examination of what I call “translation effects” in Ælfrician homiletic manuscripts, I will argue that the manuscript page itself offers a window into the translation practice that conditions both the transmission and use of homiletic manuscripts

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### Footnotes

1. Mary Swan, “Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies in the twelfth century,” in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Mary Swan and Elaine Treharne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 65.
2. Hugh Magennis, “Ælfric’s Lives of the Saints and Cotton Julius E.vii: Adaptation, Appropriation and the Disappearing Book,” in *Imagining the Book*, ed. Stephen Kelly and John J. Thompson (Brepols: Leuven, 2005) 102.
3. Irvine, “The compilation and use of manuscripts containing Old English in the twelfth century,” in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Mary Swan and Elaine Treharne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 44.

## **Izdebska, Daria – ‘Conceptualising ANGER in the Old English *Pastoral Care*’**

The Old English translation of the *Pastoral Care* is considered one of the more faithful translations in the so-called Alfredian canon (e.g. Godden 2007). Whilst the question of Alfred’s authorship is often the primary concern of scholars, the *Pastoral Care* provides rich material for other types of investigation. Most scholars agree that the overriding principle of the translation was clarity (e.g. Clement 1986, Bately 2000, Schreiber 2002), as the text had to be made accessible and relevant to its audiences. The changes affected several areas of the original text, including vocabulary,

syntax and content itself, and varied from minor additions for clarity or simple lexical alterations to more profound doctrinal changes. The overall faithfulness of the translation and the concern of Gregory’s work with the psychological aspects of pastoral care mean that each departure of the translator(s) from the Latin original can shed some light on the mental world of the Anglo-Saxons. An examination of the vocabulary for emotions, ANGER in particular, shows how the OE *Pastoral Care* blends the theological and pastoral thought of Gregory with native ideas.

Following in the vein of such studies as Saltzmann’s (2013), this paper examines how the OE translation diverges from the Latin in its treatment of cognition and emotions. The investigation is informed by a broader study of the semantics of ANGER-words in Old English carried out for my PhD thesis. It shows how a study of a larger semantic field allows for a deeper understanding of individual texts. The analysis of the *Pastoral Care* is based on a lexical study of a hundred ANGER-words, supplemented with a discussion of other co-occurring concepts, such as SADNESS or ZEAL. The focus is on lexical and phrasal expression, on metaphorical and conceptual content, and on consistency of Latin-Old English vocabulary correlations.

The in-depth linguistic analysis is placed within the wider philosophical and pastoral context of Gregorian thought and its understanding and application in Anglo-Saxon England.

Lexical choices for ANGER in the *Pastoral Care* show inventiveness and creativity. The text contains some of the earliest examples of *wēamōd* and *hātheort*, which may have been coined specially for the purposes of the translation, whilst such coinages as *grambære* are unique. The OE *Pastoral Care* conveys the understanding of *mōd* or mind as a dual entity that, on the one hand, is responsible for controlling emotions and preventing them from becoming too excessive, but on the other hand is a passive recipient, assaulted and oppressed by those very same emotions. ANGER is a powerful and active force, which arises from the mind, threatens to overwhelm its experiencer, and can never be restrained completely, only diminished.

I argue that the *Pastoral Care* exhibits usage not found in later prose works or in poetry. Additionally, some inconsistencies in translating Latin ANGER-words suggest that more than one translator worked on the text. Finally, the changes in phrasal expression and metaphor present a different framework for understanding and conceptualising emotions than that found in the Latin original.

## **Johnson, David – ‘A Voice in the Margin: Quotidian Spirituality in the Old English Dialogues of Gregory the Great’**

There remains a great deal we do not know about the use and dissemination of the Old English *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great (OEGD), translated by bishop Wærferth of Worcester during King Alfred's reign. Dorothy Whitelock was convinced that Alfred had the work translated for his own private use. Malcolm Godden has recently argued that the only solid evidence we have for the target audience of the OEGD points in the direction of Alfred's own bishops, many of whom would have benefited from translations of this text as an aid to their own understanding and in their pastoral work. If this was the case, then the initial audience profiting directly from the availability of the OEGD would have been the bishops; but a wider audience—those for whom the bishops applied what they found here in their pastoral duties—is surely to have benefited just as much from its availability, however indirectly. Kees Dekker has argued convincingly that the OEGD constitutes a text that was likely used to instruct those who wished to live a virtuous life. But a dearth of reliable evidence from the period leaves us guessing about the reception of the translation in Alfred's own time.

This paper proposes to examine tangible evidence from a post-Alfredian era concerning how the *Dialogues* were employed to help order the daily spiritual lives of Anglo-Saxons under the care of Alfred's bishops. That evidence is comprised of the range of interventions applied to the oldest manuscript containing the OEGD, Cotton Otho C.i, by the Tremulous Hand of Worcester in the early thirteenth-century. Scholars have drawn a link between the Tremulous Hand's marginal annotations and the episcopal decrees concerning pastoral care issued after the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. There are sufficient historical parallels between the state of the church in Alfred's England and that of the early thirteenth century to posit that what interested the Tremulous Hand is likely to have interested Alfred's bishops and priests, as well.

The evidence for determining what those interests were in the manuscripts worked on by the Tremulous Hand consists largely of marginal annotations and nota signs, as others demonstrated long ago. Yet the margins have for the most part been destroyed in this manuscript, and all such annotations lost. Nevertheless, by careful analysis of a neglected intervention in all of the manuscripts he marked up—his alteration of the original scribal punctuation—I argue that we may virtually look over the Tremulous Hand's shoulder as he engages the Old English texts in his search for materials to use in his own teaching or preaching activities. Part of a larger project to reconstruct a supposed vernacular pastoral handbook that the Tremulous Hand was working toward, this paper will present a full analysis of these interventions in Cotton Otho C.i, including computer-assisted pixel density analysis and data visualization, with an eye to establishing what he—and before him that earlier bishop of Worcester, Wærferth, thought might benefit their respective flocks in serving their daily spiritual needs.

### **Jolly, Karen – ‘A Cat’s Eye View: Vermin in Anglo-Saxon England’**

Vermin—rodents, insects, and other destroyers of human material goods—were definitely a part of everyday life in early medieval England. However, the sources for what kinds of vermin plagued the Anglo-Saxons are a bit scattered, a combination of chance archaeological remains, artistic representations, poetic metaphors, glosses of Latin terms, penitential rules, and some intriguing remedies both liturgical and medical for various infestations.

This paper asks not only what kinds of vermin inhabited Anglo-Saxon England, but how the Anglo-Saxons perceived and classified these animals and insects in their human habitations. The modern Linnaean taxonomy's use of Latin terms can mislead us into thinking that the same creature is meant when a glossator put an Old English word on a Latin name. Moreover, not all *rodentia* are alike, but some are. Old English shrew (*scréawa*), the destructive shredder, glosses *mus araneus*, although in modern taxonomy the shrew is an insectivore (*sorex araneus*) not a rodent. Old English *ræt* has only one attestation, in a gloss of Latin *raturus*, but *mús* is frequently used for both mouse and rat, in this case the plague-bearing black rat, present in England since at least the third century C.E. Such *mús* apparently had an epicurean taste for eucharistic bread. Other rodents with Old English names include the weasel (*wesle*) implicated with the *mús* in falling into and fouling beverages, and the squirrel (*acwern*), named the acorn-eater rather than the tail-shaded Latin *sciurus*. Any of these grain thieves may themselves have been featured in a hungry Anglo-Saxon's stewpot, although archaeological evidence favors domestic animals for meat consumption. Insectivores, such as the hedgehog (*igil*) and mole (*wand* or *wandeweorp*), may or may not have fallen into a category of vermin or of food. Much more worrisome and destructive are the flying things (*fleogende*), spider (*loppe*, *attorcop*), and worm (*wyrm*) which figure prominently in remedies as threats to produce and human health, along with fleas and gnats as annoyances, not to mention the word-consuming larval moth/worm of Exeter riddle 47

What do we make of these references to pestilential *creatura* as evidence for how the Anglo-Saxons managed everyday life? The Gospel advice to store up treasures in heaven and not on earth where rust and moth destroy is hard to practice on a daily basis when one's store of grain, cask of ale, or bedding show signs of infestation. Pest management must have been a persistent daily struggle that the Anglo-Saxons addressed with humor, prayer, and undoubtedly a cat.

### **Kay, Christian, and Hough, Carole – ‘A New Perspective on Old English Metaphors’**

‘Mapping Metaphor with the Historical Thesaurus’ will offer a new perspective on the English language when completed in March 2015. The main purpose of the project is to trace the development of systematic metaphors in English throughout its recorded history. There is, for example, a strong metaphorical connexion between intense thinking and physical violence in English, recorded from the sixteenth century in expressions such as beat, break, cudgel, hammer or rack one's brains. Other recurrent metaphors can be traced back to Old English, for example the use of darkness as a metaphor for evil in words such as *deorcful*, *dierne*, *dimm*, *mirce* in OE, *swart/swart*, recorded until 1594, and the still current *deorc/dark*. Some metaphors are motivated by cultural or scientific developments; others reflect changes in world-view.

Mapping Metaphor uses data from the ‘Historical Thesaurus of English’. The database contains most of the contents of the ‘Oxford English Dictionary’ (OED) second edition, hierarchically organised into conceptual domains such as Food or Thought. In the first stages, automatic routines enabled links between categories to be identified and quantified through tracking of recurrent word forms. Human coders then eliminated the uninteresting ‘noise’ generated by factors such as polysemy and homonymy, thus isolating expressions deemed genuinely metaphorical. The results are presented



visually in an interactive online ‘Metaphor Map’; the OE version will be launched during the talk, giving ISAS participants an early opportunity to assess its potential.

Because the OED omits OE words which did not survive beyond about 1150, materials from A Thesaurus of Old English were added to the database, which already contained OE words that survived into later periods. The OE and comprehensive datasets were then analysed separately, giving a thematically-organised snapshot of metaphor in OE as well as the broader picture. Research conducted so far suggests that overall, although many common metaphors are found in OE, the number of OE metaphorical expressions is comparatively small. The main part of the paper will examine this phenomenon and attempt to account for it. There are many possible reasons: the nature of the surviving evidence, cultural and stylistic factors, or lexical factors such as the preference for compounding as a method of word-formation. A compound such as *heofonfyr* ‘lightning’ or *swanrad* ‘sea’, for example, is clearly metaphorical as a totality and possibly in its second element, but will not be picked up by our programs because there is no identifiable link between the figurative compound and a single literal source. We argue that this is not just a programming issue but one which should be considered within metaphor theory.

### **Khallieva Boiché, Olga – ‘Positive and Negative Emotions in Anglo-Saxon Personal Names’**

Anglo-Saxon personal names are not usually studied as vehicles of human emotions. However a number of these express parental affective attitudes of love and hate.

Scholars of the Germanic personal names often neglected Anglo-Saxon monothematic personal names in their studies, with two exceptions of the studies by Mats Redin (1919) and Rudolf Müller (1901) that do focus on such material. Yet, the recent electronic edition of the Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England (PASE, 2010) as well as the edition of the Durham Liber Vitae by David and Lynda Rollason with their detailed examination of English monothematic names presented by John Insley and David Rollason (2007) opens new horizons to students of anthroponomy. Along with the rich onomastic material, the ‘English Monothematic Names’ gives an overview of all essential interpretations proposed up to the end of the 20th century and offers an opportunity for a further synthetic and deeper analysis.

A parental emotion is apparent in such Anglo-Saxon names as Dremka (OE *drēam* ‘joy’), Diori (OE *diore* ‘dear, precious’), Tatae (OE *tætan* ‘to gladden’) or Nytta (OE *nytt* ‘useful, helpful’). But what can be said of the parents who name their children ‘Unwanted’ (Unwona; prefix *un* + OE *wana* ‘lacking, wanting’), ‘Dull, Torpid’ (Dēda, Deduc; OE *dēd*/dead ‘dead, sluggish, torpid’), ‘Noisy’ (Bralluc; ME *brall* ‘noisy, disturbing’), ‘Misfortune’ (Demma; OE *dem* ‘loss, bad luck, misfortune’) or ‘Feces’ (Tyrrda; OE *tyrd(e)lu* ‘droppings, excrements’)? What kind of feeling is expressed in such personal names as ‘Evil’ (Bosa; OHG *bōsi* and G *böse* ‘evil, wicked’), ‘Villain’ (Offa/Ubba; OE *yfel*, OS *ubil*, OF *evel*, OHG *ubil*, *upil*, Got *ubils* ‘bad, villain’) or ‘Weakling’ (Wach; OE *wāc* ‘weak, feeble, vile’)? To understand the phenomenon of ‘unattractive’ personal names, the author looks at another Indo-European culture where such naming practice is still remembered if not alive. Old Slavic given names present numerous semantic equivalents for above Old English anthroponyms: Nenad , Nenadobnoj ‘unnecessary’, Neždan ‘unexpected’, Mertvec ‘corpse’, Mertvoj ‘dead’, Krekota

‘screaming’, Neudacha ‘bad luck’, Beschastnoy, Beschastko ‘without happiness’, Gore ‘grief’, Goven, Govno ‘excrement’, Zloba ‘wickedness’, Gniewka ‘anger’, Slabnja ‘weakling’, Nesil ‘un+ strength’, Nexoroshey ‘no + good’.(1) These are similar to those in Old English corpus and are different from Æthelwulf or Vladimir type of personal names of heroic aspirations.

At the confluence of linguistics, anthropology and medieval history and based on comparative analysis the paper argues that the Anglo-Saxon parental emotions were not that different from those of the modern people. In name-giving, these parents, similarly to parents of other primitive cultures, sought to counteract infant mortality.

(1) Zaliznjak, A., *Drevnenovgorodskij dialect*, Jazyki Slavjanskoj kul'tury, Moskva, 2004.

Kronsteiner, O., *Die Alpenslawischen Personennamen*, Wien, Österreichische Gesellschaft für Namenforschung, 1975.

Schlimpert, G., *Slawische Personennamen in mittelalterlichen Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte*, Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1978.

Svoboda, J., *Staročeská osobní jména a naše příjmení*, Praha, Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1964.

Taszycki, W., *Słownik Staropolskich Nazw Osobowych*, Wrocław, Polska Akademia Nauk, 7 vol., 1965-1987.

Tupikov, N., *Slovar' drevnerusskix ličnyx sobstvennyx imen [1903]*, Jazyki slavjanskix kul'tur, Moskva, 2005.

## **Lenker, Ursula – ‘Anglo-Saxon Micro-texts: Language and Communicative Functions’**

Micro-texts, i.e. “texts” ranging from one word, often an appellative such as a name, to a few sentences have survived in large numbers from the Anglo-Saxon period. They are found on all kinds of materials (wood, stone, metal, parchment, etc.), in the form of epigraphic inscriptions in runes and/or the Latin alphabet, or as colophons or marginal notes in manuscripts. Such short texts are classified as “micro-texts” when constituting independent, self-contained texts fulfilling the criteria of textuality suggested by text-linguists. Despite their shortness, micro-texts signal a specific communicative function, similar to, e.g., texts on today’s graffiti or tattoos.

Many Anglo-Saxon micro-texts have been subject to in-depth analyses of some of their details. This is particularly true for most of the runic inscriptions, as concerns the forms of their graphemes, their phonetic value and the – often much disputed – meanings of the inscriptions. With colophons and marginal notes in manuscripts, the focus has predominantly not been on their form and language, but on their relevance for an understanding of socio-cultural aspects related to the respective scribes or to the origin or provenance of the manuscripts.

As yet, however, there has been little comparative investigation of the language and communicative functions of these micro-texts. This paper thus proposes a linguistic, in particular pragmatic and text-linguistic analysis of Anglo-Saxon micro-texts in their various forms. It will examine the idea that Anglo-Saxon micro-texts - as attested in both manuscripts and epigraphic documents of different kinds and in both Old English and Latin - were used for specific communicative functions in everyday life. As central functions, we will discuss performative/declarative ones related to the appropriation of

property and directive ones related to identity-shaping and identity construction, functions similarly central to later, formally comparable, paratexts, graffiti or tattoos.

### **Lester-Makin, Alexandra – ‘Looped Stitch: The Travels and Development of an Embroidery Stitch’**

Since 1867 a number of examples of looped stitch have been found in modern day England, Ireland and Scandinavia. All date to the early medieval period (AD 450-1100) except the Orkney Hood, which has been radio-carbon dated to 250-615 AD, while their find locations always place them within areas of Scandinavian influence.

Examples of looped stitch are found throughout the social spectrum, from the high-ranking early seventh century grave in Mound One at Sutton Hoo and late 9th - 10th century probable warrior burial in Mound Eleven at Heath Wood, Ingleby, to the more everyday such as a tenth century possible sleeve-edge from High Ousegate, York and the two 6th - 10th century headdresses now housed in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. While the majority of extant pieces were worked in wool, the Ingleby fragment and six other examples from the late 9th - 10th century site of Birka were made from silver and gold wire. In each case the embroidery was used to hide functional stitching that either joined to two pieces of fabric together or bound the edge of a textile.

Agnes Geijer first identified looped stitch at the site of Birka where she was able to organise its various forms into six groups. Her results were published in 1938. Since then her work has become the seminal publication for researchers analysing individual finds of definite and suspected examples of looped stitch. In 2012 Chrystel Brandenburgh published a paper about her discovery of two headdresses with looped stitch covered seams in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. While she gave an overview of the headdresses and looped stitch listing three other examples from, Oostrum in the Netherlands, and Sutton Hoo and York in England (the fourth example from Mammen is not a looped stitch, but a form of herringbone), she did not discuss the wider social implications of using the stitch.

This paper will, for the first time, bring together all known examples of looped stitch and analyse them in the context of the wider North West European world. This will incorporate two areas of discussion: what the variety of materials used in the stitch's construction, and its use in different social settings can tell us about the stitch's value and the people who wore or used it; and what the extant example's find locations can tell us about the movement of people, ideas and materials in the Insular and Scandinavian world during the early medieval period.

### **Lockett, Leslie – ‘Cheese Among the Anglo-Saxons: Good to Eat? Good to Think With?’**

Cheese production and consumption featured prominently in the daily life of the Anglo-Saxons. Historians are well aware, for instance, that cheese was one of the durable foods with which Anglo-

Saxon tenants paid their land-rents; most Old English students have encountered the shepherd and the salter of Ælfric's Colloquy, who both boast of their contributions to cheese production. Studies of farming and diet (most recently by Debby Banham and Ann Hagen) mention cheese amid broader discussions of dairying, and Allen Frantzen's new monograph notes the role of cheese in the restricted diets of monastic life and ecclesiastical fasts. However, given the immense mechanical and cultural differences that separate present-day cheesemaking practices from those of the Anglo-Saxons, it seems that cheese is ripe for further scrutiny in its own right. My paper takes the study of Anglo-Saxon cheese in two directions: gastronomic and socio-cultural.

Banham is right to observe that at present "we know virtually nothing about the eating qualities of Anglo-Saxon cheese" (Food and Drink in Anglo-Saxon England, p. 56), yet we can make some intelligent conjectures based on growing bodies of research in archaeology and archaeozoology, anthropology, and the chemistry and microbiology of cheese. Traditional food histories that cut across cultural boundaries (e.g. Kindstedt, *Cheese and Culture* [2012]; Mendelson, *Milk* [2008]) seem content to focus on surviving implements and texts without indulging in much speculation about the tastes and textures of pre-industrial cheeses. I propose, however, that collaborative research between food historians and dairy scientists could expand the limits of our knowledge of what premodern cheeses tasted like by replicating now-obsolete cheesemaking procedures according to the material conditions that prevailed in earlier eras: without precise temperature controls or sterile cooking and storage facilities, using milk from "unimproved" breeds of livestock as well as other ingredients appropriate to specific eras and places. In the case of Anglo-Saxon England, one might investigate the use of haran cyselybb, rennet derived from the stomach of a hare, in place of calf- or vegetable-derived rennet.

In order to fully understand the cultural and symbolic valences of cheese in Anglo-Saxon England, we must consider that nearly the entire population either made cheese with their own two hands or interacted daily with someone who routinely made cheese. This circumstance contrasts sharply with that of present-day Great Britain and North America, where the average person does not know how cheese is made, because cheesemaking is confined to huge factories and a small number of artisan enterprises: the former degrades and obfuscates the process of cheesemaking, while the latter exploits consumer interest in romanticized narratives about individual cheesemakers. Among the Anglo-Saxons, who neither industrialized nor romanticized their cheesemaking, the distinct cultural identities of cheese were rooted in its prominence in Christian rituals, its medical uses, and its use in food renders, among other roles. The ordinary Anglo-Saxon's intimate familiarity with cheesemaking is therefore crucial to keep in mind when we interpret folkloric and exegetical texts that grant cheese a special symbolic significance.

### **Milfull, Inge – 'The Colour of Trees: Revisiting the OED entries ALDER n./1 and WHITTEN n.'**

The paper will focus on names of trees, especially on the Old English words for two kinds of trees that were apparently both originally named for their colouring but otherwise pose a very different set of problems. Both of these tree names are covered in recently revised entries of the *Oxford English Dictionary* and the paper will draw on research done while preparing the revised entries.

The first of these tree names, OE *alor* ‘alder’, is well attested in Old English and has a range of known cognates in the related Germanic languages. Nevertheless the form history of the word and its derivatives, especially in Old English, presents a number of morphological and phonological problems which have not entirely been resolved and merit further discussion. This paper will examine some of the issues that came into play in revising this entry, such as inherited word class, regional conditions for phonological retraction of the initial vowel, competing explanations for forms apparently showing i-mutation, and the date of potential Scandinavian influence, and will show how considering the relative weight of such factors shapes the analysis and explanation presented in the published OED entry. These issues also have repercussions for our view on the relation of the word histories of the words for ‘alder’ and ‘elder’ in English and the possible mutual influence between them, which are in turn reflected in the editorial assignment of forms and senses to the entry ALDER (as opposed to ELDER n./1) in OED.

The second of the tree names, OE *hwitingtreow*, is transparent from a phonological and morphological point of view. This word, however, is a hapax legomenon in Old English and this paper will investigate how much light the later use in English as documented in the entry WHITTEN n.—together with other considerations—can shed on the meaning of the Old English attestation. While some of the issues involved are specific to this particular pair of words, they are not unparalleled and the discussion of the two words will draw on comparable material from other revised OED entries.

As the frequent references to trees in charter boundaries show, trees were very much part of the daily life of the Anglo-Saxons, although occasionally they seem to loom on the edge of the written record rather than in full view. So a look at selected words from this semantic field can provide a worthwhile linguistic contribution to the theme of the conference. In doing so, it will also highlight how much knowledge of the field has advanced since Murray, the first editor of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, set out to work on entries such as ALDER (originally published in 1884), likening the vast expanse of the English lexis before him to an untrodden forest, where no man’s axe had been before.

### **Monk, Christopher – ‘The Sex Lives of Women in Anglo-Saxon England: Evaluating Female Perspectives in Latin and Vernacular Penitentials’**

The aim of this paper is two-fold: to emphasize the Anglo-Saxon penitentials as a valuable resource for understanding the everyday life/daily lives of people living in early medieval England; and, by way of illustrating the above, to evaluate evidence in the penitentials for female perspectives on sex.

Over the last few decades, scholarship on the penitentials has helped us appreciate that handbooks of confession ‘bring us close to the life of the Anglo-Saxon laity’,<sup>(1)</sup> providing us with insights into the daily lives of the ordinary people of early medieval England, although specifically from the standpoint of sin. It has also demonstrated that the practice of private, or secret, penance may have been quite widespread in late Anglo-Saxon England.<sup>(2)</sup>

The penitentials, then, are a tremendous source of information on matters relating to everyday life, including such things as diet, childhood, emotions, community relations, spiritual practices, death, morality, marriage, and sex. They should no longer be conceived of as mere taxonomies of sin, but rather as a distillation of oral-textual encounters between confessors and penitents. As Allen Frantzen, the pioneer of penitential scholarship, states: penitential ‘texts depend on agents (confessor and

sinner) for production’, and are ‘reproduced in specific social circumstances’. Indeed, the tradition of penance ‘is engaged in concrete circumstances’.(4)

This paper will explore specifically the issue of female perspectives on sex, addressing two important questions: Can we understand the sex lives of ordinary women through the prism of male-authored and ecclesiastical texts? Can we see beyond the framework of sin, that the penitentials supply, in order to understand what and how women may have thought about sex more generally?

I will examine in detail a number of canons from both Latin and vernacular penitentials that specifically engage with women’s sex lives. These passages relate to a woman’s right to forsake an impotent husband; non-procreative sex; and female desire and desirability.

(1) Allen J. Frantzen, *Before the Closet: Same-Sex Love from Beowulf to Angels in America* (1998), p. 201.

(2) Catherine Cubitt, ‘Bishops, Priests and Penance in Late Saxon England’, *Early Medieval Europe* 14, 2006 (1), 41-63; cf. Rob Meens: ‘The Frequency and Nature of Early Medieval Penance’, in *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter Biller and A. J. Minnis (1998), pp. 35-61.

(3) Three recent examples of scholarship using the penitentials as evidence for everyday life are: Victoria Thompson, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England* (2004); Christopher Monk, ‘Defending *Rihthæmed*: The Normalizing of Marital Sexuality in the Anglo-Saxon Penitentials’, *SELIM* 18 (2011), 7-48; and Allen J. Frantzen, *Food, Eating and Identity in Early Medieval England* (2014).

(4) Allen J. Frantzen, ‘The “Literariness” of the Penitentials’, in Frantzen’s *The Anglo-Saxon Penitentials: A Cultural Database* [www.anglo-saxon.net/penance](http://www.anglo-saxon.net/penance), p. 5. This essay is an English translation of the introduction to Frantzen’s *La littérature de la Pénitence dans L’Angleterre Anglo-Saxonne* (1991), i.e. the French translation by Michel Lejuene of Frantzen’s *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England* (1983).

### **O’Brien O’Keeffe, Katherine – ‘Fingers and Eyes, Sight and Touch: Appraising the Senses in Anglo-Saxon England’**

The archives of knowledge through which Anglo-Saxons understood the human senses ranged from vernacular to patristic, and within these the senses were differentially ordered and valued. Quotidian understanding of the senses treated them as functions of their corresponding bodily organs, as the lists of tariffs in the laws of Æthelberht and Alfred illustrate. In OE homiletic prose, the senses are catalogued with a different, invariant order, from sight to touch, that bespeaks a set of understandings about bodies, materiality, souls, and salvation. When Ælfric rewrites a citation from the *Prognosticon* (Boulogne-sur-Mer MS 63): “nec in corpore nostro uult digitus esse oculus nec pes manus,” his reordering and added detail cross the patristic appraisal of the senses with the valuations of corresponding body parts attested in secular law. And when Ælfric lists the senses in *Lives of Saints* 1, 196-200: “þa andgitu sint gehatene þus: Uisus, þæt is gesihð; auditus, hlyst; gustus, swæc on þam muðe; odoratus, stænc on þæra nosa; tactus, hrepung oððe grapung on eallum limum, ac þeah gewunelicost on þam handum,” his elaboration of their invariant ordering in ASE treats sight and hearing as disembodied perceptions while locating the three ‘lower’ senses in their bodily organs. Touch, suspiciously labile, is found all over the body, though “most commonly” located in the hands. Indeed, touch, in the resurrected body, appears to disappear. When the lost soul of Vercelli IV (275-

84) berates the body: " ic wæs þin spræc & þin swæcc & þin fnæst & þin hawung & þin gehyrnes," touch is nowhere on its list.

Both sight and its lesser sibling, touch, are faculties whose differing appraisals are functions of the perceived mediation the senses perform between the material world and the immaterial soul. The differing values assigned to the senses map the gulf between the spiritual and the material. Touch is the channel through which Christ healed the sick. But the contact of flesh with flesh was also an occasion of sin, as formulae for confession insist. The saints' embrace of hairshirts used that channel of touch to increase the merits accruing to their souls. The work of sight in the afterlife opens a more spectacular set of problems. Wærferth's translation of *Dialogues* IV.29 illustrates how sight mediates between the material and the immaterial, the corporeal and the incorporeal: "Witodlice in þam ylcan [i.e. the fire of hell] he þrowað, þe he gesyhþ, & swa he byþ cwylmed, forþam he gesyhþ hine sylfne byrnan." The immaterial soul suffers in hell precisely because it sees itself burn.

The meaning of Wulfstan's comment on the judicial exactions of II Canute 30.5 (with loss of eyes, ears, nose, upper lip and scalp): "swa man sceal steoran 7 eac ðære saule beorgan" must thus be sought in a crossing of archives of appraisals—the legal valuation of body parts and the patristic understanding of senses as channels between the flesh and the spirit.

### **Owen-Crocker, Gale – 'Dressing the Anglo-Saxons'**

This paper will address assessment of the resources and labour it took to create the dress worn by three Anglo-Saxons and the presumed effects of their appearance: a sixth-century woman whose clothing is attested by grave-goods including fragments of textile adhering to metalwork; and the donation portrait of King Athelstan and that of St Cuthbert, depicted on the same folio in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 183. These figures have been chosen for the contrasts they offer: the social and chronological difference between village society in pre-Christian Anglo-Saxon England and a much-travelled royal figure who cultivated international connections in the tenth century; between male and female; secular and ecclesiastical. The discussion will take account of the impact of recent studies of gender and of the newly-recognised tenth-century changes in ecclesiastical dress which were manifested in the gifts Athelstan gave to the shrine of St Cuthbert on this occasion but NOT reflected in this image of the saint.

The implications of clothing provision for the Anglo-Saxon economy examined will include the cultivation of flax, sheep husbandry, preparation, spinning and weaving of fibres, dyeing of cloth, the importation of silk and the manufacture of gold thread, sewing, braiding and embroidering, the casting and decoration of metal fasteners, the production of leather and the making of shoes and belts. The paper will show the enormous share of daily life that was necessarily taken up with providing, and maintaining, clothing but will also demonstrate the interaction and perhaps the competition between tasks and production in a society where the same animal was exploited for milk, cheese, horn, wool, parchment and leather. Simultaneously the paper will consider the social messaging of clothing: dress conveyed gender, ethnicity, status and role; gold, bright colours and new cloth distinguished rich from ragged.

## **Poole, Kristopher – ‘Exploring the Social and Economic Importance of Chickens in Anglo-Saxon England: An Integrated Approach’**

It is widely recognised that farming was essential to Anglo-Saxon England, both in terms of the food produced and the impact it had on the daily activities and experiences of people. The importance of human-animal interactions within this process is clear, but to date attention has tended to focus on domestic mammals, most notably cattle, sheep, pigs and horses. Yet there is one species which was widely kept in Anglo-Saxon England, whose remains are found on settlements occupied by all social levels, but which have so far received limited attention: the chicken. These birds were, of course, important sources of food (in the form of eggs and their meat), but potentially also entertainment (cockfighting), as well as contributing to how a place was experienced (through their presence and the noises they made). However, the size of chicken populations and the uses to which they were put could vary considerably, depending on the phase concerned, the type of settlement and social position. This paper explores these issues by adopting an integrated approach, combining zooarchaeological data (including settlement and cemetery evidence), place-names and scientific techniques (including stable isotope analyses). It aims to demonstrate that studying these birds provides considerable insight into shifting social relations and daily life throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. In doing so, it draws upon the work of the on-going ‘Cultural and Scientific Perceptions of Human-Chicken Interactions’ project, which aims to examine the social, cultural and environmental history and impact of this important species.

## **Rabin, Andrew – ‘Wulfstan at London’**

Over the past sixty years, scholarship on the writings of Archbishop Wulfstan of York has evolved into one of the most active sub-fields of Anglo-Saxon studies. Yet for all the attention paid to Wulfstan’s accomplishments as homilist, lawmaker, and statesman, his career as an ecclesiastical administrator has been largely overlooked. Recent publications by Stephen Baxter, Julia Barrow, and D.A. Woodman have sought to address this lack by reassessing the evidence for Wulfstan’s approach to episcopal governance as bishop of Worcester and archbishop of York. Baxter, Barrow, and Woodman have demonstrated that Wulfstan adopted innovative tactics for overseeing his diocese that both informed and put into practice the political views espoused in his writings. However, if the outlines of Wulfstan’s later administrative practices are becoming clearer, the earliest phase of his career, his tenure as Bishop of London from 996 to 1002, has yet to be the subject of any sustained scholarly consideration. This talk—which takes its title from one of the first studies to discuss the archbishop’s approach to Church governance, Dorothy Whitelock’s “Wulfstan at York”—will re-examine the record of Wulfstan’s London years in order to better understand the circumstances and significance of his first episcopate. In doing so, this talk will consider both what this period reveals about Wulfstan’s career as a Church administrator and how it influenced the development of the social vision articulated in his later writings.

Beyond its implications for our understanding of one of pre-Conquest England’s most influential figures, a better grasp of this phase of Wulfstan’s career will also shed light on London’s emergence



as a major urban and religious center. The middle and later years of Æthelred's reign witnessed the growth of London's political and economic influence that led to its later prominence. Although Wulfstan occupied St. Paul's only briefly, his tenure provides a useful case study of the ways in which London bishops managed their diocese during this period.

This talk will focus on three categories of evidence: charters associated with Wulfstan's episcopate; texts known to have been read and used by Wulfstan during this period, such as the abbreviated *Institutio canonicorum* of the Council of Aachen; and those of Wulfstan's own writings dateable to his London years, including his earliest surviving homilies and Latin letters. Taken together, these texts reveal that many of the strategies Wulfstan later used to consolidate York's property holdings and govern its clergy were first employed during his time in London. Equally important, when read in the context of his London episcopate, the texts Wulfstan produced during this period illuminate his initial attempts to integrate Reformist thought with Anglo-Saxon legal practice to produce what Patrick Wormald famously described as his "vision of a Holy Society." Wulfstan may have been a "late bloomer," as Wormald described him; but as this talk will show, the accomplishments of his later career, both intellectual and administrative, were shaped by his tenure as bishop of London.

### **Rauer, Christine – 'Early Mercian Text Production: Authors, Dialects, and Reputations'**

According to Asser, King Alfred assembled a group of Mercian authors at his court: Plegmund, Werwulf and Athelstan. Werferth, too, may have belonged to that Mercian group. But it is not clear what texts these scholars could have authored to justify their pre-Alfredian reputation. The early Anglian (and possibly Mercian) texts surviving to this day include the Vespasian Psalter glosses, Bede glosses, the Life of Chad, the Corpus Glossary, and the Old English Martyrology, but these texts remain unassigned to named authors. This paper addresses the details of early Mercian text production, and the importance of such a Mercian corpus of literature. Vleeskruyer's ideas regarding Mercian dialectology and linguistic standardisation were several decades ago superseded by the work of Wenisch and Kotzor, but many questions remain open within the areas that this paper hopes to discuss: our current knowledge of Mercian dialectology, the authorship of the Old English Martyrology and other early Mercian texts, the role of glossing in the development of early Old English prose, the survival of ninth-century literature, and the political and literary relationship of Mercia with Canterbury.

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### **Roberts, Jane – 'Loss, Replacement and Some Old English Words that Died Out'**

[to be added]

### **Seiler, Annina – 'Spelling Variation in Early Old English'**

This paper investigates graphemic variation as an indicator of the complex textual history of some of the earliest Old English sources. The variation and consistency of early Old English writing systems is assessed on the basis of two measures: (1) an average of the number of types of graphs used for the representation of a sound position (type ratio), and (2) an average of the proportions covered by the most frequent graph for each sound position (token ratio). The type ratio indicates the degree of variability of the graphic inventory, whereas the token ratio captures the consistency with which the principal graphs are employed.

Overall, it can be shown that early Old English is more regular than has hitherto been known – if systematic positional patterns are taken into account. Two texts, however, are the exception to this rule, the Épinal glossary (ca. 700) and the Cotton Tiberius C. II Bede (ca. 800). In comparison to other early Old English material (as well as contemporary Old High German sources), they both have a relatively high type ratio combined with a low token ratio, which is an indication of a high degree of variability. However, the two manuscripts display distinct patterns of variation, which provide insights into their textual history and allow to draw conclusions about the copying process. In the case of the Épinal glossary, it can be demonstrated that several different graphemic systems were used in the sets of *glossae collectae* from which this glossary had been compiled. In the Cotton Tiberius C. II Bede manuscript, on the other hand, two competing orthographies can be observed, one that derives from the Northumbrian original and one that is also found in contemporary Mercian sources and was used by the Cotton Tiberius C. II scribe.

On a methodological level, the paper demonstrates how a systematic analysis of graphemic variation contributes to our understanding of the transmission of early Old English texts and hence complements the results obtained in neighbouring disciplines.

## **Stancliffe, Clare – ‘Who commissioned the Ruthwell Cross?’**

Evidence of four different types can be used to shed light on this question: the historical context of the cross, insofar as it can be deduced; the iconographical programme of the cross; the style and execution of the stone carving of the figurative panels; and the evidence of the inscriptions. Rosemary Cramp has made a strong case for the role of Wearmouth –Jarrow, based on the evidence of the stone carving. In addition, the relevance of Bede’s exegesis to the iconographical programme has been argued by several scholars. Other evidence, however, points in a different direction: the strong emphasis on the theme of the desert and the eremitical life would fit better with Lindisfarne, while certain details, such as the depiction of Christ adored by friendly beasts in the desert and the use of the apocryphal Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew do not fit with Bede, who regarded the beasts who accompanied Christ in his temptation in the desert as hostile, and who avoided any use of apocryphal works.

This paper will take account of all four sources of evidence, but will focus particularly on that of the Latin inscriptions, building on the pioneering work of John Higgitt and Paul Meyvaert. It will argue that the lettering, the layout, and also the length and content of the Latin inscriptions can be paralleled in works produced at Lindisfarne, focusing particularly on the parallels with the long inscription round the illustration of the crucifixion in the Durham Gospels (Durham Cathedral Library, MS A. II. 17). It will then go on to argue that all the evidence can be accommodated by the hypothesis that the Ruthwell Cross was the outcome of collaboration between the two monasteries of Lindisfarne and Wearmouth-Jarrow. The overall scheme and the inscriptions are likely to have been the brainchild of a Lindisfarne churchman, but the iconographical carving was probably carried out by craftsmen from Wearmouth-Jarrow. Similar collaborative ventures between the two monasteries are already known, with Wearmouth-Jarrow loaning the exemplar from which the Lindisfarne Gospels were copied at some date between c.690 and 720, and with Lindisfarne commissioning Bede to rewrite the Life of St Cuthbert c.720. This is the same period as that to which the Ruthwell Cross is generally ascribed.

## **Stephenson, Rebecca – ‘The Body on the Cross: A Conversation between the *Dream of the Rood* and *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook*’**

With the tenth-century rise of the Benedictine Reform comes a simultaneous interest in computistical texts. Abbo of Fleury, for instance, brought this study to Ramsey, at the same time that the monks at Winchester developed a standard computus. As Benedictines came to regulate the body with the Rule, they attempted to record the regulations of the heavens through their own monastic study.

While the observation of the heavens and the calculation of Easter might seem a heady pursuit for intellectuals—not part of their daily lives—traces of computistical study, especially diagrams and charts, often appear in more mundane texts, like *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook*, where computistical texts are copied in close quarters with prognostical texts and prayers for specific occasions. The close harmony between these very different genres can be seen in a collection related to the Cross: the Office of the Cross is included alongside computistical texts and a miniature that shows the sun and moon governing an iconic scene with Mary and John observing Christ dying on the cross. This miniature encodes the connections between computistical study and religious devotion in the placement of the

sun and moon amidst common iconographic details, and, in extended meditation upon the image, computus becomes a part of daily prayer.

The cross is a site that routinely combines both religious devotion and the regulation of the cosmos, since it is a common structural underpinning to many computistical diagrams. In one of Byrhtferth's diagrams, the cross lies at the center, between the equinoxes, and in another the solstices and equinoxes are inscribed on the cross bars, while the four letters of DEUS and ADAM appear in a cruciform layout in the center. While *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* has no such diagram, there is no question that veneration of the cross lies at the center of that compilation and is closely connected to many forms of computistical inquiry.

Since Old English poetic texts were copied in the same monasteries where computus was studied, these diagrams provide a new context for reading the *Dream of the Rood*, and its vague references to computus take on a greater significance. When the crossbars are compared to the four corners of the earth, "foldan sceatum," a formulaic line takes on a new significance as the central point of a cosmographic diagram. While the five gems that adorn the crossbar refer to the five wounds of Christ, at the same time, there are five feasts calculated by computus (Septuagesima, Quadragesima, Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost). By bringing the *Dream of the Rood* into conversation with *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, a material artifact from the daily prayer and devotion of an Anglo-Saxon, this paper will reveal how computistical practices thought to be esoteric or confined to an ecclesiastical elite subtly informed the Anglo-Saxons' conception of their place in the world.

### **Voth, Christine – 'Daily Life of an Anglo-Saxon Scribe: Writing in Early Tenth-Century England'**

The extant manuscripts from Anglo-Saxon England contain a wealth of information, yet we often overlook the process that went into the creation of each manuscript that survives. Unless the identity of the writer or scribe is known, such as the works of Aldred, provost of the Community of St Cuthbert and Chester-le-Street, and Eadwig Basan, monk from Christ Church, Canterbury, little is thought of the individual who put his/her quill to parchment. The majority of tenth century scribes were a nameless, faceless group of individuals, yet it is the products of their hands that provide us with much of the material culture of Anglo-Saxon England.

In this paper, I focus on the products of a single scribe, writing in the first quarter of the tenth century. His works include contributions to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 173), the earliest extant manuscript of the Old English Orosius (London, British Library Additional 47967) and a glossed Psalter (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 27). I will discuss the development of this scribe's hand, noting the progression of writing from his earliest stint in the Parker Chronicle through his most stylistic work: the Junius Psalter, focusing on specific characteristics that are unique to this scribe, including the evidence that he wrote with his left hand.

As this scribe is one of the earliest hands of the script known as Square Minuscule, I will also address his influences on other scribes of this script. The manuscripts attributed to this scribe contain both Latin and Old English, representing learning *utriusque linguae libri* described by Bishop Asser, and that one might expect to see in the wake of the Alfredian educational reforms. The surviving Latin manuscript produced by this scribe is a glossed Psalter and a liturgical calendar in the same codex

(Junius 27), the combination suggesting they were for use in an ecclesiastical setting. Thus, where and when this scribe is writing and for whom is equally important and will also be addressed. Finally, I will present evidence for an early textual community in which this scribe was a contributing member. This will include an examination of the manuscripts that may have been available in this community, including the Trinity Isidore (Cambridge, Trinity College B. 15. 33, ?Winchester, c. 900) and the Vatican Boethius (Vatican, Latin 3363, ?Wales, s.ix med).

The opportunity to compare a scribe's work as s/he goes through a process of standardisation of script is invaluable, and extremely rare for this period. Although this scribe remains nameless and faceless, the characteristics of his style of writing are unique, allowing us a glimpse of the individual behind the parchment.

### **Waite, Greg – ‘A New Discovery: John Smith’s Collations for his Edition of the OE Bede (1722)’**

This paper describes the discovery of hand-written collations in a British Library copy of Abraham Wheloc's 1643/44 edition of Bede, and discusses the significance of this material. Although this copy of Wheloc has resided in the British Library collection since 1837, its important annotations have remained unnoticed, until observed in December 2013.

Over some years up to his death in 1715, John Smith was engaged in the preparation of his landmark edition of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*—both the original Latin text and the ninth-century OE translation of it. Smith possessed this copy of Wheloc, and inserted detailed handwritten collations of all known OE Bede manuscripts against Wheloc's base text, CUL MS Kk.3.18. His son George completed the edition for publication in 1722. There are also collations from manuscripts of Bede's Latin text, probably made earlier by one of Smith's associates, who passed the book on to him.

Most important are the collations from the OE Bede text in the first part of BL MS Cotton Otho B. xi (s. x med.), copied prior to the Cottonian Library fire of 1731. After the fire only fifty-two out of 231 leaves from the manuscript survived. Some of these consist only of charred fragments, whilst others are complete and mostly legible.

In 1562 Laurence Nowell transcribed much of the Otho manuscript, but omitted some material. Furthermore the accuracy of Nowell's transcription has been a matter of some debate. The work of Lutz, Torkar, Wormald and Dumville has enabled a reconstruction of most contents—particularly the additions of s. xi1, the G-version of the *Chronicle*, *Laws*, *Burghal Hidage* etc. This paper discusses Smith's work of collation, advanced for its time, in that he recorded virtually all spelling variants (not just substantive variants) from Otho and the other Bede manuscripts. The collations provide fresh insights into Smith's editorial methods. More importantly, they add considerably to the recovery of the text of the burnt Otho manuscript. I consider the implications of the new discovery for understanding the textual transmission of the OE Bede, and for the establishment of text and apparatus in any new edition of the OE Bede. Of particular importance are the collations of the opening sections, the Preface, and the list of chapter headings, which Nowell did not transcribe. Smith's collation also provides readings from a previously unknown copy of the *West Saxon Genealogical Regnal List* appended to the OE Bede Preface in the Otho manuscript.

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### **Wickham-Crowley, Kelley – 'Fens and Frontiers, or Why Fens Matter in Anglo-Saxon Thought'**

Anglo-Saxon studies have recently developed a strong interest in landscape and ecological narratives. While "frontier" as a word did not exist in the Anglo-Saxon period, if we understand fens and frontiers as both a challenge and a defining boundary, we can consider how that can be fitted to fens and what they define and manifest in Anglo-Saxon culture. This paper will consider particularly how fens are a kind of "shorthand" evoking a rich range of meanings, using poetic and historical texts alongside environmental and archaeological evidence. Working to reconstruct specific past environments enhances the resonances otherwise missed, bringing us closer to habits of thought and adaptations to change. When the Germanic tribes arrived in Britain, a long history of fen use by native Britons would have modeled some uses of the environment, as evidenced by a prehistoric site such as Flag Fen, Cambridgeshire, with its wooden roadways and ritual use. With water levels rising and likely contributing to migration, fen and marshland would have increased and so become a more pervasive landscape and resource.

My method is to read the literary and historical texts against the physical and archaeological evidence to see what the connections and gaps illuminate. Poetry such as elegies, *Andreas*, and *Beowulf* use fen landscapes to evoke particular cultural resonances in service of poetic effect. In other texts, too, famous secular and religious figures use fens as key strategic sites in defining themselves, whether it be Alfred the Great's retreat to the fens at Athelney before negotiating the survival of England against the Danes, or men such as Botolph and Guthlac who cultivate the spiritual isolation of marsh and fenland and conquer its demons. The famous monastery of Jarrow was named for the Gyrwe, the "fen dwellers". Its value is reflected in its being a royal gift of Northumbria's King Ecgfrith, who founded Bede's Jarrow and likely kept his fleet in the nearby natural harbor/slake of this place. Its resources supplied a local people, several monastic settlements, and the fleet that sailed to disaster at Nechtansmere.

We know that fens possessed rich ecologies, and a brief vocabulary list shows specifics. Fenndæc, fen thatch, suggests its use for buildings, while words for plants and creatures are specific to this environment and may have medicinal use: fenminte, fen mint; fenfugol, fen fowl; fen fearn, fen or water fern; fenampre, fen sorrel/dock; fencerse, fen cress; fenyce, fen snail or tortoise; fenfisc, fen fish. Other terms suggest a persistent way of seeing fens as places to hide: fenfreodo, fen refuge; fenhleoðu, fen coverts; fenhop, fen hollow. Fengelad, fen path, may even suggest wooden pathways echoing those previously mentioned at Flag Fen, much more than a footpath, easily grown over in

such an environment. By using the material environment of Anglo-Saxon texts and landscape, we can see both how many areas of daily life fen environments could impact and the problems and daily resources Anglo-Saxons thought important.

### **Zweck, Jordan – ‘Silence in the Riddles’**

The riddles of the Exeter Book are noisy. Horns blow, musical instruments sound, storms rage, and everywhere normally silent objects and animals are made to speak. Much good work has been done on the speaking objects of the riddles and what it means to speak through the voice of another. Yet in all this din, a small number of riddle subjects resist being given voice. Given the noisy tumult of the rest of the riddles, as well as the popularity of prosopopoeia in the riddles and in the classroom, these moments of silence stand out not as sites of sensory deprivation or failed communication, but as potential moments of resistance, as well as sites for exploring the nature of silence in the early medieval world. I want to examine the possibility that this silence is sometimes deliberately resistant, reflecting a desire to make silenced voices present and visible. These silent moments do not just model failed monastic reading practices, but simultaneously engage sensory experiences, make space for other silenced bodies, and propose ways to record or make visible the otherwise invisible, unrecordable medium of sound.

The paper begins by placing the riddles’ silence in the context of silence in the daily life of monks. The monastic rule specified times for silence (including *lectio divina*, in which silence is idealized as a time for meditation and revelation), as did the church calendar’s *swigdagas* (silent days), and monks may have used sign language to communicate. Riddle 42’s bookworm seems to represent imperfect monastic *ruminatio*. However, the worm’s silencing of the text it consumes is in fact productive; the worm’s theft of words produces not silence but signal noise that permanently misleads the worm itself, and might temporarily mislead the riddle’s audience. The typical but here unspoken challenge “say what I am” creates not for the worm but for the audience a space for silent reflection, forcing them not to read linearly (like a worm chewing through a codex), but to turn back and reread with the riddle.

Monastic silence is a communal experience, but the silent voices of the riddles refuse to participate in the social order. In the riddles, words for silence do not generally signify the absence of all sound, but merely the cessation of *human* speech. When a riddle object refuses to speak, its silence may be accompanied by other noises – the rustling of clothing, the chatter of people nearby. What is striking about silence in the riddles is that it is a deliberate act. The verb *swigan*, to be silent, is an active verb, and to *swigan* is an action rather than the absence of one or the default state of things. The paper ends by considering riddles such as 7 (swan), 49 (bookcase? oven?), and 65 (onion) in which silence is framed as deliberate refusal to engage in communal sociality, where silence fragments the nonspeaker into parts rather than wholes (of body and of community), and where other sensory experiences trump identification with the human as *reordberend*.

## PROJECT REPORTS

### **Biggam, Carole – ‘The Anglo-Saxon Plant-Name Survey’**

The Anglo-Saxon Plant-Name Survey (ASPNS) is a long-term project, based in the University of Glasgow, with the aim of investigating in depth and with multidisciplinary techniques, the plant-names and plants of Anglo-Saxon England. Members consist of expert advisors in appropriate subjects such as farming, botany, medicine, geography, medieval Latin, and much more, and also author-members who research and write about plant-names or related subjects of value to plant-name studies. The Survey is now in its fifteenth year, and in spite of minimal funding and no full-time administrators, we have had two conferences, one in the UK and one in Austria, and have published three collections of early medieval plant-studies. Our members have also published over forty other articles and books with various publishers. In spite of neglected web-pages, for which I apologise, the Survey is still making progress and welcomes new members. Our latest collection of articles is entitled 'Magic and Medicine: Early Medieval Plant-Name Studies', and is volume 44 in the Leeds Studies in English, dated 2013.

### **Kazzazi, Kerstin – ‘Project Report “Runic Writing in the Germanic Languages – RuneS”’**

The presentation will report on the progress made in the project "Runische Schriftlichkeit in den germanischen Sprachen – Runic writing in the Germanic languages (RuneS)" since the 2013 ISAS Conference in Dublin, where this academy project was introduced. The report will present a selection both of work completed, such as methodological and theoretical frameworks developed (e.g., a catalogue of criteria for assigning runic inscriptions to the different corpora) or working platforms designed (e.g., an online newsletter), and of work in progress, such as questions being addressed and the methods being designed to deal with them (e.g., description terminology) or research and information platforms planned (e.g., an online database). It will draw on examples from the corpus of the Pre-Old English Runic inscriptions, an edition of which is drawing to completion.

### **Kopár, Lilla – ‘Project Andvari: A Portal to the Visual World of Early Medieval Northern Europe’**

Though material culture is widely recognized as a cornerstone of interdisciplinary Anglo-Saxon Studies, the physical remnants of Anglo-Saxon daily life are still, all too often, being analyzed by specialists working in isolation from one another. Recently, several online databases and catalogues have made subsets of these materials widely available, mainly in the form of digital resources focused on one particular medium, object type, or location. But in spite of the easy availability of such corpora



of digital images and object descriptions, it remains difficult to connect them to one another, not only because of the disparate nature of the artifacts themselves, but also because we lack the unifying terminologies and descriptive schemas that would allow for comparisons across disparate artistic media, scholarly disciplines, and national and language boundaries.

Project Andvari [<http://andvari.iath.virginia.edu>] is an international collaborative project, funded by NEH, that proposes a solution to these challenges by creating a free digital portal that will provide integrated access to collections of northern European art and artifacts of the early medieval period (4th–12th centuries). The project has four main objectives:

- To offer integrated access to the existing but dispersed artifactual record of northern European art of the early medieval period;
- to augment and enhance existing data and metadata;
- to allow humanities scholars to study the aggregated material in an interdisciplinary fashion and to promote analyses of relationships (both of artifacts and of cultures); and
- to promptly disseminate information about new discoveries and provide a shared virtual workspace for researchers.

### **Lee, Christina – The Daily Life of a Doctor: Testing Anglo-Saxon Medicine**

Most modern microbiologists would view their discipline as beginning with the work of Pasteur and Koch, and the era of antibacterial medicine as beginning in the late 19th Century with Lister's use of carbolic acid. However, manuscript evidence shows that the Anglo-Saxon doctors used a range of natural compounds to treat conditions that are clearly recognisable as microbial infections. Some of these substances, or chemical compounds purified from them, have been shown by modern science to have measurable antibacterial or antiviral effects (e.g. extracts of *Allium* species, honey, oxgall). Some of these compounds have even been the subject of clinical trials (e.g. garlic oils) or have been approved for use as therapeutic agents (e.g. manuka honey). Would the use of such ingredients indicate that Anglo-Saxon leeches knew how to treat infection?

There has been a longstanding debate on the efficacy of Anglo-Saxon medicine. Recent discussions have tended towards the idea that most of the material contained in leechbooks is mere quackery. It has been suggested that leechbooks were written and transmitted by laymen and that they served no specific medical purpose. One of them is 'Bald's Leechbook' and our group of Anglo-Saxonists and microbiologists has recently examined one particular recipe. This recipe is for a 'wen' or lump in the eye, which likely corresponds to a sty: an infection of an eyelash follicle most often caused by the bacterium *Staphylococcus aureus*. The recipe comprises five ingredients that may reasonably be expected to kill bacteria or reduce their virulence. Our team reconstructed and tested the recipe, as well as each of its individual component ingredients. Testing was done on a synthetic model of soft-tissue infection. What we found is that the full recipe – but not any of the individual ingredients alone – repeatedly killed established *S. aureus* infections in synthetic wounds, reducing cell numbers by up to six orders of magnitude. Antibacterial activity of the full recipe in chronic *S. aureus* wound infections also showed in live mice. Our results show the untapped potential of medieval leechbooks as a source of novel antimicrobial agents, and suggest that recipes may represent carefully-constructed combinations of ingredients. Our research also shows that Anglo-Saxon leeches had some knowledge

of how to treat bacterial infections and that these manuscripts suggest that medical knowledge was based on empirical investigation, rather than on superstition.

### **Naismith, Rory – ‘New Developments in Anglo-Saxon Numismatics and Monetary History: Medieval European Coinage and the Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles’**

These two associated British Academy projects are concerned with numismatics and monetary history, and both at present have components of significant interest to Anglo-Saxonists.

A forthcoming volume of Medieval European Coinage is vol. 8, covering Britain and Ireland c. 400–1066. It will include detailed coverage of all segments of Anglo-Saxon coinage, from the end of Roman Britain to the Norman Conquest, as well as discussion of Hiberno-Scandinavian coinage and coin-finds from early medieval Scotland and Wales. It will also include a fully illustrated catalogue of the 2,500 relevant coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. This report will outline the aims and scope of this project, which represents the first large-scale survey of all Anglo-Saxon and related coinage in more than a century.

The report will also provide details of a project currently being planned by the Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles committee: digital publication of the 20,000+ Anglo-Saxon coins held at the Royal Coin Cabinet in Stockholm. This is the largest single collection of Anglo-Saxon coins in the world. It was the subject of pioneering study by Bror Emil Hildebrand in the nineteenth century, but no detailed, illustrated publication of the whole collection has ever been produced. The scale of the enterprise prohibits traditional print publication, and the project intends to create a new and flexible online interface. This promises to be a resource of major importance to historians, archaeologists and philologists as well as numismatists.

### **Timofeeva, Olga, and Honkapohja, Alpo – ‘Medieval Latin from Anglo-Saxon Sources Corpus’**

The aim and objectives of this project are the compilation of a corpus of medieval Latin texts from insular English sources dating back to 7th-12th centuries A.D. The corpus will be the first ever electronic resource for the study of the medieval *lingua franca* as used in Anglo-Saxon England. It will initially include English authors from 7th to 12th centuries writing in Latin, and may eventually be extended to medieval Latin on the British Isles more generally. We would like to make this resource accessible to, and usable by, a wide audience of scholars working in medieval history, culture and language, and make it a useful tool for carrying out a variety of lexical, proximity, quotation, grammatical, etc. searches, with their results being automatically classified into particular periods, genres, authors and so forth. The versatility of the searches will be ensured by providing the corpus with appropriate tagging and metadata. Project report at ISAS 2015 will be an update on the ongoing XML-conversion of the corpus with a short demo of how the tool can be used at a stage achieved by the summer of 2015