LIVING ON *LÆNE* LAND: INHABITING LANDSCAPES IN OLD ENGLISH LITERATURE

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Danielle Marie Cudmore

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Danielle Marie Cudmore Ph. D.

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This dissertation aims to contribute to recent discussions of landscape in Old English literature. While Old English literary landscapes often lack the detail and specificity as those in the neighboring literatures of Ireland or Iceland, I show that at least some Anglo-Saxon writers depicted landscape and the natural world--and their own place in it-- with considerable nuance. I approach the topic of landscape from what anthropologist Tim Ingold calls a "dwelling perspective", which sees landscape as something temporal, experiential, and embodied. This view, which follows the thinking of German philosopher Martin Heidegger, allows us to see landscape in Old English texts not as a flat backdrop or container for action, but as an important participant in it. The texts I examine, which include Alfred's translation of Augustine's *Soliloquies, Genesis A,* the *Blickling Homilies,* and *Guthlac A,* depict various ways in which landscapes as sites of dwelling are created. In the texts I examine, that nature is not "out there," but in dynamic relation with the built, human world, is apparent in the numerous homologies betweeen and overlapping of natural and architectural spaces. In several cases, the act of building is not strictly the raising of a structure, but is metaphorical *for* dwelling. For example, to live well *on earth* is to build a home for oneself in heaven in texts such as *Guthlac A.* The approach of viewing landscapes as sites of building and dwelling has the advantage of not treating literary landscapes as merely representational, but understands them as *loci* of dynamic interaction, not only

between nature and the culture, but different religious, cultural, and intellectual traditions. Ultimately, I show that while the Anglo-Saxons longed to dwell in heaven, they also thought deeply about how to best inhabit Middle-Earth.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Danielle Marie Cudmore grew up in the New England woods. She attended the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, where she studied Greek, Latin, Old English, and Scandinavian languages and literatures. She recieved her B.A. in 2007 in Comparative Literature and Classics and was a recipient of the William M. Bulger Classics Award for her work in Greek and Latin. She began her graduate studies in Cornell University's Medieval Studies Program in the fall of 2007. At Cornell, Danielle focused on the Old English, Old Norse, and Old Irish languages and literatures and cultivated side interests in Persian, Turkish,and Armenian languages, literatures, and musical cultures. Her interest in environmental issues and the natural world has informed both her scholarship and teaching. For her work as an instructor Danielle was awarded the Buttrick-Crippen Fellowship and a Dean's Prize for Distinguished Teaching. She received her Ph.D. in 2015.

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Prelude: The Chapel, the Cabin, and The Forest

In the edge of a field near Wachendorf, Germany stands a small rectangular chapel, designed by the Swiss architect Peter Zumthor and built with the help of local farmers in 2007. The chapel commemorates the 15th century saint Nicholas of Flüe, also known as Bruder Klaus. While the angular, concrete exterior of the chapel may first appear at odds with its bucolic surroundings, it is in fact comprised of them: the concrete is an aggregate from the site, hand mixed and poured by locals (Rossman 2008: 14). This concrete was cast over a hut of local trees, after which the trees were burned, leaving the interior walls scalloped and charred. The charred walls draw the eye upward to an oculus, open to the elements. This recalls one of the mystic Bruder Klaus's visions, in which, from his mother's womb, he saw a star that illuminated the whole world.

Zumthor's Brother Klaus Field Chapel (die Bruder Klaus Feldkapelle) visually and materially brings together elements of the local environs. The openness of the interior to the sky and the impression of forest trees, which draws the eye upward render obsolete simple distinctions of interior and exterior, as the chapel opens itself outward and the natural world with all its vicissitudes are allowed in. According to Ross Jenner, the chapel "is not only made from an outside but is an outside, being both

a (seemingly fortuitous) representation of the radiant firmament (if, as cosmological image this can be called 'an outside') and in reality open to the sky with a bowl of rainwater, an *impluvium*, subtly cast in the floor." (Jenner 2012: 6). Speaking of his use of materials, the architect Zumthor illuminates the sensuousness and poetic potential of the materials in his buildings, "I believe that they can assume a poetic quality in the context of an architectural object, although...materials themselves are not poetic...Sense emerges when I succeed in bringing out the specific meanings of certain materials in my buildings, meanings that can only be perceived in just this way in this one building" (Zumthor 2006: 8-10).

Jenner elaborates, writing that in Zumthor's work

> "significance can lie in the very act of making...the building sets up bounds and possibilities in the interplay between bodily actions and the materials of the environment. Becoming indistinguishable from the processes that went into its making, it challenges the classical (and current) aesthetic whereby making is "technique", mere means towards an end called "form" (or "image") ...rather than something merely contingent in to the act of building, the site is...opened towards its own potential.. The buildings reveal their world...but in each of them there is more than a revelation or recuperation of nature or history;....Sites and geographies are not simply finished, or begun. Their meaning remains open ended and indeterminable. Occasionally, poetry happens" (Jenner 2012: 7).

The Bruder Klaus chapel embodies even more literally the idea of a gothic cathedral in Oswald Spengler's statement: "The character of the Faustian cathedral is that of the *forest*. It is the architectural actualizing of a world feeling that had found the first of all its symbols in the high-forest of the Northern plains, the deciduous forest with its mysterious tracery, its whispering and ever restless foliage high over the watcher's head, its treetops struggling to escape from earth" (Spengler 1927: 396).

In contrast to the physical immensity of the cathedral, the numinous forest that leaves its traces in the Bruder Klaus chapel is intimate but opens up to spiritual immensity, a dissolving of not only interior and exterior states (as its inside is an

outside, the interiority of Bruder Klaus's vision of the womb externalized in architectural form), but also the local and the cosmic.

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On July 4, 1845, Henry David Thoreau began his two year, two month, and two day residence in the woods on the shore of Walden Pond in Concord, Massachusetts. Having purchased the frame of his ten-by-fifteen foot cabin from a local farmer, Thoreau shingled and plastered the building himself. Thoreau's account of his time at the cabin, *Walden*, assiduously edited and compressed into the simulation of a single year, is both autobiographical and philosophical.

In the second chapter of *Walden*, Thoreau explains that

> " I went to the woods because I wished to live deliberately, to front only the essential facts of life, and see if I could not learn what it had to teach, and not, when I came to die, to discover that I had not lived. I did not wish to live what was not life, living is do dear; nor did I wish to practise resignation unless it was quite necessary. I wanted to live deep and suck out all the marrow, to live so sturdily and Spartan-like as to put to rout all that was not life, to cut a broad swath and shave close, to drive life into a corner, and reduce it too its lowest terms, and, if it proved to be mean, why then to get the whole and genuine meanness of it, and publish its meanness to the world; or if it were sublime, to know it by experience and be able to give a true account of it in my next excursion" (65).[1]

For Thoreau, the cabin in the woods was the natural location in which to attempt real "living". Not far from Concord center, and within lamentable earshot of the Fitchburg Railroad, Thoreau lived as a secular hermit, eking a small living from cultivating beans.[2] In his ostensible solitude, Thoreau was in fact never wanting company, for, when not attended by human visitors or visiting Concord, he was surrounded by the natural world. The Walden woods were an immersive surroundings for Thoreau, and his cottage threshold a permeable boundary between his interior

1 All quotations from Thoreau's writings are taken from the 2008 Norton Edition.
2 Thoreau seems to refer to himself as a hermit in a joking fashion in beginning of the chapter "Brute Neighbors" (151-161), which imagines a hifalutin dialogue between a hermit and a poet (the latter probably meant to be William Ellery Channing, Jr.)

dwelling space and the natural world outside. Additionally, Thoreau described the initially un-plastered frame of his house as “so scantily clad , [that it], was a sort of crystallization around me, and reacted on the builder...I did not need to go out doors to take the air, for the atmosphere within had lost none of its freshness. It was not so much within doors as behind a door where I sat, even in the rainiest weather” (61). That the house--and the forest around and even within it--"reacted upon the builder” is a testament to the relationship Thoreau had with this cabin: the builder not only builds the house, but the house builds the builder.

Even in the early chapters of *Walden* Thoreau highlights the permeability of inside and outside, not as discrete categories but as interwoven ideas, brought together rather than demarcated by Thoreau’s cabin. In addition to the birds and mice nesting in his cabin and shed in a chapter entitled “Brute Neighbors”, Thoreau describes moving all his furniture outside in the chapter entitled “Sounds”:

> “When my floor was dirty, I rose early and, setting all my furniture out of doors on the grass, bed and bedstead making but one budget, dashed water on the floor and sprinkled white sand from the pond on it, and then with a broom scrubbed it clean and white; and by the time the villagers had broken their fast the morning sun had dried my house sufficiently to allow me to move in again, and my meditations were almost uninterrupted. It was pleasant to see my whole household effects out upon the grass, making a little pile like a gypsy’s pack, and my three-legged table, from which I did not remove the books and pen and ink, standing amid the pines and hickories. They seemed glad to get out themselves, as if unwilling to be brought in. I was sometimes tempted to stretch an awning over them and take my seat there. It was worth the while to see the sun shine on these things and here the wind blow them, so much more interesting most familiar objects look out of doors than in the house. A bird sits on the next bough, life-everlasting grows under the table, and the blackberry vines run around its legs; pine cones, chestnut burrs, and strawberry leaves are strewn about. It looked as if this was the way these forms came to be transferred to our furniture, to tables and chairs, and bedsteads--because they once stood in our midst” (80).

For Robert Pogue Harrison, this dislocation wants to reopen the *ethos* of America to the nature of its promise--or the promise of its nature....All that is to be learned about what is real and not real lies in the exteriority of our inner lives” (Harrison 1992: 227).

As Gaston Bachelard puts it , "outside and inside are both intimate-they are always ready to be reversed" (1994 [1958]:218). Though built for different purposes, the Bruder Klaus Feldkapelle and Thoreau's cabin in the Walden woods are similar in their ability to dissolve the dichotomy of interior and exterior, of inner and outer worlds, of subject and object. Both are sites of contemplation, built within and from local landscapes. These buildings--the latter of which is as much literary as it is physical[3]--are not merely objects in the landscape but integral parts which create a sense of landscape. Both can be seen as connected to language: the accounts of the visions of Bruder Klaus, and the writings of Thoreau. These two buildings bring together the themes of nature, architecture and landscape that will be the topic of this study.

I. King Alfred: Building on *læne* land

Over a thousand years earlier, King Alfred of Wessex (known as Alfred the Great) was busy spearheading and overseeing not only a number of building projects as fortifications against the Viking incursions, but also--as importantly, and perhaps relatedly--a renaissance of learning and intellectual life.[4] This included educational and religious reform, and a series of translations of Latin texts the king deemed necessary reading. Attributed to Alfred are translations of Gregory the Great's *Cura Pastoralis*, Boethius' *de Consolatione Philosophiae* (known as the *Old English*

3 The cabin at Walden no longer stands in its original location, though its foundations are demarcated and a reproduction exists nearby.

4 For an overview of these, see Abels 1998 chs 6 and 7, respectively. Abels credits Alfred's creation of *burhs*, a series of garrisons spaced out over Wessex, with transforming both the military and economic landscapes of England. These *burhs* (together with the creation of a standing army, which the *burhs* supplemented) not only made defense against the vikings more efficient and effective, but also served as economic hubs. Supplied by the public and overseen by the royalty, they also helped to consolidate royal power (Abels 1998: 207-209). For more on Alfred's literary projects, see below.

Boethius), Augustine's *Soliloquiae*, and an Old English version first fifty Psalms. While it is neither clear nor even entirely likely that the king produced these translations by himself, [5] they were written within Alfred's time and milieu and from a perspective that might be termed "royal",[6] and I will refer to these texts as his translations on the grounds of both convenience and convention.

The translation of Augustine's *Soliloquies*[7] is one of Alfred's lesser known and studied works, yet it is especially interesting, as Alfred not only adds an entire extra book to Augustine's two,[8] but also includes an equally unique and suggestive preface. These additions both serve to emphasize, in particular, the value of deriving wisdom from the teachings of the Church fathers. While the third book maintains the structure of split-personality dialogue between Augustine and *Gesceadwisnes*[9] (though moving into a more monologic form at III 95:4), the preface, spoken from the voice of a single

5 By "himself", I of course mean with the aid of his circle of literary advisors, which included his biographer Asser. Godden 2007 disputes that Alfred was in any way involved, while Pratt 2007 argues for the authorship of Alfred. Bately 2009 argues for the integrity of the works recognized as Alfred's "canon".

6 Godden 2003 suggests that the perspective in the *Boethius* and *Soliloquies* is more frequently than not one of a courtier rather than a king, though he does not draw any conclusions regarding authorship from this. Ruth Waterhouse 1986 discusses a kingly perspective evinced in metaphors and tone in the *Soliloquies*.

7 The *Soliloquies* survive in a 12th century manuscript and the text is the first entry in the *Beowulf Codex* (Cotton Vitellius A XV). For further information on the manuscript see Carnicelli 1969 1-19. All citations from the Soliloquies are from Carnicelli's 1969 edition. Translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

8 This third book, which treats on the question of the survival of knowledge after death, is derived largely from Augustine's *De Videndo Deo* , as is cited in the *Soliloquies* themselves as a source at the end of chapter 2: "Gyf þu hyt openlice witan wilt, þonne scealt þu hyt secan on þære bec þe we hatað de videndo deo. Seo boc is on englisc gehaten be godes ansyne." "If you wish to know it clearly(whether the mind remains intact in the next world?) then you shall seek it in that book that we call *de videndo deo*. That book is called in English "on seeing God" (Carnicelli 1969: 92,4-6).

"...and he gehet butan ælcum tweon þæt he us getehte æfter þisse weorulde þæt we meohton ful gewislice witan fulne wisdom and ful soðfæstnesse. Þæt þu meaht gehyran micle openlicor on þære bec þe ic þe ær nemde, de videndo deo." "And without any doubt he promised us that he taught us (that) after this world that we may full wisely know complete wisdom and truthfulness. You may hear that more clearly in that book that I named earlier, *de videndo deo*" (Carnicelli 1969: 92, 9-12).For other sources see Carnicelli 1969: 28-29.

9 The Old English *Gesceadwisnes* is translated from Ratio in Augustine's *Latin*.

first-person narrator, employs a unique and elegant metaphor which Allen J. Franzen calls "richly material and concrete" (Franzen 2003: 134) about the construction of a dwelling space. This preface, rather than the translation itself (though it surely merits further examination) will be the focus of this chapter.

The preface launches into narrative without contextualizing or preamble.[10] The text is worth quoting in full:

Gaderode me þonne kiglas and stuþansceaftas, and lohsceaftas and hylfa to ælcum þara tola þe ic mid wircan cuðe, and bohtimbru and bolttimbru, and, to ælcum þara weorca þe ic wyrcan cuðe, þa wlitegostan treowo be þam dele ðe ic beran meihte. ne com ic naþer mid anre byrðene ham þe me ne lyste ealne þane wude ham brengan, gif ic hyne ealne aberan meihte; on ælcum treowo ic geseah hwæthwugu þæs þe ic æt ham beþorfte. Forþam ic lære ælcne ðare þe maga si and manigne wæn hæbbe, þæt he menige to þam ilcan wuda þar ic ðas stuðansceaftas ceaf, fetige hym þar ma, and gefeðrige hys wænas mid fegrum gerdum, þat he mage windan manigne smicerne wah, and manig ænlic hus settan, and fegerne tun timbrian, and þær murge and softe mid mæge on-eardian ægðer ge wintras ge sumeras, swa swa ic nu ne gyt ne dyde. Ac se þe me lærde, þam se wudu licode, se mæg gedon þt ic softor eardian (mæge) ægðer ge on þisum lænan stoclife be þis wæge ða while þe ic on þisse weorulde beo, ge eac on þam ecan hame ðe he us gehaten hefð þurh sanctus Augustinus and sanctus Gregorius and sanctus Ieroniums, and þurh manege oððre halie fædras. swa ic gelyfe eac þæt he gedo for heora ealra earnunge, ægðer ge þisne weig gelimpfulran gedo þonne he ær þissum wes, gehure mines modes eagan toþam ongelihte þæt ic mage rihtne weig aredian to þam ecan hame, and to þam ecan are, and to þare ecan reste þe us gehaten is þurh þa halgan fæderas. sie swa. (Carnicelli 1969: 47.1-48:3)

"Then (I) gathered for myself wall-posts and corner posts and tie beams and handles for each of the tools with which I knew to work, and the timber of bough and bole[11], and for each of the works that I knew to make, the most beautiful wood (to the extent that) I could carry. Nor did I come home with one burden that I did not (also) wish to bring home that entire forest, if I could have borne it all; in each tree I saw something that I had need of at home. Therefore I would teach each of those who might be able and who might have many wagons, that he proceed to the same forest where I cut these posts, and there fetch more (wood) for himself, and load his wagons with many fair branches, that he may wind many a beautiful wall, and establish many an excellent house and timber many a fair enclosure/estate, and there may he dwell pleasantly and comfortably, both winter and summer, as I have not yet done. But he who taught me, he to whom the wood was pleasing, may he bring about that I dwell more comfortably both

10 This lack of a "factual" preface in which Alfred identifies himself is unusual for Alfred's accepted canon and has led some editors to suggest that the text is corrupt and acephalous. While the third word "þonne" suggests that there may have been previous, more factual preface, the first letter of the first sentence is an ornamental G, suggesting that, by the time the existing manuscript was copied, this was considered to be the beginning. For a summary see Stanley 1988: 357-358. For an additional assessment of this see Heuchan 2007: 3. Heuchan notes that "if, however, the *Soliloquies* is a more personal, contemplative text, it may not have needed a preface like that for the *Cura Pastoralis*, which was seemingly intended as an instruction manual for leaders of the kingdom" (2007: 3). On Alfred's Prefaces see also Franzen 2003. See Earl 1994:87-99 for a discussion of the verse prefaces.

11 In my translation of these terms as "wall posts, corner posts, bough-timber, and bole-timber" respectively, I follow William Sayers' emendations, as they provide more precise technical details and reduce tautology. See Sayers 2008: 121-123. For further discussion see the following footnote.

in this temporary cottage by the road, while I am in this world, and also in that eternal home that has been promised to us through Saint Augustine and Saint Gregory and Saint Jerome, and through many other holy fathers. As I also believe that he will do for the merits of them all, both make this way better than it was before and illuminate the eyes of my mind so that I may find the right way to the eternal home, and to the eternal glory, and the eternal rest that is promised to us through the holy fathers. Amen."

The author states that he gathered numerous types of wood ("kiglas", "stuðansceaftas", "losceaftas", "hylfas", "bohtimbru", "bolttimbru"), from which he may make tools and and form the structure of a house.[12] The speaker not only sees something he desires in each tree, but possibilities for various uses in each, which, as William Sayers points out, is not unlike the way in which a skilled wright would see the individual uses in various parts of a tree in the forest before it had been cut (Sayers 2008: 120).[13] The narrator then instructs others to go to the same wood ("þam ilcan wudu") and gather wood so that they may "wind many a beautiful wall"[14],

12 This terminology for these terms is somewhat fraught, as several of the terms are rare or unique. Merritt 1970 translates *kiglas*, *stuþansceaftas* and *lohsceaftas* as "supports, posts, and tie beams" (1970: 662), a translation which Whitelock 1979 and Heuchan 2007 follow. *Bogtimber* and *bolttimber* are regularly translated as "building wood and beams" (see Carnicelli 1969). The DOE gives *bogtimber* as "curved timber" (used in the construction of bows) as opposed to bolttimber "straight timber", but Sayers points out that curved timber would be of little use in the construction of a house (Sayers 2008: 122). Carnicelli takes it dubiously as "bough-timber" or " building timber" (the latter is accepted by Heuchan 2007 and Whitelock 1979) and all take *bolttimber* as "beams". Sayers, however, suggests amending the word to *boltimber* "bole-timber", which would provide a contrast to "bough" and avoid repetition. According to Sayers, " the former (*bohtimber*) may yield stakes, rafters, roof-lathes, the latter, corner-posts and tie-beams. What appeared tautological in earlier translations is now resolved in to complementary sets of terms: the first stating the end purposes to which the timber is to be put, and the second the equally complementary pair of uncut timbers: branches and trunks" (Sayers 2008: 122). Concerning the term "tools", Carnicelli notes similar uses of "tools" in Alfred's *Boethius* (Carnicelli 1969: 99), most notably: "Hwæt, þu wast þæt nan mon ne mæg nænne cræft cyðan ne nænne anweald reccan ne stioran butu tolu 7 andweorce. Þæt bið ælces cræftes andweorc þæt mon ðone cræft buton wyrcan ne toricsianne, þæt he hæbbe his lond fullmonnad; he sceal habban gebedmen 7 fyrdmen 7 weorcmen. Hwæt, þu wast þætte butan þissan tolan nan cyning his cræft ne mæg cyðan" (Sedgefield 1899: 40, 9-25). "You know of course that no one can make known any skill, nor direct and guide any authority without tools and resources. In the case of the king, the resources and tools with which to rule are that he have his land fully manned: he must have praying men, fighting men and working men. You know also that without these tools no king may make his ability known" (trans. Keynes and Lapidge 132),

13 For example, see Logan 2006: 208-213. For interesting discussions on the uses of wood in construction and otherwise, as well as its influence on Anglo-Saxon understandings of the world, see the essays in Bintley and Shapland 2013.

14 Sayers suggests this refers to "wattle and daub" construction, a simple and relatively transient type of building common in Anglo-Saxon England (Sayers 2008: 119). This would fit well with Alfred's description of the *lænan stoclife* a few sentences later. For more on wattle-and-daub building and

"build/establish many an excellent house", and "feger tun getimbrian", "timber many a fair enclosure",[15] and then dwell in it winter and summer, which he himself has not yet done. Rather, the narrator states that he who instructed him and to whom the wood was pleasing,[16] may make it so that he dwells more easily in his temporary dwelling by the road[17] and in the "eternal home" of the next life, which is promised in the writings of Augustine, Gregory and Jerome (among many other of the Church Fathers), three whose particular influence on the following text is immediately apparent, Alfred, and the Christian world at large.[18]

The speaker then elaborates on the nature of dwelling on earth:

Nis it nan wundor þeah man swilc ontimber gewirce and eac on þare lade and eac on þære bytlinge; ac ælcne man lyst, siððan he ænig cotlyf on his hlafordes læne myd his fultume getimbred hæfð, þæt he hine mote hwilum þar-on gerestan, and huntigan, and fuglian, and fiscian, and his on gehwilce wisan to þere lænan tilian, ægþer ge on se ge on lande, oð þone fyrst þe he bocland and æce yrfe þurh his hlafordes miltse geearnige. swa gedo se weliga gifola, se ðe egðer wilt ge þissa lænena stoclife ge þara

terminology see Biggam 2002: 54.

15 These order of these terms, at least the first two, may be a *hysteron proteron*, as establishing the foundations would naturally come before setting up the walls. Timbering a *tun* may refer to enclosing the whole structure, including the land around the house, rather than building a timber house itself.

16 I use "wood" to mean both "forest" and "wood" as a building material. The double meaning was likely intentional. As Michael D.J. Bintly and Michael G. Shapland write, "...things made from trees were recognized as having had their origins in the forest, emphasizing the links between the constructed wooden world of the Anglo-Saxons and the natural environment surrounding them. These links profoundly affected the way in which the Anglo-Saxons expressed their relationship with the landscape, in terms of place-names, the organization of settlements, and the way in whicy the conducted their religious observances" (Bintly and Shapland 2013: 14). See also discussions of antimber and hyle below.

17 *Stoclif* seems to mean both a "dwelling" generally and a "village", according to Bosworth-Toller. It may be related to *cotlif*, which can be both a "village" or a "cottage", both Old English terms having a fluid meaning that encompasses both individuals and communities. On these terms see Smith 2012: 131-133 and 126-133 respectively. The first element of the word taken as *stoc* "stock", rather than *stow*, "place", "contextually suggests both the clearance of woodland and the smallholding of the cottager" (Smith 2012: 132). On *stoc-* in place names, see Baker 2013.The word *læne* attendant with *stoclif*, "temporary", means "borrowed" in its most literal sense, which accords well with the later reference to the bocland of charters.

18 In addition to Augustine's *Soliloquies*, which form the basis for Alfred's translation, his *de videndo deo* also informs the additional third book. Gregory the Great's *Cura Pastoralis* was also translated by Alfred and whose other works seem to have had some influence on Alfred's *Soliloquies*. Jerome is responsible for the Latin Vulgate Bible, the mostly widely used translation of the Bible in the medieval West. One of his commentaries may have had some influence on Book III of Alfred's *Soliloquies* (Carnicelli 1969: 28-29).

ecena hama. Se ægþer gescop and ægðeres wilt, forgife me þæt me to ægðrum onhagige: ge her nytwyrde to beonne, ge huru þider to cumane (Carnicelli 1969: 48.4-12).

"Nor is it any wonder that a man should work with such material and both in the carrying and the building; but it pleases each man, after he has timbered any cottage on land leased by his lord and with his help, that he may rest there for a time, and hunt and fowl and fish, and in each wise provide for that leased land,whether on sea or on land, until he may first earn that bookland and eternal inheritance through the mercy of his lord. So does the wealthy benefactor who desires both this temporary dwelling and the eternal homes. May he who created and controls both grant to me that both may be possible: that I may be useful here and also to arrive there."

This passage elaborates on the nature of building and dwelling in the language of charters, contrasting "leased" land with "bookland",[19] that is, land granted to the full possession of a recipient in charters.[20] The "leased" or "temporary" land is also clearly not only set up in contrast to "bookland" but to the "eternal home" of heaven, demonstrating that the introduction can be quite reasonably read on both practical, mundane levels and a metaphorical one. In fact, Christine Fell notes that the term *boc* could be used for both "charter" *and* "gospel" in Old English, a double meaning that would be particularly apt here (Fell 1991: 173-174). This extended metaphoric passage demonstrates the commmonly used Anglo-Saxon literary technique of drawing parallels between earthly and heavenly dwelling, equating and contrasting the transience of temporary life on earth with the eternal life of heaven, frequently expressed through images of "home".[21] Ruth Wehlau elaborates: " Alfred portrays

19 On læne as "leased land" see Smith 2012: 11-2. For the frequent use of læne in poetry to describe the transient things of this world see Fell 1991: 174-176.

20 For a more precise discussion of bookland and some greater nuances in definition see Reynolds 1991: 216-220. See Smith 2012: 125, 135 for a discussion of bookland in this passage and 8-14 and 43-62 more generally.

21 For standard views on transience and eternity see Fell and Gatch's complementary 1991 articles. On the topic of "home" Howe 2004 provides compelling examples not only of the polysemy of the term home in denoting both earthly and heavenly realms (149), but also demonstrates that the concept of "home" was in fact fluid and extended beyond an architectural domicile, but also included, quite importantly "land". This encompassing nature of "home" will be an important point later on and will likewise be discussed in following chapters.

heaven as a house specially built by and for each person. But the construction is mental, a building of the mind. Where God has created the earth for people to live in, Alfred reminds his readers that it is up to them to construct their own homes in the afterlife" (Wehlau 1997: 24).[22]

Beyond this fairly straightforward contrast and the assertion that transient dwelling on earth prepares for eternal dwelling in Heaven and that the former is a kind of building, Alfred's metaphorical preface has proved especially elusive. First, it has been difficult to isolate a single reliable source for the passage. Although the metaphor is reflective of some Latin sources, it appears to be quite original. This complex building-dwelling metaphor, as some have argued, seems especially appropriate to Alfred, whose personal ingenuity as a builder as well and spearheading of numerous building projects are known from Asser's biography and the *Burghal Hidage*.[23] Recent work, such as that of Sayers and Smith, cited above, has provided greater lexical precision to the terminology and demonstrated a more detailed technical knowledge in which the metaphor is grounded than has been previously

22 An interesting parallel to this can be see in Ælfric's sermon of the Passion of Saint Thomas. In this, Christ, with Thomas as his slave, are enlisted to build a palace for the Indian king Gundoforus. The beautiful palace Christ describes is in fact the heavenly mansion. Thomas says of his work, " Ic lecge þa grund-weallas þe gelæstað æfre and ic sette þone wah þe ne asihð næfre and þa egðyrle macige þe ælteowe beoð þæt þam huse ne bið wana þæs healican leohtes. Ic arære þa getimbrunge þæt hire hrof ofer-stihð ealle gebytlu and bið utan fæger and swa-þeah wlitigre þæt weorc wiðinnan", "I lay the foundations which shall last for ever, and I set the wall which shall never sink and make the windows which shall be very perfect, that there shall be no lack to the house of the heavenly light. I rear the building, so that the roof shall surmount all edifices, and it shall be fair without, and the work shall nevertheless be more beautiful within" (Skeat 1881: 402-405, lines 67-73, trans. Skeat). When left to his work, Thomas goes about preaching and building churches, thus constructing the hall of heaven on earth. (On this, see Wehlau 1997: 21-23.) When the king finds out that his palace has not been built on earth, he throws Thomas in chains. However, the king's recently deceased brother is resurrected and recounts to Gundoforus the vision of heaven he has seen "and ic þær geseah þa mæran gebytlu þe thomas þe worhte on þære gelicnesse þe he hit gelogode her", "there I saw the glorious palace which Thomas hath made thee, in the very likeness in which he planned it here" (1881: 408/9, lines 137-139).

23 See footnote 1 for construction of *burhs*. Furthermore Carnicelli points out that Alfred himself may have had a personal knowledge of construction and design, citing section 76 of Asser's biography of the king (Carnicelli 1969:38, 99). See also section 104.

granted. Though important, this does not fully account for the metaphorical nature in which woodcraft and building are discussed.

Prodosh Bhattacharya suggests as a source for the passage a portion from Alfred's translation of Gregory the Great's *Cura Pastoralis* which involves woodcutting, and which was original to Gregory's Latin text.[24] The Old English passage in question is as follows :

Swa sint toweorpanne ærest ða ða nan god ær ne dydon ðurh ðreunge of ðære heardnesse hiora yfelnesse, to ðæm ðæt hi sien eft on firste arærde and gestonden on ryhtum weorce; forðæm we ceorfað heah treowu on holte ðæt we hi eft uparpren on ðæm botle, ðær ðær we timbran willen, ðeah we hi for hrædlice to ðæm weorce don ne mægen for grennesse, ærðæmðe hi addrugien. Ac swa swa swiður adrygde bioð on eorðan saw hi mon mæg osorglicor upfegean.

"So those who have done no good are first to be cast down by reproof from the hardness of their wickedness, that they may after a time be raised, and stand firm with righteous works; for we cut down tall trees in the wood to erect them afterwards in the building, where we intend to build, although we cannot sue them for the work too soon because of their greenness, before they are dry. But the direr they are while on the ground, the more confidently they may be erected" (trans. Ker, quoted in Bhattacharya 1998: 162).

Bhattacharya suggests this inspired the imagery in the preface to the *Soliloquies* as well. However, as Valerie Heuchan points out, Bhattacharya leaves the mechanism of transformation a uncommented upon (Heuchan 2007:4). The trees in the *Cura Pastoralis* are sinners who need redemption, while in Alfred's metaphor the trees provide materials for the building of a Christian life, and seem to also represent the teachings of the Church fathers.

Heuchan demonstrates more convincingly that the metaphor was inspired in part by 1 Corinthians 3, a claim strengthened by Alfred's obvious use of 1 Corinthians in other parts of the translated *Soliloquies.* The most relevant passage is as follows:

24 "Quia et idcirco altum silvae legrum succidimus, ut hoc in aedificii tegmine sublevemus; sed tamen non repente in fabrica ponitur, ut nimitum prius vetiosa ejus viriditas exscicaetur cujus quo in infimis humor excoquitur, eo ad summa solidius levature" *PL* 77: 118. "For we cut down the tall tree of the wood so that we may raise it to the roof of a building; but however it is not placed in the fabric so that first its excessive and harmful greenness may dry out--the more its dampness is warmed out of it whilst it is low, the more firmly it may be raised up to the heights."

Ego plantavi, Apollo rigavit: sed Deus incrementum dedit. Itaque neque qui plantat est aliquid, neque qui rigat: sed qui incrementum dat, Deus. Qui autem plantat, et qui rigat, unum sunt. Unusquisque autem propriam mercedem accipiet secundum suum laborem. Dei enim sumus adjutores: Dei agricultura estis, Dei aedificatio estis. Secundum gratiam Dei, quae data est mihi, ust sapiens architectus fundamentum posui: alius autem superaedificat. Unusquisque autem videat quomodo superaedificet.Fundamentum enim aliud nemo potest ponere praeter id uod positum est, quod est Christus Jesus. Si quis autem superaedificat super fundamentum hoc, aurum, argentum,l apides pretiosos, ligna, foenum, stipulam: uniusquisque opus manifestum erit: dies enim Domini declarabit, quia in igne revelabitur: et uniuscujusque upus quale sit, ignis probabit. Si quius opus manserit quot superaedificavit, mercedem accipiet. Si cujus opus arserit, detrimentum patietur: ipse autem salvus erit, sic tamen quasi per ignem. Nescitis quia templum Dei estis, et Spiritus Dei habitat in vobis?

"I have planted, Apollo watered, but God gave the increase. Therefore neither he that planteth is any thing, nor he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase. Now he that planteth and he that watereth, are one: and every man shall receive his own reward, according to his own labor. For we are God's coadjutors: you are God's husbandry, you are God's building. According to the grace of God that is given unto me, as a wise architect, I have laid the foundation and another buildeth thereon. But let every man take heed how he buildeth thereupon. For other foundation no man can lay, but that which is laid; which is Jesus Christ. Now if any man build upon this foundation gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble; Every man's work shall be made manifest: for the day of the Lord shall declare it, because it shall be revealed in fire; and the fire shall try every man's work, of what sort it is. If any man's work abide, which he hath built thereopon, he shall receive a reward. If any man's work burn, he shall suffer loss; but he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire. Know you not that you are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?" (1 Corinthians 3: 6-16).[25]

As Heuchan puts it, "Both 1 Corinthians 3:9-14 and Alfred's Preface describe a master builder who gathers the best materials and builds carefully, advising others to do the same, so that their work will last and earn for them an eternal reward" (Heuchan 2007: 6). Heuchan follows Milton McC. Gatch (1979: 24) and Eric G. Stanley (1970: 359-60) in this interpretation, while an earlier article by Dorothy Whitelock summarized the scholarly consensus that the "gathering" aspect of the Preface indicated that it was meant to be a *florilegium*.[26] Richard Wülker, earlier a proponent of this, later suggested that this metaphor might in fact be King Alfred, nearing the end of his life and surveying his works (symbolized by the forest), entreating others to carry on the

25 All quotations from the Bible throughout this dissertation are from the Latin Vulgate; translations are from the Douay-Rheims Bible.

26 The view that this was a florilegium is attributed partially to Asser and William of Malmsbury's mentions of Alfred producing such a volume. It is somewhat strengthened by the fact that the sections of the Old English *Soliloquies* are called "blostman", "flowers", in the text. For more on this see Wülker 1877, and Whitelock 1966. Gatch 1979 (23-24) points out some of the problems of this, though it is interesting to think that Alfred may be playing on this particular metaphor.

literary work he has begun (1885: 419-420). However, William Sayers points out some problems of viewing the forest as a metaphor for literary texts, saying

"this would entail that these highly finished intellectual products are to be seen as raw material, to be shaped by the translator's tools into new, quintessentially English works. Yet the imagery here directly associated with the three Church fathers is that of illumination and guidance, not of exploitable natural resources. An alternative reading would be to see Alfred deploying a complementarity: God's nature and Christian nurture. Alfred's image is about the construction of a Christian life in the 'borrowed dwelling place' that is this world. The forest represents life's natural diversity from which we may choose. The tools with which we exploit these resources in the forest and on the stage of Christian living--the building site--are then equally important and this dimension of the allegory explains why new handles and shafts are needed. The house that is a good Christian life will be pleasant, but little in comparison to that home in heaven, built with whatever celestial materials there available, but certainly not with the wood or stone of an earth-bound chapel" (Sayers 2008:)

Sayers rightly points out a more practical, everyday dimension to Alfred's metaphor. However, I see no reason why this passage cannot-and was not intended to-work on both a metaphorical and more practical level. The works of the fathers may well be viewed as the *tola* by which one builds, rather than the forest as a whole. However, the forest itself could also be the Bible, an image used by Jerome in his 64th epistle, in which he refers to the holy scripture as "infinita sensuum silva", "an infinite forest of meanings" (PL 25: 448D), an image likely derived from his Latin translations of Origin, who also calls the scripture a forest in his fourth homily on Ezekiel.[27] To add to these multiple layers, we also have the element of land tenure discussed by Fell and Smith, which helps to ground the metaphor in everyday, worldly practice as well as the literary. It also emphasizes the importance of *land*, not only in the sense of natural space, or space for building, but in forming a concept of "home". While the discussion of building sets up an architectural element in Alfred's extended metaphors, the use of legal terms such as *læne* and *bocland* broadens the scope to include the land on earth, and in parallel fashion configures heaven as both an architectural structure

27"But conversely, when I survey the very extensive forest of Scripture, I am compelled to surmise that this earth that we see is a living being" (*Homily on Ezekie*l 4: 3, trans. Scheck 2010: 65).

and a landscape. What is clear is that for Alfred, biblical and patristic teachings provide *living* examples; they are not meant to be passively received but actively gathered, built with, dwelt in. Indeed, Alfred's concern lies as much with the aspect of dwelling in this *lænan* life and in the eternal home as it does with building- as long as one dwells on earth, one is constructing his home in heaven. Importantly also, the external structure parallels the building up (edification) of the individual, as both the builder and the building, as in 1 Corinthians 3:9: "aedificatio Dei estis".

Language is also a building material in that it is used to construct poetry and texts such as the scriptures, which in turn are elements of spiritual edification. Valerie Heuchan gives as another potential source of inspiration a passage from Aldhelm's prose *De Virginitate*, a text with which Alfred was familiar (Heuchan 2007: 8), in which Aldhelm states he intends to write a verse counterpart so that he may

> "adorn the renown of this same Chastity, with Christ's cooperation, in the heroic measures of hexameter verse, and, as if the rhetorical foundation stones were now laid and the walls of prose were built, so I shall--trusting in heavenly support--build a sturdy roof with trochaic slates and dactylic tiles of meters" (quoted in Heuchan 2007: 9).[28]

Heuchan, noting that the term "Christo cooperante" is reminiscent of Corinthians 3:9,[29] sees parallels between this metaphor and Alfred's own description of textual learning as building up from a foundation. In addition, Heuchan points out the technical, poetic artistry of Alfred's preface in its use of specialized vocabulary, and eight sets of opposing pairs (five of which set up a dichotomy between earthly and heavenly lives). In addition, we find alliteration such as the pair "bohtimbru and

28 Trans. Lapidge and Herren. Latin Ehwald, *Aldhelmi Opera* 321: heroicis exametrorum versibus eiusdem praeconium pudicitiae subtiliter comere christo cooperante conabor et, velut iactis iam rehtoricis fundamentis et constructis prosae parietibus, cum tegulis trochaichis et datctilicis metrorum imbricibus firmissimum culmen caelesti confisus suffragio imponam.

29 "Dei adjutores sumus, Dei agricultura estis, Dei aedificatio estis","we are God's coadjutors, you are God's husbandry, you are God's building."

bolttimbru", and in individual the phrases “tun timbrian”, and “mage windan manigne smicerne wah”, as well as the repeated second element in "stuðansceaftas" and "lohsceaftas".

Alfred’s metaphor emphasizes not only on the construction and specificity of the material, as in the Pauline epistle, but the craftsmanship and the act of inhabitation. In a famous essay, German philosopher Martin Heidegger states “to build is to dwell” (1971: 144). Heidegger recalls that the German word *bauen* , meaning “building” comes from the Old English and High German world *buan*, meaning “to dwell”. Relating this to the idea of “being”, Heidegger explains “ to be a human being means to be on the earth as a mortal. It means to dwell. The old word *bauen*, which says that man *is* insofar as he *dwells*, this word *bauen*, however *also* means at the same time to cherish and protect, to preserve and care for, specifically to till the soil, to cultivate the vine” (1971: 145). “Dwelling”, for Heidegger is an active state of human being in and understanding the world. According to Heidegger, “building and thinking are, each in its own way, inescapable for dwelling” (1971: 158) and thus, “mortals ever search anew for the nature of dwelling, that they *must ever learn to dwell*” (Heidegger 1971: 149, emphasis my own). Heidegger’s lexical example of *bauen* as both building and dwelling does not have a counterpart in Old English (Old English *buan* means to “inhabit”, or in some cases, to “settle”, but never to build),[30] but in Alfred’s metaphor

30 See examples in Bosworth-Toller and the DOE. Old English has a range of words for both building and dwelling, however. For the former, the language can distinguish different types of building, such as foundating (*staþelian*) and raising up of structures (*aræran*), in addition to more general terms, such as bytlian/*byldian* or *getimbrian.* This latter word, though originally referring to describe building with *wood* (the primary building material for Anglo-Saxons), refers to construction in a general sense. Words for dwelling include *wunian*, which can (and in Alfred´s case does) mean “to exist” as well as “to abide” or “inhabit”, and eardian, “to occupy a place”. Old English does have a word *dwellan*, which has a secondary meaning of “to dwell”, but a primary one of “to lead in to error, deceive”, related to *gedwolan*, “sin”. The root appears in other Germanic languages, however, meaning to “dwell”, “remain”, or “wait”, and by extension to “delay” or “tarry”. The modern Scandinavian *dvale/dvala*

the two concepts do seem to overlap. It is clear that to "dwell" in Alfred's metaphor is not merely to occupy a place, but to build upon it, care for it and, so doing, build *oneself* , thereby preparing a place in the ultimate dwelling in heaven. Heidegger's emphasis on dwelling as something mortals must constantly learn to do parallels Alfred's depiction of building and dwelling as related dynamic processes that, while on earth, are never *de facto* or completed, but must be actively and continuously performed. Alfred's emphasis on texts-particularly the written word, adds a linguistic dimension to the acts of described in the preface.

Though the two are far removed from one another, both Alfred and Heidegger's depictions of building view dwelling on earth as dynamic interaction within a physical environs, an ontological practice which must be continuously enacted. In Alfred's preface, and in many other works of Anglo-Saxon prose and verse, the emphasis on dwelling on earth is used to contrast with the stasis and permanence of dwelling in heaven, a dwelling promised to the righteous. While heaven may be the goal of all earthly dwelling, it is life on earth that determines it. As Nicholas Howe notes, "Old English poets loved polysemous terms that could be used to describe both the earthly and heavenly life--such as *ham*, *ric*, *eþel*--so that they could better align the two realms" (2004: 149). Moreover, Howe points out that the "heavenly" home is for the most part described in generic or vague terms, while "the poignant beauty of that which face from the earthly home" is set out in great detail (2004: 151). As Howe puts it, "Heaven can be entered only by those who knew how to live well on earth in a transitory house of wattle and daub" (Howe 2004: 160).

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means a torpor.

Alfred's *stoclif*, like Thoreau's cabin and the Bruder Klaus Feldkapelle, is an expression of dwelling and building within the world.

Alfred's preface illustrates most beautifully the themes and ideas I wish to explore in this dissertation. The preface demonstrates a complexity that is hard to reduce to one-to-one symbolic correspondences. Moreover, it illustrates a fusion of the broader, learned Christian world and the immediate environs that informed Anglo-Saxon culture, as well as a fluidity between the world of nature and architectural space, the man-made and the natural. In particular this fluidity stands against the assumption of a strict nature/culture dichotomy. While it is true that Anglo-Saxon literature often lacks the detailed description of nature and local landscapes of the neighboring literatures of Ireland, Wales and Iceland,[31] that should not mean that Old English literature lacks nuance and specificity in its engagement with the natural world. I argue that the fluidity between and conflation of natural and architectural space is one way that demonstrates this subtlety, and indeed in the examples I focus on , natural and architectural spaces often overlap. Even if such overlap occurs purely in the linguistic realm, it can go a long way towards shaping images, perceptions and even experiences of an audience. In some cases, natural space "transforms" to built space through the combination of human efforts and God's grace, revealing an underlying architecture already extant in the natural landscape. These depictions stress a concern for the notion of earthly dwelling as an interaction of the natural, the human and the divine. A broad term such as "dwelling" is useful in that can cross over

31 See Siewers 2009, especially ch. 6 on Irish and Welsh versus Anglo-Saxon depictions of nature. See also Low 2002 on the natural world and Christianity in medieval Ireland, and discussion in chapter 4. On Scandinavia, see for example Hastrup 2008 and Clunies Ross 1998. This list is not exhaustive but these works can serve as introductory.

boundaries of Christian/pagan and can include but also go beyond religious senses of "living on earth" versus "in heaven". A "dwelling perspective", to use Tim Ingold's term, can help us to think through various ways that Anglo-Saxons thought about their place in both the physical world and the Christian cosmos.

Alfred's metaphor also connects the physical landscape to one rooted in language. Whether we take the forest as the Bible and the works of the fathers, or the resources at hand for living a good Christian life, the metaphor hovers not too far from the realm of language. Language, through the use and process of metaphor itself, becomes an important part in mediating relationships between the natural and built world, and expressing dwelling within it.

In their groundbreaking work *Metaphors We Live By*, George P. Lakoff and Mark Johnson argue that metaphor is essential to the structuring of thought: "Our conceptual system thus plays a central role in defining our everyday realities. If we are right in suggesting our conceptual system is largely metaphorical, the way we think, what we experience and what we do every day is very much a matter of metaphor (2003: 3). Lakoff and Johnson posit cultural structures embedded in language that govern metaphorical speech, but also allow for individuality and innovation. Metaphorical thought helps us mediate a view of the world that is neither purely constructionist nor objectivist, and it can help us to consider with greater nuance the way people see, think and talk about the world around them. For this reason, I will focus largely on metaphorical language as a means of understanding "dwelling" in Anglo-Saxon texts. However, we will see some instances in which the demarcation line between metaphorical language and an experienced event becomes obscured, such

as in Alfred's very pragmatic description of building materials, or in the "transformations" of Monte Gargano and Guthlac's *beorg* discussed in later chapters. These instances, I argue, demonstrate the integrated aspects of dwelling via "emplacement" and language in literary texts.

Alfred's metaphor brings together the chief concerns of this dissertation as well as expresses ideas that we can see reflected in a variety of other Anglo-Saxon texts, even if it does so with startling originality. Alfred discusses emplacement, architecture and habitation, the natural world, earthly versus heavenly dwelling and the grounds of all of these in language, as a way of suggesting to his readers a mode of being in the world. Moreover, in the preface to the *Soliloquies*, Alfred combines biblical precedents with the language of craftsmanship specific to Anglo-Saxon England to create an expression of what it means to dwell in the world that speaks to both the Christian cosmos and the local realities of his people. Taking this preface as a starting point for examining concepts of dwelling in Anglo-Saxon literature, I ground my work in the phenomenological thinking of the German philosopher Martin Heidegger (1889-1976), and thinkers who have been inspired by and responded to his work, in particular Tim Ingold and Jeff Malpas. In the following sections, I examine the key concepts that play a role in this dissertation, and as many of them are terms without stable meanings, and have had different uses historically and in different fields, it will be necessary to explain what I mean by"place", "space", "nature",and "landscape".

II: Place, Space, and Dwelling

"When we try to pick out anything by itself, we find it hitched to everything else in the Universe."
-John Muir, "My First Summer in the Sierras", 1960 [1911]: 110

This brings us to yet another cabin in the woods: Martin Heidegger's three-room cabin in the Black Forest, where he wrote most of his major philosophical works, from the 1927 magnum opus Being and Time (*Sein und Zeit*) to later works like "Building, Dwelling, Thinking" ("Bauen Wohnen Denken").[32] As Adam Sharr demonstrates, the landscape surrounding the cabin provided not only the solitude that Heidegger required to write his works, but also shaped his writing.[33] According to Leland de la Durantaye, Heidegger's "preferred metaphorical register was that of the area around his hut: of forests and paths, of peaks and valleys, of dwellings and clearings, calls of nature and authentic connectedness with one's environment" (Durantaye 2007).

I am primarily interested in Heidegger's later works, written after the so-called *Kehre* (or "Turning"), of the mid 1930s, which modified and refuted the more often-studied *Being and Time* of 1927, and which Jeff Malpas characterized as a "turning to

32 At the outset, a note should be made about the critical use of Heidegger in this work, given Heidegger's largely unapologetic association with National Socialism. Recently the publication of Heidegger's "black notebooks" edited by Peter V. Trawny provides more evidence as to the extent that Heidegger had internalized Nazi ideology and anti-Semitism, even after his official affiliation with the party ended. In the *New York Review of Books*, Peter E. Gordon provides a measured view of the content of these notebooks and their implications going forth. For earlier discussions on Heidegger and National Socialism, see the essays in *Critical Inquiry* 15:2 (1989), which includes essays by Maurice Blanchot, Jürgen Habermas, Emmanuel Levinas, and Jacques Derrida. See also Hannah Arendt's "Martin Heidegger at Eighty" (1971).

And yet, Heidegger is considered one of the giants of twentieth-century thinking, and his influence has been far reaching. My own interest in Heidegger developed in connection to his purported influence on modern environmental thinking. For example Heidegger clearly influenced the founder of "deep ecology", Arne Naess, who, as a fighter in the Norwegian resistance, would likely have understood the implications of Heidegger's politics better than most. Interestingly, Naess's 1968 work *Four Modern Philosophers* speaks positively not only of Heidegger, but the anti-Heideggerian empiricist Rudolph Carnap, who was forced to flee Germany. Zimmerman 1993 and 2002 examine whether Heidegger's role in environmental thinking is justified. My use of his work in this dissertation is in many ways also a personal attempt to understand this monumental, troubling, and divisive thinker.

33 See Sharr 2006, esp 128-136.

place, as well as a Turning of (and in) place" (Malpas 2012: 25, 36-38; Malpas 2006:147-210), in which Heidegger's focus shifted from the form of human being he called *Dasein* and temporality to dwelling and place.[34] These later works, which discuss how a world is "set up", are more concerned with place, space and language than the early works. It will still be necessary to refer to some of the basic concepts of the earlier work, but this work will not play so great a role in this dissertation. These early works challenge a static, *de facto* concept of being as unchanging forms or ideas that had dominated Western philosophy since the time of Plato. *Dasein* translates literally to "being there" and, though not an original term of Heidegger's, was used by the philosopher in an idiosyncratic way, expressing a type of being that was a specifically human, individual being and that was active, temporal, and expressed through the individual's interrelated experience of external phenomena and internal perception. One of the great advantages of Heidegger's understanding of being is that it negotiates between a constructionist, purely subjective view of reality and a positivistic, purely objective one.[35] Being for Heidegger, rather than static, is becoming, or coming to presence, in the Greek sense of *physis*,[36] which Heidegger links to thesis, "*placing*" (1977: 159), showing that this event of presencing is topological, that is to say, dependent on place (Malpas 2012: 104-105). To be is to be

34 Wrathall 2011 however, argues that as Heidegger focused on the notion of unconcealment throughout his work, there was never really a "turning". On the turning as a shift from questions of Being to setting up a world, see Inwood 2001:126-128.
35 For a summary account of *Dasein* in *Sein und Zeit*, see Inwood 2001, esp. chs 3-5.
36 On the notion of *physis*, a word often translated as "nature", as appearing in Aristotle and the works of Heidegger, see Guignon 2001.

"in place", "somewhere", or as in the famous dictum of Archytas: "all existing things are either in place or not without place".[37]

"Place" is the usual English translation for Greek *topos*, and has had a long and contested history. Edward Casey (1997a, 1997b) argues that to the ancient Greeks place was ontologically prior to "space". Generally conceived, place encloses, is delimited, and is closely connected to "location" (geographical point), whereas space, which is more general and comprised of places "opens".[38] Both space and place are temporal and historically derived, rather than given. As Fabienne Michelet and Andrew Scheil note, for the Anglo-Saxons both of these terms are bounded, unlike the infinite space of later medieval philosophy (Michelet 2006: 20; Scheil 2013: 198).[39] As Heidegger writes in "Building Dwelling Thinking",[40]

> "a space is something that has been made room for, something that is cleared and free, namely within a boundary, Greek *peras*. A boundary is not that at which something stops but, as the Greeks recognized, the boundary is that from which something begins its presencing...Space is in essence that for which room has been made, that which is let into its bounds. That for which room is made is always granted and hence is joined, that is, gathered, by virtue of a location...Accordingly, spaces receive their being from locations and not from "space" (1971: 152).[41]

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37 Quoted in Casey 1997a: 4. Casey modifies this notion slightly to say "if the things of the world are already in existence, they must also already possess places" (4).

38 These terms, as they are used here, are not to be immediately equated with their Anglo-Saxon counter-parts. Fabienne Michelet explores the most common terms: *rum* for space, which like the Latin term it glosses, *spatium*, has both temporal and physical aspects. The most common words for place, *stow* and *stede* are both derived from the Indo European root *sta-, which means to stand (Michelet 2006: 19-20). By this reasoning, place is where one is.
Whitridge likewise cautioins against a strict dichotomy of place and space, saying "Place seems to occupy a middle ground between culture and nature, the ideal and the material, the individual and the social, and helps us to move between, and ultimately beyond such polarities...The constitution of meaningful places is not a process opposed to the symbolic and practical mastery of space, but an aspect of it. Space is a medium shaped by embodied experience, knowledge and discourse, sociality, material culture, and the nonhuman phenomena out of which these are constructed of with which they articulate" (Whitridge 2004: 243).

39 On "infinite space" see Casey 1997a, ch 5. Casey describes medieval thought as characterized by the ascent of "infinite space", but he focuses on the natural philosophy and scholasticism of the later Middle Ages, and ignores the early Middle Ages entirely.

40 "Bauen Wohnen Denken", given as a lecture in 1951. Hofstadter's translation (1971) is from the publication in *Vorträge und Aufsätze* (1954) (Hofstadter 1971: xxiv).

41 On the problems of translating into English Heidegger's terminology for location, place and space (*Ort*, *Platz*, and *Raum* respectively) in this passage, see Sharr 2007: 51.

As I shall discuss in the following chapter in greater detail, this boundedness is a characteristic of creation in Anglo-Saxon texts on the creation of the cosmos.

Thus, neither space nor place should be understood as pre-given, but in dialogue with a subject or subjects (Malpas 1999: 35, 5-6). Moreover, such an understanding of both place and space dissolves strict boundaries of the inner world of the subject and the outer world of place. According to Jeff Malpas; " spaces of inner and outer-of mind and world- are transformed one into the other as inner space is externalized and outer space brought within...the stuff our inner lives is thus to be found in the exterior spaces or places in which we dwell, those same spaces and places are themselves incorporated 'within' us" (1999: 5- 6). This particular point, the dialogue between and ultimate dissolution of the strictly bounded categories of interior subject and exterior world, will be particularly important in discussions of poetic landscapes in Old English. For example, Andrew Scheil demonstrates how emphasis on external places and spatial coordinates in the Old English *Andreas* not only differentiates the poem from its Latin antecedents but helps us to better understand "the poem's construction of individual subjectivity as a dialectic between the spaces of the exterior world and the spaces of inner life, a coming into being located somewhere in the complex transactions between these two domains" (Scheil 2013: 201). We may also see this at work in what are generally taken to be the stock places and landscapes of the Old English elegies, in which the settings of ruins, wintery seas, and barrows are not just reflections of the speakers' minds, but a situational dialogue in which these

external landscapes and the apparently self-contained speakers and their surroundings inter-penetrate, rather than the former projecting onto the latter.[42]

Throughout his career, Heidegger tried different expressions of the circumstances for the "presencing" of beings in place: the Fourfold, discussed in the late essay "Building Dwelling and Thinking" represents the most developed attempt.[43] Malpas sees the Fourfold as an expansion of the earlier tension between what Heidegger terms "earth" and "world" in the 1935 essay "The Origin of the Work of Art" as a predecessor to this (Malpas 2012: 29-30).[44]

In Heidegger's work, the Fourfold (*das Geviert*) is a primal one-ness of earth, sky, divinities and mortals (*Erde und Himmel, die Göttlichen und die Sterblichen*).[45] Mortals dwell within this relational matrix and not external from it. Heidegger says " 'on the earth' already means 'under the sky.' Both of these also mean 'remaining before the divinities' and include a 'belonging to men's being with one another'" (Heidegger 1971: 147). Mortals dwell in the Fourfold in that they "save the earth", "receive the sky", "await the divinities as divinities" and "initiate their own nature-their being capable of death as death" (Heidegger 1971: 148).[46] Dwelling is the

42 For example, see Dailey 2006: 192-193 on *The Ruin*.
43 For the earlier tension between "earth" and "world" see Heidegger "On the Origin of the Work of Art" (1971: 60-61), and Malpas 2012: 29-30, 243, 245.
44 Julian Young sees the fourfold as essentially a twofold of nature and culture with earth and sky representing the former, and mortals and divinities the latter (Young 2011: 375).
45 See discussions in "Building Dwelling Thinking" (Heidegger 1971: 147-149) and "The Thing" (Heidegger 1971: 175-175). "The Thing"("Das Ding") was given as a lecture in 1950, a year before "Building Dwelling Thinking". Hofstadter's translation is from *Vorträge und Aufsätze* (1954) (Hofstadter 1971: xxv).
46 For more detail on the terms of the Fourfold, See El-Bizri 2011 and Young 2011. On the especially problematic term "divinities" see Young 2011: 374-375 and El-Bizri 2011, esp. 66: "divinities are not simply pictured as being in flight or as withdrawing into self-refusal or concealment, rather for some of our contemporaries, they all along have never even been, even though the comings and goings of godheads apportioned human history and the sequence of civilisation...the divinities were all along mere figures of allegory and poetics in the literary imaginaire that fictionally pictures what never been. And yet, as Heidegger enigmatically held in section 251 of *Beitrage zur Philosophie:* 'a people are only a people when they receive their history as apportioned by the finding of their God'."

manner in which we live as mortals on earth (Heidegger 1971: 146); it is not a static form of being, but a relational, reciprocal interaction with the world and things in it. In this sense, dwelling, as being in the Fourfold, is inextricably both temporal and spatial- as Malpas sees it, in the double axes of the Fourfold, the mortals-divinities axis is temporal in its invocation of "notions of fatefulness and history" and the earth-sky axis is spatial (Malpas 2012: 32).[47] As Cloke and Jones put it, "dwelling is about the rich intimate ongoing togetherness of beings and things that make up landscapes and places, and which bind together nature and culture over time" (2002: 651).

The notion of "gathering" (*versammeln*), articulated in "Building Dwelling Thinking", is also an important component of the Fourfold, and it is through gathering that the Fourfold becomes spatial. As Heidegger puts it, "gathering or assembly, by an ancient word of our language, is called the 'thing'" (Heidegger 1971: 151). Things help to bring together and perceptibly situate the elements of the fourfold. Gathering is to bring things together in a *particular place*, and to dwell is to be *near* to whatever else is in that place.[48] Cloke and Jones argue that the idea of dwelling helps to explain the complex sets of relations which make up the world, and where "networks fold and

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The idea of "saving the earth", is "rather than rule or control, to allow the earth to appear in its gifts" (Cloke and Jones 2001: 651) Together with the idea of nearness, this has been particularly influential to some environmental thinkers, for example Arne Naess (1968). For some discussion of the application of Heidegger's ideas to modern environmentalism (namely his continued privileging of the "human", and the relationship of some of Heidegger's own environmental views and romanticism to his politics), see Zimmerman 1993 and 2002.

47 It is important to note, as Sharr 2007 points out, "this fourfold does not readily fit the dialectical model of thinkers in rational discussion...It is mythic and mystical, far from the strictures of logic" (Sharr 2007: 33). The elements of the Fourfold are not "scientific" categories. It has been suggested that the Fourfold was inspired by Heidegger's interest in the mystic theologian Meister Eckhart, the philosopher Lao Tzu and the German poet Friedrich Hölderlin. On Heidegger and Meister Eckhart see Caputo 1974 and 1975, esp 1975: 73-74.

48 As Casey 1997a puts it: "With nearness, the Open is not enclosed from without, nor is it fissured from within or gathered as a region or located as a thing: it is specified...as a neighborhood" (Casey 1997a: 292)

form and interact in particular formations, which include what we know as 'places' " (Cloke and Jones 2001: 652).

Heidegger's 1935 lecture "The Origin of the Work of Art" [49] seems to anticipate the notion of place as "gathering" in its description of the Greek Temple, which he describes as "standing there in the middle of a rock-cleft valley" (Heidegger 1971: 40).[50] The building encloses the image of the god, and unites the natural elements around it. Thus, "it is the temple-work that first fits together and at the same time gathers around itself the unity of those paths and relations in which birth and death, disaster and blessing victory and disgrace, endurance and decline acquire the shape of destiny for human being. The all-governing expanse of this open relational context is the world of this historical people" (Heidegger 1971: 41). This passage has been influential in the application of Heidegger's thinking to architecture.[51]

In "Building Dwelling Thinking", Heidegger illustrates the Fourfold with the the example of a bridge:

> "The bridge swings over the stream 'with ease and power'. It does not just connect banks that are already there. The banks emerge as banks only as the bridge crosses the stream...one side is set off against the other by the bridge. With the banks, the bridge brings to the stream the one and the other expanse of the landscape lying behind them. It brings stream and bank and land into each other's neighborhood. the bridge gathers the earth as landscape around the stream....The bridge lets the stream run its course and at the same time grants their way to mortals os that they may come and go from shore to shore" (Heidegger 1971: 150).

The bridge's location within and contribution to the creation of a landscape shows that this active gathering of the Fourfold in which mortals dwell establishes place, while

49 "On the Origin of the Work of Art" (*Der Ursprung des Kunstwerkes*) was first published in *Holzwege* (1950). Hofstadter's translation (1971) is from the 1960 edition (Hofstadter 1971: xxiiii).
50 This temple is usually taken to be temple of Hera at Paestum, which was the subject of numerous works of art. Barbara Babich (2003) has suggested the temple of Apollo at Bassae might be a more likely inspiration. See also Malpas 2012: 336n14. For a further discussion of the temple, see chapter 3 of this dissertation.
51 See Norberg-Shulz 1983, esp 62-63 and 67-68.

places are where things which gather the fourfold appear. In this thinking, mortals contribute to the coming to be of places, while places also play a role in the being of mortals (Malpas 2012: 152-153). As Edward Casey puts it, "Gathering (*versammeln*) is an action that draws things together within a bounded space" (Casey 1997a: 280).[52] Importantly, the bridge creates a place by gathering the fourfold to itself "in its own way" (Heidegger 1971: 151). By way of analogy, we may consider Alfred's *stoclif* as a "gathering", in that it is situated on earth, under the heavens. It is brought into being through the work of the craftsman and as a work, allows for the dwelling ("eardian", Carnicelli 1969: 47.13) of a mortal. The *stoclif* is both a mirror and anticipation of the "ecan ham", "eternal home" (Carnicelli 1969: 47.14) of heaven. Its situation "bi þis wæge" "by this way" or "road" "Carnicelli 1969: 47.15) also creates an important sense of emplacement, equating even the concrete nature of the building with the fleetingness and motion of life represented by the path.

While Alfred may never have actually built such a structure himself, and the description has strong metaphorical components, the function of the image as both concrete image and metaphorical one expresses dwelling on earth as related to being in place. Such images as Alfred's *stoclif*, can help us to understand how Anglo-Saxon authors (if not everyday Anglo-Saxons) conceived of the human condition on earth: exiled from the true home of heaven, the only way to return was to learn to dwell on earth. Such architectural structures and places help to concretize that understanding and the process of dwelling by which heaven is achieved can be understood as a sort of building. Ælfric's hommily on the passion of Thomas, mentioned above, contains

52 On the ability of a thing to "gather" see Sharr 2007: 34.

a particularly important example: through Thomas' actions on earth a mansion in heaven is constructed. It is notable that Thomas rears the heavenly mansion not only through building churches but "freely preaching God's faith","freolice bodigende/ godes geleafan" (Skeat 1881: 406-407, lines 107b-108a). In the next section I begin to examine the conceptual connections between language and building.

III: Building and Poetry

> He would be a poet who could impress the winds and streams into his service, to speak for him; who nailed words to their primitive senses, as farmers drive down stakes in the spring, which the frost has heaved; who derived his words as often as he heard them-transplanted them to his page with earth adhering to their roots, whose words were so true and fresh and natural that they would appear to expand like the buds at the approach of sprint, though they lay half smothered between two musty leaves in a library.."
>
> -Henry David Thoreau, "Walking", 277-278

Having thus established understandings of space and place as they relate to "dwelling", or human being in the world, it is necessary to examine these concepts further in relation to the idea of "building". In the beginning of "Building Dwelling Thinking", Heidegger cautions that in thinking about the question of building, he "does not presume to discover architectural ideas, let alone to give rules for building" (Heidegger 1971: 143), though his ideas on the nature of building have had some influence in architectural thought of the 20th century.[53] Basing his arguments on an original meaning of German *bauen* "to build", as "to dwell", Heidegger argues that dwelling ontologically precedes building and that "building is really dwelling", which "unfolds into the building that cultivates growing things and the building that erects

53 See the work of Christian Norberg-Schulz, in particular. His article on "Heidegger's Thinking on Architecture" outlines the basic ideas as they may apply to architecture. For problems in the application of Norberg-Schulz's work, see Haddad 2010 and Malpas 2014, esp 15-17. Sharr 2007 provides an overview of Heidegger's influence on architecture as well as the problems with it. For the possibility of Heidegger's influence on Peter Zumthor see esp Sharr 2007: 91-104.

building" (Heidegger 1971: 146). Put another way: "Dwelling, insofar as it keeps or secures the fourfold in things, is, as this keeping, a building"(Heidegger 1971: 149). Building, in both the senses of construction and cultivation,[54] brings the Fourfold into a thing, while simultaneously establishing it as a location. As Nader El-Bizri explains "building as a mode of constructing locales is a founding and joining of spaces" (El-Bizri 2011: 64). The element of building as joining will be important in the treatment of poetry and creation in the following chapter.

Heidegger asserts that "only if we are capable of dwelling, only then can we build" (Heidegger 1971: 157). He gives as an example a cottage in the Black Forest, perhaps reminiscent of his own, which the dwelling of peasants "placed the farm on the wind-sheltered mountain slope looking south among the meadows close to the spring. It gave it the wide overhanging shingle roof whose proper slope bears up under the burden of snow, and which reaching deep down shields the chambers against the storms of the long winter nights. It did not forget the altar corner behind the community table..." (Heidegger 1971: 158). Dwelling in the world and building as ontologically related practices are both reciprocally dependent on place and location, and create places and locations as discrete.[55] As Malpas explains, "as it arises out of human dwelling, building must always be a responsive engagement in and with the place in which it is constituted as *building*. There is no rule or formula determining

54 See also the discussion in Heidegger 1971: 215: "Man, to be sure, merits and earns much in his dwelling. For he cultivates the growing things of the earth and takes care of his increase. Cultivating and caring (*colere, cultura*) are a kind of building. But man not only cultivates what produces growth out of itself; he also builds in the sense of *aedificare*, by erecting things that cannot come into being and subsist by growing".

55 For more on the example of the hut, see Sharr 2007: 65-72. The hut is an example of what might be termed Heidegger's "romantic provincialism", an idealization of "country" and tradition over modern, technocratic urbanism. This romanticism seems to be born out in Heidegger's immensely troubling and largely unapologetic affiliation with the Nazi party. See Sharr 2006: 133-134 and 2007: 72-75.

how this is done, not only because there is no formula determining the character of dwelling or of place, but because responsiveness, in any real sense, cannot be determined in advance" (Malpas 2014: 22).[56]

In this work I do not intend to examine in detail the technical practice of building in Anglo-Saxon England so much as the *concept* of building, though the former is surely a profitable field of inquiry that can help us to understand how Anglo-Saxons conceived of building.[57] In this context, the concept of the "hall" in Anglo-Saxon literature deserves mention, though I think reading depictions of built space solely around the concept of the hall is severely limiting, and runs the risk of reducing textual descriptions, events and interactions to over-simplified and romantic ideas of the *comitatus*.[58] As it is commonly viewed, the hall (sele) as the center of social life for Anglo-Saxons (of the upper classes) signifies social order and security (Hume 1974: 66).[59] The image of the hall as an enclosed, structured, and safe space that stands against the outer chaos is well known, not only from *Beowulf* and elegies such as *The Wanderer*, but in the famous passage of the conversion of King Edwin in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (II: XIII). Here, the hall becomes a metaphor for the entire world in which men dwell. Heaven is the *ecan ham* and ultimate dwelling space, and imagery for heaven and halls are conflated in numerous texts.[60] I see the hall as *one* way, but not the only way, in which Anglo-Saxon authors expressed

56 Malpas' emphasis on the nature of place and dwelling as not pre-determined is important to keep in mind when considering the concept of identity in Heidegger. As Malpas proves, against conventional understandings of identity in Heidegger's work, Heidegger's understanding of identity is both dynamic and relational, not static or pre-given (Malpas 2014: 19).
57 The essays in Bintley and Shapland 2013 are particularly illuminating in this respect.
58 On this, see Nicholas Howe's 1998 review of Magennis 1996.
59 On the history and and historicity of hall life, see Magennis 1996: 11-13 for a short discussion and Thompson 1995 for a more sustained one.
60 For example *Guthlac A* 584 describes heaven as "heahgetimbru". "high-timbered", as a hall.

concepts of dwelling, in that it not only provides a space for life and social interactions, but also makes sense of and creates landscapes. For example, Fabienne Michelet demonstrates how halls (Heorot, Beowulf's hall) and anti-halls (Grendel's mere, the dragon's barrow)[61] in *Beowulf* create a landscape of centers and peripheries, highlighting spatial tensions around which the poem is structured (Michelet 2006: 74-114). The close association of construction of Heorot and the song of creation performed by the *scop*, which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter, links ideas of architectural, cosmic and poetic creation. However, following Riedinger (1995) and Howe (2004), I argue that the sense of "home" is as important as the concept of the hall. Focusing on "home" has the advantage of shifting focus away from one specific type of dwelling, and allows for a discussion of elements beyond just a physical building. Howe 2004 demonstrates that natural landscapes often were integral parts of what constitute a sense of "home". This allows for a more interesting and nuanced discussion of the dialogic nature of built and natural space. Keeping in mind Gaston Bachelard's statement that "all really inhabited space bears the essence of the notion of home" (1994: 5), in which built space is a corollary of dwelt space, the more generalized ideas of "home" and "dwelling" take precedence over that of the hall in this work.

Importantly, Heidegger links poetic creation to dwelling and building. In " '...Poetically Man Dwells...'",[62] Heidegger writes that "poetry as the authentic

61 On the anti-hall see Hume 1974: "When chaos and violence take the form of a definite antagonist, a malignant being, its dwelling becomes an anti-hall. This may well be constructed as a normal hall: the home of the Grendel ménage seems to be....More often, the anti-hall is pictured as a negation of one or more normal hall characteristics, or as an internalization of one of the usual "hall" enemies" (68)
62 "...dichterisch wohnet der Mensch...", given as a lecture in 1951 and published in *Vorträge und Aufsätze* 1954 (Hofstadter 1971: xxv).

gauging of the dimension of dwelling, is the primal form of building" (Heidegger 1971: 225). Taking poetry in both its Greek meaning of *poiesis*, "making" or "doing" and its more regular lexical sense, Heidegger sees poetry as linked to building and dwelling in their attempts to "make sense" of being. Poetry does this by "measuring", which Adam Sharr explains as "an activity which approached insight by judging human circumstances alongside each other" (Sharr 2007: 76). As Heidegger conceives it, taking measure is experiential and rooted in dwelling on earth,[63] in that it "gauges the between, which brings the two, heaven and earth, to one another" (Heidegger 1971: 219). Heidegger also discusses the linguistic aspect of poetry, seeing it as a special type of "authentic language" which does not so much express things as it does call them into presence (Heidegger 1971: 196). Moreover, Heidegger states that, "man acts as though he were the shaper and master of language, while in fact language remains the master of man" (1971: 144).[64] Thus, "Heidegger felt that poetry, as he defined it broadly, was a deep human involvement in the world. With its implicit suggestion of making, poetry was not for him about expression but instead a distinctive listening to the experiences of language and inhabitation" (Sharr 2007: 1971). This takes on a nearly mythological element, as Sharr says "poetry inevitably linked the making involved in every individual's own building and dwelling to other acts of making throughout history, aligned ultimately with the creation of the world

63 Heidegger says "Poetry does not fly above and surmount the earth in order to escape it and hover over it. Poetry is what first brings man onto the earth, making him belong to it, and what brings him into dwelling" (Heidegger 1971: 216)

64 This resonates with the idea of metaphoric language as structuring thought and experience discussed in Lakoff and Johnson, above.

and its mythologies" (Sharr 2007: 76).[65] For Heidegger, poetry, building, and dwelling in the world are intimately connected.

Such an understanding of poetry that does not emphasize formal features like metrics and alliteration is usefully in that it also allows for works formally considered prose to be considered. Though there are often conceptual differences between "oral-formulaic" poetry and written prose in reality the two could often be closely connected. This is especially relevant to Alfred's body of work. Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (1997) discusses Alfred's "talking" prefaces, intended for "corporate" reading, that is to be read aloud, and not in solitary silence, a context that is not so removed from the public performance of poetry, or the reading of a homily, as it may immediately seem.[66] This is particularly interesting in the case of Alfred, whose body of work includes both poetry and prose, often revealing a sort of cross-pollination between the two. For example Alfred's prefaces contains some "poetic" elements, such as alliteration. Conversely, James Earl notes that Alfred's poems are "a highly erudite, literate pretense of orality, a metaphor of the written text as speaker of the divine Logos" (Earl 1994: 79). For Earl, a literate text, while it preserves traditional oral features, resists the generalizing of formulaic-theory, but demonstrates ways in

65 This contains several problems, of course. One is the relative devaluation of the individual artist, as the work is seen as primary (See Shapiro 1994). A second is Heidegger's elusive emphasis on "authenticity", in which "authentic" building and language expressed dwelling, whereas inauthentic building or language did not. This limited sense of authenticity is closely related to Heidegger's "romantic provincialism" and is a slippery slope and a short journey into the rhetoric of National Socialism (See Sharr 2007: 87-90 and 103-104 for summary and Adorno 1973 [1964] for a more sustained criticism of what he calls the "jargon of authenticity"). For further problems with this notion of "authentic dwelling" as it pertains to landscape see Cloke and Jones 2001: 656-660. In this work, I am not concerned with questions of "authenticity" in Heidegger's sense, so much as I am the dynamic confluence of influences and sources (both literary and historical) of Anglo-Saxon literature, and do not take poetic statements to be primordial, though I do understand them as helping to create a sense of what the concept of "dwelling" might have meant to the Anglo-Saxons.

66 See also Howe 2002 (a) on the communal aspect of reading.

which a poet not only adheres to but breaks traditional rules (Earl 1994: 80). Such a viewpoint assumes connections and mutual influence between "oral" poetry and "literary" prose, suggesting to me that it is less necessary to draw sharp demarcating lines between the two, and that prose is also worthy of treatment here. Additionally, it is worth pointing out that the Bible, a written text that included both prose and poetry, was doubtless a powerful force in shaping the Christian Anglo-Saxon *Weltanshauung*. The emphasis on written texts as helping one to "build" in Alfred's preface to the *Soliloquies* also demonstrates the potential importance of the written word-and books-in dwelling on earth. All this is not to say that there are not important differences between poetry and prose, but that prose works, as works of language, also have a place in this discussion.

As I argue, especially in the next chapter, conceptual links between creation, architectural construction, and language are apparent and strong in Old English literary texts. An examination of these connections can provide insight into how Anglo-Saxon authors tried to make sense of dwelling in both the terrestrial world of Middle-Earth and particularly England--an island whose landscapes bore both traces of its previous populations and on whose borders some of these populations could still be found-- as well as in the Christian cosmos, a universe they had only recently entered.[67] As Lori-Ann (2011) Garner and Ruth Wehlau (1997) point out, both poetry and architecture (particularly that in wood, the primary building substance of the Anglo-Saxons) involve not only planning and composition but the performative act of

67 For perceptions of the geographic, cosmic and historical situation of Anglo-Saxon England in the context of Christianity, see Hunter 1974, Howe 1989 and 2000, Lavezzo 2006: 1-45 and Michelet 2006: 115-160.

joining disparate elements into a structured whole. Here, language, especially poetic language, provides the raw materials that create the work, conceived as a building of sorts, as visualized in Aldhelm's *Carmen de Virginitate*, for example. For Alfred, the "forest" provides the material and tools to create a built structure, which can be conceived as a metaphor of a literary work.[68]

Although building metaphors abound in Old English, Earl Anderson writes about the "uncarpentered world" of Old English poetry, arguing that Old English lacks precise linguistic expression for architecture, especially in the more archaism-prone poetic lexis. He concludes his piece thus:

" ...in both prose and poetry the language was limited in technical architectural terminology. However, alternative linguistic resources were available as sources of artistic power; buildings could be homologized to natural structures, and although their exterior shapes could not be described in terms of angularity, their interior construction could be described in terms of twists and curves, allowing for emphasis on their durability. The most significant conclusion to be drawn from this study is the evidence that it presents for cultural archaism in the poetry. It provides the perspective of an "uncarpentered" world, with its vocabulary of geometric forms limited to curves and circularity, and with its awed regard for the products of a technologically superior culture (the Romans). Go a certain extent the uncarpentered perspective is supported by the formulaic theme of the ancient *enta geweorc* that has withstood the ravages of time, warfare and weather. Another contributing factor is an element of conservatism in the language itself, which preserved the geometric vocabulary of an earlier age, together with its limitations" (80).

It seems unfair to assume that because our significantly incomplete body of Anglo-Saxon texts does not contain an abundance of technical terms, such words didn't exist at all. Work such as that of Sayers and C.P. Biggam may demonstrate a greater lexical precision than previously granted, and that the error may lie with scholars, rather than

68 Interestingly, in the "Sonatorrek" of *Egils saga Skallagrímsonar,* the Icelandic poet Egil also equates timber, architecture and poetic language.

þat berk út
ór orðhofi
mærðar timbr,
máli laufgat (Stanza 5, ed. Finnur Jónsson)

"I bear out from (my) word shrine the timber of praise, leafed with speech" (translation my own).

The poem contains numerous discussions of trees, partially because the son whom Egil laments has drowned on a journey to fetch timber from Norway(ch 79).

the lexical items themselves. Moreover, Ruth Waterhouse, discussing the construction of Heorot in *Beowulf*, argues that this lack of detail may in fact stem from a different aesthetics and conception of space, in addition to enhancing performance. For Waterhouse, each detail given is necessary for directing the focus of the audience (Waterhouse 1991: 95-6).[69] As Lori Ann Garner puts it, "In architectural representation, verbal and visual "formulas" can reveal complex and sometimes enigmatic relationships with the materials they depict, operating sometimes in tandem with and sometimes against physical reality" (Garner 2011: 30).

However, as Anderson points out, Anglo-Saxon poets who sought to describe architectural structures could employ strategies such as homologizing architectural space with natural structures and the describing of interiors of structures in terms of durability. I think Anderson's understanding of homologizing of built and "natural" space as a result of a limited vocabulary is itself a limited viewpoint, and does not ask the more interesting questions of why authors chose the specific images they did, how such homologies effected (or were effected by) specific world views, and how the "natural" and "built" interacted and inter-penetrated each other. From this point, it becomes necessary to explore what exactly we mean by "nature" and "natural", and finally the concept of "landscape" and its potential a meeting point of the natural and built.

69 See also discussion in Garner 2011: 22-24

IV: Nature, Landscape, Home

"I have a room all to myself; it is nature"

-Henry David Thoreau (Journal, 3 January 1853)

The related concepts of "nature" and "natural world" are deceptively simple, but as cultural critic Raymond Williams points out, "nature" is one of the most difficult to terms in the English language to define (Williams 1980: 67) . Williams traces the history of the idea through the lens of human production and consumption, demonstrating that historical understanding of what exactly constitutes "nature" is "complicated and changing" and sometimes contradictory.[70] The English word "nature" comes from the past participial form of Latin *nascere* "to be born". "Nature", in its classical sense, referred to a cosmological "principle, of growth or change" in which each form "is the potentiality of its successor" (Collingwood 1960: 43-8). The equivalent Greek term is *physis* (φύσις), "coming into being" or "becoming", a word Heidegger also uses.[71] "Nature" could be not only the world of flora and fauna, but a series of supposedly inborn qualities, implying a norm from which it was "unnatural" to deviate, and thus a powerful normative marker (Lovejoy 1927: 444). It is only in modernity that nature and "landscape", as something "out there" have become synonymous with one another (Olwig 1993: 317-320).[72]

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70 For example, Williams writes: "Seneca saw the state of nature as a golden age, in which men were happy, innocent and simple. This powerful myth often came to coincide with the myth of Eden: of man before the fall. But sometimes it did not: the fall from innocence could be seen as a fall into nature; the animal without grace, or the animal needing grace. Natural, that is to say, could mean wholly opposite conditions: the innocent man or the mere beast" (1980: 76).

71 See Collingwood 1960: 29-91 on classical ideas about nature.

72 This bears out in the tiresome "nature" versus "culture" debates. As Olwig points out, the word "culture" is a participial for of Latin *colere*, which means to inhabit, cultivate, protect or worship. According to Olwig: "culture, in the classical sense, was society's way of participating via care (e.g. of the land) in a cyclical natural process in which the natural, in-born potentiality of society and its environment was made manifest" (Olwig 1994: 315). Olwig also points out that the Old Norse word

As Jennifer Neville points out, not only did a "single, particularly Anglo-Saxon cosmological scheme or world view, an Anglo-Saxon 'natural world' " not exist (Neville 1999: 17), Old English lacked a word to describe "nature" in the modern sense of the term, which includes animals, plants, meteorological phenomena and terrestrial and aquatic biomes, and "not the abstract idea of innate characteristics or the religious idea of of the world as a creation of God."[73] This "modern" view of nature, according to Neville is defined by the exclusion of the supernatural and human elements (Neville 1999: 2).[74] In her study, Neville demonstrates that "nature" in Old English certainly included what a modern Western reader would consider "supernatural" and sets the "natural" up as an apophatic cipher for what it means to be human. The natural world, as Neville describes it, represents the "out there" which sets itself against humanity and against which culture measures itself. However, Neville focuses almost completely on the beings which populate the natural world, and not the settings or environs themselves.[75] While Neville discusses these beings as poetic representations of ideas and themes, a discussion of nature that ignores environs and is characterized by the exclusion of humans is also difficult in that it disregards the realities of everyday life that might have informed conceptions of nature for the Anglo-Saxons, such as cultivation, pasturage, hunting, and forestry. Moreover, a discussion of landscape in which people necessarily interact with the world around them would seriously problematize the dichotomy set up by Neville. For example, the

dyrka also has the meaning of "cultivate the soil" and "worship" (Olwig 1994: 316; See also *Svensk Etymologisk Ordbok* "dyrka" and *Ordbog over det Danske Sprog* "dyrke).

73 For the latter, Neville gives the related terms *cynd*, *cynde*, *gecynde* as that which is "inborn" and *(ge)sceaft* for creation and created beings (1999:2) as constituting the Anglo-Saxon idea of "nature".

74 This is a limited viewpoint, of course, and applies mostly to modern, urbanized Western societies.

75 See esp. chapter 2 of Neville's book. For problems with this, especially the lack of setting, see Howe's review of Neville (2001).

Anglo-Latin and Old English *Guthlac* corpus, in particular the Exeter book poem *Guthlac A,* is centered around a landscape in the fens that is partially "other" in that it is inhabited by demons, and like the desert of the Coptic fathers is sought for its remoteness from others. However, as Guthlac claims it, becomes an integral part of Guthlac's spiritual growth and sanctity.[76] The landscape is no less "natural" because it contains a barrow or because Guthlac claims it for God. If we conceive of "nature" in terms of God's creation, *(ge)sceaft*, the idea becomes all-encompassing. When I discuss nature, I mean it largely in the sense of the features of the phenomenal world that are not exclusively man-made, but also include mankind and do not eschew the possibility of the supernatural.[77] However, as the possibility of over-generalization and the multiplicity of meanings, make the term "nature" a difficult one, I will be focusing on the related, but more integrated term "landscape". While this term in many way includes what might be termed "the natural" (as a landscape can include many elements that are not exclusively man-made), landscape also suggests a perspective in which humanity participates as a both a shaper and integral part of a natural environment.

"Landscape" is also not a given concept, and the cross-cultural history of the term requires some elucidation. The term *landscipe* appears incontestably only once in Old English, in line 376 of *Genesis B*, and may in fact owe something to the poem's having been translated from Old Saxon. The term (re-)entered English in the late 16th

76 See chapter 4 of this dissertation.

77 As Karen Jolly points out: "Earlier views of nature therefore appear 'mystical' because nature and supernature were not differentiated. They were perceived as one, both experienced simultaneously through one another, using the senses as well as the imagination. This early medieval holistic view is more than just perception; it is also action: humans interact with nature as a channel to the spiritual. The nature or physical affects human life materially and spiritually, and humans tap the spiritual through the physical" (1993: 225).

century from Dutch, primarily to describe a genre of painting.'[78] The term in this context later underwent a "semiotic shift" in which "landscape" ceased to apply to the style of painting so much as it did that which was depicted, reifying a sense of landscape as a view from a fixed point, or vista. By the 19th century, this had become synonymous with "nature" (Olwig 1994: 618-619). However, variants of the word "landscape" are common in other Germanic languages from the Middle Ages on, and all seem to mean, generally, a "restricted piece of land" (Grimm and Grimm 1855).[79] Kenneth Olwig makes a convincing case that in the various Germanic languages (he focuses on German, Danish, Dutch, and English)[80] landscape included not only land, but the people who inhabited it and their laws and customs, and was thus a powerful factor in the formation of local identities (Olwig 1996: 630-633). Olwig's argument for a return to the "substantive" meaning of the term "landscape" in landscape studies adds depth to its most common uses in 20th century studies (especially those in North America, Great Britain and Australia), which, according to John Wylie, usually understand landscape in three different but related ways: landscape as material record, landscape as a way of seeing, and landscape as dwelling. These terms are primarily rooted in anthropology and cultural geography but can have wider application and prove helpful in thinking through what exactly the term landscape can mean and how to approach it.

78 See Schama 1987 and Olwig 1996: 633-635 for a summary of the term in Dutch. See Barrell 1983 on the use of landscape in England.
79 Landscape comprises of the elements land-, and scape-, in the sense of "shape" or "creation", which according to Olwig designates a "carved out", bounded portion of land (Olwig 1994: 310-311).
80 German: *Lantshaft*; Danish: *landskap*; Dutch: *landschap*. Modern Swedish *landskap* is still in use to refer to a province of the country as well as landscape in a pictorial sense. Interestingly, there seems to be no direct Middle English equivalent.

Landscape as "material record", which derives largely from the geographer Carl Sauer's 1925 essay "The Morphology of Landscape", views landscape as the physical world "out there". Importantly, this does not reduce it to untouched nature, but as the site of interaction between the nature and human cultures, a "dynamic milieu in which the human and the natural both shape and are shaped by each other" (Wylie 2011: 304). For Sauer, "culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape the result (1963:343). While Sauer's work is important as an answer to ideas of environmental determinism, and in its emphasis on the way that humans have shaped the natural world, criticism has been leveled against it for its generalizing view of "culture", and inadequate regard for individualistic expressions of culture and engagement with politics and ideology (Wylie 2011: 307).[81]

On the other side of the spectrum is the understanding of landscape as a "way of seeing". In the oft-quoted words of Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, landscape becomes "a cultural image, a pictorial way of representing, structuring or symbolizing surroundings...[landscapes] may be represented in a variety of materials and on many surfaces...a landscape park is more palpable but no less real, nor less imaginary, than a landscape painting or poem" (Cosgrove and Daniels 1988:1). This view shifts landscape from an objective, material record to an artifact of human perception, or in Wylie's words: "Landscape as a way of seeing thus foregrounds the question of how we look, rather than what we see" (Wylie 2011:306). In understanding landscape as a way of seeing, one may question and criticize the ways

81 For important and sustained criticism, see Duncan 1980 and Jackson 1989.

in which ideology is expressed and represented, particularly in regard to power.[82] "Landscape" then, in the form of painting, literature, or "landscaped" nature such as parks and gardens, becomes an external object onto which ideas are projected. While this work is important in taking apart ideologies and political agendas in works of art and can tell us a great deal about ideas within their historical contexts, in this view, landscapes become disembodied "representations" dependent on subjectivities and ideologies, rather than real things. While viewing landscape as "material record" may disregard the dynamic nature of culture and individuals in shaping "landscapes", thinking of landscape as a "way of seeing" perhaps goes too far in the opposite direction in viewing landscape solely as a subjective construct rather than lived space.

On these views, anthropologist Tim Ingold rejects "the division between inner and outer worlds--respectively of mind and matter, meaning and substance--upon which such distinction rests. The landscape, I hold, is not a picture in the imagination, surveyed by the mind's eye; nor however is it an alien and formless substrate awaiting the imposition of human order" (Ingold 2000: 191).[83] Ingold offers a "dwelling perspective", which focuses on individuals and groups within an environment, rather than self-contained entities encountering the world "out there". Thus, Ingold says "it is through being inhabited, rather than through its assimilation to a formal design specification, that the world becomes a meaningful environment for people" (Ingold

82 For a sustained discussion of landscape as the vehicle for the ideologies of power, see Mitchell 1994. For a view on gender and ideology in landscape studies see Rose 1993. For discussions of representation of landscape as identity-forming, see Daniels 1993 and Matless 1998.

83 Although he acknowledges the critical usefulness of these two views, Ingold nevertheless sees them as a "sterile opposition between the naturalistic view of the landscape as a neutral, external backdrop to human activities, and the culturalistic view that every landscape is a particular cognitive or symbolic ordering of space" (Ingold 2000: 189). Ingold's rejection of the idea of landscape as a "formless substrate" on which humans impose order may appear to contradict descriptions of creation in texts such as *Genesis A*-however, I argue that these texts demonstrate a sort of relational coming into being that creates a sense of order and boundedness, rather than an imposition.

2000: 173).[84] Landscape is not only embodied experience in place but also in within time as experienced in that place, rather conceived of abstract temporal structures or units imposed from without (Ingold 2000: 196, 201).[85] In this, Ingold owes his views to Heidegger's concept of "dwelling" discussed above, and Maurice Merleau-Ponty's ideas of embodiment and perception.[86] For Ingold, "dwelling" is temporal, experiential, practiced and place-bound.[87] Perspective of landscape comes from within, rather than from a detached perspective. As John Wylie summarizes, landscape " is neither a known and represented environment in or upon which meaningful human practice takes place, nor simply that practice itself. Landscape is both-both performative sensorium and site and source of cultural meaning and symbolism" (Wylie 2011: 311).[88] In this, landscape is the embodied interaction of "nature" and "culture" in both their classical and modern senses, and it is impossible to view the two concepts as diametrically opposed, but as dynamic and interrelated. This also explains how "built" space can be a part of landscape rather than excluded from it or viewed as a problematic imposition. This work can also reconcile views of landscape as a material record and as a way of seeing.

84 As Whitridge puts it, "Landscapes are shaped by ongoing histories of place-making, they hybrid conjoining of heterogeneous semantic fields--imaginaries--with the material world" (Whitridge 2004: 243).

85 The experiential temporality of landscapes will be important in both chapters 3 and 5 of this dissertation.

86 See Merleau-Ponty 1964 [1961] on embodied perception and works of art.

87 Phenomenological thinking in landscape, while pursued in the most definitely articulated way in Ingold, can be also observed in Jackson 1984, and 1997, who argued for a perspective of American landscape grounded in the lives of average Americans. Wylie 2011 also points out evidence of the phenomenology's influence in the "humanistic geography" of Tuan and Seamon in the 1970s.

88 Hincliffe 2003: 220 and Whatmore and Hinchcliffe 2010: 444 cite as problematic the phenomenological emphasis on specifically human being in this "dwelling perspective" of landscape, suggesting such a view may be ultimately incapable of overcoming the Cartesian dualism it claims to refute. Instead, they favor Deleuzo-Guattarian "biophilosophy", which itself has takes phenomenology as a starting point (Whatmore and Hinchcliffe 2010: 447-449) . While this perspective may well prove problematic as a starting point for the study of ecological landscapes (when landscape is understood as terrain), it is less so when writing about the ways in which medieval Europeans, influenced by Christian worldviews of varying degrees of anthropocentricity, engaged with and dwelt in their environments.

It may at first seem problematic to discuss artistically produced landscapes in terms of this "dwelling perspective". Are they not representations? What of those landscapes described in Old English that discuss locales other than England, or are vague about providing geographic details? As to the first question, some beginning of an answer can be found in the work of Ingold and Malpas. In his discussion of the "temporality of the landscape", Ingold provides as a case study an example not from anthropology, but art. Ingold suggests that the observer not merely look at Peter Bruegel the Elder's painting "The Harvesters" (1565) as a picture, but that we imagine ourselves within the world with its hills and valleys, paths and tracks, trees, corn, buildings, and people. To imagine ourselves in this landscape is also to imagine ourselves within a very specific moment in time (in an experiential sense even more than historical) (Ingold 2000: 201-207).[89] Jeff Malpas agrees that landscape as a confluence of influences and interactions in art is not "merely" spectatorial, and that we can only understand a depiction of landscape if we first have some sense of that which it depicts, or some aspect of our own experience by which we can relate to it.[90] Malpas explains further that "what Ingold advances is not merely a claim about the

89 Cloke and Jones, however, argue that Ingold's example still depends upon "a fixed gaze upon a framed vista" (Cloke and Jones: 664) and does not fully address embodied dwelling. While this is certainly a concern, this view is limited in that it implies an acceptance of a depicted landscape as static and not without its own sets of unfolding meanings and potentials.

90 See also Bender 1998: 37. Bender argues that representations help add a cultural and historical dimension to practiced landscapes. Similarly, in their discussion of West Bradley Orchard in Somerset, Cloke and Jones argue that "the oneness of dwelling is formed of a complex multiplicity of practice and representation" (2001: 662)

nature of the "lived" as opposed to the "represented" landscape, but rather concerns the relation between the two" (Malpas 2011: 11).[91] This view is similar to the way that, for Heidegger, poetry speaks the nature of dwelling as an involvement with the world, rather than merely represents it. In a similar vein, Robert Mugerauer suggests an "environmental hermeneutics" in which "language enables the environment to come forward into experience" , emphasizing the importance of language for understanding the relations between people and their environs in historical, culturally specific context (Mugeraur 1985: 68). In this sense, literary texts can have a great deal to offer. In my chapter on the *Blickling Homilies* (chapter 3), I will argue for perspectives of different landscapes not as *merely* representational, but also as experienced, in which the public performance of the vernacular homily is meant to place the audience within the distant landscape.

This also raises the question of how can one take this "dwelling" perspective of a landscape that is imagined or removed from the everyday experience of the audience (and author). In the case of the homilies, I will argue that in the course of translation from Latin, the homilist has employed cues to help the audience experience and place themselves in the landscapes he describes, which become embodied through the

91 Robert Pogue Harrison's discussion of the English poet John Clare (1793-1864), whose poetic voice he calls "the most authentic and inalienable voice in modern literature" (Harrison 1992: 212) also seems to collapse the "lived" and the "represented". Clare, who was reclusive and deeply impoverished in a landscape defined by ownership, was also deeply attached to his native environment around Helpstone in Nottinghamshire, and his poetry about this place is lovingly, intimately detailed, written from the perspective of one *within* the landscape, rather than observing it from without. So strong was Clare's sense of emplacement in this landscape that a move to a cottage a mere three miles away aggravated a sense of disorientation and catalyzed the deterioration of his sanity. In particular, Clare's numerous poems on bird's nests give the sense of landscape as not pictorial so much as inhabited, and his lament of a personified Swordy Well speaks from a viewpoint *within* the landscape, lamenting the decimation of its natural environment and original (animal) inhabitants by private ownership and mechanistic agricultural production (See Pogue Harrison 1992: 214-215). See also Barrell 1972 for a more detailed study of Clare's life and poetry and Bate 2000 chapter 6 for further interpretation.

shared experience of the divinity of Christ and the power of God. Nicholas Howe also notes what he calls "imagined landscapes", such as those in *The Wanderer* or T*he Wife's Lament*, "There is little or nothing in these scenes that alters one's sense of what a landscape might potentially be or that strains one's sense of what it is customarily. To the contrary, these Anglo-Saxon landscapes are fixed in terms of conventional features. They are 'imagined,' instead, in that their vividness, the pressure they force upon the poem, reveals much about characters that the poet cannot say directly" (Howe 2002: 105). In such literary cases, we may argue that what is more important is the manifold potential of the landscape: *how* people and landscape interact in the texts, in which the landscape is not a backdrop or container for action, but a medium. Rather than get tangled up in questions of whether or not a landscape is "real" or situated geographically, I examine cases in which fictional landscapes are treated as real and embodied.

Another related question is how the literary landscapes, often produced within a highly educated, literary, and religious milieu, relate to the experience of "every day" Anglo-Saxons. How do we even determine what constitutes that experience? This is admittedly a difficult question, and one that I cannot entirely answer in this work. Indeed, my focus is more on how literary texts generate specific landscapes from the perspective of dwelling. The goal to examine different methods, rather than attempt to discern an overarching methodology. The advantage of adopting a "dwelling" perspective of landscape is that it does not posit one way in which to represent or experience a landscape, but allows for different perspectives, interactions and ways of experiencing. The views in these texts are not externals foisted upon a

native landscape perceived as originally pagan, but ones that interact meaningfully and that their usage and adaptation into the vernacular creates sites of interaction. This allows us to view religious landscapes outside of a strictly opposing dichotomy of "pagan" and "Christian" (like that of "nature" and "culture") but as sites of productive, shaping interaction. Chapter 4, on *Guthlac A*, in particular discusses this adaptation of the "desert" landscape of the Coptic fathers to that of the British fens.

V: Landscapes of Anglo-Saxon Scholarship

Scholarship dealing with landscape in Anglo-Saxon studies is abundant and has examined various senses of landscape in numerous productive ways. While there are many worthwhile studies, it is only possible here to give a brief overview of some of the more common approaches to landscape. Examining the "landscape as material record", archaeological work such as that of Oliver Rackham, Della Hooke and Tom Williamson, for example, have helped to describe the physical conditions in which Anglo-Saxons lived, and how they interacted with the land through of farming, hunting and forestry.[92] In addition to natural landscapes, studies of burial distribution and re-appropriation can be especially revealing as to how Anglo-Saxons not only understood and created spatial relations in the land but also viewed and interacted with

92 See Rackham 1976 and 2002. Rackham's 1976 study is a historical overview of trees and woodland, with substantial material on the Middle Ages (see esp chs 3 and 4: 39-91) and the 2002 piece more generally on the countryside in the Middle Ages. Hooke 1998 provides an overview and history of landscape of Anglo-Saxon England. Williamson 2013 examines connections between topography and society. The essays collected in *The Landscape Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England* (2010, ed. Higham and Ryan) also provide helpful perspectives. All these studies provide ample evidence to drive home the point that the landscape the Anglo-Saxons "inherited" to use Nicholas Howe's (2002) somewhat sanitizing term, was in no way "pristine" and had been by and large assiduously managed since before the advent of the Romans. This is particularly true of woodland. As Nick Higham puts it, "the extent of woodland left by AD 400 in what was to become England was arguably no greater than in 1900" (Higham 2010: 4). For more on trees and wooldand see Bintley and Shapland 2013. On farming, see Banham 2003, 2009, and 2010.

inherited aspects of their landscape.[93] Other works have focused on onomastics, showing how place names not only help us understand vocabulary in relation to the physical environment but also encoded cultural history and can even help get at what constituted a "sense of place" in Anglo-Saxon England.[94] Such studies provide valuable information about the physical environs in which the Anglo-Saxons lived, how they transformed through both human and natural processes, and can even help us get a sense of how Anglo-Saxons conceived of their local landscapes. Landscape archaeology and studies of monumentality of burial sites from the Anglo-Saxon period and those pre-dating it are especially helpful in trying to glean not only Anglo-Saxon perceptions of the land they inhabited, but how politics and understanding of the past played out in the landscape.[95] This work, which often weighs archaeological evidence with literary accounts and descriptions, helps us to form impressions of the "real" landscapes Anglo-Saxons inhabited and how they viewed them.[96]

Studies that tend to treat landscape specifically as a "way of seeing" have become more prevalent since the late 1990s. They are by and large been text-based and discuss "literary landscapes". These studies mine descriptions of landscapes, both inside and outside of Britain, for their symbolic potential, often focusing on source studies. Of particular interest is Catherine M. Clarke's 2006 study of the *locus amoenus,* which discusses how this image of a pleasant, Edenic locus in biblical and

93 For some examples, see Carver 2002; Lucy 1992 and 2002; Meaney 1995; Reynolds 2002; Semple 1998, 2008 and 2013; Williamson 1997 and 1998.
94 As Jones and Semple put it, for the Anglo-Saxons, "people were landscape, and landscape was people. This idea dictated how their sense of place developed. both it and they were, in the final account, one and the same thing and we might expect to find this idea reflected in the place names they adopted" (Jones and Semple 2012: 14). For an overview see Ryan 2011 and Rumble 2011. For an example of the historical element of place names, see Gelling 1961.
95 On the politics of monumentality see esp. Carver 1998, 2001, 2005 and Semple 2008.
96 For examples of landscape archaeology/literary studies, see Semple 1998 and 2013, Wickham-Crowley 2006 and Hooke 2013.

Latin literature, also helped shaped ideas of Englishness when placed in the hands of Anglo-Saxon writers.[97] Alfred K. Siewers' work examines Anglo-Saxon depictions of landscape as symbolic, in particular as they relate to ideas of empire and colonization (2006 and 2009: esp ch. 6). Such studies also help to reveal how biblical and Latinate literature, helped shaped ideas of landscape in the literary culture of the Anglo-Saxons, sometimes super-imposed upon and sometimes blending with more local perspectives.[98] Most of these studies are extremely conscious of the shaping power of Christianity in Anglo-Saxon England in views of the English landscape and a sense of place in the cosmos at large.[99] Such studies rightly enhance our understanding of an Anglo-Saxon perception the world as a middle earth teetering precariously between heaven and hell, and whose landscapes could proleptically mirror either as the situation called for it.[100]

The late Nicholas Howe's work has perhaps been the most thorough and had the greatest impact on Anglo-Saxon studies of literary landscapes as landscapes. His discussions of landscape rely on numerous textual and archaeological sources, and seek to provide a multi-faceted view of the ways in which Anglo-Saxons approached

97 On the l*ocus amoenus* in English literature, see esp. Magennis 1996, Kabir 2001 and Barrar 2004.
98 For example, Nick Higham's discussion of the description of England in Gildas's *de Excidio Britanniae*, shows how Gildas did not mindlessly plagiarize his description from Orosius, his primary source for this, but adapted and expanded it based on his own knowledge of his native land (Higham 1991). While Gildas was not an Anglo-Saxon (indeed, *de Excidio* laments the ruin of the Britons at the time of the *adventus Saxonum*), this description was influential in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History.* Moreover, Higham demonstrates ways in which an author might adapt classical sources based on their own experience. On the other hand, Nicholas Howe's study of the Old English Exodus, though flawed, demonstrates an imposition of Anglo-Saxon conventions on foreign landscapes, showing how Anglo-Saxon authors made such landscapes intelligible. Other work, such as that of Scheil 2013, Michelet 2006, for example shows how foreign settings, buildings and landscapes (both use *Andreas* as an example) demonstrate specifically Anglo-Saxon ideas of space and place.
99 For a discussion of the literary "Christianization" of the Anglo-Saxon landscape see my discussion of *Guthlac A* in ch. 4.
100 For landscapes and architecture of heaven and hell, see ch. 2.

landscape that had already been shaped by previous peoples, from viewpoints inherited from various literatures, and through processes of idealization. Howe describes the landscape of Anglo-Saxon England as inherited, imagined, and invented.[101] Mentioned above, his discussion of the idea of "home" (2004) shows how the idea of home encompassed not only the buildings that people inhabited but (even more so) the land that surrounded them (Howe 2004: 159). Howe's study of charters (1989; 2002; 2004) also show notions of land tenure and possession shaped ideas of place and land, and how the writing of charters created landscapes that were experiential and temporal. This is particularly important in the boundary clauses of charters, which demarcate parcels of land by recognizable features (both built and natural).[102] The landscapes created by charters were not only "invented" but in the act of perambulation, *practiced*.

Recently Stephanie Clark (2012) and Scott T. Smith (2012) have profitably examined how ideas of land tenure and possession have informed and shaped descriptions of landscape in literary texts. Both authors have shown ways in which the legal language of land tenure could also be used in religious context to differentiate

101 See Howe 2002: "To inherit a landscape is to recognize that one is not the first in a primordial or virgin world; it means that landscape always comes with history attached to it or, if that seems too strong a claim, that landscape comes with signs of prior occupation that can and often must be interpreted historically. to invent a landscape is to order the natural terrain, or to impose organizing divisions on it, so that it becomes a human creation; it means that people live in a constructed or bounded landscape that effects the ways they feed, clothe, and shelter themselves. To imagine a landscape is to relate the features of one's topography to one's psychological and spiritual lives; it means that seemingly stable distinctions between the "in here" of the self and the "out there" of the landscape can sometimes be crossed or confused for expressive purposes" (91).

102 See also Millinger 2000. Millinger argues that ease of identification by a community and over generations was one of the prime reasons for choosing a certain feature, built or natural, in a boundary clause. As Howe puts it, "In the charters, landscape is not a vista to be enjoyed but a sequence of signs to be walked" (2002: 102). Della Hooke explains "perambulation of an estate to identify boundary landmarks was a very real activity and this practice was of course continued throughout historical times by the tradition of 'beating the bounds' in Rogation week" (Hooke 1998: 91).

the temporal, *laene* (a word which, as an adjective means "temporary" or "fleeting", but as a noun refers to a temporary grant of land) nature of middle earth, versus the permanence of the bocland (land granted by charter) in heaven. Viewing literary landscapes through the *lenses* of possession and inhabitation encourages views of landscapes that were rooted in every day practices and understandings of real landscapes in addition to the awareness of the overarching Christian cosmos.

Most of the above discussion has focused on landscape in England, though Anglo-Saxon descriptions of foreign, imagined landscapes also exist and will be discussed. However, I argue, these are rooted in a more local perception of what constitutes landscape, and can be best understood as literary sites that combine elements of both the local and foreign as well as various written traditions and descriptive styles.

VI: Outline

The following chapters explore various ways in which architectural and natural worlds, space and place, and ultimately landscapes as sites of dwelling are created through language--not just poetically expressed--in Anglo-Saxon texts. Central to this is the idea of "home" as encompassing both built and natural space, a notion expressed through the idea of landscape as a site of interaction between the "natural" and the "cultural". The natural world can be described as an architectural structure, and architectural space can be described in terms of natural structures. In some cases these two interact and overlap in dynamic ways, and in others ambiguity of language suggests both at once. I argue this demonstrates a concern for dwelling as building as a way of inhabiting the *læne* world.

In chapter 2 I examine in greater depth the connection between language--particularly poetic language-þand the act of creation: that is to say, cosmic creation and the incipience of man and nature, man as nature. Biblical creation is achieved through the *Logos*, the Word of God and in texts such as *Cædmon's Hymn* and the *Order of the World*, the creation of the world is linked to poetic creation both through homology of circumstance and metaphor, demonstrating how poetic ideas of joining, binding, and framing also inform acts of creation. The "song of the scop" in *Beowulf*, which tells of the creation of the cosmos comes shortly after the construction of Heorot, also suggests a connection between architectural construction, composition and performance of poetry and the creation of the world. In the second part of the chapter, I look at this act in one particular poem, *Genesis A*, discussing how the power of language in relation to the shaping of creation and the beginning of history. *Genesis A* (and the inserted *Genesis B)* include the fall of the angels at the beginning of cosmic history to set up a paradigm of emplacement and dislocation that characterizes historical events. Through this deviation from the narrative in the book of Genesis itself, a historical paradigm is set for the relation of mankind to its places and landscapes, especially its concept of "home" and a desire for dwelling, as both inhabiting and interacting with the landscape, as an impetus for action and driving force in this cosmic history. I also examine how the illustrations that accompany the poem in the Junius manuscript express these ideas visually. In particular, I focus on techniques of framing and architectural enclosure as a means of expressing emplacement and dwelling. This discussion will add nuance to what we may term Anglo-Saxon conceptions of dwelling by highlighting how language is linked to

creation, particularly the importance of Christianity in shaping this in setting up a cosmic-historical paradigm of habitation and dislocation.

Chapter 3 examines the formation of sacred space in remote landscapes in two vernacular homilies from the *Blickling Homilies*, an interesting but little examined wellspring of cultural information. In both cases these landscapes, one in Israel and one in Italy, depict architecture existing in a sort of fluid state of conjunction with the natural world. The former, Mount Olivet, is the site of Christ's ascension is both natural space and church, which I argue gathers not only the heavenly and earthly spaces, but past, present and future times. The latter, the church of Monte Gargano, is formed as (partially architectural space) through the combination of divine revelation and human action. In addition, this chapter considers these landscapes through the lens of the performance of the homily as a vernacular but public action directed towards not only clerics but also lay folk. I argue that these narrative homilies contain important information not only about distant landscapes but seek to recreate the experience of these landscapes for the audience, placing them mentally (although physically removed) in these distant places. Through the experience of landscape, the audience is also able to participate in the hierophany of the divine, and thus, proleptically participate in their own salvation. I approach these texts from Ingold's "dwelling perspective", examining these landscapes as dynamic interactions between man and nature that ultimately give the audience a sense of the *act* of dwelling in the world.

Chapter 4 focuses on an English landscape. In the *Exeter Book* poem *Guthlac A*, the hermit saint Guthlac, who takes up residence in the fens that formed a sort of

boundary between Mercia and East Anglia, fights hordes of demons for his new home (mostly by staying in place and saying religious things). In the beginning of the poem, terms for the landscape that Guthlac inhabits are ambiguous, polysemous and fluid, yet through Guthlac's successive victories, won by and large through speech acts, the landscape resolves--transforms, in fact--into something more concrete, pulled within a symbolic order that is both specifically Christian and specifically English. Yet the landscape is not a shapeless mass which becomes structured and bounded via imposition: it comes into being via interaction. The poem's emphases on place, space, and landscape are unique and unparalleled: one could say that *Guthlac A* is very much a poem about place. In this chapter, I also find it necessary to give a brief account of the tradition of eremitism in the early medieval world, from the desert fathers to the Irish hermits to help account for not only the tradition out of which Guthlac comes and his attachment to place, but also to show how the poem straddles its own *mearclond* (boundary land) between differing forms of Christian monasticism and even Christianity and a residual paganism lingering in the English landscape. In this poem, Guthlac's claiming the landscape for God transforms it from an ambiguous wasteland to a *locus amoenus*. However, the place itself is the integral aspect of Guthlac's spirituality and by his loving interaction with and dwelling in the place, Guthlac's sanctity is not only assured, but created. This combines both the Anglo-Saxon understanding of dwelling in this world as proleptic of dwelling in heaven with Ingold's dwelling perspective of landscape as a site of interaction and relations.

In the final, concluding chapter, I discuss how the condition of "exile" which would appear to be the antithesis of dwelling, can in fact be viewed from a dwelling

perspective. I look at how landscapes in *The Seafarer, The Wanderer, The Wife's Lament,* and *The Ruin*, help to emphasize the experiential nature of personal and cosmic time and in the case of the former two, highlight the differences between the fleeting time on earth, and the eternal dwelling in heaven. The poems depict the seemingly paradoxical concepts of dwelling in exile, and non-dwelling while staying in place. Viewing these landscapes not as static or tropological, but through the "dwelling perspective" demonstrates the instability *questionability* of dwelling on earth. These disordered and disorienting landscapes not only provide counter-examples to the harmoniously ordered ones in the previous chapters and but also serve one must not only must mortals "ever learn to dwell" (Heidegger 1971: 149) but must ever question what it *means* to dwell.

A final additional note is that many of the texts discussed here, barring those in the conclusion, owe something to Latin originals and are translations of sorts, however indirect. *Genesis A* owes its main story to the Bible in Latin translation, and Caedmon's Hymn survives in its earliest written form in Bede's *Latin Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*. The two *Blickling* homilies contain direct translations or reworking of Latin sources such as Adamnan's *de Locis Sanctis* and an anonymous Latin homily on the church on Mount Garganus, intended for the feast of Saint Michael. *Guthlac A* has an ambiguous relationship to Felix's *Latin Vita Guthlaci,* and represents one of the more original treatments considered. However, it is evident that the author of the poem had some knowledge of Latin and used sources not found in Felix's life to frame and inform *Guthlac A*. Even Alfred's preface to the *Soliloquies*, difficult to source completely, is couched within a translation from Latin, and refers to

Latin sources as material from which people may draw. However, I think that the ruptures in literal translations, additions, emendations, and innovations are the places in which some of the most interesting treatments of the natural world and human habitation take place, and do bely a particularly Anglo-Saxon attitude about dwelling and place, one that is based in part in Latinate Christian culture, but cannot be fully explained by it. Some of this may be accounted for by the Anglo-Saxon writers' experience with their own landscape and sense of history in it. This is not to suggest one-to-one correspondences so much as literary choices informed by experience. In this way, even nature that appears generic can in fact have a more precise, experiential relation to the texts than has previously been granted.

Coda: Hyle, Silva, and the Forest

Alfred's *stoclif*, Thoreau's home at Walden, and Zumthor's Bruder Klaus Feldkapelle suggest that while we appear to be external from nature, we dwell within it. Dwelling does not mean simply "inhabiting" so much as it suggests a series of interactions and interrelations between humans and the world around them. Zumthor's Bruder Klaus Feldkapelle is not a dwelling space in the sense of a house, but it is in its gathering of the landscape around it and in its attempt to bring together heavens and earth, mortals and the divine. In all three examples, the landscape of the forest plays a particular role: in Alfred's preface, it is the source which makes not only buildings but building implements possible; in the case of the Bruder Klaus Feldkapelle, the forest is the source for the initial wooden structure that was later burned away, but yet still leaves its impression; for Thoreau the Walden woods that

surrounded his cabin inspired not only his dwelling but his writing. The role of the forest and its products is of course a practical one in all cases, but can also be considered through a philosophical lens: the notion of *hyle/silva*. In Classical Greek *hyle* (ὕλη) has the triple meaning of forest, wood, and matter. In classical Greek texts, it is often used for a difficult to pass and densely wooded forest, which armies and people must go around rather than through. As wood, it occasionally means lumber, but more often refers to wood used for smaller-scale carpentry such as thatching.[103] Aristotle takes up the term in book I of the Physics to mean a sort of prime matter, in opposition to form. This was, of course, a thought category rather than a practical one, for Aristotle considered that neither matter nor form could exist without each other, though the latter was logically prior. Additionally, *hyle* was Aristotle's term for and continuation of Plato's *chora* (χώρα), which Plato discusses in the *Timaeus*. Plato equates chora, sometimes translated as "receptacle", with space, "that in which everything is" and from which everything becomes.[104] Aristotle's *hyle* modifies *chora* so that it bears the meaning of "materials out of which" rather than "space in which", and which, importantly, became viewed as potentiality (Van Winden 1959: 243).[105]

Interestingly, this term was translated into Latin as *sylva/silva,* which has the primary meaning of "forest", by Chalcidius in the commentary attending his Latin translation of Plato's *Timaeus* (though Plato himself does not use the term *hyle*). Chalcidius applies *silva* to numerous Greek terms including *chora* and *chaos*.[106]

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103 Liddell and Scott Greek Lexicon ὕλη
104 See *Timaeus* 49-52.
105 On Heidegger and *chora*, see El-Bizri 2004.
106 On the variety of uses to which Chalcidius puts *silva*, see O'Donnell 1945. The discussion of *hyle* among the early Neo-Platonics goes beyond the scope of this dissertation, but for example, see Corrigan 2005: 116-119 for an overview on Plotinus' usage.

Owing to Chalcidius, the *Timaeus* was the only Platonic dialogue available in Latin to Western Europe for most of the early Middle Ages, and was immensely influential, in particular owing to its influence on Boethius's *de Consolatione Philosophiae*, a text also translated by Alfred.[107] The influence is felt in particular during the revival of philosophical Platonism of the 12th century, especially among writers such William of Conches and Bernardus de Silvestris, who played on the double meaning of *silva* as matter and forest in his *Cosmographica*.[108] However, earlier writers also exploited this double meaning. For example, Servius's widely read commentary on the Aeneid glosses the *silva* of I: 314 ("cui mater media ses tulit obvia silva", "his mother came across the path in the middle of the forest") as "quam Graeci hylen vocant poetae nominant silvam, id est elementorum congeriem, unda cuncta procreantur", " that which the Greeks call hyle, the poets name silva, that is the mass of elements, from which everything is created" (Latin quoted in Saunders 1993: 21, translation my own). As Corinne Saunders puts it, "Servius interprets this association of forest with chaos allegorically, equating the landscape of the *silva* with the vicissitudes of earthly life" (Saunders 1993: 21).[109]

107 See Bately 2005 for a summary of ways in which Alfred (re) interprets the Neo-Platonism of Boethius.

108 Bernardus uses both hyle and silva with slightly different meanings. According to Brian Stock, *silva* is "a concrete chaos of the primitive elements", and *hyle*, "more abstract and mysterious, an indefinable substratum" (Stock 1972: 100).

109 The overlapping meanings of *hyle* as "wood", "forest", and "primal matter" seems to have been played upon even earlier by the Greek writer Lucian in his Prometheus. In this text, Prometheus defends himself saying that before he created men: ἡ γῆ δὲ ἄγριόν τι χρῆμα καὶ ἄμορφον, ὕλαις ἅπασα καὶ ταύταις ἀνημέροις λάσιος, οὔτε δὲ βωμοὶ θεῶν ἢ νέως, "The earth was a wild, shapeless thing, overgrown with wild forests-neither were there altars nor temples of the gods" (12:3-5, translation my own). The meaning here is that before Prometheus created mankind to not only cultivate the land but provide ritual order by erecting temples and altars, the world was a *hyle* in both the sense of dense forest and unformed matter.

In Old English, the term *ontimber* (also *antimber*/*andtimber*), which contains the element "timber" , wood", is used to mean both "matter" in general and "building material" more specifically. In his translation of Alcuin's *Interrogationes Sigewulfi in Genesin*, Aelfric glosses *andtimber* as *materia* and even translates Alcuin's Latin "rudis atque informis materia" of Genesis as "ungehiwode antimber".[110] Alfred also uses the term *ontimber* to mean "material". In the preface to the *Soliloquies*, he writes "Nis nan wundor þeah man swilc ontimber gewirce, and eac on þare lade and eac on þære bytlinge", "Nor is it any wonder that one should work with such material, both in the gathering and building" (Carnicelli 1969: 48 lines 4-5). This line links the attainment of the heavenly home promised in the works of the church Fathers (48, lines 1-3) with a following discussion of building an earthly home in which one might abide while on earth, until he earns "chartered land" (*bocland*) from his lord (48, lines 5-9), a phrase which has both earthly and spiritual connotations.[111] In both cases, there is a close association of the practical act of working with physical materials and the written word (the works of the church Fathers, *bocland*). As one builds on and cultivates the land properly so as to gain possession of it from one's lord, so one builds and cultivates oneself, with the help of the Scriptures in order to gain possession of the heavenly home. *Ontimber* here clearly refers to this material in both its physical and metaphorical, literary senses. Nancy van Deusen sees this passage as reflecting ideas

110 "Ne ferde Godes gast worigende ofer þæt wæteru ac þurh his mihte and wissunge to gescippenne and to geliffæstenne þæt ungehiwode antimber" "Nor did God's spirit fare in an errant fashion over the water, but in order to shape and give life to that unformed matter (unhewn timber) through his might and wisdom." http://sites.fas.harvard.edu/~icgzmod/eng103g/Sigewulf_electronic_text/folio232v.htm#

111 See discussion of *bocland* in this passage in Fell 1991: 173-174 and Smith 2012: 125 and discussion above. As Smith puts it, "*bocland* represents the *ece yrfe* of heaven, the eternal land promised by a religion of the book and made more accessible through the writings of the holy fathers" (2012: 125)

about *silva*, saying that whether or not Alfred had been exposed to Chalcidius's ideas about *silva*, "by the time of Alfred's writing, the concept of both visible and invisible materia/substantia as a forest (*silva*) to be worked with as one worked with wood had infiltrated the mental world in which Alfred lived and the concept of silva was reinforced by what he could see around him" (Van Deusen 2011: 94).

Whether or not Alfred had *silva* in mind when composing the Preface, the example of the forest providing not only the raw materials but the tools out of which to build and cultivate illustrates the imaginative power the sylvan landscape exerted. Alfred's forest is not Dante's *selva oscura*, a realm of doubt and hardship to be transversed, but is both pleasing and useful, as both a physical landscape and a metaphor. Likewise, for Thoreau, the forest around Walden Pond is pleasant and supplies Thoreau with not only supplies and sustenance, but material for thought. For Zumthor, timber from a local forest was not only used in the construction of the Bruder Klaus Feldkapelle, but the impression of the forest was left on the interior of the building, a site of individual contemplation and illumination.[112] In all three then, the forest is not only a source of material but a point of origin. As a landscape, it is not a formless mass on which order must be imposed but a series of relations in which things come to be and through which dwelling takes place. The forest in the above texts provides us "wood for thought" with which to approach questions of landscape, building, and dwelling.

112 See Malpas 2014 for a discussion the questionability of place, and relation of dwelling to thinking in Heidegger's works.

CHAPTER 2

Creation, Architecture, and Poetry

I: The Creation of Poetry

> "The winds which passed over my dwelling were such as sweep over the ridges of mountains, bearing the broken strains, or celestial parts only, of terrestrial music. The morning wind forever blows, the poem of creation is uninterrupted; but few are the ears that hear it."
>
> -Henry David Thoreau, *Walden* (61)

This chapter begins at the beginning, as it were. In the previous chapter, I have discussed the relation between concepts of place, building, dwelling, and landscape with some attention to how they can function in Anglo-Saxon literature. With these ideas in mind, I will now turn to the establishment of the cosmos and the order of creation before discussing specific terrestrial landscapes. The first part of this chapter discusses the conceptual relation of the creation of the world to both poetic composition and architectural construction. I show how descriptions of creation and poetry overlap, stressing the value of the word as *Logos* in creating the world. The word is granted special privilege in expressing man's dwelling on earth, so it is no surprise that language for building and poetry should overlap in the context of cosmic creation. Both creation and poetry are conceived of as a type of building which leads to being in place, or "dwelling". Dwelling is not merely occupying a space, but to "cherish and protect, conserve and care for" it (Heidegger 1971: 147). For a Christian thinker in Anglo-Saxon England, dwelling would necessarily involve living according to God's commands. This is emphasized in the second section of this chapter, which

discusses in detail how one poem, *Genesis A*, uses creation as a paradigm and model for both spatial and temporal emplacement. The concept of dwelling, with its connections to both architecture and poetry, helps to explain the unorthodox opening of *Genesis A*, in which creation is a intended for human dwelling, after heaven--envisioned as an architectural structure--has been rendered empty by the fallen angels. I will also consider ways in which the manuscript illustrations accompanying *Genesis A* and *B* elaborate on or emphasize themes of place and dwelling in the poem, and demonstrate how poetic and visual elements can work in tandem to explore and enhance ideas of earthly emplacement vis-à-vis the cosmos. Additionally, I argue that in some cases the poem itself enacts the same spatiality and architecture that it describes, as do the illustrations.

Creation--both as a primal act and as the totality of the world and beings within it--plays an important role in Anglo-Saxon texts, and accounts and descriptions of it appear frequently, particularly in poetry.[1] In the Junius manuscript alone, in addition to the treatment of creation in *Genesis*, both *Exodus* and *Christ and Satan* begin with a short account of beginning of the world.[2] Although *Daniel* does not begin with mention of creation, the "Song of the Three Children" section does contain an enumeration of the the things created by God in the beginning, exhorting all of them to praise their creator (368-96). According to Ruth Wehlau, "The Creation is interesting in that it is both a thing and an act. As a thing it can be described and praised. As an

1 Michelet 2006 lists *Cædmon's Hymn*, *Genesis A*, Riddle 40, Riddle 66, *The Order of the World, Beowulf*, *Widsiþ*, and *Elene*, *Guthlac A, Andreas,Juliana*, and *The Fates of the Apostles* as reflecting on the genesis of the world (37). See also Godden 1994: 210, for the emphasis on creation. To this we may also add *Maxims I*, and *Exodus*, *Daniel*, and *Christ and Satan* in the Junius manuscript. Prose treatises and homiletic material, based largely on exegesis of Genesis, such as that of Ælfric or Wulfstan, will unfortunately be excluded from this discussion for the sake of concision.
2 *Exodus* 22-29 and *Christ and Satan* 1-21.

act, it is the archetype of all creative acts" (Wehlau 1997: 10). Scholars have pointed out that in Old English texts creation is not a creation ex nihilo so much as it is a transforming, arranging, and structuring of pre-existing substance (Wehlau 1997: 33).[3] Both Wehlau and Fabienne Michelet have emphasized the primacy of spatiality in the act of creation: creation is the arranging of space to make it suitable for human dwelling. In this capacity, it is entirely unsurprising to find creation frequently conceived of as an architectural structure, and God the Creator as the supreme architect. The image of the hall as a symbol of created order in both heaven and earth is frequent in Old English poetry and prose, most notably in Bede's account of the conversion of King Edwin in Book II of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*.[4] While not unique to Anglo-Saxon or Germanic sources by any means,[5] the emphasis on creation as an architectural structure intended emphatically *for mankind* is especially prevalent in Anglo-Saxon poetry (Wehlau 1997: 20), and appears to be a confluence of Christian literary influences and Germanic oral formulae.[6]

The architectural nature of creation in Old English poetry is linked to speech through the Word of God (*logos*) and through homologies between the act of creation

3 Fabienne Michelet divides creation into two types: transformation and expansion. As Wehlau, she points out that creation is not ex nihilo but is the treatment of pre-existing space: Creation becomes the seemingly unproblematic metamorphosis of unused expanses into new spaces, the positioning of mankind in a given place (2006: 49).

4 On the concept of the hall, see Hume 1974 and Lee 1972 and discussion in chapter 1.

5 Ruth Wehlau, citing John Block Friedman, lists Philo's *de Opificio Mundi*, and a third century midrash on Genesis. She also gives a few examples from the Bible, e.g. Psalm 101: 126, Proverbs 8:27, and Job, as well as Ambrose's *Hexameron* (Wehlau 1997: 17-18)

6 See Beekman Taylor 1966 and Lönnroth 1981 for discussions of these formulas. Lönnroth sets up the following as a "tentative norm" for creation poetry: "1. X (a mythical sage) should be challenged to tell Y about the creation". 2. X should describe the cosmic order resulting from creation as centered around the basic dichotomy "green and low earth/ high heaven", expressed in the alliterative i*örð/upphiminn* formula (or a slight variant such as *eorðe/uprodor*). 3. Other natural elements, such as the sea, mountains, trees, the sun and the moon should preferably be enumerated". Lönnroth provides examples from Old English in addition to Old Norse, including *Andreas*, *Christ*, and the *Old English Psalms* (Lönnroth 1981: 314-319).

and the composition and performance of poetry: like creation and building, poetry is both thing and act, and is both conceptual and performative (Garner 2011: 4-5). Wehlau and Garner have stressed the importance of "joining" and "binding" in both architectural and poetic creation (Wehlau 1997; Garner 2011: 4). According to Fabienne Michelet "Language is indispensable to validate a new material relation: it defines the space that has just been formed and it claims it for oneself...to combine words and to construct worlds are analogous activities" (Michelet 2006: 40).[7] The Word made manifest creates physicality and with it spatiality and temporality. Through the Word, the world is not only made but made habitable and comprehensible for people. This has obvious resonances in Martin Heidegger's ideas about language and poetry, discussed in the previous chapter. For Heidegger, language is a creative mechanism, the use of which produces the works of art that allow us to understand and relate to the world around us. "To go by the poetic experience and by the most ancient tradition of thinking, the word gives Being" avers Heidegger (Heidegger 1982 [1959]: 88).[8] Heidegger also says that "Language is the precinct (*templum*), that is, the house of Being. The nature of language does not exhaust itself in signifying, or is it merely something that has the character of sign or cipher. It is because language is the house of Being, that we reach what is by constantly going through this house" (Heidegger 1971: 129). As a reminder, Heidegger's understanding of human "Being" is not as a static, abstract condition, but one that is lived, experiential and relational. From Heidegger's viewpoint, language and human *being* are inextricable from one another.

7 See the extended discussion of oral poetics and architecture in Garner 2011, esp. chapters 1 and 2. Garner argues that poetry and building are not just analogous acts but that "the built landscape and contemporary verse were produced alongside and informed by many of the same social, political, and cultural factors" (Garner 2011:11).

8 See also Heidegger 1982 [1959]: 80 "The word is *logos*. It speaks simultaneously the name for Being and Saying."

Several Old English poems not only link poetry to creation but also emphasize creation as worthy of and necessary to praise, further linking the act of creation, human being in the world, and language.

The obvious starting point for a discussion of Old English accounts of creation, it seems to me, is *Cædmon's Hymn*, which was considered by Bede to be the first--and to our knowledge is the oldest surviving--biblical poem in Old English.[9] The popularity of the nine line Old English poem, first recorded in Latin in Book 4, chapter 24 of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, is attested by the fact that it is found (in Old English) in seventeen manuscripts. It is exists in the Northumbrian dialect in manuscript glosses of Bede's Latin, and in West Saxon in Old English translations of the full *Historia*, and in two main recension forms, divided between the two dialect translations.[10] The nine lines of the Old English poem exhort the audience to praise the Lord, who created the world for men, and applies seven different names to God, emphasizing his various roles as creator ("scyppend", 6), guardian ("weard", 1 and 7) and leader ("dryhten", 4 and 8).[11] According to Michelet, this focus on God the Creator "blurs the line between divine and human, material and linguistic creations" (Michelet 2006: 40). "Blurring the line" may not be so much the proper term, but rather "acknowledging" or "creating a homology".

9 Traditionally, the poem is thought to be dated some time between the years 657-680, in which Hild, was abbess at Whitby, and a brief account of whose life occupies the chapter (23) preceding the account of Cædmon in chapter 24. Cronan 2010, however, suggests, based on chronological evidence and the fact that Hild is not mentioned by name in chapter 24, that in fact the abbess mentioned is Hild's successor, and Bede is making an effort through vagueness to link these two important historical personages.

10 For the manuscripts, see Krapp and Dobbie 1936. For an interesting discussion of how the poem appears in manuscripts as an indicator that it was meant to be read aloud see Karkov 1987. The two recensions are the *ældu* and *eorðan* recensions, dependent on which of the two words begins the half line 5b.

11 The term "ece Dryhten" appears twice in the poem (lines 4 and 8). The only line to not include a name for god is line five, which still utilizes the pronoun "he".

As the background story is recounted in Latin by Bede,[12] the cow-herd Cædmon spends most of his life illiterate and thoroughly unmusical, accustomed to fleeing gatherings when a harp is produced and singing begins. On one such night, Cædmon dreams that he sees "someone" (Latin: "quidam":Old English: "sum mon"), presumably an angel, who commands him to sing the beginning of created things ("principum creaturum"). Cædmon does so upon waking and, after entering the religious vocation, spends the rest of his life producing divinely inspired poetry on suitably pious topics. However, the only surviving poem of Cædmon's oeuvre is the nine line Old English verse, which, as we have it, is a translation of the Latin translation of the original.

The poem is as follows:

Nu sculon herigean heofonrices weard,
meotodes meahte and his modgeþanc,
weorc wuldorfæder, swa he wundra gehwæs,
ece drihten, or onstealde.
he ærest sceop eorðan bearnum
heofen to hrofe, halig scyppend;
þa middangeard moncynnes weard
ece drihten, æfter teode
firum foldan, frea almihtig.[13]

"Now we must praise the guardian of the kingdom of heaven, the measurer's might and his mind/intent, the work of the father of glory, since he, the eternal lord appointed the beginning of each wonder. He first shaped the heaven as a roof for the children of earth, the holy shaper; then middle earth, the guardian of mankind. The eternal lord then created/ designated the earth for men (or adorned the earth for/ with) men, the almighty master."[14]

12 Orchard 1996 has argued that it is likely Bede "Latinized" the previously oral tale of Cædmon in his *Historia*. Cronan 2006 presents evidence suggesting a patterning similar to that of Hesiod in Bede's story (see 384-90). On analogues see Lester 1974 and O'Donnell 2004 and 2005 for a review. Cronan 2006 also reviews some of these, esp. the "analogue" of Mohammad (392-394).
13 West Saxon *eorðan*- recension from Dobbie 1946.
14 Translation my own. For the most part, I follow Dobbie's punctuation, excluding lines 7-8, which I base on Conway's interpretation outlined below.

The poem is both expansive and concise. While its nine lines contain eight different names for God, each of which describes a different aspect of the Almighty in relation to mankind,[15] the poem distills the act of creation into a few essential lines. While the formal aspects of the poem have been maligned as unimpressive by critics,[16] Charles Abbott Conway suggests an elegant structural complexity. He proposes that we read the poem as a tripartite celebration of creation, which I think is worth consideration. The first four lines exhort the reader to praise the Lord's *meahte*, *modgeþanc*, and *weorc*.[17] The second part, lines 5-7, details the act of creation of the heaven and earth for men, and the third the adornment of earth for or with people.[18] He sees the physical act of creation as also taking place in three temporally distinct parts: first God shapes heaven as a roof ("He *ærist* sceop eorðan bearnum/ heofen to hrofe, halig scyppend") and then middle earth, ("*þa* middangeard", which Conway takes to be a second object of "sceop"), and finally adorns it. Additionally, Conway looks at numerical proportions in the words and syllables of the poem, and that these orders and proportions are meant to give a sense of the order and proportion of

15 *Cædmon's Hymn* contains 7 distinct names for God, and one of them, *ece Dryhten*, is repeated. Of the nine lines, the only line that does not contain a name, line 5, contains the pronoun he, referring to God as the shaper.

16 See summary in Morland 1994: 347-348.

17 Conway sees this triad, rendered in Latin as *potentia*, *consilium* and *facta*, as containing philosophical echoes reaching back to Aristotle. *Potentia* is the principle by which a thing exists, or as Conway puts it "the seed or matrix". *Facta*, nearly synonymous with *operatio*, is the actuality of the thing (Conway 1995: 41-42). According to Conway, "in the *Hymn*, the bond between *potentia* and *operatio* is *consilium*, which is that which takes the bodiless potential of being and gives it essence, from which it takes form and substance" (Conway 1995: 42). This is especially interesting considering the discussion of *hyle* in the previous chapter. On modgeþanc as consilium see Bloomfield 1963: 141-143.

18 Conway 1995 takes *firum* as an instrumental rather than a dative, arguing that after the earth is created for men, the lord then peoples it with them (41), showing more distinct phases of creation. I see no particular argument against this reading, though the acts of shaping and adorning are distinct enough regardless of whether we read firum as an instrumental or an indirect object. This requires one to read *teon* as "adorn" rather than "create, ordain", a reading that is attested to a lesser degree (Bosworth-Toller: *teon*).

creation itself (Conway 1995: 44-45).[19] [20] Indeed, God is called a "measurer" ("meotod") in line 2 of the *Hymn*. In addition to the potential of the formal aspects of the poem demonstrating the ordered, measured aspect of creation, a few important aspects of the poem to keep in mind are the shaping of heaven as a roof (an architectural structure), and the anthropocentric nature of creation in that it is described as being specifically for men, which, as it has been pointed out, is a unique feature of Anglo-Saxon texts on the matter. These are all features we will see repeated in the texts discussed below.

Latinate Christian versus "native Germanic" elements of this poem have been topics of considerable scholarly discussion. Bernard Huppé, for example, sees the poems as reflecting a patristic idea of creation which divided creation *in principio* and then the creation of heaven and earth in time (Huppé 1949: 114). Huppé and others have also pointed out the potential relation of the architectural aspect of creation in *Cædmon's Hymn* ("he ærest scop heben to hrofe) to Isaiah 40:22 "qui extendit velut nihilum caelos, et expandit eos sicut tabernaculum ad inhabitandum", "he stretcheth out the heavens as nothing, and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in".[21] Others,

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19 Based on his own division into segments, Conway states "in the first segment there are 20 words and 40 syllables; in the second there are 14 words and 25 syllables; in the third there are 8 words and 16 syllables. The number of words in the second segment of Cædmon's Hymn represents the arithmetical mean between the first and third. the number of syllables in the second segment is within a fraction of the geometric mean. Both sets of relations suggest that the segments of the poem are elements in a proportional system" (Conway 1995: 45). While we may not need to accept Conway's divisions, his work does suggest both an interesting structural complexity and an attempt to forge homologies between the poem itself and creation.

20 Conway cites Job 38:4-7, Isaiah 40:12, and Sapientia 11:2 ""Omni mensura et numero et ponder diposuisti" as indicators that God intended Creation to be in proportion and measured (44-45). Measuring of creation will be discussed further below.

21 Huppé also points out Bede's quotation of St. Clement's account of creation: " In the beginning when God made the heaven and earth, he made it like to one house...[what in the beginning] was one house, He divided into two regions; the reason for this division was that the upper region was the dwelling of angels; the lower, in truth, He granted to men" (quoted in Huppé 1959: 114-115). For more on a the Christian aspects of the poem, see Blake 1962 and Fritz 1969.

focusing on the "formulaic" nature of the poem,[22] have found that formulas in *Cædmon's Hymn*--as well of elements from the surrounding story--appear similar to those in other Germanic creation texts, especially those from Old Norse-Icelandic literature.[23] Both Constance Hieatt and Laura Morland have discussed the Cædmon story through the lens of Lars Lönnroth's German "creation theme", which hinges around the alliterative pair "iörð...upphimmin".[24] The adaptation of native poetic forms for Christian purposes in *Cædmon's Hymn* affirms Albert Lord's statement that when the Anglo-Saxons became Christian, the new culture had a quicker effect on ideas than poetic style, resulting in "an amalgam of two cultures, the vernacular with its own developed oral-traditional literary style and the new Christian Latin culture " (Lord 1991: 20-21).[25]

Cædmon's Hymn is both a poem describing creation and--at least by widespread opinion and imagining--also something of an origin itself in that it is considered by modern scholars (as well as Bede) to be the first religious verse in Old

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More recently, Thomas D. Hill and Charles D. Wright have identified a few sources, including John Chrysostom's second homily on Genesis I and an excerpted "Augustinian" saying from Prosper of Aquitaine, that demonstrate that the idea of God first shaping heaven as a roof and then founding the earth was current in patristic circles (2014)

22 Donald H. Fry (1974) has proved that every half line can be considered formulaic and has parallels in other Old English poems. In using the term "formula" he adapts Magoun's definitions of systems and formulas in Anglo-Saxon poetry thus: "A System in Old English formulaic poetry may be defined as a group of half-lines, usually loosely related metrically and semantically, which are related in form by the identical relative placement of two elements,one a variable word or element of a compound usually supplying the alliteration, and the other a constant word or element of a compound, with approximately the same distribution of non-stressed elements" (1967: 203) and a formula is "a group of words, one half line in length, which shows evidence of being the direct product of a system" (1967: 204)

23 This does not, of course, preclude the potential that Norse texts such as *Völuspá* were influenced by Christianity.

24 As Cædmon's Hymn does not have these exact alliterative elements, Lönnroth does not include it. Both Hieatt 1985 and Morland 1994 argue that the Cædmon story, however, does in fact fit the type-scene outlined above. Another interesting example is the Old High German Wessobrunner Gebet, which describes the chaotic and boundless state prior to God's creation. See Lönnroth 1981: 312-313.

25 For a similar discussion of the overlap and polysemy of Christian versus pagan meanings in poetic diction, see Robinson 1980 ch 2, esp. 30 and 34-5 .

English. Moreover, the poem exhorts others to acts of praise ("we scylun herigan", 1). Additionally, Conway points out that "the care with which *Cædmon's Hymn* seems to have been crafted implies that the poet wished in some way to mirror something of the intricacy and form of the world itself. The *mæcti*, *modgidonc*, and *uerc* of God find an echo in the power of the poet to conceive a poem on the one hand, and the poem in itself on the other, mediated by wisdom and skill necessary to bring the idea to fruition" (Conway 1995: 45).[26] In this sense, *Cædmon's Hymn* is important as an attempt to describe the act and scope of creation and poetically mimic its order and balance. Even this early verse emphasizes connections between poetry and creation. Moreover, the poem's focus on creation as a structure *for men* creates a sense of human dwelling and habitation, thus setting up what seems to be a key concern in poetic accounts of creation.

The connections between creation, poetry and construction are even more evident in the building of Heorot and the song of the scop in *Beowulf* 68-79 and 90b-98 respectively. The song of the scop creates a narrative link between the building of Heorot and the onset of Grendel's depredations and the construction of Heorot seems to mirror cosmic creation. First, it comes to Hroðgar's mind "þæt healreced hatan wolde,/ medoærn micel men gewyrcean/þonne yldo bearn æfre gefrunon" "that he would order men to create a hall, a great mead-house, that the children of men would hear of forever"(68-69).[27] Hroðgar employs men from all over the earth to adorn the hall: "Ða ic wide gefrægn weorc gebannan/ manigre mægþe geond þisne middangeard,/ folcsted frætwan", "Then I have heard that the work was ordered to

26 *Mæcti*, *modgidonc*, and *uerc* are the Northumbrian forms.
27 Old English text from Klæber 1928. Unless otherwise noted, translations are my own.

many people throughout this Middle-Earth that they adorn the peoples' place", 74-76a). Finally, "hit wearð ealgearo,/ healærna mæst; scop him Heort naman/ se þe his wordes geweald wide hæfde" , "it became entirely ready, the greatest of halls; he shaped the name Heort for it it, whose word had power far and wide" (77b-79).[28] The perspective shifts briefly forward in time to the ultimate destruction of Heorot,[29] before moving spatially outward, describing the suffering of Grendel, who listens from where he dwells in the shadows ("in þystrum bad", 87b) to the joy in the hall, where "þær wæs hearpan sweg,/ swutol sang scopes", "there was the sound of the harp, the sweet song of the scop" (89b-90a). The *scop* sings of the creation:

Sægde se þe cuðe
frumsceaft fira feorran reccan,
cwæð þæt se Ælmihtiga eorðan worhte,
wlitebeorhtne wang, swa wæter bebugeð,
gesette sigehreþig sunnan ond monan
leoman to leohte landbuendum,
ond gefrætwade foldan sceatas
leomum ond leafum, lif eac gescop
cynna gehwylcum þara ðe cwice hwyrfað

"He who knew to recall from far back told the creation of men, said that the Almighty created the earth, the beautiful(bright) field, as far as water surrounds it; exalting in victory he set down the sun and the moon, luminaries as light for land-dwellers, and he adorned the corners of the earth with branches and leaves; he also shaped life for each of the kinds that move, living" (90b-98). [30]

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28 The name Heorot means a stag or male deer. Though Klaeber notes that the hall supposedly received its name form the horns fastened to the gables (or the horn gables themselves) (1928: 128), the meaning of "stag" seems as plausible if not more. The word is also used in line 1369 to describe a stag that would rather be killed by hunters than enter the mere of Grendel's mother. This seems to set up a contrast between the two abodes. Wrenn 1959: 518 and Lee 1969: 82-83 also discuss the possible scriptural associations with the stag, as in Psalm 41:2 : "Quemadmodum desiderat cervus ad fontes aquarum, ita desiderat anima mei ad te, Deum", "As the hart panteth after the fountains of water; so my soul panteth after thee, o God".

29 "Sele hlifade heah ond horngeap; heaðowylma bad/ laðan liges; ne wæs hit lenge þa gen,/ þæt se ecghete aðumsweoran/ æfter wælniðe wæcnan scolde" "The hall towered, high and horn-gabled; it awaited hostile flames, the fire of the enemy; it was by no means long that the hostility (sword-hate) should awake among the oath-swearers, after deadly hate" (81b-85)

30 Klaeber points out that lines 97b-98 call to mind Genesis 1:21 "creavitque..omnem animam viventem atque motabilem."

The next lines, "Swa ða drihtguman dreamum lifdon/ eadiglice, oð ðæt an ongan/ fyrene fremman feond on helle", "thus the retainers lived in joy, blessedly, until one began to commit crimes, the fiend in hell" (99-101) create a hinge, suggesting an idyllic, pre-lapsarian state for both the protoplasts (or perhaps angels) and the retainers in Heorot, before the peace is shattered by the "fiend in hell". Though the language of this passage is undoubtably Christian, Paul Beekman Taylor points out that the construction of Heorot has numerous parallels to the construction of Ásgarð in the Eddic poem *Völuspá.*[31] Taylor points out that in the two poems, the order of creation is the same: "(1) land surrounded by water, (2) light, (3) vegetation, apparently trees in *Beowulf* and the green leek...in *Völuspá*, and (4) living creatures" (Taylor 1966: 124). Additionally, in *Völuspá*, the gods construct a temple and altar: "Hittoz æsir/ á Iðavelli/ þeir er hörg ok hof/ hátimbrðo", "the Æsir met on Iðavöll, they who constructed a temple and altar" (7), which Taylor takes to be Ásgarð.[32] Taylor further points out that both Ásgarð and Heorot will be destroyed by fire and this destruction can be related to the breaking of an oath (Taylor 1966: 126),[33] concluding that in the poetic account of creation and construction is a point where

31 Unless otherwise noted, quotes from *Völuspá* are from Dronke's 1997 edition and translations are my own.

32 See Dronke1997: 119 and Turville-Petre on sources for this. Dronke also notes that the verb hátimbra only occurs here and in stanza 16 *Grímnismál*, which states that Njörðr, rules the "high-built shrine" ("hátimbroðom hörgi ræðr"). It is interesting to note, however that in these two instances, the phrase always refers to a construction connected to the divinities. The Old English equivalent, heah-getimbre, is much more common.

33 In lines 83b-5 of *Beowulf*, the allusion seems to be to the breaking of vows between Hroðgar and Ingeld, the latter of whom burns Heorot. For a different view, see Eliason 1980. In *Völuspá*, the oath breaking is the reneging on the promise to marry Frejya to the giant builder of Ásgarð (25-26). See Dronke 1997: 44-46.

pagan and Christian (though perhaps, biblical and Germanic may be more appropriate) traditions meet and inform one another (Taylor 1966: 128).[34]

In *Beowulf*, similar verb forms of *wyrc(e)an* (69b, 92b) and *fraetwan* (76a, 96a) link the creation of the hall and the cosmos as something first wrought then adorned, as in *Cædmon's Hymn*.[35] Embedded in the two creations is the implication of praise and memory in relation to creation. Hrothgar desires a great mead hall that "yldo bearn (cf "ylda bearn" in the yldu-recension of *Caedmon's Hymn*) æfre gefrunon", " the children of men would hear of forever" (70). Similarly the *scop* has the ability to recall the creation of men (" se þe cuðe/ frumsceaft fira feorran reccan" (90b-91). Additionally, lines 78b-79 ("scop him Heort naman/ se þe his wordes geweald wide hæfde" "he (Hroðgar) shaped the name Heorot for it, who had the power of the word far and wide") call to mind God's creative power of *Logos*. The verb *scop*, the past tense of *sceppan*, in relation to naming is also used to describe God's creation of light and darkness in lines 128 and 140 of *Genesis A*: "scop þa bam naman/ lifes brytta. leoht wæs ærest/ þurh drihtnes word dæg genemnod", "he shaped names for both of them, the giver of life. Light was first named day through the word of the lord" (128b-130) and "þrang þystre genip þam þe se þeoden self/ sceop nihte naman", "the shadowy darkness pressed all around, for which the Prince himself created the name night" (139-140a).[36] In these phrases, naming is a creative process which affirms the being of things. In line 105 of *Beowulf*, God is the "scyppend,"

34 See also Lönnroth 1981: 314-319 and 323 and Robinson 1980: 34-35.
35 Manes 1994 rejects Klaeber's emendation of e*orðan worh* to *eorðan worhte*, instead suggesting that we read this half line as *eorð andw(e)orc*, meaning "substance of earth". While I find this reading a bit problematic and prefer Klaeber's emendation, it is interesting to note out that andweorc can parallel *an/on(d)timber* as a sort of primal substance.
36 Doane notes that although the expression is formulaic (it also appears in *Exodus* 38a), it "also suggests the Augustinian doctrine that the thing was created through the Word by the very act of conceiving (naming) it". Doane cites *De Genesi ad Litteram* I:10, 18-20. (Doane 2013: 297)

"shaper".[37] To this we may add the "scop" of line 90. While it has been long argued that *scop* and *sceapan* are not in fact etymologically related,[38] I think it is safe to say that the very near homophony of the two terms, especially in this passage, would not have escaped an Anglo-Saxon audience and would have created an aural connection between the poet and the creators. The performance of creation after the building of Heorot furnishes a link between architectural creation, cosmic creation, and poetry as related acts.

The Exeter Book poem *The Order of the World* [39] equates cosmic creation and poetry even more clearly. Contemplation of creation and its wonders, of which the sun is stressed in particular, are the sources of inspiration, praise, and salvation. The special powers of the poets are models or become generalized for the praise which each individual owes to God, and whereby each individual ("we" 31, "mon*" 98,* "æghwylc ælda bearna" 100) obtains salvation. In this way, the poem manages to link the very specialized craft of poetry with a more basic life in the world for all *wera cneorissum*.

Scholars divide the poem into three parts, an invocation of the poet's craft (1-37), a demonstration of that craft through depiction of the created world (38-81) and a repetition and elaboration of themes in the first part, which "develops them further by presenting the mystery of Creation in terms of a great building erected by God" (Wehlau 1997: 34) which each person ("gehwylc ælda bearna", 99) may understand

37 It is used in the context of describing Grendel's origins as kin of Cain whom "Scyppend forscrifen hæfde" (105), and whom God "hine feor forwræc, Metod for þy mane mancynne fram" " he exiled him far away from mankind, the Measurer, for his crime" (109b-110). It is interesting here that God's role as the shaper and measurer of creation is highlighted in relation to his casting out Cain and his kin far from mankind (for whom, we have seen, creation is intended).

38 See Hollowell 1977: 317 for a summary of the scholarship. Heusler and others connected the term to Old High German, scoff/scopf, which gives us modern English "scoff", perhaps reflecting the poet's role as a satirist. Egon Werlich 1964 rejects this, seeing the origin of scop in the Germanic root *skopan, which has created a number of words in Germanic languages meaning to "dance", "spring", or "play", seeing the scop's role as initially priestly. On the role of the poet in Anglo-Saxon England and a dismantling of the romantic notions of the itinerant bard, see Thornbury 2014.

39 All citations of the *Order of the World* from Krapp and Dobbie 1936. Translations are my own, unless otherwise noted.

(and attain) should they think to their lord and forsake earthly joys (81-end). DiNapoli calls this a "cautionary coda", which exhorts obedience to the will of God, "thereby balancing the rather exalted notion of the poet's powers expressed in the first two sections" (DiNapoli 1998: 97).

In the opening section, the author, who refers to the mantic poet, perhaps himself, as a "woðbora", **"**prophet**"** (2) and "felageongne", "much traveled**"** (3), links his craft with that of those of his forbears, whom he describes thus:

Geara iu gliwes cræfte
mid gieddingum guman oft wrecan
rincas rædfæste cuþon ryt sprecan,
þæt a fricgende fira cynnes
ond secgende searoruna gespon
a gemyndge mæst monna wiston"

"...long ago through the craft of song, with riddling lays,...often recounted, [they who were]men of sure counsel; they knew how to speak rightly, so that always inquiring and speaking the joining of mysteries, always remembering, of the whole race of men they knew the most" (11-16).[40]

Who these men are precisely remains (perhaps deliberately) cryptic, as they can be both poets of the native Germanic tradition and psalmists and prophets of the Old Testament.[41] Some light may be shed by the next few lines. Linking these articulate men of the deep past with the present, the poet says "Forþon scyle ascian, se þe on elne leofað,/ deophydig man, dygelra gesceafta,/ bewritan in gewitte wordhordes cræft, fæstnian ferðsefan, þencan forð teala", "therefore one should ask, he who lives courageously , the deep-minded man, concerning hidden creation, record in his mind, the craft of the word-hord, fasten it in his breast, think forth well" (17-20).[42] The inquiry into "dygelra gesceafta", "hidden" or "secret creation", and subsequent disclosure thereof is, according to Geoffrey Shepherd, precisely the realm of prophecy

40 *Gespon*, either "prompting" or "joining, linking" (Bosworth-Toller: gespan). I find the latter meaning to make better sense, in addition to corresponding with the architectural imagery.
41 See Hollowell 1977 319-328 on the role of the *woðbora*. She argues for originally distinct roles of the *scop* and *woðbora*, seeing the *woðbora* as a traveling mantic poet also charged with instruction, akin to the Celtic *filid*. The term *woðbora* in this capacity can also describe the Old Testament prophets, as it does in *Christ II,* who could also be perceived as filling this role. *Woð* is related to Old Nors *óðr*, a mantic ecstasy, which is found in the name of the god Óðinn.
42 Wehlau sees these lines as potentially echoing the idea of l*ectio divina,* in which monks were advised to inscribe the words of the scriptures in their hearts (Wehlau 1997: 37).

(Shepherd 1954: 117).[43] Shepherd additionally gives evidence for the linking of song and prophecy in both biblical and Anglo-Saxon traditions (Shepherd 1954: 118, 122).

What is clear, though, is that these *woðboran* serve as precedents for the knowledge and craft that the speaker of *The Order of the World* purports to possess. Inquiry, contemplation, (perhaps) audition, and articulation of the mysteries of creation are noble tasks for the deep-minded of the past and present. The use of "forþon", "therefore" in line 17, as therefore, seems to encourage this link. As DiNapoli puts it, the poet "is not so much recommending their texts as objects of study as holding up their inspired example as one to be followed and reproduced...It is poetry itself, the power of the *wordhord,* its disciplines and exertions, that opens up the secret things of creation to poets past and present" (DiNapoli 1998:101). Like Cædmon and the *scop* of *Beowulf,* the poets in the *Order of the World* are not only inspired primarily by the act and continuing mysteries of Creation, but they rely on the practice of memory and inquiry to articulate it, which results in an act of praise.[44] Memory is not merely the act of not forgetting: it is an active process of thought: through contemplation and interpretation of creation, poets re-create it through their words (Wehlau 1994: 74).[45]

Ruth Wehlau also stresses the architectural nature of creation in *The Order of the World,* pointing out images of joining and fastening, just as oral poetry puts its emphasis on joining and fastening elements together (Wehlau 1997: 40).[46] After

43 Shepherd cites Gregory the Great's homily on the first book of Ezekiel: "recte prophetia dicitur, non quia prædicit ventura, sed quia prodit occulta" (I: I). "Prophecy is rightly called not that which predicts the future, but that which reveals hidden things".

44 In *The Order of the World* 31-35a "Ac we scolon þoncion þeodne mærum/ awa to ealdre, þæs þe us se eca cyning/ on gæste wlite forgiefan wille/ þæt we eaðe magon upcund rice/ forð gestigan", "But we should praise the great prince, always for ever, since the eternal king will give to us spiritual beauty that we may easily arise to the kingdom above."

45 On depictions of remembering as an active process of creation in the Middle Ages, see the summary of ideas in Carruthers and Ziolkowski 2002: 1-23.

46 Interestingly, in *Háttatal*, the third part of the *Prose Edda*, Snorri Sturluson discusses alliterating elements of *drótkvætt* poetry known as "stave" (*stafr*) and "prop" (*stuðill*), both of which have architectural meanings. *Stuðill* is cognate to Old English *staþol*, meaning a foundation. See Faulkes 2007:4. The term can also be used to describe letters (as the most common meaning in Old English), or runes. Though it is rarely used in an architectural context in Old English, this usage is well attested in

advising the audience, "gehyr nu þis herespel ond þinne hyge gefæstne*",* "hear now this story of praise and fix it in your mind"(38), the poet recounts first creation in language clearly based on that of Genesis and a loose translation of the first part of Psalm 18.[47] In lines 43-4, the poet says "forþon eal swa teofanade, se þe teala cuþe, æghwylc wiþ oþrum", "Thus he who knew well joined each thing with others".[48] The creative acts of the Lord "bear forth shining praise" ("lixende lof", 49a*),*[49] as the heavens and firmament declare the Glory of God and his work in Psalm 18. Robert DiNapoli notes tense shifts from past to present in lines 41-2, saying "the shift to the present tense, further emphasized by the adverb *nu*, creates a dizzying perspective that links the first creation in the unfathomable deeps of time with the splendors as they can be seen by men in the poet's present" (DiNapoli 1998: 102). The shift from past to present tense in line 47 serves to create a further link between creation in the past

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Old Norse and the modern Scandinavian languages (Cleasby-Vigfusson, stafr, 586-587). I argue in ch. 4 for one instance in which *stæf* seems to have a poetic and architectural sense.

47 Caeli enarrant gloriam Dei, et opera manuum ejus annuntiat firmamentum.
Dies diei eructat verbum, et nox nocti indicat scientiam.
Non sunt loquelae,neque sermones, quorum non audiantur voces eorum.
In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum.
In sole posuit tabernaculum suum; et ipse tamquam sponsus procedens de thalamo suo.
Exultavit et gigas ad currendam viam;
A summo cael egressio ejus. Et occursus ejus ad summum ejus; nec est qui se absoncat a calore ejus.

"The heavens shew forth the glory of God, and the firmament declareth the work of his hands.
Day to day uttereth speech, and night to night sheweth knowledge.
There are no speeches nor languages, where their voices are not heard.
Their sound has gone forth into all the earth: their words unto the ends of the world.
He hath set his tabernacle in the sun: and he, as a bridegroom coming out of his bride chamber, hath rejoiced as a giant to run the way:
His going out is from the end of heaven, and his circuit even to the end thereof:
and there is no one that can hide himself from his heat." Psalms 18: 2-7.

See Wehlau 1994: 69-71 for an in-depth analysis.

48 DiNapoli sees these lines as having a Boethian resonance, citing the *Old English Meters of Boethius* 13: 6-9: Hafað swa heaðorad heofona weladend/ utan befangen ella gesceafta/ geræped mid his racentan, þæt hi aredian ne magon/ þæt hi hi æfre him of aslepan", "The Ruler of the heavens has thus bound all creations, clasped them from without, tied them with his chains, so that they can never manage to slip off" (DiNapoli 1998: 102-103). While the image of binding is a common one in Old English depictions of creation (see Wehlau 1997: ch 2), the poet's emphatic emphasis on *joining* in this passage and the similar one in 82-85 makes the Boethian echoes a little more distant then DiNapoli would have them.

49 This "shining praise" looks forward to the embodied brightness of the sun.

and present phenomena. In line 82, near the end of the following the account of the sun, the tense switches back to past, saying "forþon swa teofenede, se þe teala cuþe, dæg wið nihte deop wið hean, lyft wið lagustream, lond wiþ wæge, flod wið flode, fisc wið yþum , "thus he who was able joined day with night, the depths with the heights, air with ocean, land with wave, flood with flood, and fish with the waves", emphasizing the aspect of *joining* in creation, and repeating "forþon swa eal teofanade, se þe teala cuþe" (82-85) of line 43 almost verbatim. The half line "se þe teala cuðe", "he who knew well" of lines 43 and 82, may also call to mind line 20b, which exhorts the wise man to "þencan forð teala", "consider well", linking the creative knowledge of the poet in the present to that of God in the past, though the poet is encouraged to contemplate, whereas God *knows*.

The lines following line 85 speak of creation as a structure, seemingly conflating it with heaven. The lines shift again into the present tense, saying "ne waciað þas geweorc, ac he hi wel healdeð,/stondap stiðlice bestryþed fæste/ miclum meahtlocum in þam mægenþrymme/ mid þam sy ahefed heofon ond eorþe. Beoð þonne eadge þa þær in wuniað", "Nor will this work weaken, but it will remain well, stand strongly, firmly erected with with the mighty bolts in the glory, by which heaven and earth were raised up" (86-90).[50] The poet's juxtaposing of past and present differs notably from,say, *The Wanderer's* juxtaposition of past joys with present misery and decay, but instead suggests a sameness and continuity between the present and the past.

The emphasis on the sun in the middle of the poem perhaps indicates a circularity of time. This conception of time as cyclical may also be linked to Mircea Eliade's concept of Eternal Return.[51] Eliade sees this concept as central to the

50 Cf. *Guthlac A* 18-20: "Ðæt synd þa getimbru þa no tydriað,/ ne þam fore yrmþum þe þær in wuniað/ life aspringeð, ac him bið lenge hu sel."
51 See Eliade 1963 and 1971. Though Eliade's often overgeneralizing has met with much criticism, his work is still widely influential, particularly in religious studies.

understanding of ritual in archaic religions--to perform a ritual is to reenact the original event, elevating the performer out of profane time and into sacred time. More than mere repetition, the performance of origins itself calls the world into being. In a somewhat similar fashion, for Heidegger, poetic language discloses Being and renders beings as perceptible and comprehensible (see Inwood 200: 118-120 for a description). Heidegger's conception of poetry, with language as its material, as preceding other art forms in its ability to shape a world, seems to resonate well with the Anglo-Saxon conceptions linking poetry and creation. For Heidegger, the essence of poetry is *Stiftung*, "founding" of truth. Poetry is a founding in three ways: as "bestowing", it emphasizes the extraordinary over the ordinary; as "grounding", it sets the work in a people's context (language, setting, traditions); as "beginning", the work of art is built up in history, and in which its end is latent and which alters our view of being (for example, as Homeric epic also implicitly contain the tragedies which "opened up the world of Greek city-states" (Inwood 2000: 124)). Heidegger saw the Middle Ages in Europe as one of these great "foundings", when "the realm of beings thus opened up [by the Greeks] was then transformed into a being in the sense of God's creation" (Heidegger 1971/2001: 74; Inwood 2000: 124). We might see the Old English poetry of creation, especially *Cædmon's Hymn*, as a founding in which the Germanic poetic idiom was employed in the service of a Christian worldview: for Bede, the *Hymn* was the founding of Anglo-Saxon scriptural poetry, and while the *Hymn* may not be the source for all--or any--poetic accounts of creation in Old English, it is, in our written record and in the mind of those who recorded it, a watershed moment. The poetic accounts of creation, which exhort contemplation and praise, bring forth the *dygelra*

gesceafta, bearing the act of creation into everyday experience, and the align circularity of sacred time with a linearity of individual experience.

Thus, the links between poetry, creation, and building are apparent. The three are conceptual and performative, and are particularly important for men's dwelling on earth. In the poems above, the world is created, like a building, for the dwelling of men and expressed in the form of praise through the uniquely human faculty of language, placing humanity in a reciprocal relation with creation and the divine. Additionally, all the the Old English material discussed above derives from the account of creation in the book of Genesis in some way. With this in mind, let us now turn to the account of creation in the poem *Genesis A,* examining how a more directly biblically-sourced poem negotiates creation, building, and dwelling. As A.N. Doane puts it, "the poetic gift itself is a type of creation and conversion, a simultaneous discovery of self, world, and God. Genesis is not only the subject but also the model for sacred poetry. The spirit which informed everything 'in the beginning' informs song and is the model for all poetry" (Doane 2013: 64). In the following section, I also consider how illustrations to the *Genesis* poems (*A* and *B*) convey a sense of emplacement with their use of architectural space.

II. Genesis and Exile

God in the middle of the ocean
God in the middle of the sea
The help of the great creator
Truly been a God to me
Hey God, God don't never change
God, always will be God
God in creation
God when Adam fell
God way up in heaven

God way down in hell

-Blind Willie Johnson, "God Don't Never Change".

Genesis A is the first poem in the Junius manuscript (MS Junius 11, now in the Bodleian library), so called for its presence in the collection of the Dutch scholar Franciscus Junius, who first published its poems in 1654. The poems in the manuscript were considered by earlier commentators to be the work of Cædmon, owing to the close relation of the manuscript's contents to Bede's summary of the poet's compositions, though the different authorship of the poems--as well as the interpolation of *Genesis B*, translated from Old Saxon, into *Genesis A*--is now apparent.[52] [53] The manuscript contains four poems (or five if one counts *Genesis B* as separate from *Genesis A*), titled by scholars *Genesis, Exodus, Daniel* and *Christ* and Satan and accompanying illustrations up to page 96, though it is clear that they were planned for all of the first three poems. Paleographical evidence generally dates the manuscript to the last quarter of the tenth century. The first three poems, which deal with Old Testament material, are in the hand of a single scribe, and the latter, which

52 Wrenn 1945 disproved the connection to Cædmon once and for all.
The passage concerning Cædmon is as follows: "Canebat autem de creatione mundi et origine humani generis et tota Genesis historia, de egressu Israel ex Aegypto et ingressu in terram repromissionis, de aliis plurimis sacrae scripturae historiis, de incarnatione dominica, passione, resurrectione et ascensione in caelum, de Spiritus Sanctae adventu et apostolorum doctrina; item de terrore futuri iudicii et horrore poenae gehennalis ac dulcedine regni caelestis multa carmina faciebat."
"He sang of the creation of the world and the origin of the human race and all the story of Genesis, of the exodus of Israel form Egypt and the entry into the promised land, and of many other stories of sacred scripture; of the incarnation of the LOrd, the passion, resurrection, and ascension into heaven, of the coming of the Holy Spirit and the teaching of the Apostles; he also made many songs about the terror of the coming judgment and the horrible torments of hell and the joys of the kingdom of heaven" (4.24: Colgrave and Mynors 1969. 418).

Fritz 1969 suggests that Bede might have been more influenced by traditional notions of suitable topics for Christian poetry than Cædmon's actual work. Hall 1976 demonstrates a likely connection between this passage and Augstine's *de Catechizandis Rudibus* (24-27). See also Day 1974.

53 On *Genesis B*, Sievers 1875 was the first to surmise that it was a translation from Old Saxon. The later discovery of the *Heliand* brought this to bear. See Doane 1991:3-8 for a history of the criticism. For the most part, I will be focusing on *Genesis A* in my discussion, though *Genesis B* will merit some consideration, as the program of illustrations does not seem to differentiate between the two poems.

focuses on the conflict between Christ and the devil, with a slightly different rubric and in a slightly later hand, though Doane notes that the first script may be old fashioned rather than actually older (Doane 1978: 13).[54] The first three poems are also divided into consecutive sections numbering from 1 to 55, indicating that these three poems were meant to be read as a single unit. The numbering begins anew with *Christ and Satan,* which ends with *FINIT LIBER II. AMEN.* Scholars since the time of Junius have reasonably assumed that Liber I concludes at the end of *Daniel*, although the final folio of the poem is missing, making it impossible to tell for certain. There has been some argument over the connection of *Christ and Satan* to the other poems, given the differences listed above, in addition to the fact that *Christ and Satan* relies much less on biblical paraphrase than the other poems. Additionally, illustrations do not seem to have been planned for *Christ and Satan* in the same way that they were for the earlier poems.[55]

The most sustained case for the unity of the manuscript is made by J.R. Hall in his 1976 article "The Old English Epic of Redemption" and in a quarter-centennial retrospective by the same author. Hall argues for the unity of the manuscript as an "epic of redemption".[56] For Hall, Junius 11 follows patterns of salvation history based in the tradition of Augustine's *de Catechizandis Rudibus*, which he demonstrates by comparing the parts of salvation history in this text to Wulfstan's Sermo 6 and the total contents of Junius 11 (Hall 1976/2002: 27). According to Hall, the (posited) Liber I

54 Doane bases this conclusion in part on Francis Wormald's later dating for the illustrations, and capitalizations.
55 See Orchard 1998: 181; Finnegan 1977: 3-12 for general information on the manuscript; See also Sleeth 1982 for studies on the manuscript and content of *Christ and Satan.*
56 As Hall notes this term was also used in passing by Hardin Craig and Alvin Lee.

and Liber II correspond to each other in their emphasis on themes of deliverance. As he puts it,

> "The distinction between carnal and spiritual deliverance is fundamental in understanding the theological organization of Junius 11 into two parts.... With Adam's fall man had doomed itself to eternal separation from his Creator. Though God had selected certain persons...for a special relationship with Him, the chosen people and mankind as a whole, enslaved by carnality, remained alienated from God. Thus Augustine says that during the time of the Old covenant a true spiritual life was known only to a few...What man needed was a moral example, someone to deliver him from carnality by showing how a true spiritual life should be led. This is the reason given for Christ's coming in *De catechizandis rudibus*" (Hall 1976/2002: 36-7).

Beyond the redemption of Adam it is worth repeating that the manuscript is framed by creation and fallenness, from the beginning of *Genesis A* to the lament of the fallen angels in *Christ and Satan*. While the first fall sets up a historical pattern of disconnection and exile, *Christ and Satan* contrasts the Satan and his supporters' static state of fallenness with the possibility of redemption for men through Christ, bringing the narrative of the poems full circle. While there are problems in the manuscript in seeing the four poems as conceived of and put together at the same time, it does seem that *Christ and Satan* was intended to bring the first three poems to a sort of closure in the sense of salvation history. Nicholas Howe also sees *Christ and Satan* as filling out themes of displacement set up in the other three poems, saying of the poem that, " *Christ and Satan* leaves the confines of the earth to translate this thematics of place and displacement onto a larger cosmography so that it can, in turn, be resolved on earth" (Howe 2003: 30). Howe's conclusions are not so far off from Hall's, though his focus is different. Howe says that the poems of Junius 11 should be read as four related segments, with each segment treating themes of exile and dislocation, from the historical narrative of *Genesis* to the cosmic implications of *Christ and Satan* (Howe 2003: 30). Howe's reading focuses less on the unity of the manuscript or the relation

to catechetical *narratio*, but on a thematics of place that is one of the distinguishing features of the manuscript's treatment of salvation history. Before a discussion of the content, however, it is necessary to establish a bit more background and consider different ideas as to *how* the poem ought to be read. The most obvious starting point is Genesis A' s relation to its source text, the Book of Genesis.

According to A. N. Doane, in Old English biblical poetry, both the type that remains more faithful to scripture, such as *Genesis A,* and the more freely interpretive, such as the *Dream of the Rood,* a three-fold process takes place: "A text is being followed or imitated, however freely; an exegetical attitude towards that text is being defined, however modestly or unconsciously; and a system of traditional formulaic equivalents is being utilized as the technical means for giving form and expression to the words, concepts and actions thought to be intrinsic to the original" (Doane 2013:66).[57] The main narrative text being "followed" or imitated in this case is, for the most part (excluding lines 1-111 for the time being) , the book of Genesis and, by and large, not much else for most of the poem.[58]

Doane originally concluded that the biblical text from which *Genesis A* derives "appears to be a Vulgate of a fairly pure Roman or Gregorian type, predominantly Jeromian, with some admixture of Old Latin elements" (Doane 1978: 59). However, Paul Remley has shown the greater likelihood that *Genesis A* owes more to Old Latin and the *Vetus Latina,* which is more indebted to the Septuagint than it is to the

57 For an overview of Old English biblical poetry, see Shepherd 1966.
58 Mirsky 1967 believes that the *Genesis A* poet had knowledge of Talmudic and midrashic sources, though Doane says there is little evidence for direct knowledge of these in Anglo-Saxon England, but does not rule out the possibility of connections to Jewish scholarship through continental and Irish apocryphal sources (Doane 1978: 58). In this, I refer to texts that supply the narrative, not poetic details that enhance interpretation.

Jerome's Vulgate. Remley concludes that the poem's "apparent preference for prominent Old Latin readings that adhere more closely to the text of the Septuagint than does Jerome's text may ultimately reflect the influence of Greek readings which would be familiar to many participants in the liturgy (regardless of their language training) from the bilingual lessons of Easter vigil. This in turn, would suggest that conservative ethical considerations played a part in the compilation of the Latin text" (Remley 1988: 183).[59] Regardless of which version was used as the main source, it is clear that the poet was following the Latin closely in many places. Invention takes place primarily in stylistic details, which Doane states to be "largely beyond the poet's area of individual innovation" (Doane 2013: 75). However, Roberta Frank has shown how paronomasia in scriptural poetry uses wordplay to connect ideas, structure and meaning, even when the poet seems fixed on a literal meaning. Frank demonstrates that the use of wordplay not only suggests meanings beyond the literal but also shows how the English language could demonstrate itself to be equally capable as an agent of Biblical truths as the "sacred languages" Hebrew, Greek, and Latin (Frank 1972/ 2002: 84, 87).

That the majority of *Genesis A* is directly and fairly unproblematically indebted to a Latin exemplar of the book of Genesis is indisputable, as the side-by-side list of corresponding passages from Genesis in Doane's edition of the poem makes quite clear. What is less clear is the poem's relation to exegesis and typology. In his influential work Doctrine and Poetry, Bernard Huppé states,

59 In his 2013 edition, Doane reaffirms his conviction that *Genesis A* follows what is primarily a Vulgate text. See Doane 2013: 82-83.

"The theme of *Genesis A* is developed in an unusual manner, a manner which cannot be understood without reverence to the principles of Christian literature that were enunciated in (Augustine's) De doctrina. Although the poet does not venture to leave his divinely inspired model, the Bible, he does understand that his poem should be more than mere paraphrase or translation. He intends to enlighten and enkindle the minds of his audience to perceive the traditional doctrinal meaning underlying Genesis" (1959: 207-8).

Huppé argues for a figural or typological reading of *Genesis A*, in which passages of the Old Testament are seen as corresponding to or prefiguring the New, realizing and fulfilling essential historical patterns.[60] While acknowledging the influence of this work, Doane criticizes as facile Huppé's "flat assumption of ideational unity as the a priori basis of analysis, without any clear sense that the unity had to arise out of the text of the poem" (Doane 2013: 59). More recent criticism has focused less on the potential figural aspects of the poem but on the literal ones. Mentioned above, Virginia Day (1974) and J.R. Hall (1976/2002) were among the first to argue for a more literal reading of the poem, situating it within the tradition of *narratio*, which as Augustine defined it, was meant to provide a summary of key moments in biblical history. Though Augustine was the father of figural readings, Charles D. Wright points to Augustine's own narratio, the *de Genesi ad Litteram* as evidence that even Augustine saw the immediate proper sense of the book of Genesis as literal (Wright 2012: 156). Wright argues against predominantly typological readings and shows that the poet is more concerned with the history of the book of Genesis, in which he builds up themes of heroism and obedience.[61] He challenges traditionally typological readings espoused by Huppé, such as the creation of Eve from Adam's rib, the bitumen of the Noah's ark, and the raven which Noah sends out,

60 On typology see Auerbach 1984 and Danielou 1960. For typology in Old English Biblical Verse, see J. Hill 2002.
61 See Also Brockman 1974 for heroic themes in Genesis A.

proving that "the poet's selection of details to elaborate upon is driven by a fascination with the marvellous and with the need to explain literal problems raised by the biblical narrative....the poet is concerned to vindicate the internal consistency and historical veracity of the biblical narrative" (Wright 2012: 142). In addition to his emphasis of the influence of narratio on *Genesis A*, Wright also suggests another tradition of paraphrase that might have influenced the poet of *Genesis A*: The World Chronicle or Universal History. Inspired largely by the Chronicle of Eusebius (translated to Latin by Jerome), such chronicles include biblical history.[62] Wright cites parallels to Irish narrative texts such as the *Saltair na Rann* and the *Lebor Gabala na h-Erenn*, and notes also the use of her ("here") in lines 112-113 with a preterite verb to introduce the creation of the world after the fall of the rebel angels is a "striking anticipation, if not appropriation, of the technical language of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which introduces annal entries with the same formula" (Wright 2012: 170-1).[63] Elsewhere, Thomas D. Hill has shown that through the device of the "variegated obit", the poet had a good sense of narrative historical writing, transforming the standard Latin *mortuus est* used to describe the deaths of the patriarchs in Genesis into colorfully individualized demises (Hill 1988: 102-107).

Roberta Frank argues that although it is clear the main purpose of *Genesis A* is literal narration, the poet, as a Christian, "was compelled at the same time to perceive and intimate how these events were foreshadowings of things to come" (Frank 1972/2002: 76). According to Frank, in his aim to balance the literal with the

62 See Wright 2012: 159-164 for a summary of major texts in this tradition.
63 Wright does note it is possible that *her* is a substitution for *he*, in which case the passage would as Remley, Old English Biblical verse, suggest, contain echoes of Caedmon.

typological, he poet used plays on *word* to emphasize potentially typological episodes, "as if striving to make the Old English *word* more like the *Logos* in which all meanings were enclosed" (Frank 1972/2002: 76). While the poem treats its subject matter as by and large historical, from the very beginning it also also forges thematic connections between events, in which some events also prefigure others in a sort of eternal return, broadly reiterated until the end of time.

Genesis A begins with the fall of the angels and primal creation and proceeds in a fairly straightforward fashion up to the sacrifice of Isaac (chapters 1-22 of the book of Genesis). The fall of the angels and the beginning of creation are the parts of the poems that deviate the most from the biblical sources--and in fact the former has no direct biblical source--but nevertheless they play an important thematic role in *Genesis A*. Constance Hieatt, Nicholas Howe, and Larry McKill have discussed *Genesis A* in the context of themes of fallenness and dislocation, with Howe discussing it in the larger context of the Junius manuscript. Hieatt sees the beginning of the poem, both in its treatment of the fall of angels, creation, and the fall of men, and in its use of language, as setting up a pattern of difference and division of the sinful fallen from the righteous, as described in Matthew 24 (Hieatt 1980: 247).[64] In this thematic sense, Hieatt understands the end of *Genesis A* with the sacrifice of Isaac as logical. According to Hieatt "in the verbal context [Abraham] is the answer to the problems raised in the beginning. The 'dom' lost by the fallen angels in Section I, for example will in the end be granted to those who follow Abraham's example,when

64 Matthew 24:51; Also Matthew 25:32: "et congregabuntur ante eum omnes gentes et separabit eos ab invicem sicut pastor segregat oves ab hedis", "And all nations shall be gathered together before him and he shall separate them one from another, as the shepherd separateth the sheep from the goats."

Christ as God of judgment makes the final division of Matthew 25:32....In this end of all dividings, all of the saved are children of Abraham" (Hieatt 1980: 250). McKill likewise focuses on patterns of exile and separation, concluding that these create a cyclical rather than (or in addition to) linear concept of history, in which the poet emphasizes the respective fates of those who obey God's command and those who break it (McKill 1996: 38). Nicholas Howe builds on this, seeing *Genesis A* as setting up larger structural patterns in the Junius manuscript, in which falling out of--and into--place is representative of historical, worldly experience. Howe claims that "the crucial framework for recording and interpreting events becomes place and the movement between places" (Howe 2004: 33). In order to see how this paradigm of falling into-and out of-place works, I will examine the early portion of *Genesis A,* putting aside the interpolation of *Genesis B* for the time being, in an attempt to understand how "place" and "space" are created in the poem, and how they interact with language and concepts of being in the world.

The poem opens with an exhortation to praise God reminiscent of *Cædmon's Hymn:*

"Us is riht micel ðæt we rodera weard/
wereda wuldorcyning, wordum herigen,
modum lufien. he is mægna sped,
heafod ealra heahgesceafta,
frea ælmihtig. Næs him fruma æfre,
or geworden ne nu ende cymþ
ecean drihtnes ac he bið a rice
ofer heofenstolas heagum þrymmum.
soðfæst and swiðfeorm sweglbosmas heold
þa wæron gesette wide and side
þurh geweald godes wuldres bearnum
gasta weardum" (1-12a).

"It is very right that we praise with words the guardian of the heavens, the glorious king of hosts, and love him with our minds. He is the abundance of powers, the head of all high creation, the almighty lord. He had never had a beginning or origin nor will an end of the eternal lord come, but he remain

ever powerful above the heavenly thrones, among the lofty hosts. Just and abundant, he holds the heavens that were established fire and wide through the power of God for the the children of glory, the guardian of spirits."[65]

These lines seem to also echo the Preface to the Canon of the Mass (Michel 1947: 546-547).[66] Roberta Frank remarks that the triple paronomasia attempts to collapse literary and religious purposes and recreate the homology of *Deus* and *Logos* in John 1:1, in order to persuade the audience that "nothing could be more natural or right in English than that the *weard*, king of *weroda*, should be praised in *wordum*" (Frank 1972/2002: 73). As in the poems discussed in the earlier part of this chapter, we see a paronomastic connection forged between poetic praise and God the Creator. Architectural structures are suggested in phrases such as "heofonstolas", "heavenly thrones" (8) and the heavens "þa wæron gesette wide and side/ þurh gewald godes wuldres bearnum", "that were set far and wide through the power of God for the children of glory " (10-11).[67] The heavens being created for the angels parallels the notion of the physical world being created specifically for men several lines later.

The narrative of the poem begins prior to creation, with the angels praising their lord in heaven: "þegnas þrymfæste þeoden heredon/ sægdon lustum lof, heora liffrean/ demdon drihtenes dugeþum wæron swithe gesælige. Synna ne cuþon/ firena fremman ac hie on friðe lifdon/ece mid heora aldor", "the glorious thanes praised the king, joyfully spoke praise, glorified their lord of life: they were very blessed in the troop of the Lord. They did not know sin nor to commit crimes, but they lived

65 All quotes from *Genesis A* are from Doane's 2013 edition. Unless otherwise noted, translations are my own.
66 "Vere dignum et justum est, aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere: Domine sancte, pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus." (quoted in Michel 1947: 546). Huppé 1959: 109 points out similarities between *Cædmon's Hymn* and the beginning of Hilary of Arles' *In Genesim*, which Doane connects to *Genesis A* (1978: 225).
67 Doane takes *sweglbosmas* as "interior heavens", suggesting that heaven to is a bounded, finite space.

peacefully with their lord" (15-20a). Then one angel expresses his excessive pride ("oferhygd", 22) by boasting that he "on norðdæle ham and heahsetl heofena rices agan wolde", "he would possess a home and high-seat in the north part of the kingdom of the heaven (32b-34).[68] Instead, this angel (Satan) and his followers[69] receive a subterranean "witehus", "house of punishment" (39) that is "deop, dreama leas" and "sinnihte besald","deep, joyless and enveloped by eternal night" (40(from God as recompense for their disloyalty. The notable parallels in language and plays on words between the description of the heavenly joys and the sorrows of hell have been commented on several times.[70] In exchange for a "ham ond heahsetl", "a home and exalted place" (33a) in the heavens, where they previously had "gleam and dream" , "joy and happiness" (12) and "beorhte blisse", "bright bliss" (14), the fallen angels now inhabit a "wræclicne ham", "wretched home" (37).[71] Verbal repetition and contrasts between home and exile, darkness and light, and high versus low illustrate just how far the angels have fallen.

68 See Hill 1969 on the site of Lucifer's throne in the North.

Michelet and Sleeth also point out similar language in *Christ and Satan*, in which Satan seems particularly attached to the verb *agan*, "to own, possess", showing that Satan "regards his estate in heaven as property" (Sleeth 1982: 17). According to Michelet, "Old English poets describe the feud between God and his devilish enemy not simply as the revolt of a retainer against his lord or against the place assigned to him in the social hierarchy. More concretely, what is at stake in this struggle is the appropriation and control of space" (Michelet 2006: 67). I would argue that the contrast comes between owning space and dwelling in it as well. Satan's claim to ownership, solely in the purview of God, precludes his dwelling in heaven. He is cast and confined to a sort of anti-dwelling in Hell. While Satan and the fallen angels occupy the place, which is also, paradoxically a place of exile, they cannot be said to dwell in it in the same way as they had previously done in heaven..

69 Interestingly, neither the term "Satan" nor *deofol* is used in *Genesis A* (though both appear in *Genesis B)*. Satan and his followers' angelic status is emphasized (22, 29, 66), as is their subsequent loss of that status. They are called "wærlogan","oath-breakers"(39), "wræcna", "exiles" (39), "wiðerbrecan", "adversaries" (64), "wærleas werod", "faithless troop" (67), and "geomre gastas", "woeful spirits", (69). The terminology--which could also easily be applied to people, and in fact is later in the poem--forges a stronger verbal connection between the willful subjects of cosmic and earthly dislocation.

70 See Frank 1972/2002:79, Hieatt 1980: 245-246, and McKill 1996: 29-31.

71 McKill 1996: 29 notes the grim irony underscoring the use of the world wræclic, which can also mean "wondrous", e.g. The Ruin 1: "wræclic is þæs weallstan". See McKill 1996: 39n12 for more examples.

In addition, this passage includes a play on *ræd*, which can mean both "counsel" and "advantage", and which emphasizes the contrast between the realms of heaven and hell as well as the agency of the fallen angels in their willful turning away from God and consignment to hell. Satan and his followers refuse to carry out that which is advantageous to them, "heora seolfra ræd" (24a) and instead perform "unræd", "disadvantage, ill counsel" (30). Consequently they receive a "rædlease hof" (44b), which according to McKill can be an "disadvantageous abode" , or "an abode for those who practice ill-counsel" (McKill 1996: 30). McKill also notes that hell represents a lack of that which is good and desirable (e.g. in the terms *rædleas*, *dreama leas*): "the imagery defines hell in terms of deprivation and lack of fulfillment; theologically hell represents life without the joys of God" (McKill 1996: 30-31). Roberta Frank points out that the alliterative properties of *fyre* and *færcyle* "fire and fearful cold" to evoke the "ambiguous quality of that habitation" and which also make "the hot and cold blasts seem almost interchangeable, their reciprocity and reversibility in hell appear at once more comprehensible and terrifying"(Frank 1972/2002: 79). These contrasting terms set up hell as paradoxical (in relation to God's order), ambiguous, and characterized by a lack as much as the the things in it.

This seems to reflect Augustine's claim that evil is the *lack* of good. In *de Civitate Dei,* Augstine says "Mali enim nulla natura est, sed amissio boni, mali nomen accepit", "there is no nature of evil, but the lack of good, which takes the name evil" (XI:9).[72] In terms of the ontology I have been setting up, in which being and dwelling are connected, hell in all its vagaries and paradoxes is the antithesis of dwelling. As

72 Augustine also develops this in his *Confessiones*: VII: 12-13.

dwelling and being are conceived spatially, the physical properties of hell suggest the impossibility of dwelling in evil. Additionally, in XII: 6 of *de Civitate Dei*, Augustine explores how evil can come into the world if God is wholly good. He decides that it is an act of will:

"Cum enim se uoluntas relicto superiore ad inferiora conuertit, efficitur mala, non quia malum est, quo se conuertit, sed quia peruersa est ipsa conuersio. Idcirco non res inferior uoluntatem malam fecit, sed rem inferiorem praue atque inordinate, ipsa quia facta est, adpetiuit."

"For when the will abandons that which is higher than itself, and turns to what is lower, it becomes evil- not because that is evil to which (the will) turns, but because the turning itself is wicked. Therefore it is not an inferior thing which made the will evil, but it is itself which has become so, (because it) corruptedly and inordinately desired an inferior thing". [73]

In lines 24b-26a, the actions of the devils are described thus: "noldan dreogan leng heora selfra ræd ac hie of siblufan godes ahwurfon", "They would not long carry out that which was in their own interest,[74] but they turned away from the kin-love of God". The verb *ahweorfan* is is equivalent to *convertere*, the Latin term Augustine uses for "turning away",[75] so it would seem that the poet is expressing an Augustinian view of the problem of evil in his discussion of the origins of evil and hell, translating Augustine's Latin terminology into vernacular narrative.

It is also worth pointing out that lines 44-47 are the first hypermetric lines of the poem.[76] The lines read as follows: "rece and reade lege. heht þa geond þæt

73 See also *Confessiones* VII:3.
74 Or perhaps, "of their own wills" if we take "heora selfra" as a substantive.
75 These terms can also have positive meanings in the sense of "convert to Christianity" or "turn towards God" (Bosworth-Toller).
76 Groups of hypermetric lines occur eight other times in *Genesis A*. This does not count isolated lines and half-lines. 155-57, 1015-19, 2168-70, 2328-29, 2406-7, 2411-12, 2855-59, 2866-69 (See Schmitz 1910: 28-32).

155-7
..mære mergen þridda. næron metode ða gyta /widlond ne wegas nytte ac stod bewrigen fæste /folde mid flode. frea engla heht...

1015-19

rædlease hof/ weaxan witebrogan. hæfdon hie wrohtgeteme/ grimme wip god gesomnod. him þæs grim lean becom".

"...smoke and red flame. [God] ordered then through that damned house that the horrible tortures increase. Bitterly had they heaped up a pile of crimes against God. To them came this grim recompense." As the tortures of hell increase ("weaxan") so do these lines expand. This description of hell and the fallen angels' reason for deserving it is not only an emphatic point (as hypermeteric lines are thought to illustrate),[77] it creates two "breaks". Not only does it signal a temporal break, in which

"...awyrged to widan aldre. ne seleð þe wæstmas eorðe/wlitige to woruldnutte. ac heo wældreore swealh/ halge of handum þinum. forþon heo þe hroðra oftihð/ glæmes grene folde. þu scealt gemor hweorfan/ arleas of earde þinum swa þu abele wurde....

2168-70 Meda syndon mycla þina. Ne læt þu þe þin mod asealcan/wærfast willan mines ne þearft þu þe wiht ondrædan/ þendan þu mine lare læstest ac ic þe lifigende her..."

2328 "bearn be bryde þinre þone sculon burg sittende/ealle isaac hatan. ne þearf þe þæs eaforan sceomigan..."

2406-7

"..reced ofer readum golde. ongan þa rodera waldend/ arfæst wið abraham sprecan, sægde him unlytel spell

2411-12

"werod under weallum habban. forðon wærlogona sint folce firena hefige. Ic wille fandigan nu..."

2855-59

"..hrinc þæs hean landes þe ic þe heonen getæce/ up þinum agnum fotum þær þu scealt ad gegærwan/ bælfyr bearne þinum and blotan sylf/ sunu mid swerodes ece and þonne sweartan lige/ leofes lic forbærnan and me lac bebeodan.

2866-69 "gyrde grægan sweorde, cyðde þæt him gasta weardes egesa on breostum wunode. Ongan þa his esolas bætan gamolferhð goldes brytta. heht hine geonge twegan/ men mid sipian. mæg was his agen þridda

77 Timmer 1951 gives the following reasons for poets to use hypermetric lines: "1) they slow down the reading tempo for artistic effect, as in *Beowulf* 1163-8; 2) they introduce a speech or a unit of composition; 3) they conclude a speech or unit of composition; 4) they open a whole poem; 5) the conclude a poem; 6)they are the expression of emphasis or, sometimes, solemnity; 7) they occur in gnomic poetry with its proverbial or didactic character" (229). Nicholson 1963 finds this a bit over simplifying and demonstrates that hypermetric lines were also used in elaborate manipulations of stock patterns demonstrating the skill of the poet. He likens this to the elaborate interlace of Anglo-Saxon material art that can nevertheless be reduced to basic geometric patterns (Nicholson 1963: 291). For example, Hieatt 1980 and Hartmann 2011 both examine the literary uses of these lines in greater depth, suggesting that hypermetric lines are used to emphasize themes in *Judith*, with Hieatt also suggesting they are used indicate, along with numbering in the manuscript, the division of the poem into fitts (1980: 255-257). In the case of lines 44-47 of *Genesis A,* I have given thematic evidence above. Of the

the description of the punishment leads back to a discussion of the cause (time folding back), but it indicates a "break" in the structure of the poem. As will be discussed at length further on, these lines likely parallel depictions of hell in the Junius illustrations, in which hell defies the regular geometric architectural frames that define space in the illustrations. Hell, even poetically, is a space of anti-dwelling.

Returning to the fall of the angels, these lines are not biblical but follow the tradition of the *Hexameron*, an exegetical or homiletic account of the six day creation of the world.[78] From the time of Basil of Caesaria, who wrote the first major *Hexameron*, writers in the tradition viewed the angels as existing prior to visible creation (Robbins 1912: 44-45) . *Virginia* Day sees the opening lines as bearing the particular influence of the catechetical narratio. (Day 1974: 55). However, David Johnson points out that the fall of the angels in *Genesis A* has no direct parallel in either of these traditions and is in fact a little unorthodox,[79] in that it seems to agree more with Origen (who believed that the creation of the spiritual world preceded that of the physical world and much of whose writings were declared heretical) than with Augustine, who held that angels were created simultaneously with light and dark (Johnson 1998: 501). Johnson indicates that the ideas in this opening passage of

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other hypermetric lines, several appear in dialogue or as introducing it: 1015-1019, 2168-2170,2406-2407, 2411-2412. 2866-2869 describe Abraham's preparations to bring Isaac to Mount Moriah to be sacrificed, and the drawn-out nature seems to emphasize Abraham's dread and hesitancy, in spite of his resolute action. Lines 155-157 and 1015-1019 will be discussed later.

For some perspectives on formal aspects of hypermetric lines, see for example Bliss 1958: 88-97, Kyte 1973, Hieatt 1969 and 1974, and Bredehoft 2003.

78 See Crawford 1926: 281-282. Doane 1978: 57-58 and 227 notes on lines 18-81. On the Hexameral tradition see Robbins 1912.

79 Anlezark 2003 reminds us that all descriptions of the fall of the angels are necessarily apocryphal, as the story is not found in full in the Bible (121). See Anlezark 2003: 121-122 for a description of the main channels through which the story reached Anglo-Saxon England, particularly the apocryphal Book of Enoch and Gregory the Great's Homily 34 and *Moralia in Job*. See also Benskin and Murdoch 1975 on the literary tradition of Genesis for more sources on the fall of the angels.

Genesis A were current in Anglo-Saxon even if they cannot be directly sourced, and points out their existence in two late Anglo-Saxon charters, "King Edgar's Privilege to New Minster, Winchester" (attested by Æþelwold the reformer) and a Burton Abbey charter in the Peniarth Cartulary. In these, as in *Genesis A*, spiritual creation precedes physical creation and views creation of the physical world as the result of the fall of Lucifer, so that the fallen angels could be ultimately replaced in heaven by men (Johnson 1998: 516-517). The idea of the "Doctrine of Replacement" (to which I will return) was espoused by Augustine in his *Enchiridion ad Laurentium* 62 and *de Civitate Dei* CCSL 22.i, 807, though he was not entirely committed to it throughout its career.[80] It became widely known in the early Middle Ages and remained well known in popular tradition for centuries, though it was later disregarded in learned circles. To Johnson, this suggests that *Genesis A* and the charters had a common formulation of the story as their source that was authoritative enough for Æþelwold to sign off on (Johnson 1998: 519).[81]

After the devils are routed and punished, "waeron þa gesome þa þe swegl buan,/ wuldres eðel", "they were together,those who inhabit the sky, the homeland of glory" (82-83a)[82]. While the *setl* of heaven is "beorht and geblaedfast", "bright and firm in glory" (89) it is also "buendra leas", "devoid of inhabitants" (89). Thus "þa þeahtode þeoden ure/ modgeþonce hu he þa mæran gesceaft/ eðelstaðolas, eft gesette/

80 See Haines 1997: 151 for quotation and discussion below.
81 Johnson goes on to suggest that Æþelwold is espousing idea of "paradise regained" in the earthly paradise of the monastery: "It may not be too daring to suggest that Æþelwold is hinting as well at the parallels between God's power as Lord and Disposer, and the (admittedly temporal) powers of his king, Edgar; for like God in the myth of creation, Edgar is here exerting his power to as establish a physical space in which mankind may have the opportunity to strive towards spiritual advancement" (Johnson 1998: 521).
82 Cf. 45b-46, "hæfdon hie wrohtgeteme/grimme wið god gesomnad", "they had heaped up up a series of crimes, grimly against God".

swegltorthan seld selran werode/ þa hie gielpsceaþan ofergifen hæfdon/ heah on heofenum", "Then our Prince thought in his deep wisdom how he might set up homeland places[83] a heaven bright hall for the better troop, high in the heavens, which the boasters had forsaken" (92-97b).[84] The use of the terms *eðel* and *setl* emphasize that heaven is a dwelling-space now vacant, a home without inhabitants. This vacancy inspires the beginning of visible creation, which is introduced in architectural terms as home-foundations that God might re-settle ("eðelstaðolas eft gesgette, 94) and as a hall for a better troop ("seld selran werode, 95). The architectural language describing heaven also seems to look immediately forward to the creative act God, the supreme architect, is about to undertake, and also seems to blur heavenly and earthly creation.

Creation in *Genesis A* is architectural and habitation-centered, indicated by the term "eðelstaðolas" (94). According to Bosworth-Toller, s*taþ(ð)ol* can range in meaning from a foundation to a generalized (fixed) place to an estate, to the cosmic firmament. Its basic meaning seems to be something fixed or upon which building takes place. *Eðel* means "homeland", a space which encompasses both buildings and natural space.[85] A homeland is created, founded and built up like a house, for the purpose of habitation. The specifically carpentered aspect of creation, and the particular interest in dwelling and inhabitance relate to the to the creative act and the intention of creation. Within a poem as generally faithful to biblical accounts as *Genesis A*, the depiction of heaven and earth as related architectural structures is a demonstration of the poet's originality.

83 Doane glosses *eðelstaðolas* as "lower creation, a home beneath another", yet in this passage it seems to be discussing heaven.
84 *Modgeþonc* is used here in the same sense as line 2 of *Cædmon's Hymn.* See Bloomfied 1963: 41-43 on *modgeþanc* as *consilium*, the divine idea that preceded and prompted physical creation.
85 On the concept of "home", in Anglo-Saxon England, see How 2004.

Discussed briefly above, the creation of the world for mankind as a means of repopulating vacated places is a fringe but not strictly unorthodox theological tradition, and one that was well known to the Anglo-Saxons. Dorothy Haines cites Augustine's *Enchiridion ad Laurentium* as the first extant example of this "doctrine of replacement", and also notes its presence in Gregory the Great's Homily on Luke 10. She also demonstrates Anglo-Saxon knowledge and acceptance of it by citing its presence in homilies of Ælfric and Wulfstan (Haines 1997: 151-153). As has been noted in the discussion of creation narratives above, the creation of the world specifically *for men* in poetic diction, even in poetry that treats on non-Christian subjects, seems to be a particularly Germanic formulaic feature.[86] This confluence of traditions, if it may be called that, indicate that not only the creation of the world, but its order, is intended specifically for human beings.

The pre-created world is nothing but a vast expanse of shadows where the "wida grund", "broad ground" or "abyss" stands "deop and dim, drihtne fremde, idel ond unnyt", "deep and dim, strange to (or estranged from) the lord, empty and unused"(104-6). The formulaic term "idel and unnyt"[87] is also the term used for Heorot during Grendel's depredations in line 413 of *Beowulf*.[88] A similar phrase, "idel ond æmen" appears in line 216 of *Guthlac A*, where it describes the demon-infested *beorg* before Guthalc settles there. The phrase seems to have a specific meaning in terms of human usage and habitation in that it refers to space that has lost its function

86 Laura Morland cites lines from the English poems discussed above, as well as Norse Eddic material, such as *Vafþrúðnismál* stanza 23:"He is called Mundilfoeri, who is the Moon´s father, and also the sun's, they must turn heaven every day reckoning the years for men"("öldum at ártali") and *Grímnismál* 42: "From [Ymir's] brows they made Midgard for the sons of men" ("manna sonum"), which demonstrate parallels in Eddic poetry (Morland 1997: 326-9).
87 cf. Genesis 1.2: "terra autem erat inanis et vacua", "the earth was void and empty".
88 In both cases this is also paired with the verb *standan*.

as a useful medium for action, or has yet to gain it. This pre-created space is also "dreama leas" (108), a term used also to describe the "witehus" of hell (40), which seems to encourage the connection between evil and non-being. However, it is also important to note that these "spaces" are in fact also originally and initially places, affirming Edward Casey's assertion of place as ontologically prior to space, and space as created from place (1997b).

The poem now picks up at the beginning of the book of Genesis: "her ærest gesceop ece drihten, / helm eallwihta, heofon and eorðan,/ rodor arærde and þis rume land/ gestaþelode", "here the eternal lord first shaped heaven and earth, the helm of all creatures, he raised up the heavens and established the broad land" (112-115a). Though these lines appear repetitive, both expressing Genesis I.1 ("In principio creavit Deus caelum et terram"), lines 114-115a describe this creation as architectural: the sky is "raised up" ("arærde") and the earth is "founded" ("gestaþelode"). Both of these terms are used elsewhere in *Genesis A* to refer to architectural structures.[89] The earth it is still "græsungræne"[90] and the sea is dark, as the spirit of the lord is borne over it[91].

Then comes the creation of day:

"Metod engla heht,

89 *Aræran*: "burh geworhte and to beacne torr/ upp arærde to rodortunglum", he created a fortress and raised a tower as a beacon up to the stars of heaven (1666-1667), in reference to the tower of Babel.

staþelian (lacking the ge-particle in 115): "Ða Noe ongan newan stefne/ mid hleomagum ham *staðelian*", "Then Noah began to establish anew a home, with his kin" (1555-1556". Doane notes that this passage, which takes place after the Deluge is over, marks the Second Age of the World (Doane 2013: 344), so it makes sense that the language would recall the original creation.

90 See Lönnroth 1981 on this as a Germanic formula. Norsworthy 2002 derives it from Genesis 2.5. See Doane 1973, esp. 463-464. Doane argues that "greenness in Old English poetry, then, is seldom related to color, or any other specific meaning, but satisfied through traditional means certain perennial metrical and lexical expectations in specific compositional situations. The word, and the nexus of which it is a part, can only be used when a cooperative meaning of renewal or fruitfulness is required" (1973: 462).

91 As opposed to the un-biblical phrase *græs ungrene*, "heofonweardes gast ofer holm boren" is a near literal translation of Genesis 1:2 "et spiritus Dei ferebatur super aquas", mirroring its use of the passive voice.

lifes brytta, leoht forð cuman
ofer rumne grund. raþe wæs gefylled
heahcininges hæs. him wæs halig leoht
ofer westenne swa se wyhrta bebead.
swa gesundrode sigora waldend
ofer lagoflode leoht wið þeostrum,
sceade wið sciman. sceop þa bam naman
lifes brytta."

"The lord of angels, giver of life, ordered light to come forth over the vast ground. The high-king's command was quickly carried out. There was a holy light over the wasteland, just as the worker bade. So the wielder of victories parted light from shadows over the sea, shade with light. He shaped names for them both, the giver of life" (121a-129b).

This passage demonstrates the creative power of the *Logos*. The sundering of light and darkness is performed through the command of God, (emphasized in the terms "heht...hæs...bebead"), and he then shapes names for them both, giving them discrete being.[92] In this passage, God is described as a "measurer" ("metod") and a "worker" ("wyrhta"), indicating his role as a craftsman, connecting speech and physical construction.[93] The idea of shaping, or creating, a name (discussed earlier in this chapter), suggests also a very physical type of creation though it describes the creation of a word, further drawing together the verbal and physical through the power of *Logos*.

The next passage, the creation of night, contains an interesting line that further suggests a view of creation as architecture: "þa se tid gewat ofer tiber sceacen", "then the time passed, hurrying over the structure" (135). The term *tiber* likely does not

92 Doane 2013 sees this formula as being used in this passage to suggest "the Augustinian doctrine that the thing was created through the Word by the very act of conceiving"(297). See *de Genesi ad Letteram I:10.*

93 For God as a measurer and builder, see for example Job 38:4-6, when God asks Job: "Ubi eras quando ponebam fundamenta terrae? indica mihi, si habes intelligentiam. Quis posuit mensuras ejus, si nosti? vel quis tetendit super eam lineam? Super quo bases illius solidatae sung? aut quis demisit lapidem angularem eus...", "Where wast thou when I laid up the foundations of the earth? Tell me if thou hast understanding. Who laid the measures thereof, if thou knowest? Or who hath stretched the line upon it? On what are its bases grounded? Or who laid the cornerstone thereof?" Interestingly the next verse (4.7) asks "Cum me laudarent simul astra matutina, et jubilarent omnes filii Dei?" When all the stars praised me together, and all the sons of God made a joyful melody?" These lines demonstrate architecture and song/praise as closely related also.

have the meaning of “offering” or “sacrifice” (Bosworth-Toller: tiber) here, but seems,to be either an error for *timber* or as deriving from *teofrian*, “to appoint”, which occurs in an architectural context in the Paris Psalter 117: 21 (Doane: 2013: 298).[94]

On the second day, “heht þa lifes weard/ on mereflode middum weroðan/ hyhtlic hefontimber”, “the the guardian of life commanded a glorious heaven-timber to come into being in the midst of the sea” (144-146). This is the poet’s depiction creation of the firmament in Genesis I: 8-9. Again, the word of God is linked with (an aspect of) creation as an architectural structure. Through the rising of this structure, “holmas dælde/ waldend ure and geworhte þa /roderas fæsten. þæt se rica ahof/ up from eorðan þur his agen word”, “our ruler parted the waters and created the firmament of the heavens. The mighty one raised it up form the earth through his own word” (146b-149). *Fæsten* can mean, in addition to “firmament” as Doane takes it here, a "fortress" or "stronghold", as it does at other points in *Genesis A*. In addition to its literal meaning of “raise up”, *ahebban* can have a more metaphorical meaning of “raise up verbally” or “exalt”, and it is used thus in several Old English translations of the Psalms. This language further binds together speech acts and physical creation.

The next set of hypermetric lines occurs at 155-157, the beginning of the third day, in which the waters and dry land under the firmament are separated off (Genesis I: 9-13): “mære mergen þridda. næron metoda ða gyta/ widlond ne wegas nytte ac stod bewrigen fæste/ folde mid flode. Frea engla heht/ þur his word wesan wæter gemæne,/ þa nu under roderum heroa ryne healdeð”, “...the famous third morning. The broad land and waves were not yet of use to the lord but the earth stood covered over

94 If the form *timber* is correct, it would have a parallel in line 146 “heofontimber”, which Doane takes to be the firmament.

with water. The Lord of Angels commanded that the waters to gather through his word, those (waters) which now hold their course under the heavens, (155-159b). The hypermetricity here creates a vivid image of the confusion of the waters and earth under the firmament as well as to illustrate the unboundedness of creation thus far. Roberta Frank points out that the phrase "folde mid flode" (157a) "suggests the envelopment of land by seas in the beginning of creation by two mirror-image terms, one hemisphere enfolding the other in a kind of cosmic metathesis" (Frank 1972/2002: 78-79). This recalls Nicholson's claim that poets could use hypermetric lines to highlight the skill with which they executed their craft (Nicholson 1963: 291).

The third day is never completed, as there is a lacuna after line 168a; the text begins again with the creation of Eve from Adam's rib. This somewhat laborious examination of the language in the first parts of *Genesis A* suggests a connection between creation as an architectural and poetic act of founding, intended for human dwelling and the singing of praise. An intriguing passage from *Völuspá* may offer a parallel to creation as it is described thus far in *Genesis A*: "Áðr Burs synir/ biöðom up ypðo,/ þeir er miðgarð mæran skópo./ Sól skein sunnan/ á salar steina--,/ þá var grund gróin/ groenum lauki", "Before Burr's sons lifted up seashores, they who moulded glorious Miðgarðr. Sun shone from the south on the stones of that mansion-then the ground was covered with the green leek's growth" (4).[95] The established earth that begins to grow is referred to as stones of a hall, though there is no previous indication in the poem of a hall being specifically built. Ursula Dronke provides evidence that word used for "hall", *salr*, often refers to "sky" (Dronke 1997:116). If we take *salr* as

95 Trans. Dronke 1997.

"sky" here, then the stones are the land--the building's foundation. If this is the case, we may see some parallel in lines 114-115a in which God "rodor arærde, and þis rume land/ gestaþelode", which seems to conceive the two as equal parts of a built space that requires both founding and raising. As in *Cædmon's Hymn,* the normal building process is reversed, with the roof being raised before the foundation set.[96]

Before break that occurs where *Genesis B* begins, the author recounts the charging of Paradise to Adam and Eve, who "man ne cuðon/ don ne dreogan ac him drihtnes wæs/ bam on breostu byrnende lufu", "knew not to perform or carry out sin, but the love of God was burning in their breasts" (189b-191), which parallels the description of the angels in lines 18b-19a, and foreshadows their inevitable fall as well. God then looks upon the newly created Paradise ("neorxenawang", 208), which stands filled with gifts (or graces) (209).[97] The plants which adorn Paradise grow uninterrupted and unwatered by rain. The pleasant weather is not troubled by storms.[98] The section ends with a description of the four rivers which surround ("heoldon forðryne", "held their courses", 215b) the new paradise. In contrast to the broad, enveloping waters at the beginning of creation which must be divided and bounded (e.g. 155-60), the waters are now neatly ordered around paradise. All of creation serves the protoplasts in the harmoniously bounded, ordered and light-filled field of paradise. As we have learned from the opening of the poem, however, such an idyllic state cannot last. These opening lines of *Genesis A* reveal first that creation is an

96 Hill and Wright 2014 discuss sources of this. I am grateful to the authors for sharing this work with me prior to publication. While Genesis 1.1 states "in principio creavit Deus caelum et terram", these sources describe the creation of heaven and then earth as specifically architectural.
97 This contrasts the pre-created world which stands "idel ond unnyt" of 96a.
98 The growth of the plants without rain owes something to Genesis 2:5. A similar description occurs in The Phoenix 33-64.

architectural and spatially bounded act, and that creation has many parallels with architecture. Additionally, wordplay and hypermetricity help to emphasize the spatial aspects of creation. As heaven seems to exist for God and the angels, the visible world is created for men. Moreover, an ordered creation, like a properly built structure is suitable for only those who live rightly and are loyal to God. Those who turn away from God, like the fallen angels, are cast out, and find themselves in worse structures,or in anti-dwelling spaces. The architecture of hell is disordered and and expansive, which we will also see illustrated below. This passage not only sets down the importance of space, place, and dwelling in the rest of the poem, it also sets up a paradigm of exile and dislocation that follows or precedes life on earth. This helps to emphasize the instability of earthly life, but also highlights the innate possibility of dwelling on earth.

For now I will refrain from further discussion of the text on its own, but with the model of dwelling, exile, and creation set up, I will turn to the illustrations accompanying the Junius manuscript, showing how they illuminate themes set up in the opening lines of *Genesis A* and how they work with the text to create a sustained and unified pictorial narrative through their overlapping use of framing and depiction of architectural space. As Junius 11 is the only Old English poetic manuscript with a sustained program of illustrations, it seems well worth including a discussion of them, especially since the spatial metaphors and architectural images do seem to reflect a contemporary response to those aspects of the poem. That the first three poems in Junius 11 and possibly also *Christ and Satan*[99] were intended to have illustrations is

99 See Hall 1976 and Raw 1984.

clear, as full and half page blank spaces throughout the manuscript demonstrate. However, the illustrations are only complete up to page 96. These illustrations are the work of three illustrators; the first up to page 68, the second to page 88, and a third much later illustrator responsible for the illustration on page 96.[100] The final illustration of the second artist on page 88 illustrates Abraham and Sarah's approach to Egypt , corresponding to around line 1829 of *Genesis A*.

The illustrations accompanying the manuscript loosely depict scenes from the *Genesis* poems and do not make a distinction between *Genesis A* and *B*. In an influential article, Barbara Raw explained the apparent disconnect between the illustrations and the poem as owing to the bulk of the illustrations[101] deriving from an Old Saxon exemplar which came to England with the source for *Genesis B*, on the grounds of greater narrative similarities between the illustrations and *Genesis B*. According to Raw, the illustrators of Junius 11 would have had a more difficult time interpreting the Saxon text, which would have made it difficult to relate illustrations in the exemplar to the now composite *Genesis* poem (Raw 1974: 146-148). [102] However, scholars such as Thomas Ohlgren, Herman Broderick and Catherine Karkov have argued that illustrations form their own narrative cycle, which plays an integral part in

100 For a summary of the stylistic differences between the two illustrators see Karkov 2001: 33-36. On the stylistic influences see also Broderick 1983. Karkov points out that neither the influences of the Winchester style demonstrable in the work of the first artist, nor those of Reims in that of the second are much help in establishing the manuscript as the product of a specific monastery, as both styles were popular in Southern England in the early 10th century (Karkov 2001: 35).

101 Raw divides the illustrations in to three groups based on format. The first group is the three pictures of creation on pages 6 and 7; the second group depicts throned figures and births in an architectural structure; the third and largest group depict the creation and fall of angels, Adman and Eve, Cain and Abel, and Noah and Abraham (frontspiece and 2-3, 9-51, 60-61, and 65-88) (Raw 1974: 136-137). She is mainly concerned with the third group.

102 See also Henderson 1975, who saw the apparent disconnect between the pictures and text as the result of the artists using an exemplar that provided "an elaborate but only partial programme of scenes" (160).

establishing the unity of the textual narrative.[103] According to Karkov, the illustrations are "active translations of it and can be understood as forming a narrative distinct from that of the text" (Karkov 2001: 36). Karkov notes the typological function of some of the illustrations, seeing the pictures as "combining symbolic and literal content" to both illuminate the text in literal and figurative sense (Karkov 2001: 8).[104] I follow this view that the illustrations provide their own commentary on how we might interpret the text of *Genesis A*.

While there is much in the illustrations worth discussing, I will focus primarily on architectural space and framing. As many of the illustrations in Junius 11 have "architectural frames" or depict architectural structures (with the two overlapping in some cases), I suggest that the presence and use of frames and architectural space can offer some clues to the overarching thematics of dislocation and dwelling. Taking "frame" in its broadest sense, Pauline Head argues that both visual and poetic framing as delimit ideas and direct the reader's (or audience's) attention. Head demonstrates the ability of pictorial frames to help create a "narrative" sense in both space and time in the examples of the "chorus of the angels" miniature on folio 2v of the Athelstan Psalter, and the image of the "women at the sepulchre" in the Benedictional of St. Æþelwold. In the former, "the creatures who exit outside the frame grasp it with their hands and bite its corners, drawing attention to its substance. Through the depiction of a world beyond the image,the spatial

103 See Ohlgren 1972 and Broderick 1983. Both of these are more concerned with source studies than Karkov, who examines the unity of the pictorial narrative.

104 Karkov suggests this is influenced by the symbolic illustration of psalters in Anglo-Saxon England, which were popular in Anglo-Saxon England; many eleventh century Anglo-Saxon manuscripts demonstrate the influence of the Carolingian Utrecht Psalter. On the symbolic illustration of the Psalter, see Openshaw 1992, and for a more general view on the history of illustration in Old English manuscripts, see Campbell 1975, esp. 24-28.

limitations of the representations become apparent....The viewer imagines the "story" to continue past its border; the frame does not serve to limit the action" (Head 1997: 60). In the latter, "the situation of the Marys on the right border [rather than within the frame] says that they have just arrived, and the viewer is encouraged to think about where they have come from...A frame structured in this way does not ask the viewer to perceive the depicted moment as complete but to imagine its continuation" (Head 1997: 61-62). Such relationships, according to Head, dissolve the division between the representative and the decorative and encourage the viewer to meditate on and consider the broader context of the material depicted (Head 1997: 60). While Head discusses the related effects of poetic and visual framing, I propose to utilize the unique opportunity Junius 11 offers with its extensive program of illustrations and look at these two in tandem.

The opening illustration of Junius 11 depicts God enthroned above the clouds and flanked by seraphim. Catherine Karkov sees this image as dependent on descriptions in Isaiah 6: 1-2[105] and Revelations 4: 9-11[106] that "unite Old and New Testaments just as the manuscript as a whole unites poems based on the Old and New testaments in a narrative present" (Karkov 2001: 46-47). This parallels the opening of

105 "In quo anno mortuus est rex Ozias, vidi Dominum sedentem super solium excelsum et elevatum; et ea quae sub ipso erant replebant templum."

"In the year king Ozias died, I saw the lord sitting upon a throne high and elevated: and his train filled the temple. Uon it stood the seraphims: the one had six wings, and the other had six wings".

106 Et cum darent illa animalia gloriam, et honorem, et benedictionem sedenti super thronum, viventi in saecula saeculorum, procedebant viginti quator seniores ante sedentem in throno, et adorabant viventem in saecula saeculorum, et mittebant coronas suas ante thronum, dicentes: Dignus es Domine Deus noster accipere gloriam, et honorem, et virtutem, quia tu creasti omnia et propter voluntatem tuam erant, et creata sunt".

"And when those living creatures gave glory and honour and benedictions to him that sitteth on the throne, who liveth forever and ever; The four and twenty ancients fell down before him that sitteth on the throne , who liveth forever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne saying, Thou art worthy, O Lord our God, to receive glory and honour, and power: because thou hast created all things; and for thy will they were and have been created".

Genesis A, which begins in the present tense ("us is riht micel...", 1), and switches to the past tense ("næs him fruma æfre/or geworden", 5b-6a), and suggests the future ("ne nu ende cymþ...ac he bið a rice", 6b-7a), demonstrating the eternity of God. Additionally, the surrounding of God with both the seraphim and the architectural frame may be paralleled in the verbal envelope created by the word micel in lines 1-14, which frames the exhortation to praise and the state of bliss before the fall of the angels.[107] Karkov suggests that the architectural frame (which contains the amorphously shaped clouds) adds to the visionary quality of the illustration (as both the passages from Isaiah and Revelations are visionary in nature).[108]

Page 3 begins the first recollection of the fall of the angels. Herbert Broderick claims this picture has its iconographic and compositional source in the Utrecht Psalter, but notes that the architectural superstructure of Junius 11 is absent from the Psalter (Broderick 1983: 166-168). The illustration is divided into three horizontal panels, clearly intended to be viewed from top to bottom as the angels fall from heaven into hell. In the top panel, God in heaven stands outside of a castle or hall, where angels praise him and offer him gifts. In the second panel, Satan, surrounded by rebel angels, stands on a floor within two columns, and on the third and lowest level, the fallen (and falling) angels tumble headlong into the maw of a beast, where Satan lies bound. Though framed by two columns, it is the least ordered architectural space on the page. From top to bottom, the illustration become less structured, the

107 Colette Stévanovitch points out that the only other envelope pattern based on micel in Old English poetry occurs in *Exodus* 554-564, in which Moses speaks of the bliss in the promised land in relation to God's might. The last half lines are almost exact equivalents, containing the a form verb "to be", a possessive pronoun and the phrase *blæd micel (*Stévanovitch 1996: 474-475)

108 It may be interesting to note, that as God is framed by both the architectural frame and the the seraphim, the opening exhortation to praise surrounds the names for God "Us is riht micel þæt we *rodera weard,/wereda wuldorcining* wordum herigen,/ modum lufien"(1-3).

neat geometry of the hall and organized rows of worshippers contrasted by the chaotic tumbling of the falling angels into the rounded mouth of the beast and the wave-like flames. The contorted, downward-facing figures in the bottom panel are quite literally turned away from God in the top panel, as they they turned away from God ("ahwurfon") in line 25 of the poem, calling to mind Augustine's notion that evil is a turning away from good. In depictions of hell in Junius 11, it is fairly standard that figures within hell's confines tend to be less ordered and upright,[109] tumbling haphazardly over one another; the difference is particularly marked between the upright Lucifer in the middle panel and the supine, bound Satan on the bottom panel on page 3.

Even when contained by an architectural structure, as on pages 3, 16, 17, 20 and 36, the geometry of hell is all wrong, lacking the straight lines and well ordered architectural space of heaven and paradise. On pages 16 and 36 (and to a lesser extent 17 and 20) the enclosed space of hell gives the impression of circularity. Commenting on page 36, Karkov notes that " hell is a somewhat amorphous shape that literally violates the neat rectangle of the frame" (2001:38). Perhaps this deliberately disordered and disruptive depiction of hell can parallel the hypermetric lines 44-46, which not only depict the increase of tortures of hell, but temporarily disrupt the regular metrical structure of the poem. It has been discussed above how the amorphous nature of hell is emphasized by the poetic language; for example the contrasting alliterative pair "fyre and færcyle" in line 43.[110] Although its outer shape is

109 Karkov 2001: 40 points out here and elsewhere that the fallen figures are almost never depicted as standing upright; this is also true of Adam and Eve's posture after eating the able.
110 The same idea is contained in *Genesis B*: "forst fyrnum cald, symble fyr oððe gar" (316).

amorphous, the enclosing nature of hell is doubly emphasized, as the bodies within never violate its confines. Satan is bound in hell, doubly enclosed, an idea found in *Genesis B*[111] and *Christ and Satan*.[112] The unstructured yet enclosing nature of Hell perhaps also mirrors its paradoxical immeasurability in *Christ and Satan* 695-722, when Christ condemns Satan "Wite þu eac, awyrgde, hu wid ond sid/ helheoðo dreorig and mid hondom amet", "Know then, cursed one, how far and wide the dreary hall of hell, and measure it with your hands" (698-99). Satan attempts this, but "þa him þuhte þæt þanon wære/ to helleduru hund þusenda/ mila gemearcodes, swa hine se mihtega het/ þæt þur sinne cræft susle amæte", "then it seemed to him that thence it was a hundred thousand miles' distance to the doors of hell, since the mighty one, through the craft of his mind, ordered him to measure his torment" (719-722). [113]

The circular shape of hell contrasts but is perhaps also reflected in neat circles in the depictions of creation, in he same way that there are some parallels in language between hell and visible creation prior to its completion. The two illustrations (pages 6 and 7) depicting the act of creation lack architectural frames but instead show a series of semi-circles placed on top of one another in which various acts of creation take place. Karkov sees this as emphasizing the act itself, rather than the things created (Karkov 2001:37). She also suggests that "the circles may...have been thought

111 "ac ligcað me ymbe irenbenda", "but iron binds lie around me" (371), "me habbað hringa gespong,/ sliðhearda sal, siðes amyrred,/ afyrred me min feðe. fet synt gebundene,/ handa gehæfte", "A chain of links, a tormenting loop has impeded my movement, taken away my power to move. My feet are bound, my hands fettered", (377b-380a).

112 "and ic in wite sceal /bidan in bendum", "and I, in punishment, must remain in bonds", 48b-49a

113 Thomas D. Hill notes the irony in this as a punishment meted out by Christ the true measurer of all creation (696b) in which "Satan parodies the role of God, who as *Meotod* serenely measures space, time, and history" (Hill 1981: 412). The punishment is especially fitting as the demons complain that Satan vaingloriously claimed that "ðin sunu wære meotod moncynnes", "your son was the measurer of mankind" (63b-64a). The term *Meotod* is especially prevalent in *Christ and Satan*, appearing as a name for God and Christ twenty times.

to convey something of the process of shaping, or becoming, as they are in marked contrast to the strongly rectilinear or architectural frames that characterize the rest of the first artist's illustrations" (Karkov 2001: 37-38). This would indicate that architecture is used in the illustrations to designate "created" space, and the lack of the architectural frames (in favor of circles and semi-circles) in these images of creation show that order has not yet been imposed. It is worth pointing out that in this context, we find hypermetric lines again in *Genesis A (*155-157), as perhaps their standing out from the lines around them emphasizes the spatial order that does not yet exist.

Depictions of the fall of Adam and Eve in Junius 11 offer further insight as to how architectural space and dwelling are connected. When the two act in obedience to God, they are are neatly framed and surrounded by architectural, structured space. But when the pair begins to defy him, the architectural framing vanishes, prefiguring the protoplasts' removal from the harmony and order of paradise. In several illustrations, paradise is at least framed by columns and ordered neatly (on page 20 this provide a particular comparison to hell, from which Satan's messenger arrives).[114] The foliage of the garden within the architectural frames, and the occasional mimicking of framing columns by the plants, emphasizes the harmony of Eden (for example, pages 13, 20, and 24). However, during the temptation and post-fall, the architectural frames more or less vanish, usually leaving a single line to demarcate the margins of the pages.[115] This absence seems to foreshadow the coming exile and dislocation brought about by

114 Karkov notes, however, that on page 10, Eve stands against the border of the frame, with one hand reaching beyond the column, and one foot on a beast that is creeping off into the margins. This foreshadows Eve's transgression as she (and the lion) are both inside and outside of paradise (Karkov 2001: 61).

115 However, in the unsuccessful first temptation of Adam on page 24 (corresponding to lines 496-546 of *Genesis B*), there is a colonnade in the lower portion of the illustration.

the temptation and fall. During the judgment of the serpent on page 41, God is surrounded by columns and arches at the top of the page. Only the right hand column extends to the lower portion of the page, the left hand column being replaced with a tree (the upper left hand column, near to the serpent, appears more naturalistic). The architectural frames return in the illustrations of the expulsion on pages 45-6, which depict Adam and Eve in the garb of travelers/pilgrims. On the upper left of page 45, the pair and God are contained solidly within architectural space, in what appears to be a building interior. On the lower right, the two seem to be exiting through a door. Adam's closeness to the framing column and his foot stepping over the lower boundary line indicate their motion out of the architectural space of paradise. On the next page, 46, Adam and Eve, still in the costume of pilgrims, have been shown the door by (presumably) Archangel Michael. In contrast to the structured doorway of Paradise on the left side of the page, Adam and Eve stand on grassy foliage with the sky overhead and only a single line separates the illustration from the page margin. The removal of architectural space seems to suggest the loss of paradisiacal order that Adam and Eve have incurred, as well as implies that their condition (and that of humanity) henceforth is one of a pilgrimage, of exile the true home.[116]

The architectural space returns in subsequent depictions of human affairs. The birth of Abel on page 47 is depicted in an architectural setting, showing Adam and Eve as the progenitors of social order. This is further evinced by the architectural structures in which both the descendants of Cain and Seth are depicted, though Cain's line is

116 However, the flowering landscape over which they traverse may relate to the description of the landscape immediately following the expulsion as pleasant, rather than the more traditional description of its harshness (*Genesis A* 952-960).

collapsed into three illustrations, and the architectural settings are less elaborate than those of Seth's line. Karkov also points out that the representations of the two lines reflect the three orders of society discussed in the writings of Ælfric and King Alfred. The children of Cain (particularly the sons of Lamech on page 54) reflect the *laboratores* (the workers), while the descendants of Seth bear the accoutrements of the *bellatores* (warriors) and *oratores* (clergy) (see illustrations of Seth 56, Cainan 57, Mahalalel 58, Enoch 60, Methusaleh 62, and Noah 63) (Karkov 2001: 82-83). These illustrations demonstrate the social order set up by the descendants of Adam and Eve as well as potentially "reflect the world of their Anglo-Saxon audience" (Karkov 2001: 82). Karkov points out that the genealogical emphasis and iconography of power in these illustrations would have reminded the audience that their own history and genealogies, royal and otherwise, began with the narrative in the Book of Genesis, an idea stressed in the writing of Bede and Ælfric (Karkov 2000: 214, 220).[117] The history portrayed in these poems was also the history of the Anglo-Saxon audience.

In a few cases, frames are simplified to a few drawn lines, and architectural imagery is absent. The story of the murder of Abel on page 49 is simply framed, while the narrative meanders in a zig-zag downward, from Cain and Abel performing their tasks in the top left, to their offering sacrifices on the right, to Abel tending his flocks on the left, to the murder on the right, to Abel's blood (in the form of a half-buried Abel) crying out to God in the bottom left corner.[118] The various segments are

117 For an overview of the genealogies in *Genesis* as an origin of historical narrative, see Spiegel 1983. See also Anlezark 2002.

118 The image of Abel "growing" out of the ground calls to mind a striking passage in lines 982b-985 of *Genesis A* , in which the "branches of sin" spread forth from the blood of Abel. See Wright 1996 for a discussion of this image. Wright notes that this image has some folkloric and apocryphal sources, but sees the most immediate source for this passage, and lines 192-199 in *Maxims I,* as lines 2710-2716 and 2721-2729 in Aldhelm's *Carmen de Virginitate*.

separated by jagged lines, which also give the impression of a hilly landscape on which Abel's flocks graze. This zig-zagging not only leads the viewer's eye through the narrative, but the absence of architectural imagery and framing seems to anticipate Cain's exile, like that of Adam and Eve before him, again demonstrating the impossibility of dwelling in sin. A similar jagged line separates Cain from God and divides the three horizontal panels on page 51, which depicts the exile of Cain itself, though architectural structures appear in the second panel and contain the actors in the third. [119]

The depiction of Enoch on page 60 and his ascension are framed simply and contain no architectural structures. Karkov shows how the iconography of the illustrations and the text in *Genesis A* emphasize Enoch's role as a type of Christ.[120] Concerning his assumption, the poem states "ac he cwic gewat mid cyning engla/ of þyssum lænan lfe, frean,/ on þam gearwum þe his gast onfeng/ ær hine to monnum modor brohte", "but still alive he departed from this transitory life with the king of angels, the lord, in those garments which his spirit received before his mother brought

119 The lines in which God pronounces Cain's fate are also hypermetric: "...awyrged to widan aldre. ne seleð þe wæstmas eorðe/wlitige to woruldnutte. ac heo wældreore swealh/ halge of handum þinum. forþon heo þe hroðra oftihð/ glæmes grene folde. þu scealt gemor hweorfan/ arleas of earde þinum swa þu abele wurde...." "[You will be] cursed forever. The earth will not grant you its lovely fruits for your use, since it has swallowed the holy blood from your hand. The green earth will withhold the brightness of its pleasures. Miserable, without honor, you shall turn away from your earth, since you became [the killer of] Abel"(1015-1019). The lengthened lines God's dramatic pronouncement seems to emphasize Cain's exile from his native land and the pleasures of the earth. The verb ahweorfan is also used to describe the devils in line 25 and hweorfan appears also in line 28, when God tells Adam and Eve they must be exiled from Paradise.

120 On page 60 Enoch stands on a dragon and holds an open book. The former recalls Christ prefigured in Psalm 90: 13: "Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, et conculabis leonem et draconem," "Thou shalt walk upon the asp and the basilisk: and thou shalt trample underfoot the lion and the dragon" and foreshadows Enoch's role in battling the Antichrist at the End of Days (on this see Ælfric quoted in Karkov 2001: 9-10). Karkov sees the book as connecting Enoch to Christ as Creator and Judge (Karkov 2001: 9-10). This would connect Enoch to both the beginning and end of time. In the depiction of his ascent, Enoch is surrounded by twelve men, paralleling the twelve apostles of Christ. The upward gaze draws the viewer's eye upward, suggesting a bottom-to-top narrative progression.

him to men" (1210-1213). According to Karkov, this linking of his birth to his death (and iconographically to Christ at the beginning and end of time) "repeats the linking of beginnings and ends that forms a recurring pattern throughout the Junius Manuscript (2001: 87). Karkov, following Carol Farr, points out the idea that Enoch (as well as Elias), remains between Heaven and Earth, which endows him "with the potential for past, present, and future," (cited in Karkov 2001: 87).[121] Thus, the lack of architecture in the images of Enoch emphasizes his removal not only from social order, but his motion outside of the flow of linear history, becoming instead connected to both the beginning and end of time. Thus, architectural framing can serve as an indicator of temporality as a marker of dwelling in the world, not only by parsing sequences of events in a single illustration but also indicating the relation to linear, historical time itself. Emplacement is the intersection between "space" and "time", where one dwells. Generally, architectural framing is the most elaborate when actors are righteous and following God's decrees, and less so when characters, as sinners, are turning away from God, indicating the dislocation caused by disobedience. In the case of Enoch, we may see the lack of architectural frame as indicating his return to God and movement outside of time.[122]

121 Farr also notes that Bede views Enoch as an anagogical figure for the elect at the end of the seventh age of the world in *de Schematibus et Tropis* (cited Karkov 2001: 88).

122 In line 1216b, the text says that Enoch "woruld ofgeaf", "left" or "gave up the world". Forms of the verb *ofgyfen* are also used to in lines 85b and 96b to describe the devils' willful loss of heaven, also setting up Enoch's assumption in contrast to the fall. The phrase "woruld ofgeaf" shows up in lines 1127, 1164, 1194 et al. means "die", but Enoch "cwic gewat", "departed while still living" (1210). It is interesting to note that even dying is expressed in spatial terms in this figure of speech. See Hill 1988 for a discussion of the "variegated obit", the use of different ways to describe the deaths of the antidiluvian patriarchs. Though Hill does not discuss "woruld ofgeaf" specifically, he does note that "those figures whose obits are variegated in Genesis A are for the most part Sethites-sons of the good Seth rather than the evil Cain" (Hill 1988: 113).

Though much more could be said about the illustrations, I will conclude with a brief glance of one of the most important architectural structures in the Old Testament: Noah's ark. Four illustrations depict Noah's ark in Junius 11: construction (65), embarkment (66), voyage on the waters (68), and disembarkation (73). As discussed above, the Deluge signifies the end of the first age of the world, and the beginning of the second, and poetic language in *Genesis A* links the two.[123] This is also suggested in some of the illustrations: for example, the seraphim framing the ark on page 66 recall the seraphim framing the enthroned Lord on the frontispiece. The dramatic waves also recall the shape of the clouds in the frontispiece (rather than the placid waters on page 6). The completed ark on pages 66 and 68 is essentially a church on top of a longship; this makes sense as, typologically speaking, the ark prefigures the church, as its steersman Noah, prefigures Christ, and the journey itself a type of baptism.[124] Page 73, the depiction of the disembarkation, marks the beginning of the second artist's work.[125] The ark is no longer a Viking-boat church, but a more rounded shape. Gatch suggests that this draws on an earlier tradition of the ark as a sarcophagus or tub, which would be suitable should the illustrator be attempting to highlight the typological relationship of Noah's voyage to baptism (Gatch 1975: 4, 8-10). Karkov also plausibly suggests that the rounded shape of the second artist's ark may recall the circular shapes in the depictions of creation on pages 6 and 7, which

123 For example: "Ða Noe ongan newan stefne/ mid hleomagum ham staðelian", "Then Noah began to establish anew a home, with his kin" (1556). The only other usage of the verb *staðelian* (as *gestaðelian*) in *Genesis A* is in line 115a, which discusses the primal creation: "rodor arærde and þis rume land/ gestaþelode", "he raised up the sky and established this broad earth" (114-115a).

124 This is tradition found in Ambrose, Augustine, Bede and Pseudo-Bede. See Doane 1978: 259 for a summary and Danielou 1985-160. On the ecclesiastical architecture of the ark see Karkov 2001: 90-91 and Gatch 1975: 81-10.

125 It appears an illustration was planned for page 70, but never completed.

strikes me as particularly important, as the deluge marks the end of one age and the beginning of another, a sort of re-creation of the world. This would not preclude the possibility of the image also calling to mind baptism as a sort of second birth. It may also be interesting to note that there is no architectural imagery in the next image, Noah's sacrifice on page 74. Though the second artist is less interested in frames (and never uses architectural structures as frames) than the first, we might argue that because Noah has just come from the ark and stepped on to the purged and renewed world, he is taking the first step in dwelling anew.

Though there are other important architectural episodes illustrated[126] that are worth discussion, this survey has illustrated enough to highlight a few points. The emphasis on space and spatial organization in the illustrations, demonstrated by the heavy use of architectural space as a framing, organizing and plot-setting device, reiterates the patterns of building/ creation and habitation, inhabiting and dislocation in *Genesis A* and the Junius manuscript in a larger sense. The first artist's (and possibly the second's) attention to the use of space and framing in relation to the narrative cannot be accidental, and he seems to distinguish between narrative moments that involve emplacement, dislocation, and creation. Depictions of "emplacement", such as those of prelapsarian paradise or the birth of Seth, are either elaborately framed or depict architectural structures. In the case of paradise, the architectural frames and structures seem to blend together with the foliage of the natural landscape, indicating a harmony of man and nature. Images of dislocation, by contrast, have minimal to no framing or place their actors outside of architectural structures.

126 For example, the construction of the Tower of Babel, (illustration 82, lines 1649-1701) and Abraham's construction of the altar (illustration page 87, not described in detail the poem)

Depictions of creation contain no frames, but recall circular patterns. The haphazard architecture of hell seems to be a perversion of both the ordered architectural space of emplacement and the evenly drawn circles of creation.

For the illustrator, as for the poet, being in the world is being in *place*. The *Genesis* narrative conceives of cosmic history as a series of dislocations, exile and habitation, evinced in the self-referential poetic language and careful structuring of the biblical narrative. That it is a verse paraphrase of the biblical book does not render it unoriginal and in fact throws its concerns with emplacement and dislocation into powerful relief. The use of architectural space and framing in the illustrations of Junius 11 performs a similar function in emphasizing thematic connections and creating a unified narrative. The illustrations incorporate additional interpretations and typology not explicitly present in the poem, but which also strengthen the repeating cycles of exile and dwelling that characterizes both human and cosmic history.[127] I have also suggested that the poet may use certain rhetorical techniques, such as envelope patterns and hypermetricity to convey similar ideas about emplacement and dislocation.

Another interesting aspect of these illustrations is that they do not always set up "natural" space, such as foliage, as entirely dichotomous with architectural space. In some cases the two are used to highlight contrasts, as in the exile of Adam and Eve on page 46, but in others, such as creation and depictions of Eden, it would seem that architectural space is also used to represent that which is "natural" and vice versa.

127 Although time has not allowed for a full discussion here, I do think this can also be borne out in the other poems in the Junius manuscript, for example the search for (and prefiguring of) a homeland in *Exodus*, the exile and captivity of the Israelites that frames *Daniel*, which also has at its center a song praising the order of creation, and the exile and captivity in hell of Satan in *Christ and Satan*. See Howe 2003 for further discussion.

This is also true of the description of creation as a whole in the poems discussed, in which all of nature is described in architectural terms. This would suggest that the poets conceive of a dwelling as integrated, and building occurs through interactions with natural space. As Heidegger puts it, "Man's relation to locations, and through locations to spaces, inheres in his dwelling. The relationship between man and space is none other than dwelling, strictly thought and spoken" (Heidegger 1971: 155). Additionally Heidegger stresses that it is through building that both location and space are resolved and made comprehensible for men (Heidegger 1971: 155-156). Architectural space in the illustrations of the created world seems to demonstrate the confluence of human and divine order and seems to represent being in a specific place (versus exile) rather than being within a specific building. These images support the idea that creation is an integrated ordering of space and substance,[128] a process similar to that of composing and performing poetry. As we move on to more terrestrial landscapes it will be important to keep in mind the backdrop of relations between the created world and language.

Genesis A and the poems discussed in the opening of this chapter demonstrate a particular attention to spatiality in relation to creation. In addition they emphasize an important aspect of dwelling: God. As described in the previous chapter, Heidegger explains being and dwelling as the set of relations between and interaction of the fourfold of earth and sky, mortals and divinities.[129] As these poems illustrate, the order of the visible world of mortals exists in relation to the heavens. The poems discussed

128 See the discussion at the end of chapter 1 on the overlapping of space and substance in Greek terms such as *chora.*

129 See Heidegger 1971: 147-149 on the relational nature of the fourfold. For the Anglo-Saxons, of course, the divinities and heavens were far more tangible and apparent than for Heidegger.

in the opening of this chapter also emphasize the connection of the poetic word to creation through the idea of *Logos*, and stress the use of the poetic word to reflexively praise God's creation. To truly dwell on earth, with all its vicissitudes, is to turn towards God, praise him, and live according to his laws. The illustrations of Junius 11 demonstrate this particularly--those living righteously are depicted within ordered, architectural space, while those who sin are cast out of it, into an apparent disorder perhaps reminiscent of hell. Occasionally, through acts of righteousness, one can dwell again in the renewed world, as Noah, or give up the world completely and return to God, as Enoch. Ultimately, these depictions help to set up the paradigm for the close relation of terrestrial landscapes and structures to both heaven and hell, as we will see in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

The *Blickling Homilies:* Preaching the Landscape

"In eternity there is indeed something true and sublime. But all these times and places and occasions are now and here. God himself culminates in the present moment, and will never be more divine in the lapse of all the ages. And we are enabled to apprehend at all what is sublime and noble only by the perpetual instilling and drenching of the reality that surrounds us."

-Henry David Thoreau, *Walden* (69)

I. The Context of the *Blickling Homilies*

At a first glance, landscape in the Old English anonymous homilies, typified by those in the Blickling and Vercelli collections, appears fairly bleak if not completely void of presence. Indeed very little scholarly work has addressed the subjects of landscape, the natural world, and even *place* in these bodies of vernacular preaching and next to none has focused its attention primarily on the role of these topics. At least part of this comparative neglect derives from the very actual and general dearth of homilies that describe landscapes and places in detail at all, as they generally favor more pressing and practical religious issues. However, as I hope to show, a consciousness of landscape and place underlies the theology and preaching in the some of the anonymous homilies in the *Blickling* homiliary.[1] Emphases on place even in stock descriptions can help to explain the occurrence of descriptions of landscape as an outgrowth of eschatological concerns, closely bound with questions of temporality, present in homiliary as a whole. In fact, such landscapes as the ones discussed in this chapter can perhaps be useful keys to understanding the experience of Old English

1 Princeton University Library, MS Scheide 71. See Willard 1960 for facsimile. Unless otherwise noted citation and translation are from Morris's edition of the *Blickling Homilies*.

vernacular preaching. Having identified some uses of landscape in the anonymous *Blickling Homilies*, I set these landscapes within the context of late tenth-century eschatology and conceptions of time. For the sake of space and concision, this chapter focuses on two homilies in the *Blickling* collection, homilies XI and XVI, though other homilies and collections of homilies also deserve attention.[2] This chapter focuses primarily on how the "dwelling perspective" of landscape as a temporal network of relations and interactions can illuminate the depiction and function of the foreign landscapes discussed in these two homilies, so this more theoretically-based discussion will take some precedence over practical concerns (for example, a more concrete explication of vernacular preaching in late 10th century England). By foregrounding temporal aspects of landscape, this chapter treats the anonymous homilies as "events" in their own right, not merely as compilations or reiterations of earlier, Latinate material. In the *Blickling* homilies that focus on specific places, the homilist uses descriptions of landscape to situate the audience in a historical moment through which they are able experience the transcendent power of the divine. In addition, the landscapes in homilies XI and XVI both contain architectural structures (churches) that are the products of coordinated divine grace and human effort, and seem to be not separate from the mountains upon which they are built, but parts or extensions of them. These landscapes then become embodiments of the interconnectedness of all creation, and of the interplay between the divine and worldly.

In terms of its own historical context, based on Homily XI, the *Blickling* homiliary is usually dated to the years around 971, but there is the possibility that the

2 For example, see Wright 1994 for a discussion of the detailed landscape of Hell in Vercelli IX.

homilies themselves are earlier.[3] They are generally agreed to have been composed in the Anglian dialect, though the locus of composition is uncertain.[4] Mary Swan suggests that the production and likely early years of use of the homiliary "fall firmly into the most active period of the Winchester centered project to promote, in Wessex and beyond, a reformed Benedictine monasticism which was designed to adjust the ideological project of English Christianity, whose impact lay on religious identities" (Swan 2007:179).[5]

The question of audience has proven more contentious. Though Milton Gatch (1989) asserts that the circumstances of homiletic performances and their specific audience are unknown and unknowable, there is some general agreement that the *Blickling Homilies* were intended for a wide audience that included (and perhaps was mainly comprised of) the laity and that the homilies reflect, to an extent, "popular belief" of the late 10th or early 11th century (Aronstam 1977: 272).[6] According to Robin Aronstam, the "popular nature" of the homilies is evident in the lack of detailed scriptural exegesis or sacramental theology (Aronstam 1977: 276), and in an emphasis on necessary physical acts of penance and moral living. Aronstam also sees as

3 For discussion of the manuscript see Scragg 1985, and Toswell 2007. Toswell adds to Scragg that the manuscripts appears to comprise of seven booklets.
For dating see Scragg 1985 and discussions in Clayton 2000:167 and 1998: 131-2; Wilcox 2011:99-100; Gatch 1965: 117 and n3.
4 For langauge, see summaries in Clayton 2000: 167 and 1998: 131-2 and Menner 1949.
On origin, see Wilcox 2011:102-7, who concludes that the homilies where copied and gathered in Winchester. Wenisch 1979 suggests them to be West-Saxon copies of Mercian originals.
5 Lees 1999 also emphasizes the importance of Benedictine reform. On the Benedictine reform in England see Förster 1942 and summary in Blair 346-354
6 For a more thorough discussion of "popular" religion see Jolly 1996, esp ch. 1. Jolly sees popular religion as broadly encompassing Christian populations and as well as overlapping with learned, literary and dogmatic "formal religion". Jolly writes, "In general, all doctrine and ritual technically belonged to the entire Christian community whether presented formally in Latin or explained in the vernacular for lay persons. Likewise, the formal church did not exist in isolation from the culture it inhabited; churchmen and scholars were Anglo-Saxons too. A common Christian worldview was shared by both popular religion and the formal religion" (Jolly 1996: 18-19).

evidence for this the focus on Christology, Mariology and hagiography in which "the soteriological function of Christ is subordinated to the exemplary not because the latter is more important because it requires a more definite human response" (Aronstam 1997: 276).[7] Additionally, the communal engagement (which of course includes the laity) with both religious authorities and the landscape of Monte Gargano in Homily XVI, discussed below, might have appealed more to an audience that was comprised in part of the laity than a strictly monastic one.[8] Mary Clayton proposes that the composite nature of the *Blickling Homilies*, as comprising both homiletic elements and narratives about saints' lives (the latter of which would have primarily been read by monks in legendaries or passionals) suggests their need to speak to both preachers and a laity who may only have one day a week to receive important instruction (Clayton 2000: 170). In addition, she points out that the closest analogues to the *Blickling Homilies* in terms of composition, particularly the Carolingian homiliary of Saint Père, seem to have been geared to primarily lay audiences (Clayton 2000: 170).[9] Jonathan Wilcox, noting scribal corrections that seem intended to

7 Aronstam also points out that the only *Blickling* homily to deal with a monastic figure, Saint Martin (Blickling XVII, XVIII in Morris) focuses less on the specifically monastic aspects of the saint's life and more on the public ones, such as gifts to the poor and miracles. I assume this to mean acts that take place in the public sphere. Aronstam also points out that "the lack of attention to peculiarly monastic ideals would be remarkable, given the fact that religious reform in tenth and eleventh century England was begun and executed by monastic communities, if the homilies' audience were to include many religious. Since the public was composed of laymen, however, the homilies concentrated on those portions of Martin's life most suitable for emulation by the laity" (Aronstam 1977: 277).

8 Interestingly, Aronstam suggests that "the homilist's belief comes closest to that of the fifth- and sixth- century theologians John Cassian, Vincent of Lérins and Faustus of Riez. These have been called both "Semi-Pelagian" and "Semi-Augustinian" since they rejected the Augustinian doctrines of predestination and of total human depravity after the Fall, preferring to assert the possibility, in some cases, of the cooperation of the human will with divine grace. They did not dispute the necessity of gracious action, but broadened the possibility for human response to God's universal call to salvation" (Aronstam 1977: 275). This "cooperation" of human will (and actions) can be seen in the revelation and construction of the church at Monte Gargano in Blicking XVI.

9 Cambridge Pembroke College MS 25. For an analysis of the manuscript and its influence on Anglo-Saxon sources, see Cross 1987. Cross suggests that there is enough evidence to "suggest that our composer had access to writings created by insular writers or under insular influence" (Cross 1987: 86).

facilitated smoother oral delivery, asserts that the message of the homilies, in its general moralizing exhortation, would have been suitable to both larger cathedrals and smaller local congregations (Wilcox 2011: 106-113).

In two separate articles, Mary Swan (2004 and 2007) discusses how the performative aspects of the homilies "form, reiterate, and alter the identities of their target audiences" (2007:177). Based in Judith Butler's concept of performativity and more immediately by Claire Lees' study of performativity in Old English religious writing,[10] Swan argues that these homilies set out to "construct or reconstruct Christian identity as something that relates to a group of which the preacher is part, in that the preacher and audience must believe the same things and perform the same rituals but from which the preacher is differentiated by virtue of superior authority and control" (Swan 2007:188), though importantly, the voice of the preacher is meaningless without its audience (Swan 2007:179). In particular, Swan discusses the use, in the *Blickling* homiliary and in other Old English homilies, of the phrase "men ða leofestan", "beloved men", and the use of the vernacular (rather than Latin), which helps to construct a sense of a specifically English Christian community. However, as Lees points out, the use of "we" is also a feature of Latin homiletic traditions and is secondary to the use of a "highly literate oral style" of the vernacular, which in effect treats that which is radically new (the vernacular) as tradition (Lees 1999: 35). According to Lees, the "textual features of traditionality--in form, context, language, choice, and style serve a supratextual function, preaching works are performative

Wright 2008 provides examples from Irish texts to support this. The potential of some Celtic influence in the *Blickling Homilies* in question will be treated below.

10 See Lees 1999 esp 127-32 and Kienzle 2000 on performance of the sermon and identity shaping.

events" (Lees 1999: 35). Thus, such preaching not only imparts exemplary moral lessons but also helps the audience form a sense of community, both locally defined and emplaced within the Christian world.

II: Perception of Time

Most scholarship agrees that the *Blickling Homilies* use conventional source material in a more or less traditional and uncomplicated form,[11] though a smattering of apocrypha, notably the Thomas-apocrypha and *Visio Pauli* are employed in specific places, mostly for enhancing a dramatic eschatology.[12] The homilies are divided into two cycles based on determination date: the Temporale and the Sanctorale, which together comprise the liturgical year. The Temporale is based on the date of Easter and the Sundays and holy days associated with it. Dating for Easter is determined by the Hebrew Calendar, so the dates of feasts in the Temporale are generally not fixed. On the other hand, the Sanctorale, based on the Roman solar calendar, is comprised of feasts celebrated on fixed dates. While the Temporale feasts were largely consistent throughout the Christian world, celebration of feasts in the Sanctorale ranged from universal to more locally specific.[13] Nevertheless it would appear that the *Blickling*

11 Dalbey 1978: 237 "None of the homilies is particularly unusual in either subject or form. All treat of common Lenten themes, use their biblical materials conservatively, and draw upon ideas from established sources. The parenetic homilies are generally more successful than the exegetical ones. In general the homilists can with only limited success meet the demands for order, logic and coherence which an exegetical analysis places upon them. But the end of all exegesis here is less an intellectual understanding of scriptural themes than an emotional readiness to live virtuously and to merit heaven."
12 See Gatch 1965: 117-166 for a more thorough discussion. On the *Apocalypse of Thomas* and *Visio Pauli* in Old English homilies, see Gatch 1964. For a general idea of eschatological themes in Old English literature see Hall 2005: 136-48. See also Wright 1991, esp. 106-74 for a compelling discussion of the *Visio Pauli* in Anglo-Saxon homilies to be discussed below, and influences from Irish tradition, itself particularly compelling as regards landscape. For generaly information see di Paolo Healey 1978.
13 For a helpful explanation of the distinction between Temporale and Sanctorale, see Lapidge 1996 on Aelfric, and a more thorough discussion of structure and origns in Dix 1945. See Gatch 1965:11-18 on why some Sundays in Lent are missing from the *Blickling Homilies*, and n 4-8 concerning material that

Temporale and Sanctorale homilies are consistent in their general philosophy (Dalbey 1998: 221). I will examine similarities between one homily in the Temporale (Blicking XI) and one in the Sanctorale (Blickling XVI). Marcia Dalbey gives a general conceptual summary of the Lenten homilies (which constitute part of the Temporale and the beginning of the *Blickling Homilies*), saying that,

"In these four (i.e. Lenten) homilies, as in the collection as a whole, the emphasis is almost entirely tropological. The preachers are concerned with the immediate practical problem of convincing their hearers to live moral lives in this world. The considerable eschatological emphasis in the homilies is a means of exhortation and of making vivid and immediate to the audience the rewards for virtue and the punishments of iniquity" (Dalbey 1998: 221).

As Gatch also points out, the eschatological focus of the *Blicking Homilies* seems to be not only general exhortation to the audience to a moral life, but one intended to prepare the audience for the coming of Eastertide, at which the last Judgment is said to occur (Gatch 1989: 130),[14] by equating various aspects and events of Christ's life (particularly death and resurrection) with cosmic history (Gatch 1989: 130). Blickling XI also includes the enumeration of six ages of the world and the seventh, which begins after Judgement Day. This also rings clearly in terms of the belief that Judgment Day was indeed imminent in the years leading up to and immediately following the turn of millennium.[15] Time, both linear and liturgical (that

might have been lost.

14 See Blickling III, Morris 1880: 28-29 and VII, Morris 1880: 82-83 and 90-95.
E.g. the opening of Homily VII, for Easter Day: "Men þa leofestan, þis eastorlice geryno us æteoweð þæs ecean lifes sweotole bysene, swa we nu gehyran magon forþ reccean & seggean, þæt nænigne tweogean ne þearf þæt seo wyrd on þas ondweardan tid geweorþan sceal, þæt se ilca Scyppend gesittan wile on his domsetle him biþ beforan andweard eal engla cynn & manna cynn, & eac swylce werigra gasta, & þær beoð asmeade æghwylces dæda...",
"Dearest men, this paschal festival presents to us a manifest token of the eternal life, as we may no hear related, so that none may need doubt that the event shall happen at this present season, when the same Creator will sit upon his judgment eat, and before him shall be present all angel-kind and mankind, and also accursed spirits, and there shall be investigated each man's deeds" (Morris 1880: 82-83).
15 See Blickling VII (Morris 1880: 91-5, "Dominica Pascha") in which the homilist lists portents of the end of days, saying describing the time as "ondweard(an) tid, þonne se dom nealæceþ"

is, cyclical), is accelerating on a downward spiral towards the end of days, which ,as the homilies suggest, is near.[16] Nevertheless, as Blickling XI stresses, the precise time of the apocalypse is also ambiguous and unknowable:

> We leornaþ þæt seo tid sie toþæs degol þæt nære næfre nænig toþæs halig mon on þissum middangearde, ne furþum nænig on heofenum þe þæt æfre wiste, hwonne he ure Drihten þisse worlde ende gesettan wolde on domes dæg, buton him Drihtne anum, we wi:ton þonne hweþre þæt hit nis no feor to þon.
>
> "We learn that the time is so secret that no man in this world, be he ever so holy, nor even any in heaven has ever known when our Lord shall decree this world's end on Doomsday, except our Lord alone. Nevertheless we know that it is s not far off..." (Morris 1880: 116-117).

Claire Lees remarks that time in the homilies appears as "eternal present of Christian salvation history" (Lees 1999: 92), but also points out that these homilies are nevertheless products of an historical era that included both the Danish raids and Benedictine Reform in England and are successful precisely because of their generality(Lees 1999: 92). According to Lees, "The faculties of memory, will and understanding elucidate the homilies' deliberate use of conventions to construct a past, present, and future in harmony with the more general structure of time as the story of salvation (Lees 1999: 92). The apparent ambiguity of time is contrasted, however, by the concreteness of place in Blickling XI and XVI. As I hope to prove, one function of

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"this present time, when the Doom draws near". See also the list of eschatological tokens in Blickling X (Morris 1880: 106-109). See Gatch 1965: 131 on the debt to the Apocalypse of Thomas**.** The lack of a specific future tense in Old English creates an interesting sense of imminence in the language (see Godden 2003 on this).

16 See Godden 2003 for a helpful discussion on the "apocalyptic year" 1000. Godden notes that "For Anglo-Saxons living in the year 1000 millennialist expectations gave a peculiar pointedness to their own moment in history, as the culminating point of all time, and a seductively justifying context for their sense of contemporary strains. Yet the very texts that they were using in support of those expectations, and the process of adapting and copying earlier texts, fostered in them simultaneously a different and more cyclical sense of history as.. portents followed portents, and the end of the world was always anticipated but never arrived" (Godden 2003: 176). For a more general discussion of Anglo-Saxon conceptions of time see Bately 1984: esp 2-3. Though Bately's comment that "the paradoxes and potential ambiguities in the Anglo-Saxons' perception of time offered rich opportunities to their poets" (Bately 1984: 3) can also be well applied to the homilies in question here.

the landscapes and places in Blickling XI and XVI is to bring together past and future events into not only a narrative present, but that of the audience. By examining the notion of place in greater detail, it is also possible to gain a more nuanced sense of the function of time in these homilies.

Previous chapters have discussed how landscapes and places are temporally experienced, and therefore temporal in nature (Ingold 2000: 201).[17] Martin Heidegger's term for the gathering of various elements to create place, *Ereignis*, "Event", expresses, as Jeff Malpas puts it "the temporalizing of space and spatializing of time in the single gatheredness of place" (Malpas 2012: 19). It is the "happening of place" (Malpas 2012: 39).[18] Heidegger's term *Zeitraum*, "timespace" expresses a similar connection between space and time.[19] In literary studies, the device by which time and space interpenetrate one another is given the name "chronotope" by Mikhail Bakhtin.[20] In all of these cases, time is not just, or even primarily, a linear string of events, but something experienced in place (Ingold 2000: 196). Describing Alfred Gell's explanation of an A-series perspective of time, which views time as immanent in events, as opposed to the B-series, in which events are strung out in time, Tim

17 Ingold writes that "The landscape, both milieu and activity of dwelling, thus becomes ontologically saturated with temporality; the two are fused and indissoluble as a phenomenological- whole-the process of becoming the world as a whole" (2000: 201).
18 On the complexities of *Ereignis* see Polt 2013: esp. 49-87. For the etymology see 78.
19 On *Zeitraum* see Beistegui 2011. Malpas 2012, esp 56-60, traces the changes in Heidegger's later thought (from the 1930s on) in relation to the connectedness of space, place, and time.
20 See Bakhtin 1981: 84-258. Succinctly stated, " In the literary artistic chronotope, spatial and temporal indicators are fused into one carefully thought-out, concrete whole. Time, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history. This intersection of axes and fusion of indicators characterizes the artistic chronotope" (1981: 84). While acknowledging the notion of a chronotope is ultimately based in Einstein's theory of relativity (Bakhtin 1981: 84), Bakhtin focuses primarily on its use as a device in fiction writing. However, I think the core meaning of a chronotope as Bakhtin puts it is still of use when considering medieval texts, as we can not assume that medieval authors upheld the same distinctions between "fiction" and "non-fiction" that a modern, Western scholar might.

Ingold explains "Whereas in the B-Series, events are treated as isolated happenings, succeeding one another frame by frame, each event in the A-series is seen to encompass a pattern or retensions from the past and protensions for the future. Thus from the A-series point of view, temporality and historicity are not opposed but rather merge in the experience of those who, in their activities, carry forward the process of social life" (Ingold 2000: 194).[21] This may call to mind Augustine's sense of present time that includes both past and future in Book 11 of the *Confessions*.[22] In this sense historical and experiential time merge in place and in landscapes.

Time in the *Blickling Homilies* is linear and circular (in the liturgical sense), but it is also emphasized through the use of place and emplacement. The conventional notion of "this" mundane world of physical sensation as transient and fleeting is expressed by the various eschatological props of the homilies, which include the description of the body moldering in the grave, the *ubi sunt* motif and descriptions of the final breakdown of natural order at the Last Judgment, in which the end of nature

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21 For a more detailed description of the A and B series see Gell 1992: 149-55.

22 Quod autem nunc liquet et claret, nec futura sunt nec praeterita, nec proprie dicitur, `tempora sunt tria, praeteritum, praesens, et futurum,' sed fortasse proprie diceretur, `tempora sunt tria, praesens de praeteritis, praesens de praesentibus, praesens de futuris.' sunt enim haec in anima tria quaedam et alibi ea non video, praesens de praeteritis memoria, praesens de praesentibus contuitus, praesens de futuris expectatio. si haec permittimur dicere, tria tempora video fateorque, tria sunt. dicatur etiam, `tempora sunt tria, praeteritum, praesens, et futurum,' sicut abutitur consuetudo; dicatur. ecce non curo nec resisto nec reprehendo, dum tamen intellegatur quod dicitur, neque id quod futurum est esse iam, neque id quod praeteritum est. pauca sunt enim quae proprie loquimur, plura non proprie, sed agnoscitur quid velimus (11.20. 26, ed. O'Donnell 1992).

"But even now it is manifest and clear that there are neither times future nor times past. Thus it is not properly said that there are three times, past, present, and future. Perhaps it might be said rightly that there are three times: a time present of things past; a time present of things present; and a time present of things future. For these three do coexist somehow in the soul, for otherwise I could not see them. The time present of things past is memory; the time present of things present is direct experience; the time present of things future is expectation. If we are allowed to speak of these things so, I see three times, and I grant that there are three. Let it still be said, then, as our misapplied custom has it: "There are three times, past, present, and future." I shall not be troubled by it, nor argue, nor object--always provided that what is said is understood, so that neither the future nor the past is said to exist now. There are but few things about which we speak properly--and many more about which we speak improperly--though we understand one another's meaning" (Trans. Outler 2006: 199).

and the end of time are essentially the same. Thus, many of these specific temporal events are situated in and dependent upon place. For example, the rotting and languishing of the body in the grave in Homilies VIII (Morris 1880: 100-1) and X (Morris 1880: 108-9), is a remarkably dynamic process in which the physical place of the worm-ridden grave also situates the body in time—the long interim between the body's death and the Last Judgment.[23] The image of a body decaying in the present also includes the past in which the body was whole and living (and probably sinning egregiously) and looks to the future of the resurrection and Judgement. The recurrent *ubi sunt* motif asks a series of anaphoric rhetorical questions asking "where" something has gone, but mean this in the sense of passage of time.[24] These images of transience are countered by the unbounded bliss in heaven and the measureless torment in hell.

Moreover, the reading of the homily itself as a communal event creates important temporalities-each homily is read at a specific time in the liturgical year.[25] It brings a sense of the past in the recollection of biblical or hagiographical events and a the future of the apocalypse, and with it the promise of salvation or damnation, together into the present moment at which the homily is being read. Thus, not only is a sense of immanent (and imminent) time important in the homilies themselves, the homily itself is a temporal event, linking its present to past events and looking forward

23 See Kabir 2001 for an intersting discussion of this "interim" period.
24 See *Blickling* V(58-9); VIII (98-9); X (110-13). See DiSciacca 2006 on sources for the *ubi sunt* motif.
25 On ideas of reading aloud as a communal act, see Howe 2002: 1-21. Howe gives evidence that the Blickling homilist viewed reading in this way (2002: 10). See also Blickling X: "Þonne we gehyron Godes bec us beforan reccean ond rædan, ond godspell secggean", "When we hear God's book explained and read to us and the gospel spoken" (Morris 1880: 111). See also Blickling II (Morris 1880: 14-15) and 161-162. For a more general discussion on the communal act of reading see Stock 1990, esp. 1-15 and 30-51.

to future ones.

Relating to the idea of time, J. Elizabeth Jeffrey, discusses binary patterns and contrast in the Lenten homilies in the *Blickling Homilies*, suggesting that we are not dealing strictly with opposites but interdependent concepts:

> The most radical two in...every Lenten homily, however, is cognitive, what Heidegger calls the as-structure, a metaphorical making sense of experience in relationship to, in and as the Word...Blickling's fore-having is the belief in the resurrection as foreshadowing the body's experience at death when the body is as or will be as Lazarus and Christ (1989:57).

Admittedly, Jeffrey's language can be a little hard to follow, but it is worth considering the assertion that the phenomenal world does not stand in opposition to the hereafter, so much as mirrors it. One might call this relationship *appositional*. In this way, being in the world is proleptic of being in the afterlife. This connectedness can perhaps be better understood in terms of Heidegger's Fourfold, which according to Alfred Siewers "articulated personal place as event, as a confluence of what he calle d the hidden-yet-appearing, singular-yet-multiple, "fourfold" of earth, sky, mortals, an d gods, which associated both past and future with "the thing" being experienced as pl ace" (Siewers 2009: 37). Heidegger discusses the relational confluence of earth, sky, mortals and divinities, saying, "When we speak of the divinities, we are already thinking of the other three along with them, but we give no consideration to the simple one-ness of the four" (Heidegger 1971: 148).[26] As discussed in previous chapters, I am not suggesting that one seek specifically fourfold meanings of images in the homilies, but that Heidegger's notion of the confluence and co-dependence of opposites, which imagines place as a temporal event, can help us to better understand

26 Moreover, Julian Young sees the Fourfold as a fundamental twofold of nature (as environs) and human culture (much like the concepts of "earth" and "world" respectively, in "The Origin of the Work of Art") (2006: 375). The idea of the natural world and the world of human culture as inextricably bound together will be important in understanding landscapes in the homilies in question.

the treatment of the phenomenal world in the homilies, both in terms of spatiality and temporality. For example, in dealing with earthly places in the homilies, we are also thinking about heaven (or hell), and in discussing past events, we are also considering our own present circumstances and looking forward to the end of days, at which point our salvation or damnation will be decided.

Place as a temporal set of relations and mirroring concepts can be applied to concrete treatments of landscape in the homilies. The two homilies that deal most explicitly with landscape and place in the *Blickling Homilies* are Homily XI on the Ascension of Christ ("on þa halgan þunres dæge", "Holy Thursday") and Homily XVI, on the apparition of Saint Michael ("be sanctæ michaels mæssan", "the feast of Saint Michael"). The former is a largely exegetical account of Christ's ascension based on Acts of the Apostles 1:6-11, and the latter discusses the founding of Saint Michael's Church in Mount Garganus, based on the Latin homily *de Apparitione S. Michaelis in Monte Gargano*[27] and from the apocryphal *Visio Sancti Pauli*. Both homilies are unique in the Old English corpus as it stands in that they are the sole manuscript version of each, and the latter seems to be an example of an especially "folkloric" homily.[28] Proceeding from the groundwork laid out above, the rest of the paper will address the keen interest in landscape in these two homilies, discuss narrative and descriptive techniques and address the role of what looks like such unique texts in the collection. I will also discuss the importance of temporality in creating an image and experience of landscape.

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27 Also known as *BHL (Bibliotecha Hagiographica Latina)* 5948. Quotations from *Scriptores rerum L angobardum et Italiorum*. ed. G Waitz. *Monumenta germaniae Historica*. 1878. For the influence of this homily on Anglo-Saxon texts, as well as Anglo-Norman and Middle English, see Johnson 2005: 50-71.
28 See Conner 1981 for abstract.

III: Blickling XI: The Church on Mount Olivet

Blickling XI, "on þa halgan þunres dæge", recounts and provides an exegesis of the ascension of Christ from Mount Olivet in Jerusalem. The homily begins as an exegesis on the account of the Ascension found in Acts 1:6-11[29] and ties in apocalyptic themes, as Christ's ascension in a cloud (Morris 1880: 120-121) prefigures his descent on Judgment Day, thus producing "the full eschatological patterning of the *Blickling* Temporale" (Jeffrey 1989: 79). The section following the ascent and list of eschatological tokens deals with the creation of the roles of apostles as witnesses at the Lord's ascension and the division of the world into twelve portions into which each one travels to proclaim Christ (Morris 1880: 119-122). By ending the portion of the homily that describes "historical" events with the creation of the apostles as witnesses ("gewitan", Morris 1880: 119) and tale-tellers to the rest of the world, the homilist sets a precedent for the importance of individual witness and experience of Lord's Ascension both in a specific place and the world at large. Each apostle is sent to a specific, allotted portion of the world to preach the universal truths of Christ.[30]

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29 Igitur qui convenerant interrogabant eum dicentes Domine si in tempore hoc restitues regnum Israhel. dixit autem eis non est vestrum nosse tempora vel momenta quae Pater posuit in sua potestate sed accipietis virtutem supervenientis Spiritus Sancti in vos et eritis mihi testes in Hierusalem et in omni Iudaea et Samaria et usque ad ultimum terrae et cum haec dixisset videntibus illis elevatus est et nubes suscepit eum ab oculis eorum cumque intuerentur in caelum eunte illo ecce duo viri adstiterunt iuxta illos in vestibus albis qui et dixerunt viri galilaei quid statis aspicientes in caelum hic Iesus qui adsumptus est a vobis in caelum sic veniet quemadmodum vidistis eum euntem in caelum.

"They therefore, who were come together, asked him, saying: Lord wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom of Israel? But he said to them: it is not for you to know the time or moments, which the Father hath put in his own power: But you shall receive the power of the HOly ghost coming upon you, and you shall be witnesses unto me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and Samaria, and even to the uttermost part of the earth. And when he had said these things, while they looked on, he was raised up: and a could received him out of their sight. And while they were beholding him going up to heaven, behold to men stood by them in white garments: Who also said: Ye men of Galilee, why stand you looking up to heaven? This Jesus who is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come as you have seen him going into heaven."

30 This is also the subject of Cynewulf's "The Fates of the Apostles" in the *Vercelli Book*. While Cynewulf does not emphasize the role of the apostles as witnesses-indeed, the treatment is one of

While the homilist treats the historical experience of Christ's ascension and imminent descent as witnessed and to be witnessed by the audience, he also cautions that not only is the precise time of the latter unknown, but that the time of the end to each person's life is also unknown:

> Uton we beton þa geworhtan synna & ælmihtigne Drihten georne biddan þæt he us gescylde wið þa toweardan, & uton we symle þæs dæges fyhto & egsan on ure mod settan; uton gemunan hu uncuþ bið æghwylcum anum men his lifes tid, æghweþer ge ricum ge heanum, ge geongum ge ealdum, hwilce hwile hine wille Drihten her on worlde læten. Geseo we þæt oft swiðe manegum men færlice gelimpeþ þæt he hine wið þas world gedæleþ; forþon us is mycel ðearf þæt we simle teolian on ælce tid þæt we syn gearwe, þonne ure Crihten ure hwylces neosian wille.
>
> " (let us) earnestly beseech the Lord to shield us from those approaching events, and let us fix in our minds the fear and horror of that day.Let us remember how he term of life is unknown to each individual man both rich and poor, both to young and old, as also the time which the Lord will grant him here in the world. We see that very frequently to many a man it suddenly befalleth that He cuts him off from this world; wherefore it is very needful for us ever to strive at all times to be prepared, when our Lord will visit each of us" (Morris 1880: 124-5).[31]

This passage forms a connection between the individual and the Christian community for whom the end of days is imminent but unknown, paralleling individual life and the history of salvation. The ambiguity of time, however, is contrasted by precision of place. From this warning about the unknowability of time and the need for preparedness, the homilist segues into the description of Mount Olivet, the locus of Christ's ascension. The homilist then walks the audience through the site of Olivet,

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martial heroics-, he concludes the poem, saying:

> Ic sceall feor heonan,
> an elles forð, eardes neosan,
> sið asettan, nat ic sylfa hwær,
> of þisse worulde. Wic sindon uncuð,
> eard ond eðel, swa bið ælcum menn
> nemþe he godcundes gastes bruce" (109b-114)
>
> "For I shall fare far hence alone unto an alien land, set out upon a journey, I myself know not wither, out of this world. Unknown are those courts, that land and realm. So shall it be to every one of men, save he win grace of God" (trans. charles Kennedy.)

While Cynewulf describes the journey of the soul after death, the act of traveling to an unknown land does seem to recall the journeying of the apostles to remotes parts of the earth.

31 This seems to be a partial expansion of Acts of the Apostles 1:5 "dixit autem eis non est vestrum nosse tempora vel momenta quae Pater posuit in sua potestate". "But he said to them: It is not for you to know the time of moments,which the Father has put in his power".

treating the description as revelatory, opening the description with "we leorniaþ", "thus we learn" (Morris 1880: 125). This textual revelation situates the audience both intellectually and somatically in the Church of Olivet. Throughout the homily element of witness is important, and sight and witness are constantly referenced.[32] Events take place before the "eyes of men" and the light of Mount Olivet becomes a literal force of spiritual illumination to those who witness it. As R. Dawson has shown, certain parts of the description are derived from Adomnán's *de Locis Sanctis*, also a literature of witness (based on a no-longer surviving account by Arculf) which provides descriptions of the major sites in the Holy Land. [33]

The description of the church on Olivet agrees with Adomnán in the basic details-a round church with three vaulted porticos, and an open roof over the footsteps of Christ imprinted at the ascension, and illuminating lamps which cast their light broadly over the environs and into the hearts of observers (Morris 1880: 125-129; Adomnán I:XXII-XXIII, 65-9). Although the homilist adds some details regarding adornment and size of the church and reorders some of the information, Dawson concludes that this passage was written with some direct knowledge of Adomnán (1967: 131). Clearly, though, the homilist has not produced a rote translation, but has fully incorporated this description into the exegetical and apocalyptic material that characterizes the rest of the homily. Even more than Adomnán, the *Blickling* homilist

32 For example: "Þæt hie ealle heora sylfra eagon oforsegon& heora earon geyrdon, þyses ealles hie sceoldon Drihtne gewita beon" , "What they had all seen *with their own eyes*, *and heard with their own ears,* of all this they were to be witnesses for our Lord" (Morris 1880: 120-121). In describing the church on Olivet, the homilist says that "seo is nu get æt þysne andweardan dæg mid manegum godcundum wuldrum swiþe geweorðod for manna eagum", "it is still at this present day very highly honored with many divine glories before the eyes of men" (Morris 1880: 124-125). The church is open in the the center "so that the way to heaven might be familiar to the eyes of men who come believingly to the place , "þæt heora eagum aa se weg wære up to heofenum cuð to locienne", Morris 1880: 125)
33 See Dawson 1967: 130-131. This topic deserves further inquiry than time and space allow for here.

stresses the historical importance of the spot, saying of Christ's footprints

> Forlet he ure Drihten his þa halgan fet þær on þa eorþan besincan mannum to ecre gemynde, þa he æfter his þære halgan þrowunga his þa menniscan gecynd on heofenas lædon wolde, þonon he næfre onweg gewitn næs þurh his þa ecan godcundnesse ; & swa nuget on þære eorþan þa stoplas onaþrycte syndon oþ þysne andweardan dæg, þurh þa heora onwalhnesse & þurh manigfeald wundor þæs Scyppendes swa cuþlice gecyþed is.
>
> "Our lord let his holy feet sink into the earth there for a perpetual remembrance to men, when that he after his holy passion would take his human nature into heaven, from whence, by reason of his eternal Godhead he has never departed; and so now those footsteps are still imprinted upon the earth until this present day, as is plainly manifest by their entirety, and by the manifold marvels of the Creator" (Morris 1880: 126-127).

Emphasis on the footsteps as plainly manifest ("cuþlice gecyþed") and intended for "perpetual remembrance" ("ecre gemynde") renders historical events as phenomena to be experienced even in the present day. The uncertainty concerning the exact time of a man's death, the world's end, and the second coming is situated nevertheless in time by the detailed description of the locus of Christ's ascent and its historicity. The physical place provides a concrete reminder of past events and a sign of those to come.

Arguing that the Anglo-Saxon religious experience was foremost embodied, Jeffrey discusses the use of bodily metaphor to describe Olivet, which establishes a spiritual locus for that experience: "hence the prevalence of bodily metonymy in the three objects commemorating the location: the church as skeletal structure, Christ's footprints as body, and a lamp as the heart-flame of the Holy Spirit. Together these images form a memento vitae that expresses the human and divine nature of holiness" (1989: 83-84).

Though I disagree with Jeffrey on several points, including her understanding

of metyonymy,[34] her emphasis on the connections between the church and the body strikes me as potentially interesting for thinking about the reasoning behind the insertion of such a detailed description into the homily. If we think of the church as Christ's body, this may also call to mind John 2:19 in which Christ says to doubting Jews who request a sign of his power, "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up."[35] John 2: 21 clarifies "But he spoke of the temple of his body".[36] [37] While this passage refers to the resurrection of Christ rather than the Ascension, it connects the body with architecture, treating the church as a living body by which people may

34 The only one of these examples that may properly called metonymy is the footprints standing in for Christ himself. Moreover, there is little textual evidence for viewing the church as a "skeletal structure" or the lamp over the footprints as a "heart-flame".
Additionally, for example, I find error in Jeffrey's assertion the homily tries to "establish a spiritual space" because it has failed to create a notion of time calculable or measurable in concrete units. The homilist does in fact stress the cycle of liturgical time, saying "let us take care that when this holy season shall return, twelve months hence, that who is alive may be better than he is now" (Morris 1880: 130-1). Rather, I would contend that the author's stress on the "unknowability" of other times deliberately serves to emphasize the importance and concreteness of the *place* in a spatial and temporal sense. I do not think that Jeffrey has fully explicated the full valence of landscape as situated in time, nor has she fully explored the implications of the homily itself as part of this temporal landscape.

35 "Solvite templum hoc, et in tribus diebus excitabo illud."

36 "Ille autem dicebat de templo corporis sui."

37 cf. Mary's body as the temple in Blickling XIII: "Ond þa wæs Drihten cweþende to Marian lichoma n, 'Aris þu, min seo nehste & min culufre & mines wuldres eardung, & forþon þe þu eart lifes fæt & þu eart þæt heofenlice templ, & næron nænige leahtras gefylde on þinre heortan, ond þu ne þrowast nænige þrowunge on þinum lichoman", "And the Lord said to the body of Mary, ' Arise my kinswoman, my do ve, and my habitation of glory; for thou art the vessel of life, and thou art the heavenly temple, and no v ices were committed in thy heart; and thou shalt suffer no pain in they body'" (Morris 1880: 156-157).

Cf. also the Old English *Christ* poems of the *Exeter Book*. For example, the opening of Christ I:

Þu eart se weallstan þe ða wyrtan iu/ wipwurpon to weorce. Wel þe geriseð/ þæt þu heafod sie healle mærre,/ ond gesomnige side weallas/ fæste gefoge, flint unbræcne,/ þæt geond eorðb[...]g eall eag na gesihþe/ wundren to worlde wuldres ealdor./ Gesweotula nu þurh searocræft þin sylfes weorc,/ soðfæ st, sigorbeorht, ond sona forlæt/ weall wið wealle. Nu is þam weorce þearf/ þæt se cræfta cume ond se cyning sylfa,/ ond þonne gebete, nu gebrosnad is, hus under hrofe."

"You are the wall-stone that the workers long ago cast from the work. Well it suits you that you become the head of a great hall and gather the broad walls, joined firmly, the unbreakable flint, that throughout t he ? of earth all with the sight of (their) eyes may admire for ever, Prince of Glory. Now with skill mak e clear your own work, firm in truth, bright in victory and remedy that which is crumbled, the house und er the roof" (2-14a, citations from Krapp and Dobbie 1936, translation my own.)
This derives from the antiphon "O Rex gentium et desideratus earum...." and is well known also from E phesians 2:19-22, but is a considerable expansion of the both. Here, Christ is both the craftsman and an essential component of the work itself. For a fuller discussion, of this architectural imagery see Salvado r 2006: 173-188. Salvador sees this imagery as Benedictine propaganda: "The parallel use of the corner stone, the two walls, and the ruinous buildings, as employed in reform-oriented hagiographies, charters, and other texts, might therefore be pointing to the possible metaphorical reading of these images in lyric 1, thus evoking the key concepts of ecclesiastical unity and monastic restoration, as promoted by the Reform movement" (Salvador 2006: 188).

experience the divinity of Christ.

Additionally, the homily not only stresses the bodily presence of Christ at that spot:

Swylce we leorniað, men, þæt þa men secgaþ þa þe þyder ferdon & eft hider coman þæt seo stow þe Christen lichamlice nehst on stod her on middangearde, ær þon þe he þurh his miennisce gecynd in heofnas astige, -þæt seo is nu get æt þysne andweardan dæg mid manegum godcundum wuldrum swiþe healice gweeorþod fore manna eagum.

"We also learn (dearest) men, that those men say, who have gone thither and returned , that the spot whereon our Lord last stood in the body here in the world, before he ascended into the heavens in his human nature- that it is still at this present day very highly honored with many divine glories before they eyes of men" (Morris 1880: 125-126).[38]

In this passage, as well as the ones listed in the note, the homilist is at pains to stress the bodily presence of Christ in the specific place, which is still visible to "the eyes of men" (as the ascension was also witnessed by the Apostles). In this passage the homilist not only emphasizes that the report of this place comes from those who have gone "there" and returned "here", but that Christ stood "here" on earth", subtly conflating the "there" of Olivet with the "here" of the audience.

Additionally, physical measurements are described in terms of the human body. According to the homilist, the enclosure built around Christ's footsteps is "as

38 This emphasis on the bodily presence of Christ is not found in Adomnán. Other examples include: "Seo is ufan open & unoferfrefed, forþon he ure drihten wolde þæt þa men þe þyder mid geleafan coman & on þa halgan stowe sohton, þæt heora eagum aa se weg wære up to heofenum cuþ to locienne, þider hie witon þæt he Drihten *mid lichoman* astag"

"But the great church which stands there in the midst is open above and unroofed, because our Lord would that to the eyes of those men who believingly came thither and visited the holy place, the way might always become familiar to look up to heaven, wither they knew the Lord had *bodily* ascended" (Morris 1880: 124-125, italics my own).

"hie gemunaþ þa mycclan eaþmodnesse, & hu luflice he us ærest gesohte hider on middangeard on *menniscne lichoman* of his þæm hean heofonlican setle, hu eaþmod he for mannum wæs l*ichomlice*","....they recollect his great humility, and how willingly he first visited us here in the world, in a *human body*, and came from his exalted heavenly seat, and how humble he was *in the body* before men"(Morris 1880. 129-130).

"& þæt he on þære stowe nehst *lichomlice on stod her on eorþan,* ær he þa menniscan gecynd upon heofenas gelædde", "and how *he last stood bodily, here upon earth*, on this holy place, ere he took his human nature into heaven" (Morris 1880: 129-130)

high as a man's breast" ("up oþ mannes breost heah", Morris 1880: 127-128).[39] On the western side of this enclosure "there is a moderate sized door, through which a man's head and shoulders may enter, so that one may do obeisance to the footsteps, and kiss them" ("is þonne onwestan medmycel duru þæt mannes heafod ge þa sculdro magan in, þæt man mæg to þæm lastum onhnigan, & þa cyssan", Morris 1880: 127-128). The detail that a man's head and shoulders may fit into this door is not found in Adomnán. In the Old English it provides a concreteness whereby audience members might more easily visualize and perhaps even imagine themselves in such a place. This, in addition to the stress on the events and the mountain itself being experienced and perceived by or before the "eyes of men", emphasizes the importance of the body as a means of perceiving and understanding the world in relation to itself and strengthens the sense of of emplacement in the homily.[40] The experience of the church on Olivet is both physical and spiritual, so it is no surprise that the physically descriptive portion of the homily ends with a description of the lamps in the church on Olivet whose nature it is to

"shine brighter than a wax taper. And not only does this light shine over the hill whereupon the church is built, but also the city of Jerusalem which is a mile westward from that spot, so that every night from every quarter of the city the light may be seen shining from the holy place. And it often still happens to many persons, when they see the light shining so brightly at night, that their hearts are thereby, and by God's grace, inwardly admonished; and the more accurately they understand their own lives, and immediately afterwards have greater sorrow for their sins, when they recollect his great humility, and how willingly he first visited us here in the world, in a human body...and how he last stood bodily, here upon earth, on this holy place, ere he took his human nature in to heaven—then they call to mind all this and are admonished by the light they see shining from the holy place. And often, through that, many

39 According to Adomnán, this structure is said to be as high as a man's neck: "cuis alititudo usque ad cervicem haberi monstratur mensurata", "the hight of which has been demonstrated to measure up to the neck", (XXII, translation my own).

40 On the body as the locus of perception and interaction with the world, see Merleau-Ponty 1962 and 1964 [1961]. For a concise discussion of the body as producing place see Casey 1997a: 228-250. Casey, following Merleau-Ponty makes the point that a sense of place is dependent on human bodily presence, either physical or by imaginative projection: "Even if it need not be literally present in every case, the h uman body is an at least implicit or tacit presence in all the places that fall within its ken." (Casey 1997 a: 235).

men are turned to true amendment, and in the sight of god appear good and meet. And also indeed many heathen unbelieving men often thereby turn to belief in God, when they see how God honoreth the place" (Morris 1880: 126-129). [41]

This is a particularly elegant passage, in which the physical light of Jerusalem moves fluidly into metaphor for inner "illumination".[4243] This light inspires the viewer to contemplate the bodily presence of Christ, which in turn inspires not only contrition but improved moral conduct thereafter. This is greatly expanded from the Latin of

41 Swa swa eles gecynd bið þæt he beorhtor scineþ þonne wex on sceafte, & næs na þæt an þæt þæt leoht þa dune ane oferscinþ, þe seo cirice on getimbred is, ac eac swylce Gerusalem þa burh, seo is west þonon from þære stowe on anre mile, þæt mon æghwylce niht mæg of æghwylcum dæle þære burge þæt leoht geseon scinan of þære halgan stowe; & þæt oft gita manegum mannum gelimpeþ, þonne hie þæt leoht geseoþ on niht scinan swa beorhte, þæt heora heortan beoð þurh þæt innan gemanode, & þurh godes gife, & hie heora sylfra lif þe gearor ongeotaþ, & hie eft færinga þe maran hreowe doð heora synna, þonne hie gemunaþ þa mycclan eaþmodnesse, & hu lulflice he us ærest gesohte hider on middangeard on menniscne lichoman of his þæm hean heofonlican segle, & hu eaðmod he for mannum wæs lichomlice; & þæt ealra mæst wæs, þæt he for ealles mancynnes hæle mid his sylfes willan deaþ geþrowode, þeah his þære ecean godcundnesse nænig man sceþþan ne mihte, þæt þe þonne wæs efne xxxiii wintra& þæs feorþan dæl, þæt he her on worllde mancynne þurh his lare eces lifes wegas sægde & tacnode: & hu he eft þy þriddan dæge of deaþe aras, & þæt he on þære stowe nehst lichomlice on stod her on eorþan, ær þon þe he þa menniscan geycnd upon heofenas geædde: þonne hie þæt eall gemunan & þurh þæt leoht gemanode beoþ, þe hie of þære halgan stowe scinan geseoþ, & oft a manige men þurh þæt to soþre bote gecyrraþ, & gode & medeme for Gode geweorþaþ, ge efne eac manige hæþne men ungeleafsume oft þur þæt to Godes geleafan gecyrraþ, þe hie geseoð hu God þa stowe weorþaþ.

42 See also Blickling II *Dominica Prima in Quinquagesima*:
Men þa leofestan, onhyrgean we þone blindan þe on lichoman wæs gehæled ge eac on mode. Ne biddan we urne Drihten þyses lænen welan, ne þyssa eorþlicra geofa þe hrædlice from monnum gewitaþ, ac biddon we Drihten þæs leohtes þe næfre ne geendað. Þis leoht we habbaþ wið nytenu gemæne, ac þæt leoht we sceolan secan þæt we moton habban mid englum gemæne, in þæm gastlicum þrymmum. Þæt leoht on nanretide ne ablinneþ, oþon leohte is fulfremednesse weg þe we on feran sceolan, þæt is se rihte geleafa. Swiþe eaþe þæt mæg beon þæt sume men þencan oþþe cweþan, 'hu mæg ic secan þæt gastlice leoht þe ic geseon ne mæg, oþþe hwanan sceal me cuþ beon þat ic mid lichomlicum eagum geseon ne mæg?' Þæm men mæg beon swiþe raþe geondweard. Hwæt gelyfeþ se lichoma butan þurh þa sawle? Geþencan þe men þat hie heora sylfra sawla geseon ne magon; ac eal swa hwæt swa se gesenelica lichama deþ oþþe wyrceþ, eal þæt deþ seo ungesynelice sawl þur þone lichoman...

"Dearest men, let us imitate the blind man, who was healed both in body and in mind. Let us not entreat our Lord for this transitory wealth, nor for those earthly gifts that swiftly pass away from men, but let us ask the Lord for the light that never endeth. This (earthly) light we have in common with the brute creation, but we must seek the (heavenly) light that we may have it in common with the angels in the spiritual assembly. That (spiritual) light common with the angels in the spiritual assembly. That (spiritual) light shall never fail. In that light is the way of perfection in which we must walk, that is to say, the true belief (faith). it may very easily happen that some men will either think or say, How may I seek that spiritual light which I am unable to see, or whence shall that be manifested to me which with the bodily eyes I am unable to see?...what believe the body but by the soul? Let those men think that they are unable to see their own souls. But whatsoever the visible body does or accomplishes, all that doth the invisible soul, through the body..." (Morris 1880: 21-22).

Adomnán, which says only that the light "pours into the hearts of the faithful who behold it greater eagerness for divine love and imbues them with a sense of awe coupled with great interior compunction " ("...divini amoris alacritatem credulorum respicientium cordibus infundit quendamque pauorem mentis cum ingenti interna compunctione incutit") (Adomnán I:XXIII, 66-67). The Old English passage creates a rich dialogue between the putative viewer and the landscape. The light of Olivet inspires an interior illumination which leads to contemplation of the physical event not only of Christ's ascension but the entirety of his somatic existence and his return at the end of days. This in turn leads to individual spiritual contrition. The specific nature of the place also impresses God's grace on heathens to the extent that they become believers.[44] Thus, we see the homily expressing the dialogical nature of interior soul and exterior body, of physical perception and spiritual illumination.

The homilist concludes, saying

Ond nu, men þa leofestaan, þeah þe we nu þær andewearde ne syn æt þære halgan stowe þe ic nu sægde, þehhweþre we magon on þyssum stowum, þe we nu on syndon, gode [&] medeme weorþan for urum Drihtne, gif we nu soþ & riht on urum life don willaþ, for þon æghwylc man, sy þær eorðan þær he sy, þuh gode dæda gode lician sceal, & ælc man sceal his godan dæda ahebban, gif he sceal god & medeme weorþan. Ac uton teolian þæt us þas tida idle ne gewitan, þe he ure Drihten us to bote & to clænsunga urra dæda forgifen hafaþ.

"And now dearest men, although we are not now at the holy place that I have just spoken of, nevertheless we may in these places in which we now are, become good and meet before our Lord if we now in our lifetime do what is true and right; because every man in whatever part of the earth he may be shall through good deeds please God, and each man shall exalt his good deeds if he shall become good and meet. But let us now strive that the season pass not away from us to no purpose, which our Lord has given us for amendment and for the cleansing of our deeds..." (Morris 1880: 129-132).

The homilist draws connections between the distant place of Olivet and the

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Note that the "light" above is not actually distinguished by textual clues in Old English (parenthesis are Morris's).

43 This passage may owe something to Augustine's ideas on spiritual illumination in texts such as *de Magistro*. For an overview, see discussion in Zacher 2013.

44 Cf. Keith Basso's fascinating and influential work on place names and moral narrative in Western Apache culture. Basso argues that the knowledge of the significance of places in a cultural and historical milieu has an effect on the "moral" consciousness of an individual.

current location of the audience, saying that although they are not in that site and experiencing its light in person, they should still strive to perform good deeds. In this way, the homily performs the function of spreading the illuminating spiritual light visible at Mount Olivet. The length of the description of Olivet first situates the congregation in a place of specific holiness, where Christ was bodily present and where pilgrims can experience his divinity bodily. In the audience's present, in which the homily is read, the audience is reminded of Christ's ascension, which prefigures his descent at the end of days, with all of these united in the site of Olivet. Mount Olivet is considered, then, in both its spatial and temporal aspects. The homilist both stresses the "there" of the site and the "here" of the Olivet, collapsing them into the "here" of Middle-Earth, equating the event of Ascension and the event of the homily through his description of Olivet, in which site time past, present and future is immanent.

IV: Blickling XVI: The Apparition of Saint Michael at Monte Gargano

Homily XVI,[45] which describes Saint Michael the Archangel's church in Monte Gargano, Italy, is even more striking in its description of landscape. The source for the apparition is given as the eighth or ninth century *de Apparitione S. Michaelis in Monte Gargano* (*Bibliographica Hagiographica Latina* 5948, printed in MGH)[46], and refers

45 In Morris, this homily is numbered as XVII, an error largely due to the fact that Morris XVI is not actually a stand-alone homily, but apparently part of Blickling IV (Willard 1960: 38-42). I will be using the adapted numbering and refer to this homily as XVI.

46 See Johnson 2005:36-41 for a discussion of the Latin text and its history. According to Johnson, it is clear that the text was a "composite narrative which first associated St. Michael with the ancient healing traditions of the Garganic site and then with a mythic military intervention". Johnson argues ,moreover, that the appropriation of the cult of Michael at Gargano by the Lombards was, in addition to possibly being an attempt to reconcile Arians and Catholics, it was "also a political ploy to transform an essentially Eastern, and more precisely Byzantine Greek, cult characterized by miraculous healings into an enterprise of nationalist expansion"(Johnson 2005: 40).

to a so-called apparition of Michael in the sixth century at Monte Gargano.[47] Like Blickling XI it is unique in the Old English homiletic corpus, and it similarly hinges around discussion of a particular place. Though it is not as overtly connected to universal salvation history as XI, Blickling XVI develops its sense of place in a somewhat similar way and to a somewhat similar purpose as XI. Although unique as an Old English homily, Blickling XVI shares its source of *BHL* 5948 with the entry for May 8[48] in the Old English Martyrology and Ælfric's homily for September 29, "Dedicatio Ecclesie Sancti Michahelis Archangeli",[49] and moreover reflects traditions of Michael as a guardian and psychopomp popular in and beyond Anglo-Saxon England.

The Old English often follows the Latin version faithfully—literally, at numerous points—with some portions expanded and fewer (mostly names of Italian places that might have little meaning to an Anglo-Saxon audience) erased.[50] The homily begins with the site of the church being found by a bull who scorns its herd, and stations himself at the entrance to a cave. The bull's owner, Garganus, shoots a poison arrow at him, but the arrow turns back and kills the archer.[51] Shortly thereafter,

47 Monte Gargano was a well known pilgrimage site in the Middle Ages, and was reportedly visited by Charlemagne and Emperor Holy Roman Emperor Henry II (Callahan 1985). Five English runic inscriptions at Monte Gargano dating from the late seventh to mid ninth centuries, in addition to further inscriptions in Rome, suggest that legends and particular devotions of Michael related to Monte Gargano were known in England from the early eighth century on (Johnson 2005: 36-37). On the political background to the cult of Michael among the Lombards see Thacker 2000.

48 As opposed to what became the more common feast on September 29. For the OEM entry for September 29 and an analogue see Cross 1981.

49 Although worthy of discussion, for the sake of time I will omit considerations of the *OEM* and Ælfric. For a detailed comparison of Blickling XVI and Ælfric's homily for September 29, see Johnson 2005: 55-63. Johnson concludes that while Blickling was not a source for Ælfric, Ælfric likely had a similar source to the Blickling homilist, but redacted it heavily, adding an exposition of Matthew 18:1-10 from Haymo (Johnson 2005: 62-63).

50 exx. a church called Apodonia (3.24), Mount Ziraptus (3.32).

51 cf. Vercelli IV for the arrows of the devil being turned away by "spiritual armor". The arrows of the devil also appear in Blickling XIX and Vercelli IX. For a discussion of the Devil's arrows see Dendle 2001: 33-5 and 136 n 34.

Archangel Michael appears to the bishop Sepontus, assuring him that all has happened by his will and that he is the guardian of the place.[52] The Old English version adds that Michael "loves the place " and has "chosen it above all others".[53] After this apparition, two doors appear in the mountainside, although they are unapproachable until men carve out a path to them.[54] The town then withstands attacks by heathens with the help of the manifest archangel. In an expanded passage in the Old English, the elements (namely lightning flying like fiery arrows: "Ða flugon þa legetu swylce fyrene strælas ongean þa haeðnan leode", "Then flew the lightning like fiery arrows against the heathens", Morris 1880: 202-203) turn on the attackers in a passage reminiscent of Garganus' arrows.[55] After surveying the dead heathens[56] the Christians proceed to the church where they now see the indelible footsteps of a man impressed in the marble by the north door, which the people consider to be proof of Michael's succor. A church is built straightaway. The word "church" is used in the Anglo-Saxon (but not the Latin) earlier to describe the doors that appear after Michael's first manifestation, yet the church itself has not technically been built—only the landscape

52 In Latin: "Locumque hunc in terra incolasque servare instituens, hoc volui probare inditio omnium quae ibi geruntur ipsiusque loci esse inspectorem atque custodem (I.37-9). **"**Deciding to guard this place and its inhabitants in this country, I wished to demonstrate by this sign that I am (its) watchman and guardian".

53 "Secgge ic þe nu eac þæt ic onsundrum þa stowe her on eorðan lufige**,** & ofer alle oðre ic hie geceas and eac gecyþe on eallum ðaem tacnum þe þær gelimpeð, þæt ic eom ðeare stowe on sundran scyppend and hyrde." "I tell thee now that I especially love this place here on earth,and I have chosen it above all others, and will also show by all those tokens that befall there that I am especially the creator and guardian of that place"(Morris 1880: 200-201).

54 "& þa gyt hi ne mihton ofer þæt scræf swa swæð-hlype þær hi gongan, ærðon hie gerymdon þone upgang & geworhton*",* " And as yet they were not able to pass over the cave, as the path where they should go was preciptious, before they had enlarged and completed the ascent" (Morris 1880: 200-201).

55 Compare Latin 3.13-15. The Anglo-Saxon is slightly expanded.

56 A number of others from the routed horde have already converted because of the manifestation of God's angel. The author says then "it became manifest to all us Christians" "Þa us þa was geyþed Cristenum leodum, se Godes engel þær cwom on fultum and on frofre..." (XVI: 202-203), including the audience as witnesses to a specific event and tying this specific event into the experience of the Christian community at large. This is not in the Latin.

has been consecrated and the doors appear. The church becomes manifest with Michael's apparitions—that, is its structure is revealed as the narrative unfolds. It has already had a spiritual presence, but it is made physical by revelation (coinciding with the revelations of Michael) and by human work. The indelible footsteps cannot but call to mind the same footprints (*læstas*) left by Christ at Mount Olivet, and each serves as a *tacen*, proof of the physical and local manifestation of the divine.

The locals and their bishop begin to set up another church to the east of the place and altars to Peter, John the Baptist and the Virgin Mary. The residents then send a query to the pope in Rome concerning the manner of consecration of the church on Monte Gargano. After the pope's response, Michael appears to the bishop for the third time, saying: " Nis eow þæs weorces þearf þæt ge ða ciricean halgian, forðon þe ic hie geworhte & ic hie gehalgode; ge þonne nu þyder ingongað & me æteondað, & geornlice mundbyrde gelyfað to ðære stowe, & hie genebge mid gebedum seceað", "Ye need be under no anxiety to consecrate the church for I have made it and I have consecrated it. Now enter ye therein and wait for me, and believe me indeed to be the guardian of the place, and visit it often in prayers" (Morris 1880: 204-207). This is followed with a detailed description of the church, which is described at the beginning of the homily as ugly on the outside (in Latin and English). The church is built half in the manner of a cavern,

> …nales æfter gewunan mennisces weorces þæt þa wagas wæron rihte, ac git swiðor on scræfes onlicness þæt wæs æteowed; & gelomlice ða stanas swa of oprum clife stæðhlyplice ut sceoredon. Eac swylce se hrof wæs on mislicre heanesse; on sumre stow he wæs þæt man mid his handa nealice geræcean mighte, in sumre eaþlice hid heafde gehrinan.
>
> "...not quite after the custom of men's work, so that the walls should be straight, but it appeared rather like a cavern; and frequently the stones as from a cliff steeply projected. The roof also was of various heights—in one place a man might hardly reach it with his hand and in another easily

reach it with his head" (Morris 1880: 206-7).

The exterior of the church and surrounding land are described thus:

Wæs se cnoll gecnawen swa hit nu cuð is, þæt se munt is mycel uteweard; & he is styccemælum mid hsomige wuda oferwexen; sum mid grenum felda oferbræded. Ond þa æfter þon þe ðær wæron ða halgan lofsangas & mæssan gefyllede, hie ða mid mycclum gefean &blisse & mid þæs engles bletsunga eft hwyrfende wæron to heroa husum. Se bisceop þa ðær gesette gode sangeras & mæssepreostas & manigfealdlice ciricean þegnas, þa þær seoððan dæghwamlice mid gelimplicre endebyrdnesse weorðode.: næs hweðre nænig man þe þær æfre nigtes tidum dorste on þære ciricean cuman. Ac on dægred siþþan hit frumlygte, hie þyder inwæron to ðæm lofsangum gesamnode. Þonne wæs þær eac of þæm ilcan stane þære ciricean hrofes on þa norðhealfe þæs weofodes swiþe wynsum ond hluttor wætta utflowende, þæt þa biggengan þe on ðære stowe stille wunodan.

"the knoll was then known as it now is—the hill is large on the outside; and here and there it is overgrown with rimy wood; other parts are covered with green pasture. And after the holy psalms and masses were finished, they then with great joy and bliss, and with the angel's blessing, returned to their houses. The bishop then appointed them good singers and mass-priests, and manifold church ministers, who ever afterwards would daily in proper order carry on the worship. There was no man however who durst ever come into the church at night at that time. But at day break, after it had dawned, they assembled therein for psalmody. There was also from the same stone to the north-side of the altar a very pleasant and clear stream issuing and used by those who still dwelt in that place" (Morris 1880: 206-209)

The liquid flowing from the spring reportedly has salubrious qualities and the site has become an attraction to pilgrims from the surrounding provinces. As in the Latin the description of the features of the church are spliced with temporal events in the consecration thereof—in a sense the physical place of the church is revealed to the audience in a manner that connects it intimately with time.

In this description, the Anglo-Saxon follows the Latin source closely except for a few very notable points. For example, the exterior of the church in Anglo-Saxon is described as "known then as it now is" ("Đonne was se cnoll swa hit nu cuð is"). The hill/church is identified in a spatio-temporal moment that connects to the homily's audience, in the sense that the church is to be perceived and experienced by the Anglo-Saxon audience in the same way that it was by the Italian locals at the time of its founding.

The Latin describes the knoll as " partim cornea silva tegitur", "partially

covered by a dogwood forest" (5.14). This has been changed to "hsomige wuda overweaxan" in Old English, which Morris gives as a scribal error for hrimige.[57] Regardless of the meaning of hsomige, the "partially covered" landscape becomes "overgrown" in the Old English, creating a wilder, perhaps more sinister, image. Should we accept that emendation, the outcome is potentially interesting in connecting the landscape surrounding the church to the landscape in the *Visio Pauli* portion concluding the homily, to be discussed below.

The Latin version of the homily ends with a quote from Saint Paul: "quia angeli sunt administratores." In Blickling XVI it is given in Latin as well ("qui ad ministrum summis"). The Old English expands and says that :

> Englas beoð to ðegnunge gæstum fram Gode hider on world sended, to ðæm ðe þone ecean eðel mid mode mid mægene to Gode geearniað, þæt him syn on fultume ða þe wið þæm awergdum gastum syngallice feohtan sceolan. Ac uton nu biddan þone heahengel Sanctus Michahel & ða nigen endebyrdnessa ðara haligra engal, þæt hie us syn on fultume wið helsceapum. hie wæron þa halgan on onfenge manna saulum.
>
> "Angels are as ministering spirits, sent hither to into the world by God, to those who with might and main merit from God the eternal kingdom; so that they should be a help to those who shall constantly contend against the accursed spirits. But let us now entreat the archangel St. Michael, and the nine orders of the holy angels, that they be our aid against hell fiends. They were the holy ones ready to receive men's souls" (Morris 1880: 208-209).

Here the Old English emphasizes the role of angels as participating in both the phenomenal and spiritual worlds.

The homily segues from here into one of the most famous and oft-quoted *Blickling* passages—a description of Hell, based on a translation of the *Visio Pauli*

57 There is an Old English word for dogwood/cornea, which seems to be used primarily in Latin glossaries (DOE) and some species of dogwood are native to England and were common in old hedges (Rackham 1986: 200). While it is possible the Latin *cornea* was still too obscure for the homilist, it seems just as likely that the change to "hsomige wuda overweaxan" was a deliberate attempt to create a more atmospheric landscape.

and famously analogous to Grendel and his mother's mere in *Beowulf*.[58] However, less attention has been given to the place of the vision and its connection to the rest of the homily. The passages is as follows:

> Swa Sanctus Paulus wæs geseonde on norðanweardne þisne middangeard, þær ealle wætero niðergewitað, & he þær geseah ofer ðæm wætere sumne harne stan; & wæeron norð of ðæm stane awexene swiðe hrimige bearwas, & ðær wæron þystro-genip,& under þæm stane wæs niccra eardung& wearga. &he geseah þæt on ðæm clife hagodan on ðæm is gean bearwum manige swearte saula be heora handum gebundne, & þa fynd þara on nicra onlicnesse heora gripende wæron, swa swa grædig wulf; & þæt wæter wæs sweart under þæm clife neoðan. & betuh þæm clife on ðæm wætre wæron swylce twelf mila, & ðonne ða twigo forburston þonne gewitan þa saula niðder þa þe on ðæm twigum hangodan, & him onfengon ða nicras. Ðis ðonne wæron ða saula gelæde on gefean, þær he moton ablissan abuton ende on ecnesse.
>
> "As St. Paul was looking towards the northern region of the earth, from whence all waters pass down, he saw above the water a hoary stone; and north of the stone had grown woods very rimy. And there were dark mists; and under the stone was the dwelling place of monsters and execrable creatures. And he saw hanging on the cliff opposite to the woods, many black souls with their hands bound; and the devils in likeness of monsters were seizing them like greedy wolves; and the water under the cliff beneath was black. And between the cliff and the water there were about twelve miles, and when the twigs break, then down went the souls who hung on the twigs and the monsters seized them. These were the souls of those who in this world wickedly sinned and would not cease from it before their life's end. But let us now bid St. Michael earnestly to bring our souls into bliss, where they may rejoice without end in eternity" (Morris 1880: 208-211).

While this might be considered a "stock description" on its own,[59] that the *Visio Pauli* landscape is set up to reflect the physical landscape of the church at Monte Gargano is interesting. Both places are described as being overgrown with rimy woods (providing we accept Morris's emendation), and both refer to water flowing from cliffs, originating in both cases from the north.[60] The water in the church has salubrious qualities, but the waters in the *Visio Pauli* are black and infested with *niccera* and weargas. Instead of attaining worship and salvation, the damned souls fall

58 See *Beowulf* 1410-1430. On the tradition of the *Visio Pauli,* see Wright 1994 and di Paolo Healey 1978. The general scholarly consensus seems to be that the *Beowulf*-poet and Homilist were working from a similar version of the *Visio*. This is cogently explained in Wright 1994: 132-136. On Blickling III and Vercelli IX as also partially deriving from the *Visio,* Wright 1994: 106-174 is particularly helpful. See also Orchard 1995: 35þ57 for a general discussion of the *Visio Pauli* in relation to monsters in various Old English texts. For a general disucsion of the *Visio Pauli* in Anglo-Saxon Engalnd see Heuchan 2010: 145-177.

59 See Tristram 1978: esp. 110-113.

60 On association of the north with evil, see Hill 1969.

into the water and drown. Additionally, a distance of twelve miles is mentioned as both separating Seponto from Monte Gargano and the distance from the cliff to the surface of the water. What seems to hold these landscapes together is the role of angels as aids against foes and demons (e.g. "við helsceaðum", Morris 1880: 209). As the audience shares in the moments of the church's revelation as a community, so do they share in the vision of damnation. The abutting of and close homologies between these two landscapes create a spatial and temporal nearness to the audience, and thus a sense of the possibility of either salvation or damnation for them. In tandem with each other, these landscapes become less important as stock descriptions, and more powerful as related experiential realms, mediated by both angels and to a lesser extent, religious authorities.

It is also necessary to consider ideas about the archangel Archangel Michael current in Anglo-Saxon England. That Michael was widely viewed as a warrior, psychopomp and judge of the dead in England and Northern Europe is well documented,[61] to the extent that there are rune-stones dedicated to him (McKinnell and Simek 2004: 177-8).[62] Michael exhibits these functions in Blickling XVI and other texts in the *Blickling Homilies*, in which he receives the soul of Mary and plays a pivotal role at the end of days.[63] Evidence also suggests that the cult of Michael as a

61 Johnson 2005 offers the fullest study of the popularity of Michael in Anglo-Saxon England, especially chapters 4 and 5. Johnson states that Michael's earliest role in England was probably that of psychopomp, citing evidence from homilies and the Gospel of Nicodemus. The earliest evidence of Michael's influence in England is found in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History,* in which Michael is associated with an oratory of St. John of Beverly and the miraculous healing of a dumb youth (Johnson 2005: 73). In both of these early references Michael is associated with a specific place.

62 In *Njáls saga*, Síðu-Hallr is converted by the priest Þangbrandr on Michael's feast day *um haustit* (in the fall, so presumably September 29). He converts on the condition that Michael becomes his guardian angel. The term *fylguengill* literally means "fetch-angel", which Lönnroth sees as having "integrated native belief into fetches into a theological framework" (Lönnroth 1976: 133 and n 44). This demonstrates the ease with which Michael could be integrated with folk traditions.

63 See for example, Blickling XIII: 1401; 156-7; VII:94-5

judge and psychopomp, while evident in England from earlier dates,[64] flourished particularly in England during the 10th and 11th centuries (Callahan 2003: 182), with its nearness to the turn of the millennium and the anxieties both socio-political and religious that accompanied it.[65] Daniel F. Callahan also points out the increased prominence of Michael's apocalyptic role and depiction of Michael as a dragon-slaying warrior at this time.[66] He suggests that eschatological ideas as well as unstable social and political situations--particularly royal instability in the face of renewed Viking attacks--also contributed to such depictions of Michael. He further suggests that this was encouraged by-and partially attributable to-Benedictine monks who saw themselves as spiritual warriors fighting the devil (Callahan 2003: 193).[67]

In addition to his tutelary and martial roles, Michael is a mediator then between the physical and the spiritual, and "operates on both temporal and spatial planes" (Johnson 2005: 10). In this light it is not only unsurprising that he should feature so prominently in the *Blickling Homilies*, with their eschatological concerns, but that his presence should link the two seemingly disparate parts of Blickling XVI.[68] Michael's apparition, and perhaps his interaction with the people of a specific community also suggests the "popular" nature of the homily, which connects the preacher and audience to the sacred site of Monte Gargano and the landscape of hell in

64 Callahan 2003: 182 points out role of Michael as messenger in the writings of Alcuin.
65 See Callahan 2003: 182 on likely Irish origins of this cult. Roe 1976 discusses the cult in Ireland, particularly special places associated with Michael, and provides examples of devotional poetry.
66 In *Revelations* 12:7-9, John recounts how Michael defeats Satan and his legions, first exiling them from Heaven. As an original warrior against the forces of evil, Michael is also associated with the ongoing struggle set within history.
67 Kathleen Openshaw corroborates this attitude in her discussion of images of the conquest of good a nd evil in English psalters (Openshaw 1993). Openshaw 1989:22-25 discusses an image of Michael as a dragon slayer in the Tiberius Psalter, and other images of Michael which create visual homologies with both Christ and David.
68 Callahan 2003: 195 observes that he plays a more prominent role in the vernacular homily than the Latin.

the *Visio Pauli* section. While Monte Gargano is an earthly landscape, it also has proleptic functions, as the community's penitential actions deliver them from the hands of their enemies and grant them access to the emergent sacred site. This contrasts the description of Hell, the outcome for those who "her on worlde mid unrighte geyrenode wæron & ðæs noldan geswican ær heora lifes ende", "in this world wickedly sinned and would not cease from it before their life's end" (Morris 1880: 210-211). The homilist concludes the homily immediately thereafter, saying "Ac uton nu biddan Sanctus Michael geornlice þæt he ure saula gelæde on gefean, þær hie mostan blissian abuton ende on ecnesse", "But let us now bid St. Michael earnestly to bring our souls into bliss, where they may rejoice without end in eternity" (Morris 1880: 210-211). These two outcomes--damnation and salvation--exist in past, present, and future time: the present in which the preacher and his audience partake looks back to past events of both the apparition of Michael and the vision of Paul, and also contemplates future salvation or damnation, as seen through Paul's vision. This sense of time, as in XI, is expressed and made concrete through physical, and specifically, terrestrial, place.

In addition, Blickling XVI pays attention to religious hierarchy, in which the bishop is the mediator between Michael and the people, and the community piously seeks advice from the Pope on matters of spiritual significance (Morris 1880. 204-205). Despite the bishop's role as interpreter,[69] the revelation of the church appears to the *community*, and the church becomes a site for pilgrims, thus turning the homily itself into something of a *tacen*, or sign. The experience of the sacred is something

69 See Blickling IV:38-47 for a section also derived from the *Visio* concerning bishops who shirk their duties.

that must be mediated by religious authorities to the community, but ultimately must be experienced and contemplated by each person for the salvation of their individual souls.

V: Signs, Buildings, and Bodies

Forms of *tacen* appear four times in Blickling XVI. The first occurs when Michael expresses his love for the place, and that by virtue of the "tokens" ("tacnum") (Morris 1880: 201) that appear there the people may know he is watching over them. Second, the pope instructs the people to fast and pray to the Trinity that it may bring forth the favor that is manifest in the token ("tacn") first displayed by the archangel (Morris 1880: 205). In response, the angel appears to the bishop in a vision and promises to reveal by "solemn token" ("awyrðnesse tacne æteowe") that he has consecrated the church himself (Morris 1880: 207). This sign, of course, is the completion of the church itself. Finally, it is a marvel ("to tacne") that men are healed by the stream near the church's altar (Morris 1880: 209). The word *tacen* has the broad meaning of "sign" or "indicator" (Bosworth-Toller). The *tacen* here is a physical indicator meant to be interpreted and to link the physical reality of Monte Gargano with spiritual truth.

As in her discussion of Blickling XI, J. Elizabeth Jeffrey emphasizes the body in understanding the *tacen* in Blickling XVI. To Jeffrey, Michael's footsteps provide a bodily foundation to the church, which itself serves as both a *tacen* of the incarnation of Michael (Jeffrey 1989: 110). Moreover, Jeffrey sees the church as the "firm

structure of the Christian self, an interior antithetical to the confused, grappling states outside"[70] and whose structure signifies the "communal body" (Jeffrey 1999: 110). Jeffrey focuses on the body's *innoþ*, or interior, which is healed by the water in the church, averring that in Blickling XVI, *innoþ* "refers to the organs of the body wherein the Holy Spirit dwells, the heart, womb, belly, and viscera, the organs that first receive and interpret the words of the Spirit, thereby forming a locus from where the Spirit wells forth to channel a single body into a *corpus sanctorum*" (Jeffrey 1989: 127-8). As with her assessment of the church at Mount Olivet, Jeffrey highlights the bodily experience of spiritual phenomena in which the church not only alludes to features of the human body, but represents the unity of the social body as well, by physically bringing pilgrims and members of the community together. However, in the cases of both homilies in question, Jeffrey neglects to emphasize the importance of the homily itself as communal event.

In the homilies discussed in this chapter, the relation of somatic experience to perception of phenomena in the transient, physical world resonates proleptically with the final outcome of salvation or damnation for each individual, to the extent that even the soul cannot be entirely disembodied. As mentioned above, Maurice Merleau-Ponty highlights the importance of the body in the experience of place. According to Edward S. Casey, Merleau-Ponty claims that "*the places we inhabit are known by the bodies* we live. Moreover, *we cannot be implaced without being embodied.*" (Casey 1997a: 233 italics author's). Merleau-Ponty's conception of the body as a mediating force, both subject and object, resonates well with literary treatment of the soul and

70 For a discussion of the Christian self and community as architectural, see discussion in chapter 1, es pecially of 1 Corinthians 3: 6-16 and of *aedificatio* in the next chapter.

body in several of the *Blickling Homilies*. For example, the souls of sinners that Paul sees in at the end of Blickling XVI endure a particularly corporeal form of torture. On the other hand, in homily XIII, the homily grants agency, albeit temporary, to the dry bones of a sinner to speak.[71] Indeed the *Blickling Homilies* emphasize physical acts such as alms and fasting for spiritual well being, and conversely spiritual illumination by means of physical perception--that is, bodily interaction (as is the case with seeing the light emanating from Olivet , and the imbibing of the water in the Monte Gargano church). Such an understanding of the body as perceiving can also help to explain the detailed attention to landscape in these two homilies, which serve to "emplace" the both the individual audience member and Christian community in the proper context for salvation.

As we see in Blickling XVI, the landscape interacts productively with the individual and social body. In this homily, the natural landscape transforms from the *westen* first sought by the bull to the church betokening the hierophany of Michael. This divine revelation occurs in chorus with human action—both the spiritual and architectural efforts of the community are highlighted in the Old English--, which helps to bring forth the church on Monte Gargano. The church emerges from natural space, starting as a cave on the mountain in a wasteland. After Michael announces his

71 For a particularly fantastic example of a "corporeal soul", see Vercelli homily IV, and Tom Hall's commenatry on the "psychedelic transmogrification of the soul" (2003). For a discussion of the role of the body in determining the fate of the soul, see Frantzen's discussion of the"Soul and Body" in which the damned soul upbraids the graphically rotting body for its responsibility in the soul's fate. Frantzen does not see this as unorthodox, but conceives of the relationship to soul and body through the lens of penitential practice, in which the salvation of the soul depends on bodily penance (Frantzen 1982: 79). I agree with this, but think that we can also read further into the popular conception of the soul being expressed corporeally. For a more detailed discussion on various ideas of the soul and mind as constructing a unitary self, see Godden 1985. Godden sees writers such as Alcuin, Alfred and Ælfric, writing in a more learned, Latin-influenced milieu, as equating the mind and soul, while mroe vernacular traditions as in *The Seafarer,* suggest them to be separate. See also Lockett 2011 for a discussion of the "heart centered" model of cognition and emotion in Anglo-Saxon traditions.

particular love of the place, two doors appear. The Old English states, "hie þa ðær twa dura sceawodon on þære ciricean", "they saw there two doors in the church" (Morris 1880: 200-1), implying that the mountain is already, in essence, a church, though it has yet to be consecrated and its additional architectural features are not yet manifest. When the interior of the church is revealed, it nevertheless retains some of the features of the mountain. According to the text, "git swiðor on scræfes onlicnesse þæt wæs æteowed", "it appeared rather like a cavern" (Morris 1880: 206-207). The stream which flows past the altar in the north also indicates that the coexistence of the natural world and the architectural space of the church.[72] This intertwining of natural and architectural space can best be conceived through the concept of landscape as lived space. In this we may adapt Suzanne Blier (1987) and Tim Ingold's (2000) idea of houses as "living organisms" to, more generally, inclusive of built space. As Ingold puts it, "Like trees [houses] have life-histories, which consist of the unfolding of their relations with both human and non-human components of their environments. To the

72 On the scriptural precedent for this, see Ó Carragáin 1983. Ó Carragáin discusses the vision of the temple in Ezekiel 47: 1-2. "Et convertit me ad portam domus, et ecce aquae egrediebantur subter limen domus ad orientem, aquae autem descendebant in latus templi dextrum, ad meridiem altaris. Et eduxit mer per viam portae aquilonis, et convertit me ad viam foras portam exteriorem, viam quae rescipiebat at orientem: et ecce aquae redundantes a latere dextro".

"He brought me again to the gate of a house, and behold waters issued out from under the threshold of the house towards the east: for the forefront of the house looked toward the east: but the waters came down to the right side of the temple to the south part of the altar. And he led me out by way of the north gate, and he caused me to turn to the way without the outward gate to the way that looked toward the east: and behold there ran out waters on the right side".

Pointing out that in the liturgical antiphon *Vidi aquam*, well known in Medieval England, relates the waters running on the right side of the temple in Ezekiel's vision to the wound in Christ's side, Ó Carragáin suggests this inspired the image of the bleeding cross in line 20a of *The Dream of the Rood,* "swætan on the swiðran healfe" (Ó Carragáin 1983: 13). Here again, we have the confluence of body, architecture (the rood as cross) and the natural world (the rood as tree). Ó Carragáin also discusses how "the appearance of the flowing liquid is also means by whichthe poet widens the temporal perspective of the opening vision" (Ó Carragáin 1983: 13). The vision is witnessed by "ealle fægere þurh forðgesceaft" (10a), and calls to mind "earmra gewin"(19a), bringing together connotations of both past and future time into a present moment, similar to the way in which the homilies in question relate their performance (heard and witnessed) in the present time to both past and future events.

extent that the influence of the human component prevails, any feature of the environment will seem more like a building; to the extent that the non-human component prevails, it will seem less so" (Ingold 2000: 187).

Although Monte Gargano begins as a *westen*, or wasteland, it soon becomes drawn into the sphere of communal dwelling through interaction with the divine and through the emergence of architectural structure in the natural space. The way in which the church helps to create a sense of place and dwelling can perhaps be illuminated by Heidegger's discussion of a Greek temple in "The Origin of the Work of Art". It is worth quoting the description at length:

> " A building, a Greek temple, portrays nothing. It simply stands there in the middle of the rock cleft valley. The building encloses the figure of the god, and in this concealment lets it stand out into the holy precinct through the open portico. By means of the temple, the god is present in the temple. This presence of the god is in itself the extension and delimitation of the precinct as a holy precinct. The temple and its precinct, however, do not fade away into the indefinite. It is the temple-work that first fits together and at the same time gathers around itself the unity of those paths and relations in which birth and death, disaster and blessing, victory and disgrace, endurance and decline acquire the shape of destiny. The all governing expanse of this open relational context is the world of this historical people. Only from and in this expanse does the nation first return to itself for the fulfillment of its vocation.
>
> Standing there, the building rests on the rocky ground. This resting of the work draws up out of the rock the mystery of that rock's clumsy yet spontaneous support. Standing there, the building holds its ground against the storm raging above it and so first makes the storm itself manifest in its violence. The luster and gleam of the stone, though itself apparently glowing only by the grace of the sun, yet first brings to light the light of the day, the breadth of the sky, the darkness of the night. The temple's firm towering makes visible the invisible space of air. The steadfastness of the work contrasts with the surge of the surf , and its own repose brings out the raging of the sea. Tree and grass, eagle and bull, snake and cricket first enter into their distinctive shapes and thus come to appear as what they are. The Greeks called this emerging and rising in itself and in all things *phusis*. It clear clears and illuminates, also, that on which and in which man bases his dwelling" (Heidegger 1971: 41).

Heidegger describes the presence of the temple as resolving the natural surroundings into a landscape. Christian Norberg-Schulz emphasizes that Heidegger does not see the temple as added to what is already present but that "the building first makes the things emerge as what they are" (Norberg-Schulz 1983: 63). In the case of Blickling XVI, it may be interesting to note that in both the Latin and the English of

the homily the landscape surrounding the church-mountain is described in detail after the apparition of Michael and the church of Monte Gargano. The mountain creates a conspicuous center amid the forests and fields and its presence makes the description of them relevant to the audience. As both church and mountain it provides a physical (and spiritual) unification of heavens and earth. Thus, at least in the literary context, the presence of Monte Gargano also brings forth the surrounding landscape, which prior to was merely an ambiguous *westen* (a term used in the Old English with no equivalent in the Latin homily).[73] Likewise, Norberg-Schulz points out that even prior to the function of ordering landscape, the Greek temple first "makes the god present" and second "fits together what shapes the destiny of human being" (Norberg-Schultz 1983: 63). In Blickling XI and XVI, the churches with their tokens (in both cases footprints) indicate the presence of divinity on earth. In addition to providing concrete reminders of past events, they serve as proleptic landscapes in which not only the end of days but the time and space thereafter are prefigured, thus shaping "the destiny of human beings". The parallel landscape of hell at the end of Blickling XVI, a disordered and decentralized chaos, offers a different outcome for damned souls, while the church offers salvation.

As homiletic events, these specific acts of manifestation, located textually in historical time, are re-enacted in liturgical time—thus creating, in Mircea Eliade's terms, sacred space, which is made real through performance or ritual.[74] As the

73 *Westen* is the Old English word for "wasteland" or "desert", and is used to gloss *(h)eremus* and *desertum*. It can refer to land that is uncultivated or unused, but in a spiritual sense, can be ambiguous or destabilizing, and having the potential for both punishment and salvation. For a fuller discussion, see the following chapter.

74 See Eliade 1959: 30-1, but ch 1 in general. Eliade's discussion of "hierophany" and revelation is als o useful when considering the construction of sacred space in the homilies. According to Eliade, sacred space is real and experienced, especially the enacting of origins. We may consider the performance of th e homilies such an enacting. While Eliade overstresses the distinction of sacred and profane space, with

homilist reminds us in Blickling XI, the places described in the homily are exempla, which provide models for the audience in the place they themselves inhabit (Morris 1880: 128). The homilist's emphasis on the present in this passage, using the term *nu*, "now" four times in one sentence creates an additional temporal relationship to the present tense used to describe the church at Olivet and the spiritual effects of the light shining from it in the preceding passages, temporally linking disparate places. Tim Ingold and Jeff Malpas' discussions of landscapes in art suggest that even an artistic or literary depiction of a landscape must somehow relate to experience. As Malpas puts it, "landscape is to be construed in terms of a confluence of influences and interactions; it is essentially temporal and historical, and this applies(...) even when we look at landscapes that appear in art" (Malpas 2011: 11). Landscapes, as places, exist because they can be experienced and interacted with, even if only as imaginative projections (Casey 1997a: 235). Indeed, it seems in both cases, the homilist, in his attention to physical detail and bodily experience, invites the audience to participate in the landscape as a temporal event in Blickling XI and XVI.

Writing of the desert of the Coptic fathers, James Goehring demonstrates how a landscape can "[naturalize] a cultural and social construction, representing an artificial world as if it were simply given or inevitable" (2003: 448). Through this landscape, "readers transcended their own temporal limitations to communicate with the saints of the past and participate proleptically in the world to come (2003: 438)." We might replace readers with "audience"—the landscapes in the *Blickling Homilies* not only allow precisely for the proleptic experience that Goehring describes, but

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the former as the only with the ability to provide behavioral patterns, the idea of hierophany as creating space that may be deemed "sacred" is important.

affirm conventional Christian values (albeit in slightly unconventional, and potentially popular, form) of faith, prayer, and bodily penance and their importance for both this present world and that which awaits them. Couched in narrative terms and set in "recent" history, the events and places described in Blickling XI and XVI are intimately connected to the eschatological concerns displayed in the rest of the homilies—for example, the narrative of the imminent but calendrically indiscernible doomsday, the salvific power of faith, and the relation of somatic experience to the soul's fate.

The homiletic landscapes examined in this chapter offer a model of the world in which the transient and earthly have resonances in the cosmic and eternal and vice-versa, so that in thinking of and interacting with one, you must think of and interact with the other. This creates an understanding of a world in which elements are interconnected, relational and reflective of one another. In a discussion of the Old English homily VI/11 in Bodley MS 343, composed for the Feast of the Transfiguration of Christ, Thomas J. Heffernan explores the idea that "the power of human sin is so great that it could diminish the grandest moments of God's creation, notably the sun and the moon" (Heffernan 2007: 64). This homily states that because of Adam and Eve's sin, the sun, moon, and stars lose a portion of their brightness, a brightness they will regain after the end of days, demonstrating "a conjunct materiality shared between human and celestial creation" (Heffernan 2007: 69). For the homilist, "the materiality, function, and ordering of the skyscape were part of a divine creation that is anthropocentric and answerable to the redemptive soteriology of medieval religious culture (Heffernan 2007: 64). While Heffernan focuses on the negative

effects of human sin on creation, which will not be resolved until the final judgement, in his discussion of sources,[75] Blickling XI and XVI seem to demonstrate the positive effects human actions, in conjunction with the divine, can have on creation. While it is pious human activity, particularly in Blickling XVI, that helps to transform the natural space into partially architectural space, the landscapes themselves provide models for piety, ideally effecting the actions the audience of the homily will take towards salvation.

In both cases, the overlapping of natural and built space suggest the totality of God's dominion and Christ's divinity. The homilies' emphases on physical space and corporeal experience not only stresses the spiritual need for bodily penance but affirms a mode of conceiving both history and spiritual dimensions through tangible, present places. Thus it is possible to conceive of these landscapes as both historical and performative events which also have bearing on the present world of the audience, and the future world it will one day inhabit. Seeing the landscapes in the *Blickling Homilies* as *temporal* events helps us to see their place not only in the temporal cycle of the liturgy, but also in a group of homilies concerned with eschatology and the end of days, which, for all the audience knew, was imminent.

75 Heffernan gives as sources Pseudo Isidore's 5th chapter of *de Ordine Creaturum*, which itself is based on Romans 8:22: "Scimus enim quod omnis creatura ingemiscit, et parturit usque ad hoc", "For we know that every creature groaneth and travaileth in pain until now" . This is of course a gloss on God's injunction against Adam in Genesis 3:17: "maledicta terra in opere tuo", "cursed is the earth in they work" (Heffernan 2007: 71-72). Heffernan further examines the possible influence of Ambrose's commentary of 2 Esdras in *de Bono Mortis* on this homily (Heffernan 2007: 73-75).

CHAPTER 4

Guthlac A: Building an English Landscape

"Hope and the future for me are not in lawns and cultivated fields, not in towns and cities,but in the impervious and quaking swamps."

-Henry David Thoreau, "Walking" (274)

I: *Guthlac A* and the *Guthlac* Corpus

Having discussed in the previous chapter the revelation and creation of sacred landscapes in two Anglo-Saxon homilies, which depict and interpret landscapes far removed from England, I now turn to the more local setting of the *Exeter Book* poem *Guthlac A,*[1] in which Latin Christian views and texts come into contact with and color the English landscape. In *Guthlac A*, locus takes central stage; place is not "used to heighten the poetic expression of a central theme...but it is itself an inextricable part of that theme" (Magennis 1996:181). First, this chapter reviews *Guthlac A* in light of the tradition of the desert fathers as it originated with Athanasius's *Vita Antonii* and was transmitted into Western Christianity. *Guthlac A*'s treatment of landscape, in ways both similar to and unique in the rest of the Guthlac tradition, shares numerous features of desert asceticism, as it appears in the lives of the early fathers and was inherited in England largely through Irish influence. The desert tradition forms the basis for considering the textual construction of the *beorg-centered* landscape Guthlac inhabits. While the geographical details about the the fenlands, which Guthlac settles

1Codex Exoniensis, Exeter Cathedral Library MS 3501. All quotation will be from Roberts 1979. Translations, unless otherwise noted, are my own. For a summary of the poem's place in the manuscript and critical history see Roberts 1979: 12-19.

and which formed the boundaries between the kingdoms of East Anglia and Mercia, are ignored or suppressed, the poet goes to great lengths to construct a strong sense of emplacement through the structure and diction of the poem. The landscape of *Guthlac A* is both precise and vague in order to allow for a simultaneous sense of locality and universality. In this chapter, I build on work that studies space, place and landscape as the main concern and structuring point in *Guthlac A* and on the previous chapters' exploration of the related concepts of building and dwelling.

Most of what we know of Saint Guthlac of Crowland (Croyland), who lived from approximately 673-714, comes from a monk named Felix, about whom we otherwise know know very little. Felix's Latin *Vita Sancti Guthlaci*, which draws largely from continental and insular traditions of ascetic saints, spawned most of the surviving written sources about the saint that came after it.[2] *Guthlac A* is, according to Jane Roberts, "anomalous" in the large collection of material treating on the English saint (Roberts 1988:1) in that it cannot be sourced directly or definitively to Felix, though some attempts have been made to argue both for and against this.[3] However, it

2 From the Anglo-Saxon period, this includes, in addition to the two *Exeter Book* poems,an Old English prose translation of the life, an adaptation of the scenes of temptation in Vercelli homily XXIII and an entry in Old English martyrology. See Roberts 1970 for a full discussion of Guthlac material. See Roberts 1979: 10-11 for some iconographic aspects of the Guthlac tradition which seem to not owe anything to Felix. For a discussion of the fragmentary Vercelli homily and its relation to its sources see Zacher 2009. In terms of subject matter, Vercelli XXIII has a similar focus to *Guthlac A*: the solitary saint's temptation in the wilderness. Zacher demonstrates that homily XXIII, often considered a not particularly well thought out add-on to the other homilies in the Vercelli book, actually has many "linguistic, thematic, and stylistic" connections with the other homilies and moreover is a "synthesis of genres seen elsewhere in the collection" (Zacher 2009: 268). She also notes that Guthlac also fits right in with the hero-saints Andreas and Elene, both subjects of poems in the *Vercelli Book.*

3 Roberts puts it, somewhat harshly, that "a lot of ink has been wasted" in the discussion of *Guthlac A*'s direct indebtedness to Felix (Roberts 2001:83). Among the most often cited arguments in favor of a direct influence, Liebermann 1892 provides three examples of what he sees as close linguistic parallels, though Roberts argues that taken in context, none of them are particularly convincing (1979:20-21). Gerould 1917 also expresses conviction of the poem's indebtedness to Felix, but the proofs are somewhat general. Forstmann 1902: 15-16, Kurtz 1926:113 and Schaar 1949: 39-42 on the other hand stress unique aspects of the poem that cannot be indebted to Felix. See Roberts 1979:19-23 for a more detailed summary of scholarship and 1988 for a more detailed discussion. Roberts echoes Bertram

is still necessary to engage with Felix's *Vita*, as *Guthlac A* exists within similar traditions in its borrowings from ascetic literature, and for the purpose of highlighting the uniqueness of the poem and its treatment of landscape. It seems in many ways that the two, though potentially having nothing tangible to do with each other beyond their subject, are still bound together by scholarly inquiry.

Felix wrote the *Vita Sancti Guthlaci* some time after Guthlac's death in 714 and before 749, the last year of the rule of the East Anglian king Ælfwald, who apparently commissioned the life (Colgrave 1956: 61). Bertram Colgrave remarks that it is curious that an East Anglian king might request the life of a Mercian Saint, though he suggests plausibly that with Crowland being on the border of the two kingdoms, Guthlac--and the land he occupied--may have been of interest to both (Colgrave 1956: 16).[4] The sources of the Vita range from the lives of the early desert fathers, most notably Anthony and Paul, to later hermits such as Saint Martin of Tours and more local ones such as Fursa. Felix is particularly indebted to Bede's life of the Northumbrian Saint Cuthbert of Lindisfarne.[5] The *Vita Guthlaci* contains many standard hagiographical features,[6] beginning with the noble lineage, portent-accompanied birth and promising childhood of the future saint (i-xv). As a teenager,

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Colgrave's proposition that "the poet had a vague knowledge of Felix's work" (Colgrave 1956: 21) as a possibility (Roberts 1979: 23; Roberts 1988:2), and has more or less stuck to her early conclusion that "the relationship of these two texts may never be decided to the agreement of all who give this problem their attention" (1970: 201), instead proposing that "it may be safer to categorise Felix's Vita *sancti Guthlaci* as an analogue rather than a source for *Guthlac A*" (Roberts 1988:15). Most current scholarship is in agreement with Roberts.

4 See also Roberts 2001, who connects the life with a more Mercian milieu.

5 See Colgrave 1956: 16-17 for a short summary. Downey 2004 provides the most detailed and current exploration of Felix's use of source material. Kurtz 1926 explores the particular relation to Anthony, including side by side verbal parallels.

6 See Farrar 1973: 90-1. The *Vita Sancti Guthlaci* reflects thirteen of the fourteen standard hagiographical topoi in Farrar's outline, which also considers works by Athanasius, Sulpicius Severus, the two lives of Cuthbert, and Eddius' life of Wilfried. The only one lacking, "reluctance to accept office", owes to the fact that Guthlac lives out his life as a solitary.

Guthlac, inspired by ancient heroes,[7] takes up arms and begins a career as leader of a war band (xvi-xvii). After nine years he is inspired to return to God and enters the monastery at Repton, where he receives the Petrine tonsure[8] (xviii-xxiii). After two years, this time inspired by the early monks of the desert in the same way he was originally inspired by ancient heroes,[9] Guthlac departs for a solitude in the fens that formed the boundary between the kingdoms of East Anglia and Mercia. He sets up his hermitage in the side of a mound that had once been opened by thieves hoping for treasure.[10] There, he endures and overcomes the temptations and torments of demons (xxix-xxxvi),[11] performs numerous miracles (xxxvii-xlviii)[12] and shelters Æthelbald, the fugitive future king of Mercia (xlix). The remaining chapters tell of Guthlac's death and posthumous miracles (l-liii), including a vision granted to Æthelbald confirming that he would soon become king (lii).

Guthlac A is far more limited in scope: rather than providing an expansive account of the saint's life or miracles, the poem centers on the contest for possession of the *tumulus* Guthlac settles, referred to as a beorg in the poem. Though the poem loosely parallels the demonic temptations in Felix, the focus on the *beorg* as the object

7 "Tunc valida pristinorum heroum facta reminiscens" , "he remembered the valiant deeds of the heroes of old"(ch. xvi, Colgrave 1956: 80,81) All translations are from Colgrave's edition.
8 "Misticam sancti Petri apostolorum proceris tonsuram accepit", he received the mystic tonsure of St Peter chief of the apostles" (ch. xx, Colgrave 1956: 84,85) The mention of the Petrine tonsure, as distinct from the Irish tonsure, is likely an aim to distance Guthlac from Celtic practices, especially as his solitary asceticism can easily bear the mark of Celtic practices. Similarly the anonymous life of Cuthbert falsely claims that the saint received the Petrine tonsure at Ripon, whereas Bede confirms that Cuthbert received the Irish tonsure at Melrose (see Rollason 1996: 100).
9 "Cum enim priscorum monachorum solitariam vitam legebat, tum inluminato cordis gremio avida cupidne herememem quarere fervebat", "For when he read about the solitary life of monks of former days, then his heart was enlightened and burned with an eager desire to make his way to the desert." (ch xxiv Colgrave 1956: 86, 97)
10 See below for discussion of the relation of this *tumulus* to the *beorg* of *Guthlac A*.
11 A particularly striking passage occurs in chapter xxxiv in which Guthlac is set upon by hordes of demons speaking British, which Guthlac can understand from his years as an exile in British territory.
12 Several of these involve Guthlac's kindness to and power over animals, a feature also common in many of the source texts for Felix (see Colgrave 1956: 187-8).

of contention is unique in the Guthlac tradition. Additionally, the frame of the poem demonstrates a use of learned source material different from that of Felix. *Guthlac A* begins with a description of a blessed soul about to enter heaven (1-29), at one time considered to be part of *Christ III,* which proceeds the Guthlac poems in the *Exeter Book* (Roberts 1979: 30-1). In an article dealing with the evidence of apocrypha in *Guthlac A*, particularly the *Visio Pauli*, Lawrence Shook was able to definitively demonstrate the verbal and thematic unity of the poem, though his arguments for the poem's direct indebtedness to the *Visio Pauli* are less convincing.[13] The poet then moves in to a discussion of how men may be among the number of the blessed on earth, saying "monge sindon geond middangeard/ hadas under heofonum þa þe in haligra/ rim arisað", "there are many ranks throughout middle-earth, under heaven, from which the number of saints arrives" (30-32a). This has been compared to a passage found in both Lactantius's *de Ira Dei* and chapter 10 of Gregory of Tours' *Vitae Patrum*.[14] After an "elegiac" section (Roberts 1979: 27, 31) the poet alludes to Matthew 22:14[15] in line 59: "he fela findeð, fea beoð gecorene", "he finds many, few are chosen"). Following this, a discussion of the characteristics of the virtues of the righteous leads quite naturally to mention of those who dwell in the wilderness

13 See Lipp 1971, who points out the problems with Shook's claim about the poem's debt to apocryphal literature. See also Roberts 1979 25-6 for a discussion. She concludes that "it can at least be said that Grau and Shook are right in placing this poem within the soul journey tradition". Again, the difficulty in directly sourcing many passages for *Guthlac A*, though it can be viewed as existing generally within a tradition.

14 Lactantius : Nam cum sint gradus multi, per quos as domicilium veritatis ascenditur", "For (since) many are the steps/ranks, through which the house of truth is reached" (PL vii: 81-82).
Gregory: "Multi variique sunt gradus per quos ad caelorum regna conscenditur", "Many are the steps/ranks through which (one) ascends to the kingdom of the skies" (PL lxxi: 1054-1055).

Roberts 1988 sees Gregory as the more immediate source. She notes also a psalm in the chapter's opening that seems relevant to Guthlac as a builder (*bytla*). It is also worth noting that chapter ten of the *Vitae Patrum* is the life of Saint Friardus, himself a hermit like Guthlac.

15 "Multi enim sunt vocati, pauci vero electi", "Many are called, few are chosen."

("wuniað on westennum", 81). Specific discussion of Guthlac is taken up shortly thereafter, at the beginning of the next numbered fitt (93). Guthlac's youth and time at Repton are not mentioned--the poet starts with Guthlac settling the *beorg*.[16] I will later discuss the importance of the *beorg*; for now suffice it to say for now that on this *beorg* Guthlac endures the temptations, threats, and torments of the demons whom he has dislodged, including a unique episode in which the demons show Guthlac the loose morals in contemporary monasteries. The temptations culminate with the demons carrying Guthlac to the gates of hell and threatening him with damnation for his sins. Guthlac's resolve is rewarded when, as in Felix, Guthlac's saintly patron Bartholomew descends from heaven to rescue him.[17] Thereafter, Guthlac returns to find the *beorg* a blooming field. This earthly paradise looks forward to the heavenly Jerusalem ("halgan burg", 812) and joy of the land ("londes wynne", 817) which the blessed soul--presumably Guthlac's--is destined to enjoy in the final section of the poem, fulfilling the promise of the first twenty nine lines. The poet frames Guthlac's earthly home with the dwelling space the righteous can expect in heaven, providing a thematic unity that is among the most unique and distinguishing features of *Guthlac A*. While much early scholarship has been disparaging of the literary quality of *Guthlac A*, more recent work, stressing the "didactic" and "homiletic" aspects of the poem, has demonstrated the elegance of this structural pattern which situates Guthlac and his

16 "He ana ongan beorgseþel buan", "Alone, he began to habit a *beorg*-homeland" (101b-102a).
17 Zacher 2009 notes that Bartholomew is called a *biggenga*, which "means variously an 'inhabiter, cultivator, worshipper, or benefactor', since as an emissary of God, his role is here both colonizing and cultivating" (Zacher 2009: 262). Ideas of colonizing and cultivating will be important in considering Guthlac's relation to the beorg. See also Sharma 2002: 187-191 for similar terms with *-genge, -gong* in *Guthlac A*.

beorg in a figurative and literal "middle" space.[18] That the poem stresses Guthlac's solitary struggle and does not mention the numerous interactions with other people recounted in Felix's *Vita* also enhances the sense of an individual soul's journey towards heaven.

In addition to questions of *Guthlac A*'s relationship to Felix's *Vita* is that of its connection to *Guthlac B*, which follows it in the *Exeter Book* and which is a far clearer poetic adaptation of Felix's material. That the poems have different authors is undisputed, but their placement in the *Exeter Book* suggests they were intended to be read in sequence as an account of the saint's life, in spite of the two embodying "entirely different symbolic modes" (Calder 1975:66). More recently, Robin Norris has suggest a sort of thematic relationship in that, according to her, both poems explore Augustinian theories of use and enjoyment, but in different ways (2003: 162). Benjamin Daniel Weber, examining differences between the two poems, offers an interesting and well-argued suggestion that the two poems examine two different but complementary modes of spirituality, and so doing "engage in a fascinating dialogue with one another, providing different perspectives on some fundamental questions of the religious life" (Weber 2010).[19] This question is worth further research, but in the interest of scope, this chapter will be centered primarily in *Guthlac A*. While I acknowledge Roy Liuzza's exhortation to read manuscripts rather than just poems (Liuzza 1990) and that interesting and important work has been done on the Guthlac poems' place in the *Exeter Book*, I will by and large be focusing on the text of the

18 Hill 1979 and Sharma 2002 compare Guthlac's ascetic life to a "middle way" . For a fuller discussion see below.
19 I am grateful to Benjamin Weber for sharing this unpublished paper with me.

poem itself, as I feel that it contains enough on its own and beyond its immediate context in the *Exeter Book* to be worthy of a close study.

One exception that ought to be brought up is Patrick Conner's important article on ideas of the Benedictine Reform in *Guthlac A* and the *Exeter Book*. Conner builds his argument from his work on the *Exeter Book,* arguing that the poem fits into monastic ideals of the time of the tenth century reform, particularly that of stabilitas, and was likely composed not long before it was compiled. Conner thus *introduced* a question of dating beyond the conventional dating of *Guthlac A* as an early poem (Conner 1993). Christopher Jones (1995) and Catherine M. Clarke (2006) have built on this argument, looking at the landscape of the poem through the ideal of reform ideology, though this evidence, especially read against features of language and meter that argue for an earlier rather than later date (Roberts 1979; 48-63, 70; Fulk 1992:400) is perhaps not strong enough to be definitive.[20] Moreover, Stephanie Clark's reservations about Jones's arguments in favor of a post-reform date for the poem can apply more generally to scholarship situating the poem within the ideals of monastic reform, namely that such scholarship sets itself to "the difficult task of showing how a poem about a hermit who, in the course of the poem, never lives in a monastery, is not mentioned as living according to a specific rule, and is modeled in the Antonian rather than the Benedictine tradition" (Clark 2011: 84n40). While I do not intend to settle the question of the dating of *Guthlac A*, my inclination is to read it as an earlier poem, especially since ideals of monasticism and eremitism were not at odds and in fact complemented each other, particularly in the Celtic Christianity that

20 Downey, Drout, et al. 2012 propose a later date based on lexemic comparison between the poem and Vercelli homily XXIII

still maintained a strong presence in England in Guthlac's time.[21] Thus it is not necessary to look for reform ideals grafted onto the life of a solitary hermit as part of a Benedictine project to bring even this lonesome saint into the communal fold.

II: The Desert Tradition

"Nature was unexpectedly kind (...) solitude was not solitude--nor silence--silence--or poverty poverty nor weakness weakness. I had travelled things [MS torn]t as they had been. I had died to a life...."

-Henry David Thoreau, journal entry from 1849

(347-348)

It may be more instructive to view *Guthlac A* as part of a tradition which, as Sarah Downey puts it, demonstrates a fusion of English eremitic and cenobitic traditions at a time in which the former was giving way to the latter (Downey 2004:1). While Felix's life draws from famous texts of desert hermits abroad such as Anthony of Egypt, Paul of Thebes and Martin of Tours (who later became bishop of Tours), and Cuthbert at home in England, the ideology of the desert must be viewed as a part of the Guthlac tradition rather than just the literary working of Felix. After all, according to Felix, Guthlac had read the lives of at least some of the fathers and was inspired by them.

In some ways, the poem comes as close to the eremitic tradition as Felix does. According to Stephanie Clark, "Other eremitical saints' lives contain the seeds of themes that come to full fruition in *Guthlac A*" (Clark 2011: 76).[22] At the end of the

21 It is also worth pointing out that that the Rule of Saint Benedict was known and used in England for centuries prior to the reform-for example, in eighth century Northumbria. According to the anonymous life of Cuthbert, it is this very "Celtic" saint, who introduced the rule to Lindisfarne.

22 These are, according to Clark, who compares Guthlac A to Evagrius's Latin translation of the *Vita Antonii,* "the doctrine of replacement, the devils' claims to desert spaces, and the hermit's love for his place of solitude" (Clark 2011: 76-7 and n. 8-10). Further discussion below.

"prologue" section, which transitions to Guthlac's trials, the poet describes a type of holy men who "wuniað on westennum", "dwell in the wastelands", very intentionally and obviously setting up the audience to view Guthlac as a solitary hermit (anbuend) in the desert:

Sume þa wuniað on westennum
secað 7 gesittað sylfra willum
hamas on heolstrumm hy ðæs heofoncundan
boldes bidað. Oft him brogan to
laðne gelædeð se þe him lifes ofonn
eaweð him egsan hwilum idel wuldor,
brægdwis bona,--hafað bega cræft--
eahteð anbuendra; fore him englas stondað
gearwe mid gæsta wæpnumm beoþ hyra geoca gemyndge
healdað haligra feorh, witon hyra hyht mid dryhten:
þæt synd þa gecostan cempan þa þam cyninge þeowað.

"Some dwell in wildernesses, of their own will they seek and settle homes in the shadows, they who await the heavenly home. Often he who begrudges them life leads them to hateful terror. Sometimes he shows them terror, some time idle glory, the clever slayer--he who has the craft of both--persecutes the hermits: before them angels stand, ready with spiritual weapons, mindful of their aid, they guard the lives of the holy ones, they know their hope to be with the lord. Those (holy ones) are the chosen warriors who serve the king" (81-91).

The term *westen* appears three times total in *Guthlac A* (as opposed to once in *Guthlac B*) and the term *anad*, "solitude" (Latin *solitudo*, *desertum*) occurs twice. Westen is the usual Old English word for Latin *desertum* or *(h)eremus* (the latter a borrowing from Greek), meaning desert, wilderness, or wasteland, and contains as much spiritual potential as the Latin terms it glosses. Additionally, the prologue introduces the topos of the *miles Christi* (in the phrase "gecosten cempan" in line 91), a figure often associated with the desert tradition and another term that looks forward to Guthlac's role as an eremitic saint, as the term *cempa* is applied to him numerous times in the poem. From this prologue it is apparent that poet is quite consciously trying to portray Guthlac primarily as a hermit of the desert, so while a thorough study

of eremitism in Western Christianity goes beyond the scope of this chapter, it is worth discussing some aspects of the tradition and its development as they pertain to Guthlac.

The desert plays important and multifarious roles in the Bible, to the extent that some scholars have interpreted the whole of biblical history in terms of the desert (Williams 1962:10 n 1, 2). In the Old Testament, a plurality of views of the desert and its spiritual function emerge and merge with each other. According to George H. Williams, at the most basic level, Hebrew words for desert differentiate between the sown/cultivated and the unsown, between space where people lived and wilderness (Williams 1962: 12; 12n4).[23] Generally, biblical wilderness appears in one of four ways: "the wilderness as a moral waste but potential paradise, the wilderness as a place of testing or even punishment, the wilderness as the experience of occasion of nuptial (covenantal) bliss, and the wilderness as a place of refuge (protection) or contemplation (renewal)" (Williams1962: 18). In all of these cases, the transformative potential of the desert--both to transform and to be transformed itself--is apparent. It can either be either the demon-haunted result of the Lord's wrathful vengeance[24] or something to be ultimately redeemed and transformed,[25] a locus of evil or a paradise

23 Williams gives the following words: *midbar, arabah, tsiyyah, tohu, chorba, yeshimon* (Williams 1962: 12 n4). Henceforth, I will use desert and wilderness interchangeably, though favoring wilderness as it is free of the connotations of a specific type of ecological zone.

24 e.g. Isaiah 34:13-14 "Et orientur in domibus ejus spinae et urticae, et paliurus in munitionibus ejus; et erit cubile draconum, et pascua struthionum. Et occurrent daemonia onocentauris, et pilosus clamabit alter ad alterum; ibi cubavit lamia et invenit sibi requiem", "And thorns and nettles shall grow up in its houses, and the thistle in the fortresses thereof: and it shall be the habitation of dragons, and the pasture of ostriches. And demons and monsters shall meet, and the hairy ones shall cry out one to another, there hath the lamia lain down, and found rest for herself."

25 e.g. Isaiah 35:1 "Laetabitur deserta et invia, et exsultabit solitudo, et florebit quasi lilium", "The land that was desolate and impassable shall be glad, and the wilderness shall rejoice, and shall flourish like the lily."

Isaiah 41: 18-19. "Aperiam in supinis collibus flumina, et in medio camporum fontes, ponam desertum in stagna aquarum, et terram inviam in rivos aquarum. Dabo in solitudinem cedrum, et spinam, et

for the blessed. In addition, the wilderness as a home of demons, space of death and unsown land also became linked to a state of chaos before creation, the primordial abyss, simultaneously space and place that had yet to be brought into the fold of created order (Williams 1962: 14).

The wilderness also plays a role in the New Testament, in its association with both John the Baptist,[26] and more importantly with Christ, who is led by the Holy Spirit into the wilderness and tempted there.[27] This pedigree made the wilderness an obvious choice for those seeking a closer connection to God and spiritual obstacles to overcome in the years after the persecution of Christians had come to an end, inspiring city dwellers such as Anthony (c. 251-356) to seek the solitude of the deserts of Egypt and Palestine. These monks, according to Williams, "withdrew to the desert both to carry their warfare into the enemy's territory and to contemplate the Author of their victory" (Williams 1962:41). This sense of hermitage as a state of action, rather than merely passive withdrawal, is also present in the image of the *miles Christi,* a description which was attached to the desert fathers at the earliest stage of the development of desert ideology.[28] In his *Conferences*, John Cassian writes "They were

myrtum, etlignum olivae; ponam in deserto abietem, ulmum et buxum simul", "I will open rivers in the high bills, and fountains in the midst of the plains: I will turn the desert into pools of waters, and the impassable land into streams of waters. I will plant in the wilderness the cedar, and the thorn, and the myrtle, and the olive tree: I will set in the desert the fir tree, the elm, and the box tree together."

26 In all the gospels, Christ comes to John, who is preaching and baptizing in the wilderness to be baptized. For example, Mark begins with a reference to the "voice of one crying in the desert " ("vox clamantis in deserto") of Isaiah, then introduces John baptizing in the desert ("in deserto baptizans") (Mark 1:3-4).

27 Matthew 4:1-11; Luke 4:1-13; Mark 1:12-13. The temptation in the desert is notably absent from the Gospel of John.

28 The tradition of the soldier of god or Christ goes back to Ephesians 6:11-17 "Induite vos armaturam Dei, ut possitis stare adversus insidias diaboli: Quoniam non est nobis collucatio adversus carnem et sanguinem, sed adversus principes et potestates, adversus mundi rectores tenebrarum harum, contra spiritualia nequitiae in caelestibus. Propterea accipite armaturam Dei, ut possitis resistere in die malo, et in omnibus perfeci stare. State ergo succincti lumbos vestros in veritate, et induti loricam justitiae, et calceati pedes in praeparatione Evangelii pacis, in omnibus sumentes scutum fidei, in quo possitis omnia tela nequissimi ignea extiguere, et galeam salutis assumite, et gladium spiritus (quod est verbum

anchorites, i.e withdrawers, because, being by no means satisfied with that victory whereby they had trodden under foot the hidden snares of the devil (while living among men), they were eager to fight with devils in open conflict, and a straightforward battle, and so feared not to penetrate the vast recesses of the desert" (*Conlationes* III, xviii, 6). Such an image balances the life of contemplation and withdrawal with a sense of active heroism. The hermits described in the opening of *Guthlac A* are described as both "anbuendra", "hermits" or "solitary dwellers" (88) and "gecostan cempan", "chosen warriors" (91) and Guthlac is referred to as a "cempa", "warrior" eleven times in *Guthlac A* alone (and twice in *Guthlac B*).[29] It is especially appropriate that Guthlac, originally a *dux bellorum* inspired by ancient heroes, should become a *miles Christi* inspired by the desert fathers.

The *Life of Anthony* (*Vita Antonii*) by Athanasius, known in England through the Evagrius' Latin translation, can be considered a watershed moment in Christian wilderness ideology. In it, the well-to-do Anthony gives up his wealth and gradually withdraws from the city to live as a solitary in the desert and battle with demons.[30] He overcomes his temptations--many of a psycho-sexual nature--and eventually becomes

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Dei)", "Put you on the armour of God, that you may be able to stand against the deceits of the devil. For our wrestling is not against flesh and blood; but against principalities and power, against the rules of the world of this darkness, against the spirits of wickedness in the high places. Therefore take unto you the armour of God, that you may be able to resist in the evil day, and to stand in all things perfect. Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of justice, and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace. In all things taking the shield of faith, wherewith you may be able to extinguish all the fiery darts of the most wicked one. And take unto you the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the spirit (which is the word of God)"

29 For example, he is called "Cristes cempa" in line 153, "wuldres cempa", "the champion of glory" in 324 and 555 and "meotodes cempa(n)", the "Measurer's (God's) warrior" in 576.

30 Like Guthlac, Anthony lives in a tomb (viii), and later in an abandoned *castellum* on the side of a mountain (xii). He struggles with demons in both places. The demons' injunction to Anthony " abscede a finibus alienis, non potes nostras insidias sustinere", " leave these foreign territories! You do not have the power to withstand our attacks" (xiii) seems echoed in line 278 of Guthlac A, when the demons tell Guthlac "geswic þisses setles", "leave this place". Additionally in xii, the demons refer to the spaces in the desert Guthlac has taken over as "nostris habitaculis" (xiii), perhaps a precursor to the demons' sense of possession of Guthlac's *beorg*.

so renowned as a holy man that a community of monks begins to grow up around him. Jerome's lives of Paul and Hilarion, and texts such as Palladius's *Lausiac History* and Rufinus's *Historia Monachorum* in his *De Vitis Patrum* helped to affirm the spiritual power of the desert for early Christians.

According to Peter Brown, "The myth of the desert was one of the most abiding creations of late antiquity. It was above all, a myth of liberating precision. It delimited the towering presence of "the world" from which the Christian must be set free, by emphasizing a clear ecological frontier" (Brown 1988: 216). The importance of this "ecological frontier" lies not just in the complex mythological pedigree that preceded it but the need for a physical environment suitable for the practice of *askesis*. As Brown says, "life in the desert revealed, if anything, the inextricable interdependence of body and soul" (Brown 1988: 236). By denying the body in the world, ascetics were in fact ensuring the salvation of the body in the world to come. In this way, asceticism can be viewed in terms of the caring for the body rather than despising it. By emphasizing the importance of the body not as an object to be overcome but a conduit through which the ascetic can strive towards unity with God, we can also understand the importance of physical emplacement for the desert monks. The body of the monk interacts with and experiences all aspects of the desert, further creating an active, rather than passive sense of dwelling in these early texts. Thus, according to Samuel Rubenson, "nature is not fallen and should not be rejected" (quoted in Jasper 2004: 28), and it was possible for monks to be "living the heavenly life while still living on earth", according to the *Historia Monachorum* of Rufinus (*PL*

21: col 117-118).[31] Even in these early traditions of wilderness, the landscape is not a static stage for action but a key player in the creation of sanctity. It is full of potential to be realized. The desert is not only defined in its opposition to the cities, but revealed through the physical and spiritual trial of those who ventured into its territory.

Ironically enough, it was from these early solitude seekers, around whom communities formed or who gathered in loosely organized communities, that Christian monasticism was born. The writings of John Cassian (c 360-435), quoted above, on the desert fathers are considered foundational texts in the history of monasticism and Cassian himself as the father of Eastern monasticism. Cassian's writings were later adapted by Saint Benedict (480-543), whose monastic rule became the cornerstone text for Western monasticism.[32] While Cassian's particular form of monasticism was generally rejected in the West in favor of cenobitic monasticism, his writings were well known and widely circulated, even to an extent in England.[33] Thus a connection between the solitary hermit and the monastery was especially strong and persisted in Europe during the early Middle Ages, and with both the monastery and hermitage being able to fill the role of a provisional, earthly paradise.[34]

In such a sense, the desert fathers are not antisocial deviants but key players in early Christian society, responsible for the advancement of the mythology of the wilderness. According to James Goehring, the hermits of the Egyptian desert

31 "Vidimus apud eos multos patres cælestem vitam in terra positos agentes".
32 Even Benedict, in the first chapter of his *Regula Monachorum*, speaks admiringly of hermits, using the image of the *miles Christi* to describe them (I.3-5).
33 See Lake 2003 for a review of the knowledge of Cassian in early Anglo-Saxon England. According to Lake, Aldhelm, Bede, and the author of the Leiden glosses appear to have had a degree of familiarity with Cassian; the anonymous life of Cuthbert contains a possible reference. Lapidge 2006: 295-296 for manuscripts and citations of Cassian (in Latin translation, rather than Greek).
34 See Williams 1962: 38-47 for a summary.

"appear...as the biblical saints, perfecting the demands of the Gospel, and in their perfection, prefiguring the world to come. In all of these ways and more, the myth of the desert served to naturalize the religious and social constructions of the church." (Goehring 2003: 438).

David Jasper similarly states, "Indeed we might say the passionate resistance of Antony and the monks to a 'heresy' such as Arianism, which denied the consubstantiality of Christ the Son with the Father precisely because their very *lives*, and not simply their intellects spoke out in opposition to its claims for such a distinction" (Jasper 2004: 37). While Goehring's views that the desert became a vehicle for orthodoxy and a means of prefiguring the world to come for a broad readership (Goehring 203: 438) are surely plausible, his understanding of landscape as a mythic image that eventually transcended physical reality focuses too narrowly on the desert as the arid deserts of Egypt and Palestine. Rather than merely paste the myth of the desert on top of whatever landscape was locally available, the adaptation of the desert to different ecological regions also demonstrated a developing eremitic ideology that included the desire to understand the presence of the divine in one's local setting. While symbolic aspects of the desert landscape became important as topography in a sort of interior spiritual landscape, on a physical level, the "myth of the desert" was less of a one-size-fits-all schema but a conduit for creating spiritual space out of local landscapes, as mutable as the desert itself. Hermits removed from Egypt shaped the idea of the desert to fit their own environs as much as they shaped their conceptions of these environs to the idea of the desert.

Within a few hundred years of Anthony's life, the "desert" started to creep north. In the fourth century, Saint Martin of Tours, one of the first hermits in the "West", not only lived in a hermitage on the island Gallinara of the Northwestern coast

of Italy but later, as bishop of Tours in Gaul oversaw a community of monks who were essentially contemplatives in the forest near Tours. The life of the fifth-century Jura father Romanus, who settled in the mountains of southern Gaul, is clearly modeled on the lives of Anthony and Paul--and yet his desert is a far cry from that of his literary predecessors. In the anonymous *Vita Romani,* the forest that the holy man inhabits is treacherous and difficult to cross, and presents a considerable physical challenge for the monks who later build the monastery of Condat there. However, it is also pleasing. When he first arrives in the forest, Romanus settles under a fir tree at the foot of a mountain, which the author links to the desert landscape of the early fathers: "Velut quondam palma Paulum, ita texit ista discipulum", "Just as the the palm tree once covered Paul, this tree now covered Paul's disciple" (*BHL* 7309 ch 1: 132, lines 14-15; Russell and Vivian 1999: 103).[35] Additionally: "Haec ergo ei supradicta, ut diximus, arbor a fervore estuum vel rigore imbrium, tamquam vere meritorum gratia vernans, praebuit iutiger tecta virentia. Erant praeterea pauce silvestres arbuscule, quae acida quidem voluptuosis, sed dulcia quieto pomula ministrabant","This tree (...)provided Romanus with a continuously green roof against the burning heat of summer days and the freezing rains of winter because, owing to the merits of the saint, it enjoyed a truly perpetual spring. There were also a few wild bushes that provided berries--undoubtedly bitter for those seeking pleasure but sweet for one at peace" (BHL 7309 1: 131, lines 19-22 ;Russell and Vivian 1999:103). Though Romanus does battle with the devil, this occurs after the monastery has been founded rather than

35 Two versions of the *Life of Romanus* exist: one in Gregory's *Vitae Patrum* (*PL* lxxvi: 1011-106) and an anonymous one *BHL* 7309. Quotation is from the anonymous life. Translations are from Russell and Vivian 1999.

during his time in wilderness. The forest, though difficult to cross, is not the haunt of demons but by virtue of its physical landscape, a potentially pleasant, sheltering haven for the contemplative.

Similarly, Eucherius of Lyons, whom Romanus may have met, in his epistle *de Laude Eremi* ("In Praise of the Desert"), recounts the experiences of the patriarchs and prophets in the desert, citing it as a breeding ground for holiness and the place where one might become closest to God. In doing so, he imagines it as a potential paradise[36] and de-emphasizes the presence of demons and evil, saying "Eremum ergo recte incircumscriptum Dei nostri templum dixerim; etenim quem certum est habitare in silentio, credendum est gaudere secreto", "I would say that the desert deserves to be called a temple of our God without walls. Since it is clear that God dwells in silence, we must believe that he loves the solitary expanses of the desert" (*PL* 50: col 702; Russell and Vivian 1999: 199). It is less for the purpose of battle with demons than to become close to God that one enters the desert. Throughout the text, Eucherius stresses the sweetness and pleasantness of the desert, equating the physical landscape with an interior spiritual space rather than stressing the necessity of physical hardship and privation.[37] Though Eucherius conflates the arid exterior desert and fruitful

36 " Ibi etiam in famulatum Domini, remotis circumstrepentibus turbis, tacita divini vigoris ministeria succedunt, et in eremo contistutus, tamquam jam in coelum revectus, occurrentium excipitur officiis angelorum. ibi tunc tentantem notae arits insidiis hostem illum antiqui temporis Adam Repulit. O laus magna deserti, ut diabolus qui vicerat in paradiso, in eremo vinceretur" (*PL* 50: col. 706).

"There, in the desert, far from the crowds of noisy people, the silent angels offered their service to the Lord and strengthened him. When he reached the desert, he was served by ministering angels as if he had returned to heaven. There he confounded the ancient enemy, who tempted him with the customary tricks of his art And the new Adam drove off the seducer of the old Adam. What a triumph for the desert that the devil, who had been victorious in Paradise, should be vanquished in a wasteland" (ch xxiii: 206).

37 Though much of the epistle deserves note, this particular passage sums up much of Eucherius' attitude:

interior desert as a paradise, he finds cause to praise his own Lérins for its physical characteristics:

> Equidem cunctis eremi locis quae piorum illuminantur secessu, reverentiam debeo, praecipuo tamen Lirinum meam honore complectens, quae procellosi naufragiis mundi effusos, pissimis ulnis receptat venientes: ab illo saeculi flagrantes aestu, blande intorducit sub umbras suas, ut illic spiritum sub illa interiore Domini umbra anheli resumant. Aquis scatens, herbis virens, bitibus renitens, visibus odoribusque jucunda, paradisum possidentibusse exhibet (*PL* 50: col. 710-711)
>
> "I have great respect for every desert place that is the illustrious home of a monk, but I honor my own Lérins above all. Faithful to her reputation, she takes in her faithful arms those who come to her from being shipwrecked in the stormy world. For those who come burned from the world's fire she tenderly provides shade where they can regain their spirits in the shade of the Lord who refreshes the heart. Its bubbling fountains, green grass, beautiful flowers,and all the delights of sight and scent show those possessing this paradise what they shall possess in the heavenly paradise (Russell and Vivian 1999: 213-214).

James Goehring argues that the desert in the *Vita Romani* and *de Laude Eremi* "has simply become a cipher for separation from the world. The ideological power of the myth has developed so as to impose itself on and take power from any form of physical withdrawal" (Goehring 2003: 447). This allowed Christians in areas remote from the religion's epicenter to draw their own local experiences into a spiritual geography set up by earlier

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Non est infructosum (ut creditur), non est illud sterile eremi solum, nec infecunda arentis saxa deserti. Illic multiplex germen, et centenos accola fructus recondit. Non facile illic jacta semina secus viam decidunt, quae volucres absumant: nec in petrosa facile dilabuntur, quae non habentia alititudiem terrae, aestuent, et arescant: neque in spineta facile fugiunt, quae jam adultis sentibus obruantur. Uberli illic messem proventu colonus metet: procitur in his saxis seges illa, per quam etiam ossa pinguescunt. Inveniture etiam illic panis vivus, qui de coelo descendit. Erumpunt in illis rupibus fontes irrigui, et aquae vivae, quae non satiandis solum, verum etiam possunt sufficere salvandis. Aic interioris hominis pratum et voluptas, hic incultum desertum, illic mira amoenitate jucundum est; eademque corporis est eremus, animae paradisus (*PL* 50: col. 710).

"The soil of the desert is not sterile and unfruitful as is commonly held; its dry, stony ground is not unproductive. A sower has hidden countless tender shoots and hundreds of fruit trees there. In the desert the seeds are unlikely to fall on the roadside to be eaten by birds or on rocky soil where they wither in the sun's heat for lack of deep roots, or on thorny land where the thorns eventually choke them out. There the farmer reaps the harvest of an abundant crop; such a great crop is produced from these stones that the desert's dry bones are covered with meat. There is also to be found that 'living bread that comes down from heaven;' from those stones gush forth refreshing fountains and streams of living water capable not only of satisfying thirst but of saving souls. Here is a delightful meadow for the interior soul. The untilled desert is attractive with a wonderful pleasantness. The material desert becomes a paradise of the spirit" (Russell and Vivian 1999: 212).

practitioners of the religion. And yet, Eucherius' desert on the French Riviera is, even by his own admission, a far cry from the deserts of Egypt or Palestine, and it is notable for its local properties.[38] It is as appropriate to think that as well as becoming a "cipher" for removal from the world, the wilderness it could also be a locus in which the ideology of the fathers and a culture adapted to and came into dialogue with new environs in the ever-expanding Christian world.[39]

By the time "the myth of the desert" had reached the British Isles, especially Ireland, where eremitism was quite influential and widely practiced in the early Middle Ages, the "desert" of the fathers had become nearly unrecognizable. The pleasantness of the hermit's desert solitude is most elaborately expressed in Irish poetry.[40] In poems such as "King and Hermit" ("A Marbán, A díthrubaig") and "Manchan's Wish" ("Dúthracar, a Maic Dé bí"), the "hermits" express their "desert" landscapes solely in terms of their pleasing properties. Marbán's praise of his hermitage is so effusive that it literally constructs an earthly palace of sensory delights out of the forest landscape.[41] Marbán even spends six stanzas describing the various foods and drink the forest provides for him, including ale and beer! This landscape, an

38 John Howe points out several examples of the paradisiacal *locus amoenus* as the "natural abodes of monks and hermits" (Howe 2002: 210), showing that this was a widespread feature of Western European writing about hermits. However, the examples he cites are all later than Eucherius.

39 In a similar vein, Patricia Dailey notes that in his *Sermo in Aepiphania Domini,* Ælfric uses the term *wudu*, "forest" for desertum "desert". According to Dailey, "The landscape in the 'Sermo Aepiphania Domni' is rendered familiar by the use of the word *wudu*, for woods were part of the topography that Ælfric undoubtably knew and was familiar to his readers. The wudu of Anglo-Saxon England is a landscape that may host solitude as does the biblical desert, but can also be used to mark the inscription into biblical history (as the history of Anglo-Saxon England)" (Dailey 2006: 190).

40 There is some truth to the stereotypical "Celtic love of nature", though much of this idea has to do with modern readings of the texts. However, Irish literature both religious and secular from the Middle Ages often presents detailed descriptions of the natural world, which was "intimately connected with the presence of God" (Low 2002: 184). For a discussion of the natural world in Irish Christianity and modern interpretations see Low 2002

41 For example, in stanza 9, the trees form a sort of architecture: "Dí ersainn fraích fri fulong/ ocus fordorus féthe", "Two heath clad doorposts for support, and a lintel of honeysuckle" (trans. Kuno Meyer).

imaginative construct based in physical geography, is as artificial and real as the deserts of Egypt and Lérins. It is now widely agreed that this nature poetry was produced in an ecclesiastical setting and put in the mouths of earlier hermits.[42] Moreover, the categories "nature poetry" and "hermit poetry" are problematic and where their boundaries should be drawn--if at all--is open to dispute. For example, Donnchadh Ó Corráin has designated 344 lines of "hermit" poetry, most of it contained in manuscript glosses and as Patrick Ford argues, likely used to illustrate grammatical metrical or stylistic features,[43] yet this listing in itself is incomplete, as this ignores the poetry of the solitary madman, Suibhne Geilt, for example, whose numerous poems have much in common with the hermit poetry.[44] While *Guthlac A* lacks the effusive and detailed praise of the natural world, Guthlac's specific attachment to the place he inhabits, his experience of the *londes wynne* and the transformation of his *beorg* to a hall on a field, with its blooming flowers and singing birds, may be paralleled in Irish poetry. In both cases, the dwelling of the hermit, consisting in equal parts of architectural and natural elements (the two at times overlapping), suggests a strong sense of emplacement, that must be at the same time specific and general. Arguments of the "inauthenticity" of the Irish hermit poetry must be taken with the utmost seriousness, but it is still interesting and worth

42 See Murphy 1931, Ó Corráin 1989, Ford 1999. Though these poems are dated to after the earliest dating of *Guthlac A*, they can still be read as culminations of a tradition of viewing nature that has similar origins as the desert tradition in England. Murphy 1931: 93 discusses the likelihood that we owe the "nature tradition", not just the "hermit tradition" in Irish poetry, to monks and hermits of the first Christian centuries in Ireland, and certainly the Christian poetic tradition, and the new meters it brought in was flourishing by the beginning of the eighth century.
43 Ford 1999 does not, however, say much about the longer poems.
44 Murphy 1931: 13, 14 sees the poems of Suibhne as Christian in origin but partially "paganized".

examining the poetic imagining and idealizing of a "desert" as it interacts with a local landscape.

While direct connections between Irish "nature" poetry and *Guthlac A* are tenuous, the influence of Irish monasticism and eremitism in England is clear. According to Mary Clayton, "There can be little doubt that the Anglo Saxon-Church was in this indebted to the Irish Church, for whom the call of the desert was for centuries a powerful force in the religious life" (Clayton 1996: 156). Prior to the Synod of Whitby in 664,[45] Irish Christianity had a powerful hold on England, particularly in the north, and the interchange between Anglo-Saxon and Irish was frequent and fluid. Many Anglo-Saxon holy men of this early period were educated in Ireland, or even there lived as hermits (Clayton 1996: 153) and Irish monks such as Aidan, who founded the monastery of Lindisfarne, were active in England. Even after the Synod of Whitby, though Celtic influence may have diminished, many practices and ideas which had now become a part of Anglo-Saxon Christianity persisted.

An interesting example of this fusion of ideas persisting after Whitby is the eighth century Ruthwell Cross (most famous for its runic inscription of lines 39-64 of *The Dream of the Rood)*, which has a clear eremitic influences. While it is acknowledged that the eucharist is the thematic unifier of the images on the cross, the desert setting and themes emphasize "the importance of both the eucharist and the eremitic vocation" (Ó Carragáin 1988: 44). The north side of the cross depicts Christ and two beasts with the inscription IHS XPS: JUDEX AEQUITATIS: BESTIAE ET

45 See Mayr-Harting 1971 ch 7. For more on the political aspects of the Synod of Whitby, see Abels 1984. The primary point of discussion was the dating of Easter, which was decided in favor of the Roman dating. However, both caution that the Synod was very much a matter of Northumbrian politics and historical rivalries, and that it is "impossible to represent it as the climax of a long cumulation of controversy between the Romans and the so-called Celts" (Mayr-Harting 1971: 105).

DRACONES COGNOVERUNT IN DESRTO SALVATOREM MUNDI.[46] Above this is a panel of John the Baptist, whose role as an eremite is discussed earlier,[47] and beneath is a depiction of Antony and Paul sharing bread, with an inscription identifying the two, a scene which also appears on Scottish and Irish crosses from the period.[48] Beneath Paul and Antony is a depiction of the flight into Egypt (or return therefrom), a proximity likely explained by the setting of the Egyptian desert as well as eremitic miracles (Schapiro 1944: 238). Schapiro also interprets the panel of Mary Magdalene washing Christ's feet through the lens of desert asceticism, as Mary was widely seen as a figure for the contemplative life.[49] The result of all this, according to Schapiro is that "the content of the sculptures is based largely on the eremitic conceptions of the British Isles in the sixth and seventh centuries. The Cross is Anglian and classic in its forms, mainly Celtic in its religious content" (Schapiro 1944: 245).

The apparently syncretic nature of the cross, in which it is difficult (and pointless) to distinguish precisely where the "Celtic" ends and the "Anglo-Saxon" begins, is also present in some of the contemporaneous hagiographic literature. Saint

46 Jesus Christ: the judge of righteousness: the beasts and dragons recognized in the desert the savior of the world (trans. Schapiro). See Schapiro 1944:233-236 for a discussion of the sources of this image, rare in medieval art (Schapiro 1944: 233n10). Schapiro asserts, partially on the basis of the Latin inscription, that rather than depicting Christ trampling the beasts as a sign of his ability to overcome the powers of evil, but the harmony created when the desert beasts acknowledge Jesus. In this it is far more in keeping with eremitic traditions especially popular in the British Isles of saints' fondness for and power over animals.

47 See also Henderson 1985 for a further exploration of the role of this panel in the sacramental ideology of the cross.

48 See Ó Carragáin 1988 for a discussion of the eucharistic significance of Paul and Antony and the practice of *confractio* in Ireland.

49 This has its basis in Luke 10:39-42, in which Christ prefers the passivity of Mary, who sits at his feet listening to him, to her sister Martha, who is bustling about playing hostess. See Clayton 1996: 149-150 on the two as models of the active and contemplative life. Though this Mary is distinct from Mary Magdelene commentators often collapsed them, creating a single ascetic model. See also Schapiro 1944: 237-238).

Cuthbert, on whose life Felix's *Vita Sancti Guthlaci* was in part modeled, and with whose reputation Guthlac may have been familiar, is the best known example of a hermit saint in the north of England, whose life demonstrates not only the synthesis of traditions but the possible tensions between them. Though he presided over Lindisfarne as bishop in the years following in the Synod of Whitby, "it is clear that he belongs to the Celtic rather than Roman tradition" (Colgrave 1940: 5). In the years framing his episcopate he lived as a hermit on the nearby island of Farne. Cuthbert's life exists in an anonymous prose version and prose and poetic versions by Bede,[50] the latter of which seems to downplay the Celtic and eremitic aspects of his life to the greatest extent possible (Thacker 1982: 136-142).[51] Cuthbert, who followed both "the contemplative amid the active life" (Colgrave 1940: Anonymous III:i)[52] seems to embody and resolve tensions between different modes of religious thought and tradition. While evidence becomes somewhat lacking after the eighth century, it seems there was a decline in interest in the solitary contemplative life of hermits , as writers such as Alcuin, Ælfric, and even Alfred, stressed the importance of church and community superseding the individual, and focused particularly on preaching and the role of religious leadership (Clayton 1996: 156-7).[53] Thus, as Guthlac lived in a

50 See Herity 1999 for ways in which descriptions of Cuthbert's hermitage on Farne correspond to archaeological evidence from other Irish hermitages.

51 In Bede's version, the dying Cuthbert instructs his brethren to "cum illis autem qui ab unitate catholicae pacis uel pascha non suo tempore celebrando, uel perverse vivendo aberrant", "have no communion with those who depart from the unity of the catholic peace, either in not celebrating Easter at the proper time or in evil living" (Colgrave 1940: 284-285). The former of these deviants are quite clearly the Celtic monks who have not adopted Roman paschal dating, one of the key issues at the Synod of Whitby. Interestingly, though, the anonymous life states that Cuthbert received the Petrine tonsure at Ripon, whereas Bede reports that he received the Irish tonsure at Melrose. Moreover, the anonymous author credits Cuthbert for introducing the Rule of Saint Benedict to Lindisfarne (Colgrave 1940: Anonymous III:i)

52 See Stancliffe 1989 for an examination of Cuthbert as both pastor and solitary.

53 e.g. Alfred's translation of Gregory the Great's Cura Pastoralis, Ælfric's homily for the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin in *Sermones Catholici* II and his discussions of Cuthbert in *Sermones*

mearclond in terms of both ecological and political boundaries, he seems to have also straddled the boundaries of religious practice. While Guthlac, who was tonsured in the Petrine fashion and who retained some concern for monastic life even in his solitude, is an even less ambiguously Anglo-Saxon saint than Cuthbert, his connection to the eremitic and Celtic Christian traditions should not be under-emphasized , neither in Felix's *Vita* nor in *Guthlac A*.[54]

It may seem as though this discussion has been somewhat belabored. However, as we venture now to Guthlac's locus of hermitage and the particular terminology applied to it in *Guthlac A*, it is important to keep in mind the backdrop of the desert tradition and the forms it took before reaching England. A standard feature of the desert is that it is both real and ideal; it is an idea that can be interpreted to fit local landscapes but is also dependent on the particular features of those landscapes. Guthlac's *beorg* contains Antonian features of privation, simplicity and horror in the polysemy of the biblical wilderness. Nevertheless, a Celtic--by which I mean Gaulish and Irish-- tradition of attachment to, delight in and harmony with the place is also apparent in the poem in a way in which it is not in Felix. It seems clear to me that the desert tradition, especially as it was transmitted through Ireland, informed ideas of saintly dwelling in *Guthlac A*.

Catholici. Mary Clayton points out that Ælfric downplays Cuthbert's role as a hermit and describes him as a teacher, emphasizing his pastoral role in the community (Clayton 1996:163). On Bede and Alcuin as early proponents of this, see Thacker 1982.

54 Indeed, in chapter 46 of the *Vita Sancti Guthlaci*, a man named Wigfrith claims he has been in Ireland and seen both false hermits and saints and true ones, and by this can judge true sanctity-so in a sense an Irish model is the standard by which Guthlac is judged.

III: The landscape of *Guthlac A*

"I am no more lonely than the loon in the pond that laughs so loud, or than Walden Pond itself. What company has that lonely lake, I pray? And yet it has not the blue devils, but the blue angels in it, in the azure tint of its waters. The sun is alone, except in thick weather, when there appear to be two, but one is a mock sun. God is alone, --but the devil, he is far from being alone; he sees a great deal of company; he is legion."

-Henry David Thoreau, *Walden* (95-96)

When *Guthlac A* takes up the saint's life at line 93 it does so *in medias vitae*, not mentioning his youth as a warrior or his time at Repton; rather, it begins with his *dwelling*, saying that "he ana ongan/beorgseþel bugan" (101b-102a), "he began to inhabit alone a beorg-homeland." This *beorg(seþel)* is the central image and is both locus and object of contention (both for the actors in the poem and scholars of it) in the narrative, a focus that is unique to *Guthlac A*. This *beorg* (a term used nearly fourteen times in *Guthlac A*) corresponds roughly to Felix's description of the space Guthlac chooses for his hermitage; in Latin the term used is tumulus and the lives say that at one time people broke into it in the hopes of finding treasure:

Erat itaque in praedicta insula tumulus agrestibus glaebis coacervatus, quem olim avari solitudinis frequentatores lucri ergo illic adquirendi defodientes scindebant, in cuius later velut cisterna inesse vedebatur; in quia vir beatae memoriae Gutlac desuper inposito tuturio habitare coepit.

"Now there was in the said island a mound built of clods of earth which greedy comers to the waste had dug open in the hope of finding treasure there; in the side of this there seemed to be a sort of cistern, and in this Guthlac the man of blessed memory began to dwell after building a hut over it" (ch xxviii Colgrave 1956: 92-95). [55]

It is clear that the idea that Guthlac's *tumulus* was (or might have been) a tomb was current. As continuing scholarly argument demonstrates, the term *beorg* is suitably ambiguous, with its overlapping meanings of "mountain" or "hill" and

55 See above n 30 for comparison to Antony.

"barrow".[56] This owes perhaps to the possibility that people could not always distinguish the natural from man-made formations in the landscape (this is not even entirely clear in Felix). Though Della Hooke notes that *beorg* seems to refer to a specific hill shape in place names as do words such as *cruc*, *hoh*, *ofer*, and *dun* (Hooke 1998:3),[57] meanings seem more generalized in poetry. *For* example, *beorg* and *hlaew*, the latter of which has a more direct meaning of barrow, are used interchangeably in *Beowulf* to refer the dragon's lair *and* Beowulf's tomb.[58] The poet of *Guthlac A* uses only *beorg*, though the alliterative opportunity for *hlæw* certainly could have arisen. It seems likely that the poet intended to exploit a sense of ambiguity in his consistent use of the word *beorg*.

Archaeological evidence has indeed revealed some mounds on Crowland, though which, if any, belonged to Guthlac remains unknown.[59] That the image of the beorg (sometimes "beorg on bearwe", as in lines 128 429, "barrow/mound in a grove") is central to Guthlac A is widely agreed upon but its exact meaning is famously fraught, as the poem never explicitly states it was a tomb.[60] Against traditional translations of beorg as "hill" or "mound"[61] and the assumption that the

56 A search of the Compendium of Old English reveals that the meaning "hill" or "mountain" is most common, but that it is not rare to see the term used as "tomb" or "barrow" either. For example, the term is used to refer to Christ's tomb in lines 8-14 of *The Descent into Hell*.
57 Colgrave suggests the meaning of "Crowland" is derived from *crug* (Colgrave 1956: 181).
58 ll 2241, 2304, etc, the *beorg* (sometimes *beorh*) refers to the dragon's lair. In 2807, 3097 and 3163, it is Beowulf's tomb. The term hlæw is used interchangeably with *beorg* (1120, 2296,2411,2802, 3157, 3169). The term *beorg* is also used twice also to mean "headland" or "hill" (a prominent place) (211, 3143).
59 See Stocker 1993: 106 for a description of the evidence for barrows on Crowland and Colgrave 1956: 183 for a further review. See also Daniel 1950: 22-3. Daniel thinks it unlikely the barrow was prehistoric. Stocker suggests that it still had ritual-potentially British-significance, hence Guthlac's choice to inhabit this particular location.
60 Alaric Hall 2007 points out that the poet of *Guthlac B*, who clearly knew Felix, also uses the term beorg to designate Guthlac's dwelling space (e.g. l 1193) (Hall 2012: 216).
61 Gollancz: "mountain home", Kennedy: "mountain house", Gordon: "mountain abode". Cited in Shook 1960: 3

poet of *Guthlac A* knew little about the landscape of Crowland, Lawrence Shook first averred that the *beorg* indeed refers to a barrow, arguing that that evidence from the poem suggested that the poet was more familiar with the local landscape than had hitherto been acknowledged and that the vagueness of the landscape had more to do with structural artistry than lack of awareness on the part of the poet (Shook 1960: 10).[62] In a 1974 article Paul Reichardt returned to the argument that *beorg* referred to "mountain", arguing that it is as much a symbol of spiritual and saintly progress as it is a concrete feature of the landscape. Reichardt draws his claims from the thought of John Cassian, arguing that not only do Cassian's ideas about the ascetic life illuminate Guthlac's own spiritual perfection, but that the specific image of the *beorg* can relate to Cassian's "mountain of saintliness" from book X of the *Conlationes* (Reichardt 1974: 336).[63] Jane Roberts, the most recent editor of the Guthlac poems, accepts this reading of *beorg*, retaining the translation "a dwelling place in the hills" for "beorgseþel" (Roberts 1979: 21-2). The question of the *beorg* was next taken up by

62 Roberts feels that "textual reinforcement" for this is lacking (1979: 21). On the other hand there is no real evidence to suggest that *beorg* is not a barrow.

63 The relevant passage is as follows: "Only those of purest sight look upon Christ's divinity, men who have climbed up from earthly acts and thoughts and have gone apart with him into *a high and lonely mountain.* Jesus, untroubled by any earthly thought and passion and sin, exalted in the purity of his faith and goodness, discloses the brightness of his face and likeness to men who can look upon him because their souls are pure.

Inhabitants of cities and villages and hamlets, men engaged in the ordinary and virtuous pursuits of life, sometimes see Jesus; but they cannot see him with the distinctness possible to those who can climb up with him upon t*he mount of saintliness*, as did Peter, James and John. So in the wilderness he appeared to Moses, and spoke with Elija. He wanted to teach us this and leave us an example of perfect purity. As the source of holiness, a source unpolluted like a spring of fresh water, he did not need to go apart in the wilderness to attain that perfect purity. No dirt, no stain from the crowds of human society could lessen the fullness of his purity of heart, for he it is who cleanses and purges all pollution.

Yet he went apart alone to *the mountain* to pray. He gave an example of withdrawal to teach us that if we want to address God with a hart of integrity we should go apart from all crowd and tumult that disturbs our peace; and there, though still mortal men, we may in part succeed in attaining at least the shadow of the bliss promised to the saints in the future, and God may be to us all in all" (Cassian Collationes X, cited in Reichardt 1974: 336, italics Reichardt's).

Karl Wentersdorf, who acknowledged the spiritual significance of mountains in Judeo-Christian tradition, but argued that "Guthlac's purpose in taking up residence on the barrow was not merely to demonstrate his willingness to withstand the gravest temptations and sorest torments. He intended primarily to establish and visibly demonstrate possession of the barrow for the Church" (Wentersdorf 1978: 141). Wentersdorf sees Guthlac's takeover of the *beorg* as part of a program to suppress vestiges of paganism by taking over heathen sites, a plan outlined in Gregory the Great's famous epistle *ad Mellitum* and initially carried out by Augustine of Canterbury (Wenterdsorf 1978: 138-9). Wentersdorf's argument has been taken up and elaborated upon recently by Alfred K. Siewers, who focuses on the landscape, arguing that the "thematic motif of the battle for the haunted barrow ...is an application of a Gregorian papal lesson to the landscape" (Siewers 2006: 219). Though Siewers conflates Felix's *Vita* and *Guthlac A*, his arguments serve to foreground landscape in the religious and cultural dynamics of a post-Gregorian, (and post -Whitby) England. Most recently, Alaric Hall has argued for the importance of the barrow as a feature of a pagan landscape, arguing how, in "breaking" the barrow[64] Guthlac both "utilized and subverted traditional modes of behavior" (Hall 2007: 231). Viewing Guthlac's *beorg* in light of those in *Beowulf* and *The Wife's Lament*, Hall supports the argument for reading the poem as evidence of the heroic Christianization of a pagan landscape.

Hall's argument raises the interesting issue of co-opting and subversion of traditional practices, and taken together with previous work, confirms to me that the image of the *beorg* as a barrow with potentially pagan associations is central to

64 " beorgas bræce" (209)

Guthlac's spirituality and saintliness. Hilda Ellis Davidson includes a review of Scandinavian literary sources involving sitting on a "howe", which seems to have both royal and religious significance.[65] Sitting on a barrow could be seen as a ritual act of claiming kingship or a way to channel the supernatural--or, in some cases, both (Davidson 1950: 107-9). Additionally, Sarah Semple discusses archaeological evidence for continued use of barrows in Christian times, for burial initially and later as incorporated into church complexes. Semple demonstrates an evident wariness about these sites but also an unwillingness to totally let go of their ritual significance (Semple 1998: 123). In this sense, Guthlac subverts the "pagan" practice of claiming a mound by ascending it and settling it[66] for Christian purposes. He does not merely claim the space, but co-opts the *practice* into the Christian fold.

It seems likely that an Anglo-Saxon audience would have called to mind first a pre-Christian, probably pre-Germanic barrow and only secondarily a mountain in the biblical and patristic tradition of spiritual ascent. In this way, *Guthlac A* could function well for a wide audience, as it situates Guthlac in the Germanic heroic tradition and that of the *miles Christi*, and physically places him in a landscape that is both local and cosmic. However, I think we can push our understanding of the barrow not just as an axial point between two cultures and modes of thought but also its function as a literary "symbol". In his argument for the *beorg* as barrow and the *Guthlac A* poet's knowledge of the local landscape, Lawrence Shook states that in his engagement with the landscape, the poet "has discovered the beauty and effectiveness

65 For the former see also Olrik 1909.

66 Guthlac is said to ascend the barrow twice: "he mongum wearð bysen on Brytene/siþþan biorg gestah", "he became an example to many in Britain after he ascended the *beorg*" (174b-175) and "he eft gestag/ beorg on bearwe", "he afterwards ascended the *beorg* in the grove" (427b-428a). The verb *(ge)sittan* is used numerous times in the poem to denote the act of settlement (e.g. 82, 122, 159).

of what later poets could call the *symbolic mode*" (Shook 1960: 10).[67] Reichardt argues that the "*symbolic potential*" of the poem is rooted in the literary monastic tradition (Reichardt 1974: 338). Wentersdorf also states that the "*symbolic mode*" in which the "conversion" of the barrow occurs has its roots in the Gregorian papal mission's policy to recycle pagan *loci* (Wentersdorf 1978: 136). Alfred Siewers also writes the conquest of the barrow can"be taken as a metaphor of the Anglo-Saxon literary construction of the landscape of Britain. It is , as noted, an application of a Gregorial papal lesson to the landscape, an appropriation of ancestry. And it is a conquest that takes place in a l*iterate symbolic realm*"(2006: 219).[68]

That the *beorg* has symbolic potential is a point of agreement for all the scholars, yet perhaps it might be more accurate to say the symbol is one of potential. On the "symbolic mode" in Old English, Peter Clemoes remarks that "Anglo-Saxons had a keen appreciation of innate potential with being, kinship, inheritance and environment and in the influence of these factors on analogy-bearing narrative living. For instance, much satisfaction was taken in noting disparate or contrasting potentials in a single being" (Clemoes 1995:102). Clemoes first claims that Anglo-Saxons were quick to see homologies between entities as well as contradictory symbolic potentials and outcomes that a single being could embody, which could play out in narratives. He claims further that "contradiction was, in fact, an inherent principle in the constitution of active beings", citing Heorot in *Beowulf* as having both the potential to house and support social structure and to burn and and destroy that same structure

67 Shook goes on to say "Thus the barrow has come for him and for his poem to stand for all that is significant in the spiritual life of the good Christian...his use of the barrow removes it from the category of a mere geographical appendage to a religious theme and makes it the center of the poem as poem" (Shook 1960: 10).

68 Italics my own.

(Clemoes 1995:105). In the same way, Guthlac's *beorg* has the potential to be both a pagan tomb and a mountain of spiritual ascent in the tradition of Cassian. Though originally a feature of pre-Christian Anglo-Saxon culture, this vernacular symbolic mode of language[69] came into the service of Christian, text-based poetry and its images served, according to Clemoes, "as concepts of a universal church" (Clemoes 1986: 11). More broadly, Julia Kristeva has also discussed the distinction between semantic potential and symbolic outcome, seeing the former as a realm of pre-linguistic fluidity, which precedes and underlies the fixed correspondence of signs and signifiers of what she terms the symbolic (Kristeva 1980: 133-135). While Kristeva's gendering of these two concepts can appear somewhat reductive,[70] and her application is based on the psychoanalytic criticism of Lacan, the suggestion of a realm of fluid meaning that gives way and occasionally ruptures into the symbolic realm of fixed correspondences can have some potentially interesting consequences for thinking about the beorg landscape of Guthlac. Where I think previous scholars have fallen short is their treatment of the *beorg* as a "symbol" representing conquest, or conversion, or spiritual progress without any complications. All of these reduce the landscape to a stage for Guthlac's actions, not an active participant in his sanctity.

I propose instead that the *beorg* (*on bearwe*) in fact embodies potentials that shift and ultimately resolve in the course of the poem. The *beorg* , while perhaps creating a different set of associations to different audiences, contains contradicting

69 "My sense of symbolic language in this poetry is therefore one of dramatically exploitable and evocative pieces of language which combine socially established semantic potential with culturally established conformity. This semantic potential has to do with their innate active attributes" (Clemoes 1986: 10).

70 However, Beatriz Penas Ibanéz argues for a more nuanced understanding of Kristeva's gender categories, arguing that "the male/female roles as well as the paternal and maternal become functions which can be enacted by a human being regardless of sexual gender" (Ibanéz 1996: 103).

potentials that are contested throughout the poem--that is, the *beorg* is not a static object in Guthlac's struggle with the demons but a dynamic potential, a place that embodies both *egesa* ("terror") and *wyn* ("joy"), and that responds to the outcomes of the saint's encounters with the demos. That the poet set the landscape in dialogue with Guthlac's actions suggests a process of "active" dwelling and meaning-making which is well in keeping with both heroic and saintly agency. This can also help explain the *beorg* as locus and object of conflict, something far richer than a literary backdrop. This treatment also might betray a relationship to landscape well in line with the desert fathers and the Irish hermits who influenced Christianity in England so much, in which we see, according to Alfred Siewers, " a delight in nature... not articulated simply, but with terror at the chaos of nature mixed with awe at the transcendent divine, alongside experience of both an immanence of the divine and an intimate sense of place in landscape" (Siewers 2009: 11). This desert-inspired narrative geography "interwove nature and grace--self, landscape, and the divine--in techniques of asceticism, literature and visual arts" (Siewers 2009: 14).

The interweaving of nature and grace is also apparent in the "weaving" of images of the *beorg* with that of the *wong* in the landscape of *Guthlac A*. The landscape Guthlac settles is also described as a *wong*, "field", starting as early as line 178 and used another seven times throughout the poem. While it is not so unrealistic to imagine a barrow with a small field surrounded by trees,[71] the change of perspective in imagining a raised feature of the landscape to a flat plain is jarring and seems deliberate and seems to encourage the notion of the landscape shifting, even if it is

71 cf *Beowulf* 2241b-2242a "Beorh eallgearo/wunode on wonge", "The barrow remained ready on the field."

only a matter of perspective, and the two are never used together. The *beorg* never stands on wonge but on bearwe. As Stephanie Clark notes, the usage of *wong* "gives a neat précis of Guthlac's struggle as it modulates from battlefield to paradise" (Clark 2011:84n42). The landscape as wong seems linked to Guthlac's spiritual victory. In lines 178b-181b, "he wong bletsade,/ him to ætstælle ærest arærde/ Cristes rode, þær se cempa oferwon/ frecnessa fela", "he blessed the field, first raised for himself as a station Christ's cross; there the warrior overcame many dangers". Later, the demons lament that "hi swiðra oferstag,/ weard on wonge; sceoldon wræcmæcgas/ ofgiefan gnornende grene beorgas", "the stronger guardian overcame them on the field; the exile-kin must, lamenting, give up the green hills" (230b-232). Here *wong* as a site of Guthlac's victory contrasts the *grene beorgas* that the demons had utilized. In another encounter, Guthlac tells the demons "ne sceal þes wong Gode þurh blodgyte gebuen weorðan", "nor shall this field be occupied for God through bloodshed (304-305). At other points the demons creep to the barrow to see whether "wonges wyn sweðrade, "the joy of the land had diminished" (352) and Guthlac tells them "þæt hy sigelease þone grene wong ofgiefan sceoldan", "deprived of victory, they must give up the green field" (476b-77). At Guthlac's final test, Bartholemew states that Guthlac shall control the field (702) which stands as a field of victory, "sigewong" (742) on the saint's return.

In addition to implications of martial victory, the "grene wong" of 477 and 746 and the "sigewong" of 742 bring to mind the paradise of Eden before the fall. Ananya Jahanara Kabir states that "all ideal landscapes in old English poetry utilise at least one phrase consisting of an adjective of greenness, light or space and a noun denoting

an open area of vegetation" (Kabir 2001: 144). She points out the frequency of the green field as an image of paradise, seeing a collapse and conflation in the imagery of heaven, paradise, and an interim paradise in Old English poetry. For example, she notes the use of *neorxnawang* in line 102 of *Andreas* seems to denote a post-death paradise for the saints rather than its usual meaning of the pre-lapsarian Eden (Kabir 2001: 155).[72] The phrase "smolt wæs se sigewong" in line 742 recalls both the triumphal field after the cleansing and conversion of Mermodonia in *Andreas* 1581 ("smeolt wæs se sigewang") and the description of the home of *The Phoenix* ("smylte is se sigewong", 33a), which like Guthlac's field, blossoms and will continue to do so until doomsday, reinforcing the sense of an interim. However, Kabir also notes rhetorical features in the description of landscape in *The Phoenix* that undercut the usual distinction between paradise, the interim paradise and heaven, the latter of which is usually represented in architectural terms in Old English poetry.[73] It seems that in this play in exists in *Guthlac A* as well: for the b-line 742 is "ond sele niwe", "and the hall new". This apparent intrusion of architecture into Edenic verdure seems to conflate imagery of heaven with that of paradise, and yet the two remain distinct in the poem, as architecture of the heavenly city encloses Guthlac's narrative. The resolution of the "sigewang"--as the term *beorg* does not occur again in the poem--may also call to mind apocalyptic imagery of the leveling of the earth[74].

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72 On the meaning and usage of *neorxnawang*, see Brown 1973 , who argues for the meaning of this strange compound to be "green field", the former component being a reversal of the early form *groen-* (green), with the *gyfu* rune replacing the g.

73 Kabir notes this seems to be a play on Augustinian doctrine which denies an interim paradise and equates Eden and heaven (Kabir 2001:24-27)

74 See Hill 1972 for a discussion of this. Writing of the image of the field in *The Phoenix*, Hill says " the smoothness of the *æþela feld* prefigures the form of the new earth at the end of history" (Hill 1972: 324).

As John Howe notes "medieval authors saw spiritual value in blighted wilderness, they also believed that it could and should be transformed" (Howe 2002: 214). Howe gives gives numerous examples of monastic founders settling a *locus horribilis* and through their efforts, transforming it into a pleasant landscape, citing in particular the *Vita Pirmini*, who effected such a change at Reichenau that "in a short time, what was deformed became straight, what was uncultivated became pleasant, what was foul became beautiful" (quoted in Howe 2002: 213).[75] Thus, it is unsurprising that Guthlac's landscape transforms in *Guthlac A*, but it is worthy of note that this transformation is not a feature of Felix's *Vita*. In *Guthlac A*, the barrow and field are potential outcomes, not necessarily diametric opposites but interrelated possibilities. The *beorg*, both the old haunt of demons of the air as well the locus of Guthlac's spiritual progress, and the *wong*, the proleptic sign of paradise regained, interlace throughout the poem. The *beorg* looks backward to the time when it served as a resting place for the demons, and forward to Guthlac's spiritual ascent.

Catherine M. Clarke has suggested an interlace pattern in social relations of power and patronage in the both the Guthlac poems[76] but to my knowledge, no one has suggested the interlace of time and opposing--or perhaps apposing?--landscapes that holds *Guthlac A* together. In this way, it is hard describe the landscape as symbolic of one thing or another, until the end of the poem in which Guthlac's landscape resolves with (interim) paradise and looks forward to the heavenly city at which the poem

75 John Howe 2002 also stresses that not all sacred spaces in medieval Europe were adapted from prior pagan spaces, and in his article shows how Christian cultures often generated new sacred spaces in the physical world. However, it seems that much of the power of Guthlac's *beorg* derives from the awareness of its previous inhabitants.

76 See Clarke 2012, ch1. On the "interlace" patterning and poetry, see Leyerle 1967 (reprinted 1991), who focuses on *Beowulf*.

concludes. Though Guthlac claims the hill early on and his victory is assured, the narrative tension and the real danger posed reflect in the shifting images of the landscape. That the beorg is "on bearwe", "in a grove", could perhaps also illuminate this potential. Alaric Hall discusses the pagan associations of a hill within a grove (Hall 2007: 224-232), but the grove is as often used in paradisal descriptions,[77] so it could perhaps also be suggestive of potential outcomes, rather than a locked-in symbol.

Guthlac achieves his victory through verbal and physical tactics. In the case of the former, Guthlac not only speaks with an unwavering resolve but displays a remarkable moderation in his approach to the poor behavior of the young monks (412-420, 488-504). In the latter sense, he triumphs by staying put. Thomas D. Hill discusses the poem in terms of moral stabilitas, noting the drama is also played out in the directionality of the poem. The demons bring Guthlac first "up" in the air, "where he is tempted to exalt himself" and then "down" to the gates of hell, where he is tempted to despair" (Hill 1979: 185). However, I would like to focus on the idea of *dwelling* as active state rather than *stabilitas*. In this sense, Guthlac's habitation of the landscape, rather than conquest in a conventional sense, is what truly claims it for Christ and transforms it. Thus Guthlac's dwelling in and and interaction with the landscape shapes the world around him, in perception if not physicality. While Guthlac the hero remains single minded and resolute, it is the landscape that shifts and alters. However, through his interactions with the landscape, Guthlac's saintliness is

77 For example, *The Phoenix* 71-74: "Sindon þa bearwas bledum gehongne/ wligigum wæstmum, þær no waniað o/ halge under heofunum, holtes frætwe", "The groves are hung with leaves, with pleasant fruits. There the adornment of the wood never wanes, holy under the heavens".

increased and affirmed.

It is clear that the *Guthlac A* poet is very in control of his language and that it is difficult to reduce the poem's landscape to a single overriding image. At this point it is necessary to open up the discussion to how the landscape that is comprised of *beorg*, *bearwe* and *wong* functions, what additional terms are used to describe it, and how Guthlac interacts with it. While the natural landscape is not given much precise description--nor does any terminology indicate that Guthlac lives in the fens[78]--words for the place as place abound. The *beorg* and area surrounding it are referred to as both natural and built, and terminology can be extended and applied to heaven, hell, or other worldly places. These terms create dynamic relationships between places and actors in the poem and can help us understand how Guthlac's dwelling is also a sort of building.

Words that seem to denote natural or partially natural landscapes, or are neutral in meaning are interlaced with words for built space. The term *eorðe/eorþe* as a simplex or in compounds ("eorðware" 607, "eorðwela" 62, 319), or in the adjectival form eorðlic, occurs unsurprisingly upwards of twenty times in *Guthlac A*. It is used most often to contrast the things of the transient middle-earth to that of heaven. Guthlac uses it also to refer to his *beorg*, though the contrast between earth and heaven seems implicit there as well ("Her sceal min wesan/ eorðlic eþel, nales eower leng", "Here shall be my earthly homeland, no longer yours", 260b-261). Guthlac says to the demons " ne mæg min lichoma wið þas lænan gesceaft/ deað gedælan, ac he

78 However, Shook 1960 suggests that line 274 "nec man hider mose fedeð" in which *mose* is usually rendered as the dative of *mós*, "food", but could also be mos , marsh. Though tentative, he points out the lack of a preposition could be paralleled in 158b-159a "he ana gesæt dygle stowe" (Shook 1960: 5) The verb *gesittan* appears with and without prepositions in the poem.

gedreosan sceal,/ swa þeos eorðe eall þe ic her on stonde", "nor may my body split death from this fleeting creation, but it shall fall just as all this earth upon which I stand" (371-3). The poet also describes when he bows his head in prayer "to eorðan on þam anade", "to the ground in that desert" (333).

The term *folde*, "earth, dry land", occurs three times (396, 743, 808), referring once to Guthlac's dwelling place (in 743 is it the folde that blooms in response to Guthlac's victory), and twice it is used interchangeably with eorð in the sense of temporal space in contrast to heaven (396, 808). The term *lond,* "land", appears six times, primarily referring to the area around Guthlac's dwelling, and especially in the sense of something he takes joy in: in 139 "leofedon londes wynne", in reference to the beorg. The phrase is echoed in 818 the closing line of the poem "lifigendra londes wynne", "the joy of the and of the living", which refers to heaven. In line 138, immediately preceding "leofodon londes wynne", the phrase "lenge hu geornor" denotes Guthlac's comforting spirit's inspiring instruction. This phrase may echo "lenge hu sel" in line 19, a phrase which refers to in heaven.

In addition both or these are accompanied by a clause containing the verb *wunian*, "to remain" or "dwell". Forms of the verb *wunian* occur eight times in *Guthlac A*. The verb seems to convey a sense of security and proper place. In addition to the condition of the blessed in heaven and the "frofre gæst"which remains by Guðlac, *wunian* is used to describe the practice of hermits ("sume þa wuniað in westennum, "some dwell in deserts", 81) and their security in God. Guthlac says to the demons "ac me mara dæl/ in godcundum gæstgerynum/ wunað 7 wexað "but the greater part of me dwells and increases in divine mysteries of the spirit" (247b-249).

The same doublet also occurs in 393b-5: "Symle Crietss lof/ in Guðlaces godum mode/ weox 7 wunade", "always the praise of Christ increased and remained in Guthlac's good mind". Of Guthlac's security in the Lord the poet says, "he on þæs lareowes wære gewunade "he dwelt/remained in the keeping of the teacher" 359b-360) or in the case of the demons, loss of that security ("ne mostun ge a wunian in wyndagum", "nor can you dwell forever in joyful days" 632). *Wunian* in the poem seems to imply not simply the act of habitation, but of living according to God's grace in the world. It suggests a sense of security on earth and looks forward to dwelling in heaven. Yet when used in the context of the earthly, it is also an active term, describing practice and interaction, rather than a static state.

The frequently occurring term *eard*, which can mean anything from "land" or "country" to "home" (suggesting something that is bounded), is used in a neutral fashion to discuss a designated place. The term refers to heaven and both Guthlac and the demons refer to the *beorg*-complex as eard. It is worth noting that the term eard is more frequently used in association with the demons in the beginning of the poem, and it is more clearly connected to Guthlac later,[79] indicating the full transfer of possession. Moreover, *eard* seems to refer to specific places but is not a home on its

79 e.g. It is mentioned in relation to the demons in 220 ("ne motun hi on eorþan eardes brucon", "nor could they enjoy that place on earth"). In 255-256 Guthlac tells the demons "gewitað nu...from þissum earde þe ge her on stondað", "depart now, from this place on which you now stand", affirming a few lines later that it shall be his "eorðlic eþel", "earthly homeland" (261a) and in 296-297 he says "wid is þes westen, wræcsetla fela/ eardas onhæle earmra gæsta", "wide is this wasteland, full of many seats of exile, the hidden places of wretched spirits". Later the poem repeats that they guard the "onhæle eardas" (351). Guthlac also notes that the demons have in vain offered him "fela earda þurh idel word" (308). After the temptation in which the devils show Guthlac the monasteries, the return him to "þam leofestan/ earde on eorðan", "the most beloved place on earth" (427b-428a), though it could be rightly considered "most beloved" to both parties. In 655, Guthlac refutes the demons' attempt to drive him to despair at the gates of Hell saying that he has his mind on the better home, the "ecan earde" (656) and finally in 744-745 Guthlac, unlike the demons "moste eadig ond onmod eardes brucan", "blessed and steadfast, could enjoy/use the land".

own. Bosworth-Toller indicates a range of meaning for eard that can encompass both land and dwellings or homes, so it seems the poet at least initially attempts to avoid giving *eard* the sense of *ham*--it is only until after the demons are finally routed that the *eard* is also fully the *ham*. The verb *eardian* also appears in the poem: "dryhten sceawað/ hwær þa eardien þe his æ healden" "the lord sees where they dwell who keep to his law" (54b-55). Like the beorg, the meaning of *eard* is determined through the course of the poem.

The term *setl*, used for heaven and for the *beorg* by both Guthlac and the demons also appears neutral by and large, though Christopher Jones points out that *setl* can refer to the dwelling place of a hermit and that the verb *gesittan*, used numerous times in *Guthlac A*, could call to mind the phrase "gesittan ancersetl" to an Anglo-Saxon audience (Jones 1995: 278-9).[80] The term *ham*, "home", which occurs ten times in the poem, also indicates a sense of being in place. *Ham* occurs three time in reference to terrestrial hermitages: "sume þa wuniað on westennum, secað ond gesittað sylfra willum, hamas on heolstrum", "some dwell in the wastes, seek and settle of their own wills, homes in the shadows" (81-3); "se þær haligne ham arærde", "he (Guthlac) raised a holy home there" (149); and "Đu gehatest þæt ðu ham on us gegan wille" "You (Guthlac) vow you will obtain a home from us" (271). The earthly *ham* is paralleled in the the heavenly one, which occurs six times, usually with a modifier (e.g. "halgan ham", "holy home" 10; "deoran ham", "valuable home" 69; "ham in heofonum", "home in the heavens", 98; "betran ham", "better home", 654;

80 Jones 1995 also notes that this term shows up in the Vercelli prose version and in Latin in the *Vita Guthlaci* chapter 28. He also points out that Ælfric uses the same term for Cuthbert: "to þam ancersetl, þær he gesæat", "to that anchorage,where he settled" (Jones 1995 n 60).

"hames in heahþu", "homes in the heights", 795). Christopher Jones suggests this calls to mind a monastic contempt for the world (Jones 1995: 274), and while the desirability of heaven is made clear not only by phrases such as "betran ham" for heaven and the use of *eorðe* to discuss the fleeting and transient, the importance of the earthly place as proleptic of heaven should not be dismissed. While Guthlac recognizes his earthly dwelling is fleeting, he takes pleasure in the land and his attachment to it is unparalleled.

In addition to the above mentioned, *ham* refers to the demons' lack of a home on earth: "Ne motun hi on eorþan eardes brucan...ac hy helolease hama þoliað", "Nor could they enjoy/make use of the place on earth, but shelterless they lack homes" (220-222), and finally to hell, when Guthlac reminds the demons that they cannot bring him into "helle hus, þær eow is ham sceapen", "the house of hell, where a home is made for you" (672). It seems clear then, that *ham*, like *wunian* indicates a place where something is supposed to be, creating a sense of belonging. In the case of the demons, Guthlac puts them in their place by exploiting their homelessness on earth and their loss of heaven, leaving them only with the *helle hus*.

The term *hus* appears four times, twice in reference to hell, once to Guthlac's hermitage, and once to the body. In Guthlac's final trial, the demons bear him to the doors of hell, "þær firenfulra fæge gæstas/ æfter swyltcwale secan onginnað/ ingong ærest in þæt helle hus,/ niþer under næssas neole grundas", "where doomed spirits of the sinful, after death-pangs, first undertake to seek an entrance into that terrible house, the deep abyss down under under the cliffs(560-563). "Under næssas" seems to be a stock phrase for visions of hell, and appears in the *Visio Pauli* passage in

Blickling XVI and *Beowulf*.[81] Guthlac also chastises the demons, telling them that they may not cast him "in helle hus, þær eow is ham sceapen,/ sweart sinnihte, sacu butan ende,/ grim gæstcwalu, þær ge gnornende/ deað sceolon dreogan", "into the house of hell, where a home is created for you, dark everlasting night, torment without end, grim spiritual death destruction, there you, lamenting, must suffer death" (677-80). He then contrasts this with his confidence in his own state of blessedness in "rodera rice", "the kingdom of the heavens" (682).

The term *hus* is also applied to the body in line 802, which discusses the actions of the "husulweras",[82] who "habbað wisne geþoht/ funse on forðweg to fæder eðle;/ gearwaþ gæstes hus 7 mid gleawnesse/ feond oferfeohtað 7 firenlustas/ forberað in breostum." "they have wise thought, eager for the way forth to the homeland of the father; they equip the house of the spirit and with wisdom overcome the enemy and abstain in their hearts from sinful desires" (800-804). The image of the body as enclosure and specifically domicile is by no means unusual, though it seems especially appropriate in the context of Guthlac, who is a *bytla*. In its most mundane, but potentially also most interesting, usage in the poem, Guthlac tells the demons that " Ic me anum her eaðe getimbre/ hus 7 hleonað", " I, by myself, may easily build for myself a house and shelter" (250-1).[83] The verb *getimbran*, "to build or establish" and its noun form *getimbre* appear twice each in the poem, as well as a compound

81 For an interesting discussion of the "cliff of death" in Old English and Old Norse-Icelandic from the perspective of oral formulaics, see Fry 1987.

82 *Husulweras* and the similar term *husulbearn*, both of which Roberts takes as "communicants", are hapaxes in Old English. Roberts points out that *husul* only occurs in a poetic compound in Daniel 740 and 748, "huslfatu", although it is used frequently in religious and legal writings (Roberts 1979: 151). The etymology of *husel* is not related to *hus*, but a Germanic word for "sacrifice" (Gothic *hunslian*), according Bosworth Toller, so perhaps the author is playing on the sounds of the two.

83 The phrase "hus and eardungstowe" occurs in the Vercelli prose fragment as as well as in the Old English prose life. It would appear to be to a poetic doublet rather than reference to two buildings.

heahgetimbru “lofty buildings”, which appears once. *Getimbran* can mean both “to build” (originally with wood, the primary building material of the Anglo-Saxons) and to “build up” or “edify” (Bosworth-Toller). It takes this latter meaning in line 770, which discusses the building of grace in the human heart: “Ne þæt huru læsast þæt seo lufu cyþeð/ þonne heo in mones mode getimbreð gæstcunde gife” “nor is it the least that that (God’s) love makes known when it builds up/establishes divine grace in the heart/mind of man” (769-771a). As Jones says, this advances the theme of Guthlac as “a holy *aedificator*” (Jones 1995: 275), to which I will return shortly. “Getimbru” (18) and “heahgetimbru” (584) refer to the heavenly city, which is promised to those who live righteously on earth, and which contains “þa getimbru þe no tydriað”, “the buildings which do not decay” (18), contrasting the permanence of heaven with the impermanence of earthly habitations. In lines 582b-585a, the demons tell Guthlac (erroneously, of course) that “nu þu in helle scealt/ deope gedufan, nales drytnes leoht/ habban in heofonum, heahgetimbru,/ seld on swegle” “now you must dive deep into hell, not at all attain the light of the lord in heaven, the lofty buildings, the hall in the sky”. The term *getimbre* also refers once to earthly dwellings in the passage in which Guthlac recounts how the demons lifted him into the air so that “ic of lyfte londa getimbru geseon meahte” “so that I may see the buildings of the land” (485-486a). Though this seems to parallel in some respects Jesus’ third temptation in the wilderness, Jones argues for a less general meaning, noting that what the demons actually show him is the naughty behavior of those who are “under haligra hyrda gewealdum in mynsterum” “under the control of holy shepherds in monasteries” (415-416a) and that ideal monasteries ought to be like heaven (Jones 1995: 286). The

broad usage of "timber"- related terms in *Guthlac A* connects Guthlac's construction of an earthly home, his ascetic endeavors, and the space of heaven which frames the poem.

Additionally, a complex of terms *bold-botl-bytla* increases our sense of the type of "building" that occurs in *Guthlac A*. The terms *bold* and *botl*, apparently metatheses of each other, mean "a building" or "structure" and occur twice each in the poem, each referring once to heaven and once to Guthlac's hermitage. According to Bosworth-Toller, *bold* and *botl* can refer to dwelling places in general but more often refer to large, superior or important ones. That Guthlac's humble hermitage merits this term (as does Cuthbert's in Ælfric's homily on him[84]) also suggests its connection to heaven. Jones suggests the b-line of 329 "bad on beorge-wæs him botles neod" "he remained on the barrow, he required a dwelling" should not be read as "required", but rather something stronger: "he eagerly desired" or "he longed for his dwelling" (Jones 1995: 276). Here Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's understanding of desire as an active, productive force rather than an imaginary one based on a lack is interesting and can add even more meaning to Jones's reading.[85] Though Deleuze and Guattari's idea of desire as part of a mechanistic subconscious may seem far afield, it has at least been taken up productively in the study of landscape. Discussing Irish literature, Siewers

84 "on middan ðære flore his fægeran botles", "in the middle of the floor of his fair dwelling". Ælfic Hml. Th. ii. 144, 3 (quoted in Bosworth Toller).

85 See Deleuze and Guattari 1983: 25-28. Bonta and Protevi 2004 explain further: "[For Deleuze and Guattari] desire is not a subjective hankering after what you don't have...but is the material process of connection, registration, and enjoyment of flows of matter and energy coursing through bodies in networks of production, be they geologic, organic or social"(76). Deleuze and Guattari contrast this model of desire with capitalism's construction of desire as a lack-while it is not productive to delve into this particular aspect of Deleuze and Guattari's argument, the idea of desire as a productive, primary force is interesting in relation to landscape. Additionally, for Deleuze and Guattari, desire is not anthropocentric, but "a 'universal primary process underlying the seemingly separate natural, social and psychological realms" (Smith and Protevi 2012).

writes “a resulting geography of desire, by which is meant sustained desire for relation with the Irish Sea environment embodied in narratives of topography and Creation as a whole, involved a definition of desire embodying cosmically connected creativity rather than that of transcendent lack and possessiveness typical in the later West” (Siewers 2009: 11). If we can view Guthlac’s *neod* for the *botl* of both heaven and his hermitage as a sort of matrix of longing and fulfillment, Jones’s reading of *neod* in fact makes very good sense. Guthlac’s desire and its fulfillment are embodied in the landscape.

In terms of productive fulfillment, we also have the term *bytla*, “builder”, which refers to Guthlac twice. According to the poem, before Guthlac comes to the beorg “wæs se londes stow/ bimiþen fore monnum, oþþæt meotod onwrah/ beorgh on bearwe, þa se bytla cwom/ se þær haligne ham arærde”, “That place of the land was hidden from men until the Lord revealed the mound in the grove, when the builder came who raised up a holy home there” (146b-149). The second reference occurs after Guthlac has endured and overcome the trials of demons and they have, at Bartholomew’s command, returned the saint from the doors of hell: “Sigehreðig cwom/ bytla to þam beorge”, “Exalting in victory, the builder came to the mound” (723b-733a). *Bytla* has been cause for some speculation as Guthlac’s physical construction of a hut in Felix’s *Vita* is not emphasized, explaining merely that Guthlac placed a hut over a cistern in the mound.[86] In the poem, Guthlac tells the demons he may easily build a home and shelter on the beorg (250-1) and the poet says he he

86 “...in cuius latere velut cisterna inesse videbatur; in qua vir beatae memoriae Guthlac desuper inposito tuturio habitare coepit”, “in the side of this (mound) there seemed to be a sort of cistern, and in this Guthlac the man of blessed memory began to dwell, after building a hut over it” (Ch. xxviii, Colgrave 1956: 94, 95)

raised a home there in line 149. Additionally, Guthlac sets up a cross as an "ætstælle", or "station" in line 179.[87] Of these three examples, only the latter describes Guthlac actually setting up a concrete physical object. Line 149 may of course refer to a physical structure, but it may just as well refer to Guthlac's *making* a home of the *beorg* through his dwelling on it. Additionally, Nicholas Howe reminds us that the concept of "home" in Old English did not refer exclusively to a structure, but more often than not included surrounding lands (2004: 159). In this latter case, building can be taken in a far more abstract sense than erecting a structure, but can just as easily refer to Guthlac's dwelling as a whole.

Other than in *Guthlac A,* the term *bytla* occurs only once in the Anglo-Saxon poetic corpus (as bylda) in *The Gifts of Men*: "Sum bið bylda til/ ham to hebanne" "One becomes a builder for the purpose of raising a home" (75b-76a). *Hebban* like *aræran* means "to raise", so in some small capacity the description of Guthlac parallels this. In addition previous lines in the poem which discusses a craftsman that we can assume to be a *bytla* of some sort: "Sum mæg wrætlice weorc ahycgan/, heahtimbra gehwæs; hond bið gelæred,/ wis ond gewealden, swa bið wyrhtan ryht, /sele asettan, con he sidne ræced/ fæste gefegan wiþ færdryrum" "One may wondrously devise a work, each of lofty (timbered)buildings; his hand is trained, wise and skilled, just as is right for a worker to build a hall, he knows to firmly join the spacious dwelling against sudden falls" (44-49). As Lori Ann Garner points out, the craft of the builder here involves both design and construction, highlighting the mental

87 Concerning this passage, Roberts notes the Irish practice of raising a cross on all consecrated ground; this bears some weight because this line immediately follows "wong bletsade", "he blessed the field" (Roberts 1979: 135).

and physical components of building (Garner 2011: 4). At least some of this understanding of the builder's work resonates broadly with Guthlac, as his task is as much mental as physical in establishing a *haligne ham* on the *beorg*. The idea of Guthlac as a builder is enhanced also by the application of the term sele, or "hall" to the *beorg*. After his victorious return, a few lines after "cwom bytla to þam beorge", the landscape is described thus: "smolt wæs se sigewong 7 sele niwe", "shining was that field of victory, and the hall new" (742). However, the image of the newly constructed hall (presumably) over the old barrow is striking in terms of conceiving Guthlac as a *bytla.* Such an image might also call to mind, as discussed earlier in this chapter, the practice (encouraged by Gregory the Great in the epistle to Mellitus) of re-purposing of pagan sites by Christians.

In relation the work of the *bytla/bylda* in *The Gifts of Men*, Garner also points out the lines immediately following the description of the architect deal with that of the harper, whose craft is both one of composition and performance.[88] The connection between the verbal and architectural is also present in *Guthlac A*: the verb *aræran*, "to raise" seems to have a specifically architectural reference in *Guthlac A*, as it is used both for the "holy home" and the cross that Guthlac is said to set up. A related verb, *ræran* , which has a similar meaning and can additionally be used to refer to physical buildings or non physical objects (Bosworth-Toller) also occurs in the poem. The

88 Additionally, *The Gifts of Men* conceives of various types of spiritual men who "Sum her geornlice gæstes þearfe mode bewindeþ, ond him metudes est ofer eorðwelan ealne geceoseð. Sum bið deormod deofles gewinnes, bið a wið firenum in feoht gearo. Sum cræft hafað of circnytta fela, mæg on lofsongum lifes waldened hlude hergan, hafað healice beorhte stefne" " One here eagerly turns his mind to the need of the spirit, and he chooses for himself the grace of the lord over all earthly wealth. One is bold minded in the fight against the devil, he is always ready in the fight against sin. One has the craft of many church duties, he can in loudly praise the lord in songs, he has a loud, bright voice" (86-94). It would seem that Guthlac fits all these criteria for an ideal spiritual man.

phrase “lof ræran”, “to praise” occurs twice in the *Guthlac A*, once referring to souls of the righteous (24) and once to Guthlac specifically: “he dryhtnes lof reahte ond rærde” “he recited and raised praise of the lord” (159b-160a). In this sense Guthlac seems to be a craftsman in both architecture and praise (poetry), and the two acts can be seen as related aspects of Guthlac’s dwelling. Against Guthlac the demons, “ligesearwum ahofun hearmstafas” “with lying arts raised up harmful staves” (229b-230a) and “sægdon sarstafum”, “spoke wounding staves” (234). *Stæf* in old English has the primary meaning of “letter” or “stick”, likely owing to the angular and stick-like nature of the runic alphabet. However, there is some vestige of architectural meaning,[89] as in Old Norse *stafr*, which can mean a “post” or “inner post of a hall”, such as in a Norwegian stave church as well as the chief alliterating element in Norse *dróttkvætt* poetry (Faulkles 2007: 4). The related Norse term *stef* refers to the characteristic refrain of a *drápa*. Additionally, in Scandinavia there still exists the tradition of a *stev*, a lyric song of four stanzas.[90] Though it is a distant possibility, the demons’ ultimately empty threats may be seen as an attempt to counter-build against Guthlac. More generally we might discern a link between verbal and physical actions that define Guthlac as a *bytla* and grant greater depth to the term.

Christopher Jones also connects *bytla* with the verb *byldan* in line 475: “He wið mongum stod/ ealdfeonda, elne gebyldad”, “he stood against the multitude of ancient enemies, strengthened with courage” (474b-475). Though, as Jones acknowledges, *byldan* comes from a different root, related to *byldu*, “courage”, and its

89 In *Genesis A*, the term *eðelstæf* is used twice (1118 and 2225), to refer to children born to Adam and Abraham; these must be considered “foundations” of a line or genealogy.
90 On the “latching” and “binding” aspects of the *stev* see Ekgren 2005.

adjectival form *beald*, the verbal outcome is a near homophone with *bylda/bytla*. Jones suggests this is a pun which constructs Guthlac *bylda* as Guthlac *botl*, a fortress of courage himself, and perhaps as resonant of the image of the the temple of the Holy Spirit in 1 Corinithians (3:16 and 6:19) (Jones 1995: 277-8). Jones also points out that the term *getimbran* in line 770b "mode getimbreð gæstcunde gife", "he builds his courage with spiritual grace" supports this, as it is modified by "swa he Guðlaces dagas ond dæde þur his dom ahof" "just as it (God's love) through his decree raised up (exalted) the days and deeds of Guthlac" (772b-773). According to Jones "the keystone of 'Guthlac botl' thus in place, the physical setting completes a corresponding metamorphoses into a the "pleasant plain of victory" and "new hall" (Jones 1995: 285).[91] Jones reads this in terms of the monastic *stabilitas*, exploring ways in which Guthlac *bytla* "has less to do with actual huts or oratories in the fenland than with the iconographic tradition of the saint as a holy founder of aedificator" (Jones 1995: 273). Jones's inclination towards envisioning the landscape of *Guthlac A* less in the sense of the eremitic tradition and more in the sense of an ideal Benedictine monastery, which is convincing in many regards, still strikes me as overcomplicating,[92] especially since the landscape is an even more important focus in *Guthlac A* than in the lives of the eremitic saints of the *Vita Antonii* and the *Vita*

91 cf. Christ 1: "Ðu eart se weallstan þe ða wyrhtan iu wiðwurpon to weorce. Wel þe geriseð þæt þu heafod sie healle mære, on somnige side weallas fæste gefoge, flint unbræcne", "You are the wall-stone that the workers long ago cast from the work. Well it suits you that you might be the head of a great hall, that you unite the broad walls with a firm joint, fling unbroken" (2-6).

92 Stephanie Clark also expresses some reservations, nothing that the term can be puzzling since Guthlac was not the actual founder of a monastery. She notes that "because the poet has been so careful to departicularlize this story, not naming a specific location and only minimally describing the landscape, Guthlac's heirs need not be people who actually physically take over the plot of ground....For his faithful service therefore, Guthlac *bytla* has been rewarded with an *eard* cleared of counter-claimants, and given the right to leave it to his heirs, future generations of Christians" (Clark 2011: 95-6)

Cuthberti. While both Anthony and Cuthbert ultimately leave their solitude to become more involved in communal and monastic life, in *Guthlac A*, Guthlac remains in the place for which he has contended. Moreover the poet ignores any concrete mention of the afterlife of the *beorg* (as does Felix) as a monastery, possibly because a monastery had not yet been founded when the life and poem were composed. While the setting of *Guthlac A* very well might have spoken to a monastic audience, and could certainly be read on this level, I do not think that we can structure the poem so closely around the monastic element. I have earlier discussed ways in which monasticism and eremitism were seen as closely linked in the early religious environment of England, and I think it makes more sense to view *Guthlac A* through this lens than perform the mental gymnastics to make a solitary hermit part of a very communal tradition. The landscape as not only locus but focus of conflict suggests to me that something more basic about dwelling, landscape and construction ought to be read.

A final term that bears consideration here is the term *eþel/eðel*, a widely used term meaning "homeland". *Eþel* occurs as a simplex and in compounds seven times in *Guthlac A*. In lines 67 and 801 *eþel* clearly refers to heaven, framing the disputed land of the beorg with the true homeland in heaven.[93] In lines 277 and 355 the demons seem to interpret Guthlac's *eþel* as elsewhere (though they never call the *beorg* their own *eþel*), where he has "sibbe ryht", "kinship dues"(197), by Roberts' translation. Additionally, in line 216, the poet states that the land stood "eþelriehte feor", "far from ancestral domain", which according to Roberts indicates it was seen as a no-man's-land between the kingdoms of East Anglia and Mercia (Roberts 1979: 137n).

93 In line 67, the manuscript reads eleð. Roberts1979: 129n supports the reading of *eðel*.

Stephanie Clark sees this distant *eþel* as Guthlac's inherited, ancestral land, or the inherited "folkland" he would have given up in becoming a monk (Clark 2011: 83). Regardless, Guthlac has a more nuanced and grounded view of "homeland" than the demons. He distinguishes between the earthly and heavenly *eþel*, designating the barrow as his "eorðlic eþel" (261), and later referring to the the "ecan earde", "eternal land", of heaven as "eþellond" (656) without qualifiers. His *eorðlic eþel* is but a prelude to the heavenly one. Guthlac, unlike the demons, is able to understand the true nature of *eþel*--that, as Stephanie Clark puts it, "there can be no permanent eþel on an earth that is fleeting. [Guthlac] trusts God to provide him with a better habitation and faithfully follows God's guidance out into the wilderness...leaving his *eþel* is his first step in an ascent toward a more permanent homeland" (Clark 2011:91; see also 97).

In this vein, Clark and Scott T. Smith offer especially compelling readings of the poem, suggesting that the conflict over the landscape can be viewed in the dual framework of land tenure and replacement doctrine, the latter of which has been discussed in connection to *Genesis A* in chapter 2. Examining legal customs of "loanland", which was granted to an occupant for a space of time but then reverted to its original owner, Clark suggests that the *beorg* might be seen as land loaned to the devils, viewing the alignment of it with the tradition of respite in texts such as the *Visio Pauli* a bit uneasily (Clark 2011:86). Noting laws stating that a tenant was not to return land in a condition of being unsown or profitless, she sees the contrast between the *westen* the demons inhabit and the flowering of the *beorg* after Guthlac's return as further legitimating Guthlac's claim (Clark 2011: 95). Lines 215-17 seem to support

this: “Stod seo dygle stow dryhtne in gemyndum, idel ond æmen, eþelriehte feor, bad bisæce betran hyrdes”, “The secret place stood in the remembrance of the Lord, useless and desolate, it awaited possession of a better guardian” (translation Clark’s)[94]. *Bisæce* certainly has legal implications (Bosworth Toller; Roberts 1979: 137-8, Smith 2012: 200-201) and *hyrd* in the sense of custodian or keeper has frequent religious use (eg. the "haligra hyrda" in 415).[95]

According to Clark,

> “ the struggle between the devils and Guthlac is not about whether the devils can ever meet the conditions of good tenure (obviously they cannot); rather, the devils’ tenancy allows the land battle to replicate the cosmic exchange begun at the devils’ first rebellion: as the devils lost heaven, so they are further losing the *beorg*. As Guthlac gains the *beorg* from them, so he is further gaining the seats they lost in heaven...In the doctrine of replacement the estates lost by the fallen angels and granted to the elect are of course in heaven, but for the *Guthlac A* poet, the struggle over who has a right to the *beorg* represents that cosmic contest, as it were, brought down to earth” (Clark 2011:87-8).

Clark’s reading has the great advantage of not only explaining why the land as land has such a central importance in the poem but also wedding the earthly and spiritual in a way that has application beyond the context and milieu of the Benedictine reform of the tenth century. This reading foregrounds the nature of earthly dwelling and habitation of a landscape (even if it serves as a prelude to heaven) and sets it in a current context that would have been of interest to both learned and lay audiences. As sources suggest, the eighth century was a time not only of border disputes not only with the Welsh and between Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, but also of changing conceptions of land tenure, with particular tensions existing between nobles

94 cf. “idel ond æmen” with the pre-created space of *Genesis A*: 104b-106a: “ac þes wida grund/ stud deop and dim, drihtne fremde,/ idel and unnyt” “but the broad depths stood deep and dark, foreign to the Lord”.

95 For discussions of other legal terms in the poem see Smith 2012: esp. 203 and 208-9. Smith comes to similar conclusions to Clark, though he focuses more on elements of and language specifically applying to legal “dispute”.

and the church, and even within the church itself.[96]

Of particular interest is the term *mearclond* which occurs only once in the poem, but in an important context:

> Him wæs engel neah
> fæle freoðuweard, þam þe feara sum
> mearclond gesæt. Þær he mongum wearð
> bysen on Brytene, siþþan biorg gestah
> eadig oretta, ondwiges heard.
> Gyrede hine georne mid gæstlicum
> wæpnum wong bletsade,
> him to ætstælle ærest arærde
> Cristes rode, þær se cempa oferwon
> frecnessa fela.

"An angel, a gracious guardian of peace, was near to him who as one of few (i.e. alone) who settled the borderland. There he became an example to many in Britain after he ascended the barrow, the blessed warrior, firm in resistance. He eagerly equipped himself with spiritual weapons, blessed the field and first set up Christ's cross as a station, where the warrior overcame many perils" (172b-181a).

Elaine Traherne discusses *mearclond* as not only a boundary but also a space in between boundaries and categories, a space that is most often left alone as it disrupts the comfortable and familiar. Grendel is famously called a "mearcstapa", "one who walks in border-lands", in *Beowulf* (103) as is his mother (1348), and the land of the Myrmidonians in *Andreas* is twice a called a *mearcland*, which demonstrates a conflation of the dangerous space between boundaries and the *mearclond* as a territory unto itself. However, Traherne points out that this is also the landscape of salvation, citing *Exodus* as an example (Traherne 2012: 16).[97] In this way, she sees the land that the Israelites traverse not as liminal, but "central; not marginal, but rather, middle. It is less this lands' signification of the marginal that is important here and more its

96 See Clark 2011: 99 for a summary and O'Brien O'Keefe 2001 for a discussion of politics, especially regarding land, during the time of Guthlac. Though her work focuses on Felix, much of it can also be relevant to *Guthlac A*.

97 The term *mearc* is used in compounds five times in *Exodus*: "mearchofu","border dwellings" (61); "mearclandum" 68; "mearc" 160; "mearcweardas", "border-guardians, wolves" (168); "mearcþreate", "a troupe in the borderland" (173).

unknown nature, its challenge, its *uncuð gelad*" (Traherne 2012: 17). Though Traherne views this use of *mearclond* as an "ironic reversal of the dangerous borderlands" (16), it strikes me that this space functions as a space for salvation precisely because it is dangerous. Likewise, Guthlac's *mearclond*, a locus for Guthlac's spiritual battle and salvation,[98] is described as "dygle stowe" twice, creating a similar sense of the unknown as the "uncuð gelad", "unknown path" of *Exodus* 313. Guthlac's *mearclond* functions as both boundary *and* center, literally in the latter sense as it is framed in the poem by the true *eþel* of heaven.[99] It might also be worth remembering that we can view this "in between space" as a *mearclond* on more than a strictly horizontal axis in the case of both *Guthlac A* and *Exodus*. As discussed above, the *beorg* is also a simultaneously a central node and boundary line between a pagan past and Christian present, a space where the two meet, meld, and but also intertwine, not just in terms of ownership but practices, as Guthlac's own actions of claiming the land appears to appeal to pagan practice in some sense. Thus the term *mearclond* like the *beorg* above suggests a potentiality, a plurality of outcomes that can be determined through action.

Both Thomas D. Hill and Manish Sharma consider the mearclond on a spiritual axis as well. For Hill, Guthlac negotiates a "middle way" between *idel wuldor* ond *egesa* "vainglory and terror", and struggles to maintain both physical and moral *stabilitas* (Hill 1979: 186).[100] These two cases play out in the two temptations in

98 *Exodus* also makes use of martial language.
99 "Mearc" can also mean "mark" or "sign", which may signal a clever play on words, Guthlac blesses the field and sets up a cross , "marking" the territory for God, turning the *mearclond* into a "marked-land". On this double meaning in *Beowulf*, which refers to Grendel as a *mearcstapa* and the kin of Cain, who is "gemearcod" (1264), see Sharma 2005: 265-267.
100 Hill, while situating his argument in a saintly-monastic context, seems not find the focus on *stabilitas* a symptom of a post-reform Benedictine ideology.

which the demons are permitted to physically move Guthlac, first to view the monastery and then to the doors of hell. Sharma locates Guthlac's *mearclond* on a physically vertical axis in addition to a spiritual one. He sees the poem's structure as tripartite, centered around three episodes that involve the potential for crossing thresholds (the "prologue", the "gates of hell" and the "conclusion") in which it is first delayed, then averted and finally achieved. According to Sharma, this structure "permits the poet to traverse the whole of the Christian cosmos, bestowing both universal scope and considerable cohesiveness upon his work" (Sharma 2002: 200). To Sharma, the poem depicts the boundaries--in many cases extremities--that a saint must tread. Sharma argues that the "middle way" is also a *mearclond*, both physically and metaphorically: "it is by moving to the extremes demanded of him by his faith that he separates himself form the rest of humankind and is assured of movement across the final threshold" (Sharma 2002: 200). Thus, Hill's middle way is indeed a *mearclond* between boundaries, illustrating how Guthlac's physical and spiritual landscape is both peripheral and central. The saint's "liminal" status is what allows him to remain central, and centered.

The *mearclond* as a space both central and peripheral in which opposites and extremes are resolved can have further theoretical implications for the poem. There has already been discussion of Heidegger's "fourfold" (*das Geviert)* in previous chapters, in which this "folding" resolves opposites, creating an active matrix in which a being dwells. This fourfold, emplaced type of being dissolves boundaries between subject and object--in this sense, not only is Guthlac's physical landscape both marginal and central, his *beorg* is both earthly and heavenly, and the saint is both

Guthlac *bytla* and Guthlac *botl*. For Gilles Delueze, who adapted Heidegger's concept of the fold (Scholz and Lawler 2013: 421) this fold is not a neat space of resolution but also one of tension between opposites,[101] and indeed in Guthlac, there is a tension between the *beorg* and the *wong* until Guthlac's saintly being has been fully constructed, replacing the old barrow of a foregone time with a new hall, not by demolishing or denying its past association, but using it as a vehicle for spiritual construction, bringing the previously hidden and ambiguous out into the open. The *dygle stowe* is revealed in stages and through interaction, first with Guthlac's arrival as a suitable tenant, then with his subsequent triumphs over the demons and increasing connection to the land. The *beorg* is inextricably bound with Guthlac's saintly being. Moreover, the *beorg*, like both Mount Olivet and Monte Gargano in the previous chapter, gathers together temporalities, recalling both the perceived pagan past and looking forward to the heavenly dwelling to come, resolving the two through Guthlac's saintly dwelling. Like the two examples in the previous chapter, the *beorg* of *Guthlac A* provides a focal point in a landscape that includes both the man made and natural, demonstrating the interaction of God's grace and human effort.

In relation, Thomas D. Hill makes some interesting points about the *Æcerbot Charm,* a charm intended to help make an unproductive field fruitful again. This charm has received much attention as a synthesis of pagan and Christian traditions[102]

101 See Deleuze 1991 and 1993. and Scholtz and Lawler 2013: "For Deleuze, therefore, and unlike for Heidegger, the fold between being and beings, between things seen and things said, between words and things, subject and object, etc., the 'between' of all these differences is conceived as violence or a struggle" (421)

102 For example, the charm invokes both "Erce, eorþan modor", "Erce, mother earth" (51) and "ða soðan sancta Marian and heofenes meaht", "the true, holy Mary and the might of heaven" (30-31b). All quotes from Dobbie 1946. Translation my own. The charm also requires that four sods cut from the field be blessed by a priest ("And bere siþþan ða turf to circean, and mæssepreost asinge feower mæssan ofer þan turfon", And then bring the sods to church, and have a priest sing four masses over them", 14-15). Additionally the charm uses both Latin and the vernacular.

and also demonstrates the importance of landscapes as created by both God's grace and human action (though in a very different way from those in *Guthlac A* or the *Blickling Homilies*). According to Hill, "if [the field] does not produce, it has ceased to fulfill the role intended for it by God (or the gods); in a sense it has reverted to disorder and primal chaos. The essential purpose of the charm is thus to reiterate, by means of ritual, the creation, in order to reintegrate the land into the created world which God made good and fruitful" (Hill 1977: 215). This last point can also very much describe Guthlac's dwelling. Hill sees the charm's instructions to cut and bless of four sods from the unfruitful field as reminiscent of the myth of Adam being created from four clods of earth in the *Secrets of Enoch* (Hill 1977: 216-217). This understanding of the *Æcerbot Charm* demonstrates what might be called a "popular"[103] religious conception of the world of the relation between precise earthly landscapes and God's creation at large, evoking the earth and the heavens, mortals and divinities as inextricably bound together, something also nicely illustrated in *Guthlac A*.

In conclusion, I hope to have accomplished a few things in this chapter. One is to set up the eremitic and monastic contexts of landscape in *Guthlac A* not as opposites that need to be resolved, but as stemming from the same sources. I suggest that it is most interesting to view *Guthlac A* through the lens of an Irish-inspired tradition of

103 See Jolly 1996 on the syncretic nature of "popular religion" in Anglo-Saxon England. According to Jolly, "Popular religion is a modern construct used to examine one facet of a larger, complex culture.This construct has greater breadth and depth than the traditional approach that examines the formal church. Popular religion consists of those beliefs and practices shared by the majority of believers. Rather than being a separate, opposite phenomenon from elite or formal religion, it embraces the whole of Christianity. Its inclusivity encompasses the formal aspects of the religion as well as the general religious experience of daily life" (Jolly 1996: 18). See 6-11 for a discussion of the Æcerbot charm. Jolly also sees *Guthlac A* as an example of this syncretism of Germanic and Latinate Christian traditions.

eremitic monasticism and that the poem can be seen as a sort of literary Ruthwell Cross in its syncretic elements, Celtic and Anglo-Saxon, pagan and Christian, popular and formal. Within this intersection of cultural ideas about place, we see that Guthlac's *beorg* cannot be reduced to a merely symbolic desert of spiritual trial, as the idea of the desert is one that became increasingly localized as the temporal and spatial distance from Anthony of Egypt increased. The purpose of the lengthy study of terminology--and it still was not exhaustive--has been to show not only the centrality of place in *Guthlac A*, but its multifarious function. Guthlac's attachment to and struggle against the demons specifically *for* the *beorg* is unique not only within the Guthlac corpus but the major texts of the eremitic tradition. The poem's focus on location and homeland from start to finish exhibits a concern more basic than the monastic notion of stabilitas or the encompassing ideas of Christian or Anglo-Saxon conquest of the landscape: that of dwelling. Conceiving of dwelling as an active state of being, linked to the idea of desire as a productive fulfillment, we can see Guthlac's apparently passive occupation of the barrow as an active practice. This is not only expressed in imagery of Guthlac as a *miles Christi* but it is also present in Guthlac's reciprocal relationship with the landscape as a *bytla*. As Guthlac is shaped by the landscape, in the sense that his sanctity is dependent upon it and would not exist independently of it (especially as the poet ignores or is ignorant of the numerous miracles in the *Vita* of Felix), he also shapes the landscape, effecting its apparent transformation from a *beorg on bearwe* to a blooming *sigewong* with a *sele niwe*. This relationship between perception and perceived, between subject and object, is collapsed in the relation between Guthlac *bytla* and Guthlac *botl*, Guthlac the builder

and Guthlac the building. It is through--and because of--Guthlac's presence that God reveals the landscape. Martin Heidegger's view of place as existing within a perceptual and relational matrix seems to be especially relevant to *Guthlac A*, in locus be multifarious in meaning, functioning on numerous axes, uniting and resolving conflicting ideas. Indeed Guthlac's *beorg*, by virtue of the saint's relation to it, becomes a spiritual center, an earthly embodiment of the true homeland in heaven. Yet as much as the poem is framed by the idea that the true *ham* and *eþel* is heaven, it must first be achieved on earth. To dwell in heaven, Guthlac must find a way to also dwell on earth. As a hermit saint, negotiating both geographical and spiritual extremes, Guthlac reveals this struggle at its most dramatic, providing a model for all those who wish to dwell in the ultimate homeland. Thus, arguments viewing *Guthlac A* in the light of a strictly monastic audience who would have understood the poem through contexts of the Benedictine Reform are a bit limiting, and while this certainly does not preclude how the poem might speak to a monastic audience, *Guthlac A* also has enough popular, "heroic" elements that we can see the pool of those in Britain for whom Guthlac became a *bysen* as much larger and more general. Guthlac's dwelling does not not merely speak to the cloistered world of the monastery but reaches out broadly to people who are still trying to understand who to dwell spiritually in on *læne land.*

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion: Further Questioning

> "I left the woods for as good a reason as I went there."
> -Henry David Thoreau, Walden (217)

Over the course of these chapters, I hope to have shown that at least some Anglo-Saxon texts demonstrate a complex understanding of landscape and the natural world as lived space, expressed through the homologies between and overlapping of natural and architectural space. I have aimed to prove that the natural world is not strictly speaking something "out there" or "Other" in many Anglo-Saxon texts, but is in in dynamic relation with the built and human worlds. As discussed in the first chapter, Alfred's preface to his translation of the *Soliloquies* provides an image of forestry and building to express not only a means of living in the *læne* world as a form of preparation for the next, but also has a metaphorical dimension, in which the forest can also stand for as the scriptures and writings of the fathers (Jerome's "infinitum sensuum silva") and the act of building a sort of personal *aedificatio*. This metaphor draws together the natural world, humans, language, and buildings in a concise and uniquely beautiful way. The second chapter traced the conceptual relation between the cosmos, architecture, and language itself in poetry about creation. The depiction of the whole cosmos and their creation in architectural terms shows, with the cosmos as a sort of "house" to be inhabited by humans serves as a reminder that all of nature is in fact part of God's ordered and integrated--if not also anthropocentric-creation. I also stressed the homologies between poetic and architectural creation (as roughly

analogous to the Word and God's creation), showing how poetic language not only "calls the world into being", but how it expresses and makes comprehensible dwelling in the world. In the same chapter, I examined the paradigm of emplacement and dislocation set up in *Genesis A*, a pattern that could be repeated in both local and cosmic histories and which is also repeated throughout the Junius manuscript. I also examined how the illustrations accompanying the Junius manuscript used framing and depictions of architecture to comment on themes of emplacement, dwelling, and dislocation. In the third chapter, I explored the descriptions of two landscapes in the *Blickling Homilies*. Both of these landscapes--Mount Olivet in Israel and Monte Gargano in Italy-- are removed from the immediate environs of the English audience of the homilies. Both contain churches that are are a fusion of the natural world and architectural, built structures, and in the case of the church on Monte Gargano the architecture of the church emerges from the mountain where it is situated in tandem with the hierophany of Michael and the actions of the local people. Additionally, each landscape is described in such a way in the homilies as to set the audience in that landscape--however physically removed it may be-- and allow them to participate in the divine through experience of it. Lastly, I examined the focus on landscape and emplacement in *Guthlac A*, demonstrating that a "dwelling perspective" situated in a real landscape could help us to understand not only the saint's fixation upon his earthly place, but also how the landscape itself shapes and responds to Guthlac's sanctity. I also examined the poem as a part of the tradition of eremitism that began with the Coptic fathers and eventually found its way to the British Isles. This showed

how an Anglo-Saxon poet adapted the desert tradition to his own landscape and cultural milieu.

In all of these examples, the idea and act of building becomes an important part of shaping the landscape as possible for human dwelling. In some cases this building is not strictly the erection of a structure, but can be a metaphor *for* dwelling. This is particularly apparent in the case of *Guthlac A*, which describes its title character as a builder whose physical building projects are less emphasized than his loving habitation of the *beorg* and his conflict over it with the demons. In all cases examined here, natural and architectural space are not opposed but work together. The landscapes they create illuminate the overarching order of creation and the manifestation of God's grace in the world in a religious sense, and the potential for human dwelling on *læne* land more generally. By examining landscapes from the perspective of building and dwelling, we can view these landscapes not as flat settings against which actions happen, but as participants in their own right, deeply connected to human action and interaction. Moreover, this perspective acknowledges the close connections between the earthly and divine, showing how they reflect each other, not in merely symbolic ways, but in ways that must have been very real to the Christian Anglo-Saxons, for whom being in the world was intimately connected to the presence of God and forces otherwise considered "supernatural". Finally, this perspective allows for a multiplicity and polysemy of symbolic readings of texts, viewing the landscape as historically capable of embodying different understandings and experiences. In all these cases, earthly landscapes are temporal and historical, not

simply in that they exist in linear time but that they gather temporalities of past, present and future in a single place.

It should be noted that most of these examples deal with space that is directly tied to religious belief. In addition to discussions of heaven, hell and paradise in *Genesis A,* both examples from the *Blickling Homilies* are places at which the divine has manifested and churches have been built. Guthlac's home is a hermitage, a triumph for God against legions of demons consigned to hell. Even Alfred's image of the *stoclif* ("cottage") and the forest from which the materials to build it are gathered, which are depicted in the preface to his translation of the *Soliloquies* has strong metaphorical connection to the scriptures and writings of the Church Fathers. All of these illustrate the manifestation of God's grace in concert with and as a response to human action. As a result these landscapes embody an ultimately harmonious interaction between the natural and human worlds, where, through the agency of the divine, a sense of order prevails. There does not seem to be a single source for this type of thinking, or one cultural tradition that can be isolated; rather I hope to have showed that different traditions (for example those influenced by the Biblical, apocryphal, hexaemeral, eremitic traditions, and the Benedictine reform as well as with cosmologies that might be termed more "native") can combine to create these literary landscapes.

Most of the discussions in the previous chapters deal with the idea of dwelling, as both experience and inhabitation in a single place. I have by and large discussed the importance of dwelling as emplacement, and indeed single, fixed places and landscapes provide the matrix for action in most of the texts discussed. As the

discussions in the previous chapters have shown, emplacement--particularly when it involves being in a "home", a-well ordered structure that mirrors the order of the cosmos and proleptically reflects the home of heaven--is desirable, and the condition of dispossession or exile its undesirable opposite. As Scott T. Smith puts it, "dispossession thus remains the negative condition of possession, the anterior and potential event which troubles affirmations of secure and lasting tenure" (Smith 2013: 214). The fall of the angels placed at the beginning of time (discussed in chapter 2 of this work) sets up a paradigm in which exile appears to be categorically negative, the loss of a homeland and even the loss of place seems to be the opposite of dwelling in the sense I have discussed it. However, one may ask, what of the condition of exile, which is described in such detail in some of the most famous Old English poems? What does this say about dwelling? Additionally, what do ruined landscapes, in which architectural structures are crumbling, suggest?

Responses to such questions might be gleaned from those poems termed "elegies".[1] In addition to decay and transience, such poems often describe dislocation and loneliness, with ordered, inhabited earthly landscapes and buildings being replaced by seascapes, or by crumbling ruins or by memories. However, these

1 As Anne Klinck explains: " If 'elegy' is understood in a narrow sense, either as 'composition in elegiac metre' or 'lament for the dead', these Old English poems are not elegies, though both the narrow definitions may influence our perception of them [...] But if, in the broadest sense, elegy is a literary form which conveys a meditation upon absence, loss or transience, Old English elegy can be seen as a particular manifestation of that form" (1992: 224). Further more, "the essential element of elegy as it is found in these *Exeter Book* poems is the sense of separation: a distance in time or space between someone and their desire" (Klinck 1992: 225). Klinck includes in her edition of "elegies" poems exclusively from the *Exeter Book* (*The Wanderer, The Seafarer, The Riming Poem*, *Deor*, *Wulf and Eadwacer, The Wife's Lament, Resignation, Riddle 60, The Husband's Message*, and *The Ruin*). In addition, *Beowulf* contains numerous passages that can be considered "elegiac", especially the "lay of the last survivor" (2233-2270a) and the passage on the un-avengeable death of Hrethel's son (2435-2471). For a discussion of generic features and sources for Old English Elegy, see Klinck 1992, 253-251. Quotations from T*he Seafarer, The Wanderer, The Wife's Lament,* and *The Ruin* taken from Krapp and Dobbie 1936. Translations, unless otherwise noted are my own.

landscapes as Nicholas Howe puts it, "remain within a known landscape of lived experience as comprehended by the English. The fauna and flora are native to Anglo-Saxon England as a poetic place" (2007: 63), and it would not likely not stretch the imagination of the audience to visualize these places-or themselves in them.

Elegiac landscapes can recall other times and other places, largely through contrasting them to the woeful present situation of the speaker. The speaker of *The Wanderer* describes how an exile remembers the feasts of his youth, and in his dreams imagines he is with his lord, only to wake to wintery desolation: "Đonne onwæcneð eft wineleas guma,/ gesihð him beforan fealwe wegas,/ baþian brimfuglas, brædan feþra,/ hreosan hrim ond snaw, hagle gemenged". "Then the friendless man awakens again, sees before him fallow waves, the sea-birds, broad-feathered ones, bathing, (he sees) frost and snow fall, mingled with hail" (45-48). In an arresting passage in *The Seafarer*, the speaker relates the songs of various seabirds to the entertainment of the mead hall.[2] The wintery, watery landscapes of *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer* call to mind a longed-for past as a part of society, but also help the speaker to acknowledge that the uncertainty in this life will be rewarded by a certain, fixed dwelling in heaven.[3]

The speaker of *The Wife's Lament* also identifies as an exile but unlike the speakers of *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer,* who lead the uncertain life of wandering

2 "Hwilum ylfete song/ dyde ic me to gomene, ganetes hleoþor,/ ond huilpan sweg fore hleahtor wera,/ mæw singende fore medodrince", "Sometimes I made the swan song my entertainment, the sound of the gannet and the voice of the curlew instead of the laughter of men, the singing gull for the drinking of mead" (19b-22). On the terms for the birds see Klinck 1992: 128-129.

3 For example, see Whitelock 1950, Smithers 1959, Holton 1982, Orton 1991, Cook 1996, Dyas 1997, Bhattacharji 2004 and Magennis 2007 for various takes on the sea pilgrimage and Christian aspects of the poems. See Sobecki 2008 for a different interpretation of the speaker. On the consolation of language in *The Wanderer*, see Champion 1997.

exiles (and who ultimaltely come to a sense of resolution), the speaker of *The Wife's Lament* remains enclosed in the landscape (though she does refer to her "wræcsiþas", "journeys of exile", in line 38) while her mind ranges through the past and present, and she remembers her happy life with her husband (or lover) and the circumstances that brought her to her current situation. In this poem, a homology is drawn between two landscapes, when the speaker, enclosed in an "eorðsele" ("earth-hall", 29),[4] turns her mind outward and envisions the fate of the man who is presumably her husband or lover, who sits by a sea-cliff.[5] Both the wife and the young man "sit" in their respective settings (37a; 47b). Both of these depictions contain a confluence of natural and architectural terms and features, and yet the impression here is not one of harmony and dwelling but of ambiguity and disorientation. Both the wife and young man suffer "modceare", "sorrows" (40a; 51a) with no apparent resolution. The settings she describes are inhospitable like those described in *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer* (though the specific features of her own surroundings are different),[6] but unlike the

4 The "eorðsele" and related term "eorðscræfe" "cave" have generated much scholarly discussion, and have often been seen as keys to the poem. They can refer to natural caves or those used for burials (as in *Beowulf* lines 2410 and 2515, where eorðsele refers to the dragon's barrow). Various interpretations of the cave have ranged from a place of pagan worship (Doane 1966; Wentersdorf 1981; also discussed in Hall 2002 and 2007), a tomb (Leslie 1961; Lench 1970), or various types of underground structures (Harris 1977; Battles 1994).

5 The wife's landscape is described thus: "Heht mec mon wunian on wuda bearwe,/ under actreo in þam eorðscræfe./ Eald is þes eorðsele, eal ic eom oflongad,/ sindon dena dimme, duna uphea,/ bitre burgtunas, brerum beweaxne,/ wic wynna leas." "The man ordered me to dwell in a grove, under an oak-tree, in this earthen cave. Old is this earth-hall, I am entirely seized with longing. The valleys are dark, the hills high, enclosures bitter, overgrown with briers, a place devoid of joy" (27-32a). The young man's situation is that "min freond sited/ under stanhliþe storme behrimed,/wine werigmod, wætre beflowen/ on dreorsele. Dreogeð se min wine/ micle modceare; he gemon to oft/ wynlicran wic". "My friend sits under a stone-cliff, covered in frost, the weary-minded companion, surrounded by water, in a desolate hall. My companion suffers great sorrow. He remembers too often a more joyful place" (47b-52a) . Parallels in language can be found in the use of the element *sele*, "hall" (29; 50), and the pairing of "wic" and "wyn" (32a; 52a).

6 That the area is "brerum beweaxne", "overgrown with briars" (31b), suggesting a sort of encompassing disorder that we may see reflected in the "atol yþa gewealc", "terrible tossing of waves" (6a, and "yða gewealc" 46b) and "saltyþa gelac", "play/tossing of salt waves" (35a).

speakers of those poems, she seems to find no comfort or hope of a better future.[7] Both *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer* end looking forward to the true home of heaven,[8] while *The Wife's Lament* offers no such consolation. The statement "Wa bið þam þe sceal/ of langoþe lefoes abidan", "Woe to that one who must longingly wait for their beloved" (53b-54) provides no different vision for the future, but extends the wife's present miseries *ad infinitum*.[9] In the former two poems, the fixity of heaven is not mirrored in the earthly, but contrasted by it. Yet, we might say that in their realization of the limits of the earthly, the errant speakers of *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer* have indeed learned to dwell, while the enclosed but unsettled wife has not. It is a different perspective from the harmoniously inhabited spaces, the heavens-on-earth, discussed in earlier chapters.

In all of these cases, the landscape not only expresses the speaker's isolation but seems to encourage recollection of the past. Thus, as in the other landscapes examined in this work, these "elegiac" landscapes are also related to concepts of time, albeit in somewhat different ways than those discussed in previous chapters. While individual landscapes, such as Olivet in Blickling XI or Guthlac's *beorg*, call to to mind their own historical pasts within linear time, the landscapes of *The Wanderer*,

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7 For questions of gender and the elegiac speaker of *The Wife's Lament* see, for example Belanoff 1990, Desmond 1990, Bennett 1994, Horner 1994 (2002), Klein 2006.

8 *The Seafarer* 117-124. "Uton we hycgan hwær we ham agen,/ ond þonne geþencan hu we þider cumen,/ ond we þonne eac tilien, þæt we to moten/ in þa ecan eadignesse,/ þær is life gelong in lufan dryhtnes,/ hyht in heofonum. Þæs sy þam halgan þonc,/ þæt he usic geweorþade, wuldres aldor,/ ece dryhten, in ealle tid. Amen." "Let us think where we might have our home, and consider how we might come there, and then also to strive for it, that we might (be) in eternal blessedness, where life is consequent of the Lord's love, hope in the heavens. Thanks be to that holy one, that he has made us worthy, the chief of glory, the eternal lord, in every time. Amen".
The Wanderer 114b-115. "Wel bið þam þe him are seceð,/ frofre to fæder on heofonum, þær is us eal seo fæstung stondeð." "Well is it for them who seek mercy, comfort from the father in the heavens, there where there is security for us all".

9 See Green 1983 on the wife's "eternal present".

The Seafarer, and *The Wife's Lament* call to mind pasts or presents (as well as futures) that are distinctly elsewhere.

One notable exception to this, however, is the poem given the title *The Ruin*, which focuses intently on a single place.[10] It is a particularly suitable text for a brief final discussion especially in that, as this dissertation has examined literary ideas of "building", *The Ruin*, as its name suggests, depicts the crumbling and disintegration of an architectural structure. However, what might seem to be a straightforward description has proved to be anything but. For one, there has been continuing discussion as to whether the poem describes a precise location, usually considered to be Bath, though there is general agreement that the ruins described are Roman.[11] There have also been some generic questions, in which the *The Ruin* has been linked to both the other "elegies" in the *Exeter Book*,[12] to Latin traditions of encomium urbis (praise or lament for a city), and even to riddles.[13] Scholars have claimed that *The Ruin* is both "full of motion and animation" (Calder 1971: 445) and possibly "the most static poem in Old English" (Howe 2002: 95). Moreover, unlike the other elegies discussed above, there is no self-identified "I" speaking in the poem. As Alain Renoir puts it, the poem " has a speaking voice but no speaker and no actual human action takes place within its time frame, nor is mentioned has having taken place or being about to take place. Such activity--in contrast to action--as we are asked to evoke is

10 As Nicholas Howe puts it, "*The Ruin* finds its subject in the need to interpret a visible feature of the landscape that does nothing, yet troubles the eye because it cannot be evaded. And from this fact, that the site must be observed, comes an acutely rendered description of the world here and now that should make one all the more hesitant to offer an allegorical reading of the poem" (Howe 2002: 96-97).
11 Earle 1870. Other locations have been proposed by Herben 1939 and 1944, Hotchner 1939, Dunleavy 1959, and Wentersdorf 1977.
12 *The Ruin* is generally grouped with the elegies, though Timmer (1942: 34) did not include it.
13 See Keenan 1966, Doubleday 1971, Lee 1973, Howlett 1976, Johnson 1981. Hume 1976 remains skeptical of continental Latinate sources for poetic descriptions of ruins in Old English, seeing them as a corollary of the concept of the hall.

purely imaginary, is of a general nature, would have taken place generations before, and claims no connection with the speaking voice" (Renoir 1983: 150). In spite of the wide range of opinions on what type of poem *The Ruin* is or what precisely it describes, there is near universal agreement on its technical artistry, particularly its effective use of contrast, in terms of both verbal tenses and imagery.[14]

It is clear that *The Ruin* fixates on a single place, which may or may not be a specific one.[15] The poem begins with a description of the crumbling ruin and then moves backward in time to a a vision of it as a whole, inhabited structure. The speaker then imagines the destruction of the building and its people, and looks back again to the building as a whole structure, apparently describing thermal baths (the text becomes increasingly corrupted). The last legible half line is "þæt is cynelic þing!", "that is a kingly thing" (48b), an oddly uplifting note in the present tense whose context we can never fully glean. The events of the poem cannot be set into chronological history in quite the same way the other place and landscape-forming events I have discussed: there is only the ambiguous past and undistinguished present, and a hint of the future.[16] These are brought together in the landscape, and as the ruin crumbles and as the poem progresses, the past and present are drawn closer together. There is not so much continuity as contiguity between the two. While the two often

14 See Renoir 1983 and Orchard 2008, for example.
15 Pointing out that the landscape of Anglo-Saxon England was scattered with ruins (especially Roman baths), Howe argues that the poem becomes more interesting "if freed from any specific location and read instead as evoking sites that would not have been uncommon on the landscape" (Howe 2005: 33).
16 While it is likely an audience could have used *The Ruin* to meditate on their own future and the inevitable decay of all things, this is implicit rather than explicitly stated in the poem. However lines 8b-9a "oþ hund cnea werþeoda gewitan", "until a hundred generations departs", seem to have an apocalyptic ring. According to Leslie 1961, these lines "can imply little else to the medieval mind, with its expectation of the passing away of this world within a finite period of time" (28). See Doubleday 1971 for additional comment and Godden 2003 (a) for a general description of the apocalyptic associations with the year 1000.

mirror each other in the other examples I have provided in this dissertation, in *The Ruin* (as in the other elegies) they provide contrast. The poem's juxtaposition of past and present is set up in the first two lines: "Wrætlic is þes wealstan! Wyrde gebræcon;/ burgstede burston, brosnað enta geweorc", "Wondrous is this wall-stone! fates broke (it), the fortifications (are) shattered, the work of giants crumbles " (1-2).[17] In addition to the oscillation between past and present tense, Andy Orchard and other have noted the chiastic alliteration of (w...w...w...b/ b...b...b...w) and tense of the finite verb forms (present past/past present), in which the present literally envelops the past.[18]

The poem then moves on to describe the ruin of the architecture in greater detail:

Hrofas sind gehrorene, hreorge torras,
hringeat berofen, hrim on lime;
scearde scurbeorge, scorene, gedrorene,
ældo undereotone. Eorðgrap hafað
waldened wyrhtan, forweoreone, geleorone,
heard gripe hrusan, oþ hund cnea
werþeoda gewitan. Oft þæs wæg gebad,
ræghar and readfah, rice æfter oþrum,
ofstonden under stormum. Steap geap gedreas.

"Roofs are tumbled, crumbled towers, ring-gate removed, frost on the mortar; sheared away storm-shelters, cut down, fallen, eaten away by age. The grip of earth holds the master builders: , decayed, lost, the hard grip of earth, until a hundred generations of men have passed away. Often this wall endured, grey with lichen and red-stained, one kingdom after the other, standing under storms; high and arched, it fell" (3-11).

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17 Translations my own, with some recourse (where noted) to Orchard 2008.
The phrase "wrætlic is þes weallstan; wyrde gebræcon" in line 1, while coming about as close as any medieval literature to expressing the Romantic sublime, also echoes the opening lines of Maxims II:

"Cyning sceal rice healdan. Ceastra beoð feorran gesyne,
orðanc enta geweorc, þa þe on þysse eorðan syndon,
wrætlice weallstana geweorc."

"A king must hold (a) kingdom. Fortresses are seen from afar, the skillful work of giants, those (fortresses) that are on the earth, the wondrous work of wall-stones" (1-3b, text from Krapp and Dobbie 1942, translation my own).

For a discussion of "enta geweorc", "the work of giants", here and elsewhere in Old English verse see Frankis 1973, esp. 255.

18 See Orchard 2008: 48 for further discussion.

Here the architectural features--roofs, towers, gates, mortar--are paired with the past participles dependent on "sind" in line 2, fusing both past and present in the verbal construction. The pairing of "master builders" ("waldend wyrhtan", line 7) with the past participles "forweorone" and "geleorone" ("decayed" and "lost", respectively) links the fates of the builders to their buildings, the former of whom are brought into the present by the verb the "hafað" and the futuristic sense of "oþ hund cnea getwitan". Daniel G. Calder points out how in this passage and others, the temporal movement between past and present is paralleled by the vertical contrast between high and low-the roofs and towers are depicted and as crashed down, a contrast driven home in half line 11b, which eschews naming a subject but provides an abrupt concept in the half line "steap geap gedreas". As Calder puts it "beginning with artifacts all sharing the height of man's aspiration as their common trait, the imagery strikes the key theme of mutability by a corresponding pattern of verbal descriptions which vividly portray the line of falling and this vertical motion" (Calder 1971: 444).

Lines 12-18 are corrupt[19] but when the dust clears in line 19 the poem looks back to the construction of the ruin, describing a bold man, a builder, who bound together the walls ("mod mo[nade m]yneswiftne gebrægd/ hwætred in hringas, hygerof gebond/ wellwalan wirum wundrum togædre", "a mind [brought about that thought-] swift plan, [brisk planning] in rings, a stout-minded man bound the wall braces wondrously together with wires",18-20).[20] The speaker continues to look back into the

19 Orchard 2008 posits a partial reconstruction for some of these lines.

20 Reconstructed text and translation for this passage from Orchard 2008: 66-67. On "wirum" see Leslie 1961: 72 and Klinck 1992: 214-215. Johnson notes that "the language stresses not the squaring of distances and the erecting of linear parts, but a weaving and tying together of sinuous wires and rings" (1981: 405). Johnson ties this to imagery of binding and weaving to *Beowulf* as well, concluding that "the poet of *The Ruin* views construction in relation to the pervasive process of binding, which in OE poetry functions on natural, cultural, and metaphysical levels. For other discussions of binding in

past, saying: “beorht wæron burgræced, burnsele monge,/heah horngestreon, heresweg micle,/ meodoheall monig, [mon] dreama full”, “bright were the city-dwellings, many a bathhouse, high gabling, many a mead hall full the joys of men” (21-23). This joyous picture of the past loftiness includes the rune “mon” to indicate “man” in line 23b. It may be interesting to note that the description of “man” in *The Rune Poem* has a negative connotation, “Man byþ on myrgþe his magan leof;/ sceal þeah anra gehwylce oðrum swican,/ for þam dryhten wyle dome sine/ þæt earme flæsc eorþan betæcen”, “A happy man is dear to this kin. Nevertheless, each shall betray the other, for which the Lord wills in his judgement that the wretched flesh be given over to the earth”(59-62).[21]

And indeed, those joys of men are transient, as the next line states “oþþæt onwende wyrd seo swiþe”, “Until mighty fate changed that” (24). Orchard demonstrates how the use of compounds and verbs in the three lines preceding 24 “graphically depict the change and movement wrought by fate” (Orchard 2003: 49-50). The three previous lines contain “wæron” as the only finite verb from, and each half line contains a compound term. Moreover, line 24 interrupts the sequence of double alliteration that had preceded it and that follows it. In lines 25-28 there is only one compound per line but six finite verb forms, creating a sense of motion and activity not present in the preceding lines.

In this passage, the destruction of the city is depicted thus:

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relation to both architecture and poetry see Wehlau 1997. Alfred also uses the phrase “windan manigne smicerne wah”, “wind many a fair wall” (Carnicelli 1969: 47) in the preface to the *Soliloquies*, though it seems more likely he is talking about wattle-and-daub construction than ironwork. Nevertheless, the prevalence of images of binding and weaving in descriptions of buildings and manufactured objects remains interesting.

21 Text from Dobbie 1942, translation my own.

Crungon walo wide; cwoman woldagas.
swylt eall fornom secgrofa wera;
 wurdon hyra wigsteal westen staþolas,
 brosnade burgsteall. Betend crungon,
hergas to hrusan. Forþon þas hofu dreorgiað
 ond þæs teaforgeapa tigelum sceadað
 hrostbeames hrof.

"Corpses fell far and wide, days of pestilence came, death took all those sword-brave men; their bulwarks became waste places; the city-place decayed. The custodians fell, the troops (fell) to the earth. Therefore these structures crumble and "this red curved roof of roost-ring sheds tiles" (25-31a).[22]

Here, the past and present are then thrown into relief by the quick change by "forþon", which is followed by two verbs in the present tense ("dreorgiað" and "sceadeð"), which both indicate falling and downward motion. This links the current decay of the ruin to the demise (configured as "crungon", "fell" in lines 25a and 28b) of the people who once lived there. The poem then shifts back to past tense in line 31b: "Hryre wong gecrong,/ gebrocen to beorgum, þær iu beorn monig/ gældmod ond goldbeorht gleoma gefrætwed,/ wlonc ond wingal wighyrstum scan", "The ruin has fallen to the ground, broken into mounds, where once many a warrior, glad of mood and gold-bright, brightly adorned, proud and wine-flushed shone in battle-gear (31b-34). The poem has moved even further into the past, detailing the beauty and pleasantness of the city's baths (specifically called "baþu" in line 46b), before they fell to ruin. The last discernible half-line of the poem is in the present tense, stating: "Þæt is cynelic þing!", "that is a kingly thing!" (48b). While any statement about these last lines is conjectural-and we do not know exactly where or how the poem ends, it seems that it has also brought the past beauty of the ruins into the present.

22 Translation for lines 30-31a from Orchard 2008. Alternately, Klinck suggests "this red arch is coming away from its tiles, the ceiling of the pillared vault" (Klinck 1992: 217). For a discussion of the hapax legomena in this passage see Klinck 1992: 216-217.

As the decay which toppled the roofs and towers is still ongoing (as evinced by use of present tense terms such as "brosnað" in line 2), perhaps some of the beauty of the place still exists, even if it is only in memory and is re-constructed briefly by the speaker.[23] Owing to this, Patricia Dailey and Renee Trilling have noted what they see as an "uplifting tone" at the end of the poem (Dailey 2006: 177; Trilling 2009: 162). It is important to note that as the ruin is reconstructed, it is re-peopled with inhabitants who dwell there: it is not just the buildings that are important but the people who built, lived in and used them. Moreover, the building and landscape are deeply tied to the human fate: for example the verb *cringan* is used to describe both the ruin itself and the dead (lines 30, and 25 and 28 respectively).

William C. Johnson has pointed out the connection of language associated with the human body and the architecture of the ruin, suggesting that the poem is a body-city riddle.[24] In his reading Johnson stresses the interdependence of microcosm and macrocosm, seeing the homology between house, body and cosmos as present in both archaic religious traditions (following Mircea Eliade) and Christian symbolism (Johnson 1981: 406-407). As the poem connects the architectural structure and its erstwhile inhabitants through language, it does not seem unreasonable to view architecture and the human body as homologous in the poem, subject to the same decay as all worldly things. As Patricia Dailey puts it, "landscape and the body are intimately related and bring to the fore the detachable, contingent, hospitable, or

23 In contrast to the current decay of the ruin, in the past "stanhofu stodan", "the stone buildings stood" (38). This standing suggests an upward motion in contrast to the downward motion implied by verbs like *cringan* and *dreosan*, perhaps creating a further sense of the ruin being rebuilt in the mind.
24 Some of Johnson's evidence is unconvincing and conjectural, but among his more interesting observations are a possible play on "lim" in line 4b as both "mortar" and "limb", and the description of the interior of the baths as a "beorhtan bosme", "bright bosm" (40) that is "hat on hreþre", "hot in its breast" (41a) (Johnson 1981: 203-205).

divisible nature of dwelling from earth or world" (Dailey 2006: 176). Previous discussions of the body as the locus of perception and means of dwelling also can further the impact of this homologizing.

Renee Trilling reads the poem from the perspective of Walter Benjamin's concept of the work of art as ruin, which Trilling describes thus: "the ruin is the remnant of human activity--culture--impressed upon the materiality of objects, and the life within them" (Trilling 2009: 165). For Trilling, "the idea of the ruin thus becomes a locus for the simultaneous existence of past and present, and the poem posits reflection on the past as an experience in which the past is brought into a dialectical relationship with the reader's past--and implicitly, future" (Trilling 2009: 164). Trilling's emphasis on past and present as simultaneous, rather than competing and resolving, in *The Ruin* highlights connections not only between landscape and temporality, but landscape and memory. In recalling the landscape's past, the poet/speaker brings it back to life in the present. Like the landscapes of the *Blickling Homilies* discussed in chapter 3, the ruin's history is demonstrable in its present state and one could say that the ruin and the landscape in which it resides "gather" temporalities in this respect. However, there is no indication that the poet is able to place the ruin's past precisely within the confines of historical, linear chronology, only that it is subject to the same indifferent mechanisms of an inexorable fate. If the ruin's past is a vague "somewhen", the poem, as it survives, does not offer a clearly resolved future with a more secure dwelling. Apocalyptic hints are only that, and the ruin's present-tense crumbling seems to stretch on indefinitely into the future. In this way, the landscape of *The Ruin,* like those in the *The Seafarer*, *The Wanderer*,

and *The Wife's Lament,* sets up a counter-example to the built and dwelt-in landscapes discussed in previous chapters. While the landscapes discussed in previous chapters mirror or promise a more secure home in heaven, *The Ruin* offers an eternal present of decay and a vivid but indeterminate past. *The Ruin*, read from a "dwelling perspective" balances the "elegiac" emphasis on transience and decay by reconstructing the past dwelling and embodying the past in a way that the landscapes addressed in the other elegies do not.

Though, as Katherine Hume points out, actual descriptions of ruins are fairly infrequent in Old English poetry (Hume 1976: 355) the description of the ruin also shares some imagery with lines 73-80b of *The Wanderer*:

Ongietan sceal gleaw hæle hu gæstlic bið,
þonne ealle þisse worulde wela weste stondeð,
swa nu missenlice geond þisne middangeard
winde biwaune weallas stondaþ,
hrime bihrorene, hryðge þa ederas.
Woriað þa winsalo, waldend licgað
dreama bidrorene, duguþ eal gecrong,
wlonc bi wealle.

"A wise man shall perceive how terrible (or spiritual)[25] it will be when all the wealth of this world stands desolate, just as now variously throughout this middle-earth walls stand wind-blown, covered with frost, the enclosures snow-swept; the wine-hall crumbles, (its) ruler lies joyless, the troop all fell, proud by the wall."[26]

The Wanderer more explicitly links present ruins with past decay and further ruin to come in the future, when all the world is desolate, as many places are now on earth.[27] The poet then describes a hall crumbling, its lord lying (in the present, denoting his having died in the past) and the death of the troops who occupied the hall in the past. However, while this example is obviously generalizing, *The Ruin*

25 On the potential meanings for "gæstlic" here, see Klinck 1992: 121.
26 For a review of parallels in language, rhyme and alliteration between this passage in *The Wanderer* and *The Ruin* see Orchard 2008: 80.
27 This is a bit ambiguous however, owing to the lack of a discrete future tense in Old English.

maintains a simulacrum of specificity, employing demonstrative pronouns designating the wall stone in the first line as " þes weallstan", this wallstone" (1a),[28] indicating the audience must think of the place as a specific one (if not actually knowing the geographical location) before considering it in general terms. What these both share though, is the connection between present landscapes and memory of the past, which pull the past into the present.

In this brief overview, I have examined connections between dwelling, time, and landscape in a poem that focuses on a landscape in which the building process is reversed, even though the past is recalled and resurrected in the latter portion of the text. One could say that there is great poetic justice in that *The Ruin* itself becomes something of a crumbling ruin as it reconstructs the past, both literally in terms of the deterioration of the manuscript and reduced frequency of double and interlinear alliteration as the poem goes on. As Andy Orchard puts it, "one could indeed argue that *The Ruin* exemplifies in its own alliterative structure the progressive deterioration of regular arrangement that its subject matter presupposes" (Orchard 2008: 51). While the poem reconstructs the ruined structure as memory, perhaps its formal aspects highlight the process of deterioration that is still inevitably taking place. The landscape of *The Ruin* is no longer space for human habitation, but viewed through the dwelling perspective of landscape as a temporal network of relations, it highlights the connectivity of language, landscape, time and body that characterizes human being in the world. Moreover, as Patricia Dailey suggests,

28 Demonstratives "þes/þæs" and "þas", "this" and "these" also used in 9a, 29b, 30a 35, which as Orchard points out, shirts to "þa", "those" in the latter portion of the poem (40b and 45b) (Orchard 2008: 48).

"as a boundary between inside and outside,the wall [of *The Ruin*] forces the question to be posed of what remains and what perishes, what of the body (like the lichama) continues to dwell once the flesh has gone,and what of the ruin remains in the poem, once the ruin and its inhabitants are gone. The Ruin alludes to this question as it predicament, leading the reader to participate in the ruin's survival in meditating its praise (lof) in the language of the poem (Dailey 2006: 193-194).

This poem mediates the questionability of dwelling, described thus by Jeff Malpas: "To dwell is to stand in such a relation of attentiveness and responsiveness, of listening and questioning. The question of dwelling is never a question ever settled or finally resolved. To dwell is to remain in a state in which what it is to dwell-and what it is to dwell here, in this place, is a question constantly put anew" (Malpas 2014: 21). The landscapes of *The Ruin*, *The Seafarer*, and *The Wanderer* are not peacefully inhabited places in which the natural world and architectural spaces co-exist harmoniously; instead, their very instability illustrates the necessity of questioning and receptiveness to places, rather than taking them as given, that characterizes dwelling in the world. These landscapes, especially those of *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer* emphasize also that dwelling exists in relation to abandonment--that ultimately we must abandon one dwelling (on earth) for another (in heaven). Viewed this way, abandonment, or even exile, while painful, is a necessary corollary to dwelling. This can also be seen in the early lines *Genesis A*, and repeated throughout the Junius manuscript, in which any act of dwelling must be preceded or followed by abandonment. Human dwelling on earth is dependent upon the vacating of heaven by the fallen angels, then by the expulsion of the protoplasts from the garden, and so on, *ad infinitum*.[29]

29 Such a pattern can also be seen in *Exodus*. The Hebrews' uncertain wandering in the deserts on both sides of the Red Sea precedes and prefigures their attainment of their homeland.

Coda: A (De)Parting Vision

I began this dissertation with Henry David Thoreau and the forest; it seems appropriate that I should end with Thoreau and the forest as well. Thoreau has been something of a patron saint of this work, in part because of my own upbringing not far from Walden Pond. More importantly, it would not be unreasonable to consider Thoreau a thinker of dwelling par excellence, in some ways even anticipating questions Heidegger asked.[30] I shall conclude this work with a passage from Thoreau's essay "Walking", published posthumously in 1862, but read as a lecture by the author throughout the 1850s. Towards the end of this meandering text, Thoreau writes of what may be termed a vision in which the apparent opposites of nature and culture, actual and ideal are temporarily juxtaposed in a single image.[31] In conclusion, then:

"I took a walk on Spaulding's Farm the other afternoon. I saw the setting sun lighting up the opposite side of a stately pine wood. Its golden rays straggled into the aisles of the wood as into some noble hall. I was impressed as if some ancient and altogether admirable and shining family had settled there in that

30 See for example Cavell 1979 and 2002. Cavell writes "As to the direction of influence, I am not claiming that Heidegger authenticates the thinking of Emerson and Thoreau; the contrary is, for me, fully as true, Emerson and Thoreau may authorize our interest in Heidegger" (Cavell 1979: 173). Stanley Cavell states that "the substantive disagreement with Heidegger, shared by Emerson and Thoreau, is that the achievement of the human requires not inhabitation and settlement, but abandonment, leaving. Then everything depends upon your realization of abandonment. for the significance of leaving lies in its discovery that you have settled something, that you have felt enthusiastically what there is to abandon yourself to, and that you can treat the others there are as those to whom the inhabitation of the world can now be left" (Cavell 1979: 176). Interestingly, Robert Pogue Harrison attempts to resolve this, saying "In my understanding Heidegger's idea of 'dwelling' is akin to what Cavell means by 'abandonment' (...) In other words, we inhabit our 'abandonment', even when we stay put in one particular place--as long, that is, as we do not close ourselves off from the alien element that inhabits our finitude" (Harrison 1992: 265). This sense of dwelling as "abandonment" might read well next to poems such as The Wanderer and The Seafarer, in which the speaker finds consolation in the abandoning of the world, or perhaps, we might see the abandonment of paradise as a precondition for dwelling on earth in *Genesis A*, or the ultimate abandonment of earth as a precondition for dwelling in both the homilies considered and *Guthlac A*.

31 On the importance of Coleridge's "polarities" in this text, see Rossi 2008 [1987]. Of this passage, Rossi writes "Here the walker imaginatively realizes, if he only briefly sustains, an awareness of the intermingling of both states [the wild and the town, the ideal and the actual]" (Rossi 2008 [1987]: 610).

part of the land called Concord, unknown to me-to whom the sun was servant,-who had not gone into society in the village, -who had not been called on. I saw their park, their pleasure-ground, beyond through the wood, in Spaulding's cranberry-meadow. The pines furnished them with gables as they grew. Their house was not obvious to vision; the trees grew through it. I do not know whether I heard the sounds of a suppressed hilarity or not. They seemed to recline on the sun-beams. they have sons and daughters. They are quite well. The farmer's cart-path, which leads directly through their hall, does not in the least put them out, -as the muddy bottom of a pool is sometimes seen through the reflected skies. They never heard of Spaulding, and do not know that he is their neighbor,- notwithstanding I heard him whistle as he drove his team through the house. Nothing can equal the serenity of their lives. Their coat of arms is simply a lichen. I saw it painted on the pines and oaks. Their attics were in the tops of the trees. They are of no politics. There was no noise of labor. I did not perceive that they were weaving or spinning. Yet I did detect, when the wind lulled and hearing was done away, the finest imaginable sweet musical hum,-as of a distant hive in May, which perchance was the sound of their thinking. They had no idle thoughts, and no one without could see their work, for their industry was not as in knots and excrescences embayed.

But I find it difficult to remember them. They fade irrevocably out of my mind even now while I speak and endeavor to recall them, and recollect myself. It is only after a long and serious effort to recollect my best thoughts that I have become again aware of their co-habitancy. If it were not for families such as this, I think I should move out of Concord" (284-285).

In this passage, the forest forms a sort of hall and creates a vision of ideal dwelling, a secular image of heaven on earth. Yet, there is something elegiac about the image as well. It is fleeting and fades from Thoreau's mind, only remembered in "a serious effort to recollect my best thoughts", perhaps in a similar way to which an Anglo-Saxon who truly wished to dwell on earth must acknowledge just how transient the world is, though in its transience, transcendently beautiful.

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