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**GOD'S CHOSEN:
THE CULTS OF VIRGIN MARTYRS IN
ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND**

by

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B.A., English, St. Michael's College, 2007

M.A., Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, 2009

DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
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ABSTRACT

At the center of Anglo-Saxon life was a thriving religious culture, which—in one of its most vibrant forms—was expressed in the cult of saints. The virgin martyr became one of the most popular forms of sanctity, yet with hundreds of possible martyrs who could have been venerated, the question becomes which ones ultimately thrived in Anglo-Saxon England and why? Moreover, the very need for these two questions reveals a troubling fact: when writing about female virgin martyrs, the hagiographers *never* chose a native Anglo-Saxon woman as the focus of their *passiones*. In exploring both the reasons for and the implications of the choice made by these hagiographers to forgo local female virgin martyrs in favor of foreign models, I particularly investigate the appeal of Saint Juliana of Nicomedia and St. Margaret of Antioch, as they represent not only two of the earliest models of the virgin martyr brought to England, but also two of the models that would survive to the end of the Anglo-Saxon era and continue on into the Anglo-Norman one. The purpose of this dissertation is thus two-fold: firstly, to demonstrate that viable options existed for Anglo-Saxon female martyrs and were intentionally ignored by those who had the authority to promote their cults; and, secondly, to explore the specific appeal the Mediterranean female martyrs held for Anglo-Saxons.

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Abbreviations

| | |
|--------------|--|
| <i>ASC</i> | <i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> |
| <i>BEASE</i> | <i>Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England</i> , ed. Lapidge, Blair, Keynes, and Scragg (1999) |
| BL | British Library |
| BNF | Bibliothèque Nationale de France |
| CCCC | Cambridge, Corpus Christi College |
| <i>CH</i> | <i>Ælfric's Catholic Homilies</i> |
| CSASE | Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England |
| EETS | Early English Text Society |
| <i>EHD</i> | <i>English Historical Documents, Vol. I: c. 500-1042</i> , ed. Whitelock (1968) |
| GN | Gospel of Nicodemus |
| <i>OEM</i> | Old English <i>Martyrology</i> |
| <i>SASLC</i> | <i>Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture, Vol. I: Abbo of Fleury, Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, and Acta Sanctorum</i> , ed. Biggs, Hill, Szarmach, and Whatley (2001) |

INTRODUCTION

HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND FROM THE CONVERSION (597) TO THE FIRST WAVE OF VIKING ATTACKS (793)

Towering over the Thames is one of the most iconic sights associated with the religious landscape of England: Westminster Abbey. Overlooking London with its famous flying buttresses and rose windows, and serving as the site for both coronations and royal burials,¹ the abbey has become an image with which almost all in the Western hemisphere are familiar. Yet lying forgotten in the shadows of this titan is St. Margaret's Church, only a few steps from Westminster itself. Built in the latter half of the eleventh century as an effort to separate lay parishioners from the Benedictine monks who lived and worshipped at Westminster, it was dedicated to St. Margaret of Antioch, a fourth-century martyr.² But how exactly did someone who died nearly 800 years earlier and nowhere near England come to have so prominent a church dedicated in her honor? To understand her story, and, indeed, the story of how other female virgin martyrs came to England, we must begin with a closer look at the religious atmosphere that developed in Anglo-Saxon England.

At the center of Anglo-Saxon life was a thriving religious culture marked by the expressions of devotion performed by and for its Christian followers. While these expressions permeated the various strata that comprised and defined Anglo-Saxon England—one need only look at grave goods,³ artwork,⁴ and even place-names, like

¹ John Blair, "Westminster," in *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England* (hereafter, *BEASE*), ed. Michael Lapidge, John Blair, Simon Keynes, and Donald Scragg (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 471.

² *St. Margaret's Church: A Souvenir Guide* (London: Barnard and Westwood, 2006), 4.

³ Helen Geake, *The Use of Grave-Goods in Conversion-Period England, c. 600-c.850*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series 261 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1997); Sonja Marzinzik, "Grave-Goods in 'Conversion Period' and Later Burials - a Case of Early Medieval Religious

Heavenfield,⁵ for evidence of this—religious devotion found one of its most vibrant forms in the cult of saints, a form that has left vast literary and archeological evidence. Serving as intercessors who could mediate directly between heaven and earth, saints—both native and foreign—functioned as signs of the divine that could be readily accessed on earth via their relics and their literary commemorations, particularly hagiographies.

“Hagiography”—a term derived from the Greek *hagios*, ‘holy,’ and *graphē*, ‘writing’—denotes a supposedly biographical account written about a saint that served to edify its audience through the production of easily recognized figures of sanctity, most notably the martyr, the virgin, and the holy bishop.⁶ The recorded lives of these figures followed patterns that were readily identifiable to medieval Christian audiences

Double Standards?” in *Double Standards in the Ancient and Medieval World*, ed. Karla Pollmann, Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft, Beiheft 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2000), 149-66.

⁴ Jane Hawkes, “Statements in Stone: Anglo-Saxon Sculpture, Whitby and the Christianization of the North,” in *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England: Basic Readings*, ed. Catherine E. Karkov, Basic Readings in Anglo-Saxon England 7 (New York: Garland, 1999), 403-21; David M. Wilson, “The Art and Archaeology of Bedan Northumbria,” in *Bede and Anglo-Saxon England: Papers in Honour of the 1300th Anniversary of the Birth of Bede, Given at Cornell University in 1973 and 1974*, ed. R. T. Farrell, British Archaeological Reports, British Series 46 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1978), 1-22; Carol A. Farr, “Worthy Women on the Ruthwell Cross: Woman as Sign in Early Anglo-Saxon Monasticism,” in *The Insular Tradition*, ed. Catherine Karkov, Michael Ryan, and Robert Farrell (Albany: State U of New York P, 1997), 45-61.

⁵ Tom Corfe, “The Battle of Heavenfield,” in *Before Wilfrid: Britons, Romans and Anglo-Saxons in Tynedale*, ed. Tom Corfe, *Hexham Historian* 7 (Hexham: Hexham Local History Society, 1997), 65-86; Douglas MacLean, “King Oswald’s Wooden Cross at Heavenfield in Context,” in Karkov, Ryan, and Farrell, *The Insular Tradition*, 79-97.

⁶ There has been some scholarly disagreement about whether or not the audience was meant to emulate the acts and attributes found in this genre. Leslie Donovan, for example, argues that hagiographies were meant “not so much to provide exemplars of behavior to be emulated by individual Christians, but to edify the faithful about salvation’s history and future,” and, further, that they could be used “to generate monastic propaganda to encourage economic support for advancing the causes and ideology of the Christian faith” (Leslie Donovan, *Women Saints’ Lives in Old English Prose* [Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1999], 8-9). I suggest that these contending theories about the purpose of hagiographies are not mutually exclusive; in order for the audience to be moved towards any type of action (either for their own salvation or for the Church’s causes) after hearing these stories, the saint must resonate with the audience. Her acts and attributes must be something that the audience would find inspiring, and would, therefore, strive to emulate. This is not to say, however, that the audience would ever be expected to rise to the level of the saint; rather, that by learning from the saint’s example, they could begin to improve their own behavior.

everywhere, who could (and would have been expected to) anticipate the key events in these tales. Just as the martyrs would be expected to die for their faith, so, too, would the holy bishops be expected to live for theirs. By associating the *personae* of each of the saints with one of these stereotypical forms, their moral qualities were stressed over individual characteristics, so that a lay audience could more easily understand the saintly qualities found in a hagiography without getting too caught up in the specific details that tied them down in both time and place—the saint, after all, was said to transcend both.⁷

One of the most widely venerated forms of sanctity was that of the virgin martyr, which found its roots in the vast persecutions that defined Christianity in the first through the fourth centuries throughout the Roman Empire.⁸ Even England was not free from these persecutions, a fact that many Anglo-Saxon writers were careful to retain in the writings that shaped and memorialized their cultural history. For example, Bede, who is widely considered the first English historian for his groundbreaking *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, is quick to link the ecclesiastical history of his country to that of the larger Christian community, by directly preceding his chapter on the first British martyr, Saint Alban,⁹ with a discussion on the most notorious of the persecutions

⁷ Thomas F. X. Noble and Thomas Head, ed., *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State U P, 1995), xviii.

⁸ “The cult of saints was forged in the crucible of persecution to which the Roman government subjected early Christians” (Noble and Head, *Soldiers of Christ*, xix).

⁹ There is some debate about when St. Alban was actually martyred, with possibilities including the reign of Septimius Severus (c. 209), the reigns of Decius and Valerian (c. 251-9), and the reign of Diocletian (c. 304). While this issue is still unresolved, what is important for my study is the way that Bede carefully constructs this narrative so that the earliest British martyr is linked more generally to early Christian history, and more specifically to Diocletian. See, for example, Charles Thomas, *Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1981); W. H. C. Frend, “*Ecclesia Britannica: Prelude or Dead End?*” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 30 (1979): 129-44; and John Morris, “The Date of Saint Alban,” *Hertfordshire Archaeology* 1 (1968): 1-8.

in the Christian world as a whole: those led by the emperor Diocletian in the late-third century.

Interea Diocletianus in oriente, Maximianus Herculius in occidente, vastari ecclesias, affligi interficique Christianos decimo post Neronem loco praeceperunt: quae persecutio omnibus fere ante actis diuturnior atque inmanior fuit; nam per decem annos, incendiis ecclesiarum, proscriptionibus innocentum, caedibus martyrum incessabiliter acta est. Denique etiam Britanniam tum plurima confessionis Deo devotae gloria sublimavit.¹⁰

(Meanwhile, for the tenth time after Nero, Diocletian in the East, [and] Maximian Herculius in the West ordered churches to be ravaged and Christians to be afflicted and slain; that persecution was longer and more savage than almost all carried out before it, for over the course of ten years, it was ceaselessly carried out with the conflagrations of churches, the outlawing of innocents, [and] the slaughter of martyrs. At last, then the great glory of the faithful avowal to God even elevated Britain.)

With these words, Bede gave voice to the central role that the early martyrs—particularly those who, like Saint Alban, had been killed during the Diocletian persecutions—held in early medieval England. In Bede’s narrative, it is Saint Alban’s blood that hallows the land, thus preparing it to be a Christian nation, and inextricably linking martyrdom to acts

¹⁰ Bede, *Opera Historica*, ed. and trans. J. E. King, Vol. I (London: William Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1930), Book I, Chapter 6, 34. The majority of the translations throughout this dissertation, including the one above, are my own. This is marked by the placement of footnotes, which appear directly after the original text in the cases of my own translations, and after the translated texts in the few cases where I have adhered to someone else’s translation.

of nation-building. Utilizing saints for political reasons was a trend that would continue across Europe throughout the Middle Ages, including Anglo-Saxon England.¹¹

Even though the number of martyrs significantly decreased after 313—the year that co-emperors Licinius and Constantine famously published the so-called Edict of Milan,¹² granting Christians the freedom to practice their religion—later Anglo-Saxon hagiographers would appropriate and adapt these lives of martyrs to fit the socio-political needs that marked their time and culture. With hundreds of possible martyrs to choose from, an examination of those that were ultimately imported to Anglo-Saxon England reveals a preference for female martyrs from the Mediterranean, in particular, Saint Juliana of Nicomedia and Saint Margaret of Antioch.

Saint Juliana (d. c. 304) was a young Christian virgin either from Cuma, a town in the Campanian region of southern Italy, or from Nicomedia, an ancient city in modern-day Turkey.¹³ Noted for her beauty and nobility, she becomes the object of desire for Eleusius, a pagan prefect during the time of Diocletian. After being forcibly engaged to him by her father, Affricanus, she rejects her betrothed, undergoes a series of tortures, and faces and defeats a demon, before finally being executed and joining the ranks of the martyrs. Closely following this pattern is Saint Margaret (d. c. 304) of Antioch, now in modern-day Turkey. A young Christian virgin like Juliana, Margaret is desired by Olibrius, a pagan leader working for Diocletian. Once more, this desire quickly turns to

¹¹ David Rollason, “Hagiography and Politics in Early Northumbria,” in *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints’ Lives and Their Contexts*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Albany, NY: SUNY P, 1996), 95-114; and Andrea Rossi-Reder, “Embodying Christ, Embodying Nation: Ælfric’s Accounts of Saints Agatha and Lucy,” in *Sex and Sexuality in Anglo-Saxon England: Essays In Memory of Daniel Gillmore Calder*, ed. Carol Braun Pasternack and Lisa M. C. Weston, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 277* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2004), 183-202.

¹² Noble and Head, *Soldiers of Christ*, xxi. Technically, the document is not an edict, but an imperial rescript to the provincial governors.

¹³ The disparity concerning Juliana’s birthplace will be discussed later in this chapter.

violence; yet despite the torture and the sudden arrival of a dragon (whom she slays), Margaret remains steadfast in her faith, resulting in her execution and canonization.

Scholarship on the Old English lives of these two saints has become more prevalent in the last two decades, principally in terms of the stylistic and rhetorical analyses in which scholars have analyzed the textual changes made by the Anglo-Saxon hagiographers in order to appeal to their targeted audiences. Studies of this kind have focused on a wide array of issues, including: the use of juridical language,¹⁴ the implementation of saints as figural characters,¹⁵ the inclusion of distinctly Germanic qualities,¹⁶ and the simplification of the Latin sources.¹⁷ This last point has become one of growing interest for scholars, as the changes found in the vernacular *vitae* and *passiones* from their Latin predecessors provide insight into what issues would have concerned the Anglo-Saxon hagiographers and their audiences. Yet a hagiographer's compositional choices about *how* to adapt the source are not the first made by the hagiographer; in actuality, the first choice is *whose passio* the hagiographer chose to adapt in the first place.

The questions about these choices assume the need to understand the cultural context in which these texts were produced in order to understand the text itself; in other words, they assume a New Historicist reading of the texts. The precedent for a New

¹⁴ Lenore MacGaffey Abraham, "Cynewulf's *Juliana*: A Case at Law," *Allegorica* 3.1 (1978): 172-89.

¹⁵ Earl Anderson, *Cynewulf: Style, Structure, and Theme in His Poetry* (London: Associated U P, 1983), 84-102; Joseph Wittig, "Figural Narrative in Cynewulf's *Juliana*," *Anglo-Saxon England* 4 (1975): 37-55.

¹⁶ Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr., "Changing Perspectives on a Saint's Life: *Juliana*," in *Companion to Old English Poetry*, ed. Henk Aertsen and Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr. (Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit P, 1994), 201-16; and Jill Frederick, "Warring with Words: Cynewulf's *Juliana*," in *Readings in Medieval Texts: Interpreting Old and Middle English Literature*, ed. David F. Johnson and Elaine Treharne (Oxford: Oxford U P, 2005), 60-74.

¹⁷ Hugh Magennis, "'Listen Now All and Understand': Adaptation of Hagiographical Material for Vernacular Audiences in the Old English Lives of St. Margaret," *Speculum* 71 (1996): 27-42.

Historicist approach in studying Old English texts was established by Alexandra Hennessey Olsen in her article on *Judith*. Placing her reading within the socio-political context of the Viking invasions, she argues that the poem was meant to shame men into avenging the abuses committed against Anglo-Saxon women.¹⁸ Reading another well-known Old English female saint's life within this same socio-political context, Shari Horner has argued that *Juliana* reflects the violence enacted by the Viking invaders at the end of the ninth century against Anglo-Saxon nuns, and thus provided the nuns with an extremely poignant model of female sanctity.¹⁹ Most recently, Mary Clayton's article on Ælfric's *Homily on Esther* demonstrates that the author's choice to write about Esther in the first place most probably stemmed from the socio-political context of the St. Brice's Day Massacre.²⁰

What immediately comes to light from questioning the motivation behind the initial choice of source material is the fact that, when writing about female virgin martyrs, the hagiographers *never* chose a native Anglo-Saxon woman as the focus of their *passio*.²¹ Ironically, the entire corpus of Anglo-Saxon hagiography is typically marked for its large number of native Anglo-Saxon saints. Anglo-Saxon women were in fact considered saints—just never within the category of martyrdom. Instead, the great

¹⁸ Alexandra Hennessey Olsen, "Inversion and Political Purpose in the Old English *Judith*," *English Studies* 63 (1982): 289-93, at 293.

¹⁹ Shari Horner, "Spiritual Truth and Sexual Violence: The Old English *Juliana*, Anglo-Saxon Nuns, and the Discourse of Female Monastic Enclosure," *Signs* 19.3 (Spring 1994): 658-75, at 671.

²⁰ Mary Clayton, "Ælfric's *Esther*: A *Speculum Reginae*?" in *Text and Gloss: Studies in Insular Learning and Literature Presented to Joseph Donovan Pheifer*, ed. Helen Conrad O'Briain, Anne Marie D'Arcy, and John Scattergood (Dublin and Portland, OR: Four Courts P, 1999), 89-101.

²¹ The only suggestion to the contrary was made by Wiesje Nijenhuis, who claimed that there were thirteen female martyrs from Anglo-Saxon England. Unfortunately, none of the women are mentioned by name, and I could find neither evidence of their existence, nor knowledge of them in any of my research. It appears that they were meant to be listed in an Appendix (see Nijenhuis, n. 6), yet this seems not to have made it to final publication. Wiesje Nijenhuis, "In a Class of Their Own, Anglo-Saxon Female Saints," *Mediaevistik* 14 (2001): 125-48, at 137-40.

majority of these native saints consists of maternal figures, such as the noble abbess, including Æthelthryth, who was easily the most widely venerated within this group of saints. Likewise, there are even some examples of native Anglo-Saxon martyrs with developed cults, such as the royal saints, Oswald²² and Edmund,²³ yet these Anglo-Saxon martyrs were invariably male, suggesting a major gap within the hagiographic tradition that could not (or perhaps would not) be filled by the native female ranks.

In exploring both the reasons for and the implications of the choice made by these hagiographers to forgo nationalizing the cults of local female virgin martyrs in favor of turning to foreign models for female sanctity, I will, in turn, investigate what made these models so appealing to both authors and audiences in Anglo-Saxon England. In particular, this work will be framed around the lives of the Mediterranean martyrs, Saint Juliana of Nicomedia and Saint Margaret of Antioch, as they represent not only two of the earliest models of the virgin martyr brought to England, but also two of the models that would survive to the end of the Anglo-Saxon era and continue into the Anglo-Norman one. The purpose of this dissertation is thus two-fold: firstly, to demonstrate that viable options existed for Anglo-Saxon female martyrs and were intentionally ignored by those who had the authority to promote their cults; and, secondly, to explore the specific

²² Ælfric, "St. Oswald, King and Martyr," in *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, Vol. II, ed. and trans. Walter William Skeat, Early English Text Society (hereafter, EETS), Original Series 76 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Co., 1900), 124-43; and Alan Thacker, "Saint-Making and Relic Collecting by Oswald and His Communities," in *St. Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, ed. Nicholas P. Brooks and Catherine Cubitt (Leicester and London: Leicester U P, 1996), 244-68.

²³ Abbo of Fleury, "Passio Eadmundi," in *Three Lives of English Saints*, ed. Michael Winterbottom (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, U of Toronto, 1972), 67-87; Ælfric, "Passion of Saint Edmund," in *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, Vol. II, 314-35; and Edward Christie, "Self-Mastery and Submission: Holiness and Masculinity in the Lives of Anglo-Saxon Martyr-Kings," in *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*, ed. P. H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis (Cardiff: U of Wales P, 2005), 143-57.

appeal the foreign, Mediterranean female martyrs held for Anglo-Saxons, since they were deliberately chosen to exemplify the female martyr throughout the Anglo-Saxon era.

Female Sanctity in Anglo-Saxon England

In discussing the history of female sanctity in Anglo-Saxon England, it is possible to assume that the question of the female martyr is, in fact, a non-issue in the earliest period of this era. Not only was the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons astonishingly bloodless, but it would also not be until the Viking attacks of the late-eighth century that potential Anglo-Saxon female martyrs would appear. While all this is true, we must keep in mind that the Anglo-Saxons were not the first Christians in England; Christianity had been known and practiced by their British and Roman predecessors, and they had their own native martyrs—both male and female—whose blood had hallowed the land. It is perhaps not surprising, then, that the missionaries converting the Anglo-Saxons would have made it a point to recognize and adopt many of these British saints, as their names might have already been familiar to them. One need only think of the earlier discussion on Saint Alban, or consider Augustine of Canterbury’s letter to Pope Gregory I about a certain British martyr named Sixtus.²⁴ Concerned about the lack of any miracles or *passio* linked to Sixtus, while at the same time recognizing his potential use as a tool for conversion, Augustine sought Gregory’s advice on the matter of this dubious saint. Gregory’s response was to send the relics of another, more reliable Sixtus—those of Pope

²⁴ Margaret Deanesly and Paul Grosjean, “The Canterbury Edition of the Answers of Pope Gregory I to St. Augustine,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 10 (1959): 1-49, at 28-9. While Bede does not include this section in his copy of Augustine’s letter in Book I, Chapter 27 of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, scholars have accepted that it was part of the original letter. Paul Meyvaert, “Bede’s Text of the *Libellus Responsionum* of Gregory the Great to Augustine of Canterbury,” in *England before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1971), 15-33.

Sixtus II—thus capitalizing on the Anglo-Saxons’ recognition of the name, while replacing him with a more centralized Christian figure.²⁵ Yet despite the efforts to retain what they could of the British male martyrs, the British female martyrs were largely ignored.

One such saint was Juthwara, a British virgin who was killed by her stepbrother, Bana.²⁶ However, the guilt, as later legends suggest, lay not with him, but rather with Juthwara’s stepmother, who, after hearing of Juthwara’s chest pains, deviously suggested that the saint apply two cheeses to her breasts with the intent that this would make Juthwara appear to be pregnant and lactating. Bana falls for this scheme and tries to protect his family’s honor by beheading the saint, and it is only after the deceased body of the saint carries her own head into the church that her innocence and sanctity are revealed. Bana’s exoneration is complete after he repents and founds the monastery of Gerber in Brittany,²⁷ thus allowing the story to follow the “wicked stepmother” motif common to folklores.²⁸ The legend of Juthwara must have survived in some form throughout Anglo-Saxon England, as Bishop Ælfwald II (1045-58) had her relics translated to Sherborne Abbey,²⁹ yet it was never popularized, suggesting that even in this earliest period, native female martyrs, whether British or Anglo-Saxon, were becoming footnotes to their male counterparts.

²⁵ Sarah Foot, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England, c. 600-900* (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 2006), 322.

²⁶ Juthwara’s *vita*, which was not produced in full form until the fourteenth century, has an unusually high number of folkloric qualities. While the “wicked stepmother” motif is the most obvious, another such motif is the literal quality of Bana’s name, which in Old English means “slayer.” For discussion of the folkloric nature of Juthwara’s story, see Hilary Powell, “‘Once Upon a Time There Was a Saint...’: Re-evaluating Folklore in Anglo-Latin Hagiography,” *Folklore* 121 (August 2010): 171-89.

²⁷ David Hugh Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 5th ed. (Oxford: Oxford U P, 2003), 297-8.

²⁸ Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature: A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-Books, and Local Legends*, revised and enlarged edition, Vol. V (Bloomington: Indiana U P, 1975), S31, 300.

²⁹ Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 297.

Thus, before we begin an in-depth exploration of how and why the narratives of virgin martyrs were imported to England, it is essential first to explore the earliest “acceptable” forms of sanctity that were available to native Anglo-Saxon women. With no official process existing at this time for the canonization of saints, being recognized as a new saint in Anglo-Saxon England was a matter left to the local secular and religious leaders, rather than something deferred to Rome. To this end, any native Anglo-Saxons who were recognized as saints must have met specific religious and cultural needs on a local, regional, or kingdom-wide level, since “the value of sanctity is first of all situated in the collective memory of the community.”³⁰ Yet of the numerous models of sanctity available to women in any culture, two became prominent for Anglo-Saxon women: converting queens and noble abbesses.

The converting queen’s role was straightforward; she was expected to bring her husband and king to Christianity. Most famous for this was Bertha, a Frank who became the first converting queen of the Anglo-Saxons after helping to convince her husband Æthelbert, king of Kent, to embrace Christianity. Very tellingly, these women are some of the rare few to be mentioned by name, and to gain places of prominence in Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. There can be no doubt that Bede, considered by later Anglo-Saxons to be an authority on religiosity in England, was effectively establishing the Kentish queen as the model which all Christian queens in Anglo-Saxon England should emulate.³¹

³⁰ Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, “Sexism and the Celestial Gynaecium—From 500 to 1200,” *Journal of Medieval History* 4 (1978): 117-33, at 119.

³¹ Bede, *Opera Historica*, Vol. I, Book I, Chapters 25-6, 106-15.

Adhering to a similar pattern was the queen of the kingdom in which Bede lived and wrote, Northumbria. Following in her mother Bertha's footsteps, Æthelberga pushed her husband, Edwin, king of Northumbria, to convert to Christianity after Pope Gregory I prompted her to do so in a letter. It is in this letter that the concept of the converting queen is summarized, with the pope encouraging her not to delay in urging her husband to the Christian faith:

perinde intemerato societatis foedere iura teneas maritalis consorti.

Scriptum namque est: 'Erunt duo in carne una.' Quomodo ergo unitas vobis coniunctionis inesse dici poterit, si a vestrae fidei splendore interpositis detestabilis erroris tenebris ille remanserit alienus?³²

(in the same way you preserve the shared oaths of a wife in an unstained bond of matrimony. For it is written: '*The two shall become one flesh.*'

Therefore, how can it be said that you belong to a oneness of union, if, having been introduced to the darkness of abominable error, he remains unconnected to the splendor of your faith?)

The onus of the king's salvation (and, by extension, the salvation of all those who follow him) therefore falls upon the queen, as she cannot become an earthly wife until she first assumes the role of a spiritual mother.

The nurturing and maternal element found in the converting queens is likewise essential to the second category of sanctity available to Anglo-Saxon women: the noble abbess. With this serving as one of the major forms of sanctity, Anglo-Saxons fell in line with their contemporaries in France, Germany, and Italy. In her comprehensive study of

³² Bede, *Opera Historica*, Vol. I, Book II, Chapter 11, 266-7.

these regions, Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg pointed out that in the seventh century, “approximately 15% of a total of over 566 saints were women. Nearly half of this percentage was composed of abbesses.”³³ The motherly role of the abbess is especially evident in the double monasteries that housed both monks and nuns. These religious houses were particular to the early period of Anglo-Saxon England,³⁴ and were led not, as many might expect, by an abbot, but rather by an abbess—the most famous example being abbess Hilda of Whitby in the mid- to late-seventh century. Despite Hilda’s monastery serving as the location of the Synod of Whitby in 669, many scholars note that she is more remembered for her maternal role than her political one.³⁵ Concerning Bede’s portrayal of her in his *Ecclesiastical History*, Karin Olsen notes that “Hild remains a marginal figure as educational administrator who forces the male clergy to study the Scriptures without any involvement in the teaching.”³⁶ The maternal role these women were expected to adopt also played out in the actual infrastructure of some double monasteries (such as the one in Barking), since the child oblates often lived with the nuns, regardless of the child’s sex.³⁷

Even with the disappearance of many of these double monasteries after the Viking invasions, the model of the noble abbess (though waning) still existed through the end of

³³ Schulenburg, “Sexism and the Celestial Gynaecium,” 122.

³⁴ After many of these houses had been destroyed in the first wave of Viking invasions, most were re-founded as monasteries only housing monks.

³⁵ Often, this is attributed to her maternal guidance of the poet Cædmon. For a discussion of this, see Clare A. Lees and Gillian R. Overing, *Double Agents: Women and Clerical Culture in Anglo-Saxon England* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2001), 22-30.

³⁶ Karin Olsen, “Cynewulf’s *Elene*: From Empress to Saint,” in *Germanic Texts and Latin Models: Medieval Reconstructions*, ed. Karin Olsen, A. Harbus, and T. Hofstra, *Germania Latina* 4, *Mediaevalia Groningana* 2 (Leuven and Paris: Peeters, 2001), 141-56, at 147.

³⁷ Foot, *Monastic Life*, 108.

the Anglo-Saxon era,³⁸ setting it apart from the converting queen—a model only appropriate for the nascent stages of Christianity in England. This specific combination of nobility and holiness was not an Anglo-Saxon innovation, however; it was a model developed and popularized by the Franks. In particular, it was during the sixth and seventh centuries that native Frankish saints were increasingly drawn from the aristocracy, blending the ideals of nobility with the qualities of asceticism and charisma, resulting in the new ideal of sanctity: “noble holiness.”³⁹ In particular, it was the life of Saint Martin of Tours, the patron saint for the Franks after their conversion in 496, that would become the quintessential example of this tradition. As both a monk and a bishop, Saint Martin could be depicted as a gaunt ascetic or a guardian-bishop, portrayed thus respectively by Sulpicius Severus⁴⁰ (c. 363-425) and Gregory of Tours⁴¹ (c. 538-94). Taking their cue from these Frankish saints,⁴² depictions of Anglo-Saxon saints exhibit a similar quality of “noble holiness,” so that in Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History*, the “heroes are ... men and women who share much in common with the aristocratic protagonists of such Old English epic poems as *Beowulf* and the *Battle of Maldon*.”⁴³

The Frankish concept of noble holiness was not, however, adopted wholesale by Anglo-Saxon hagiographers. While nobility was almost always a pre-requisite, few saints were both gaunt ascetics and charismatic guardian-bishops, leading to a separation

³⁸ An example of a later Anglo-Saxon noble abbess is the tenth-century St. Wulfthryth of Wilton. The issue of female sanctity in later Anglo-Saxon England will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

³⁹ Noble and Head, *Soldiers of Christ*, xxxi.

⁴⁰ Sulpicius Severus, *Vie de Saint Martin*, ed. Jacques Fontaine, Sources Chrétiennes 133-5 (Paris: Éditions Du Cerf, 1967).

⁴¹ Gregory of Tours, *Opera omnia cum suis continuatoribus et aliis antiquis monumentis*, ed. J.-P. Migne, Patrologia Latina 71 (Paris: Migne, 1849), 911-1008.

⁴² For example, the preface of Felix’s early-eighth-century *Vita Sancti Guthlaci* is taken almost verbatim from Sulpicius Severus’s *Life of Saint Martin*. Charles W. Jones, *Saints’ Lives and Chronicles in Early England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell U P, 1947), 55.

⁴³ Noble and Head, *Soldiers of Christ*, xxxiii-iv.

between the noble monk/abbess, and the holy, charismatic noble.⁴⁴ Though the former category was retained for both men and women in Anglo-Saxon England, the latter category became far more complicated. As the surviving literary and archeological evidence attests, the category of the guardian-bishop would be modified in the wake of the Viking invasions to the charismatic, martyred guardian-kings, such as Edmund and Oswald. Even though no equivalent category of the militant guardian-bishop was developed for native Anglo-Saxon women, the qualities of being noble, militant, and charismatic were nonetheless desirable, and the impulse to find saints who embodied such characteristics helps to explain the successful importation of saints who could fill this category, such as Juliana and Margaret. What it does not explain, however, is why hagiographers overlooked native Anglo-Saxon women who, like Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians, embodied the same qualities.

Bringing the Saints to England

Before examining the specific female martyrs who would become popular in Anglo-Saxon England, it is important to understand what having a “cult” for a foreign saint would mean in the early part of the Anglo-Saxon era, as its meaning and practice would develop over time. For this early period, it is unlikely that churches would possess the relics of foreign saints, especially given England’s remote location and the difficulties of travel at the time. The most famous example of this is the cult of the Virgin Mary;⁴⁵ one that undeniably existed in early Anglo-Saxon England, yet one that likewise

⁴⁴ There are exceptions to this, however, such as Saint Cuthbert and Saint Wilfrid.

⁴⁵ For an in-depth analysis of her cult in England, see Mary Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England (hereafter, CSASE) 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1990).

functioned without the presence of relics, as it appears that they did not arrive in England until the tenth century.⁴⁶

Similarly, we might consider the 84 church dedications Rollason identifies in seventh- and eighth-century England (the largest portion of which—33 altogether—were dedicated to the foreign figures Peter and Paul); while it is possible these dedications reveal relics owned,⁴⁷ it is extremely unlikely that 33 relics of such major figures of Christianity had been acquired by Anglo-Saxon churches at this time. Nonetheless, there is evidence that some foreign relics reached England in this early period, as Bede records that in 601 Pope Gregory I sent Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus, and Rufinius to England with “apostolorum ac martyrum reliquias”⁴⁸ (relics of the Apostles and martyrs), and further, that in 655 King Oswy of Bernicia was sent relics of the apostles Peter and Paul, and of the martyrs Laurence, John, Paul, Gregory, and Pancras.⁴⁹ Likewise, Benedict Biscop, the abbot of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, was noted for bringing back relics with him from some of his journeys to Rome, yet it is unknown which specific relics he carried with him, indicating that while relics *could* be part of a saint’s cult (as it was with the apostles), their presence did not necessitate the establishment of a cult (Gregory the martyr, for example, would be all but forgotten by the Anglo-Saxons). Just as the presence of relics was not necessary for these early cults in Anglo-Saxon England, so, too, were full *vitae* or *passiones* unnecessary requirements for the establishment of early cults. Before the mid-ninth century, for example, it was rare for cults to have even a

⁴⁶ Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary*, 138-9.

⁴⁷ It is far more likely that the ritual for consecrating altars instead followed the Gallican practice of “the aspersion of the altar with consecrated water and its anointing with holy oil” (David Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England* [Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989], 25).

⁴⁸ Bede, *Opera Historica*, Vol. I, Book I, Chapter 29, 156.

⁴⁹ Bede, *Opera Historica*, Vol. I, Book III, Chapter 29, 498-501.

single full *vita* for a saint, “let alone with two prose *lives* and one metrical *life* such as Cuthbert’s cult could boast.”⁵⁰ Cuthbert thus represents the exception, not the rule. What all this reveals is that the requirements for a saint’s cult in England at this time were far more fluid than they would be a few centuries later, suggesting that we must instead look to other sources—particularly the martyrologies—for evidence of growing veneration of specific saints.

St. Juliana of Nicomedia

In the long line of foreign saints’ cults that were imported to Anglo-Saxon England, few would be introduced earlier than that of Juliana of Nicomedia. Indeed, it is possible that written knowledge of her came with the inception of Christianity. There is speculation that when Saint Augustine was sent by Pope Gregory I to convert the Anglo-Saxons in 597, he brought with him the first mention of Juliana in a copy of the late-fifth-century *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* by pseudo-Jerome,⁵¹ since calendars were frequently brought by missionaries to foreign soil. This particular martyrology was the earliest version to expand beyond local interests and compile notices for martyrs throughout Christendom, and it therefore served as the standard throughout early medieval Europe until Bede’s martyrology replaced it over two centuries later.

Specifically, it would be the Echternach recension⁵² of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*—the one that would become most popular in England—that would

⁵⁰ Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, 110.

⁵¹ Dom John Chapman, “À propos des Martyrologes,” *Revue Bénédictine* 20 (1903): 285-313, at 293; and Michael Lapidge, “Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*,” in *Unlocking the Wordhord: Anglo-Saxon Studies in Memory of Edward B. Irving, Jr.*, ed. Mark C. Amodio and Katherine O’Brien O’Keeffe (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2003), 147-71, at 148-9.

⁵² It should be noted that the Bern and Wolfenbüttel recensions of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* list a Saint Julian of Nicomedia under the entry for February 13. It is possible that Juliana’s entire existence developed as a misreading of this male saint. Lapidge, “Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*,” 149.

provide what is now the accepted feast day for Juliana, February 16, and it is likely that this is the version Saint Augustine would have had in his possession had he indeed carried this work with him in 597.⁵³ Likewise, it is in the Echternach recension that Cuma is cited as Juliana's birthplace (as opposed to the hagiographies, which cite Nicomedia as her birthplace and Cuma as the place to which her relics were eventually translated). Furthermore, the same saint and feast day would be recognized in the personal calendar⁵⁴ of the early Northumbrian saint, Willibrord (c. 658-739),⁵⁵ the Anglo-Saxon missionary who spearheaded the conversion of the Frisians⁵⁶ and became the first bishop of Utrecht.⁵⁷ Feast days for saints could, in fact, vary depending upon which tradition and recension was being followed—an issue that would be addressed by the Anglo-Saxon church soon after Bede finished his martyrology. The Council of Clofesho held in 747 declared that all priests would thereafter be obligated strictly to observe the feast days as listed in the Roman martyrology.⁵⁸

Just over a century after her initial appearance in England, a new martyrology was written, marking Juliana's first appearance in a work of definitively English origins:

⁵³ While it seems likely that the first written knowledge of Juliana came to England with Saint Augustine, it is also possible that this knowledge came with Abbot Hadrian and Archbishop Theodore, who, in their journey to England in 668-9, traveled through the Burgundian region of France, where the Echternach recension had taken hold by the sixth century. Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, 71.

⁵⁴ Rollason explains that there is good reason to believe this was his personal possession as the marginalia on the leaf for November is in his own hand. Nonetheless, since Willibrord was converting the Frisians at this time, "it is not certain how far it reflects English as opposed to Frankish practices" (Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, 62).

⁵⁵ Lapidge, "Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*," 149.

⁵⁶ Campanian saints in general, not just Juliana, make regular appearances in martyrologies of Anglo-Saxon origins during this early period. This interest appears to have been carried with Anglo-Saxon missionaries to the Continent, as they also appear in "a calendar written by a Northumbrian scribe in the third quarter of the eighth century and preserved at Regensburg in southern Germany, a place associated with the English missionaries" (Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, 67).

⁵⁷ Peter Hunter Blair, *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd ed., with an introduction by Simon Keynes (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 2003), 164.

⁵⁸ Foot, *Monastic Life*, 197.

Bede's *Martyrology*, composed between 725 and 731. Expanding upon the generic conventions of the martyrology, Bede's work was the first of the "historical martyrologies," as he went beyond the practice of simply writing a notice for each feast day, and instead added a brief account of each saint's death, a task that required extensive research and synthesis of the various traditions for each of the 114 martyrs he decided to include.⁵⁹

Nevertheless, the entry for Juliana is still succinct,⁶⁰ he outlines the series of events that led up to her execution, yet missing are the details that would eventually bring Cynewulf's well-known vernacular poem, *Juliana*, to life almost a century and a half later. Yet even with the little that is mentioned there are significant details about her story that appear to be singular oddities, and that would soon disappear from Anglo-Saxon versions of her tale. Most important, perhaps, is Bede's rather unclear claim that while Juliana was a virgin, she was also persecuted "praefecto Eolesio, quem sponsum habuerat."⁶¹ The ambiguous nature of this statement comes down to the specific use of two words: "sponsum" and "habuerat." "Habuerat," from the infinitive "habere," at its most simple means "to have," yet it also encompasses dozens of variations in its possible definitions. Further, "sponsum," which is either the accusative form of the noun

⁵⁹ George Hardin Brown, *A Companion to Bede* (Woodbridge: Boydell P, 2009), 86.

⁶⁰ Bede's entry for February 16 is as follows: "And in Cumae, the commemorative festival of St. Juliana, virgin: who, in the time of emperor Maximianus, having first been beaten and seriously afflicted by her father Africanus, and having been beaten, naked, with rods and hung up by her hair, and drenched from her head down with molten lead by the prefect Eolesius, whom she had taken as her husband, and having been taken back again into prison where she openly contested with the devil; and having been called back out again, she vanquished the torments of torture wheels, the flames of fires, a boiling-hot pot and accomplished martyrdom by the cutting off of her head. Indeed, she suffered in Nicomedia; but after a short time, through God's disposition, she was transferred into Campania" (Bede, *Martyrology*, trans. Felice Lifshitz, in *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head [New York and London: Garland P, 2000], 181-2).

⁶¹ Lapidge, "Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*," 150.

“sponsus,” or the perfect past participle of “spondere,” can mean (in the case of the noun) either “a bridegroom” or “a betrothed man,” or (in the case of the participle used substantively) “as one having been bound” or “as one having been promised in marriage,” leaving the reader questioning whether Juliana simply agreed to an engagement or was already part of a chaste marriage—both options, however, deviate from what would become the norm for Anglo-Saxon texts: Juliana’s steadfast refusal of all of Eleusius’s advances.

Given his strong command of Latin, it would appear that this ambiguity was intentional on Bede’s part, since this passage in the Latin hagiographical tradition quite clearly states that while “Eleusius vero sponsus ejus nuptiarum complere festinebat festivitatem”⁶² (Truly, Eleusius, the betrothed [man], hastened to complete the feast of his/her nuptials),⁶³ his desire is immediately and emphatically followed by the word “autem” (however), marking the beginning of the passage containing Juliana’s refusal of his proposal—an element missing from Bede’s version. Felice Lifshitz perhaps controversially translates this passage from Bede as definitively meaning: “by the prefect Eolesius, whom she had taken as her husband.”⁶⁴ Instead, I suggest that Bede’s word choice was deliberate. While a superficial reading would see Eleusius adhering to the more traditional reading as Juliana’s “betrothed,” it simultaneously tells the careful reader that he may instead have been her “husband.” Yet in all other Anglo-Saxon versions any

⁶² “Acta auctore anonymo,” *Acta Sanctorum: Februarii*, ed. Iohannes Bollandus and Godefridus Henschenius, Vol. II (Brussels: Bollandist Society, 1658), 875-9, at 875. The first Latin life of Juliana of English origins (c. 800) has a passage almost identical to this; the only differences are that “compleere” becomes “conpleri” and “festinebat” becomes “cupiebat” (Lapidge, “Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*,” 157).

⁶³ While at first it seems possible to translate “sponsus” as “husband” here, the sentence immediately following this one clearly states that the two have not been married.

⁶⁴ Bede, *Martyrology*, 181.

hints that she may have been wed to the prefect have been removed, leaving readers to question why this subtle difference exists.

To find the answer, we must refer back to the trends established for acceptable female saints in early Anglo-Saxon England. A significant number of the noble abbesses, including Æthelthryth, who was easily the most widely venerated of this group of saints, were either still wed, or had been at one point, as they retired to nunneries. Aldhelm (c. 639-709), who was Abbot of Malmesbury and Bishop of Sherborne, attests to this fact in his prose and poetic *De Virginitate*, written for the nuns at the double monastery of Barking, when he shifts the commonly accepted spiritual hierarchy from “virgin, widow, wife” to “virgin, chaste woman, wife.”⁶⁵ Aldhelm perhaps felt a strong need to reorganize this structure, since it had become more and more common for these previously married women to bring their daughters with them to the nunneries, effectively making it a family affair. Bede, for example, relates how in the late-seventh century, Abbess Eanflæd, who had ties to the royal families of both Kent and Northumbria, oversaw the double monastery of Whitby jointly with her daughter Ælfflæd. While situations such as these could certainly help noble families to cement their political power in both the secular and the religious spheres, it was nonetheless a double-edged sword, as their daughters also served as constant reminders of their previously sexually active status. With “chastity” replacing “widowhood,” however, a holy and officially sanctioned space was created for the growing number of women leaving their still-living husbands to become nuns.

⁶⁵ Aldhelm, *De Virginitate*, in *Aldhelm: The Prose Works*, ed. and trans. Michael Lapidge and Michael Herren (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1979; rpt. 2009), Chapter 19, 75.

Further, this new divisioning of women is reflected in the law codes, which primarily separate women into three categories: wives, widows, and nuns.⁶⁶ Operating with this schematic, most Anglo-Saxon law codes stipulated that “[w]idows and women under religious vows (nuns, anchoresses, canonesses, and so forth) receive the greatest protection afforded to women under the laws.”⁶⁷ Indeed, all veiled women—regardless of any previous marriages—were significantly categorized as virgins in the canons generated by the legatine council of 786,⁶⁸ providing them with a more protected position under ecclesiastical law. It is therefore possible that Bede changed the passage about Juliana as an implicit nod to these women who were choosing to forsake the earthly world and all it included, including their husbands.⁶⁹

While this theory may explain Bede’s unusual choice in identifying Juliana as Eleusius’s wife, the question still remains as to why Bede focused on Juliana specifically when other similar saints also existed. While these *martyrologia* and calendars mention many saints, Bede’s particular focus on Juliana may be attributed to her connections with Naples.⁷⁰ Following Juliana’s martyrdom in Nicomedia (d. c. 304), her relics came to rest in Cuma on the Bay of Naples, after a “devout woman who had the intention of having

⁶⁶ Mary P. Richards and B. Jane Stanfield, “Concepts of Anglo-Saxon Women in Laws,” in *New Readings on Women in Old English Literature*, ed. Helen Damico and Alexandra Hennessey Olsen (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana U P, 1990), 89-99, at 93.

⁶⁷ Richards and Stanfield, “Concepts of Anglo-Saxon Women,” 95.

⁶⁸ Foot, *Monastic Life*, 155.

⁶⁹ Indeed, later hagiographers perhaps saw such changes as unnecessary in light of the astounding popularity of St. Æthelthryth, who had been married twice before becoming a nun.

⁷⁰ As Catherine Cubitt has shown, another of Bede’s works—his homiliary—was based on a Neapolitan pericope list, rather than a Roman one, and further that this same list appears to have been copied by a Wearmouth-Jarrow scribe in the Burghard Gospels (c. 700). We can gather from this that the liturgy at Wearmouth and Jarrow also followed the Neapolitan pericopes, making Bede’s interest in her a result of his specific training. Catherine Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils, c. 650-c. 850* (London and New York: Leicester U P, 1995), 136-7.

them housed in Rome ... was interrupted by a storm.”⁷¹ While the date of this journey is not known, it is apparent from three letters dated to July 599—all of which reference a church and a monastery dedicated to Saint Juliana in the Naples area—that her cult had developed a stronghold in that region by the sixth century.⁷² This is particularly attested to by the desire of Januarina, a certain “*religiosa femina*,” who, after building a church dedicated to Saints Severinus and Juliana, wished for a shrine, *sanctuarium*, implying the need for relics from each saint—a desire Gregory I would appear to have enthusiastically supported.⁷³

The Neapolitan connection is also significant for her larger developing Anglo-Saxon cult, as Hadrian (d. 709), abbot of Saint Augustine’s Abbey in Canterbury, “had previously been abbot of a monastery on the island of Nisida in the Bay of Naples, only a few miles from Cuma,”⁷⁴ and quite possibly brought this local interest in the saint with him to England. Had Canterbury become a center for growing interest in Juliana, it would convincingly explain why the earliest surviving Latin *passio* about Juliana of Anglo-Saxon origins was copied at Christ Church, Canterbury.⁷⁵

St. Margaret of Antioch

The first recorded evidence of an Anglo-Saxon interest in Margaret of Antioch can be found in the Old English *Martyrology* (hereafter, *OEM*), a text that survives in six

⁷¹ Lapidge, “Cynwulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*,” 148.

⁷² These letters include one from Gregory the Great to Fortunatus, bishop of Naples, and two to the bishops of Syracuse and Palermo, respectively (Lapidge, “Cynwulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*,” 148).

⁷³ Gregory the Great, *Gregorii Papae I, cognomento magni, opera omnia*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 77 (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1849), letters LXXXIV-V.

⁷⁴ Lapidge, “Cynwulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*,” 149.

⁷⁵ This *passio*, which survives in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (hereafter, BNF), lat. 10861, was copied c. 800, and therefore will be explored in more detail in Chapters One and Two. “Juliana,” in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture*, Vol. I: *Abbo of Fleury, Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, and Acta Sanctorum* (hereafter, *SASLC*), ed. Frederick M. Biggs, Thomas D. Hill, Paul E. Szarmach, and E. Gordon Whatley (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001), 277.

medieval manuscripts, the earliest of which dates to c. 871 x 899.⁷⁶ While the extant literary evidence therefore places her arrival in England roughly two centuries after Juliana's initial appearance, there is cause to speculate on whether knowledge of Margaret arrived in England before this. Just as it is possible that Hadrian carried his local interest in Juliana with him to England, so, too, is it possible that his peer, Archbishop Theodore, who was educated in Antioch⁷⁷ and Edessa,⁷⁸ brought his own local interests with him. These interests are reflected in his preferences for the Antiochene style of exegesis, which tends towards literal interpretations, found in his Canterbury biblical commentaries.⁷⁹

With this in mind, it is plausible that Theodore's specific ties to Antiochene interests would have spilled over into an interest in Antiochene saints, namely, Margaret. Indeed, "the pervasive nature of Antiochene method in the Canterbury biblical commentaries suggests that the Commentator (in this case Theodore) was expressing a personal debt to the tradition and the city in which he was trained,"⁸⁰ a debt that would include the city's most famous saints. Canterbury, then, served as the probable center for

⁷⁶ This copy of the *OEM* can be found in London, British Library (hereafter, BL), Additional MS 23211. Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 241 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001), 58; and Mary Clayton and Hugh Magennis, ed. and trans., *The Old English Lives of St. Margaret*, CSASE 9 (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1994), 41.

⁷⁷ Bischoff and Lapidge support the Antioch connection by pointing out the many direct references to John Chrysostom in the Canterbury commentaries and the large number of cults for Antiochene saints in seventh-century England. Bernard Bischoff and Michael Lapidge, ed., *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian*, CSASE 10 (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1994), 25-6.

⁷⁸ Theodore's connection to Edessa, which is located in eastern Syria, is supported by his knowledge of Ephrem the Syrian, and his knowledge (however incomplete) of the Syriac language. Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, 35-6.

⁷⁹ Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, 25.

⁸⁰ Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, 26.

the transmission of veneration for both Juliana and Margaret, with Hadrian's experience promoting the former and Theodore's the latter.

Understanding the Virgin Martyr: Tradition and Theory

In bringing Juliana and Margaret to England, Anglo-Saxon hagiographers were connecting their growing religious and literary identity to a much larger one, as virgin martyrs had consistently been some of the most recognizable and most venerated of the saints throughout the Christian world. In particular, the virgin martyr combined two of the three major types of saints,⁸¹ and was thus identifiable in hagiographical traditions by her "special status as a bride of Christ ... fidelity to her bridegroom ... [and] the resolution with which she maintains that fidelity."⁸² Yet unlike her counterpart found in the male martyr,⁸³ being a female martyr almost always demands virginity as well, and she is thus characterized by the need to defend her body from sexual advances and sexual violence, creating a very definite gender divide between the victimized female and the persecuting male. This combined need to act simultaneously as both a virginal *sponsa Christi* (the bride of Christ) and a martyred *miles Christi* (the soldier of Christ) creates a unique set of circumstances in which the saint must operate: the virgin is forced to protect her status as the former by becoming the latter.

In this dynamic, it becomes necessary for the saint effectively to seal her body in order to prevent sexual penetration. Despite the success of this process—indeed, the saint is never raped regardless of how many threats are made to take her against her will—her

⁸¹ As mentioned earlier, these three types are the virgin, martyr, and bishop.

⁸² Donovan, *Women Saints' Lives*, 13.

⁸³ In particular, I am referring to their male counterparts within Anglo-Saxon hagiographies, though this statement also holds true for the majority of male martyrs in the larger hagiographical tradition. Nonetheless, there are examples of male saints who must defend their virginity, such as St. Jerome and St. Chrysanthus.

body is, nevertheless, not impenetrable. Judith Butler, in addressing sexuality, sex, and the body, argues that “[t]he construction of stable bodily contours relies upon fixed sites of corporeal permeability and impermeability,” and further that it is the possibility of shifting what is permeable and what is not that “effectively reinscribe[s] the boundaries of the body along new cultural lines.”⁸⁴ Thus, by shifting away from secular concepts of sex, the bodies of virgin martyrs have new boundaries that have been reinscribed according to religious lines; what would normally be considered pleasure becomes torment, while torment becomes pleasure. In other words, love understood within the framework of *eros* (that is, romantic love) should instead be understood within the framework of *agape* (that is, love of God).⁸⁵ Within this spiritual context the saint’s body is protected from sexual violation, but not from physical torture; the transition to *agape* may provide victory in death, but it is also what makes the saint’s body penetrable. This is essential, however, for had the saint’s body adopted what Butler calls “an impossible impermeability,”⁸⁶ her bodily contours would have become unstable and thus unrecognizable. While the saint is in many ways superhuman, she is never meant to be completely removed from human experience. Indeed, such a removal would no doubt

⁸⁴ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), 180.

⁸⁵ While I agree with much of what Virginia Burrus has to say about the “*jouissance*” found in this type of torture, I disagree with her conclusion that the resistance of the saints “does not take an anti-erotic turn, proffering the sterile safety of a desexualized ‘agape’” (Virginia Burrus, *The Sex Lives of the Saints: An Erotics of Ancient Hagiography* [Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2004], 14). The problem, I think, lies with the assumption that *agape* necessitates sterility and a lack of *jouissance*. Indeed, while Burrus agrees with Bataille’s conclusion that “‘all eroticism has a sacramental character,’” I would continue this statement by pointing out that the reverse is not true (Burrus, *Sex Lives of the Saints*, 16). While there are exceptions to this (the later medieval mystics serving as the most obvious example), typically, the divide between *eros* and *agape* is rather the point, and is what separates the persecutors from the virgin martyrs.

⁸⁶ Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 182.

elicit anxiety in the audience, as the saint would have been too far removed from their own experiences to be relatable.

Corporeal torture is thus not only permitted, it becomes a celebrated sign of her faith and salvation, as her willingness to undergo such treatment signals to the audience that the saint is now assuming the role of the *miles Christi*. This celebration of pain is perhaps most apparent in the artwork depicting the virgin martyr. The icons associated with them frequently depict scenes of violence, either that done to them—as in the cases of the British saint Juthwara, who is shown carrying her own severed head,⁸⁷ and Lucy, who is shown holding her torn-out eyes—or the violence done by them—as in the cases of both Juliana and Margaret, who are shown trampling a dragon.⁸⁸ While all these details become part of the standard formula for the tale of the virgin martyr, it is worth taking a step back and analyzing how and why the saint's body comes to be both impenetrable and penetrable.

The impenetrable aspect of the saint's body, I argue, is an effect of her ritualized and repeated declarations of faith as a *sponsa Christi*. By classifying herself as such, the saint's aggregated behaviors can be seen to construct an identity that is not only spiritual (that is, her identity as a Christian), but one that is also feminine, as she specifically identifies herself as the virgin bride of Christ. Yet repeatedly in these texts, the saint's pagan counterparts (both male and female) recognize and interpret the saint's gender in a particularly feminine and secular light, and because of their focus on the physical, they mistakenly assume that her body should be read for its potential to receive a husband and

⁸⁷ See, for example, p. 489 of London, British Library, Additional MS 74236. Greg Buzwell, *Saints in Medieval Manuscripts* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2005), 18.

⁸⁸ See, for example, fol. 165v of London, BL, Harley MS 2974. Buzwell, *Saints*, 7.

to conceive a child.⁸⁹ This cultural misinterpretation of her anatomy is never hidden from view; the audience is always aware that the pagans in the text are spiritually blind, and that the saint's body should not (and cannot) operate in the secular framework. The sealing of her body from lustful advances, then, stems from what would be considered the "correct" Christian interpretation of her anatomy; as the virgin bride of Christ, her body must be preserved for her true spouse, thereby making her body impenetrable to sexual advances.⁹⁰ Indeed, the type of miracles found in these narratives serve both to defend her virginity and to confirm her identity as one of God's chosen. This dual function becomes clear in such examples as the sudden growth of St. Agnes's hair in order to cover her naked form, and Saint Lucy's remarkable and unmovable weight when she is to be shipped off to a brothel.

While the above explains the *how* of her bodily preservation, it does not fully explain the *why*. Most obvious is the fact that as a saint, her body, and, ultimately, her relics are meant to be revered rather than debased. The centrality of this belief in Anglo-Saxon England is best exemplified in the account of the body of Saint Werburga, who was the abbess of Ely in the late-seventh century. Her body, which had been translated to Hanbury in Staffordshire,⁹¹ is said to have remained incorrupt until it "dissolved away by its own volition when the Vikings came, in order that it not fall into the hands of the heathen invaders."⁹² Although Werburga's life pre-dates the Viking invasions, her corpse

⁸⁹ Horner, "Spiritual Truth and Sexual Violence," 662-70; and Shari Horner, "The Violence of Exegesis: Reading the Bodies of Ælfric's Female Saints," in *Violence against Women in Medieval Texts*, ed. Anna Roberts (Gainesville, FL: U P of Florida, 1998), 22-43.

⁹⁰ This does not mean, however, that her body suddenly becomes penetrable for Christ (an idea popularized by the much later mystics); rather, the marriage is one of spirit, as the soul has finally transcended the body.

⁹¹ This should not be confused with the other Hanbury located in Worcestershire.

⁹² Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex: Female Sanctity ca. 500-1100* (Chicago and London: U of Chicago P, 1998), 144.

reacts as an Anglo-Saxon audience would have expected a living nun to—taking any lengths necessary to prevent the violation of her spiritual identity.⁹³

Thus, beyond the theological purpose for the corporeal preservation of saints is a didactic purpose: the edification of the audience. Just as it is necessary for the saint's spiritual and physical purity to be recognized within a text, it is also necessary for such recognition to move outside the text, and be accepted by the audience. The audience's active affirmation of the saint's "true" identity is essential, as hagiographies are, first and foremost, didactic texts. As the saint constructs her own identity through affirmations of her faith, she demonstrates to the audience the importance of repeated and ritualized declarations of faith for salvation. This message gains even more weight when placed within the larger hagiographical context. Ironically, the didactic purpose of the hagiographical genre as a whole was grounded in the use of stereotypical figures of sanctity, yet such generalized forms of sanctity do not necessitate essentialized forms of sanctity. Indeed, even "the Church did not and could not confer upon virginity an unambiguous or uncontested value,"⁹⁴ suggesting that even the saints must actively perform their sanctity in order to become "good" Christians. One could not simply be born a virgin and be done with it; tribulations had to be faced and overcome—a clear message to any nuns who heard or read about these virgin martyrs. It is thus through both

⁹³ The disintegration of her body seems to have been forgotten by 907, however, since Æthelflæd, the Lady of the Mercians, is said to have had Werburga's body translated to Chester in this year. Alan T. Thacker, "Chester and Gloucester: Early Ecclesiastical Organization in Two Mercian Burhs," *Northern History* 18 (1982): 199-211, at 203-4.

⁹⁴ Kathleen Coyne Kelly and Marina Leslie, "Introduction: The Epistemology of Virginity," in *Menacing Virgins: Representing Virginity in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Kathleen Coyne Kelly and Marina Leslie (Newark, DE: U of Delaware P, 1999), 15-25, at 17.

the cultural interpretation of what it means to be feminine and the active defense of that femininity that sex, gender, and sanctity are simultaneously constructed.

Despite the triumph to be found in martyrdom, these scenes depicting horrific torture are extremely unnerving for the audience. The saint's body is graphically displayed, placing her at the mercy of the gaze of the pagans and the external audience. Because of this dynamic, previous scholarship has questioned how erotic or pornographic these scenes truly are.⁹⁵ I argue that in no way are these scenes expressions of scopophilia, as some have argued,⁹⁶ since it would require sexual pleasure to be derived from looking at erotic objects; in terms of the audience's anticipated reactions, the language in these passages never sets up an erotic dynamic. For example, even when Agnes is to be taken naked to the brothel, Ælfric states that "þæs mædenes fex befeng hi eall abutan / sona swa þa cwelleras hire claðas of abrudon"⁹⁷ (the maiden's hair encompassed her completely around at once when the tormentors had ripped off her clothes). At the moments when both the saint and the audience would be most vulnerable to salacious thoughts, the gaze is inevitably and preventively redirected to more modest concerns,⁹⁸ namely, that "godes miht mycclum wearð geswutelod"⁹⁹ (the power of God was greatly manifested).

⁹⁵ For example, see Horner, "Spiritual Truth and Sexual Violence," 666; Kathryn Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens: Writing Rape in Medieval French Literature and Law* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1991), 24; Bill Burgwinkle and Cary Howie, *Sanctity and Pornography in Medieval Culture: On the Verge* (Manchester, U.K. and New York: Manchester U P, 2010); and Renée Trilling, "Heavenly Bodies: Paradoxes of Female Martyrdom in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*," in *Writing Women Saints in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2013), 249-73, esp. 264.

⁹⁶ Trilling, "Heavenly Bodies," 249.

⁹⁷ Ælfric of Eynsham, "Saint Agnes, Virgin," in *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, Vol. I, 178, lines 145-6.

⁹⁸ Clare Lees makes a similar point in her analysis of Old English heroic and Christian texts: "the act of looking at the material body is rigorously controlled precisely because it acts as a site for cultural knowledge. The pleasures of the gaze are thus harnessed to the processes of cultural insight" (Clare A.

The details of the text only provide half the story, however. The audience's gaze and reaction to that gaze must also be addressed. It is impossible to talk about the gaze without engaging with Laura Mulvey's seminal article on this topic, in which she outlines the components of the gaze (as first established by Lacan and Foucault), and stresses the importance of the text being coded as male, thus resulting in the male audience identifying with the central male figure, and the female audience resisting the text itself.¹⁰⁰ This framework, however, does not readily transfer to the *passiones* about virgin martyrs since the main male subject—the pagan persecutor—is heralded as a bad example for the audience, and thus, as someone with whom they should not identify.

The character who is meant to be identifiable in these narratives is invariably the female saint, suggesting that the texts are instead coded female. Kathleen Coyne Kelly and Marina Leslie take up this point by arguing that “depictions of virginity in the Middle Ages and Renaissance are gendered—or coded—as female, even when male virginity is ostensibly the subject.”¹⁰¹ By shifting to the paradigm of a female-coded text, the apparent problem of identifying with the central male figure in hagiographies can be resolved. As with Mulvey's discussion of the gaze, the audience's role is still the main issue at stake, since those doing the gazing must somehow correctly navigate the treacherous waters of a religious text that is imbued with sadistic (and potentially sexualized) imagery. Now, however, it is not an issue clearly delineated by male acceptance and female resistance.

Lees, “Engendering Religious Desire: Sex, Knowledge, and Christian Identity in Anglo-Saxon England,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 27.1 [Winter 1997]: 17-45, at 23).

⁹⁹ Ælfric, “Saint Agnes, Virgin,” in *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, Vol. I, 178, line 144.

¹⁰⁰ Laura Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” *Screen* 16.3 (Autumn 1975): 6-18.

¹⁰¹ Kelly and Leslie, “Introduction,” 16.

So who is this audience, and what, exactly, is at stake for them? In analyzing the Old English poem about the fourth-century virgin martyr Juliana, Shari Horner argues that the audience would have been female, resulting in a female gaze that is neither colluded with nor cross-identified with the male gaze. For Horner, this target audience would specifically include the nuns living in fear of the Viking invaders, as these lives explored “for female religious readers the threat of—and possible responses to—the violation and penetration of the enclosures of cloister and body.”¹⁰² Yet Mary Ann Doane, in her study on the female gaze in cinema, would seem to take issue with the dynamic, as she claims that “the female spectator is given two options: the masochism of over-identification or the narcissism entailed in becoming one’s own object of desire, in assuming the image in the most radical way.”¹⁰³ Oddly enough, it seems probable that the Anglo-Saxon nuns would have ideally over-identified with the virgin martyr (including her pain) in hopes of being capable of assuming the same image should they find themselves in similar circumstances. Pain and torture, therefore, become both acceptable and desirable within this context.

Nevertheless, the “feminization of virginity”¹⁰⁴ does not exclude the male audience, since the virgin still adopts “a variety of stereotypical masculine qualities.”¹⁰⁵ In other words, by figuring the saint as both a *sponsa Christi* and a *miles Christi*, the hagiographers portray saints who, though female, can be relatable to a wide array of audiences with different sets of gender expectations. A male audience, too, could thus

¹⁰² Horner, “Spiritual Truth and Sexual Violence,” 659.

¹⁰³ Mary Ann Doane, “Film and the Masquerade: Theorizing the Female Spectator,” in *Film and Theory: An Anthology*, ed. Robert Stam and Toby Miller (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2000), 495-509, at 507.

¹⁰⁴ Kelly and Leslie, “Introduction,” 16.

¹⁰⁵ Kelly and Leslie, “Introduction,” 16.

over-identify with the virgin martyr. Monks, for example, were expected to be chaste even in the face of temptation, and while men of the secular realm were not expected to see themselves in the role of the *sponsa Christi*, they could easily have seen the mothers, sisters, and daughters in such a role.

We might more easily understand the way different audiences navigate the same text by considering two case studies of Mulvey's that provide alternative forms of the male gaze, and that are therefore more salient for interpretations of the lives of virgin martyrs. The first deals with Marlene Dietrich films, such as *Morocco*, in which the male love interest is absent in the most emotionally dramatic moments, resulting in the other spectators on the screen gazing *with*, rather than standing in for, the external audience. Importantly, Mulvey argues, "[t]he male hero misunderstands and, above all, does not see."¹⁰⁶ The implication of this is that there is an onus on the audience (both internal and external) not to make the same mistake. In the lives of virgin martyrs, the central male figures are abhorrent; indeed, the audience would never be expected to identify with these characters in a personal way. By precluding the possibility to gaze through the eyes of the persecutor, the audience's gaze is thus meant to be a corrective one.

The second example is her analysis of Hitchcock's *Vertigo*, in which she claims that Scottie, the male protagonist, operates as a voyeur, since he follows, falls in love with, and spies on a woman with whom he's never spoken. Further, Mulvey claims that Scottie's active sadistic voyeurism comes to fruition when he "reconstructs Judy as Madeleine, [and] forces her to conform in every detail to the actual physical appearance

¹⁰⁶ Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," 15.

of his fetish.”¹⁰⁷ This results in a problematic moment for the spectator, as he or she is “lulled into a false sense of security by the apparent legality of his surrogate [Scottie], sees through his look and finds himself exposed as complicit, caught in the moral ambiguity of looking.”¹⁰⁸ It is this idea—the unwitting complicity of the audience—that becomes central to my analysis of the audience’s gaze on the martyr’s mutilated body.

While the external audience would not be expected to make the same misreading as the pagans—that is, a sexualized view of the saint’s body—there is yet another misreading they could fall prey to. Rather than recognizing the spiritual lesson—a desire to become closer to God—they might simply stop at taking away a literal lesson—a desire to avoid physical and sexual torment (no doubt a valid concern, especially during the Viking attacks). It is possible that in witnessing the persecution of the martyr, the Anglo-Saxon audience’s reaction would be one of relief, since they were not the ones suffering, only to realize later that this is not, in fact, the appropriate response. This reaction would place them in the company of the internal spectators who at once bemoan the torture of the saint, yet do everything they can to make sure they avoid the same fate, eliciting a merely nominal form of compassion.¹⁰⁹ In this way, the audience can become a complicit third party, much like the pagans who witness the torture and death of saints.

The manipulation of the audience’s response can be likened to the effect the fifteenth-century York Cycle play of the Crucifixion has on its audience. In this mystery play, the audience witnesses the bumbling attempts of four Roman soldiers to crucify Christ, as they first drill the holes for the nails too far (resulting in Christ needing to be

¹⁰⁷ Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” 16.

¹⁰⁸ Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” 16.

¹⁰⁹ This should be taken literally, since “compassion” is a compound of the Latin *cum-* and *passio*, meaning ‘suffering with,’ which is precisely the reaction these hagiographies should elicit in their audiences.

“stretched”), then make the mortise too wide (necessitating the use of wedges to make the cross stay in the ground), and finally realize that with Christ already on the cross, it is now too heavy for the four of them to lift. By making the audience laugh at the Crucifixion, they become complicit in (or at the very least, condone) the death of Christ. Ideally, this would lead to an “aha!” moment once they realize the extreme incongruity and inappropriate nature of their response, thereby causing them to reflect upon and re-evaluate their understandings of the Passion.

The audience’s reaction to the *passiones* about Juliana and Margaret is likewise central to the creation of meaning for the lives of virgin martyrs. In his application of Wolfgang Iser’s reception theory to oral tradition, John Miles Foley argues that audiences participate in the “cocreation” of the work they are experiencing. To this end, meaning is not restricted to the text itself: “By a process of signification I call metonymy, the oral traditional structures convey worlds of meaning that are institutionally associated with them, bringing to the fore associations that are always immanent, always impinging on the act of (re-)creating verbal art.”¹¹⁰ This type of meaning-making is critical to understanding the appeal of particular medieval texts, since it recognizes that understandings of these texts would change with different audiences. For example, while the Latin *passiones* of Juliana that were extant in Anglo-Saxon England would not undergo drastic changes (as will be shown in Chapter Four), a later audience would interpret the text somewhat differently from their earlier counterparts, due to the shifts and developments within Anglo-Saxon culture. Thus, it is through understanding the text

¹¹⁰ John Miles Foley, “Texts that Speak to Readers Who Hear: Old English Poetry and the Languages of Oral Tradition,” in *Speaking Two Languages: Traditional Disciplines and Contemporary Theory in Medieval Studies*, ed. Allen J. Frantzen (Albany: State U of New York P, 1991), 141-56, at 148.

itself, and the frameworks through which that text would be interpreted, that the work's appeal can be addressed.

The level of gazing left to consider is that of the pagan persecutor himself—a level defined by the pagan persecutor's objectification of the saint's body. This draws back to the misreading of her body by the pagans as something to receive and conceive, ultimately suggesting that the sole purpose of her body is to be enjoyed and possessed by the male antagonist. There are moments, nonetheless, when the illusion of the woman as object breaks down for the persecutor—one need only think of the Old English *passio* of Margaret when Olibrius “covered his face with his cloak, for he could not look upon her [Margaret] because of the blood.”¹¹¹ The pagan's reaction to witnessing the extent of Saint Margaret's torture reveals that the process of objectification can never be fully completed. Yet these moments of hesitation are fleeting, and ultimately the persecutor does not alter his destructive course.

The Question of the Virgin Martyr in Anglo-Saxon England

The legends of Juliana and Margaret are undeniably captivating pieces; as exciting as it is to witness the saints wrangle and defeat demons, and remain defiant until their deaths, so, too, are these legends uncomfortable to witness, with the details of their naked and bleeding bodies too explicit to ignore. Despite the possible aversion some may have had to such scenes, the veneration of these two saints exponentially grew where the veneration of other saints would simply flicker and die, or never even get so much as a foot in the door. To understand the reasons behind their popularity is to understand that veneration of them did not operate in isolation. Like the reed bending in the wind, their

¹¹¹ This text appears in London, BL, MS Cotton Tiberius A.iii. Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 121.

passiones were particularly adaptable to change. This change did not have to do simply with changes to the texts themselves, but also with changes to the audience's reception of these texts. Indeed, even though the major elements of their stories would be found in almost all copies (not just those produced in and for Anglo-Saxon England), these elements would remain relevant to the Anglo-Saxons since knowledge of Juliana and Margaret first arrived in England to beyond the Norman Conquest.

Nevertheless, despite the logic of bringing such saints to England, the choice to continue emphasizing these foreign women as the models for the virgin martyr came at a heavy price. In doing so, the potentially more relevant models found in the native Anglo-Saxon women who suffered during the Viking invasions—such as the nuns burned alive at the nunneries of both Tynemouth and Barking—were effectively silenced, with their stories failing to be memorialized and codified as saints' lives. While few women in these accounts have been named individually, this does not necessarily mean that no other individual woman existed who acted in a heroic and saintly fashion; rather, the lack of these details shows that the hagiographers were not alone in their decision not to establish Anglo-Saxon women as the exemplars for the virgin martyr. Chroniclers, too, would fail to give these women such recognition in their works, again in contrast to the plethora of heroic men who are individually named in works such as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

Thus, it was instead in the foreign, female virgin martyrs that the cults forming in Anglo-Saxon England found their basis, as the highly adaptable nature of their *passiones* allowed them not only to endure beyond the Anglo-Saxon period, but also to be modified to appeal to the Anglo-Saxon audience without threatening the masculinity of the male leaders who were failing to prevent the atrocities committed by the Vikings against the

nuns. The cultural records for these saints therefore simultaneously were shaped by and helped to shape contemporary socio-political and religious structures, necessitating a re-evaluation of what female sanctity meant to an Anglo-Saxon audience, and how it was constructed in both the *passiones* and the other literary commemorations for virgin martyrs.

Based within the theoretical frameworks of New Historicism, feminism, and reader-reception theory, the chapters of my dissertation will explore issues such as the native Anglo-Saxon women who were bypassed as saints, the existing need for examples of the female virgin martyr throughout the Anglo-Saxon era, the evidence for veneration of Juliana and Margaret in Anglo-Saxon England, the socio-political context within which these pieces of evidence were produced, what elements of the stories of Juliana and Margaret were attractive to Anglo-Saxons, and how the *passiones* of these women were adapted to appeal to an Anglo-Saxon audience. This study is divided into two parts: Chapters One and Two explore the history and literature from early Anglo-Saxon England (c. 793-948), and Chapters Three and Four explore the same for later Anglo-Saxon England (c. 948-1066).¹¹²

Chapter One explores the nascent stages of Juliana's and Margaret's presence in England. Of particular interest are the ways in which veneration of these two saints increasingly fell under secular jurisdiction following the first wave of Viking invasions. Specifically, the focus of this discussion will span the mid-ninth century (when the Vikings began to winter in England) to 948 (the year in which Wilfrid's relics were translated to Canterbury). This chapter will provide an overview of the trends I see

¹¹² These dates serve more as guidelines, rather than absolute cut-off points.

occurring during this time, such as the political uses of relics, which not only helped to establish *burhs*, but also helped to promote a particularly Anglo-Saxon identity, and to lend legitimacy to governmental processes.¹¹³ It is within this process of secularization that I will explore the surviving evidence for these two saints, including litanies, liturgical calendars, martyrologies, and *passiones*. Juliana—who appears in several litanies and calendars, and has both Latin and Old English *passiones*—will be shown to have a stronger foundation for her emerging cult than Margaret—who appears only sporadically in the litanies and calendars, and has but a single Latin *passio*. While I will acknowledge the trends for the male saints during the time period, my main focus will be on the development of the lives of the female saints, addressing the desire for royal saints and establishing the pattern for the lives of the Mediterranean female martyrs that made them so appealing to Anglo-Saxon audiences.

Whereas Chapter One focuses more on the socio-political context in which these texts were produced, Chapter Two provides an in-depth literary analysis of the elements in the *passiones* that made them so appealing to an early Anglo-Saxon audience. In particular, five elements are explored—the saints’ pagan parents, the senselessness of idols, the specific forms of torture, allusions to the Harrowing of Hell, and Pentecostal imagery. Appearances of these elements in the texts are examined in terms of how an early Anglo-Saxon audience would have interpreted them within the larger legal, social,

¹¹³ Processes that involved rituals, such as coronations, manumissions, ordeals, and the swearing of oaths, required the presence of relics as a way to validate these practices. Even the storage of these relics reveals the ways in which owners viewed them, as there exists clear evidence of “documents being kept with the king’s *haligdom*, that is ‘relics,’ and it is emphasized by the fact that the writer of royal documents, the *cancellarius*, could be the same person as the *scriniarius*, the keeper of the relics” (David W. Rollason, “Relic-Cults as an Instrument of Royal Policy, c. 900-c. 1050,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 15 [1986]: 91-103, at 98).

political, and theological contexts, showing that while Juliana and Margaret may have been removed in both time and place, Anglo-Saxons could still easily find their own realities reflected in the details of their *passiones*.

Chapter Three continues the socio-political story begun in Chapter One, and investigates how the veneration of Juliana and Margaret developed during later Anglo-Saxon England, specifically within the contexts of the Benedictine reform, the second wave of Viking invasions, and the reign of Cnut. This historical approach is not without its problems; in particular, evidence for the nunneries extant during this period is sporadic, making it difficult to reconstruct what female devotion looked like at this time. While Chapter One highlights the secularization of saints, Chapter Three focuses on how these saints became subject to both the secular and religious realms—a shift instigated by the Benedictine reform. Due to the renewed religious influence over the veneration of Juliana and Margaret, the surviving evidence from later Anglo-Saxon England (which was largely produced at monastic *scriptoria*) increases significantly. Both saints are mentioned much more frequently in the litanies and liturgical calendars, and masses are developed for the celebration of their feast days. Moreover, veneration of Margaret grows substantially during this time, and not only is she the subject of vernacular *passiones*, but her relics also arrive in England during this time.

Chapter Four provides a detailed study of these later *passiones*. Like Chapter Two, there are five main elements explored: the saints' pagan parents, the senselessness of idols, the specific forms of torture, allusions to the Harrowing of Hell, and Pentecostal imagery. The discussion of these elements, however, relies upon how understandings of them developed in later Anglo-Saxon England, highlighting the difference between

earlier and later Anglo-Saxon audiences. For example, both the production of new laws about idolatry and trial by ordeal, and the sophisticated theological developments surrounding the Harrowing of Hell and Pentecost suggest that while these elements still appealed to a later Anglo-Saxon audience, the way the audience would have interpreted them would have differed from their earlier Anglo-Saxon counterparts.

Ultimately, this study explores both the native Anglo-Saxon women who were overlooked as potential virgin martyrs, and two of the foreign virgin martyrs who filled the gap left by them. Central to this are the why, when, where, and how veneration of Juliana and Margaret developed in Anglo-Saxon England—questions that have no clear single answer, but instead are best explored in terms of what these models for female sanctity were able to offer their Anglo-Saxon audience.

CHAPTER ONE

VIRGINITY, MARTYRDOM, AND POLITICAL SUPREMACY, C. 793-C. 948

The story of a country's history is told in its very geography, with its ever-changing borders and place-names. If the sixth through eighth centuries saw an influx of Anglo-Saxon and Christian place-names, such as Norwich and St. Albans, the period following witnessed the rise of Scandinavian place-names, such as Oadby and Sudbury—a clear sign that the foreign raiders had come to stay. As Scandinavian power grew, the authority of the Anglo-Saxon Church¹ fell, with only “the sees of Hereford, Rochester, Winchester, and Worcester ... apparently unaffected through the period.”² Although the conversion had been surprisingly bloodless, the period that followed stained the land red with a series of bloody attacks. Thus, in order to understand how veneration of Juliana and Margaret continued to develop from its earliest roots in Canterbury, we must first understand how the religious climate of the country shifted after the period of conversion had drawn to a close.

From the late-eighth century to the mid-tenth century, saints were longer solely the concern of the religious sphere; veneration of all saints was shifting to the secular realm, largely falling under the purview of secular authorities and influences. Although this process of secularization truly came to flourish during the Viking attacks, the foundations that paved the way for this shift began much earlier. Throughout the eighth century, growing tensions among kingdoms were culminating in power struggles for

¹ The church to which I refer here is the formal church, as opposed to the private churches and chapels that were beginning to appear, and would become a fairly widespread phenomenon during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Karen Louise Jolly, *Popular Religion in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Elf Charms in Context* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1996), 35-70, esp. 46-8.

² Foot, *Monastic Life*, 343.

Church-owned land. In particular, it was during the Council of Clofesho held in 798 that issues of land ownership were being decided—the most contentious of which inevitably were those properties found in the two most powerful kingdoms of the time: Wessex and Mercia. Among the areas up for debate was Cookham, whose placement close to the border separating Wessex and Mercia and its desirable location on the Thames made it a major center of dispute between these two kingdoms.³

Yet it was not only the secular leaders of Wessex and Mercia making claims to the land; Æthelbald,⁴ King Offa of Mercia's predecessor, granted the land to Christ Church in Canterbury, and "in order that his donation might be the more enduring, he sent a sod from the same land and all the deed of the afore-mentioned monastery by the venerable man Archbishop Cuthbert, and ordered them to be laid upon the altar of the Saviour for his everlasting salvation."⁵ Enduring it was not, however. After the death of Cuthbert, two of the late archbishop's own students reportedly stole the documents and delivered them to the West Saxon king, Cynewulf. West Saxon control was likewise brief, as Offa re-conquered the land and brought it once again under Mercian control. While Cynewulf no longer held the land, he did eventually return the stolen charters to Christ Church, effectively removing Wessex from the dispute.

By 798, the real debate was between Æthelheard, the new archbishop of Canterbury, and Cynethryth, the widow of Offa (who had died two years previously) and,

³ These reasons also explain why it became one of King Alfred's *burhs* in the late-ninth century, and why centuries before it found itself as one of the major stops on the Roman roads, as it was located at the junction of Camlet Way and Alderman Silver's Road (David Nash Ford, "Royal Berkshire History: Cookham," 2001, retrieved 01 October 2013, <http://www.berkshirehistory.com/villages/cookham.html>).

⁴ For a discussion on how Boniface criticized Æthelbald's actions for infringing upon the rights of churches and minsters, see Foot, *Monastic Life*, 127-8.

⁵ Dorothy Whitelock, ed. and trans., "Agreement between Archbishop Æthelheard and Abbess Cynethryth at a Synod of 'Clofesho,'" in *English Historical Documents*, vol. I: *c. 500-1042* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1968), no. 79, 469 (hereafter, *EHD*).

more interestingly, the current abbess of Cookham, suggesting that even as a religious figure, the abbess's first loyalties were still to her secular kin, rather than to the Church. This is perhaps not surprising, since, as Leslie Donovan points out, royal women were not only "married to insure political and economic alliances, but many of them were also placed in religious communities to establish spiritual affiliations."⁶ Since Cookham had effectively become a royal family monastery, it was therefore no wonder that the Mercian royalty clung so tightly to the location. Cynethryth was in many ways an exceptional woman who wielded a great deal of power, as is evidenced by her ability to trade Mercian land even when she was no longer the reigning queen. Indeed, she remains the only Anglo-Saxon queen to have coinage issued in her name.⁷ Ultimately, Cynethryth was able to keep Cookham and even gained a second monastery at Pectanega, though Canterbury only released its claim in exchange for some 110 hides of land that were meant to be transferred to the church at Bedford (where Offa had reportedly been buried in 796) following the deaths of Offa's heirs;⁸ these 110 hides of land were located in Fleet, Teynham, and Cray,⁹ the first two of which "were important archiepiscopal manors throughout the Middle Ages."¹⁰ This case¹¹ reveals the significant limits of church power by the end of the eighth century. Despite holding the deeds to the land, Canterbury's

⁶ Donovan, *Women Saints' Lives*, 20.

⁷ Simon Keynes, "Cynethryth," in *BEASE*, 133; and D. M. Metcalf, "Anglo-Saxon Coins I: Seventh to Ninth Centuries," in *The Anglo-Saxons*, ed. James Campbell, Eric John, and Patrick Wormald (London: Penguin, 1982), 63.

⁸ Bedford's claim to Offa was only first recorded in the thirteenth century by the St. Albans chroniclers, "yet their report is all the more plausible for the fact that they [the monks of St. Albans] regarded Offa as their second founder and would certainly have claimed him for themselves if they could have done" (Campbell, John, and Wormald, *The Anglo-Saxons*, 110).

⁹ Whitelock, "Agreement between Archbishop Æthelheard and Abbess Cynethryth," in *EHD*, no. 79, 470.

¹⁰ Nicholas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066* (London and New York: Leicester U P, 1984), 131.

¹¹ "S 1258," *The Electronic Sawyer*, King's College, London, 2014.
<http://www.esawyer.org.uk/charter/1258.html>.

control of Cookham was purely nominal, as it was not able to assert its property rights effectively.

With the secularizing process already begun, it was in the wake of the Viking invasions that it found its deepest roots, in large part due to the fact that monasteries had become the prime target of the Vikings. These monastic centers not only housed a rich array of materials, such as the manuscripts and liturgical vessels decorated with gold and jewels (the value of which clearly had been recognized by the raiders), but were also often in remote, and therefore vulnerable, locations. Citing the examples of the vulnerably located coastal minsters of Sheppey, Thanet, and Whitby, Sarah Foot continues by pointing out how some Anglo-Saxons recognized the dangers such sites posed: “Bede’s *Life of Cuthbert* offers a cautionary warning as to the vulnerability of such congregations, describing how a group of Northumbrian nuns fled from their minster in the face of a Pictish army and had to be given another place of refuge by the saint.”¹² The distancing of oneself from all things earthly, which had once been desirable, now left them open to attacks, and made them the ideal targets for the Vikings.

The consequences of these raids spread like a ripple effect, with the cultural output of the monasteries also being affected—something clearly seen in the jarring stop to the production of beautiful illuminated manuscripts. As will be shown later in this chapter, when looking at all the manuscripts produced in Anglo-Saxon England from 793 to 878, only two liturgical calendars and one litany mention Juliana and Margaret. It was the 793 attack on the monastery at Lindisfarne that marked the end of the Northumbrian Renaissance, a vibrant cultural (and, more specifically, monastic) movement that

¹² Foot, *Monastic Life*, 99.

produced such well-known works as Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and the Lindisfarne Gospels. Not until the Benedictine Reform of the late-tenth century would England once more witness such a concentrated effort in manuscript production, and the return of centralized ecclesiastical power. Writing to Æthelred, king of Northumbria, in the aftermath of this attack, Alcuin lamented the attack on Lindisfarne, and poignantly asked, "Who does not fear this? Who does not lament this as if his country were captured?"¹³ It would be this sentiment that led many to turn to the secular authorities in hopes of salvation.

Despite the weakening of the English monasteries during the ninth and early-tenth centuries, the cults of saints continued to grow. Relics gained new prominence during this period, since it was only with the Second Council of Nicaea in 787 that they became a requirement for the founding of all new churches (Canon VII).¹⁴ Yet within Anglo-Saxon England the cults of saints no longer developed under the auspices of the Anglo-Saxon monasteries as they had before 793; the treatment and public reception of saints, both native and foreign, fell under the secular domain of Anglo-Saxon royalty and nobility. As David Rollason has shown,¹⁵ saints and their relics had become tools used by kings and queens to establish political and legal status, as well as to encourage the protection and development of a uniquely "English" identity in the face of the Viking threat.

¹³ Whitelock, "Letter of Alcuin to Ethelred, King of Northumbria," in *EHD*, no. 193, 843.

¹⁴ Caroline Walker Bynum and Paula Gerson, "Body-Part Reliquaries and Body Parts in the Middle Ages," *Gesta* 36.1 (1997): 3-7, at 3.

¹⁵ Rollason, "Relic-Cults," 91-103.

Particularly noted for this were Ealdorman Æthelred (to whom Alfred had entrusted the city of London in 886),¹⁶ and his wife, Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians. Mercian relic cults prospered under these leaders' initiatives, as they found and restored the relics of early native saints by organizing raids into Viking-occupied Mercia during the early-tenth century. The two most important recoveries were the 907 translation of the relics of Saint Werburga from Hanbury to Chester, and the 909 translation of the relics of Saint Oswald from Bardney to Gloucester.¹⁷ Werburga was particularly important to the Mercians as she had been the daughter of Wulfhere (r. 658-74),¹⁸ who had been king during the earlier part of the Mercian Supremacy. Additionally, Chester, which would become a major regional center after the establishment of it as a *burh* in 907, "was allegedly deserted" when it had been attacked fourteen years earlier,¹⁹ making its recovery all the more momentous.

While the repossession of these relics can partly be attributed to the need to reclaim a cultural identity, these relics were also used to help establish *burhs* throughout western Mercia, and became essential administrative tools for Anglo-Saxon leaders, with all new *burhs* necessitating the creation of a complete infrastructure, including street plans, a palace, a mint, and, finally, a minster that could house the relics of well-known saints.²⁰ Gloucester rose in status after its 909 refortification, and would serve as the

¹⁶ Simon Keynes and Michael Lapidge, trans., *Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources* (London: Penguin, 1983; rpt. 2004), 98.

¹⁷ David W. Rollason, "The Shrines of Saints in Later Anglo-Saxon England: Distribution and Significance," in *The Anglo-Saxon Church: Papers on History, Architecture, and Archaeology in Honour of Dr. H. M. Taylor* (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1986), 32-43, at 40.

¹⁸ Paul Antony Hayward, "Werburg, St.," in *BEASE*, 468-9, at 468.

¹⁹ Alan Thacker, "Chester," in *BEASE*, 102-4, at 103.

²⁰ This pattern holds true for Chester and Gloucester. Thacker, "Chester and Gloucester," 209-10.

headquarters for Æthelred and Æthelflæd.²¹ Given this, who better then to be translated to the new center of operations than the martyred Oswald? Even though he was a Northumbrian king rather than a Mercian one, he became the epitome of royal resistance against the Vikings given the manner of his death, something that Æthelred's and Æthelflæd's own actions echoed.

The Viking threat also provided a window of opportunity for Wessex to establish its supremacy and form an “English” identity, though this scheme was carefully masked. Although she was entitled “Lady of the Mercians,” Æthelflæd was only half-Mercian by birth, and—as the daughter of Alfred and sister of Edward—was related to the West Saxon royal line and thus raised as a West Saxon. Just as her title disguised her West Saxon links as Mercian, so, too, did her selection of saints’ cults mask a non-Mercian reality. Oswald was Northumbrian, and “even the royal abbess Werburga had strong connections with Kent,”²² since the saint’s maternal grandfather was Eorcenberht, king of Kent (r. 640-64).²³ By bringing well-known native—but not Mercian—figures to the kingdom, West Saxon leaders, through their Mercian representatives, were able to establish their stronghold in Mercia, and arrange the kingdom under the larger umbrella of a soon-to-be united Anglo-Saxon England. The process of creating an “English” identity was therefore not just a process of excluding the Vikings in that identification, but also a process of establishing West Saxon supremacy. Indeed, it was her West Saxon brother, Edward, not her half-Mercian daughter, Ælfwynn, who would lead Mercia after Æthelflæd’s death.

²¹ John Blair, “Gloucester,” in *BEASE*, 210.

²² Thacker, “Chester and Gloucester,” 211.

²³ Hayward, “Werbung,” in *BEASE*, 468.

The relics of these native saints also established West Saxon supremacy in another way. As identified by Rollason, there were three uses of relics in tenth-century England: “firstly the collection and donation of relics by kings in order to increase their prestige and to symbolize their political status; secondly the use of relics in the processes of government; and thirdly royal patronage of particular relic-cults as an expedient to political influence.”²⁴ Going back to the initiatives of Æthelflæd, it is possible to see how the first and third points significantly overlap. By collecting and donating the relics of Werburga and Oswald to Chester and Gloucester, respectively, she was able both to demonstrate and solidify her political influence over these Mercian ecclesiastical centers. In another case dating from 901, Æthelflæd and Æthelred presented Wenlock with a golden chalice in order to pay tribute to Saint Mildburg, whose relics were said to rest there.²⁵ This more direct form of patronage could be viewed as the successful precursor for their subsequent recovery and donation of relics in 907 and 909.

Relics also helped to define how the larger Anglo-Saxon government would function. Processes that involved rituals, such as coronations, manumissions, ordeals, and the swearing of oaths, required the presence of relics as a way to validate these practices. Even the storage of these relics reveals the ways in which owners viewed them, as there exists clear evidence of “documents being kept with the king’s *haligdom*, that is ‘relics,’ and it is emphasized by the fact that the writer of royal documents, the *cancellarius*, could be the same person as the *scriniarius*, the keeper of the relics.”²⁶ The secularization of saints and their relics is perhaps clearest in this example, as juridical and legislative

²⁴ Rollason, “Relic-Cults,” 91.

²⁵ Alan Thacker, “Kings, Saints, and Monasteries in Pre-Viking Mercia,” *Midland History* 10 (1985): 1-25, at 5.

²⁶ Rollason, “Relic-Cults,” 98.

practices became so entwined with relics that the two could not be separated either physically or psychologically.

Keeping the Saints in England: Juliana and Margaret

In order to understand this process of secularization further, we must turn to the surviving manuscript evidence. While manuscripts from this time period are scarce—indeed, only one hagiographical piece of writing has survived from the early-ninth century²⁷—sufficient numbers still remain from the early-tenth century that illuminate certain trends for this period, such as the saints of particular interest to ninth- and early-tenth-century Anglo-Saxons, and the locations of the surviving scriptoria.²⁸ Notably, the extant manuscripts²⁹ reveal a growing interest in the foreign female virgin martyrs, Juliana and Margaret.³⁰ Whereas the earliest written knowledge of these saints was mostly limited to martyrologies, Anglo-Saxon scribes were copying complete *passiones* (both Latin and vernacular) about both women.

Yet equally central to this analysis is the fact that probably half of these manuscripts were copied at the two major religious sites in Canterbury—St. Augustine’s

²⁷ This is a version of Felix’s *Vita S. Guthlaci* in BL, Royal 4.A.xiv. This, however, was a copy of a *vita* previously composed; as R. C. Love states: “no hagiography was produced (or at least, none has survived) from the period between 800 and 950” (R. C. Love, “Hagiography,” in *BEASE*, 226). Despite the lack of original compositions, there are extant hagiographical manuscripts dated from the late-ninth century and early-tenth century which are copies of earlier works.

²⁸ One must take into consideration the large number of manuscripts that were lost during the Viking raids, most notably, with the destruction of the library at York in 867.

²⁹ Using Gneuss’s *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, certain trends emerge concerning what saints were popular during this time. Indeed, in the manuscripts dating from the ninth to the mid-tenth centuries, seven contain a *vita* about Cuthbert, two about Juliana, five about Guthlac, and three about Wilfrid.

³⁰ While my analysis will focus on the political significance of the female saints, the study of the political relevance of male, Anglo-Saxon saints has been well developed. For discussions on Cuthbert, Guthlac, and Wilfrid, see Luisella Simpson, “The King Alfred/St Cuthbert Episode in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*: Its Significance for Mid-Tenth-Century English History,” in *St. Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to AD 1200*, ed. Gerald Bonner, David Rollason, and Clare Stancliffe (Wolfeboro, NH: Boydell and Brewer, 1989), 397-411; Alfred K. Siewers, “Landscapes of Conversion: Guthlac’s Mound and Grendel’s Mere as Expressions of Anglo-Saxon Nation-Building,” *Viator* 34 (2003): 1-39; and D. P. Kirby, “Bede, Eddius Stephanus, and the ‘Life of Wilfrid,’” *English Historical Review* 98.386 (1983): 101-14.

Abbey and Christ Church Cathedral³¹—which had retained their statuses as centers for manuscript production throughout Anglo-Saxon period, despite having been sacked by Vikings in 850/1 and 893.³² Even with the cults of saints increasingly falling under the secular domain at this time, Canterbury still functioned as the religious heart of England,³³ surviving the worst of the Viking raids. Indeed, “apart from St. Augustine’s they [the Kentish minsters] disappear from history for a century or more in about the middle years of the ninth century.”³⁴ This continuity helps to account for how interest in Juliana and Margaret survived past Hadrian and Theodore, and continued to grow even in this tumultuous period. Despite its perseverance, however, change still came to Canterbury; throughout the ninth century “the Christ Church community (like that at York) was composed of secular clergy rather than of monks,”³⁵ an adjustment that allowed for interaction with the laity, something particularly necessary during this time of upheaval. Nevertheless, Canterbury’s enduring role as an authority suggests that there were limits to how far the process of secularization could extend.

Helping to strengthen these limits is the fact that while there was a general “ousting” of monasteries during this time, at the forefront of many people’s minds was the dire situation facing monasteries during the ninth and tenth centuries. The desperate need for feminine models of resistance created a space for the ecclesiastical realm to impact the way saints’ cults developed. Given the roughly forty-one nunneries that had

³¹ Gneuss definitively identifies Canterbury as the place of origin for five of the thirty-one lives discussed in footnote 28, and suggests it as a probable place of origin for another ten.

³² S. E. Kelly, “Canterbury,” in *BEASE*, 83.

³³ As Nicholas Brooks points out, despite Canterbury’s mint shutting down c. 893, “it seems unlikely that the numismatic evidence means that the city of Canterbury was actually taken by the Danes in 892-3” (Brooks, *The Early History*, 31).

³⁴ Brooks, *The Early History*, 202.

³⁵ Brooks, *The Early History*, 155.

been destroyed during the Viking invasions,³⁶ it is not surprising that three of the four hagiographies about women that were copied during the ninth and early-tenth centuries centered on two defiant martyrs: Juliana and Margaret. While veneration of Juliana and Margaret had begun prior to 793, their cults gained new meaning for Anglo-Saxons following the Viking attacks. What was once a story removed in both time and place had become the grim reality for Anglo-Saxon nuns, making the tales of the heroic women come to life in a way they had not—and probably could not—before the attacks.

This shift in audience reception is most clearly seen in the vernacular *passio* about Juliana written by Cynewulf in the late-ninth century, which reveals not only the increasingly regulated nature of veneration for her in ninth-century England, but also a growing popular interest in her. Choosing to abandon Latin—a language understood only by the highly educated—Cynewulf instead composed his poetic version of her martyrdom in the much more accessible vernacular Old English. The use of the vernacular would have made the foreign saint more accessible to a widespread audience, though as Rosemary Woolf points out in her comparison of *Juliana* to the Middle English Katherine Group, “it is most probable that Cynewulf’s version was similarly intended for

³⁶ Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex*, 144. Sarah Foot rightly cautions readers about accepting this number outright, since it was arrived at through the use of *Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales* by David Knowles and R. Neville-Hadcock, who often use post-medieval sources. Foot brings the list of forty-one down to ten (Barking, Boxwell, Castor, Chester SS Peter and Paul, Eltisley, Folkestone, Leominster, Minster-in-Sheppey, St. Osyth at Chich, and Shaftesbury), yet this number too should be taken with caution, as it has removed nunneries that indeed have strong evidence to having been attacked, such as Lyminge and Minster-in-Thanel (both of which will be discussed later in this chapter). While the exact number of nunneries attacked will never be known, the fact that the disappearance of a large number of these religious houses coincides with the waves of Viking attacks seems too consistent merely to be coincidental. Sarah Foot, *Veiled Women I: The Disappearance of Nuns from Anglo-Saxon England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 79-82.

nuns.”³⁷ This aligns well with two of the predominant reasons *passiones* were copied: to encourage piety, and to promote publicly specific ideals for leaders.³⁸ In the secularized post-793 Anglo-Saxon world, the need to console the victims, and to condemn weak Anglo-Saxon leadership was central. Moreover, it is possible that by composing a poem in Old English, Cynewulf could have been trying to anglicize the *passio* of Juliana in a way that simply could not be achieved by the more erudite Latin.³⁹ Indeed, although it is Cynewulf’s version of Juliana’s martyrdom that has garnered the most attention from scholars, he was not writing from scratch; it has been strongly posited that he was working from either Paris, BNF, lat. 10861, or, if not this exact manuscript, one identical to it.⁴⁰ This manuscript must therefore be briefly examined before returning to Cynewulf’s adaptation of it.

The Latin *passio* preserved in BNF, lat. 10861, which was copied at Christ Church, Canterbury,⁴¹ has been dated to the first quarter of the ninth century due to the similarity between the paleographical features found in this manuscript and in the charters produced at Christ Church during the second and third decades of the ninth

³⁷ Rosemary Woolf, “Saints’ Lives,” in *Continuations and Beginnings: Studies in Old English Literature*, ed. E. G. Stanley (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1966), 37-66, at 45.

³⁸ In addition to these two reasons, Rollason outlines four other reasons these texts were copied: to associate land with a particular (and invariably Anglo-Saxon) saint; to improve the standing for the Church and its churchmen; to link royal houses to saints; and to help establish legitimacy in claims for the throne. Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, 111-28.

³⁹ For arguments about the different ways this is achieved, see Abraham, “Cynewulf’s *Juliana*,” 172-89; Frederick, “Warring with Words,” 60-74; Doreen M. E. Gillam, “Love Triangle as Commedia: Some Sidelights on Cynewulf’s Handling of Personal Relationships in *Juliana*,” in *Studies in Honor of René Derolez*, ed. A. M. Simon-Vandenberghe (Ghent: Seminarie voor Engelse en Oud-Germaanse Taalkunde, Rijksuniversiteit Ghent, 1987), 190-215; and John P. Hermann, “Language and Spirituality in Cynewulf’s *Juliana*,” *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 26 (1984): 263-81.

⁴⁰ Specifically, it would have been part of Group I of the Würzburg recension. Lapidge, “Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*,” 151.

⁴¹ Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 138.

century.⁴² In total, this manuscript contains nineteen *passiones*, most of which are about martyrs from the third and fourth centuries, and therefore are not particularly “English” in nature.⁴³ Moreover, the apparently random order of the *passiones* suggests a “devotional, rather than liturgical”⁴⁴ function. This *passio* of Juliana follows the BHL 4522 version of her story,⁴⁵ and Cynewulf’s reliance on this text makes the techniques he used for anglicizing his version of Juliana’s *passio* readily identifiable.⁴⁶

Juliana survives only in one manuscript, the Exeter Book, which was copied between 970 and 990,⁴⁷ yet this manuscript would have followed a much earlier version of Cynewulf’s original work, leaving scholars with the task of identifying the place of origin and date for his original composition. While there is some debate whether Cynewulf was Anglian, Mercian, or Northumbrian, most scholars support the Anglian theory, due to Kenneth Sisam’s 1933 lecture, “Cynewulf and His Poetry.”⁴⁸ All three theories, however, place Cynewulf within the regions that not only were the most heavily attacked by the Vikings, but also those that would come to form the Danelaw in 886, suggesting that it is appropriate—regardless of where Cynewulf actually wrote—to read his poetry within the context of these attacks. More problematic, however, is the dating of Cynewulf’s works, with claims ranging from as early as 750 to as late as the end of the

⁴² Michelle Brown, “Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 10861 and the Scriptorium of Christ Church, Canterbury,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 15 (1986): 119-37, at 128-9.

⁴³ Brown, “Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 10861,” 122.

⁴⁴ Brown, “Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 10861,” 122.

⁴⁵ Brown, “Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 10861,” 122.

⁴⁶ Bremmer, “Changing Perspectives on a Saint’s Life,” 201-16; and Frederick, “Warring with Words,” 60-74.

⁴⁷ Rosemary Woolf, ed., *Cynewulf’s ‘Juliana,’* Exeter Medieval English Texts (Exeter: U of Exeter P, 1977), 1.

⁴⁸ R. D. Fulk, “Cynewulf: Canon, Dialect, and Date,” in *The Cynewulf Reader*, ed. Robert Bjork, Basic Readings in Anglo-Saxon England 4 (New York: Routledge, 2001), 3-21, at 4.

tenth century.⁴⁹ While Rosemary Woolf argues for a date somewhere in the first half of the ninth century,⁵⁰ more recent evidence furnished by Patrick Conner convincingly supports 875 as the *terminus a quo*, by demonstrating the reliance of the four works attributed to Cynewulf, particularly the *Fates of the Apostles*, upon Usuard's *Martyrology*, which was itself not written until c. 875.⁵¹ Moreover, Conner cites the possibility that Cynewulf was using an expanded text of Usuard, which would suggest a much later date of composition, making the *terminus ad quem* the end of the tenth century.⁵² It is difficult to be more specific than this, especially since the *Martyrology* was regularly expanded;⁵³ as not all these expansions have survived, it is impossible to know which one Cynewulf utilized in his own compositions. Likewise, some of the features that suggest the use of an expanded *Martyrology*, such as the manner of James's death described in Epitome IX of *Fates of the Apostles*, could have been taken from other texts available in the late-ninth century.⁵⁴ For these reasons, I cautiously adhere to the

⁴⁹ Fulk, "Cynewulf: Canon, Dialect, and Date," 4, 15.

⁵⁰ Woolf, *Cynewulf's Juliana*, 7.

⁵¹ Patrick W. Conner, "On Dating Cynewulf," in *The Cynewulf Reader*, ed. Robert Bjork, Basic Readings in Anglo-Saxon England 4 (New York: Routledge, 2001), 23-55, at 37-47.

⁵² Conner, "On Dating Cynewulf," 44-6. Lenore Abraham has also suggested the mid- to late-tenth century as the date of composition, though her arguments are made on more tenuous grounds. Her arguments rely on comparing Cynewulf's *Juliana* to a general Latin *Vita Sanctae Julianae*, and discussing the differences in terms of late Anglo-Saxon law, and ideals of the Benedictine Reform. Unfortunately, some of these differences (such as the characterizations of God) disappear when comparing *Juliana* to the specific Latin manuscript (BNF, lat. 10861) that Michael Lapidge has identified as Cynewulf's possible source material. Likewise, some of the discussions on terminology that are argued to be particularly relevant to the tenth century (such as the terms describing warfare) are just as relevant to the earlier periods of Anglo-Saxon history. Lenore Abraham, "Cynewulf's Recharacterization of the *Vita Sanctae Julianae* and the Tenth Century Benedictine Revival in England," *American Benedictine Review* 62.1 (March 2011): 67-83, esp. 77-9; and Lapidge, "Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Julianae*," 156-65.

⁵³ Conner, "On Dating Cynewulf," 42.

⁵⁴ As Conner notes, this detail also appears in Eusebius's *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Although Conner states that only two manuscripts (one from the tenth century, and one from the eleventh) of this text survive from Anglo-Saxon England, there is also a seventh-century manuscript (Wormsley, nr. Stokenchurch, The Wormsley Library) that contains this text. Likewise, Max Laistner has argued that it was one of the texts that had made up Bede's library, suggesting that knowledge of Eusebius's *History* cannot be limited to the

earliest date of composition for which there is strong evidence: the end of the ninth century.

This date supports Shari Horner’s claim that an Anglo-Saxon audience would have linked the pagan persecutors in the legends to the Viking invaders, as the end of the ninth century witnessed a dramatic increase in the number of Viking invasions.⁵⁵ Kingdoms were rapidly falling to the invaders; of the four still extant when the “Great Army” of the Vikings arrived in 865, three fell either through voluntary submission (most of Mercia in 874-7) or through battle (Northumbria in 867 and East Anglia in 869).⁵⁶ The last standing Anglo-Saxon kingdom, Wessex, had been led by King Alfred ever since the death of his brother, Æthelred, in 871. It was in 875—the same year that Usuard was composing his martyrology at the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris—that Alfred “‘made peace’ with the enemy, and the Vikings gave him hostages and swore oaths that they would leave his kingdom.”⁵⁷ This peace was short-lived, however. It would take three years of battle and skirmishes before Alfred would win the decisive victory at Edington, effectively establishing the boundaries of Wessex and the Danelaw, and earning thirteen years of peace. Had Cynewulf been composing his poem in the period following 875—as it appears he was—he would have been writing in a society trying to transition into a time of peace when the memories of gruesome warfare were still fresh, making the relevance of militaristic saints like Juliana and Margaret all too clear.

tenth century and later. Conner, “On Dating Cynewulf,” 46; Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 115; and Max L. W. Laistner, “The Library of the Venerable Bede,” in *Bede, His Life, Times and Writings: Essays in Commemoration of the Twelfth Centenary of His Death*, ed. A. Hamilton Thompson (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1935), 237-66, at 266.

⁵⁵ Horner, “Spiritual Truth and Sexual Violence,” 671.

⁵⁶ Campbell, John, and Wormald, *The Anglo-Saxons*, 132.

⁵⁷ Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, 19.

It was Alfred's victory at Edington in 878 and the subsequent treaty he forged with Guthrum in 886⁵⁸ that allowed efforts to be turned from militaristic concerns to cultural reforms. Late-ninth-century England therefore witnessed the production of many new literary works, the most famous of which, as well as the most studied by scholars, were the seven texts associated with the Alfredian translation project.⁵⁹ Just as important—though far less studied—was another late-ninth-century text, the *OEM*, a work unassociated with King Alfred,⁶⁰ but one that survives in a fragmentary form in six medieval manuscripts, testifying to its continued promulgation throughout England that spanned the course of two hundred years—from the late-ninth to the late-eleventh century.⁶¹

The long-ranging active dissemination of this work thus makes the *OEM* a vital representative of Anglo-Saxon traditions for religious feast days. The earliest manuscript of the *OEM*,⁶² commonly referred to as the A-text (London, BL, Additional 23211) is datable to c. 871 x 899.⁶³ While this is the earliest of the *OEM* manuscripts, it only

⁵⁸ For details about this treaty, as well as a translation of it, see Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, 171-2.

⁵⁹ For an overview of the Alfredian translation project, and the seven works associated with it, see Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, 28-33.

⁶⁰ While there is no conclusive evidence suggesting that the Old English *Martyrology* was a product of the Alfredian translation project, not all scholars rule out the possibility that the two were linked. Christine Rauer identifies “two possible extreme scenarios” concerning the original purpose of the work: (1) it was “was intended for only a small group of users ... and may have been compiled from as few as twenty books which could have been available in only one (?institutional) library”; or (2) it “may have been part of a nationwide educational programme (pre-Alfredian, Alfredian or even spanning both periods), a compilation from more than one hundred books which could have been consulted in Insular as well as Continental libraries” (Christine Rauer, “The Sources of the *Old English Martyrology*,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 32 [2003]: 89-109, at 101).

⁶¹ Christine Rauer, “Usage of the Old English Martyrology,” in *Foundations of Learning: the Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr., and Kees Dekker, Mediaevalia Groningana New Series 9 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 125-46, at 145-6.

⁶² The E-text, which contains eleven entries spanning May 2-10, was copied shortly after the A-text, and is datable to the late-ninth or early-tenth century. Rauer, “Usage,” 146.

⁶³ Rauer, “Usage,” 145.

contains four entries.⁶⁴ For this reason, the B-text (London, BL, Cotton Julius A.x), which contains 229 entries, and the C-text (CCCC 196), which contains 207 entries, are used to form the critical edition of the *OEM*,⁶⁵ with the former dateable to the late-tenth or early-eleventh century, and the latter to the late-eleventh century.⁶⁶ Despite the later dates of these manuscripts, it appears that the *OEM* was not updated from its earlier (now non-extant) versions,⁶⁷ since no contemporary saints had been added, nor were the more obsolete saints, who “appear to be one-offs in Anglo-Saxon hagiography,” removed.⁶⁸ Thus, while the B- and C-texts of the *OEM* come from later Anglo-Saxon England, their predominantly unaltered status makes them appropriate representations of what was being produced in early Anglo-Saxon England.

The particular saints included in the *OEM* are unusual, since many of the saints present in the Anglo-Saxon *sanctorales* were not included.⁶⁹ For this reason, it has been suggested if the *OEM* listed “not saints who were being culted but saints who *were to be* culted.”⁷⁰ Indeed, notably absent from these texts are entries for Juliana, whose feast day was already well established in Anglo-Saxon England by the late-ninth century. Her absence, however, is nonetheless best explained by the incomplete nature of the surviving manuscripts, rather than by an intentional oversight on the part of the martyrologist. In

⁶⁴ The dates for these entries cover April 14-23. Rauer, “Usage,” 145.

⁶⁵ Günter Kotzor, ed., *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, Vol. II (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981).

⁶⁶ Rauer, “Usage,” 145.

⁶⁷ “Except for one piece of information in one manuscript by one scribe the present manuscripts vary only by scribal error, transposition of word, spelling and, sometimes, by substitution of individual word” (J. E. Cross, “English Vernacular Saints’ Lives Before 1000 A. D.,” in *Hagiographies: Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*, ed. Guy Philippart, Vol. II [Turnhout: Brepols, 1996], 413-27).

⁶⁸ Rauer, “Usage,” 127.

⁶⁹ Christine Rauer, “Female Hagiography in the *Old English Martyrology*,” in *Writing Women Saints in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2013), 13-29, at 27.

⁷⁰ Rauer, “Female Hagiography,” 28.

the B-text, for example, the leaves for January 26-February 26 are missing, and the C-text appears to have always been incomplete, with entries only existing for March 19-December 21.⁷¹ Nevertheless, it is extremely probable (given Juliana's appearance in both the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* and Bede's martyrology) that at one time an entry for her was included, or was meant to be included had the entries for the liturgical year been completed.

What does appear in both the B- and C-texts, however, is one of the text's longest entries: the one on July 7 for Saint Marina,⁷² which is the Greek version of Margaret's name. Problems arise from this, however, as the Greek tradition typically celebrated Marina's feast day July 17, while the Latin tradition commonly celebrated Margaret's feast day on July 20.⁷³ As J. E. Cross points out, eight Anglo-Saxon calendars celebrate a Marina's feast day on July 7,⁷⁴ what is important to note, however, is the fact that all of these calendars also have separate entries for Margaret.⁷⁵ Likewise, even the earliest of these eight calendars, the Leofric Missal (c. 970), post-dates the *OEM* by almost a century (though it is certainly possible that an earlier, lost calendar exists).⁷⁶ It is possible that the July 7 dating began simply as a misreading of 17 as 7, though this too is significant, as it would mean that the exemplar followed the Greek tradition, rather than

⁷¹ Rauer, "Usage," 145.

⁷² For a full edition and translation of this entry, see Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 51-3.

⁷³ Clayton and Magennis, *Old English Lives*, 72.

⁷⁴ J. E. Cross, "The Notice on Marina (7 July) and *Passiones S. Margaritae*," in *Old English Prose: Basic Readings*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach, with the assistance of Deborah A. Oosterhouse, Basic Readings in Anglo-Saxon England 5 (New York: Garland, 2000), 419-32, at 428.

⁷⁵ Francis Wormald, *English Kalendars before A. D. 1100*, Henry Bradshaw Society 72 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1934), 36, 50, 64, 78, 204, 218, 246, 260.

⁷⁶ Cross argues that the existence of two such calendars from Glastonbury (the Leofric Missal and the Bosworth Psalter), and the archaisms present in the calendar found in London, BL, Cotton Nero A.ii, suggest the existence of this earlier exemplar. Cross, "The Notice on Marina," 428.

the Latin one, supporting the conjecture that knowledge of Saint Margaret was originally brought to England by Archbishop Theodore, who himself was Greek.

Martyrologies like these are just one example of the types of sources that exist concerning saints; one must also consider the evidence from calendars and litanies. While Juliana and Margaret appear with regularity in the liturgical calendars by the end of the Anglo-Saxon era, there are few examples that predate 948. Indeed, in total only five calendars survive from this period, and while two of these mention Juliana, there is but a single mention of Margaret, and her name is misspelled.⁷⁷ Both Juliana and “Marie” appear in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby MS 63,⁷⁸ copied in Northumbria in the second half of the ninth century,⁷⁹ while only Juliana appears in Paris, BNF, lat. 10837 (the Calendar of St. Willibrord), which was copied in the eighth century by a scribe at Echternach, who was connected with the Anglo-Saxon mission to Ireland.⁸⁰ Unlike the scribe of the Calendar of St. Willibrord who lists Juliana’s feast day as February 16,⁸¹ the scribe of Digby 63 appears to have not been overly familiar with Juliana’s tradition,

⁷⁷ The other three calendars are: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 27, a metrical calendar which was produced at either Canterbury or Winchester in the 920s; Munich, Hauptstaatsarchiv, Raritäten-Selekt 108, a fragment of a single leaf which was produced c. 700-54 in either Northumbria or a Continental house with an Insular connection; and Regensburg-Hauzenstein, Gräfllich Walderdorffsche Bibliothek s.n., a bifolium which was produced in mid-eighth-century Northumbria. Of these three, only Junius 27 is complete, so the absence of both saints seems to be by choice. Neither of the other two contains February, which allows for the possibility that Juliana may have originally been part of these two calendars. The Munich calendar, which has been lost since 1939, only contained entries for May 3-20 and June 4-24, and while the Regensburg-Hauzenstein calendar is missing February, it does contain July. Rebecca Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, Henry Bradshaw Society 117 (London: Boydell, 2008), 18, 20-3, Table II, and Table VII.

⁷⁸ The July 20 entry is for St. Wulmar, not Margaret. Later calendars often listed the two saints together. Wormald, *English Kalendars*, 8.

⁷⁹ Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 98. This narrows down the time and place more than Wormald’s initial assessment of the “North Country” in the ninth century. Wormald, *English Kalendars*, 1.

⁸⁰ I have chosen to include this calendar since it still reflects Anglo-Saxon traditions, even though it was copied on the Continent. It should be noted that instead of listing Margaret under July 20, St. Sabina is listed under this day. Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars*, 18, Table II, Table VII.

⁸¹ H. A. Wilson, ed., *The Calendar of St. Willibrord (from MS. Paris Lat. 10837): A Facsimile with Transcription, Introduction, and Notes*, Henry Bradshaw Society 55 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1918), 4.

however, and lists her feast day as February 15, rather than 16—a mistake that appears nowhere else in the Anglo-Saxon tradition. Further, the only clue that we have that “Marie” is actually a misspelling of “Marina” is the fact that the entry can be found on July 17.⁸²

Far more common are the saints’ appearances in pre-Benedictine reform litanies, with Juliana appearing in five manuscripts,⁸³ and Margaret appearing in three.⁸⁴ Of these manuscripts, two of particular note are Cambridge, Corpus Christi College (hereafter, CCCC) 272 and London, BL, Harley 7653. The former, which contains entries for both Juliana and Margaret, is noteworthy as it was possibly brought to England by Grimbold, a monk of Saint-Bertin, who was one of the scholars King Alfred sent for in the mid-880s to lead his cultural reform. If this manuscript is indeed connected to Grimbold, it suggests that the reformer recognized the imperative role saints held both in reviving the Church and in matters of pastoral significance. The second manuscript mentioned only contains Juliana, but it is suspected in light of its beginning lines—“ut pro me Dei famula oretis”—that this specific text belonged to a woman for private devotion.⁸⁵ This is particularly informative as it suggests that Anglo-Saxons recognized that Juliana was an

⁸² Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 73.

⁸³ Juliana appears on: line 144 of CCCC 272, which was copied in Rheims c. 883-4, but was probably brought to England with Grimbold during Alfred’s reign; line 35 of London, BL, Harley MS 7653, which was copied in Mercia c. 800; line 55 of London, BL, Royal 2. A. xx, which was possibly copied in Worcester during the second half of the eighth century; line 264 of Salisbury Cathedral Library MS 180, which was copied in Brittany c. 900, and probably brought to England with the Breton exiles during Athelstan’s reign (r. 924-39); and line 162 of a Rheims manuscript, which was probably of Breton origins and brought to England under the same circumstances as the Salisbury manuscript. The Rheims manuscript is only known as it was printed in *Vetera Analecta* by Jean Mabillon before it was presumably destroyed in the 1774 Rheims Cathedral fire. Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, Henry Bradshaw Society 106 (London: Boydell, 1991), 64-5, 75, 81, 84, 113, 210, 213, 262, 294.

⁸⁴ Margaret appears on: line 159 of CCCC 272, line 150 of the lost Rheims manuscript, and line 246 of the Salisbury manuscript (see the previous note for details). Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies*, 113, 262, 293.

⁸⁵ Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies*, 75.

appropriate model for Anglo-Saxon women when the Viking attacks had begun to gain strength and frequency during the early-ninth century.

As Rollason argues, sources such as calendars, litanies, and martyrologies do not prove that a saint was venerated in England; more is needed.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, their appearance in these sources does provide the foundation from which veneration would grow, and would link the saints inextricably to devotional practices in the Anglo-Saxon church. Discussing the origin of litanies, Michael Lapidge, for example, argues that “It was in the British Isles, and (in my opinion) particularly in Anglo-Saxon England, that the litany of saints first came to be widely used for devotional purposes in the western Church.”⁸⁷ In particular, the recitation of litanies had five main uses during this time: they were to be read at the dedication of a church by a bishop, at the ordination of a monk by an abbot or a bishop, for personal devotion (as is the case with London, BL, Harley 7653 and London, BL, Royal 2.A.xx), for penitential purposes, and for Easter services.⁸⁸ Thus, litanies provide convincing evidence of the growing veneration of saints, since they would actually have been read for worship (unlike calendars, which serve as a reference point for the feast days of the liturgical year). Thus, while Margaret has fewer appearances than Juliana during this period, the growing veneration of her should not be understated.

Indeed, just following the copying of the earliest manuscript of the *OEM*, a late-ninth or early-tenth-century Mercian scribe commemorated Margaret’s life and death

⁸⁶ Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, 68.

⁸⁷ Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies*, 25.

⁸⁸ Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies*, 43-6.

with a complete *passio* in Latin, which is now located in Paris, BNF, lat. 5574,⁸⁹ though it would take another century for her *passio* to be translated into Old English.⁹⁰ This Latin text is the earliest surviving *passio* about St. Margaret that was produced in England, and it adheres to the BHL 5303 version of her life, which was the most widespread recension within the Latin tradition.⁹¹ While not a direct translation of the original Greek *passio* of St. Margaret (it is more probable to have been adapted from an earlier Latin translation), this particular account is noted for often serving as the exemplar for vernacular translations. Indeed, one of the three extant Old English *passiones* of St. Margaret, the one found in CCC 303,⁹² likewise follows the BHL 5303 version.⁹³

The import of the BNF, lat. 5574 manuscript is more far-reaching, however, as it also contains an almost complete life of St. Juliana.⁹⁴ This life of St. Juliana follows the BHL 4522⁹⁵ version of her life, and is, according to Geith, a member of the Corbie group,⁹⁶ a recension that originated in England and contains manuscripts dating back to

⁸⁹ François Avril and Patricia Danz Stirnemann, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine insulaire, VI^e-XX^e siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1987), 11.

⁹⁰ The earliest of the three Old English lives of Margaret is found in London, BL, Cotton Otho B.x, dated to the first half of the eleventh century. Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 41, 94, 96.

⁹¹ This is significant as parts of the vernacular Old English lives instead follow the Greek tradition (BHL 5304). Hugh Magennis, "Margareta," in *SASLC*, 319-20.

⁹² Clayton and Magennis, *Old English Lives*, 7.

⁹³ It should be noted, however, that it is unlikely that BNF, lat. 5574 and CCC 303 had the same exemplar. Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 191.

⁹⁴ "Only the closing phrases are incomplete. The last folio of the quire has been cut away" (Frederick M. Biggs, "Comments on the Codicology of Two Paris Manuscripts (BN lat. 13,408 and 5574)," in *Via Crucis: Essays on Early Medieval Sources and Ideas in Memory of J. E. Cross*, ed. Thomas N. Hall [Morgantown, VA: West Virginia U P, 2002], 326-30, at 328, n. 5). As will be discussed in Chapter Two, however, at least one more folio is missing (the one which would have been between fols. 34 and 35).

⁹⁵ Biggs, "Codicology," 328; "Juliana," in *SASLC*, 277-8.

⁹⁶ While this recension may have originated in England, most of the manuscripts adhering to this version of the legend were produced in the Corbie area of northern France, and the Bayern region (Bavaria) of southern Germany, with the pattern of dissemination probably being linked to the activities of the early Anglo-Saxon missionaries. The earliest surviving manuscripts for the Corbie recension include: Turin, Bibl. Naz. Cod. D.V.3 (late-eighth century), Paris, BNF, lat. 12598 (eighth to ninth century), and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 4554 (late-eighth century). Walter Berschin, "Zur lateinischen und

the end of the eighth century.⁹⁷ This manuscript therefore marks the first time in the history of the British Isles for the lives of Juliana and Margaret to be united in a single manuscript.⁹⁸ The manuscript's theme of strong, religious women is continued in its third text: the *Invention of the Cross*. This work details the discovery of the True Cross by Constantine's mother, Helena—a story told in much greater detail by the same poet who commemorated Juliana's life: Cynewulf.

The BNF, lat. 5574 manuscript's story therefore becomes a significant marker in the development of female sanctity in Anglo-Saxon England. It not only brings together the heretofore separate traditions of Juliana and Margaret, it also links these women with Helena, who had long served as a model for Christian queenship. This last factor is even more stressed when read within its historical context. Since it was copied in Mercia around the year 900,⁹⁹ it was produced within the same time and place as one of Anglo-Saxon England's most notable female leaders: Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians (r. 911-18).

Central to the discussion of this manuscript's insight into Anglo-Saxon views of both sanctity and queenship is its contemporary counterpart: *Elene*. This Old English

deutschen Juliana-Legende," *Studi Medievali*, ser. 3, XIV (1973): 1003-12, at 1004-5. I am indebted to Adriana Nica for her translation of this article.

⁹⁷ Some scholars have taken particular note of Turin, Bibl. Naz. Cod. D.V.3, as it provides the earliest example of both the Corbie *passio* of Juliana and the Turin variant of the BHL 5303 *passio* of Margaret. Despite this, there is no evidence that the Turin manuscript was used as the exemplar for BNF, lat. 5574, especially since the BNF, lat. 5574 *passio* of Margaret does not adhere to any of the details that mark the Turin variant. Nonetheless, a future comparison of the *passiones* of Juliana would be particularly helpful, as the Corbie recension remains woefully understudied. Karl-Ernst Geith, "Priester Arnolts Legende von der Heiligen Juliana-Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Juliana-Legende und zum Text des deutschen Gedichtes" (Freiburg, 1965), unpublished dissertation; Cross, "The Notice on Marina," 419-22; Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 9-13.

⁹⁸ This drastically pre-dates their appearance together in the Middle English Katherine Group manuscripts, suggesting that the foundations for this Anglo-Norman trend were laid in the Anglo-Saxon era.

⁹⁹ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 95-6.

poem is one of the four attributed to Cynewulf, who, as mentioned earlier, probably wrote in late-ninth-century Anglia, the kingdom directly to Mercia's east. In it, we are given a poetic rendition of the *Invention of the Cross*, as Constantine's mother, Elene (Helena), journeys to the Holy Land, where she not only converts masses of Jews, but also discovers the True Cross. Describing her in militaristic terms, Cynewulf labels her a *guðcwen* (battle-queen),¹⁰⁰ echoing the reality of Æthelflæd, whose actual life was strongly reminiscent of Helena's. Æthelflæd, as stated earlier, was renowned for organizing raids into Viking-occupied areas in order to recover relics, a clear parallel to Elene's own recovery of the True Cross. Further, as the first born child of King Alfred the Great, Æthelflæd appears to have inherited her father's aptitude for leadership, a quality that came to fruition in 911 following the death of her husband, ealdorman Æthelred. Defying the "longstanding custom [that] they [widows] were counted among the weak who required protection,"¹⁰¹ Æthelflæd took over as the leader of the Mercians until her death in 918. Both she and Helena were therefore rulers who, though not technically queens, travelled beyond the borders of their kingdoms in order to establish stronger holds both for their rule and for Christianity.¹⁰²

Moreover, the most convincing evidence of a practicing cult for Juliana in early Anglo-Saxon England might also be linked to Æthelflæd's tenure as "Lady of the Mercians": the dedication of a church to Juliana at Shrewsbury. While the exact date of St. Juliana's foundation is unknown, its strong ties to St. Alkmund's, which lies fifty

¹⁰⁰ P. O. E. Gradon, ed., *Cynewulf's 'Elene'* (Exeter: U of Exeter P, 1996), lines 254a and 331a.

¹⁰¹ Jo Ann McNamara, "Imitatio Helenae: Sainthood as an Attribute of Queenship," in *Saints: Studies in Hagiography*, ed. Sandro Sticca (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1996), 51-80, at 56.

¹⁰² One might recall here the earlier discussion pertaining to Æthelflæd's role in developing Mercian relic cults.

meters to the north, does provide some clues about its dating. These two Shrewsbury churches share a contiguous graveyard, suggesting that St. Juliana's might have originally been directly subordinate to St. Alkmund's. Moreover, had the two churches been founded at the same time, it would explain the path of the parish boundaries, since this line was certainly not determined by the natural landscape.¹⁰³ It is likewise possible, however, that St. Juliana's was established as a female community linked to St. Alkmund's. This explanation would not only account for the unusual dedication to Juliana, but it would also explain why this church had its own endowment of land.¹⁰⁴

It is appropriate, therefore, to turn to St. Alkmund's for information about the foundation of St. Juliana's. The cult of St Alkmund (Ealhmund), who was a Northumbrian prince killed c. 800, began in Mercia soon after the prince's death. While it is possible that the church of St. Alkmund (and, therefore, the church of St. Juliana) was founded by the Mercian King Coenwulf (r. 797-821) in a political move against Northumbria,¹⁰⁵ credit for the foundation is traditionally given to Æthelflæd instead.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, the town of Shrewsbury is first mentioned in the records when Æthelflæd and her husband, Æthelred, stayed there overnight in 901 and issued a charter.¹⁰⁷ While it is impossible to know definitively if Æthelflæd did indeed found (or re-endow) these two churches, it is a move that certainly would have fit well within her larger objective of fortifying the religious landscape within this area. With this in mind, a church dedication

¹⁰³ Steven Bassett, "Anglo-Saxon Shrewsbury and Its Churches," *Midland History* 16 (1991): 1-23, at 12.

¹⁰⁴ The Domesday Book records that during the time of King Edward, St. Juliana's held half a hide of land. Ann Williams and G. H. Martin, eds. and trans., *The Domesday Book: A Complete Translation*, Alecto Historical Editions (London: Penguin, 1992), 688; and Bassett, "Anglo-Saxon Shrewsbury," 11-12.

¹⁰⁵ Bassett, "Anglo-Saxon Shrewsbury," 10.

¹⁰⁶ Bassett, "Anglo-Saxon Shrewsbury," 9.

¹⁰⁷ "S 221," *The Electronic Sawyer*.

to Juliana—a saint famous for her militant resistance of pagans—makes a great deal of sense.

Furthermore, the rule of Æthelflæd and the growing focus on female saints like Juliana, Margaret, and Helena highlight the shift away from the earlier maternal figures of sanctity towards models more fiercely martial in nature, a trend reflected in the more prominent role that arose for queenship in Anglo-Saxon England at this time.¹⁰⁸ For example, the C-text of the *ASC*, which records Æthelflæd’s leadership from 911-18 in a section known as the Mercian Register, explains that in the year 913 the Lady “went with all the Mercians to Tamworth, and built the fortress there,” and that in 918 the “people of York had promised her to accept her rule,”¹⁰⁹ demonstrating the active nature that came to define her reign. As Stephanie Hollis points out, this link between Helena and Æthelflæd is not one of modern making, as the Lady of the Mercians herself was eager to exploit this link, and significantly “began her fortifications on the eve of the Invention of the Cross,”¹¹⁰ a fact explicitly mentioned in the Mercian Register.

Æthelflæd’s leadership is particularly remarkable when compared to the restrictions her step-grandmother, Judith of Flanders (r. 858-60), faced as the wife of Æthelwulf (king of Wessex, r. 839-58) and the stepmother to the future King Alfred. The

¹⁰⁸ Stacy Klein has made an extensive argument for reading queenship in *Elene* as historically relevant, though she does not discuss Æthelflæd in particular: “For tenth-century audiences, then, Cynewulf’s textual celebration of the late antique Christian queen offered an experience of reading that was distinctly historical. For them, Elene might be read not only as a figure who lived during various moments within typological history, but also as a figure who inhabited three different moments of distinct relevance to their own cultural identity: early Christian Rome, from which the Anglo-Saxons derived so many of their social and psychological formations; tenth-century England, in which they were living; and a golden age of English conversion nostalgically produced by reformers” (Stacy S. Klein, *Ruling Women: Queenship and Gender in Anglo-Saxon Literature* [Notre Dame: U of Notre Dame P, 2006], 70).

¹⁰⁹ G. N. Garmonsway, ed. and trans., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1990), 96, 105.

¹¹⁰ Stephanie Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Women and the Church: Sharing a Common Fate* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1992), 92.

extent of these restrictions was not only practical, but it was also rhetorical. In the *Life of Alfred*, Asser notes that “the West Saxons did not allow the queen to sit beside the king, nor indeed did they allow her to be called ‘queen,’ but rather ‘king’s wife.’”¹¹¹ For example, of the twenty-nine charters surviving from Edward the Elder’s reign, all of which date between 901 and 909, his wife during this time, Ælfflæd, only attests to one, and her title is simply “coniunx regis.”¹¹² Likewise, the only other female witness to this charter, Eahlswið, is also identified by her relation to the king; she is the “mater regis.”¹¹³ Nonetheless, practices such as these were beginning to shift in the tenth century; queens were steadily gaining a more principal role in the kingdom, as is evidenced in the development of specific services for the inauguration of a queen, and the appearance of queens’ names on charters.¹¹⁴ We might, for instance, compare the almost complete absence of Ælfflæd from the charters to the slightly more prominent role given to her female contemporary, Æthelflæd, who is placed on equal footing with her husband in the three of the twenty-nine charters to which she attests.¹¹⁵ She is not Æthelflæd, wife of the ealdorman; she is Æthelflæd, one half of the pair who “tenuerunt” (held) Mercia on behalf of the king.¹¹⁶ This institutionalization of queenship is not only reflected in *Elene* and Æthelflæd, but also in the new emphasis given to the rhetorical strength of St. Juliana and St. Margaret in their *passiones*. This is perhaps most clear in Cynewulf’s *Juliana*, with the saint’s expanded interrogation of the demon in lines 417-28, which had originally simply been “Immunde spiritus, quomodo praesumis Christianis te

¹¹¹ Keynes and Lapidge, *Life of Alfred*, 71.

¹¹² “S 363,” *The Electronic Sawyer*.

¹¹³ “S 363,” *The Electronic Sawyer*.

¹¹⁴ Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, 235-6.

¹¹⁵ “S 367,” “S 367a,” and “S 371,” *The Electronic Sawyer*.

¹¹⁶ This is the phrasing used in all three charters.

admiscere?”¹¹⁷ Cynewulf’s poetic expansion includes a description of hell, and imperially warns the demon, “Wende ic þæt þu þy wærra weorþan sceolde / wið soðfæstum swylces gemotes / ond þy unbealdra, þe þe oft wiðstod / þurh wuldorcýning / willan þines”¹¹⁸ (I think you should be more wary and less bold about coming face to face with the pious and with the one who often, through the King of Glory, resisted your will). Most of the expansions in *Juliana* take place when Juliana faces the demon, her spiritual opponent, and given the circumstances of the late-eighth to early-tenth centuries, it is no wonder that this is the scene that Cynewulf most wanted to bring alive for his audience.¹¹⁹ Indeed, while native women were passed over as examples of martyrs, the lives of foreign saints were adapted (as will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two) to fit the situation facing the Anglo-Saxons.

Silenced Women

Despite the decision to pass over the native female candidates for saintly martyrdom, Anglo-Saxon leaders (both political and religious) were well aware of the reality of the threats faced by the nuns. Eleven years after the infamous attack on Lindisfarne, Cenwulf and his brother Cuthred—the kings of Mercia and Kent, respectively—united in the face of this threat and worked together in 804 to provide “Abbess Selethryth and her community at the church of St. Mary, ever Virgin, which is situated in the place which is called Lyminge, where rests the body of the blessed Eadburh, a small piece of land in the city of Canterbury as a refuge in necessity.”¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ James M. Garnett, “The Latin and the Anglo-Saxon *Juliana*,” *PMLA* 14.3 (1899): 279-98, at 292.

¹¹⁸ Woolf, *Cynewulf’s ‘Juliana,’* 40, lines 425-8.

¹¹⁹ Also expanded are lines 454-530. Garnett, “Latin and Anglo-Saxon,” 293.

¹²⁰ Whitelock, “Grant by Cenwulf, king of Mercia, and Cuthred, king of Kent, to the abbess of Lyminge, of land in Canterbury as a refuge (804),” in *EHD*, no. 82, 474.

Lyminge, founded in 633 by Queen Æthelburga, was one of the first religious communities in Anglo-Saxon England specifically intended for women.¹²¹ Thus, when it was sacked by the Vikings sometime before 844¹²² (with the nuns ultimately fleeing to their refuge in Canterbury),¹²³ it marked the end of an era for the religious women of Anglo-Saxon England.

Unfortunately, according to the Gotha Text of the life of St. Mildrith,¹²⁴ Lyminge—located roughly five miles from the English Channel, and thus clearly vulnerable to attacks from the sea-faring Vikings—served as the refuge for another nunnery, that of Minster-in-Thanet,¹²⁵ itself located approximately three miles from the sea. The ultimate fate of Minster-in-Thanet is something of a hard-earned victory; while the nunnery was destroyed, possibly in 841 when Kent suffered particularly severe Viking attacks,¹²⁶ it was soon re-inhabited. Nevertheless, it is unknown if the original

¹²¹ The other was Folkestone, founded by Eanswith sometime between 630-40. Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, “Women’s Monastic Communities, 500-1100: Patterns of Expansion and Decline,” *Signs* 14.2 (Winter 1989): 261-92, at 265.

¹²² The exact date is unknown, but as Susan Kelly points out: “when a dispute over Ealdorman Oswulf’s inheritance was finally settled in 844, the representatives of the Lyminge community were priests and other male clerics (Sawyer 1438),” suggesting that the original community of nuns must have already been displaced by this time (Susan Kelly, “Lyminge Minster and Its Early Charters,” in *Anglo-Saxons: Studies Presented to Cyril Roy Hart*, ed. Simon Keynes and Alfred P. Smyth [Dublin and Portland, OR: Four Courts P, 2005], 98-113, at 113).

¹²³ Foot, *Monastic Life*, 281; John Blair, “Lyminge,” in *BEASE*, 297.

¹²⁴ Since this is an Anglo-Norman work, however, it is unclear if Lyminge truly served as the refuge for Minster-in-Thanet. There is reason to give credence to this account, however, as the two monasteries shared close connections. Not only were the relics of Eadburg, an abbess of Minster-in-Thanet, housed in Lyminge, but the two houses also shared a single abbess in the late-seventh and early-eighth century: the aforesaid Selethryth. However, it is just as possible that this story was concocted in order to give Lyminge a claim to the relics. David W. Rollason, *The Mildrith Legend: A Study in Early Medieval Hagiography in England*, Studies in the Early History of Britain (Leicester: Leicester U P, 1982), 21-5, 63-4.

¹²⁵ Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex*, 143.

¹²⁶ Sister Beda Brooks, “Archbishop Wulfred (805-832) and the Lordship of Minster-in-Thanet in the Early Ninth Century,” *The Downside Review* 111 (1993): 211-27, at 224.

group of nuns were able to reach their refuge.¹²⁷ Indeed, the precedent set by Lyminge's equally vulnerable position makes one strongly question how effective these refuges could be.¹²⁸ Interestingly, there is a record from 844 suggesting that male monastics from Folkestone, Lyminge, and Dover were once again in their monasteries (or perhaps had never left), though the nuns of Lyminge seem to have remained in Canterbury.¹²⁹

Minster-in-Thanel was not the only nunnery to suffer from an inadequate system of refuge, however. In 867, for example, the nuns of Whitby intended to escape the destruction of the Danes by seeking refuge at the fortified double monastery in Tynemouth.¹³⁰ Their flight proved futile, however, as that monastery was also attacked, and the combined nuns of Whitby and Tynemouth were reportedly burned alive.¹³¹ Three years later, the nuns of Barking Abbey were killed in the same fashion,¹³² and just further

¹²⁷ The Gotha Text of the life of St. Mildrith claims that a few years after Eadburg died (c. 746) "the Danish invasions forced the nuns to flee to Lyminge" (Rollason, *Mildrith Legend*, 79). Clearly, however, the text reflects the hagiographer's confusion in regards to the timeline.

¹²⁸ Nicholas Brooks suggests that the church of St. Mildred's in Canterbury may have been the actual refuge for the community at Minster-in-Thanel, taking into account "its dedication and its possession by St. Augustine's," as well as the fact that "the mysterious Abbess Leofrun 'of St Mildred's' who was captured by the Danes at Canterbury in 1011 may have been abbess of the Canterbury house rather than of Minster-in-Thanel" (Brooks, *The Early History*, 35). There is no concrete evidence to substantiate this claim, however, and as Chapter Three will show, it is almost impossible to prove that a community survived at Thanet past c. 841.

¹²⁹ Brooks, *The Early History*, 202.

¹³⁰ While there is some debate as to when exactly this event occurred, the monastery at Whitby was destroyed in 867, though it is possible that this may post-date the nuns' flight to Tynemouth. To find answers, we must look to Tynemouth's history, which records that the monastery was fortified in 800 after the first attack, and was completely destroyed sometime between 865 and 875 following subsequent attacks. It is therefore reasonable to suggest that this event did in fact occur in 867, the year when both monasteries were possibly destroyed and abandoned. David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (New York: St. Martin's P, 1972), 78, 80.

¹³¹ Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex*, 143.

¹³² Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex*, 144. Barking is not mentioned again as an active abbey until 950, when King Eadred refers to it in a charter (S 552a). Sarah Foot, "Unveiling Anglo-Saxon Nuns," in *Women and Religious in Medieval England*, ed. Diana Wood (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2003), 13-31, at 22.

north the nuns of Ely were likewise killed by the Danes.¹³³ Moreover, other nunneries seem to have dispersed in the face of these threats, such as the nuns at Wareham. The 876 entry of the A- and E-texts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (hereafter, *ASC*) states that the town was attacked, and “although defended by bank and palisade was taken by the Vikings and used as a base in the 870s.”¹³⁴ This nunnery disappears from all records until 979, when Edward the Martyr’s remains were translated from Wareham—where, the E-text of the *ASC* records, he was first buried without royal honors¹³⁵—to Shaftesbury, suggesting that while the nuns returned some point after the 870s Wareham never rose to a level of great prominence.

We might question why, in particular, the nuns of Barking did not flee, since they had been closely associated with the monastery of Chertsey, which is situated only thirty miles to the west.¹³⁶ It is possible that this monastery had already been destroyed by 870 (as destruction was indeed its ultimate fate),¹³⁷ yet given Barking’s closer proximity to the sea, it seems more probable that the nuns were attacked first.¹³⁸ It is worth

¹³³ Janet Fairweather, trans., *Liber Eliensis: A History of the Isle of Ely from the Seventh Century to the Twelfth* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), 73-4; Schulenburg, “Women’s Monastic Communities,” 276; and Foot, *Veiled Women I*, 72.

¹³⁴ Barbara Yorke, “‘Sisters Under the Skin’? Anglo-Saxon Nuns and Nunneries in Southern England,” *Reading Medieval Studies* 15 (1989): 95-117, at 103; and Garmonsway, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 74-5.

¹³⁵ Garmonsway, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 123.

¹³⁶ These religious houses had been associated ever since Eorcenwald first founded them. Foot, *Monastic Life*, 253.

¹³⁷ No precise date exists for when this monastery was attacked, though Tanner does note that when it fell in the late-ninth century, the abbot and 91 monks were killed. Thomas Tanner, *Notitia Monastica, or, A Short History of the Religious Houses in England and Wales* (Oxford: A. and J. Churchill, 1695; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1973), 62.

¹³⁸ It is worth noting that Sarah Foot has questioned if indeed the nuns did flee, since some of their early charters survived (suggesting that the entire monastery could not have been destroyed), and since Goscelin of St. Bertin’s late-eleventh-century *Lectiones de Sancta Hildelitha* mentions that during the reign of Æthelred, these nuns fled to London for protection. Sarah Foot, *Veiled Women II: Female Religious Communities in England, 871-1066* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 28-9.

questioning, at the very least, if the nuns' ability to flee might have been compromised by the standing policies regarding women traveling alone.

Upon joining a monastery, nuns had few (if any) occasions to leave; they were generally expected to cut all ties with the secular world, and unlike their counterparts did not leave to engage in pastoral work, to participate in church councils, or, most revealingly, to journey on a pilgrimage. As Christine Fell notes, Boniface wrote to Cuthbert, the archbishop of Canterbury, to advise that “the practice of women undertaking pilgrimage to Rome should be restricted since so many of them end up as prostitutes in foreign towns.”¹³⁹ Adding another layer to this issue is the letter from Abbess Eangyth and her daughter, Bugga, to Boniface, in which she asks his opinion about going on a pilgrimage. Cleverly removing issues of gender and sex from the conversation, she states “that those who opposed the practice supported their view by arguing that the councils prescribed that everyone should remain where they were placed and wherever they had taken vows.”¹⁴⁰ His response is meant both to appease and to warn. While he encourages Bugga to go on pilgrimage “if you can in no wise have freedom and a quiet mind at home on account of worldly men,” he stipulates that “you would do better to wait until the rebellious assaults and threats of the Saracens who have recently appeared about in Rome should have subsided.”¹⁴¹ The implication is that she should avoid pilgrimage at all costs, though there is also a hint that it would be acceptable if her situation in her own monastery became untenable—an issue that will be addressed

¹³⁹ Christine E. Fell, “Some Implications of the Boniface Correspondence,” in *New Readings on Women in Old English Literature*, ed. Helen Damico and Alexandra Hennessey Olsen (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana U P, 1990), 29-43, at 36.

¹⁴⁰ Foot, *Monastic Life*, 162.

¹⁴¹ Boniface, “Epistle 27,” in *The Letters of Saint Boniface*, trans. Ephraim Emerton (New York: W. W. Norton, 1940), 56.

in more detail ahead. While it need not be said that a Viking attack would be reason enough for women to risk travel, it is clear that they would have lacked any sort of training to undergo any such journey.

It would be prudent at this point to compare the experiences of the nuns to those of the monks. While some of the destroyed monasteries housed both men and women, such as Ely, Tynemouth, and Whitby, the statistics reveal a shocking reality—compared to the forty-one nunneries that were attacked, only twenty monasteries had been attacked,¹⁴² with but one of them having a story of massacre similar to that of Barking. The monastery is that of Chertsey, the same one holding close ties to Barking. The monastery was attacked in the late-ninth century, with ninety-one monks and the abbot being slaughtered.¹⁴³ While these men did not receive recognition comparable to that of saints such as Oswald and Cuthbert, they were viewed as saints by at least some Anglo-Saxons, an honor apparently beyond the reach of the nuns at Barking. Appearing in two manuscripts containing the lists of saints' resting-places, also known as the *Secgan* (c. 1000), the “martyrs of Chertsey” were identified as saints and the names of two specific monks were given: Beocca and Edor.¹⁴⁴

Interestingly, the *Secgan* also provides the closest example any Anglo-Saxon woman comes to being recognized as a female martyr: Ostryth (d. 697), queen of Mercia

¹⁴² I arrived at this number through the use of *Medieval Religious Houses* by Hadcock and Knowles. Of the twenty destroyed, sixteen occurred in the first wave of Viking invasions (Bardney, Chertsey, Crowland, Deerhurst, Hackness, Jarrow, Lastingham, Partney, Peterborough, St. Benet of Hulme, Stamford, Westbury upon Trym, Westminster, Winchester Cathedral Priory, Hexham, and Repton), and four occurred in the second wave (Cholsey, Jarrow, Malmesbury, and Tavistock). There is speculation as to whether or not Hoxne, Carlisle, and St. Neot's were attacked, and given the lack of corresponding evidence, I have chosen not to include them in these lists. Hadcock and Knowles, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 59-171.

¹⁴³ Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 62.

¹⁴⁴ The two manuscripts are CCC 201 and London, BL, Stowe 944, both dated to the mid-eleventh century. David W. Rollason, “List of Saints' Resting-Places in Anglo-Saxon England,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 7 (1978): 61-93, at 72, 93.

and niece of Oswald of Northumbria.¹⁴⁵ Absent from almost all records, Ostryth is best known for bringing the relics of her martyred uncle to Bardney. Bede briefly mentions her death in Book V, Chapter 24 of his *Historia Ecclesiastica*: “Anno 697 Osthryd regina a suis, id est, Merciorum primatibus, interempta”¹⁴⁶ (In the year 697, Queen Osthryd was killed by them, that is, by the Mercian nobles). Bede certainly does not refer to her as a saint, nor does the queen have any developed *vita* as other murdered saints do (for example, Edward the Martyr). Her inclusion in the *Secgan* is the only hint that she was viewed as a saint, as there is no corresponding evidence that suggests a cult developed for her. Nonetheless, this was still an honor denied to the Anglo-Saxon nuns, who more closely fit the model of the martyr.¹⁴⁷ Given the staggering disparity between the monks of Chertsey and their female counterparts, we must not only question the cause of this difference (Did nuns lack the ability to flee? Were nunneries targeted not just for their monetary value, but also their sexual value?), but also the effect. With monks typically serving as the authors and scribes of hagiographies, it is perhaps no wonder that they would not welcome implicit comparisons being made between their own experiences and those of the nuns. In a quantitative study on Anglo-Saxon female saints, Wiesje Nijenhuis shows that an overwhelming majority of these saints (67%) lived during the seventh and eighth centuries.¹⁴⁸ While Nijenhuis posits that one possible explanation for this phenomenon is the rise of secular power over monastic houses in the aftermath of the Viking attacks, I would argue that this does not mean that “the environment in which

¹⁴⁵ Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 401-2.

¹⁴⁶ Bede, *Opera Historica*, ed. and trans. J. E. King, Vol. II (London: William Heinemann, 1930), 380.

¹⁴⁷ In other words, they were killed while defending aspects of their faith, rather than being killed for political reasons.

¹⁴⁸ While Nijenhuis says 68%, Table 3, which breaks down the individual numbers, shows 67%, so this is the number I have chosen to cite. Nijenhuis, “In a Class of Their Own,” 134.

sainthood had flourished also vanished.”¹⁴⁹ Rather, the environment shifted with the circumstances, leading to new types of saints (the martyred king) and new forms of devotion (vernacular texts). So, too, did this environment provide an unrealized potential for the Anglo-Saxon female martyr.

Even when the nuns apparently survived these onslaughts, they nonetheless were erased from both the records and the religious landscape.¹⁵⁰ For example, while it is unclear how many monks and nuns survived when the double monastery at Thorney was destroyed in 870 by the Danes, the prior and some of the anchorites were martyred, suggesting that there was no time for the cloistered individuals to flee. It would take over a century for this abbey to be re-founded, yet when it finally was in 972 by the well-known Benedictine reformer Æthelwold, it was restricted to monks only.¹⁵¹ This would be the pattern for the majority of the double monasteries destroyed during the raids, including Ely (re-founded in 970 by Æthelwold),¹⁵² Whitby (re-founded c. 1067 by William de Percy),¹⁵³ Bardney (re-founded in 1115 by Walter de Gaunt),¹⁵⁴ Much Wenlock (re-founded in 1081 by Roger, Earl of Montgomery),¹⁵⁵ and Repton (re-founded c. 1153-9 by Countess Maud of Chester).¹⁵⁶ For some, however, a re-founding was simply not in the cards. In the case of Hartlepool, the story ended with the destruction of

¹⁴⁹ Nijenhuis, “In a Class of Their Own,” 135.

¹⁵⁰ As Barbara Yorke has emphasized, nunneries could also have disappeared due to the loss of royal patronage when the kingdoms of Northumbria, Mercia, and East Anglia all fell. Barbara Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses* (London and New York: Continuum, 2003), 59.

¹⁵¹ Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 78; and Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, 39.

¹⁵² Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 64; and Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, 35.

¹⁵³ Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 80; and Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, 632.

¹⁵⁴ Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, 117.

¹⁵⁵ Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, 188.

¹⁵⁶ It is interesting that while a priory was founded for Augustinian canons at this site, the exclusion of nuns was, in this case, determined by a woman. Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 171-2; and Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, 37. Tanner cites the date of the re-founding at 1172.

the monastery by the Vikings.¹⁵⁷ The female-led double monasteries had already been falling out of favor by the time of the Viking attacks, with the Second Council of Nicaea (787) decreeing “that double houses should never be set up, because these always occasioned scandal and offence, although those communities that were already in existence were to be permitted to continue provided that they followed the recommendations of St. Basil.”¹⁵⁸ The attacks thus provided the perfect justification for their erasure.

While terse records of these attacks exist, the legacies of these women were effectively put on hold for almost 450 years. According to the surviving literature, it would only be with the later Anglo-Norman hagiographers that the women who were undoubtedly killed during these events would be recognized as saints. Looking specifically to the historical examples of nuns being burned alive was Roger of Wendover, who, in the early-thirteenth century, recorded the events concerning St. Ebbe the Younger.¹⁵⁹ According to his work, *Flowers of History*, this woman had been the abbess of Coldingham, when—in response to the rapidly approaching Danes—she promptly cut off her nose and upper lip, and advised her sisters to do the same, so that the invaders would not be tempted to rape them. It is said that when the Danes beheld the disfigured faces of the nuns, they were so overcome with horror that they burned the monastery with the nuns inside, and for her courage she was recognized as a saint.¹⁶⁰

Writing shortly after Roger of Wendover, Matthew Paris likewise lauded the actions of

¹⁵⁷ No year is given for its destruction. Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, 56; and John Blair, “Hartlepool,” in *BEASE*, 230.

¹⁵⁸ Foot, *Veiled Women I*, 66.

¹⁵⁹ She should not be confused with St. Ebbe the Elder who was the first abbess of Coldingham and died of old age in 683. David Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 157.

¹⁶⁰ Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex*, 146-7.

St. Ebbe and the nuns of Coldingham,¹⁶¹ yet no Anglo-Saxon evidence testifies to the existence of these specific women, nor documents these events. While Ebbe probably did not exist in reality, there were certainly women similar to her who must have; who, for example, was Barking's abbess when the nunnery was attacked and all the nuns were burned alive inside? One wonders if the hagiographers did not know what to do with such women since they simultaneously fell into the categories of the noble abbess and the virgin martyr.

Similar to Ebbe is the example provided by St. Osyth, who had been betrothed against her will to Sighere (r. c. 664-83), king of the East Saxons, by her parents, Frithuwald, a Mercian chieftain, and Wilburgh, the daughter of the Mercian King Penda (r. c. 632-55). On the day of their wedding, Sighere was apparently distracted by a white stag, allowing Osyth to flee to the East Anglian bishops, Acca and Bedwyn, who then pled her case to her husband. Sighere, seeing the error of his ways, allowed his wife to leave him, and gave her the land at Chich, where she founded a monastery.¹⁶² After briefly living in peace, the nunnery was destroyed by the Viking invaders in 700,¹⁶³ and Osyth was martyred after once more refusing to abandon her faith.¹⁶⁴ While Osyth is now regarded as an Anglo-Saxon saint, it is only in the Anglo-Norman period that evidence

¹⁶¹ Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex*, 175.

¹⁶² Tanner doubts the historicity of this claim, suggesting instead that the monastery was not founded until 1118 by Richard de Belmeis, while Knowles and Hadcock, who cite J. Charles Cox's assertion that Osyth was actually martyred in 870, give a bit more credence to the claim. Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, 124; Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Houses*, 173; and J. Charles Cox, *Essex, with Thirty-two Illustrations and Two Maps* (London: Methuen, 1909), 249.

¹⁶³ Knowles and Hadcock, in agreement with Tanner, instead state 653 as the year of her martyrdom, since this is the date provided by Capgrave. Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, 124; Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Houses*, 173.

¹⁶⁴ Alban Butler, *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, Vol. IV: *October, November, December*, ed., rev., and suppl. Herbert Thurston, S. J., and Donald Attwater (New York: P. J. Kennedy & Sons, 1956), 52.

appears for her.¹⁶⁵ The works of Alberic Vere, who was a canon of St. Osyth's,¹⁶⁶ and Matthew Paris provide the details of her tale,¹⁶⁷ and her appearance in the October 7 entry in the early-thirteenth century calendar from Christ Church Cathedral Priory in Canterbury (London, BL, Cotton Tiberius B.iii), as well as the presence of her relic at this priory, instills her legend with a sense of historicity.¹⁶⁸ While these specific individuals may have never existed, the works of Anglo-Norman hagiographers, such as Roger of Wendover, Matthew Paris, and Alberic Vere, reveal that the period of Viking attacks was being viewed as England's own age of martyrs, and produced (previously nameless) women who met the Church's requirements for martyrdom. Given the reality of these brutal circumstances, it is not a far leap to suggest that these women must have also been viewed (and ultimately dismissed) as potential candidates for sanctity during the Anglo-Saxon era.

It would be appropriate at this point to recall the case of the British virgin, Juthwara, discussed in the Introduction, as her story highlights the threats facing religious women that came from much closer to home. Never was the threat to Anglo-Saxon nuns invariably external; internal threats also existed, and this could well account for why some of the persecuted Anglo-Saxon women were initially passed over as saints. Few would want to remember their own guilt in crimes that bore a startling parallel to those committed by the Vikings. As Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg so pointedly remarked, the

¹⁶⁵ While some scholars have discussed the significance of the rarely mentioned Osyth, most fail to mention that no evidence for her exists from the Anglo-Saxon era. Phillip Pulsiano, "Blessed Bodies: The Vitae of Anglo-Saxon Female Saints," *Parergon* 16.2 (1999): 1-42, esp. 17-21; Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex*, 144-5.

¹⁶⁶ Rev. S. Baring-Gould, *The Lives of Saints*, Vol. XI (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1914), 161.

¹⁶⁷ Butler, *Lives of Saints*, 52.

¹⁶⁸ Francis Wormald, *English Benedictine Kalendars after A.D. 1100*, Vol. I: *Abbotsbury-Durham*, Henry Bradshaw Society 77 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1939), 63, 67, 77.

“candidates for sainthood necessarily reflected the values and prejudices of the collective mentality,”¹⁶⁹ and in the first wave of Viking invasions, such prejudices were clearly reflected in the notable absence of Anglo-Saxon nuns. Such internal threats became a reality in the year 900, for example, when Æthelwold, who was a nephew of King Alfred the Great, seized a nun from the double monastery of Wimborne, which he had originally attacked in a failed attempt to take the throne. This unnamed nun appears to have been taken as a concubine, and all that is known of her fate is that she was eventually “arrested.”¹⁷⁰ Moreover, this monastery never appears to have recovered from the attack, as from that point on it disappears from all records.¹⁷¹

Evidence about the sexual threats facing nuns can also be found in the law codes. The late-ninth-century law code of Alfred stipulates that “If anyone brings a nun out of a nunnery without the permission of the king or the bishop, he is to pay 120 shillings, half to the king and half to the bishop and the lord of the church which had the nun,”¹⁷² revealing that the protection of nuns at this point fell under the purview of both political and religious leaders. Secular penalties for crimes of this sort were most commonly monetary in nature. As the Laws of Alfred stipulate: “If anyone in lewd fashion seizes a nun either by her clothes or her breast without her leave, the compensation is to be double that we have established for a lay person.”¹⁷³

Yet it was not only a person’s money purse that suffered, so, too, did their soul, as attested to in evidence found in the penitentials, which served as handbooks for

¹⁶⁹ Schulenburg, “Sexism and the Celestial Gynaecium,” 119.

¹⁷⁰ Garmonsway, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 92-3.

¹⁷¹ Yorke, ““Sisters Under the Skin?”” 104; Margaret Clunies Ross, “Concubinage in Anglo-Saxon England,” *Past and Present* 108 (August 1985): 3-34, at 32; and Foot, *Veiled Women II*, 233.

¹⁷² Whitelock, “Laws of Alfred,” clause 8, in *EHD*, no. 33, 375.

¹⁷³ Whitelock, “Laws of Alfred,” clause 18, in *EHD*, no. 33, 376.

confessors. According to Egbert's Penitential (c. 740), "the same penalty [would be imposed] for intercourse with a professed woman as for fornicating *cum masculo*."¹⁷⁴

This is telling, since in Anglo-Saxon penitentials, homosexuality between men was considered one of the gravest offenses, making it one of the most heavily punished.

Archbishop Theodore's Penitential, a work that differed from its penitential predecessors in that it was "concerned with lay rather than monastic sinners,"¹⁷⁵ stipulated fifteen years of penance and likened such acts to bestiality.¹⁷⁶ What can be inferred from this is that intercourse with nuns fell into the category of "wrongful" or "perverse" sexuality. The reality this penitential makes Eleusius's and Olibrius's respective sexual advances on Juliana and Margaret all the more perverse for Anglo-Saxon audiences; while neither woman was a nun, both were "professed" women in the most literal sense. The written material bearing witness to such concerns is copious, and as Schulenburg points out, the "repetition of these admonitions seems to point to the very real prevalence of violence toward consecrated virgins as well as the extreme difficulties maintaining order and providing protection for female religious during this period."¹⁷⁷

Indeed, sexual crimes against nuns were hardly new problems. As Bede laments in his letter to Egbert, the "unoccupied and unmarried" sons of nobles and warriors,

nullo continentiae proposito perdurent, atque hanc ob rem vel patriam
suam pro qua militare debuerant trans mare abeuntes relinquunt; vel

¹⁷⁴ Foot, *Monastic Life*, 246.

¹⁷⁵ Audrey L. Meaney, "Anglo-Saxon Idolators and Ecclesiasts from Theodore to Alcuin: A Source Study," *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 5 (1992): 103-25, at 104.

¹⁷⁶ This is only true for homosexual acts between men, as for similar acts between women, only three years of penance was stipulated. Marc A. Meyer, "Early Anglo-Saxon Penitentials and the Position of Women," *Haskins Society Journal* 2 (1990): 47-61, at 60.

¹⁷⁷ Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex*, 142.

maiore scelere atque impudentia, qui propositum castitatis non habent, luxuriae ac fornicationi deserviant, neque ab ipsis sacratis Deo virginibus abstineant.¹⁷⁸

(they endure with no intention of self-control, and on account of this fact, they either abandon their native land for which they had served as soldiers in order to depart over the sea, or, with great sin and shamelessness, they, who have no intention of chastity, devote themselves to extravagance and fornication, nor do they abstain from the very virgins dedicated to God.)

Later epistolary evidence further supports this point. In a letter to King Ethelbald of Mercia (c. 746-7), Boniface criticized the king's failure to "take a lawful wife,"¹⁷⁹ instead finding out from "our informants ... that these atrocious crimes [of adultery] are committed in convents with holy nuns and virgins consecrated to God, and this, beyond all doubt, doubles the offense."¹⁸⁰ One wonders if it was perhaps an issue such as this that Boniface was hinting at in his letter to Bugga when he stated his concerns about her desire to go on a pilgrimage. Mere decades later, Alcuin argued that the blame for the Viking invasions could in part be laid at the feet of the Anglo-Saxon men who harmed nuns. In a letter to Æthelred I, king of Northumbria (r. 790-6), written in 793, Alcuin claimed that "from the days of King Ælfwold fornications, adulteries and incest have poured over the land, so that these sins have been committed without any shame and even against the handmaids dedicated to God."¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ Bede, "The Venerable Bede's Epistle to Bishop Egbert," in *Opera Historica*, ed. and trans. King, Vol. II, 470.

¹⁷⁹ Boniface, *The Letters of Saint Boniface*, trans. Emerton, 125.

¹⁸⁰ Boniface, *The Letters of Saint Boniface*, trans. Emerton, 126.

¹⁸¹ Whitelock, "Letter of Alcuin to Ethelred," in *EHD*, no. 193, 843.

The legatine council of 786 further highlights this concern. Marking the first visit by papal legates to England since the time of St. Augustine of Canterbury, two of their central concerns were the correct rule of earthly leaders and the protection of nuns.¹⁸² Chapter eleven of the legatine report states that “earthly leaders should not grow arrogant in their worldly power, nor oppress others”¹⁸³ while canons fifteen and sixteen (of the twenty canons put forth) condemn “wrongful couplings and incests, some with the handmaidens of God.”¹⁸⁴ While these councils pre-date the attack on Lindisfarne, they seem to have anticipated Alcuin’s response to these attacks, showing that the problems were not simply identified in hindsight by a single individual, but instead were well known as they were happening.

By choosing to overlook these Anglo-Saxon candidates for sanctity, the secular and religious authorities were not only sanitizing their own history—particularly in terms of the failures of male leaders¹⁸⁵—they were also going against the *status quo* guiding the selection of saints during this period, which regularly gave preference to native saints over foreign figures. The establishment of this *status quo* is laid out in the treatment of saints during the reign of King Alfred, particularly within the context of his translation campaign in the 880s and 890s. Among the seven works “which are most necessary for men to know”¹⁸⁶ was Gregory the Great’s *Dialogues*. Originally written in sixth-century Italy during the invasions of the Goths and Lombards, this work took the form of a series

¹⁸² As Sarah Foot points out, these councils considered all nuns to be virgins, regardless of their actual status as such. Foot, *Monastic Life*, 155.

¹⁸³ Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils*, 166.

¹⁸⁴ Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils*, 183.

¹⁸⁵ Alexandra Hennessey Olsen makes a similar argument when she suggests that the Old English poem *Judith* was meant to shame Anglo-Saxon men and spur them into action against the Vikings. Olsen, “Inversion and Political Purpose,” 289-93.

¹⁸⁶ Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, 126.

of dialogues between Gregory and his deacon, Peter, concerning the lives of saints. Gregory's main goal in this work was to show a monastic audience that saints did not need to be removed in distance and time; rather, native, contemporary saints should be celebrated as well.¹⁸⁷ Given the similarity of Gregory's situation with the Goths and Lombards to the one Alfred faced with the Vikings,¹⁸⁸ it is not surprising that Alfred commissioned a translation of this particular work. The work's promotion of native saints would have been a message salient to its Anglo-Saxon audience.

Unlike Gregory's original monastic audience, however, it is likely "that the Old English translation of the *Dialogi* was intended primarily for an audience of secular clergy."¹⁸⁹ Considering the waning of the monasteries during this time, this is not particularly surprising. What is significant, however, is that this reveals Alfred's intent to have his reforms led by the secular clergy, who had more interaction with (and thus more influence over) the laity. Knowledge of native saints would therefore spread beyond the confines of the religious sphere. Furthermore, while the translation of Gregory's work is predominantly word for word (rather than sense for sense), the role of the teacher does become far more stressed in the Old English translation than it is in the original.¹⁹⁰ It makes sense, then, that this translation was viewed as an instructional work, and would be sent out to various sees, just as the Old English translation of *Pastoral Care* had famously been. When viewed together, all this evidence reveals two important facts.

¹⁸⁷ Kees Dekker, "King Alfred's Translation of Gregory's *Dialogi*: Tales for the Unlearned?" in *Rome and the North: The Early Reception of Gregory the Great in Germanic Europe*, ed. D. F. Johnson, Kees Dekker, and R. H. Bremmer, Jr., *Mediaevalia Groningana New Series* 4 (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 27-50, at 46.

¹⁸⁸ Indeed, many scholars have made this link. See Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, 293; Hans Hecht, ed., *Bischofs Wærferth von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen*, Vol. II (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1965), 25.

¹⁸⁹ Dekker, "King Alfred's Translation," 48.

¹⁹⁰ For an explanation of this shift in focus, see Dekker, "King Alfred's Translation," 42.

Firstly, the major sees in Wessex and western Mercia would have been familiar with the Old English translation of the *Dialogues* during Alfred's reign, suggesting that its influence was not isolated. Secondly, the growing belief in the importance of native saints is strongly tied to the trend of secularization, and the mounting need to develop a national identity.

Saints and National Identity

As the government became increasingly centralized, Anglo-Saxon leaders had to consider carefully which saints they should promote. Relics, as discussed earlier, were already playing a role in the judicial and legislative functions of the government, as well as in the establishment of *burhs*. Yet the impact of saints upon this emergent identity was not limited to the physical presence of relics; to understand the other ways in which they influenced the growth of what it meant to be "English," we can again turn to both the archeological evidence and the surviving manuscripts for information. Archeological records of church dedications reveal a nascent cult beginning for the martyred Anglo-Saxon king, Oswald,¹⁹¹ and numismatic evidence exposes a growing interest in another martyred king, Edmund.¹⁹² While their cults would flourish in later Anglo-Saxon England, the recognition of them as martyred saints early on importantly separates them from the Anglo-Saxon nuns discussed earlier.

Furthermore, just as the extant manuscripts reveal particular interests in Juliana, Margaret, and Elene, so, too, do they display significant interest in Guthlac, Cuthbert, and

¹⁹¹ Eric Cambridge, "Archaeology and the Cult of St. Oswald in Pre-Conquest Northumbria," in *Oswald: Northumbrian King to European Saint*, ed. Clare Stancliffe and Eric Cambridge (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1995), 128-63.

¹⁹² Campbell, John, and Wormald, *The Anglo-Saxons*, 131.

Wilfrid.¹⁹³ Particularly revealing is the growth of Guthlac's cult, which appears to have been a direct response to the Viking threat, and the subsequent need for an English identity. To understand this connection, a bit of Guthlac's history first must be given. Guthlac, who lived from 674 to 714, was a symbol of Mercian identity. Not only was he descended from Penda, one of the kingdom's most famous kings, he also became a well-known hermit, who advised King Æthelbald of Mercia. Before becoming a hermit on the island of Crowland, he served as a monk for two years in the double monastery at Repton.¹⁹⁴ Four of the nine extant manuscripts that contain works about this saint were copied in late-ninth- and early-tenth-century England,¹⁹⁵ suggesting that Guthlac's cult truly began to flourish after the Viking invasions.

The development of Guthlac's cult as a response to the invasions can be attributed to his geographical ties. According to the entry for 874 in the A-version of the *ASC*, his former monastery, Repton, was sacked by the Vikings,¹⁹⁶ adding insult to injury, as this particular monastery also served as "the mausoleum of the Mercian kings."¹⁹⁷ Another important factor was Guthlac's geographical tie to the Lincolnshire fens, where the island of Crowland is located. Importantly, Lincoln was lost and became one of the Five Boroughs, which were formed by the Vikings during the reign of Alfred.¹⁹⁸ This area would remain in Viking hands until 918, when Edward the Elder was able to regain this territory.¹⁹⁹ The cult of Saint Guthlac, then, became a way prior to 918 by which Anglo-

¹⁹³ Of the surviving saints' lives dating from the ninth to the mid-tenth centuries, seven are about Cuthbert, five about Guthlac, and three about Wilfrid.

¹⁹⁴ Jane Roberts, "Guthlac, St," in *BEASE*, 222.

¹⁹⁵ Three are Felix's Latin *Vita Guthlaci*, and one is the Old English translation of this same work.

¹⁹⁶ Garmonsway, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 72.

¹⁹⁷ Rollason, "Lists of Saints' Resting-Places," 66.

¹⁹⁸ Blair, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 227.

¹⁹⁹ Blair, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 81.

Saxons might reappropriate what had been taken by the Vikings. Thus, if the Anglo-Saxons were unable to take back the land, they could take back the culture and identity associated with that land. Not only did Guthlac represent the “golden age” of these places, he was also a symbol of Mercian royalty, a factor which was important when one remembers Æthelflæd and the development of relic cults of early tenth-century Mercia.

Whereas Guthlac might be viewed as the Mercian representative, Cuthbert was the royal representative for Wessex, having been of particular interest to Alfred²⁰⁰ and subsequent West Saxon kings. In one tradition, it is recounted that Cuthbert promises Alfred that he will be king of all England.²⁰¹ Historically, however, this promise is not fulfilled until his grandson, Athelstan, takes the throne. Some scholars view the mid-tenth-century Cuthbert tradition as “West Saxon political propaganda,”²⁰² and, indeed, this may explain the motivation behind Athelstan’s trip to Chester-le-Street in 934, where Cuthbert’s body had been moved from Lindisfarne following the Viking attacks. It was during this trip that Athelstan left gifts at Cuthbert’s tomb, including a copy of Bede’s prose and verse lives of Saint Cuthbert.²⁰³ At face value, Athelstan’s motivation for this trip was to ask for the saint’s aid in his upcoming battle against the Vikings from Dublin and the Scots. Digging a bit deeper, however, it is possible to view this trip as a politically savvy move, since Athelstan not only acknowledged the importance of the Cuthbert community, but also associated himself with a saint who came from

²⁰⁰ References to miracles associated with Cuthbert and Alfred can be found in sections 14-19 of the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, written c. 945. For a discussion on these miracles, see Simpson, “King Alfred/St Cuthbert,” 397-411.

²⁰¹ Simpson, “King Alfred/St Cuthbert,” 400.

²⁰² Simpson, “King Alfred/St Cuthbert,” 402.

²⁰³ Blair, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 193.

Northumbria, which Athelstan had recovered from the Vikings only a few years before.²⁰⁴

Athelstan's gifting of the Bedan manuscript reveals that hagiographies were falling more and more under the domain of Anglo-Saxon nobility, and that these hagiographies could be used as secular tools. Included in this manuscript are a series of royal genealogies, which links the West Saxon line to the Bernician line, further solidifying Athelstan's new claim to Northumbria.²⁰⁵ By honoring Chester-le-Street with his gifts, Athelstan also called upon the memory of Lindisfarne, which had been the first casualty of the Viking invasions. Writing in 793, Alcuin explained the significance of that loss in a letter to King Ethelred of Northumbria: "Behold, the church of St. Cuthbert spattered with the blood of the priests of God, despoiled of its ornaments; a place more venerable than all in Britain is given as a prey to pagan peoples."²⁰⁶ While Athelstan could not claim responsibility for recovering Cuthbert's relics—as Æthelflæd and Æthelred were so fond of doing—the king could make sure that he was associated with the continuing development of the saint's cult, thus helping to retake what was lost when Lindisfarne fell.

The final cult of a male saint to be examined for this period is that of Saint Wilfrid, who had been well known for his founding of new monasteries in Hexham and Ripon in the late-seventh century,²⁰⁷ two of the last important monasteries from the Northumbrian Renaissance to remain standing. Ripon was finally sacked and burned in 948, though not by the Vikings as one might assume. In that year, King Eadred, in what

²⁰⁴ Blair, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 85.

²⁰⁵ Simpson, "King Alfred/St Cuthbert," 403.

²⁰⁶ Whitelock, "Letter of Alcuin to Ethelred, King of Northumbria," in *EHD*, no. 193, 842.

²⁰⁷ Alan Thacker, "Wilfrid, St.," in *BEASE*, 474.

could well have been a show of power,²⁰⁸ “led an army to the north and burned the minster at Ripon,”²⁰⁹ thus acquiring the relics of Saint Wilfrid, and perhaps even the Franks Casket.²¹⁰ Wilfrid’s relics were then translated to Canterbury, and what could have been viewed as an atrocity, became a celebration instead. Underscoring this celebration was Frithegod of Canterbury’s composition of the *Breviloquium vitae Wilfridi* which commemorated the translation.²¹¹

By 948, therefore, England had intentionally developed and promoted the cults of a wide range of native Anglo-Saxon male saints, a group that would be represented by examples of confessors, hermits, and martyrs—each of them carefully chosen. As was typical of sainthood, the men largely outnumbered the women. In a study of the saints in England, France, Germany, and Italy, it is observed that in the period from 800-49, only 14.8% of the 128 saints were women; from 850-99, only 12.6% of the total 151 were women; and from 900-49, 23.4% of the 64 total saints were women, though this rise is mostly attributed to the French monastic revival centered in Cluny.²¹²

By recognizing this fairly blatant statement of the agenda guiding nine- and early-tenth-century development of saints’ cults, it becomes even more obvious that the choice to turn to foreign models of sanctity must have been an intentional one. While some native Anglo-Saxon female saints were indeed continuing to be celebrated, such as Æthelthryth, these women were, as ever, maternal figures. When considering the

²⁰⁸ Other scholars argue that Ripon was destroyed by Eadred as part of his attacks against Eric Bloodaxe. I am inclined to disagree, as it seems unlikely that in a campaign against Vikings, an Anglo-Saxon king would destroy a symbol of English identity. Ian N. Wood, “Ripon, Francia and the Franks Casket in the Early Middle Ages,” *Northern History* 19 (1990): 1-19, at 5.

²⁰⁹ Rollason, “Relic-Cults,” 95-6.

²¹⁰ Wood, “Ripon, Francia,” 5.

²¹¹ Wood, “Ripon, Francia,” 4-5.

²¹² Schulenburg, “Sexism and the Celestial Gynaeceum,” 122, 124.

advancement of England's national identity, it is clear that there was no place for the militant and saintly Anglo-Saxon woman. Even Æthelflæd, who, though not a saint, was perhaps the most famous militant Anglo-Saxon woman, was finding herself erased from the records. As F. T. Wainwright poignantly shows, "[h]er achievements, however, are pointedly ignored in the West Saxon version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," making "it clear that the blanket of official policy has kept her achievements out of the national record."²¹³ Further, while the Mercian Register might acknowledge her as the "*Myrcna hlæfdige*" (Lady of the Mercians), the West Saxon Chronicle demotes her to the confines of simply being "Edward's sister."²¹⁴ If someone such as Æthelflæd could be so easily erased, what hopes did the nuns have in the face of such whitewashing?

²¹³ F. T. Wainwright, "Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians," in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of Their History and Culture Presented to Bruce Dickins*, ed. Peter Clemoes (London: Bowes and Bowes, 1959), 53-69, at 53.

²¹⁴ Wainwright, "Æthelflæd," 56.

CHAPTER TWO

THE APPEAL OF JULIANA AND MARGARET IN EARLY ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND: LEGAL, POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND THEOLOGICAL RESONANCES

Exploring the history of early Anglo-Saxon England allows us to understand what the women, particularly the nuns, were facing during this time, yet it is in the surviving literature that the true impact prompted by these turbulent times comes to light. Indeed, even though the literature reveals how the Anglo-Saxon nuns were being marginalized, the threats facing these women were very real. The need necessitated by this reality explains the growing proliferation of models of female, virgin martyrs. In particular, the *passiones* and narrative martyrologies provide developed accounts of Juliana and Margaret, and therefore can be examined to determine *how* and *why* these saints became popular in Anglo-Saxon England.¹ For the period spanning the Viking invasions to the cusp of the Benedictine reform—the period in which the veneration of these saints first truly began to flourish—we must return to the notion that while hagiographies followed already established patterns depending on the type of saint (in this case, the virgin martyr), they were also edited through addition, omission, and emendation in order to appeal to specific audiences. These texts therefore not only reveal which foreign traits were considered desirable enough to retain, but also help to ascertain both how and why the *passiones* were changed in ways that were uniquely Anglo-Saxon. For this period, I will examine Cynewulf's *Juliana*, the *passio* of Juliana in BNF, lat. 10861, the *passiones* of Margaret and Juliana in BNF, lat. 5574, and the entry for Margaret in the *OEM*. As

¹ These types of sources are contrasted with the limited information provided in liturgical calendars and litanies.

stated previously, the choice to import and promote these two saints was not a random one; their continuous survival and popularity reveal just how well they were chosen.

As will be shown, the *passiones* of the appropriated female martyrs Juliana and Margaret follow a specific pattern: (1) the saint's parents are placed in opposition to her, by being identified as pagans; (2) the saint refuses to worship "deaf and dumb" idols; (3) she is specifically tortured first by being hung and beaten, and later by being threatened with a liquid-filled vessel; (4) between these two tortures she is locked in a dark prison where she is confronted with and combats one or more demons, echoing Christ's Harrowing of Hell; and (5) in prison she is accompanied by the Holy Spirit, and soon after assumes the Pentecostal role of the apostles, by preaching to the unconverted masses at the moment of her death.² While the details concerning these elements appear to some extent in all the *passiones* about these two saints (regardless of where and when they were copied), they nonetheless appealed to an Anglo-Saxon audience because of the specific way they reflected concepts with which their society was already familiar. While the first three elements contain traces of legal, political, and social customs—and thus

² In their most general terms, the first three elements are fairly standard for *passiones* about female virgin martyrs. For example, while torture is a standard element, the specific types of torture vary greatly. What makes the legends of Juliana and Margaret unusual is not only the presence of both specific types of torture, but also the presence of the first three elements listed above. The element of pagan parents, for example, is a common feature in stories about virgin martyrs, but certainly not required. Saint Agnes was raised by a Christian family, and Saint Lucy's mother only tries to marry her daughter to a pagan because she is unaware of Lucy's true faith. What truly sets Juliana and Margaret apart from the other virgin martyrs, however, are the final two elements. The allusions to both the Harrowing of Hell and Pentecost rely upon the fact that the saints must face a demon while they are imprisoned, and receive help from the Holy Spirit. The stories of other virgin martyrs never quite match this paradigm. Saints Agatha and Lucy are condemned to a brothel rather than a prison, and never face a demon. In a similar fashion, Saint Agnes's punishment is to be paraded nude through the streets. Saint Katherine of Alexandria (who will later be grouped with Juliana and Margaret in the Middle English Katherine Group) is imprisoned, but never faces a demon. Moreover, while other virgins face potentially demonic figures (Euphemia faces lions, and Martha faces the monster of Tarasque), these creatures are tamed, and become companions, rather than adversaries.

will be discussed together—elements 4 and 5 reflect Anglo-Saxon interpretations and understandings of theology, and for this reason will require separate discussions.

Legal, Political, and Social Elements

The Saint and Her Parents

These legends begin by first identifying who the saint is *not*: Juliana and Margaret are not their parents. The contrast is clear in Cynewulf's *Juliana* when the saint's father, Affricanus, becomes one of her main persecutors. After the saint publicly humiliates and berates Eleusius, the pagan prefect who is her potential spouse, Affricanus abandons all pretense of being a good father. Upon hearing the prefect's complaint, he is prepared to hand over his daughter for torture and death, claiming, "[I]c hy ne sparige, ac on spild giefe, / þeoden mæra, þe to gewælde. / Dem þu hi to deape, gif þe gedafen þince, / swa to life læt, swa þe leofre sy"³ (I will not spare her, but rather give her to destruction, into your power, illustrious prince. Judge her unto death, if it seems suitable to you, or permit her to live, whichever may be dearer to you). Juliana's father appears all too eager to continue worshipping the pagan gods, and to sacrifice his daughter in exchange for good favor with Eleusius.⁴

Given his willingness to sacrifice his daughter, it is possible to read this passage as a failure of kinship, which would have been extremely problematic for the audience, since in Anglo-Saxon culture, ideals of familial loyalty reigned supreme, especially in bonds of consanguinity (kinship by blood), rather than bonds of affinity (kinship by

³ *Juliana*, 83-8. All the Old English text for *Juliana* is taken from Rosemary Woolf's critical edition, and citations refer to the poetic line numbers.

⁴ "In this story, Cynewulf explores the filial and social contract as it is tested through speech. Juliana's father had expressed his disappointment at his daughter's speech and repays her in kind" (Antonina Harbus, "Articulate Contact in *Juliana*," in *Verbal Encounters: Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse Studies for Roberta Frank*, ed. Antonina Harbus and Russell Poole [Toronto: Toronto U P, 2005], 183-200, at 189).

marriage). H. R. Loyn's detailed study concerning "kinship in action"⁵ points to six key examples: declarations of personal status,⁶ interest in genealogy,⁷ succession to land,⁸ feud,⁹ wergild payments,¹⁰ and marriage arrangements. This final example is the most relevant to the *passiones*, and clearly attests to the elevation of consanguinity over affinity. Not only would the bride retain her birth status and wergild, rather than adopting the status of her husband, but her children would also be obliged to follow her father's kin, giving rise to the ever important sister-son relationship.¹¹ Moreover, the bride-to-be "had some considerable say in the matter"¹² of choosing a husband—something denied to Juliana. Thus, while superficially it may seem like the proper Anglo-Saxon daughter would have heeded her father's word, and married to improve her family's standing,¹³ the true failure lies with the father's support of an inappropriate marriage contract. The rift within an immediate family would have resonated with Cynewulf's audience, as internecine strife defined much of early Anglo-Saxon politics and warfare.¹⁴ Cynewulf is

⁵ H. R. Loyn, "Kinship in Anglo-Saxon England," *Anglo-Saxon England* 3 (1974): 197-209, at 202.

⁶ For example, when figures such as Beowulf and St. Alban identify themselves to strangers by declaring their kindred. Loyn, "Kinship," 199-200.

⁷ This can be seen in the efforts of chroniclers to trace a leader's ancestry back to a major king (such as Cerdic), or a major biblical figure (such as Noah or Adam). Loyn, "Kinship," 202.

⁸ Upon the death of Æthelgifu, for example, her inherited land was returned to her family by birth, rather than being kept in her family by marriage. Loyn, "Kinship," 201.

⁹ It was the obligation of the kindred to participate in a feud involving one of its members, which meant accounting for that person's safety, seeking vengeance if necessary, and paying any compensations owed. Loyn, "Kindred," 202-3.

¹⁰ Wergild was to be paid either to or by first the paternal kindred, and, if there was none, then either to or by the maternal kindred. Loyn, "Kindred," 203-5.

¹¹ Loyn, "Kinship," 206.

¹² Loyn, "Kinship," 206.

¹³ I hesitate to use the term "peaceweaver" here, since Peter Baker has shown that modern understandings of this term actually began in 1837 with Kemble. Peter S. Baker, *Honour, Exchange, and Violence in Beowulf*, *Anglo-Saxon Studies* 20 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2013), 103-38, esp. 104.

¹⁴ The most famous example of this is the Cynewulf and Cyneheard episode described in the 755/7 entry of the *ASC*, in which Cynewulf claimed the throne of Wessex by deposing Sigeberht, who was his kinsman. Roughly three decades later, Cynewulf was killed in an ambush by Cyneheard, who was Sigeberht's brother, and therefore also Cynewulf's kinsmen. More contemporary to the composition of *Juliana*,

therefore careful to establish an absolute dichotomy between the just Juliana and the unjust male persecutors, Affricanus and Eleusius. Typically, a virgin martyr is only persecuted by the pagan prefect who is pursuing her, so the theme of failed kinship highlights why Juliana must endure the torments of not one human persecutor, but two. The rare addition of the father as a direct persecutor helps to make Juliana's ultimate success all the more resounding.

Notably omitted from Cynewulf's poem, however, is the potential third human persecutor: Juliana's mother.¹⁵ While the divide between father and daughter is vast, Juliana's relationship with her other parent remains a mystery. This appears to be an intentional omission on Cynewulf's part, since the saint's mother appears in the Latin versions¹⁶—both the one found in Cynewulf's possible source text, BNF, lat. 10861 (c. 800), and the one found in BNF, lat. 5574 (c. 900). While her mother's role is rather insignificant, both manuscripts mention in passing that while she worshipped Mars, she “neque Christianis neque paganis miscebatur”¹⁷ (was mingling neither with Christians nor with pagans). By removing her potentially mediating role completely, Cynewulf creates an even larger polarization between Juliana and Affricanus.

however, was Æthelwold's attempt to take the throne from his cousin, Edward the Elder, following the death of Æthelwold's uncle, Alfred the Great. Æthelwold would ultimately be killed for his attempts, but not before taking over Wimborne Abbey, and harrying across Mercia. Garmonsway, trans., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 46-50, 92-3; Stephen D. White, “Kinship and Lordship in Early Medieval England: The Story of Sigeberht, Cynewulf, and Cyneheard,” *Viator* 20 (1989): 1-18; and Ross, “Concubinage in Anglo-Saxon England,” 32.

¹⁵ I specify the persecutors as human here, since Juliana faces three persecutors in total (both human and non-human). “Juliana is opposed by an unholy trinity: Africanus her father, Heliseus the would-be son-in-law, and the devil, an unholy spirit. The temptations that she must overcome reflect still another unholy trinity: the ‘world’ in the form of Heliseus's riches; the ‘flesh’ in the form of physical torments; and the devil” (Anderson, *Cynewulf: Structure, Style, and Theme*, 94).

¹⁶ It is worth noting that Juliana's mother also does not appear in Bede's *Martyrology*. While this is probably due to the brevity of the entries, the blame for her persecution is solely laid at the feet of Affricanus and Eleusius. Bede, *Martyrology*, 181-2.

¹⁷ Lapidge, “Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*,” 157. These are the exact words used in BNF, lat. 5574 on fol. 32v. All editions and translations for the *passio* of Juliana found in BNF, lat. 5574 are my own.

The dichotomy between these two characters is further highlighted when their relationship is compared to that of the other father-child pair: Satan and the demon, Belial. When Juliana restrains and interrogates the demon, he claims that “mec min fæder on þas fore to þe, / hellwarena cyning, hider onsende / of þam engan ham, se is yfla gehwæs / in þam grornhofe geornfulra þonne ic” (my father, the king of hell’s inhabitants, sent me here on this journey to you from that confined home; he is more intent than I upon every evil in that house of woe).¹⁸ Presumably, the demon has been sent because the devil himself is said to be fettered in hell following the events of Christ’s Harrowing of Hell (which will be discussed later in this chapter). Like Juliana, then, the demon is ordered to act, if not against his own wishes, then at least beyond the measure of them.¹⁹ Unlike Juliana, however, he fails to resist his parent’s commands, making him just as culpable as his father. The importance of choice is highlighted in another of Cynewulf’s poems, *Christ II*, when it is said that following Christ’s Harrowing of Hell: “nu monna gehwylc / cwic þendan her wunað, geceosan mot / swa helle hienþu swa heofones mærþu”²⁰ (now each man alive, while he remains here, is able to choose either the disgrace of hell or the glory of heaven). Clearly, the demon has chosen poorly.

In the Latin *passio* of Juliana, this interrogation scene has far more dialogue. While the demon in BNF, lat. 10861 does admit that he was sent by “Satanas pater

¹⁸ *Juliana*, 321-4.

¹⁹ Bjork argues that “Cynewulf’s alterations of his Latin source indicate that he meant to heighten both the reader’s potential sympathetic response to the demon and his admiration for Juliana, who remains inflexible in the face of the demon’s compelling discourse” (Robert E. Bjork, *The Old English Verse Saints’ Lives: A Study in Direct Discourse and the Iconography of Style* [Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1985], 58). It is important to realize, however, that this potential is never actually met, and the demon’s later actions annul any sympathetic readings.

²⁰ “Christ,” in *The Exeter Book*, ed. George Philip Krapp and Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie, Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, Vol. III [New York: Columbia U P, 1936], 19, lines 589-91.

meus”²¹ (my father, Satan), in BNF, lat. 5574, he leaves out the paternal image, and simply states that he was sent by “Beelzebub Samnita”²² (Beelzebub the Samnite).²³ In both cases, the initial response appears to be very passive and non-accusatory. It is when Juliana asks “Et qui repulsus fuerit a Christiano, quid patitur?” (And he who has been rejected by a Christian, does he suffer?)²⁴ that the demon begins to make a plea for the saint’s sympathy by removing blame from himself. Telling Juliana that the demons who fail Beelzebub are punished, he explains that “Necesse est ergo nobis facere quod praecipit”²⁵ (It is therefore necessary for us to do what he orders).

This dramatic portrayal of failed kinship and destructive fatherhood carries over to the *passio* of Saint Margaret. While Margaret’s father plays a much smaller role than the one given to Affricanus, the pattern woven in the BNF, lat. 5574 *passio* is nonetheless very similar. Margaret’s father, Theodosius, was “gentilium patriarcha et idola adorabat” (chief priest of the pagans and worshipped idols).²⁶ Their spiritual differences make the two irreconcilable; indeed, it is said that “Odiosa erat a patre suo, dilecta namque a

²¹ Lapidge, “Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*,” 160.

²² Paris, BNF, lat. 5574, fol. 35v.

²³ This variation appears to be the innovation of the BNF, lat. 5574 scribe. As attested to by the *Acta S. Iulianae*, which was compiled by the Bollandists using eleven different manuscripts, this passage is conventionally found as “Satan pater meus.” The BNF, lat. 5574 scribe might have been influenced by the belief that counted among the most famous Samnites (a people from south-central Italy who often fought against the Romans) was Pontius Pilate, who ordered the crucifixion of Christ. This would further strengthen the idea that Juliana was to be read as an *imitatio Christi* (imitation of Christ). William Strunk, ed., *Juliana*, The Belles-Lettres Series, Section I (Boston and London: D. C. Heath and Co., 1904), 39.

²⁴ Lapidge, “Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*,” 160; Paris, BNF, lat. 5574, fol. 35v.

²⁵ Lapidge, “Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*,” 160. The version found on fol. 35v of BNF, lat. 5574 reads “Necesse est nobis facere ut gratis parenti pariamus [sic]” (It is necessary for us to act so that we freely obey the parent).

²⁶ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 194-5. This passage is also one of two from the *OEM* entry that discusses Margaret’s parental figures: “hire fæder wæs hæþenra / monna heahfæder” (her father was the patriarch of the heathen men). Günter Kotzor, ed., “St. Marina,” *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, Vol. II (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981), 141-4, at 141, lines 15-16.

Domino Iesu Christo”²⁷ (She was hated by her father insomuch as she was loved by the Lord Jesus Christ). At this point, Theodosius disappears almost completely from the narrative, which is also a failure on his part, as it suggests that he would not intercede on Margaret’s behalf after Olibrius, her would-be husband, imprisoned her. Instead, another parental figure steps in: that of her foster mother.

Like in *Juliana*, the biological mother is almost completely absent from the story. All we are told is that Margaret was raised outside the city of Antioch by her Christian foster mother, and that at some point Margaret’s mother died, a detail present in both the BNF, lat. 5574 *passio* and the *OEM* entry.²⁸ All the subsequent detail about Margaret’s parents comes from BNF, lat. 5574, however, as these were some of the many details the martyrologist chose to omit. For example, a demon later reveals that “pater tuus et mater tua socii mei fuerant”²⁹ (your father and your mother were allies of mine). When the saint is thrown into prison, Theotimus (who claims to be the author of the *passio*) and her foster mother go to the prison and “ministrabant ei panem et aquam”³⁰ (supplied her with bread and water), giving the audience a rare glance at a proper bond between the saint and her parental (and, importantly, human) figures. This, of course, is contrasted with the absence of Margaret’s father; after being locked in the prison, the saint prays to God for help “quia unica sum patre meo et ipse me dereliquit [sic]”³¹ (because I am the only one [conceived] by my father, and he himself has forsaken me). This sentiment of being abandoned by one’s parents is also present in the Latin *passio* of Juliana found in BNF,

²⁷ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 194.

²⁸ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 194; and Kotzor, “St. Marina,” 141-2, lines 16 and 1-3.

²⁹ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 208.

³⁰ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 204.

³¹ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 202.

lat. 10861. After the saint is imprisoned, she prays to God, asking Him “ne deseras me, quia pater meus et mater mea derelinquerunt me”³² (do not forsake me, as my father and my mother have forsaken me)—a detail which has no counterpart in Cynewulf’s poem.³³

Unlike in the *passio* of Juliana, the demon that confronts Margaret in the prison does not liken Satan to his father; there is, however, another kinship tie worth exploring: the one between the two demons who confront the saint. The first and most famous demon appears in the likeness of a dragon, and is subsequently killed by Margaret after he swallows her. It is the second demon who does the speaking, telling the saint that “Ego quidem fratrem meum Rufonem misi in similitudinem draconis ut orbsorberet [sic] te et tolleret memoriam tuam de terra”³⁴ (Indeed, I sent my brother Rufo to you in the likeness of a dragon in order to swallow you and to destroy your memory from the earth). Thus, whereas Juliana’s demon tried to appeal to her mercy by laying the blame on the one who sent him, this demon claims to have sent his now-deceased brother on an unjust mission, making this yet another example of failed kinship. Within the framework of Anglo-Saxon customs, the second demon would have had an obligation to his kin to seek either compensation or vengeance; his failure to do so is something that an Anglo-Saxon audience would have recognized and to which they would have reacted negatively.

³² Lapidge, “Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*,” 159.

³³ This passage is also absent from BNF, lat. 5574, as it would have been copied on a folio now missing from the manuscript that would have been between what are now folios 34 and 35. Folio 34v ends abruptly in the middle of Juliana’s prayer when she first enters the prison (“Pater omnium dispensator, spei incerte te consilii defensorum, merentibus”) and picks up again on folio 35r with Juliana’s interrogation of the demon already begun (“‘Iofech niger.’ Dicit ei ‘dimitte me, et dicam tibi’”). Presumably, “Iofech” is a variation of “Jovum,” or Jupiter, and the demon has just identified himself (“Ego sum”): I am the black Jupiter. A variation of “Jovum” appears in seven of the manuscripts used by the Bollandists to compile the *Acta S. Iulianae*. Strunk, *Juliana*, 38.

³⁴ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 206.

Deaf and Dumb Idols

This polarization between “good” and “evil” is characteristic of Old English hagiographies, and is reflected in the second element particular to these adopted *passiones*: the worship of “deaf and dumb” idols. The concept of literal senselessness was used by Anglo-Saxon hagiographers to delineate between good and evil. Not surprisingly, in Cynewulf’s *Juliana*, idolatry further serves to widen the gap between the saint and her father. Juliana’s father tries to wield these idols in a way that will redefine the saint within pagan boundaries. After discovering that his initial show of anger would not change his daughter’s heart, Affricanus attempts to manipulate his daughter by asking her to “Onwend þec in gewitte, ond þa word oncyr / þe þu unsnyttrum ær gespræce, / þa þu goda ussa gield forhogdest”³⁵ (Change yourself in thought, and turn those words which you foolishly spoke before, when you despised the worship of our gods). Juliana responds by condemning this practice, and specifically refuses to pay tribute to the “leasingum, / dumbum and deafum deofolgieldum”³⁶ (deceptions, the dumb and deaf idols). This scene corresponds directly to the Latin version, in which Juliana tells her father that she will not sacrifice “idolis surdis et mutis”³⁷ (to the deaf and dumb idols).

Moreover, the issue of sense versus senselessness also widens the gaps between Juliana and the demon. When the saint interrogates Belial within the prison, this long-winded demon provides explicit details about the nature of his crimes:

³⁵ *Juliana*, 144-6.

³⁶ *Juliana*, 149-50.

³⁷ Lapidge, “Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*,” 157; and Paris, BNF, lat. 5574, fol. 33v.

Oft ic syne ofteah, / ablende bealoþoncum beorna unrim / monna cynnes,
mishelme forbrægd / þurh attres ord eagna leoma / sweartum scurum.³⁸

(I often stole sight, I blinded a countless number of men, of mankind, with evil thoughts, I snatched away the light of eyes with a covering of mist, with black showers, by means of a poisoned spear point.)

Those susceptible to the devil’s guiles—the “ellenleasran”³⁹ (less courageous) men—lose their sense of sight.

The importance of the “deaf and dumb” idols is even more explicit in the *Passio S. Margaretae*,⁴⁰ which begins with the narrator’s explanation that in the time of Margaret, the people still “idola surda et muta ac ceca manu hominum facta adhorabant, quae nec illis nec sibi proderunt”⁴¹ (worshipped deaf, and dumb, and blind idols that were created by the hand of men, which are helpful neither to those people nor to themselves). The BNF, lat. 5574 *passio* also presents the audience with contrasting images of Christ, who “surdos audire fecit”⁴² (made the deaf hear) and the devil, who claims: “abceco oculos eorum”⁴³ (I blind their eyes). Margaret’s father, Theodosius (who was earlier stated to have worshipped idols),⁴⁴ again draws attention to the breach between himself

³⁸ *Juliana*, 468-72.

³⁹ *Juliana*, 394.

⁴⁰ Elaine Treharne discusses the importance of “sensibility” in the Old English *passio* of Margaret found in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 303. As this manuscript dates from the twelfth century, it will be discussed in Chapter Four. Elaine M. Treharne, “‘They Should Not Worship Devils ... Which Can Neither See, Nor Hear, Nor Walk’: The Sensibility of the Virtuous and the *Life of Saint Margaret*,” *Proceedings of the PMR Conference* 15 (1991): 221-36.

⁴¹ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 194.

⁴² Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 194.

⁴³ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 208.

⁴⁴ See above, n. 26.

and his daughter, when he believes Margaret to be “insensatam”⁴⁵ (literally, senseless) because of her faith.

The audience is again reminded about the reality of idolatry when it is said that Olibrius, her persecutor, “adoravit deos suos surdos et mutos” (worshipped his deaf and dumb gods).⁴⁶ Olibrius’s people are guilty of the same, and it is for this reason that Margaret give no credence to them when they beg her to succumb to the prefect’s desires: “Nam ego uobis non audio, nec adoro deos uestros surdos et mutos manu hominum factos”⁴⁷ (Therefore, I will not listen to you, nor worship your deaf and dumb gods that were created by the hand of men). Indeed, the saint specifically prays to God asking “nec inquinetur anima mea nec cummisceatur sensus meus cum impiis idolis surdis et mutis”⁴⁸ (neither let my soul be stained nor my perception be confounded with the wicked, deaf, and dumb idols). It is appropriate, therefore, that at the end of the text Margaret prays that whoever copies her *passio* will never have a child “claudus aut cecus neque mutus”⁴⁹ (lame, nor blind, nor dumb). This prayer is the only detail in the *OEM* entry for Margaret that discusses the concept of “deaf and dumb.” Here, the saint asks that wherever her story is written or celebrated, none shall be afflicted with “dumbnesse”⁵⁰ (muteness).

When these manuscripts are considered within their historical context, the desire to have works focusing on “deaf and dumb” idols becomes clear. Debates about worshipping images had been renewed in the religious sphere immediately preceding the

⁴⁵ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 194.

⁴⁶ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 198-9. Margaret echoes these lines almost verbatim towards the end of the *passio* when she tells Olibrius he might have been saved had he not been “amicus idolorum surdorum et mutorum” (an ally of the deaf and dumb idols). Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 210.

⁴⁷ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 200.

⁴⁸ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 204.

⁴⁹ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 214.

⁵⁰ Kotzor, “St. Marina,” 143-4, lines 14 and 1.

Viking attack on Lindisfarne, with the Second Council of Nicaea (787) restoring the proper use of icons in veneration. Yet this Council was rejected by Charlemagne and his Frankish bishops who feared it might result in idolatry; even so, “this rejection did not mean that they sided with the iconoclasts, for they also rejected the iconoclastic Council of 754.”⁵¹ The notion of correct veneration versus false idolatry was thus salient to all of Christendom during this period, and would make its central role in the *passiones* of Juliana and Margaret particularly engaging.

The most telling evidence comes from the penitentials, which outlined religious offenses and the corresponding punishments. The penitential of the late-seventh-century archbishop Theodore dedicates all of Book I, chapter 15 to “De cultura idolorum” (Concerning idol worship). The first provision of this section states that “Qui immolant demonibus in minimis, I annum poeniteant; qui vero in magnis, X annos poeniteant”⁵² (Those who make offerings to devils to a slight extent should do penance for one year; those who [do the same] to a truly great extent should do penance for ten years). Writing his own penitential in the mid-eighth century, Egbert, archbishop of York (r. c.732-66), keeps most of the same language, simply adding that offenders should also be judged on whether or not it “est consuetudo”⁵³ (is a habit). Further, in Egbert’s *Dialogus* (c. 740), the archbishop lists among those who can never become priests, “idola scilicet adorantes”⁵⁴ (namely, those who worship idols).

⁵¹ One must also wonder if Alcuin, a scholar and teacher at the court of Charlemagne who was Anglo-Saxon by birth, was one of those who rejected the Second Council of Nicaea. A. A. Vasilev, “The Iconoclastic Edict of the Caliph Yazid II, A. D. 721,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 9/10 (1956): 23-47, at 36.

⁵² Meaney, “Anglo-Saxon Idolators and Ecclesiasts,” 104.

⁵³ Meaney, “Anglo-Saxon Idolators and Ecclesiasts,” 108. Meaney mistakenly translates the punishment for offenders “in magnis” as five years, instead of ten.

⁵⁴ Meaney, “Anglo-Saxon Idolators and Ecclesiasts,” 111.

Idolatry was not just a sin of the religious, however. Some of the earliest Anglo-Saxon evidence addressing concerns about idolatry can, not surprisingly, be found in the law codes. In clause twelve of the late-seventh-century laws of Wihtrred, king of Kent (r. c. 690-725), for example, it states that: “Gif ceorl butan wifes wisdomes deoflum gelde, he sie ealra his æhtan scyldig ond healsfange. Gif butwu deoflum geldaþ, sion hio healsfange scyldigo ond ealra æhtan”⁵⁵ (If a freeman worships devils with the knowledge of his wife, he shall be liable for all his possessions and legal fines. If both worship devils, they shall be liable for all their possessions and legal fines). Soon after, Bede addresses this issue in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, when he praises how in 640, Earconbert, king of Kent (r. c. 640-64), was the first king to order the mass destruction of idols in his kingdom.⁵⁶

Likewise, the repeated use of the specific words “deaf and dumb” is particularly telling about the nature of idols. In Riddle 49 of the Exeter Book, for example, a certain object is described as standing “eardfæstne ... / deafne, dumban”⁵⁷ (fastened to the earth ... deaf and dumb). As Doane has suggested, the most plausible solution to this perplexing riddle is a millpond and its sluice, making it one of the so-called “implement riddles.”⁵⁸ Just as one would not worship a sluice, one would be wrong to worship the idols that share similar characteristics, especially since they were all “manu hominum factos”⁵⁹ (created by the hand of men).

⁵⁵ “The Laws of Wihtrred,” ed. and trans. F. L. Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings* (Cambridge: U of Cambridge P, 1922), 26.

⁵⁶ Bede, *Opera Historica*, Vol. I, Book III, Chapter 8, 362-3.

⁵⁷ “Riddle 49,” in *The Exeter Book*, 206, lines 1-2.

⁵⁸ A. N. Doane, “Three Old English Implement Riddles: Reconsiderations of Numbers 4, 49, and 73,” *Modern Philology* 84.3 (February 1987): 243-57, at 252.

⁵⁹ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 200.

Understandings of what it meant to be “deaf and dumb” were not limited to inanimate objects; clause fourteen of Alfred’s laws states that “Gif mon sie dumb oððe deaf geboren, þæt he ne mæge synna onsecggan ne geandettan, bete se fæder his misdæda”⁶⁰ (If a man be born mute or deaf, so that he can neither renounce nor confess sins, the father shall make good his offenses).⁶¹ Not only does this link the notion of being senseless (“dumb oððe deaf”) to the inability to confess sin, it also places the onus of reparation upon the “fæder,” making it even more ironic in *Juliana* when it is the father who falls prey to the “dumbum and deafum deofolgielsum.”

Further, Anglo-Saxon understandings of being “deaf and dumb” also have biblical roots, which can be found in the interlinear Old English glosses to the Gospel of Mark found in the Lindisfarne Gospels.⁶² Christ’s healing of the “surdum et mutum” man from the coasts of Decapolis now becomes the healing of the “deaf ond dumb” man.⁶³ Then, following Christ’s transfiguration, He casts a “ðu la deafe & ðu la dumbe gaast” (formerly, a “surde et mute spiritus”)⁶⁴ out of a small boy, cautioning observers that such spirits can only be conquered with “gebeadum ond fæstern” (prayer and fasting).⁶⁵ It is Bede, however, who most clearly explains the theological problems represented by

⁶⁰ Todd Preston, ed. and trans., *King Alfred’s Book of Laws: A Study of the Domboc and Its Influence on English Identity, with a Complete Translation* (Jefferson, NC and London: McFarland & Co., 2012), 123.

⁶¹ A similar situation is discussed by Bede in his Holy Saturday homily. Here, he suggests that in the case of a deaf-mute, the onus lay with all who know him or her to bring that individual “to the attention of divine benevolence” (Bede, *Homilies on the Gospels: Lent to the Dedication of a Church*, Vol. II, trans. Lawrence T. Martin and David Hurst, Cistercian Studies Series 111 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1991), 52.

⁶² While the manuscript was copied in the early-eighth century, the glosses were added by Aldred, a provost of the Cuthbertine community at Chester-le-Street, in the 970s. Lawrence Nees, “Reading Aldred’s Colophon for the Lindisfarne Gospels,” *Speculum* 78 (2003): 333-77, at 339.

⁶³ Mark 7:32, in *The Holy Gospels in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian, and Old Mercian Versions*, ed. William Walter Skeat, Vol. II (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1871), 59.

⁶⁴ Mark 9:25, in *The Holy Gospels*, 71.

⁶⁵ Mark 9:29, in *The Holy Gospels*, 73.

deafness and muteness. In his homily for Holy Saturday, he explains that “Man became deaf, unable to hear the word of life after, puffed up [as he was] against God, he listened to the serpent’s deadly words; he was made mute [and unable to declare] these praises of his Maker.”⁶⁶ The connection made between Christ’s miracles and the “deaf and dumb” further highlights the female martyrs being portrayed as *imitatio Christi*, and shows that these qualities of senselessness were never simply bound to inanimate objects; indeed, such senselessness could easily be transferred to careless people.

This dissemination of senselessness—from the devil and idols to the people—is reflected in how the heathens “misread” the saint.⁶⁷ As God’s chosen, saints should be understood for their heavenly merit rather than their earthly characteristics; it is for this very reason that saints are depicted as stereotypical figures of sanctity, rather than as historical individuals with specific details. The pagan persecutors in these hagiographies repeatedly “misread” the heavenly as earthly, replacing sensibility with the senseless. It is this milieu that leads to the threatened sexual assaults, as the pagan persecutors understand victory only on the physical level.

High Beams and Vessels of Liquid

The virgins’ physical capability to endure torture and avoid rape is, therefore, a victory that their persecutors can understand. Marking the third identified element, the saints are forced to endure two specific tortures after refusing to worship the pagan gods: first, they are hung and beaten, and then they are threatened with a vessel filled with liquid. In Cynewulf’s *Juliana*, Eleusius uses Juliana’s gender as a weapon against her, by

⁶⁶ Bede, *Homilies on the Gospels*, 51. The bracketed items here are insertions made by Martin and Hurst.

⁶⁷ A similar argument is made in Horner, “Spiritual Truth and Sexual Violence,” 662-6; and Shari Horner, *The Discourse of Enclosure: Representing Women in Old English Literature*, SUNY Series in Medieval Studies (Albany, NY: State U of New York P, 2001), 114.

having her hung on a high beam “bi feaxe”⁶⁸ (by her hair). Once she is hung, the prefect’s men beat her for six hours, using the sign of her femininity—her hair—to restrain and enclose her. This form of torture is echoed by the devil mere lines later when he confesses his past deeds to the saint:

‘Pilatus ær / on rode aheng rodera Waldend, / Meotud meahtigne, minum
larum. / Swylce ic Egias eac gelærede / þæt he unsnytrum Andreas het /
ahon haligne on heanne beam.’⁶⁹

(Pilate formerly hung the Ruler of the firmaments, the mighty Lord, upon the Cross by my teachings. Likewise, I also taught Hegias so that he unwisely ordered Andrew to be hung on a high beam.)

This last phrase, “heanne beam,” is the same phrase used to describe the object upon which Juliana was hung, resulting in a not so subtle comparison of Eleusius to Pilate and Hegias, and Juliana to Christ and Andrew. This phrase appears to have been a favorite of Cynewulf’s, as he uses it again in two of his other poems. In *Elene*, “heanne beam”⁷⁰ refers to Christ’s Cross, for which Elene is searching, and in the “gifts of men” section of *Christ II*, where it is stated that “Sum mæg heanne beam stælgne gestigan”⁷¹ (Some may climb the steep, high tree), echoing the language found in line 33 of “The Dream of the Rood,” when Christ intends to “gestigan” the anthropomorphized Cross. Adding a further layer to this formula’s meaning is the appearance of “heanne beam” in “Christ III (The Judgment),” a poem that appears in the Exeter Book alongside *Christ II* and *Juliana*.

Christ (who is the narrator at this point) directly addresses the audience, and explains that

⁶⁸ *Juliana*, 227.

⁶⁹ *Juliana*, 304-9.

⁷⁰ Gradon, ed., *Cynewulf’s ‘Elene,’* 424.

⁷¹ “Christ,” in *The Exeter Book*, 22, lines 678-9.

“ic wæs ahongen on heanne beam”⁷² (I was hung on a high beam), in order to rescue the audience from the devil. By being hung from a “heanne beam,” Juliana, who will ultimately be beheaded, is nonetheless still able to ascend her own crucifix.

Significantly, the use of “heanne beam” in *Juliana* is an addition particular to Cynewulf, as it does not have a Latin equivalent in BNF, lat. 10861 (which was Cynewulf’s probable source text).⁷³ By adding the detail about the “heanne beam,” and emphasizing the *imitatio Christi* component to Juliana’s *passio*, Cynewulf is consciously moving away the typically maternal nature of Anglo-Saxon female saints, who would normally imitate the Virgin Mary, instead of Christ. This departure could well have been made to anticipate the violent ends of the martyrs, who “even while they are clearly sexualized ... they are simultaneously de-feminized, and they must of necessity assume masculinizing traits in order to preserve virginity and, therefore, identity.”⁷⁴ Thus, in the scene when Juliana is most vulnerable as a woman,⁷⁵ she adopts the persona of a victorious Christ.⁷⁶

Margaret, not surprisingly, suffers a fate similar to Juliana’s. While the *OEM* entry does not outline the specifics of these events—indeed, all we know is that she was badly beaten and that Olibrius “het / monige wite”⁷⁷ (ordered many torments)—the BNF, lat. 5574 *passio* provides an abundance of explicit detail. Olibrius orders the saint “in

⁷² “Christ,” in *The Exeter Book*, 43, line 1446.

⁷³ Lapidge, “Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*,” 152.

⁷⁴ Horner, *Discourse of Enclosure*, 107.

⁷⁵ In BNF, lat. 10861, for example, Eleusius orders the saint “capillis suspendi”⁷⁵ (to be hung by [her] hair) for six hours. Lapidge, “Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*,” 158.

⁷⁶ One might recall here the discussion about Judith Butler’s arguments concerning the permeability of the body from the Introduction.

⁷⁷ Kotzor, “St. Marina,” 142, lines 15-16.

aerem suspendi”⁷⁸ (to be hung in the air), and then to be beaten with canes. Although her hair is left alone, she is tortured while “nudam” (naked),⁷⁹ with the bystanders asking her “qualem decorum perdidisti?”⁸⁰ (what beauty have you ruined?). In these cases of torture, the public nature of the assaults is essential, and inevitably results in offensive misreadings of the saint by the crowd. The crowd becomes guilty by association, functioning as complicit voyeurs. This particular dynamic is akin to the one found in the film *Vertigo*, as discussed in the introduction. The audience is presented with a lead male figure who becomes obsessed with a woman he has never met; in turn, the spectator (in this case, the internal audience of pagans) is lulled into that false sense of security, and becomes complicit in “the moral ambiguity of looking.”⁸¹ In a rare moment of awareness, Olibrius seems to recognize the consequences of his actions. Noticing that Margaret’s face was gruesomely ruined, the prefect was unable to look, and “cum clamide operiebat faciem suam” (covered his face with a cloak).⁸² Rather than making amends, however, he, like many others, turns away in denial. Ultimately, the spiritual integrity of the saint comes at the cost of her physical integrity—not only must she endure corporeal torture, she must also sacrifice her femininity by converting her nudity and the destruction of her “decorum” (beauty) from signs of loss and weakness into signs of divine (and masculine) strength.

Conversely, this physical integrity is retained in the second torture, in which the saint is threatened with a vessel filled with liquid. In the case of *Juliana*, the prefect only

⁷⁸ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 200.

⁷⁹ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 200-1.

⁸⁰ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 200.

⁸¹ Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” 16.

⁸² Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 202.

manages to fill the vessel before divine intervention makes it so that “lead wide sprong, / hat, heorogifre: hæleð wurdon acle, / arasad for þy ræse. Þær on rime forborn / þurh þæs fires fnæast fif ond hundseofontig / hæðnes herges”⁸³ (the hot, fiercely ravenous lead burst out far and wide; the terrified men were overtaken in the onslaught. In number, there were seventy-five of the heathen troop destroyed by the blast of the fire). Here, the torture proves to be punitive for the voyeuristic crowd that had gathered to watch Juliana’s suffering. It is the same in BNF, lat. 10861, in which it is said that the vessel of hot lead “resiliit [sic] et incendit de astantibus homines numero septuaginta quinque”⁸⁴ (leapt back and set fire to seventy-five men standing by). The major divergence from this fairly standard passage can be found in BNF, lat. 5574: “Tunc factum signum crucis membra precurrens, facta est autem olla quasi ros exiliens ignis incendidit [sic] de circumstantibus pacanis [sic; paganis?] lxxv”⁸⁵ (Then, as the sign of the cross that she made ran ahead of [her] limbs, the jar moreover became like liquid leaping forth [and] the flame burned seventy-five of the pagan bystanders).⁸⁶ While the general idea remains the same, a new emphasis is placed on Juliana’s active role in this miraculous event, since it appears to be the direct result of her making the sign of the cross.

Yet just as this public torture can condemn people through collective guilt, so, too, can it serve to exonerate people through collective salvation. In the *Passio S. Margaretae*, Olibrius orders Margaret’s hands and feet to be bound, so she can then be drowned by placing her in a “uas magnum”⁸⁷ (large vessel) filled with water. Thereupon,

⁸³ *Juliana*, 585-9.

⁸⁴ Lapidge, “Cynwulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*,” 164.

⁸⁵ Paris, BNF, lat. 5574, fol. 39r.

⁸⁶ I am grateful to Timothy Graham for his help in translating this passage.

⁸⁷ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 210.

the saint prays for the Holy Spirit to bless the water so that it “firmat animam meam corpusque meum ac sensum meum et baptizat me”⁸⁸ (strengthens my soul and my body and my perception and baptizes me). Her prayer is answered, and her bonds break—a miraculous event that results in the conversion of “uiri .v. milia exceptis mulieribus et puellis”⁸⁹ (five thousand men, not including the women and children).

Mass conversions such as these captured the imaginations of Anglo-Saxons, with one of the most famous examples being Bede’s account of the conversion of Northumbria, in which Paulinus is said to have “triginta sex diebus ibidem cum eis catechizandi et baptizandi officio deditus moraretur”⁹⁰ (stayed with them in that place for thirty-six days, devoted to the duty of instructing in religion and baptizing). Famous, too, is the account of King Alfred’s baptismal sponsorship of the Viking leader, Guthrum (d. 890), in 878. As noted in the 878 entry of the *ASC*, Guthrum and thirty of his most important followers were baptized by the West Saxon leaders in a public show of submission.⁹¹ The tenth-century *Chronicon* of Æthelweard would even go so far as to say that Guthrum would take the baptismal name Æthelstan “a suo patrino [sic?], rege Ælfredo”⁹² (from his sponsor/godfather, King Alfred). With this account of Margaret being copied c. 900, the image of the recently deceased pagan leader’s baptism would have been fresh in the memories of Anglo-Saxons. The vessel of liquid can therefore either be damning, as in the case of Juliana, or delivering, as in the case of Margaret.

⁸⁸ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 212.

⁸⁹ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 212.

⁹⁰ Bede, *Opera Historica*, Vol. I, Book II, Chapter 14, 290.

⁹¹ Joseph H. Lynch, *Christianizing Kinship: Ritual Sponsorship in Anglo-Saxon England* (Ithaca and London: Cornell U P, 1998), 216.

⁹² Alistair Campbell, ed. and trans., *Chronicon Æthelwardi* (London and Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, 1962), 47.

Significantly, in all these *passiones*, the two torture scenes are separated by the saints' incarceration in prison. This episode serves as a major turning point in the narratives, and consequently the difference between the two main types of torture could not be more acute. Whereas in the first torture the saint is at the mercy of the persecutor, being exploited for her femininity in the process, in the second torture she gains the power either to harm or to heal. It is in the discussion of the theological elements that the reason for this transformation will become clear.

Theological Elements

Saints under Siege: The Harrowing of Hell Motif

Separating these two forms of corporeal torture is the fourth element: echoing the Harrowing of Hell tradition, the saint is thrown in a dark prison and must face at least one demon, who assaults her spiritual integrity (as opposed to the human persecutor, who assaults her physical integrity). Within an Anglo-Saxon context, this type of enclosure is distinctly feminine, calling to mind not only the image of cloistered women,⁹³ but also the enclosure women depicted in the Old English elegies, who are physically imprisoned, yet mentally and spiritually free (in contrast to the men in elegies, who are physically free, yet mentally and spiritually enclosed).⁹⁴ Thus aligning themselves with both historical nuns, and the elegiac literary tradition,⁹⁵ Juliana and Margaret retain their spiritual

⁹³ "The spiritual dimensions of Christ within her heart, her heart within her body, and her body within its cell evoke a striking image of Christian female piety; she is like the female anchorite, both enclosure and enclosed" (Horner, "Spiritual Truth," 667).

⁹⁴ One might consider the difference between the itinerant male narrators in "Deor" and "The Wanderer," and the enclosed female narrators in "The Wife's Lament" and "Wulf and Eadwacer." Horner, *Discourse of Enclosure*, 32.

⁹⁵ While the genre of the elegy is a post-medieval structure, I employ the term here to refer to short texts that are dramatic or reflective, and express a sense of loss. Stanley B. Greenfield and Daniel G. Calder, *A New Critical History of Old English Literature* (New York and London: New York U P, 1986), 280-1.

freedom in spite of physical entrapment, a fact that anticipates the victory they find in death.

There are many layers to the saints' imprisonment, however, and the monastic and elegiac echoes are only two that an Anglo-Saxon audience would recognize. Just as important is the link this type of episode makes between the actions of the female martyrs and those of Christ when He harrowed hell. The tradition for the Harrowing of Hell is a long and complicated one, as there is no overt Scripture describing this event. In its basic form, the tradition for the Harrowing of Hell, or *Anastasis*, asserts that after Christ's death, He descended into hell, freeing the souls of the faithful from the Old Testament (most notably, Adam),⁹⁶ and binding Satan in hell until the Last Judgment. Accordingly, Milton Gatch makes five observations concerning the medieval treatment of the Harrowing: (1) it "was almost always a teaching device";⁹⁷ (2) it was attached to the liturgy of Easter; (3) it was inseparable from the anticipation of the Second Coming; (4) it was part of the tradition of figural/typological interpretation; and (5) it was one of "several motifs in medieval theology and literature which testify to the fact that the idea of liberation was central to an understanding of the Gospel in that age."⁹⁸

⁹⁶ There was a great deal of anxiety about this point, as it presupposed that even faithful figures were suffering. This is highlighted in the tension found in the Canterbury glosses for Mark 9:3: "[S]ic et animam Moysi de inferno eripuit. Sunt qui dicunt animam eius non fuisse sub dominio daemoniorum sed sub quadam custodia angelorum, et hoc adfirmantes historialiter abuti uolunt testimonio quod legitur, 'regnabat mors ab Adam usque ad Moysen'" (He [Christ] snatched the soul of Moses from hell in the same way [that he saved Lazarus]. There are also those who say that Moses's soul was not in the power of demons but in a kind of custody with the angels, and those affirming this wish to misuse in a historical sense the scriptural passage which says, 'death reigned from Adam unto Moses'). Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, 410-11.

⁹⁷ Milton McC. Gatch, "The Harrowing of Hell: A Liberation Motif in Medieval Theology and Devotional Literature," *Union Seminary Quarterly Review* 36, suppl. (1981): 75-88, at 79.

⁹⁸ Gatch, "Harrowing," 80-4, at 84.

Before entering into specific discussions of the *passiones*, then, it is essential to lay out the traditions for the Harrowing of Hell in Anglo-Saxon England. A major part of these traditions relied upon the patristic tradition that derived from biblical passages,⁹⁹ specifically I Peter 3:18-20,¹⁰⁰ Matthew 27:52-53,¹⁰¹ Psalm 15:10,¹⁰² and Psalm 23:7-10.¹⁰³ Since the Harrowing of Hell tradition was pieced together through the use of various biblical excerpts, rather than by a single, dogmatic narrative, its interpretation was rather flexible. One of the interpretations that would become most influential in Anglo-Saxon England is known as Sermon 160 by Pseudo-Augustine, though it is more

⁹⁹ Gatch, "Harrowing," 76-8.

¹⁰⁰ "Quia et Christus semel pro peccatis nostris mortuus est, iustus pro iniustis, ut nos offerret Deo, mortificatus quidem carne, vivificatus autem spiritu, in quo et his qui in carcere erant spiritibus veniens praedicavit, qui increduli fuerant aliquando, quando expectabant Dei patientiam in diebus Noe, cum fabricaretur arca, in qua pauci, id est, octo animae, salvae factae sunt per aquam" ("Because Christ also died once for our sins, the just for the unjust, that he might offer us to God, being put to death indeed in the flesh, but brought to life by the spirit, in which also he came and preached to those spirits that were in prison, who had once been incredulous, when they waited for the patience of God in the days of Noah, when the ark was a-building, wherein a few, that is, eight souls, were saved by water"). I Peter 3:18-20, in *The Vulgate Bible: The New Testament, Douay-Rheims Translation*, Vol. VI, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, ed. and trans. Angela M. Kinney (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard U P, 2013), 1248-51.

¹⁰¹ "Et monumenta aperta sunt, et multa corpora sanctorum qui dormierant surrexerunt et exeuntes de monumentis post resurrectionem eius venerunt in sanctam civitatem et apparuerunt multis" ("And the graves were opened, and many bodies of the saints that had slept arose and coming out of the tombs after his resurrection came into the holy city and appeared to many"). Matthew 27:52-3, in *The Vulgate Bible: The New Testament*, 170-1.

¹⁰² In modern translations following the Hebrew numbering system, rather than the Greek, this psalm is numbered 16. "quoniam non derelinques animam meam in inferno nec dabis sanctam tuam videre corruptionem. Notas mihi fecisti vias vitae. Adimplebis me laetitia cum vultu tuo. Delectationes in dextera tua usque in finem" ([Moreover my flesh also shall rest in hope] because thou wilt not leave my soul in hell nor wilt thou give thy holy one to see corruption. Thou shalt make known to me the ways of life. Thou shalt fill me with joy with thy countenance. At thy right hand are delights even to the end). Psalm 15:10, in *The Vulgate Bible: The Poetical Books, Douay-Rheims Translation*, Vol. III, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, ed. and trans. Swift Edgar, with Angela M. Kinney (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard U P, 2011), 184-5.

¹⁰³ In modern translations following the Hebrew numbering system, rather than the Greek, this psalm is numbered 24. "Ad tollite portas, principes, vestras, et elevamini, portae aeternales, et introibit Rex gloriae. Quis est iste Rex gloriae? Dominus fortis et potens, Dominus potens in proelio. Ad tollite portas, principes, vestras, et elevamini, portae aeternales, et introibit Rex gloriae. Quis est iste Rex gloriae? Dominus virtutum, ipse est Rex gloriae" ("Lift up your gates, O ye princes, and be ye lifted up, O eternal gates, and the King of Glory shall enter in. Who is this King of Glory? The Lord who is strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle. Lift up your gates, O ye princes, and the King of Glory shall enter in. Who is this King of Glory? The Lord of hosts, he is the King of Glory"). Psalm 24:7-10, in *The Vulgate Bible: The Poetical Books*, 210-11.

accurately a homily for Easter. In it, the homilist gives an account of how Christ broke down the doors of hell, bound Satan, instilled fears in the demons, and finally led the unnamed just who had been bound in hell to heaven.¹⁰⁴ The Harrowing episode was exceptionally dramatic, and many interpretations—including Sermon 160—favored the incorporation of the dialogue found in Psalm 23:7-10. This psalm is among the fifty translated into Old English as part of the Alfredian translation project, making its appearance contemporaneous to the A-text of the *OEM*.¹⁰⁵ The relevant passage, verses 7-10, appears as follows:

(7) Undoð nu eower geatu, ge ealdormen, and onhlidað þa ecan geata, for þan þe ingæð se kyning þe God gewuldrod hæfð and geweorðod. Þa andswarode þæt folc and cwæð: / (8) “Hwæt is þes wuldorfæsta kyning? Hit is ure hlaford, strang and mihtig, se þe hæfde anweald on gefeohte.” / (9) Gedoð nu, ealdormen, eowru geatu, and onhlidað eow, ge ecan geatu, for þam þær inngæð se kyning þe God gewuldrod hæfð and geweorðod. / (10) Hwæt is se gewuldroda kyning? Hit is se wuldorfæsta, se þe God fore wyrcoð swyle wundru.¹⁰⁶

([7] Now open your gates, you ealdormen, and unclosethe the eternal gates, because God the king enters, who is glorified and worshipped. Then the people answered and said: [8] “Who is this king bound in glory? It is our Lord, strong and mighty, He who had power in battle.” [9] Now open,

¹⁰⁴ Jackson J. Campbell, “To Hell and Back: Latin Tradition and Literary Use of the ‘Descensus ad Inferos’ in Old English,” *Viator* 13 (1982): 107-58, at 131-2.

¹⁰⁵ While the original translation dates to the late-ninth century, it survives in manuscripts dating from the mid- to late-eleventh century. Patrick P. O’Neill, ed., *King Alfred’s Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 2001), 21.

¹⁰⁶ O’Neill, *King Alfred’s Old English Prose Translation*, 125.

ealdormen, your gates, and uncloze yourselves, you eternal gates, because there God the king enters, who is glorified and worshipped. [10] Who is the King of glories? It is the (one) bound in glory, God, He who previously wrought such miracles.)

Following the example of Sermon 160, the early-ninth-century Book of Cerne incorporates this section of Psalm 23, making it the clearest example of an Anglo-Saxon dramatization of the Harrowing of Hell.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, it is “perhaps the earliest example of the liturgical drama which is extant.”¹⁰⁸ Dumville has argued that this account primarily used two sources: a now lost homily that had been loosely based on Pseudo-Augustine’s Sermon 160,¹⁰⁹ and the Roman Psalter (specifically, this sixty-line drama quotes Psalms 15:10 and 23:7).¹¹⁰ Meant to be read aloud by a congregation and its priest, the dramatic effect of the incorporation of these psalms further stresses the use of this episode as a tool for religious instruction—a factor that also helps to account for its use in the liturgy for Holy Saturday¹¹¹ (specifically, it was to be read at the Second Nocturn).¹¹² The very idea of Christ’s Descent requires His subsequent Ascent, resulting in a link being made between the Anastasis and the central image of Easter: the Resurrection.

¹⁰⁷ Elsewhere in Europe, this dramatized incorporation became quite literal. For the consecration of a church in the ninth century, the bishop of Metz would call out what were traditionally viewed as Christ’s lines (“Lift up your gates”), and the parishioners would respond with the corresponding dialogue (“Who is the King of glory?”). “The Service for the Consecration of a Church,” in *Medieval Drama*, ed. David Bevington (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1975), 12-13. A similar procession would occur in medieval French churches on Palm Sunday. Karl Tamburr, *The Harrowing of Hell in Medieval England* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2007), 4.

¹⁰⁸ David Dumville, “Liturgical Drama and Panegyric Responsory from the Eighth Century? A Re-Examination of the Origin and Contents of the Ninth-Century Section of the Book of Cerne,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 23 (1972): 374-406, at 374.

¹⁰⁹ Another account of the Harrowing that arguably used this now lost text is Blickling Homily 7, which will be discussed in Chapter Four.

¹¹⁰ Dumville, “Liturgical Drama,” 375, 379-80.

¹¹¹ Allen Cabaniss, “The Harrowing of Hell, Psalm 24, and Pliny the Younger: A Note,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 7.2 (April 1953): 65-74, at 66.

¹¹² Albert S. Cook, *The Christ of Cynewulf* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1964), 132.

Some accounts, like the one by Eusebius of Alexandria, link the dialogue in Psalm 23:7-10 to Christ's arrival in hell, with the demons fearfully asking for Christ's identity. Conversely, other writers, including Ambrose, link these verses to Christ's arrival in heaven with the angels joyously greeting Him.¹¹³ Bede follows this latter interpretation in his hymn, *In ascensione domini*.¹¹⁴ As Tamburr poignantly notes, "what in accounts of the Descent are the devils' words of fear and awe, are here the angels' shouts of joy as they confirm Christ as the King of Glory, the one mighty in battle."¹¹⁵ Others still applied these verses simultaneously to both the Descent and the Ascent, including Cynewulf in *Christ II*.¹¹⁶

While most of *Christ II* focuses upon the Ascension (using the account found in Gregory the Great's twenty-ninth homily),¹¹⁷ the small section addressing Christ's Descent (lines 558-99) directly references Psalm 23:7-10.¹¹⁸ Describing Christ's triumphant return to heaven, the narrator orders: "Geatu, ontynað!"¹¹⁹ (Gates, open!) for the king who wants to enter the heavenly "ceastre" after leaving the fiendish "byrig."¹²⁰ Yet it is not clear who is joining Him in heaven; none of the souls rescued from hell are

¹¹³ Tamburr, *The Harrowing of Hell*, 28.

¹¹⁴ For an edition of this hymn, see Cook, *The Christ of Cynewulf*, 116-18.

¹¹⁵ Tamburr, *The Harrowing of Hell*, 45.

¹¹⁶ Tamburr, *The Harrowing of Hell*, 56.

¹¹⁷ George Hardin Brown, "The Descent-Ascent Motif in *Christ II* of Cynewulf," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 73.1 (January 1974): 1-12, at 1.

¹¹⁸ Brown, "The Descent-Ascent Motif," 8.

¹¹⁹ "Christ," in *The Exeter Book*, 19, line 576.

¹²⁰ "Christ," in *The Exeter Book*, 19, lines 569 and 578. This is an interesting distinction, since while both denote a fortified city, the former suggests one "built by the Romans," while "the Saxon word is burh." It is worth questioning if the reference to heaven as the *ceastre* was a subtle nod made by Cynewulf to the most well-known *ceastre* of the time: Winchester, King Alfred's center of royal administration. "Ceaster," in *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Based on the Manuscript Collections of the Late Joseph Bosworth, D. D., F. R. S.*, ed. and enlarged by T. Northcote Toller (Oxford: Oxford U P, 1983), 149. For a discussion on the importance of Winchester in the ninth and early-tenth centuries, see Barbara Yorke, "The Bishops of Winchester, The Kings of Wessex and the Development of Winchester in the Ninth and Early Tenth Centuries," *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 40 (1984): 61-70, esp. 66.

mentioned by name; instead, they are referred to simply as “folces unrim”¹²¹ (a countless number of people). Redemption thus becomes the side note, as the central focus is on Christ’s portrayal as a warrior doing battle against the devil. The incorporation of the Harrowing of Hell motif in the *passiones* is similarly flexible, with varying emphases being placed on the redemption of the just and the punishment of the unjust.

Similarly telling of the concept of deliverance are the dramatic portrayals of the Harrowing in the surviving visual depictions. One such example is the Wirksworth Slab, which contains eight remarkably well-preserved scenes relating to Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the importance of humility. Jane Hawkes has convincingly argued that “the scenes could have been reproduced in Mercia at any time after the sixth century, given the availability of models, although the iconography of the *Majestas Agni* suggests the monument is unlikely to have been produced before the eighth century,” and further that the absence of any Carolingian influence suggests it pre-dates the ninth century.¹²²

Comprised of two rows of images, it is the one on the lower left corner of the slab that depicts the Harrowing of Hell. In this image, Christ is ascending from a coffin-like box that He opens Himself (a feature unique to this slab), leading one larger figure (perhaps Adam), and three half-length figures out of hell.¹²³ The slab itself had originally served as the cover for a sarcophagus-shrine,¹²⁴ perhaps in the church at Wirksworth,¹²⁵ suggesting

¹²¹ “Christ,” in *The Exeter Book*, 19, line 569.

¹²² Jane Hawkes, “The Wirksworth Slab: An Iconography of Humility,” *Peritia* 9 (1995): 246-77, at 262.

¹²³ Hawkes, “The Wirksworth Slab,” 256.

¹²⁴ As Hawkes argues, the prominent role the slab gives to the Virgin Mary suggests that it was made for a woman of standing, perhaps connected to the double monastery at Repton, since Wirksworth had been one of its dependencies. Hawkes, “The Wirksworth Slab,” 274.

¹²⁵ Hawkes, “The Wirksworth Slab,” 273.

that not only was the Harrowing of Hell viewed “as a critical moment in salvation history,”¹²⁶ it was also viewed as necessary for individual salvation.

Indeed, central to interpretations of the Harrowing are the issues of who is saved, and how Christ greets them in hell. As was seen with Sermon 160, not all sources specify exactly whom Christ saves. This is certainly the case in the Advent lyrics (also known as *Christ I*), which are located, along with Cynewulf’s *Juliana*, only in the Exeter Book. Of particular interest are lines 22-32 of Lyric 22, lines 140-63 of Lyric 6, lines 243-74 of Lyric 8, and lines 363-77 of Lyric 10, all of which are framed as appeals to God for help from the unnamed souls still bound in hell.¹²⁷ Though these figures are often unnamed in early Anglo-Saxon accounts of the Harrowing,¹²⁸ the commonly accepted belief was that Adam, whose actions created a postlapsarian world in which all people are stained with original sin, was condemned to hell. Christ, whose death served to redeem humanity, appropriately included Adam amongst the faithful He rescues from hell, which accounts for the introduction of Adam into the Harrowing of Hell episode.¹²⁹ While the presence of Adam in hell was generally accepted in most interpretations of the Harrowing, Eve’s role as the one who appeals to Christ for liberation appears to be a distinctively Anglo-Saxon innovation.¹³⁰ The earliest source describing Eve’s new role is arguably the Book of Cerne, whose speech has been likened to the penitential psalms.¹³¹ Eve validates her

¹²⁶ Tamburr, *The Harrowing of Hell*, 55.

¹²⁷ “Christ,” in *The Exeter Book*, 3-13; Campbell, “To Hell and Back,” 148-50; and Tamburr, *The Harrowing of Hell*, 50-1.

¹²⁸ Later accounts, as will be shown in Chapter Four, tend to name Adam and Eve explicitly.

¹²⁹ Gatch, “Harrowing,” 78.

¹³⁰ “While I have tried to show that these Old English retellings of the Harrowing of Hell incorporate ideas about Eve derived from patristic exegesis, patristic writings themselves can provide no direct source for Eve’s involvement in the Harrowing” (Keith Glaeske, “Eve in Anglo-Saxon Retellings of the Harrowing of Hell,” *Traditio* 54 [1999]: 81-101, at 98).

¹³¹ Campbell, “To Hell and Back,” 133, 137.

appeal to Christ by stressing her relationship to Mary through her role as the “Mother of All the Living (Gen. 3:20) ... Eve is the foremother of Mary and thus the foremother of Christ.”¹³² Consequently, the relationship of Eve to Mary shifts away from the patristic notion of the contrast between the Fall (Eve) and Redemption (Mary) to a notion of the prefigured link between Incarnation (both Eve and Mary) and Redemption (both Eve and Mary)—a view corroborated by the order of the entries in the *OEM*, with the Annunciation (25 March) immediately preceding the Harrowing of Hell (26 March).¹³³ As Jane Chance points out, this concept can be traced back to Aldhelm’s late-seventh-century *De Virginitate*, which “cites Mary as the Second Eve.”¹³⁴ In the Anglo-Saxon tradition, women thus become active figures working together in the narrative of redemption.

The Anglo-Saxon incorporation of Eve is likewise present in the *OEM* entry for the Harrowing of Hell on March 26 (Appendix A): “Eua hine halsode for Sancta Marian mægsibbe ðæt he hire miltsade”¹³⁵ (Eve implored Him that He show mercy to her because of her relationship to Saint Mary). This passage becomes particularly relevant to the study of the Harrowing of Hell as a motif, since, as Christine Rauer’s study of such non-hagiographical entries has shown, the function of the *OEM* was not, as many scholars had previously believed, for ceremonial reading;¹³⁶ rather, the *OEM* had multiple functions, as it “combines the characteristics of a martyrology, calendar, legendary, homiliary and encyclopaedia, and is likely to have served the various purposes associated

¹³² Glaeske, “Eve,” 87.

¹³³ Glaeske, “Eve,” 87.

¹³⁴ Jane Chance, *Woman as Hero in Old English Literature* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse U P, 1986), 15.

¹³⁵ Kotzor, ed., “Christ’s Descent into Hell,” in *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, Vol. II, 46-7.

¹³⁶ “No readers’ prompts suggestive of ceremonial reading have been found in the manuscripts of the *Old English Martyrology*” (Rauer, “Usage,” 128).

with these genres.”¹³⁷ One of these functions—its use as an encyclopedic source—is illustrated by Constance Hieatt, with her work on *Andreas* and the Harrowing of Hell, in which she interprets Andrew’s sea voyage as symbolic of Christ’s Descent, and Matthew as symbolic of the faithful dead Christ liberated from hell, thus showing how Old English images of the Harrowing of Hell—one of the non-hagiographical entries identified by Rauer—were subsumed within the literature.¹³⁸ The arguments made by these two scholars open the path for analyzing the *passiones* within the framework of the *OEM* entry for the Harrowing of Hell.

Indeed, the appearance of the Harrowing of Hell motif in Cynewulf’s vernacular poem, *Juliana*, echoes much of the language found in the March 26 entry. Following the demon’s initial appearance, Juliana is told by the Holy Spirit to “Forfoh þone frætgan and fæste geheald”¹³⁹ (Seize and hold fast the wicked one), and the devil himself questions how she “mec þus fæste fetrum gebunde”¹⁴⁰ (thus bound me firmly in fetters). These images hearken back to those found in the *OEM*, in which it is said that Christ “sloh þara feonda weorod mid his godcunde sweorde ond draf on hellegrund ond hi þær geband”¹⁴¹ (struck a throng of those fiends with his divine sword and drove [them] into the abyss of hell and bound them there).

Juliana is similarly told in the Latin *passio* found in BNF, lat. 10861 to “adprehende istum qui tecum loquitur, ut scias quis est iste”¹⁴² (seize that one who speaks to you in order to find out who he is). Unfortunately, this scene was copied on a bifolium

¹³⁷ Rauer, “Usage,” 144.

¹³⁸ Constance B. Hieatt, “The Harrowing of Mermedonia: Typological Patterns in the Old English *Andreas*,” *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 77 (1976): 49-62, at 55-58.

¹³⁹ *Juliana*, 284.

¹⁴⁰ *Juliana*, 433.

¹⁴¹ Kotzor, “Christ’s Descent into Hell,” 46, lines 1-3.

¹⁴² Lapidge, “Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*,” 159.

now lost from BNF, lat. 5574, which would have appeared between what are now folios 34 and 35.¹⁴³ In order to find evidence of the demon being bound in BNF, lat. 5574, we must therefore turn to a later point in the interrogation scene. As with Cynewulf's *Juliana*, the demon demands: "Dic mihi quomodo ausa es tu me tenere"¹⁴⁴ (tell me how you have dared to hold me), a phrase repeated almost verbatim in BNF, lat. 10861.¹⁴⁵ Juliana does not respond; instead, she strengthens her grip on the demon: "Tunc sancta Iuliana ligauit eum postergum manibus et posuit super terram et adpraehendens unum de uinculis de quibus ipsa fuerat ligata, cedebat [sic] ipsum daemonem"¹⁴⁶ (Then St. Juliana bound him by the hands from behind, and fixed him upon the ground, and, seizing one of the fetters with which she herself had been bound, she struck that same demon). In this scenario, then, the martyr assumes the role of Christ, while the devil assumes the role of the overpowered "þara feonda weorod"¹⁴⁷ (throng of those fiends).

The binding of the demon featured in the BNF, lat. 5574 *passio* of Margaret is even more brutal: "sancta Margareta uirgo conprehendit daemonem per capillos delisit [sic] eum in terram, et posuit pedem suum dextrum super ceruicem eius"¹⁴⁸ (the virgin Saint Margaret grasped the demon by the hair, knocked him to the ground, and placed her right foot upon his neck). The dramatic nature of this moment is heightened by the

¹⁴³ See above, n. 33.

¹⁴⁴ Paris, BNF, lat. 5574, fol. 36v.

¹⁴⁵ "Dic mihi et tu quomodo ausa es me tenere" (Lapidge, "Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*," 161).

¹⁴⁶ Lapidge, "Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*," 161. The passage on fol. 36v of BNF, lat. 5574 is very similar: "Sancta Iuliana postergum manibus ligauit eum, et posuit illum super terram, et capiens unum ferreum ligamentum de quibus ipsa fuerat ligata, et cedebat [sic] ipsum demonem ualde" (St. Juliana bound him by the hands behind his back, and fixed him upon the ground, and, seizing one iron band from those with which she herself had been bound, powerfully struck the same demon).

¹⁴⁷ Kotzor, "Christ's Descent into Hell," 46, lines 1-2.

¹⁴⁸ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 206.

demon's own failed effort to fetter the saint when he: "tenuit manum eius"¹⁴⁹ (grasped her hand). Even the demon appears to recognize the difference between them, crediting her as the one who "ligat demones" (binds demons).¹⁵⁰ While Margaret may not be armed with a divine sword as Christ was, she clearly has no problems binding demons and forcing them to submit.

Yet the binding of demons found in the *OEM* is not the only account of the Harrowing echoed in these *passiones*. The unforgiving nature of the saint's interrogation of the demon is reminiscent of the humiliation of Satan by Christ in another of Cynewulf's poems, *Christ II*. One of the sections unique to this poem, as noted by many scholars,¹⁵¹ is Cynewulf's addition of a sixth leap to the "five leaps of Christ" defined by Gregory the Great in his Homily XXIX. This sixth leap¹⁵² was the Harrowing of Hell, during which Christ "hellwarena heap forbygde / in cwicsule"¹⁵³ (humiliated the troop of hell's inhabitants in living punishment). In Juliana's *passiones*, the demon reacts to Juliana's interrogation by begging the saint "þæt þu furþur me fraceþu ne wyrce, / edwit for eorlum"¹⁵⁴ (that you do not work upon me further insult, disgrace before the earls). When the saint is led away for her execution, the demon is quick to denounce her humiliation of him publicly: "heo goda ussa / meht forhogde, ond mec swiþast /

¹⁴⁹ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 206.

¹⁵⁰ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 208-9.

¹⁵¹ Brown, "The Descent-Ascent Motif," 12; Patrick W. Conner, "The Liturgy and the Old English 'Descent into Hell,'" *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 79.2 (April 1980): 179-91, at 186; D. R. Letson, "The Homiletic Nature of Cynewulf's Ascension Poem," *Florilegium* 2 (1980): 192-216, at 197; and Tamburr, *The Harrowing of Hell*, 59-60.

¹⁵² To keep everything chronologically correct, Cynewulf inserted this new leap between the original fourth (Christ in the sepulchre) and fifth (the Ascension) leaps.

¹⁵³ "Christ," in *The Exeter Book*, 23, lines 731-2.

¹⁵⁴ *Juliana*, 541-2.

geminsade, þæt ic to meldan wearð”¹⁵⁵ (she held in contempt the power of our gods, and diminished me greatly, so that I became as a betrayer/confessor). The sense of “geminsade” is particularly debasing, with meanings such as “to lessen, diminish, become small”¹⁵⁶ and “to impair the credit of”¹⁵⁷; indeed, one scholar goes as far as to translate this as “unmanned.”¹⁵⁸

The demon’s public accusations against Juliana are a rather telling expansion of what is found in the Latin *passiones*. In BNF, lat. 10861, the demon simply states that the saint “Deos uituperavit”¹⁵⁹ (disparaged the gods), and that because of her “omnia confessus sum”¹⁶⁰ (I have confessed everything). While BNF, lat. 5574 has the former passage verbatim, this entire section is an abbreviated version of what is found in BNF, lat. 10861, with the latter passage being omitted entirely.¹⁶¹ It is instead in the prison that we find the demon’s claim of personal humiliation. As in *Juliana*, he begs the saint: “Noli me iam amplius ridiculum facere”¹⁶² (Now, do not make me any more ridiculous).¹⁶³ Scenes such as these serve as further hints to the audience that Juliana’s interrogation, beating, and humiliation of the demon is akin to Christ’s own actions during the Harrowing.

¹⁵⁵ *Juliana*, 619-21.

¹⁵⁶ “Minsian,” in *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, ed. and enlarged by Toller, 689.

¹⁵⁷ T. Northcote Toller, “Geminsian,” in *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Based on the Manuscript Collections of Joseph Bosworth, Supplement*, with a revised and enlarged addenda by Alistair Campbell (Oxford: Oxford U P, 1980), 373.

¹⁵⁸ S. A. J. Bradley, ed. and trans., *Juliana*, in *Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (London: J. M. Dent, 1982), 317.

¹⁵⁹ Lapidge, “Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*,” 164.

¹⁶⁰ Lapidge, “Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*,” 164.

¹⁶¹ Paris, BNF, lat. 5574, fol. 39r.

¹⁶² Paris, BNF, lat. 5574, fol. 37r. Once again, BNF, lat. 10861 contains this passage almost verbatim; the phrase “omnibus hominibus” (before all men) is added, however. Lapidge, “Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*,” 162.

¹⁶³ This could also be a mocking reference to John 20:17, in which Christ told Mary Magdalene when she recognized Him after the Resurrection, “Noli me tangere, nondum enim ascendi ad Patrem meum” (Do not touch me, for I am not yet ascended to my Father). I am grateful to Jonathan Davis-Secord for suggesting this connection. John 20:17, in *The Vulgate Bible: The New Testament*, 602-3.

While the link between the bound Belial and the bound Satan is the most obvious reference to the Harrowing, there is another, less obvious reading that occurs simultaneously: the link between the bound Belial and the bound souls of the just in hell. The groundwork for this alternative reading is established when Cynewulf earlier identifies the disguised devil as “helle hæftling”¹⁶⁴ (a prisoner of hell). After Juliana begins her interrogation, it becomes clear to the devil that he cannot succeed against her, so he “þec halsige” (begs you [Juliana])¹⁶⁵ that “þu miltsige me þearfendum” (you [Juliana] show mercy to me in [my] need).¹⁶⁶ This echoes the appeals made by Eve to Christ in the *OEM*: “Eua halsode for Sancta Marian mægsibbe ðæt he hire miltsade”¹⁶⁷ (Eve implored him that he show mercy to her because of her relationship to Saint Mary). The verbal echoes of “halsige” with “halsode,” and “miltsige” with “milsade” underscore Juliana’s relationship to the devil as it is framed by the Harrowing of Hell motif.

The Latin version of this scene also witnesses the demon trying to assume Eve’s role in the Harrowing; in BNF, lat. 10861, the demon says “adiuro te” (I entreat you) Juliana “infelicitati meae miserere”¹⁶⁸ (have mercy on my misfortune), and in BNF, lat. 5574, the passage is simply rendered as “miserere mei”¹⁶⁹ (have mercy on me). This particular phrase, “miserere mei” (to have mercy on me), is also a common theme in both the Gospels and the Book of Psalms. In the Gospel of Mark, for instance, a blind man uses these very words when begging Christ to return his sight; the Old English gloss for this passage in the Lindisfarne Gospels translates the Latin “miserere mei” as “milsa

¹⁶⁴ *Juliana*, 246.

¹⁶⁵ *Juliana*, 446.

¹⁶⁶ *Juliana*, 449.

¹⁶⁷ Kotzor, “Christ’s Descent into Hell,” 46-7, lines 15-16 and 1.

¹⁶⁸ Lapidge, “Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*,” 161.

¹⁶⁹ Paris, BNF, lat. 5574, fol. 36v.

mines.”¹⁷⁰ This same miracle is described in the Lindisfarne Gospel of Luke, and uses the same words in both the Latin and the Old English.¹⁷¹ Similarly, these exact words can be found in Psalm 50,¹⁷² which is counted as one of the seven penitential psalms; as a penitential psalm, it represents a plea made by an individual for his or her sins to be cleansed, something the demon in the *passiones* about Juliana never cares to do even knowing what awaits him in hell. Ultimately, of course, the demon returns to hell and his fetters, showing that while Juliana can be appealed to as a type of Christ, there are some who are beyond hope of redemption.¹⁷³

Significantly, the demon in the *passiones* about Juliana initially tries to usurp the role of the harrower for himself by forcing the saint into the role of Eve. First appearing to the saint in the poor guise of an angel, he claims that he has entered Juliana’s prison to protect her from a multitude of torments.¹⁷⁴ Predictably, this attempt to trick the saint is foiled. Nevertheless, this does not mean that neither Juliana nor Margaret ever assumes the role of Eve. The missing folium in BNF, lat. 5574 that was mentioned earlier would have also contained Juliana’s prayer—a detail about which we are cognizant due to its presence in BNF, lat. 10861.¹⁷⁵ Here, she specifically asks God to “miserere mei” (have mercy on me), and not to “deseras” (forsake) her as her parents “derelinquerunt” (forsook) her. As we might recall from earlier, Margaret makes a similar prayer upon her

¹⁷⁰ Mark 10:47, in *The Holy Gospels*, Vol. II, 85.

¹⁷¹ Luke 18:38, in *The Holy Gospels in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian, and Old Mercian Versions*, ed. Walter William Skeat, Vol. III (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1874), 181.

¹⁷² In modern translations following the Hebrew numbering system, rather than the Greek, this psalm is numbered 51.

¹⁷³ Allen Frantzen has recognized similar elements in this scene, and describes it as “the only ironic confessional poem in Old English” (Allen J. Frantzen, *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England* [New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers U P, 1983], 188-90).

¹⁷⁴ *Juliana*, 261-6.

¹⁷⁵ Lapidge, “Cynwulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*,” 159.

incarceration, asking God to “miserere mei” (have mercy on me) because her father “me dereliquid”¹⁷⁶ (has forsaken me). These prayers also serve as further evidence of the Harrowing of Hell motif, as the uses of “derelinquerunt” and “dereliquid [sic]” allude to one of the main sources for this tradition: Psalm 15:10,¹⁷⁷ in which the speaker says he will rest in hope “quoniam non derelinques animam meam in inferno”¹⁷⁸ (because You will not forsake my soul in hell).¹⁷⁹ Just as the faithful in hell might find hope knowing they are not forsaken, so, too, may Juliana and Margaret hope that God will not forsake them. The fulfillment of this hope is reminiscent of the Harrowing portrayed on the Wirksworth Slab; here, Christ leads the just out of the coffin-like hell, just as the female martyrs anticipate He will lead them out of their hellish prisons.

Thus, while both the saints and the demons are entrapped, they represent two very different types of prisoners. This difference was established by Bede, who:

is the first of our exegetes to note that manuscripts differed at I Peter 3:19 between ‘in carne’ and ‘in carcere,’ but attributes the same meaning to both readings, although he distinguishes between the imprisonment of the evil and that of the just.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 202.

¹⁷⁷ Peter directly quotes this psalm in his speech to the people of Judea (Acts 2:27). This is the same speech in which he asserts that Christ ascended “solutis doloribus inferni” (“having loosed the sorrows of hell”). Acts 2:24, in *The Vulgate Bible: The New Testament*, 620-1.

¹⁷⁸ Psalm 15:10, in *The Vulgate Bible: The Poetical Books*, 184-5.

¹⁷⁹ This particular allusion is absent in Cynewulf’s *Juliana*. As we know from the Old English translation of Psalm 15 that was part of King Alfred’s translation project, the equivalent for “derelinques” is “forlætst,” a word that, although present in *Juliana*, is only used to refer to the rejection of Eleusius’s proposal (lines 104, 122), the rejection of idolatry (line 179), the demon leading the faithless to forsake their own soul (line 488), and the saint releasing the demon from her grip (line 553). O’Neill, *King Alfred’s Old English Prose Translation*, 114.

¹⁸⁰ Helen Conrad-O’Briain, “The Harrowing of Hell in the Canterbury Glosses and Its Context in Augustinian and Insular Exegesis,” in *Text and Gloss: Studies in Insular Learning and Literature Presented to Joseph Donovan Pheifer*, ed. Helen Conrad-O’Briain, Anne Marie D’Arcy, and John Scattergood (Dublin and Portland, OR: Four Courts Press, 1999), 73-88, at 87-8.

Moreover, if we turn to the Advent lyrics discussed earlier, we find that in Lyric 2, the as yet unsaved souls appeal to God by saying: “we in carcerne / sittað sorgende”¹⁸¹ (sorrowing, we sit in prison). Thus, while a choice would have to be made between “carne” or “carcere,” the meaning remained the same. This subsequently reveals a particularly Anglo-Saxon reading of the Harrowing of Hell as the judgment within both the flesh and the prison.

In accordance with Bedan tradition, the outcomes of such judgments are favorable only to the just, a situation that plays out quite literally in the *passiones* about Juliana. The saint undergoes trials both *in carne* (the tortures described in an earlier section) and *in carcere*. Moreover, while the just Juliana is imprisoned *in carcere*, she is able to restrain the demon physically and interrogate him. Thus, the unjust demon is imprisoned *in carne*, and the outcome of his subsequent judgment is expectedly grim. The landscape of the prison is ominous, dark, and seemingly impenetrable. In Cynewulf’s *Juliana*, the latter characteristic is particularly stressed, when it is mentioned that “Ða wæs mid clustre carcernes duru / behliden”¹⁸² (Then the prison door was closed with a bolt). The poet seems to be highlighting these qualities intentionally, as the Latin versions simply state that the prefect ordered Juliana “in carcere praecipi”¹⁸³ (to be taken into the prison). Indeed, the depiction of threatening landscapes is characteristic of Old English poetry, and might have further served as an alert to Cynewulf’s audience that the Harrowing of Hell motif was being employed.

¹⁸¹ “Christ,” in *The Exeter Book*, 3, lines 25-6.

¹⁸² *Juliana*, 236-7.

¹⁸³ Lapidige, “Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*,” 158. BNF, lat. 5574 uses the word “recipi” (fol. 34v), instead of “praecipi.”

The *passio* of Saint Margaret follows a similar pattern. She is first tortured by her human persecutors *in carne*, and then by her spiritual persecutors *in carcere*. Allusions to the Harrowing of Hell are woven throughout the moments leading up to this, helping to emphasize the importance of this motif. The first description of Olibrius, for example, relates that if he ever heard people uttering Christ's name, "statimque eos ferreis nexibus constringebat" (at once he fettered them in iron bonds),¹⁸⁴ evoking the image of the just bound in hell before Christ's Descent. Further, when confronted with Olibrius, Margaret likens him directly to the image of Satan found in the Harrowing, telling the prefect that he is "confusus a Christo, cui uirtute constringuntur pene [sic] perpetuae" (confounded by Christ,¹⁸⁵ to whom the everlasting punishments are fettered by [His] power);¹⁸⁶ the use of a form of "constringere" highlights the ironic difference between the prefect's physical fettering of the just, and Christ's spiritual fettering of the unjust.

The moment of the saint's incarceration is likewise noteworthy. Upon entering the prison and being faced with the dragon, she recites her *credo*, appropriately praying to the God who "infernum deuastasti, diabolium ligasti, et potestatem draconis confregisti"¹⁸⁷ (has devastated hell, has bound the devil, and has destroyed the power of the dragon). Further, we are alerted to the fact that "Erat hora septima quando recluserunt eam in carcerem tenebrosam"¹⁸⁸ (It was the seventh hour when they put her in the dark prison). This specific wording not only echoes the ominous landscape found in *Juliana*, it also

¹⁸⁴ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 196-7.

¹⁸⁵ The full import of Christ's deception will be discussed in more detail below.

¹⁸⁶ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 200-1.

¹⁸⁷ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 204.

¹⁸⁸ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 202.

alludes to Numbers 15:34: “recluserunt eum in carcerem”¹⁸⁹ (they put him in the prison), referring to the imprisonment and eventual execution of the man found to be collecting sticks on the Sabbath. However, unlike this execution, which had been ordained by God, the imprisonment and execution of Margaret is seen to be unjust.

Moreover, Margaret’s imprisonment *in carcere* is two-fold: not only is she locked in the actual prison, she is also swallowed whole by the first demon who had appeared in the form of a dragon. Obviously, she cannot bind this demon as she does with the second one that appears; instead, she quite literally emerges from the belly of the beast when her crucifix grows in size and splits the demon in two.¹⁹⁰ Whereas Christ in the *OEM* is armed with a “godcunde sweorde” (divine sword) with which he “sloh þara feonda weorod”¹⁹¹ (struck a throng of those fiends), Margaret is armed only with her crucifix, yet comes out victorious—an image that would have surely resonated with Anglo-Saxon nuns during the Viking invasions.

Despite the saints’ quick victories over these demons, the threat they pose should not be underestimated. When the demon in Cynewulf’s *Juliana* first appears in his pseudo-angelic disguise, it is his unsettling and unexpected form of evil that first evokes Juliana’s fear. Realizing something is wrong, “wæs seo fæmne ... / egsan geaclad”¹⁹² (the maiden was terrified with fear). Significantly, the detail about the saint’s fear is unique to Cynewulf, being completely absent in BNF, lat. 10861.¹⁹³ Indeed, it is not the saint who

¹⁸⁹ Numbers 15:34, in *The Vulgate Bible: The Pentateuch, Douay-Rheims Translation*, Vol. I, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, ed. and trans. Swift Edgar (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard U P, 2010), 748.

¹⁹⁰ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 204-7.

¹⁹¹ Kotzor, “Christ’s Descent into Hell,” 46, lines 1-2.

¹⁹² *Juliana*, 267-8.

¹⁹³ Unfortunately, had this detail been in the BNF, lat. 5574 *passio*, it would have been on the now missing leaf between folia 34 and 35. It seems probable, however, that none of the Latin versions mention this fear. Alexandra Hennessey Olsen likewise believes this fear to be entirely an innovation of Cynewulf. Alexandra

shows fear in the Latin versions, but the demon, who is described as either a “timidus daemon”¹⁹⁴ (fearful demon) or a “timens demon”¹⁹⁵ (fearing demon) towards the end of the *passio*, when he is condemning Juliana on the way to her execution. Nevertheless, Juliana’s fear is not without precedent, as she seems to have anticipated both this battle and her need for divine aid early in the *passio* when she confronts her father about marrying Eleusius: “he mundbora min geweorþe, / helpend ond hælend wið hellsceaþum”¹⁹⁶ (He [God] may become my protector, helper and savior against the hellish foes). Indeed, a bit later she defines these “hellish foes” in a corporeal way, declaring that God will protect her from the “gromra gripe” (grasp of fierce beings [monsters]),¹⁹⁷ calling to mind “Grendles grape” (Grendel’s claw) in *Beowulf*.¹⁹⁸

Her description of the physicality of these hellish foes is unusual, but not without precedent. Perhaps the most famous Anglo-Saxon example of this type of evil are the demons found in the *Vita Sancti Guthlaci*. Written by Felix between 730 and 740 about Guthlac (673/4-714), the famous hermit of Crowland in East Anglia, one of the most recognized scenes in this work describes how the demons “extra cellulam suam duxerunt”¹⁹⁹ (led [the saint] outside of his cell), and then proceeded to carry him around the muddy waters of the wild East Anglian fen, beat him with iron-like whips, carry him

Hennessey Olsen, *Speech, Song, and Poetic Craft: The Artistry of the Cynewulf Canon* (New York: Peter Lang, 1984), 101.

¹⁹⁴ Lapidge, “Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*,” 164.

¹⁹⁵ Paris, BNF, lat. 5574, fol. 39r.

¹⁹⁶ *Juliana*, 156-7.

¹⁹⁷ *Juliana*, 215.

¹⁹⁸ Frederick Klaeber, *Klaeber’s Beowulf*, ed. Robert D. Fulk and Robert E. Bjork, 4th ed. (Toronto: Toronto U P, 2008), 30, line 836.

¹⁹⁹ Bertram Colgrave, ed. and trans., *Felix’s Life of St. Guthlac* (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1956; rpt. 1985), 102.

high into the sky, and then plunge him into the “nefandas tartari fauces”²⁰⁰ (wicked jaws of hell), whereupon he was rescued by St. Bartholomew. Like in the *passiones* about Juliana, the demons first try to hide their identity from Guthlac, appearing in the form of humans and offering the saint help,²⁰¹ unlike the vast majority of female saints, however, Guthlac faces all these threats “inmotis sensibus, stabili animo, sobria mente”²⁰² (with immovable feelings, a steadfast soul, [and] a sober mind). Even though the Latin *passiones* about Juliana never say she is afraid, neither do they mention fearlessness to be her initial reaction to the demon.

This moment of fear is also present in the *passio* about Saint Margaret, though unlike the *passiones* about Juliana, this detail was a standard feature in the texts about Margaret. This fear makes a great deal of sense in Margaret’s case—not only must she face two demons, the first is a dragon that swallows her whole. Indeed, following the appearance of this figure: “formido mortis cecidit”²⁰³ (the fear of death struck). These moments of fear are noticeably the only ones in which the behavior of Juliana and Margaret adheres to the social expectations of their gender. While this feminine fear is very short-lived, and soon replaced with masculine aggression, it still serves to humanize—however briefly—women who in all other cases act divinely. Significantly, these brief moments are essential to the Anglo-Saxon nature of the texts, as the intended audience of both *passiones* were most likely the Anglo-Saxon nuns experiencing a very real fear of the Viking invaders. Thus, the saints’ ability to overcome such fears would make their ultimate victories all the more poignant for an Anglo-Saxon audience.

²⁰⁰ Colgrave, *Felix’s Life*, 104.

²⁰¹ Colgrave, *Felix’s Life*, 98-9.

²⁰² Colgrave, *Felix’s Life*, 106.

²⁰³ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 204.

The nuns might likewise have found encouragement with Juliana's repeated assertions that she will not fear her human persecutors. She first tells her father that, "næfre ic me ondræde domas þine"²⁰⁴ (Never will I fear your judgments), and subsequently echoes this proclamation almost verbatim to Eleusius, only replacing "næfre" with "ne."²⁰⁵ The message to the nuns, then, is that the real threat is not the physical one, but the spiritual one. For this reason, Juliana fears the devil, who is concerned "ymb þæs gæstes forwyrd, / þonne þæs lichaman"²⁰⁶ (more about the destruction of the soul, than of the body), more than she fears her human persecutors, who are constantly misreading her spiritual identity as something physical.²⁰⁷

It is Juliana who is able to read the other characters correctly, as is evidenced by the demon's inability to fool her when he changed his physical appearance. This concept of deception is particularly emphasized in Anglo-Saxon understandings of the Harrowing of Hell; specifically, it was the idea that in order for Christ to become victorious over Satan—thus securing atonement for mankind—He first deceived Satan, who, not recognizing Christ's incarnate form, granted Christ entrance into hell.²⁰⁸ Juliana, on the other hand, is not deceived by the devil's incarnate form, thus reversing the events in the actual Harrowing in which Satan is deceived by Christ's incarnate form. In the *passio* of Margaret, the devil openly admits that he was confounded by the saint (perhaps

²⁰⁴ *Juliana*, 134.

²⁰⁵ *Juliana*, 210.

²⁰⁶ *Juliana*, 414-15.

²⁰⁷ Robert Bjork convincingly argues that this spiritual hierarchy of persecutors, which places the devil over Affricanus and Eleusius, is reflected in the rhetorical strength attributed to each character. The weak linguistic structure of the human persecutors' speeches reveals their "misreading," while "[i]n the demon, Juliana encounters her linguistic equal" (Bjork, *The Old English Saints' Lives*, 55).

²⁰⁸ Gatch, "Harrowing," 76.

underestimating her because she is a young woman): “uirtus mea confusa est, a tenera puella superatus sum”²⁰⁹ (my power is confused; I am conquered by a young girl).

Though the belief in Christ’s deception was unorthodox—indeed, Anselm would eventually challenge the validity of this theory in the late-eleventh century²¹⁰—it nonetheless gained significant influence in medieval traditions. This tradition can be traced back to the Canterbury school established by Archbishop Theodore and Abbot Hadrian in the late-seventh century. It was out of this school that the biblical commentaries mentioned earlier in the discussion of the “deaf and dumb” idols came (those preserved in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, M. 79 sup.).²¹¹ While only a handful of glosses address the Harrowing of Hell, it is nonetheless essential to discuss them since not only did the Canterbury school set the standard for intellectual life in Anglo-Saxon England,²¹² but also the veneration of both Juliana and Margaret can be traced back to the school’s leaders, Abbot Hadrian and Archbishop Theodore.

Taking the Canterbury glosses as a whole, there are “651 entries across three commentaries, [and] using the broadest possible criteria, eighteen of the comments, by my count, or less than three percent, can be called allegorical.”²¹³ Significantly, the allegorical exceptions often focus on information concerning the Harrowing of Hell, a trend Conrad-O’Briain attributes to the influence of Augustine’s Letter 164, in which he removes this tradition from I Peter in order to avoid a literal exegesis that would result in an unorthodox reading—namely, that if Christ literally descended into hell, he would

²⁰⁹ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 208.

²¹⁰ Gatch, “Harrowing,” 76.

²¹¹ Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, 283.

²¹² Peter Hunter Blair, *The World of Bede* (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1990), 120.

²¹³ Conrad-O’Briain, “Harrowing,” 73.

have had to assume his incarnate form a second time, a view that would contradict the orthodox notion that “Christ came only once in the flesh.”²¹⁴

The commentary for Matthew 17:9 provides the full interpretation of the deception of Christ motif in the Anglo-Saxon tradition: “From Adam up to Christ three things were hidden from the devils: that Christ was to be born of a Virgin; that He was to be crucified; and that He was to be buried in the earth or that he would descend to hell.”²¹⁵ Conrad-O’Briain rightly calls the glosses “radically inclusive”,²¹⁶ however, despite the preference for allegorical interpretations of the Harrowing of Hell, there are also literal interpretations, for which the Antiochene school of exegesis was so famous, making one question just how influential Augustine’s Letter 164 truly was on Anglo-Saxon traditions. For example, in the commentary on Luke 13:32, the commentator says “after He [Christ] had been in hell for thirty-six hours, He arose again from the dead,”²¹⁷ and in the commentary on Exodus 12:38, the commentator explains that “[s]ome say in this incident it is to be understood that, with Christ ascending from hell with the souls of the holy, those also who previously did not believe in the law but yet with Him preaching found their faith, also ascend.”²¹⁸ Thus, we find two traditions being promulgated simultaneously throughout Anglo-Saxon England: the first, that the Harrowing of Hell was to be read allegorically as the need to preach to those “shut up in the prison of

²¹⁴ Conrad-O’Briain, “Harrowing,” 84.

²¹⁵ Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, 405. This is apparently derived from Ignatius of Antioch’s *Letter to the Ephesians*, in which he describes the three things hidden from Satan. Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, 517.

²¹⁶ Conrad-O’Briain, “Harrowing,” 87.

²¹⁷ Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, 417.

²¹⁸ Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, 391.

ignorance,”²¹⁹ and the second, that Christ literally descended into hell in order to liberate the faithful.

All this draws back to the original notion that Anglo-Saxons viewed the Harrowing of Hell as central to the narrative of salvation. For this reason, it makes sense that they would favor stories in which this motif served as a turning point. As the *passio* of Saint Margaret so aptly relates: “Sancta autem Margareta cum exiret de carcere consignavit corpus suum cum signaculo Christi”²²⁰ (Moreover, when Saint Margaret emerged from the prison, she sealed herself with the sign of Christ). This sealing of her body prepares her for her execution, reversing the order in which the events occurred for Christ, who was crucified before He descended into hell, suggesting that the events in the prison were a test of her faith. The saint predictably passes this test, having been promised a victorious ascent to heaven similar to the one found in Psalm 23:7-10. It is a dove, a symbol of the Holy Ghost, who assures her that “Te expectant portae paradisi” (The gates of heaven await you).²²¹

A Voice in the Darkness: Pentecostal Images

The figuration of the saints as harrowers of hell operates in conjunction with the spiritual help they receive in prison from another part of the Trinity—the Holy Spirit. It is at this point that the liturgical resonances shift away from the Easter imagery associated with the Harrowing of Hell to Pentecostal imagery. The pairing of these two liturgical feasts is appropriate; whereas Easter is the first feast of Paschaltide, Pentecost is the last. The link made between Easter (and its use of the Harrowing tradition) and Pentecost went

²¹⁹ Conrad-O’Brian, “Harrowing,” 83.

²²⁰ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 210.

²²¹ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 206-7.

even deeper, since “it was customary to baptize only at Easter and Pentecost.”²²² Indeed, these feasts were so intertwined that many homilists, such as Augustine, Gregory the Great, and Bede, incorporated the Coming of the Holy Spirit into their Ascension homilies.²²³ Cynewulf also integrated Pentecostal images into his Ascension poem, *Christ II*, with their placement in the poem bookending the section on the Harrowing of Hell.²²⁴ The patristic and medieval traditions concerning Pentecost are more straightforward than those of the Harrowing, since two biblical passages make explicit reference to this event: Acts 2:1-8²²⁵ and Christ’s promises made in John 14.²²⁶ Briefly, Pentecost is said to have

²²² Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils*, 144, n. 93.

²²³ Jerome Oetgen, “Common Motifs in the Old English Ascension Homilies,” *Neophilologus* 69 (1985): 437-45, at 440-1.

²²⁴ The first passage refers to the promise made by Christ to the apostles in John 14, and the second refers to the Coming of the Holy Spirit described in Acts 2:1-8. “Christ,” in *The Exeter Book*, 18 and 21, lines 540-5 and 645-50; and Oetgen, “Common Motifs,” 441.

²²⁵ “Et cum complerentur dies Pentecostes, erant omnes pariter in eodem loco, et factus est repente de caelo sonus tamquam advenientis spiritus vehementis, et replevit totam domum ubi erant sedentes. Et apparuerunt illis dispersitae linguae tamquam ignis, seditque supra singulos eorum. Et replete sunt omnes Spiritu Sancto, et coeperunt loqui variis linguis, prout Spiritus Sanctus dabat eloqui illis. Erant autem in Hierusalem habitantes Iudaei, viri religiosi ex omni natione quae sub caelo est. Facta autem hac voce, convenit multitudo et mente confusa est, quoniam audiebat unusquisque lingua sua illos loquentes. Stupebant autem omnes et mirabantur, dicentes, ‘Nonne, ecce, omnes isti qui loquuntur Galilaei sunt? Et quomodo nos audivimus unusquisque linguam nostram in qua nati sumus?’” (“And when the days of the Pentecost were accomplished, they were all together in one place, and suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a mighty wind coming, and it filled the whole house where they were sitting. And there appeared to them parted tongues as it were of fire, and it sat upon every one of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and they began to speak with divers tongues, according as the Holy Ghost gave them to speak. Now there were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, devout men out of every nation under heaven. And when *this was noised abroad*, the multitude came together and were confounded in mind, because that every man heard them speak in his own tongue. And they were all amazed and wondered, saying ‘Behold, are not all these that speak Galileans? And how have we heard every man our own tongue wherein we were born?’”). Acts 2:1-8, in *The Vulgate Bible: The New Testament*, 616-9.

²²⁶ Kees Dekker, “Pentecost and Linguistic Self-Consciousness in Anglo-Saxon England: Bede and Ælfric,” *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 104.3 (July 2005): 345-72, at 346-7. These promises are highlighted in verse 3, which promises “Et si abiero et praeparavero vobis locum, iterum venio et accipiam vos ad me ipsum, ut ubi sum ego, et vos sitis” (“And if I shall go and prepare a place for you, I *will* come again and will take you to myself, that where I am, you also may be”), and in verses 16-18, which promise “Et ego rogabo Patrem, et alium Paraclitum dabit vobis, ut maneat vobiscum in aeternum: Spiritum veritatis, quem mundus non potest accipere, quia non videt eum nec scit eum; vos autem cognoscitis eum, quia apud vos manebit et in vobis erit. Non relinquam vos Orfanos; veniam ad vos” (“And I will ask the Father, and he shall give you another Paraclete, that he may abide with you for ever: the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not nor knoweth him; but you *shall* know him,

occurred ten days after Christ's Ascension; while 120 of the faithful (including eleven of the apostles) were gathered in the Cenacle on Mount Zion, the Holy Spirit descended and a fire settled over each person, filling them with the Holy Spirit, and granting them the ability to speak in a multitude of languages.

Much of the medieval tradition deals with this final point, and derives from Gregory the Great's *Homily XXX*, in which he highlights the importance of language by making a typological connection between the Tower of Babel, an event that led to the fracturing of language, and Pentecost, the event that restored the ability to communicate.²²⁷ This typology was picked up by Bede in his *Commentary on Genesis*, in which he contrasts the city of Babylon to that of Jerusalem. The first, he comments, was thus named because of the "confusionem" caused by the disparate languages; the second, however, was comprised of those who followed the Lord once the Holy Spirit "scientiam omnium tribueret lingarum"²²⁸ (bestowed knowledge of all the languages) upon the apostles. The specific link made between the apostles and language resulted in a Pentecostal tradition deeply rooted in the pastoral importance of preaching to the unconverted masses, and the subsequent baptism of the newly converted.²²⁹ Christian rites reflected these beliefs, since, as mentioned earlier, baptisms would traditionally be performed on either Easter or Pentecost. These core ideas formed the patristic and medieval foundations from which the Anglo-Saxon tradition would develop. Almost all references to Pentecost occurring before the time of Alfred were written in Latin. Indeed,

because he shall abide with you and shall be in you. I will not leave you orphans; I will come to you"). John 14:3, 16-18, in *The Vulgate Bible: The New Testament*, 566-9.

²²⁷ Dekker, "Pentecost," 349.

²²⁸ Bede, *In Genesim*, in *Opera exegetica: libri quatuor in principium Genesis usque ad nativitatem Isaac et eiectionem Ismahelis adnotationum*, Pars II, ed. Charles W. Jones, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 118a (Turnhout: Brepols, 1967), 156.

²²⁹ Dekker, "Pentecost," 351, 356.

the “only substantive [vernacular] account from the pre-Alfredian period is the entry for 15 May in the Old English Martyrology,”²³⁰ which closely follows the text in Acts 2:1-8, and includes explicit references to the gift of tongues, baptism, and the image of the dove (Appendix B).²³¹

While hints of this Pentecostal imagery appear in the Latin *passiones* about Juliana, Cynewulf develops this theme to a far greater extent, making it one of his most significant alterations. Cynewulf’s additions therefore reveal not only an interest in Pentecost, but also the particular details that Anglo-Saxons would recognize in relation to this feast day. In both *Juliana*, and the Latin *passio* found in BNF, lat. 10861, the Pentecostal notes begin when the saint is first faced with the demon, and cries out for help. In *Juliana*, “stefn ... / wlitig of wolcnum”²³² (a glorious voice from the heavens) prompts Juliana’s interrogation of the devil, calling to mind the language and imagery used in the entry for Pentecost in the *OEM*: “Pa færinga wæs geworden sweg of heofonum”²³³ (Then a voice suddenly had come from heaven)—itself a passage that derives from Acts 2:2. In BNF, lat. 10861, the detail that the voice was specifically from heaven is eliminated, leaving only “uox facta est ad eam” (a voice was brought forth to her), which echoes the passage from Acts 2:6 that explains how people from all over gathered, “Facta autem hac voce”²³⁴ (when this noise was brought forth [i.e. that the apostles could speak in diverse languages]). Unfortunately, this is yet another section that

²³⁰ Dekker, “Pentecost,” 348.

²³¹ Kotzor, “Pentecost,” *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, Vol. II, 104-5.

²³² *Juliana*, 282-3.

²³³ Kotzor, “Pentecost,” 104, lines 14-15.

²³⁴ Acts 2:6, in *The Vulgate Bible: The New Testament*, 618.

would have appeared on the missing folium from BNF, lat. 5574.²³⁵ Nonetheless, by turning once more to the redacted *Passio S. Iulianae* compiled by the Bollandists, which includes the detail that this voice came “de coelo”²³⁶ (from heaven), it is clear that the BNF, lat. 10861 *passio* is perhaps unusual in its omission of this detail. While the Latin versions clearly hint at the descent of the Holy Spirit, this is where such allusions end.

Margaret, too, is aided by the Holy Spirit while in prison. When the second demon appears after the dragon’s demise, the saint prays for help, and immediately a light enters the prison, revealing a vision of a dove sitting upon the True Cross. Speaking to the saint, the dove promises her salvation, remarking, as was discussed earlier, that the gates of heaven await her.²³⁷ Unlike the case of Juliana, the voice of the Holy Spirit does not order her to restrain and interrogate the devil; rather, it appears that the dove’s arrival fortifies her enough to begin this process herself. Moreover, the dove’s arrival is anticipated by an earlier prayer made by Margaret; when she was being suspended in the air and beaten, she asks God: “Transmitte me columbam de caelo in adiutorium”²³⁸ (send me a dove from heaven as help).

The idea that the Holy Spirit functioned as Juliana’s helper is part of Cynewulf’s addition of Pentecostal imagery. The voice’s descent in his poem is precipitated by adding a very subtle comment that “hyre wæs Halig Gæst / singal gesið”²³⁹ (the Holy Ghost was her constant companion). Further, just as the apostles gain the “gift of tongues” in the *OEM*, so, too, does Juliana gain this same gift, as is revealed by the

²³⁵ See above, n. 33.

²³⁶ Strunk, *Juliana*, 38.

²³⁷ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 206-7.

²³⁸ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 202.

²³⁹ *Juliana*, 241-2.

comment that she spoke “þurh gæstes giefe”²⁴⁰ (through the grace of the Spirit). This results in her subsequent ability to interrogate the devil and ask him the previously discussed question, “Who sent you?”²⁴¹ The prison, then, represents the Tower of Babel, an ill-conceived construction that serves as the site of the unjust figures’ pride, emulating the sinful pride of the builders. It is therefore appropriate that the aid the Holy Spirit provides to Juliana and Margaret is strongly rooted in the realm of the rhetorical, rendering them as representations of the apostles.²⁴²

The figuration of the demon as one who loses the ability to communicate is further supported by his inability to wield language effectively.²⁴³ During Juliana’s interrogation of the devil, he makes a single attempt to turn the tables on Juliana, and it proves to be a dismal failure. After answering the saint’s seemingly endless questions, the demon takes the initiative to ask her: “Ðu me ærest saga / hu þu gedyrstig þurh deop gehygd / wurde þus wigþrist ofer eall wifa cyn”²⁴⁴ (First tell me how you, bold woman, became so bold in fights by means of deep thought over all womankind). Rather than waiting for a response, the demon instead undermines his attempt at a masculine assertion by answering the question for her, acknowledging that her strength comes from her trust

²⁴⁰ *Juliana*, 316.

²⁴¹ The Canterbury glosses explain Pentecost typologically by tying it back to Adam in Genesis 2:7: “It was the prophetic gift of the Holy Spirit which Adam lost through sin. And thus the spirit is given twice to the apostles, as it was created in Adam; that is, in the first instance, soul and breath, but subsequently, the spiritual grace, as when He breathed into the apostles saying, ‘Receive ye the Holy Ghost’” (Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, 309). This has ties to *Orationes de mundi creatione* by Severian of Gabal, a preacher in Constantinople at the turn of the fifth century, in which he makes the same typological connection, quoting John 20:22 for support. Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, 439.

²⁴² Both BNF, lat. 10861 and BNF, lat. 5574 make this connection to the apostles explicit; the demon calls Juliana the “comes apostolorum” (companion of the apostles). Lapidge, “Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Julianae*,” 161; and Paris, BNF, lat. 5574, fol. 36v.

²⁴³ As Antonina Harbus points out, the demon “uses speech to hide his reality; [conversely] Juliana uses it to communicate her own spiritual reality” (Harbus, “Articulate Contact,” 194).

²⁴⁴ *Juliana*, 430-2.

in God. This episode appears in the Latin versions,²⁴⁵ and it is perhaps for this reason that Cynewulf saw the benefit of making the Pentecostal resonances more explicit. In all the manuscripts, the demon's own words betray him, and he is completely incapable of fulfilling the masculine demands the role of the confessor has.

The demon's lack of rhetorical strength is even more prominent in the *passio* of Margaret. The dialogue between the two is significantly shorter than what is found in the *passiones* about Juliana; further, when the demon asks Margaret not to "amplius damnes me"²⁴⁶ (damn me further), she responds by making the sign of the cross and telling him to leave her, whereupon "statim degluttivit eum terra"²⁴⁷ (the earth immediately swallowed him). It is at this point that the demon disappears from the narrative of Margaret, leaving the remaining Pentecostal allusions to deal more with baptism and salvation than with rhetorical strength.

Following Margaret's ascent out of the prison, Olibrius plans to kill her by binding her hands and feet and having her drown in a vessel of water. In response, Margaret asks God: "Fiatque mihi aqua ista sanctificatio et inluminatio salutis, et fiat mihi fons indeficiens"²⁴⁸ (Let this same water be for me sanctification and the glory of salvation, and let the font be enduring for me). In other words, she is praying for the torture device to become a baptismal bath for her, and it appears her prayers are answered. An earthquake miraculously happens at this moment, and a dove descends to

²⁴⁵ In BNF, lat. 10861, the demon conjectures that the saint is victorious over him "quia confides in Christum" (because you believe in Christ); in BNF, lat. 5574, he suspects it is "quia confidens es in Christo" (because you are confident in Christ). Lapidge, "Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*," 161; Paris, BNF, lat. 5574, fol. 36v.

²⁴⁶ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 210.

²⁴⁷ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 210.

²⁴⁸ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 212.

rest upon the newly emerged saint, presenting Margaret with a golden crown. This imagery is particularly appropriate, since Pentecost was one of the days set aside for baptism. Likewise, the appearance of the dove further emphasizes both the Pentecostal imagery and Margaret's function as *imitatio Christi*; as the Gospels relate, when Christ was baptized, the Holy Spirit descended as a dove and landed upon him in order to signify that He was God's son.²⁴⁹

Whereas the demon's absence makes room for the allusions to baptism, Juliana's demon has a much more protracted role, and he tries to regain what he has lost in the interrogation. Once more he acts as the voice of unreason and publicly condemns Juliana by means of a distorted confession: "Ic þa sorge gemon, / hu ic bendum fæst bisga unrim, / on anre niht, earfeða dreag, / yfel ormætu"²⁵⁰ (I remember that sorrow, how in one night I suffered a countless number of afflictions and hardships, excessive evils, firmly bound in bonds). The devil inverts the typical schema of virgin martyr legends, setting himself up as the innocent victim, and casting Juliana in the role of persecutor. This inversion should not be surprising, as the demon sets up the context by first inverting the confession itself—not only does he move it from the private realm to the public one,²⁵¹ he also inappropriately grants the pagan crowd the role of confessor. In attempting to appropriate Juliana's identity, Belial has no option but to pervert it unsuccessfully.

²⁴⁹ Matthew 3:16, Mark 1:9-10, Luke 3:21, in *The Vulgate Bible: The New Testament*, 12-13, 178-81, 312-13.

²⁵⁰ *Juliana*, 624-7.

²⁵¹ Confession itself was always a private matter. It should be noted, however, that while the demon is certainly not penitent, penance could be public (especially for crimes of a more serious nature, such as kin-slaying). Although there is some evidence from early Anglo-Saxon England concerning the matter of public penance, the vast majority of the evidence dates from 970 onwards. Brad Bedingfield, "Public Penance in Anglo-Saxon England," *Anglo-Saxon England* 31 (2002): 223-55, esp. 224; and Sarah Hamilton, "Rites for Public Penance in Late Anglo-Saxon England," in *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. Helen Gittos and M. Bradford Bedingfield, Henry Bradshaw Society, Subsidia 5 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), 65-103, at 91-2.

This type of failed appropriation echoes his earlier claim that he is a “lareow georn”²⁵² (eager teacher) of men, yet he is only able to disseminate his knowledge of vice, rendering him a false “lareow.” This creates “one of the poem’s great ironies ... its most overtly educative discourse comes from the demon.”²⁵³ While the demon’s “sermon” is perhaps the most explicit of the didactic speeches, there is a “true sermon” preached by Juliana in the moment preceding her death, which serves as a sort of grand finale for the Pentecostal imagery. As the death of the saint serves as the actual climax of the *passio*, it is appropriate that her rhetorical strength reflects this, culminating in Juliana’s major didactic moment. Before this point in the poem, her speech had been limited to prayer and interrogation; it is only at the moment of death that the saint finally has a monologue, declaring her *credo* and urging the people to turn to God.

In the Latin *passiones*, there is a second major didactic moment occurring just after Juliana emerges from the prison and Eleusius once again orders torture. This time, she is chained and beaten on the breaking wheel (also called the Katherine Wheel, as St. Katherine of Alexandria famously suffered this torture), while simultaneously being tortured with fire.²⁵⁴ She is saved when “Angelus autem Domini descendit de celo”²⁵⁵ (an angel of the Lord descended from heaven), extinguishing the fire and releasing the bonds that held her. Following her miraculous survival, she delivers a lengthy address to Eleusius’s pagan followers concerning the glory of God and directly crediting Him with

²⁵² *Juliana*, 409.

²⁵³ Bjork, *Old English Verse Saints’ Lives*, 58.

²⁵⁴ The grammar for the sentence about the use of fire in BNF, lat. 10861 is elusive, leading to a corrupt passage. BNF, lat. 5574 omits the details about the fire completely. Lapidge, “Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*,” 162-3 and 170, n. 69; and Paris, BNF, lat. 5574, fol. 37v-38r.

²⁵⁵ Lapidge, “Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*,” 163. BNF, lat. 5574 has almost all the same wording, yet omits “de celo.” Paris, BNF, lat. 5574, fol. 38r.

her deliverance. Immediately, a large host of pagans converted to Christianity, telling the prefect to punish them for their previous errors; in BNF, lat. 10861, these pagans number 130, and in BNF, lat. 5574, they number 500 men and 130 women. Consulting with Maximianus, Diocletian's co-emperor, Eleusius orders them all to be beheaded.²⁵⁶ Unfortunately, if this passage was originally present in the Exeter Book, it would have been found on the now missing bifolium that contained leaves 2 and 7.²⁵⁷ One must conjecture that Cynewulf would have indeed adapted this episode, as it would have been evidence of the efficacy of Juliana's rhetorical powers, and would have anticipated the scene described at her actual death.

Likewise, the final Pentecostal imagery in the *Passio S. Margaretae* appears in the moments before the saint's execution. Margaret prays in front of the crowd, asking that whoever honors her memory (be it through reading or copying her *passio*, venerating her relics, honoring her name, or building a basilica in her name) should have their sins forgiven and their ailments cured. The dove once more descends and commends the saint for the selflessness of her prayer, and agrees to her conditions. Following her execution, her prayer proves efficacious as all the sick who then touched her body were healed.²⁵⁸ Importantly, this prayer takes up thirteen and a half of the fifty lines (or 27%) comprising the *OEM* entry for Margaret.²⁵⁹ While the entire prison episode has been omitted (including the appearance of the two demons), special concern has been given to this scene, suggesting that the martyrologist was intentionally emphasizing the link between salvation and the veneration of saints. As with BNF, lat. 5574, Margaret's prayer is

²⁵⁶ Lapidge, "Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*," 163; and Paris, BNF, lat. 5574, fol. 38v.

²⁵⁷ Lapidge, "Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*," 169, n. 43.

²⁵⁸ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 214-17.

²⁵⁹ Kotzor, "St. Marina," 143-4, lines 3-14 and 1-2.

immediately answered; although no dove appears, the response is made by a “stefn of heofonum”²⁶⁰ (voice from heaven). This passage thus retains at least one Pentecostal allusion, as it is almost identical to the one found in the *OEM*’s entry for Pentecost that states that “sweg of heofonum”²⁶¹ (a voice from heaven) was heard by the apostles.

The shift that witnesses the saints operating as catechizing preachers is also reflected in the geography—before this point both Juliana and Margaret remained enclosed within a city, with the persecutors functioning as false teachers; it is only at the end, when they are taken to the border, that they become the true teachers. We are told in BNF, lat. 10861 only that Juliana was led “ubi decollari meruerat”²⁶² (where she had merited to be killed); this passage is even more obscure in BNF, lat. 5574, which simply states that she was taken “ubi decollari eam iusserat”²⁶³ (where he had ordered her to be beheaded). Cynewulf translates this into Anglo-Saxon terms, specifying that she was brought “londmearce neah”²⁶⁴ (near to the border of the land) for her execution. Like Juliana, the pagan persecutors “duxerunt foras ciuitatis”²⁶⁵ (led [Margaret] out of the city) for her execution.

Significantly, the practice of executing criminals at the borders of the land was well-established as a judicial custom in Anglo-Saxon England.²⁶⁶ So, too, were these borderlands gathering places for markets, and, in early Anglo-Saxon England, for “mass

²⁶⁰ Kotzor, “St. Marina,” 144, line 3.

²⁶¹ Kotzor, “Pentecost,” 104, lines 14-15.

²⁶² Lapidge, “Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*,” 164.

²⁶³ Paris, BNF, lat. 5574, fol. 39r.

²⁶⁴ *Juliana*, 635.

²⁶⁵ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 212.

²⁶⁶ “These [gallows] were often placed on the boundary between settlements, and hence phrases like ‘to the gallow tree’ or ‘to the old place of execution’ are not infrequent in lists of boundary estates. It is in agreement with native custom that the poet should cause St. Juliana to be led out to execution ‘near the land-boundary’” (Dorothy Whitelock, *The Beginnings of English Society*, The Pelican History of England 2 [Harmondsworth, U.K.: Penguin Books, 1972], 144).

initiations,²⁶⁷ which would have included instructing the crowds about Christianity. This frames the martyrdom and final speeches of Juliana and Margaret within a context that an Anglo-Saxon audience would recognize, and would further serve to make the external audience of Anglo-Saxons react to the final speeches in a way that parallels the reactions of the internal audience of pagans.

Appropriately, this particular idea of preaching was addressed in the third decree of the 747 Council of Clofesho, which directed that bishops

should assemble people, of diverse condition and sex, at convenient places, and should plainly teach, especially those who rarely hear the word of God; prohibiting, among other sins, pagan observances, that is, diviners, soothsayers, auguries, auspices, amulets, enchantments or any other filth of the ungodly, and errors of the heathen.²⁶⁸

This may account for one of the changes made by Cynewulf to the story of Juliana.

Whereas in the Latin versions the pagans who converted following Juliana's torture on the Katherine Wheel were executed, the amassed pagans in *Juliana* still convert, yet unlike the Latin versions, the new converts are not executed.²⁶⁹ Indeed, if these saints'

lives served as commentaries on the milieu created by the Viking invasions, one can see why the *en masse* execution of Christians would be particularly unappealing. Instead, the

²⁶⁷ Richard Morris, "Baptismal Places: 600-800," in *People and Places in Northern Europe 500-1600: Essays in Honour of Peter Hayes Sawyer*, ed. Ian Wood and Niels Lund (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: Boydell, 1991), 15-24, at 21-2.

²⁶⁸ "populumque diversa [sic] conditionis ac sexus per competentia ad se convocet loca, aperteque doceat, utpote eos qui raro audiunt verbum Dei, prohibens, et inter cæ tera [sic] peccamina, *paganas observaciones*, id est, *divinos, sortilegos, auguria, fylacteria, incantationes*, sive omnes spurcitas impiorum, gentiliumque errata" (Meaney, "Anglo-Saxon Idolators and Ecclesiasts," 112). Translation by Meaney.

²⁶⁹ While this episode would have been on one of the missing leaves from the Exeter Book, Schaar points out that "the lines immediately after the gap contain the end of a passage describing their [the newly converted Christians'] praise of the Christian God ... [excluding] the wholesale execution of the converts" (Claes Schaar, *Critical Studies in the Cynewulf Group* [Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1949], 28).

sentiment desired during this time would be akin to the message Margaret delivers to Olibrius: “Si corpus meum est exterminatum, anima autem mea cum iustis uirginibus requiescat”²⁷⁰ (If my body is destroyed, my soul will nonetheless rest with the just virgins). The concept is driven home when she asks God that she give “fiduciam omnibus uirginibus confitere nomen tuum”²⁷¹ (courage to all virgins to make known Your name).

The *passiones* about Juliana and Margaret, then, become prime examples showing how hagiographies were used by their authors to reflect the issues relevant to their time and place. In their earliest Anglo-Saxon appearances, Juliana and Margaret were chosen to set examples for nuns who were being attacked by Viking invaders. The attacks on monasteries were extensive, creating a pressing need for role models to help the nuns deal with such assaults. These *passiones* reflect more than just the socio-political context, however; they also represent larger, literary traditions. As a literary formula, the appropriated virgin martyr had five elements: pagan parents, the senselessness of “deaf and dumb” idols, a two-fold physical torture, allusions to the Harrowing of Hell while in prison, and Pentecostal imagery. These elements reflect larger, Anglo-Saxon customs, such as the importance of kinship ties, Insular exegetical traditions concerning the Harrowing of Hell and Pentecost, the enclosure of anchorites and of women in the Old English elegies, and the Anglo-Saxon custom of executing people outside city walls.

It is thus apparent why these works were chosen to be copied, and why they would continue to grow in popularity. Not only were the elements within them highly

²⁷⁰ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 200. A similar sentiment can be found in the *OEM* entry for Margaret: she tells Olibrius, “Ic þe þonne selle mine lic- / homan to deaðe, þæt ic on heofonum reste hæbbe / mid þæm halgum fæmnum” (I therefore give my body to you for death, so that I may have rest with the holy virgins in heaven). Kotzor, “St. Marina,” 142, lines 11-13.

²⁷¹ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 202.

adaptable to Anglo-Saxon customs and culture, but so, too, did these particular women speak to the persecution now faced by the Anglo-Saxons. In the words of the *Passio S. Margaretae*: “Omnes aures habentes audite corde, et intelligite uiri; mulieres, uirgines, uelut tenere puelle proponite uos in cordibus uestris, et ita laborate, ut accipiatis salutem anime uestrae et requiem sempiternam cum iustis a Domino coronatis”²⁷² (Listen, all who have ears, with [your] heart, and understand, men; women and virgins, imagine yourselves as delicate girls in your hearts, and labor in such a way that you may receive salvation for your soul, and everlasting rest with the just who have been crowned by the Lord).

²⁷² Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 194.

CHAPTER THREE

(RE)VISIONS OF FEMALE SANCTITY FOLLOWING 948

In the 350 years that followed St. Augustine's arrival in Anglo-Saxon England, the foundation for veneration of Juliana and Margaret was steadily being built. Indeed, the situation faced by the Anglo-Saxons, particularly the nuns, during the late-eighth to late-ninth centuries made these virgin martyrs more relevant than any could have anticipated. While the height of the Viking attacks *could* have proved to be the height of these saints' popularity, this was not the case. Evidence for Juliana and Margaret increases exponentially in the period following 948—a time defined by monastic reform, renewed Viking attacks, foreign rule, and competing claimants to a single throne. With a strong foundation in place for the veneration of these two saints, the matter at hand is how these non-native figures could continue to appeal to Anglo-Saxons throughout these continually changing circumstances. Once more, answers can only be found by first examining the cultural and socio-political dynamics of the time.

Just as these dynamics constantly shifted, so, too, did the concepts of what female sanctity actually meant fail to remain static, not only in terms of who was recognized (or allowed to be recognized) as a certain type of saint, but also in terms of who could influence such perceptions. The secularization of saints begun during King Alfred's reign came to a climax in the year 948, when King Eadred (r. 946-55) firmly declared his secular authority over such matters by laying waste to Ripon and moving Saint Wilfrid's relics to Canterbury. This hard-handed assertion of royal power over the ecclesiastical realm would not last long, however, and after Edgar was crowned king in 959, a major shift began that witnessed ecclesiastical and secular authorities working together.

It was at this point that the monasteries gained new momentum by uniting their goals with those of King Edgar, the memory of whom would forever be linked to the Benedictine reform and its three major religious leaders: Dunstan, Æthelwold, and Oswald. Æthelwold himself put it best when writing about King Edgar (r. 959-75): “Hwa is monna on Angelcynne wuniende þæt nyte hu he Godes rice, þæt is Godes cyricean, ægþer ge mid gastlicum gode ge mid woroldcundum eallum mægene fyrþrode and friþode?”¹ (What man is living in England who does not know how he promoted and defended the kingdom of God, that is, the church of God, both with spiritual virtue and with all the worldly strengths?). Even though Edgar was the king most closely associated with the Benedictine reform, the foundations for the movement were laid earlier. The monastic decay that had been alleviated by King Alfred at the end of the ninth century had returned in full force within decades. This might have continued, but in an act of thanksgiving for surviving a hunting accident in Cheddar,² King Edmund installed the unpopular Dunstan as abbot of Glastonbury in 940, and it was here the reform began and a school was established.³ Further steps were made when Eadred, famous for his attack on Ripon, appointed the second reforming leader, Æthelwold, abbot of Abingdon in 954.⁴ Coincidentally, this was the same year that the inhabitants of York ousted the last Viking leader, Erik Bloodaxe, resulting in a period of peace in which the reform could thrive. Ultimately, these two abbots would move on to hold two of the highest positions of

¹ Æthelwold, “An Account of King Edgar’s Establishment of Monasteries,” in *Councils and Synods, with Other Documents Relating to the English Church, Part I: 871-1066*, ed. Dorothy Whitelock, C. N. L. Brooke, F. M. Powicke, C. R. Cheney, M. Brett, and Arthur West Hadden (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1981), 142-54, at 147.

² Philip Rahtz, “Cheddar,” in *BEASE*, 100-2, at 100.

³ Sean Miller, “Edmund,” in *BEASE*, 159-60, at 160.

⁴ Michael Lapidge, “Æthelwold,” in *BEASE*, 19.

religious authority in England: Dunstan became archbishop of Canterbury in 960,⁵ and Æthelwold became bishop of Winchester in 963, famously replacing the clergy with monks, and establishing the influential Winchester School.⁶

The triumvirate of reformers would be complete in 961, when Edgar appointed Oswald as bishop of Worcester.⁷ Monasticism became more regulated than ever with the development and transmission of the Rule of St. Benedict and the promulgation of the *Regularis Concordia* in 973, which declared that cloistered individuals must follow the Rule of St. Benedict. These documents were directed at both monks and nuns, though the extremely short list of reformed nunneries makes the reform's true impact on female devotion difficult to trace. Nonetheless, not only do the surviving Old English translations of the Benedictine Rule appear to derive from one that was made for nuns,⁸ but abbesses were also in attendance at the council held at Winchester in the 970s that agreed to the *Regularis Concordia*.⁹ Perhaps most revealing, however, is the declaration in this document that monasteries were under the protection of the king, while nunneries were under the protection of the queen.¹⁰ Thus, the link between royalty and the cloistered religious became more important than ever, with the latter often serving to confirm the validity of the former.¹¹ The relationship itself operated as something of a

⁵ Lapidge, "Dunstan," 147.

⁶ Lapidge, "Æthelwold," 19.

⁷ Michael Lapidge, "Oswald," in *BEASE*, 348.

⁸ Pauline Stafford, "Queens, Nunneries and Reforming Churchmen: Gender, Religious Status and Reform in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century England," *Past & Present* 163 (May 1999): 3-35, at 11, n. 22.

⁹ The abbesses are directly addressed in chapter three of this document. Thomas Symons, ed. and trans., *Regularis Concordia Anglica Nationis Monachorum Sanctimonialiumque* (New York: Oxford U P, 1953), 2; and Foot, *Veiled Women I*, 88.

¹⁰ Æthelwold, "An Account of King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries," 150; Janet Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1994), 3-4.

¹¹ Hints of this can be seen in the ever-increasing appearance of abbots as witnesses in royal diplomas, yet the most marked sign of this connection was the coronation of King Edgar in 973. Not only did Dunstan

quid pro quo, however, and consequently, the rise and fall of monasteries and nunneries much depended on royal favor. By 973, more than forty monasteries and nunneries had been founded or restored,¹² and manuscript production was at an all-time high.

Approximately thirty-five monasteries were founded or restored for men, suggesting a substantial growth from the roughly twenty that had been destroyed during the first wave of Viking invasions. Moreover, at least two of these restored houses,¹³ Thorney and Ely, had once welcomed nuns as double monasteries, yet were now the sole domain of monks.¹⁴ This total number highlights Edgar's success in carrying out his plans for reform; in the earliest *vita* of St. Oswald (the reformer, not the king), it is said that at an Easter meeting, perhaps in 970, Edgar "ordered the foundation of more than forty new monasteries."¹⁵ In comparison, the efforts to restore or found nunneries often either fell short—such as King Edmund's failed attempt to re-found a nunnery at Southminster,¹⁶ and Cnut's failed attempts to found a nunnery at Ramsey¹⁷—or were

officiate the ceremony (which still serves as the basis for British coronations), but the coronation was also held at Bath, one of the new reformed monasteries. This new relationship was also reflected in the landscape, with Edgar's royal palace "situated immediately opposite St. Ethelwold's cathedral" in Winchester (Antonia Gransden, "Traditionalism and Continuity during the Last Century of Anglo-Saxon Monasticism," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 40 [1989]: 159-207, at 164). Nicholas Banton, "Monastic Reform and the Unification of Tenth-Century England," *Studies in Church History* 18 (1982): 71-85, at 74, 82.

¹² Schulenburg, "Sexism and the Celestial Gynaeceum," 125.

¹³ Schulenburg, "Sexism and the Celestial Cynaecum," 125.

¹⁴ As discussed in Chapter One, Æthelwold re-founded Thorney in 972, and Ely in 970.

¹⁵ Banton, "Monastic Reform," 74.

¹⁶ Marc Anthony Meyer, "Patronage of the West Saxon Royal Nunneries in Late Anglo-Saxon England," *Revue Bénédictine* 91 (1981): 332-58, at 345.

¹⁷ This detail comes from a twelfth-century chronicle of Ramsey, in which the chronicler expresses relief at the failure of this initiative, since it would have placed monks and nuns too close together. Foot, *Veiled Women I*, 166; and Foot, *Veiled Women II*, 143.

completely reconfigured, so that the nunneries became monasteries instead—as was the case with Abingdon.¹⁸

Indeed, most of the nunneries that existed in this later period were not actually part of the reform movement—the only exceptions being the Nunnaminster in Winchester, and possibly Chatteris. Current scholarship suggests that since nunneries were not the main focus of the reform, any that did adhere to the new standards did so out of choice, rather than “male imposition upon women.”¹⁹ Some standards that all the nunneries appear to have chosen to adopt were the precepts of “corporate ownership of property, election of abbesses by the community and strict enclosure.”²⁰ The Nunnaminster, which was the only nunnery that was directly linked to the reform, had been restored by the reformer Æthelwold, who was “the only one to have had nunneries within his diocese.”²¹ It is apparent, then, that the establishment of new nunneries elsewhere in England fell very low on the list of priorities.

While the majority of the late Anglo-Saxon nunneries were not necessarily part of the Benedictine reform, it should be noted that they still operated within a religious landscape that was heavily influenced by it, and this new landscape had some very definite boundaries. The new network of monasteries was clustered primarily in Wessex, with no new monasteries being founded west of Tavistock in Devon or north of the River Trent,²² a scenario that effectively cut Cornwall and Northumbria out of the picture. Once

¹⁸ Meyer, “Patronage of the West Saxon Royal Nunneries,” 345-6. There is a possibility rising from charter evidence that Abingdon did in fact operate briefly as a nunnery in the early 940s, yet it seems more plausible that these grants were instead made to vowesses who were associated with Abingdon—an issue that will be discussed later in this chapter. Foot, *Veiled Women II*, 17-20.

¹⁹ Stafford, “Queens, Nunneries and Reforming Churchmen,” 14.

²⁰ Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses*, 87.

²¹ Yorke, “‘Sisters Under the Skin?’” 109.

²² Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, 4-5.

a bastion of monasticism, Northumbrian religious communities were now limited to collegiate churches that followed no rule, such as the well-known community of St. Cuthbert in Durham.²³ Limited, too, were the properties still held by the nunneries, with much of the lands in Kent becoming “part of the estates of the West Saxon kings.”²⁴ The nunneries were bracketed in an area similar to that of the monasteries, with Chatteris marking the northeastern limits, Leominster the northwestern, Shaftesbury and Bradford-on-Avon the southwestern, and Barking the southeastern.

While the reality of female religious devotion is much more complicated than simply stating that the number of nunneries declined, the evidence for nunneries in late Anglo-Saxon England is indeed sparse, and paints a picture of a complicated (and often interrupted) history. We can assert with confidence that at least twelve nunneries and one cell existed during this time, yet of these thirteen, only three—the Nunnaminster, Barking, and Shaftesbury—seem to have existed more or less throughout the entirety of the later Anglo-Saxon period. Barking had, as discussed in Chapter One, been destroyed by the Vikings c. 870. While former double monasteries were almost always re-founded as monasteries rather than nunneries, Barking is the one clear exception to this tendency. Indeed, it seems to have survived against the odds, given its former status as a double monastery, its vulnerable location near the River Thames, and the fact that it, unlike six of the seven other nunneries to survive as tenants-in-chief past the Norman Conquest, was not originally a royal foundation.²⁵

²³ Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, 18.

²⁴ Yorke, “‘Sisters Under the Skin?’” 99.

²⁵ The six royal foundations were Amesbury, the Nunnaminster, Romsey, Shaftesbury, Wherwell, and Wilton, and the other non-royal foundation was Chatteris. Julia Crick, “The Wealth, Patronage, and

Beyond these three nunneries are another nine that were operational at some point during the later Anglo-Saxon era (Appendix C): Chatteris, Berkeley, Leominster, Wareham, Wilton, Reading, Romsey, Amesbury, and Wherwell. Moreover, Bradford-on-Avon was granted as a cell to Shaftesbury by King Æthelræd the Unready in 1001, following the rebuilding of the church c. 1000.²⁶ The purpose of this cell makes it an extraordinary case; it was to serve at various times as the site for Edward the Martyr's relics,²⁷ and as a place of refuge for the Shaftesbury nuns during the second wave of Viking invasions.²⁸ Indeed, while Shaftesbury does not appear to have been attacked at any point, the nuns would certainly have been aware of the threat, especially in 1015 when, as the E-text of the *ASC* states, the surrounding areas in Dorset, Wiltshire, and Somerset were being harried.²⁹ Nevertheless, the effectiveness of this place of refuge must be questioned, since—as Sarah Foot has pointed out—“the nunnery at Shaftesbury lay within a fortified burh situated on an inland cliff-top,”³⁰ while the site at Bradford-on-Avon was undefended. Outside this initial thirteen, another five have inconclusive evidence, yet should nonetheless be mentioned as possibilities (Appendix D): Minster-in-Thamet, Horton, Polesworth, Coventry, and Southampton.

Moreover, of the twelve nunneries and one cell that have reasonable evidence supporting their existence for at least some part of the period following 948, none of them

Connections of Women's Houses in Late Anglo-Saxon England,” *Revue Bénédictine* 109 (1999): 154-85, at 162-3.

²⁶ For evidence of this rebuilding, H. M. Taylor cites the 1953 study by Jackson and Fletcher of the converted north entrance. H. M. Taylor, “The Anglo-Saxon Church at Bradford-on-Avon,” *The Archaeological Journal* 130 (1973): 141-71, at 161.

²⁷ One wonders if this shows that the Anglo-Saxons learned from the experience of the monks of Lindisfarne, who wandered with the relics of St. Cuthbert for 120 years before permanently settling in Durham.

²⁸ “S 899,” *The Electronic Sawyer*; and Taylor, “The Anglo-Saxon Church,” 152.

²⁹ Garmonsway, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 146.

³⁰ Foot, *Veiled Women II*, 171.

has enough evidence to suggest a completely uninterrupted existence. Looking at the more general trends, we can see that all seven houses that received royal support survived past 1066; indeed, these houses make up all but one of the nunneries listed as tenants-in-chief in the Domesday Book, with Chatteris being the exception.³¹ Further, of these eight surviving nunneries, two had clear reform connections (the Nunnaminster and Chatteris), and six were located in Wessex³² (Chatteris was located in East Anglia, and Barking in Essex). The greatest chance a later Anglo-Saxon nunnery had for survival, then, was if it had royal support, and was located in Wessex.

Regardless of the exact number of nunneries, it is clear that, unlike the growth of monasteries, the number of nunneries declined significantly, falling severely short of replacing the approximately forty-one that had been destroyed during the first wave of Viking invasions. The final trend that must be noted is that while some of the nunneries were not tenants-in-chief following the Conquest, remnants of the original communities appear to have continued past 1066, as was the case with Reading, Leominster, and Berkeley. Unofficial communities such as these reflect an expression of religious devotion particular to women during the late-Anglo-Saxon era: that of the vowess, a woman who would take a vow of celibacy without following a monastic rule.³³

While there are obvious difficulties in finding comprehensive records about vowesses across Anglo-Saxon England, general trends do emerge. These women, whom Ælfric had equated to chaste widows in his *Glossary*,³⁴ would wear special clothing (such

³¹ Royal support does not necessitate a royal foundation; Barking, for example, enjoyed royal support without being a royal foundation.

³² Foot, *Veiled Women I*, 163; and Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses*, 72.

³³ Foot, *Veiled Women I*, 134.

³⁴ Foot, *Veiled Women I*, 126.

as a veil similar to the one worn by chaste widows) in order to signify their status, and were often located near secular minster churches, most likely in order to have access to “priestly services.”³⁵ The distinction between vowesses and nuns is reflected in the language used to describe them. Numerous studies have now shown that the Old English *nunne* referred to vowesses, while *mynece* referred to a cloistered nun.³⁶ Vowesses had gained enough recognition in late Anglo-Saxon England to merit specific prayers and blessings being developed for them in the surviving sacramentaries.³⁷ It has further been suggested that CCCC 163, a Pontifical datable to the third quarter of the eleventh century,³⁸ may have been copied with either the nuns at Nunnaminster or the vowesses attached to the Old Minster, Winchester in mind, since it contains all the *ordines* for consecrated women, but none for consecrated men.³⁹

In total, Sarah Foot has identified fifteen locations of vowesses associated with male religious communities, though this number drops to ten when we discount those recorded in only post-Conquest texts.⁴⁰ We are thus left with Abbotsbury, Abingdon, Bedwyn, Ely, Evesham, Glastonbury, St. Albans, St. Paul’s, Westminster, and the Old

³⁵ Foot, *Veiled Women I*, 134, 178-9.

³⁶ Whitelock et al., *Councils and Synods*, Vol. I, 347, n. 4; Foot, “Unveiling Anglo-Saxon Nuns,” 26; Foot, *Veiled Women I*, 98, 134; and Stafford, “Queens, Nunneries and Reforming Churchmen,” 10.

³⁷ Foot, *Veiled Women I*, 127-30. For an example of these prayers and blessings, see H. A. Wilson, ed., *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, Henry Bradshaw Society 11 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1896), 273-4.

³⁸ Arguing that this Pontifical is derived from a Continental model from Cologne, Budny makes the case for dating the manuscript to the third quarter of the eleventh century by pointing to the connection Ealdred, Bishop of Worcester (r. 1046-62), had to both Old Minster, Winchester and Cologne. Mildred Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: An Illustrated Catalogue* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1997), 593-5. Gneuss, however, suggests a date of the fourth quarter of the eleventh century. Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 32.

³⁹ Foot, *Veiled Women I*, 129-30; and Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art*, 593-5.

⁴⁰ These include: Bury St. Edmunds, Durham, Hereford, Tamworth, and Worcester. Foot, *Veiled Women I*, 175.

Minster in Winchester,⁴¹ all of which fall within the same geographic boundaries as the thirteen nunneries discussed above. This list is not complete, however, as extremely wealthy women who decided to become vowesses had enough money to support their own priest, which meant they did not need to be associated with a male religious community. One wonders if this might have been the case with Ælfwynn of Mercia, the daughter of Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians. A charter from 948 calls Ælfwynn a “relegiose femine [sic]” (religious woman), and grants her six hides of lands at Wickhambreaux, Kent, in exchange for “two pounds of purest gold.”⁴² One would imagine that Ælfwynn would have had enough money to support her own priest, yet this land is also only five miles from Canterbury, so it is likewise possible that she had an ongoing association with one of the religious communities there.⁴³

The most famous example of a wealthy woman supporting her own community is Wynflæd, who, in 942, was granted lands in Cheselbourne and Winterbourne near Shaftesbury by King Edmund.⁴⁴ A similar situation can be found at Standon, where Æthelgifu gathered a community of devoted women. According to Æthelgifu’s will (c. 990 x 1001),⁴⁵ this community was to survive for another two generations of women,

⁴¹ Foot, *Veiled Women I*, 175. This list is similar to the one suggested by Patricia Halpin in 1994, though it exchanges her suggestions of Peterborough, Worcester, Hereford, and Bury St. Edmunds for Abbotsbury, Bedwyn, Ely, and Westminster. Patricia Halpin, “Women Religious in Late Anglo-Saxon England,” *Haskins Society Journal* 6 (1994): 97-110, at 104.

⁴² “S 535,” *The Electronic Sawyer*.

⁴³ Maggie Bailey, “Ælfwynn, Second Lady of the Mercians,” in *Edward the Elder, 899-924*, ed. N. J. Higham and D. H. Hill (London: Routledge, 2001), 112-27, esp. 122-5.

⁴⁴ “S 485,” *The Electronic Sawyer*; Halpin, “Women Religious,” 103; Foot, “Unveiling Anglo-Saxon Nuns,” 25; Foot, *Veiled Women I*, 136-8; Foot, *Veiled Women II*, 172-3; and Gale R. Owen, “Wynflæd’s Wardrobe,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 8 (1979): 195-222.

⁴⁵ “S 1497,” *The Electronic Sawyer*.

whereupon it reverted to St. Albans Abbey.⁴⁶ This final example highlights one of the major obstacles in the study of vowesses: the locations established for vowesses often lasted but a single lifetime. With this in mind, it is extremely difficult to judge the somewhat sweeping claim made by Foot that the “normal (if not normative) form of expression of female religious devotion was that of the *nunne* or vowess.”⁴⁷ It seems to have become a question of whether many women in one location, or few women in many locations constitute what is “normal.” I would argue instead that it was the co-existence of these forms that determined what it meant to be a religious woman in late Anglo-Saxon England.

Not much in the way of new foundations occurred following the Benedictine reform, though Cnut was said by post-Conquest sources to have founded monasteries at St. Benet Holme in 1019 and Bury St. Edmunds in 1020,⁴⁸ the latter of which is rather ironic, since St. Edmund was martyred by Cnut’s Viking predecessors. Instead of being known as founders of great monasteries, Cnut and Emma were known as patrons of great (and already established) monasteries. Such patronage could take the form of land grants, land confirmations, relics and reliquaries, and manuscripts.⁴⁹ The list is seemingly endless, and serves as a testament to the motivations behind Cnut’s actions: rather than trying to supplant Anglo-Saxon institutions with the Danish ones of his homeland, he integrated himself and his supporters into the systems already in place.

⁴⁶ Foot, *Veiled Women I*, 171; Foot, *Veiled Women II*, 183-6; and Foot, “Unveiling Anglo-Saxon Nuns,” 24-5.

⁴⁷ Foot, “Unveiling Anglo-Saxon Nuns,” 26.

⁴⁸ Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, 5; and Gransden, “Traditionalism and Continuity,” 185.

⁴⁹ For a discussion of such gifts, see M. K. Lawson, *Cnut: The Danes in England in the Early Eleventh Century* (London: Longman, 1995), 150-60.

Patronage of monasteries and nunneries continued right up to the eve of the Norman Conquest, though such actions were sporadic. One worth noting, however, is the effort of Edith, the wife of Edward the Confessor, to rebuild the abbey where she had been educated: Wilton. Not only was the abbey now made of stone, rather than wood, but it was also dedicated in 1065 just months before the dedication of Westminster, leading some scholars to refer to her actions as a ““pious rivalry””⁵⁰ with her husband. While this case provides only a snapshot of patronage at the very end of the Anglo-Saxon era, it does reveal that not only were queens still viewed as the protectors of nunneries, but also that some of these nunneries had operational schools for noblewomen.

Juliana and Margaret in Later Anglo-Saxon England

Whereas textual evidence from earlier Anglo-Saxon England is scarce, the Benedictine reform of the late-tenth century resulted in a rapid rise in the production and importation of manuscripts, making texts concerning both Juliana and Margaret more prevalent than ever. Included amongst these manuscripts are two copies of the *OEM*: the late-tenth- or early-eleventh-century B-text (London, BL, Cotton Julius A.x), and the late-eleventh-century C-text (CCCC 196). While the original composition of the martyrology is dateable to the late-ninth century (and, as such, was discussed at length in Chapter One), the continued dissemination of this text must be noted. Moreover, the importance of martyrologies shifted with the Benedictine reform. Due to the influence of the Continental reformer, Benedict of Aniane, “it became established practice to read aloud portions of the martyrology and the *Regula* every day in Chapter after morning

⁵⁰ Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, 5, 15, 17, at 17.

mass,⁵¹ confirming the monks' and the nuns' familiarity with the saints.⁵² Like the *OEM*, much of the surviving literature from this period must therefore be examined in terms of how it operated within the new frameworks established by the Benedictine reform.

Passiones

Only two *passiones* for Juliana survive from later Anglo-Saxon England, though both have been largely ignored by scholarship. The earlier of the two is the one found on fols. 96r-112r in London, BL, Harley 3020. This manuscript would eventually have a provenance of Glastonbury, but the portion containing the *passio* was copied in the late-tenth or early-eleventh century at, most likely, Winchester⁵³—a place that not only served as a center for both royalty and the Benedictine reform, but also as the location for one of the most prominent nunneries of the time: the Nunnaminster.

These are not the only factors that contribute to the manuscript's importance, however. Traditionally, this text, which follows the BHL 4523 version of her *passio*, has been categorized as part of Group IV of the Corbie recension identified by Karl-Ernst Geith.⁵⁴ This categorization, however, must be re-examined, since the Harley 3020 *passio* shares many of the same notable features found in the early-ninth-century BNF, lat.

10861 *passio* of Juliana. This latter text is not only believed to be similar to (if not the

⁵¹ Mechthild Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform*, CSASE 25 (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1999), 253.

⁵² This practice is confirmed in the *Regularis Concordia*. Symons, *Regularis Concordia*, 17.

⁵³ Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 77; and Michael Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford: Oxford U P, 2006), 341-2. Interestingly, Gneuss identifies the earlier portions of the manuscript as being copied elsewhere, locating folios 1-34 at either Glastonbury or St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and folios 36-94 at Christ Church, Canterbury, though the dating stays the same. A more detailed codicological study of this manuscript is needed, and would be a useful path for future studies.

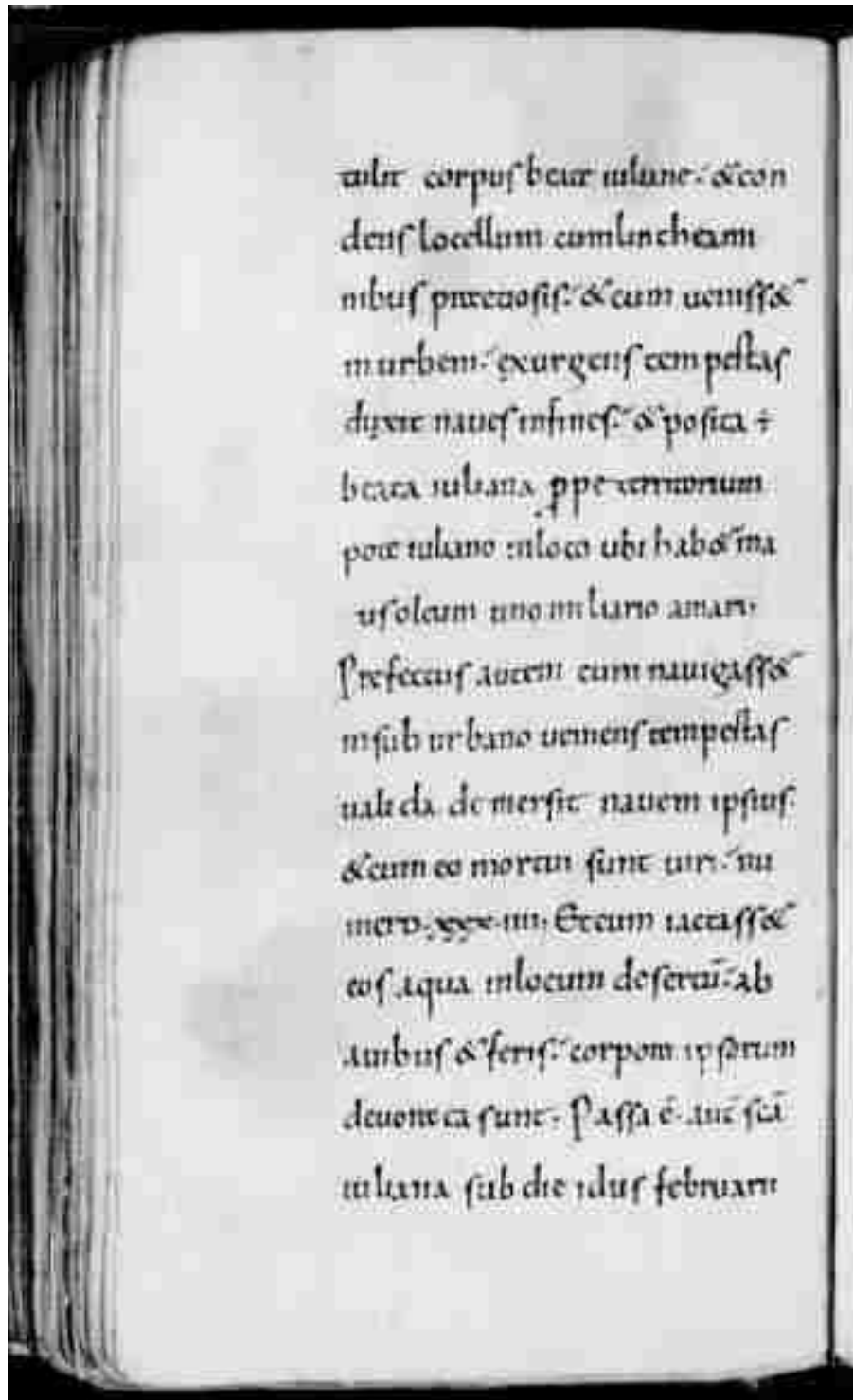
⁵⁴ Geith, "Priester Arnolts Legende," 57-9; and James P. Carley, "More Pre-Conquest Manuscripts from Glastonbury Abbey," *Anglo-Saxon England* 23 (1994): 265-91, at 278.

same as) the exemplar used by Cynewulf when writing *Juliana*, but it has also, until now, been believed to be the only English example for Group I of the Würzburg recension. Yet it is quite possible that this is not actually the case, given the details present in Harley 3020. Chief among these is the devil's boast to Juliana that he had ensnared Judas, a detail omitted from the other recensions, but one present in BNF, lat. 10861, Cynewulf's *Juliana*, and Harley 3020. The Harley manuscript becomes even more closely connected to Group I of the Würzburg recension when considering details unique to BNF, lat. 10861 and Cynewulf, yet which do not appear in any other manuscripts. Most revealing is the number of men drowned at sea at the end of Juliana's story. In all the manuscripts cited by the Bollandists, this group was numbered as twenty-four, yet both the scribe of BNF, lat. 10861 and Cynewulf instead cite this number as thirty-four—a feature that up until this point was believed to be exclusive to these two works. On the verso of folio 111 in Harley 3020, however, we see that this scribe, too, has deviated from the tradition and written thirty-four (Figure 1; see line 13). A closer comparison of the first chapter of the *passio* of Juliana shows other shared features in greater detail. Not surprisingly, Harley 3020 more closely follows the Latin *passio* found in BNF, lat. 10861 than it does the vernacular counterpart by Cynewulf. While there are some additions and deletions, the majority of the changes deal with replacing certain words with synonyms, such as the scribe of Harley 3020 replacing “cognominabatur” with “dicebatur”⁵⁵ in the opening lines found in BNF, lat. 10861.

One major change between Harley 3020 and BNF, lat. 10861 is a deletion also made by Cynewulf. Both the Harley 3020 scribe and Cynewulf omit the first sentence

⁵⁵ London, BL, Harley 3020, fol. 96r.

Figure 1



London, British Library, Harley 3020, fol. 111v

found in the BNF, lat. 10861, and instead immediately jump into the matter of the *passio*. Moreover, not all mistakes made by the scribe of BNF, lat. 10861 were repeated by the Harley scribe. The BNF, lat. 10861 *passio* ends by discussing the translation of Juliana's relics and her feast day, and mistakenly identifies the woman who brought Juliana's relics to Campania as "Sufragorio," instead of "Sophia," which is the name cited by all other Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, including Harley 3020. There are thus enough differences that it would certainly be doubtful that BNF, lat. 10861 would have been the direct exemplar for Harley 3020, especially since the two manuscripts seem never to have been housed together at the same monastery (BNF, lat. 10861 was most probably copied at Christ Church, Canterbury, and ended up in France during either the tenth or eleventh centuries just as Harley 3020 was being copied at Winchester). Nevertheless, the shared traits do suggest that Group I of the Würzburg recension was promulgated in Anglo-Saxon England, and that in the approximately 150 years between the production of BNF, lat. 10861 and Harley 3020, the major features of this version underwent minor adaptations.

Interestingly, both the late-ninth- or early-tenth-century BNF, lat. 5574 and the Harley 3020 *passiones* incorrectly date Juliana's feast day in the final chapter. Both identify it as the Ides of February, which would be February 13,⁵⁶ not her traditional feast day of February 16 (Figure 1; see line 17).⁵⁷ I could find but one corollary for the February 13 date: the Bern and Wolfenbüttel recensions of the *Martyrologium*

⁵⁶ London, BL, Harley 3020, fol. 111v; and Paris, BNF, lat. 5574, fol. 39v.

⁵⁷ The *passio* of Juliana found in Paris, BNF, lat. 10861 correctly dates her feast day as ".xiii. kalendarum Martiarum," which in modern calendars is February 16 (Lapidge, "Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*," 165).

Hieronymianum for St. Julian (not Juliana) of Nicomedia.⁵⁸ This opens a whole new set of problems, not the least of which is the fact that the Anglo-Saxons had appeared, up until this point, to follow the Echternach recension of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* (which mentions Juliana on February 16, not Julian on February 13).⁵⁹ While many manuscripts have obviously been lost or destroyed in the time between their production and the present day, this is nonetheless a major gap. It is possible that the Bern and Wolfenbüttel recensions might have come to Anglo-Saxon England in the early years of the conversion period (just which recension did Augustine have with him when he arrived in 597?), but the Harley 3020 manuscript was copied centuries after this period, making one wonder just how the February 13 date survived until the late-tenth or early-eleventh century. Moreover, even with its apparent survival, Juliana was still a well-known saint, and all other sources from this later period seem to agree upon February 16 as her established feast day.

The second *passio* of Juliana survives in the well-known Cotton-Corpus legendary, which itself is a copy of a now lost manuscript that probably arrived in England in the late-tenth century, after being copied in the late-ninth- or early-tenth-century somewhere in the diocese of Noyon-Tournai, France.⁶⁰ While the Cotton-Corpus Legendary, the earliest surviving copy of this text from Noyon-Tournai, was produced in the third quarter of the eleventh century in Worcester, it is clear from Ælfric of

⁵⁸ These two recensions are some of the earliest for the *Martyrologium*, and contain no mention of the female saint, Juliana, on February 16. Little is known about the male saint, other than that he was martyred in Nicomedia along with 5,000 Egyptians. Lapidge, "Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*," 149.

⁵⁹ For a discussion concerning the recensions of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, see Lapidge, "Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*," 148-9.

⁶⁰ Peter Jackson and Michael Lapidge, "The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary," in *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Contexts*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Albany: SUNY P, 1996), 131-46, at 134.

Eynsham's *Lives of Saints* that the legendary was also known to this prolific writer in the final years of the tenth century.⁶¹

In the decades immediately following the production of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary, it was split into two manuscripts—CCCC 9, and BL, Cotton Nero E.i—and it is the latter manuscript that concerns this study. Counted among its 122 total entries⁶² is an account of the *Passio S. Iuliane* (fols. 154v-157r). Like the Harley 3020 *passio*, this one follows the BHL 4523⁶³ version of Juliana's *passio*. Carley has even suggested "some sort of affiliation"⁶⁴ between the Cotton-Corpus legend and the Harley 3020 *passio*, since the two texts share many similarities (unfortunately, none of these textual similarities are outlined in Carley's article). Moreover, the *passiones* of Juliana in these two manuscripts also appear immediately before *Theophili Actus*, a combination that does not appear elsewhere.⁶⁵ A more detailed discussion of the Cotton-Corpus *Passio S. Iulianae* must be limited for now, as there is no edition of it in existence.

Notably missing from the Cotton-Corpus text is Margaret, though we must entertain the slight possibility that she could have appeared on the leaves now missing after folio 48 in Cotton Nero E.i.⁶⁶ I say slight possibility because while these leaves do account for parts of July and August, folio 48v contains an entry for July 22, and Margaret's feast day was typically July 20. While some texts vary and list her under July 7, 13, 17, or 18, these days are accounted for in the Cotton-Corpus manuscripts.

⁶¹ Jackson and Lapidge, "The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary," 134; and Mechthild Gretsch, *Ælfric and the Cult of Saints in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, CSASE 34 (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 2005), 6-10.

⁶² There are an additional forty-three entries to be found in CCCC 9, making the total number of entries in the Cotton-Corpus legendary 165.

⁶³ Jackson and Lapidge, "The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary," 136.

⁶⁴ Carley, "More Pre-Conquest Manuscripts," 279.

⁶⁵ Carley, "More Pre-Conquest Manuscripts," 279.

⁶⁶ Jackson and Lapidge, "The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary," 139.

Nonetheless, it appears that an Anglo-Norman scribe writing in the second quarter of the twelfth century likewise recognized her absence as a major gap, and thus added her *passio* to folios 162v-165v of part two of Cotton Nero E. i.⁶⁷

Three vernacular *passiones* from this later period likewise exist for Margaret: BL, Cotton Otho B.x, dated to the first half of the eleventh century;⁶⁸ BL, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, dated to the middle of the eleventh century;⁶⁹ and CCCC 303, dated to the middle of the twelfth century.⁷⁰ While only two of these *passiones* were copied before 1066, the third is included in this discussion because it is written in Old English and appears to reflect predominantly Anglo-Saxon traditions, since the majority of CCCC 303 is comprised of homilies and saints' lives by Ælfric.⁷¹ Further, even though the Cotton Otho B.x manuscript is the earliest of the three, it was badly damaged in the Cotton Library fire of 1731, and now only the *incipit* and the *explicit* survive thanks to Humfrey Wanley's 1705 catalogue of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.⁷² Little can be gleaned from Wanley's transcriptions, though it is worth noting that the wording for these sections differs from the wording in both Cotton Tiberius A.iii and CCCC 303, and that the *passio* seems to

⁶⁷ These pages contained no writing before the twelfth century, and can be found following the main entries in Cotton Nero E.i, which are organized according to the liturgical calendar year, ending on September 30. Jackson and Lapidge, "The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary," 132, 141.

⁶⁸ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 94.

⁶⁹ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 84.

⁷⁰ Elaine Treharne narrows down the date from the first half of the twelfth century (as suggested by Clayton and Magennis) to the mid-twelfth century based upon an analysis of the script. Elaine M. Treharne, "The Production and Script of Manuscripts Containing English Religious Texts in the First Half of the Twelfth Century," in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Mary Swan and Elaine M. Treharne, CSASE 30 (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 2000), 11-40, at 28-31; and Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 92.

⁷¹ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 92.

⁷² A full transcription of these can be found in Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 94-5.

have been written for monks, since the *explicit* includes a direct address to “gebroðra mine”⁷³ (my brothers).

The next earliest *passio* is the mid-eleventh-century⁷⁴ one found in Cotton Tiberius A.iii, which is the only one of the Old English *passiones* to specify a feast day for Margaret: July 23 (a deviation from the standard July 20 dating).⁷⁵ Further, Margaret’s is the only saint’s life to be found in this manuscript. A special interest in her is reflected in the manuscript as a whole; not only does it contain her *passio*, it also contains the only Anglo-Saxon litany to enter her name entirely in capital letters,⁷⁶ elevating her to the status of the only other two saints to be capitalized in the litany: Augustine and Dunstan.⁷⁷ This text includes 94 separate works, such as the *Regula S. Benedicti*, the *Regularis Concordia*, Ælfric’s Palm Sunday homily, and the *ordo* for the ordination of a bishop⁷⁸—all of which continuously invoke a myriad of saints, which may partly explain why her *passio* is grouped with these works. Helmut Gneuss makes a strong case for locating the production of the manuscript at Christ Church, Canterbury; not only does he connect two of the personal names found in the manuscript, Eadwi and Ælfric Bata, to Christ Church,⁷⁹ he also links the illustrations to others produced at Christ

⁷³ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 95.

⁷⁴ The earliest date possible is 1031, given St. Martial’s appearance and placement in the litany. Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 84.

⁷⁵ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 136.

⁷⁶ The litanies from this period will be discussed in more detail below. Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 87.

⁷⁷ Tracy-Ann Cooper, “Why is Margaret’s the Only *Life* in London, BL, Cotton MS Tiberius A.iii?” in *Writing Women Saints in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2013), 55-81, at 78.

⁷⁸ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 84-5.

⁷⁹ Helmut Gneuss, “Origin and Provenance of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: The Case of Cotton Tiberius A.III,” in *Of the Making of Books—Medieval Manuscripts, their Scribes and Readers: Essays Presented to M. B. Parkes*, ed. P. R. Robinson and Rivkah Zim (Aldershot, U.K.: Scolar P, 1997), 13-48, at 22-4.

Church,⁸⁰ and further shows that the litany, as well as the prayer that follows it, was specifically adapted for Christ Church.⁸¹ Clayton and Magennis, in agreement with Gneuss, also point out that two medieval catalogue entries from Canterbury match the description of this manuscript.⁸² Given Christ Church's prolific scriptorium, it seems probable that it was copied there for use in the cathedral.⁸³

Similarly concluding that Tiberius A.iii was copied at Christ Church, Canterbury, Cooper examines why Margaret is the only saint to have a *passio* in this manuscript. Recognizing both the straightforward nature of the texts and the content itself (primarily, the basics of Christian theology and the importance of resisting the devil's temptations), Cooper convincingly argues that, at its most basic level, the manuscript was meant to serve as a catechism for the laity. Indeed, while Christ Church Cathedral was occupied by the monastic clergy, the monks "retained the pastoral responsibilities and functions of the cathedral."⁸⁴ Margaret's *passio*, in this case, served as a type of complement to the purely catechetical works; it brought to life the concepts presented elsewhere in the manuscript. Further, Margaret's steadfast devotion to her virginity and concern for the salvation of others was meant to serve as a reminder and a model for the monks.⁸⁵

This particular text follows no definite version of Margaret's *passio*, and Clayton and Magennis speculate that it either was a variant of BHL 5304 (the Casinensis strand),

⁸⁰ Gneuss, "Origin and Provenance of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts," 24-7.

⁸¹ Gneuss, "Origin and Provenance of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts," 30-3.

⁸² These entries date from the 1320s, and doubts should be and have been raised as to whether or not they truly refer to Tiberius A.iii. Gneuss, "Origin and Provenance of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts," 19-24; and Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 84.

⁸³ Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 67-8. A study of the language, however, suggests that the translation into Old English was originally composed somewhere in Anglia. Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 97-103.

⁸⁴ Cooper, "Why is Margaret's the Only *Life*," 57.

⁸⁵ Cooper, "Why is Margaret's the Only *Life*," 56, 81.

“or, more likely, was a form of the common original from which both the Mombritus [BHL 5303] and Casinensis versions derive.”⁸⁶ Both Cooper and Scragg argue against this, however, suggesting instead that “like its counterparts in the manuscript, [the Tiberius *passio* of Margaret] was redacted to fit its purpose.”⁸⁷ While it is impossible to know the truth of it, it must be noted that not only did the BHL 5303 version exist as early as the ninth century, and become well-developed by the eleventh,⁸⁸ but also that the 5304 version appears to have already been developing by the time the *OEM* was composed in the late-ninth century.⁸⁹ Thus, if this *passio* is a copy of a lost “original,” its very survival is something of an anomaly. Whatever the case, it is clear that while the BHL 5303 version of her *passio* was generally the most common, the Tiberius text particularly follows (or anticipates) BHL 5304⁹⁰ in many ways, such as the fact that after Margaret’s martyrdom, it is said that her head (not her body or her soul, as is found in BHL 5303) was carried to heaven by twelve angels.⁹¹

The latest extant Old English *Life of St. Margaret* is found in CCCC 303, which was copied in the mid-twelfth century at, mostly likely, Rochester.⁹² While this manuscript post-dates the majority of the material for this study, the language and tone of the *passio* suggest that it was originally composed in “the late eleventh or early twelfth century.”⁹³ We must remember that the full effect of the Norman Conquest was not felt

⁸⁶ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 42.

⁸⁷ Cooper, “Why is Margaret’s the Only *Life*,” 61.

⁸⁸ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 7.

⁸⁹ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 51-6.

⁹⁰ For more features, see Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 43-4.

⁹¹ The specific number of twelve is a remnant of the Greek tradition. Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 42-3.

⁹² Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 92-3.

⁹³ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 70-1, 103-7, at 106. For a discussion of the possible use of this text by priests to help educate the laity, see Susan Irvine, “The Compilation and Use of Manuscripts

overnight; since this text was probably composed at the very beginning of the Anglo-Norman era, it is a piece that still would have been heavily influenced by Anglo-Saxon customs. Nonetheless, it should not be surprising that this text differs from the Tiberius version in that it follows the tradition for her *passio* most commonly found in French manuscripts, the primary differences of which are that: (1) Margaret is not swallowed by the dragon; and (2) Margaret is fostered by the narrator Theotimus.⁹⁴ As with the Tiberius A.iii version of Margaret's *passio*, this text does not adhere strictly to a single version of her story, with many of the variants being unattested in all other sources, making it "impossible to be certain whether some of the peculiarities of CCCC derive from an unknown variant of *BHL* no. 5303 or are the contribution of the Old English writer."⁹⁵ Nonetheless, the CCCC text is still much closer to the 5303 version than the Tiberius text is.

Beyond these three vernacular *passiones* is a single Latin *passio* that arrived in England (probably Exeter) by the middle of the eleventh century. This manuscript, Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale 202, was copied in the second half of the ninth century in northeastern France.⁹⁶ As with many of these texts, no full edition exists for this *passio*, though Clayton and Magennis did use it to supplement any apparent gaps left in their edition of the *Passio S. Margaretae* found in BNF, lat. 5574.⁹⁷ This suggests that the

Containing Old English in the Twelfth Century," in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Mary Swan and Elaine M. Treharne, CSASE 30 (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 2000), 41-61.

⁹⁴ Treharne, "They Should Not Worship Devils," 221.

⁹⁵ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 62.

⁹⁶ Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 142; and Helmut Gneuss and Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2014), 673.

⁹⁷ Clayton and Magennis *The Old English Lives*, 204, 214, 216.

versions found in Saint-Omer, BM 202 and Paris, BNF, lat. 5574 were extremely similar; indeed, both adhered to the BHL 5303 version of Margaret's *passio*.⁹⁸

Masses

Direct evidence for the active veneration of both Juliana and Margaret can be found in the development of specific masses for each saint. Both saints have masses in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579 (the "Leofric Missal"), a complicated manuscript that is traditionally broken down into three sections that are labeled alphabetically.

Leofric A, which contains a Gelasian Sacramentary, was copied in the early-tenth century in the area that now makes up the border of France and Switzerland.⁹⁹ At some point in the next seventy years or so, the manuscript arrived in England, and the Leofric B section, which includes a liturgical calendar (discussed later in this chapter) and *computus* materials, was added in Canterbury¹⁰⁰ between the years 978 and 987.¹⁰¹ The manuscript then travelled to Exeter, where the Leofric C section, which includes a variety

⁹⁸ J. E. Cross, ed., *Two Old English Apocrypha and Their Manuscript Source: The Gospel of Nicodemus and the Avenging of the Saviour*, CSASE 19 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996), 22.

⁹⁹ Dumville suggests Lotharingia, while Gneuss suggests either Saint-Vaast Abbey in Arras or the diocese of Cambrai in general. David Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England: Four Studies* (Rochester, NY: Boydell, 1992), 40; and Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 95.

¹⁰⁰ Earlier scholarship had adhered to F. E. Warren's 1883 claim placing Leofric B (the section of the Leofric Missal containing the calendar) at Glastonbury, an erroneous attribution based upon two entries mentioning saints in Glastonbury. More recent scholarship, however, has suggested Canterbury as a more plausible alternative. Spearheading this belief was David Dumville in the chapter "The Liturgical Calendar of Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury: A Chimera?" from his 1992 book, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England*. Recognizing that the script in Leofric B was a Caroline hand belonging to a late stage of Style II, Dumville compares this script to surviving manuscripts with known points of origin and concludes that the only viable options are "Canterbury and perhaps Westminster" (Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History*, 45, 47). These conclusions are supported by Nicholas Orchard in his critical edition of the Leofric Missal. Nicholas Orchard, ed., *The Leofric Missal*, 2 vols., Henry Bradshaw Society 113 and 114 (Rochester, NY: Boydell, 2002).

¹⁰¹ In order to pinpoint the date, Dumville cites three main pieces of evidence: first, that the two decennial paschal cycles contained within the manuscript are for 969-87 and 988-1006; second, that the script of the marginal obits for these cycles indicates that they were copied at the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century; and third, that the account of the six ages of the world ends in the year 999. Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History*, 43-4.

of short texts, such as the mass for St. Margaret, a relic-list (also discussed later), and a series of manumissions, was added in the third quarter of the eleventh century.¹⁰² Further, Margaret has a second mass that appears in BL, Cotton Vitellius A.xviii (the “Wells Sacramentary”),¹⁰³ which was copied at Wells under Bishop Giso c. 1061-88.¹⁰⁴ Juliana has two additional masses: one that appears in Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale Y.6 (the “Missal of Robert of Jumièges”), which was produced in c. 1014-23 at either Peterborough or Ely (with an eventual provenance of Christ Church, Canterbury),¹⁰⁵ and belonged to Robert of Jumièges while he was bishop of London from 1044-51;¹⁰⁶ and another that appears in Le Havre, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 330 (the “Missal of the New Minster”), which was copied in the mid- to late-eleventh century at New Minster, Winchester.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, according to the D-text of the *ASC*, it was on Juliana’s mass day (“mæssedæg”) in 1014 that Ælfric was consecrated bishop of London at York,¹⁰⁸ showing that knowledge of the saint was not confined to sheets of vellum. Indeed, it has even been argued that Wulfstan first delivered his *Sermo Lupi* on February 16, 1014 at York,¹⁰⁹ which—if true—imbues her feast day with a great deal of political importance.

¹⁰² Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 95.

¹⁰³ Unfortunately, no edition of this manuscript has been published, so it is uncertain whether or not a mass for Juliana is also present in this manuscript.

¹⁰⁴ Wormald, *English Kalendars*, 99-106.

¹⁰⁵ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars*, 31-2.

¹⁰⁶ Richard Pfaff, “Why Do Medieval Psalters Have Calendars?” in *Liturgical Calendars, Saints, and Services in Medieval England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), part VI, 1-15, at 9.

¹⁰⁷ Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 128.

¹⁰⁸ Jonathan Wilcox, “Wulfstan’s *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* as Political Performance: 16 February 1014 and Beyond,” in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. Matthew Townend, *Studies in the Early Middle Ages 10* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 375-96, at 380.

¹⁰⁹ Wilcox, “Wulfstan’s *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*,” 376-83.

Clayton and Magennis have provided helpful editions and translations for the masses dedicated to St. Margaret,¹¹⁰ so I shall not endeavor to repeat their work here, but rather summarize the main points that affect this study. The form of the mass in the Leofric Missal has been identified as either a French or Anglo-Saxon version, though it is impossible to say which tradition affected the other, since the manuscript evidence is contemporaneous.¹¹¹ The language of the prayers, which are for Margaret's intercession on behalf of the faithful, reveals the specific appeal of Margaret's qualities as a martyr, rather than her qualities as a virgin.¹¹² Those praying recognize that she "tyrannicam meruit seuitiam triumphare" (deserved to triumph over savage tyranny), and thus ask that through her help "uisibilium et inuisibilium hostium insidias ualeamus superare" (let us prevail to overcome the snares of enemies seen and unseen).¹¹³ It is worth considering whether or not this sentiment should be read within the context of the Viking attacks, or if it may perhaps have even been a response to the new threats posed by Normandy and the many competing claims to the English crown.

Margaret's mass in the Wells Sacramentary has many similarities to the one in the Leofric Missal, yet there is one important difference which must be noted: the references to hostile enemies who must be overcome are extremely diluted. Instead, the prayer reads: "concede nobis, quesumus, ut eius exempla sequentes ad te pertingere mereamur"¹¹⁴ (grant us, we beg, that, following her example, we may be worthy to reach

¹¹⁰ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 78-9.

¹¹¹ See, for example, the mass in the mid-eleventh-century Pierpont Morgan 641, which was copied in Mont Saint-Michel. Orchard, *The Leofric Missal*, Vol. I, 226-7.

¹¹² Indeed, in the *praefatio* section of the mass, the parishioners are told to refer to the mass of St. Agatha, which echoes these martial sentiments. For an edition and translation of the relevant section from Agatha's mass, see Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 78.

¹¹³ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 78.

¹¹⁴ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 79.

You). It is unclear whether this example refers to her martyrdom, her virginity, or both. It must likewise be noted that both masses list Margaret's feast day as July 21 (xii kalendas Augusti), rather than the traditional July 20 (xiii kalendas Augusti), a date that, at least in the Anglo-Saxon sources, is limited to these two masses.

Moving to the masses for Juliana, we see that the collect, secret, and postcommunion in the Leofric Missal, the Missal of the New Minster, and the Missal of Robert of Jumièges are identical, except for a handful of cases in which a synonym is used. As the editions for these masses only appear in the editions for their manuscripts as a whole, I have reproduced the mass from the Leofric Missal below:¹¹⁵

A.Loquebar. PS. Beati immaculati. R. Specie tua. V. Propter ueritatem.

TRC. Qui seminant. V. Euntes ibant. V. Venientes autem. OF. Offerentur.

CO. Diffusa est gratia.

Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui infirma mundi eligis ut fortia queque confundas, da nobis in festiuitate sanctae martyre tuae iulian[a]e congrua deuotione gaudere, ut et potentiam tuam in eius passione laudemus, et prouisum nobis percipiamus auxilium. Per.

SECRETA. In sanctae martyr[a]e tuae iuliane passione pretiosa, te domine mirabilem¹¹⁶ predicantes munera uotiuua deferimus, praesta quesumus ut

¹¹⁵ Orchard, *The Leofric Missal*, Vol. II, 251-2.

¹¹⁶ In the Missal of the New Minster, this word is replaced by "mirabiliter" (marvelously). D. H. Turner, ed., *The Missal of the New Minster, Winchester (Le Havre, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 330)*, Henry Bradshaw Society 93 (Leighton Buzzard: Faith P, 1962), 76.

sicut eius tibi grata sunt merita, sic nostrae seruitutis¹¹⁷ accepta reddantur officia. Per.

AD COMPLENDVM. Libantes domine mens[a]e tuae beata mysteria, quesumus ut sanctae iuliane martyre tuae interuentionibus et presentem¹¹⁸ nobis misericordiam conferant¹¹⁹ et aeternam.

(Eternal, omnipotent God, You who choose the meek of the world in order to confound each of the strong, allow us to rejoice with fitting devotion on the feast of Your martyr-saint, Juliana, so that we may praise Your power in her suffering, and may gain the help provided for us. *Secreta*. In regard to the precious suffering of Your martyr-saint, Juliana, we—pronouncing the remarkable occurrence—offer a votive service to You, Lord; grant, we beg, just as her merits are pleasing to You, so may the duties of our service be rendered acceptable. *Ad Complendum*. Lord, we—drinking of Your table—pray that, through the intercession of Your martyr-saint, Juliana, the blessed mysteries may confer upon us both present and eternal mercy.)

Since this mass appears in Leofric A (and was thus copied on the Continent in the early-tenth century), it should not be terribly surprising that it reflects an eighth-century Gelasian form.¹²⁰ Indeed, the “early Gelasian Sacramentary and those of the eighth

¹¹⁷ In the Missal of the New Minster, this word is replaced by “virtutis” (strength or virtue). Turner, *The Missal of New Minster*, 76.

¹¹⁸ In both the Missal of the New Minster and the Missal of Robert of Jumièges, this word is replaced by “temporalem” (temporal). Turner, *The Missal of New Minster*, 77; and Wilson, *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, 164.

¹¹⁹ In the Missal of Robert of Jumièges, this word is replaced by “tribuas” (You may grant). Wilson, *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, 164.

¹²⁰ Orchard, *The Leofric Missal*, Vol. I, 50.

century have a proper mass for this day [February 16]; there is none in the Gregorianum,”¹²¹ making it one of the “Young Gelasian traces” apparent in the Missal of Robert of Jumièges—a work known for being “fundamentally a late Gregorian sacramentary.”¹²² Despite the Continental origins of Leofric A, this mass would have been in use in Anglo-Saxon England, as suggested by the repeated notational corrections of “martyris” above “martyre,”¹²³ and, more importantly, by the cues and neumes added in the margins next to the collect, which appear as:

A.Loquebar. PS. Beati immaculati. R. Specie tua. V. Propter ueritatem.
TRC. Qui seminant. V. Euntes ibant. V. Venientes autem. OF. Offerentur.
CO. Diffusa est gratia.¹²⁴

These cues and neumes (which do not appear in the other two masses for Juliana) are believed to have been added by Scribe 1 of Leofric C: Leofric himself.¹²⁵ Further, the supplemental masses in this manuscript (including Margaret’s) were added in the third quarter of the eleventh century, suggesting that the material in Leofric A was still in use, and worth updating.¹²⁶

The general form of Juliana’s Gelasian mass was expanded by the scribe of the Missal of the New Minster, which has a *prefatio* not included in the other two manuscripts. This section reads:

[Uere dignum] Et in hac c[a]lebritate te gaudere: qua sancti spiritus
fe[r]uore succensus beate martyris tue iuliane sexus fragilitate calcata

¹²¹ Wilson, *The Calendar of St. Willibrord*, 22.

¹²² Richard Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 2009), 90.

¹²³ Orchard, *The Leofric Missal*, Vol. II, 251, nn. 2-3, and 252, n. 1.

¹²⁴ Orchard, *The Leofric Missal*, Vol. II, 251.

¹²⁵ Orchard, *The Leofric Missal*, Vol. I, 212.

¹²⁶ Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England*, 76.

pretiosus sanguis effloruit: et uirtute feminea rabiem diabolice
persecutionis euidens [sic]: gaudia glori[a]e triumphalis uirginitate
impleuit et passione: per christum.¹²⁷

([It is truly right and just] to rejoice with You on this feast day, on which
the precious blood of your holy martyr Juliana, kindled by the heat of the
Holy Spirit, blossomed when the frailty of her sex was trampled upon;
and, shattering the frenzy of the persecution from the devil with feminine
strength, she fulfilled the joys of triumphal glory by her virginity and
passion: through Christ our Lord, Amen.)¹²⁸

As this *prefatio* does not appear in any of the other Anglo-Saxon masses for Juliana, it is possible that this passage was an attempt on the part of the scribe to adapt and add a new part to Juliana's mass—one that focused upon the power of her virginity to overcome persecution.

While the masses for Juliana are typically representative of the Gelasian sacramentary, the beginning of the collect, that is, “Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui infirma mundi eligis ut fortia queque confundas,” is associated with the mass of another virgin martyr: St. Agnes. In the late-ninth- or early-tenth-century Durham Collectar

¹²⁷ Turner, *The Missal of New Minster*, 76-7.

¹²⁸ I am grateful to Timothy Graham for his help with this translation, especially for pointing out that “euidens” (evident) is a probable misspelling of “elidens” (shattering), and for pointing out that this *prefatio*, which appears to be missing a beginning, is much like the *prefatio* for St. Eufemia in the Leonine Sacramentary, which is preserved in a single manuscript (Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS LXXXV, olim 80) dated to c. 600. The Leonine Sacramentary is lacking February, making it impossible to know whether or not an entry for Juliana would have been similar here. The Eufemia text which follows is therefore used here as a supplement to help make sense of the *prefatio* for Juliana: “Uere dignum: in hac celebritate gaudentes, qua sancti spiritus feruore praeclarus beatae martyris Eufymiae sexus fragilitate praetiosior sanguis effloruit, et uirtute feminea rabiem diabolicae persecutionis elidens, geminatae gloriae triumphum uirginitas impleuit et passio: per” (Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, ed., *Sacramentarium Veronense (Co. Bibl. Capit. Veron. LXXXV [80])*, *Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta, Series Maior, Fontes I* [Rome: Herder, 1978], 105).

(Durham, Cathedral Library, A.IV.19),¹²⁹ for example, no entry for Juliana is listed, yet the January 21 entry for Agnes begins with these exact words.¹³⁰ Moreover, the mass for Agnes in the Missal of New Minster also begins with this collect.¹³¹ While this fact does not much impact the study of Juliana, it does suggest that Anglo-Saxons were meant to view virgin martyrs as examples of the physically weak bringing ruin upon the strong. This importantly reveals that, as was the case with Margaret, the masses for Juliana focus more on her suffering as a martyr than on the glory of her virginity. Nevertheless, this focus is not explicitly tied to current suffering on the part of the Anglo-Saxons.

Before moving past the study of the masses, we must return to the cues and neumes added by Leofric concerning which psalms are to be chanted during Juliana's mass, since they provide evidence for how the mass was to be interpreted. In particular, Psalm 118 ("Beati immaculati") was to be read in its entirety, and portions of Psalm 125 were to be read for the versicle and response. Psalm 118, the longest psalm in the psalter, is an acrostic wisdom psalm that has one stanza for each letter of the Hebrew alphabet.¹³² While the form makes this psalm memorable, it is the psalm's content that would have been most relevant to Anglo-Saxons, as it emphasizes the importance of adhering to God's law. Disregard for God's law was a characteristic many homilists cited in their explanations for particularly turbulent times, such as the Viking invasions, as will be discussed towards the end of this chapter.

¹²⁹ Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 49.

¹³⁰ Alicia Corrêa, ed., *The Durham Collectar*, Henry Bradshaw Society 107 (London: Boydell, 1992), 174.

¹³¹ Turner, *The Missal of New Minster*, 63-4, at 63; and Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 128.

¹³² Michael D. Coogan, ed., *The New Oxford Annotated Bible: New Revised Standard Version with the Apocrypha*, Augmented Third Edition, College Edition (Oxford: Oxford U P, 1989), 880 Hebrew Bible.

The *tractus* (in place of the Alleluia) quotes Psalm 125:5: “Qui seminant in lacrimis in exultatione metent” (They who sow in tears shall reap in exultation), and the two versicles that follow quote Psalm 125:6-7: “Euntes ibant et flebant, mittentes semina sua, venientes autem venient cum exultatione, portantes manipulos suos”¹³³ (Going, they went and wept, casting their seeds; however, coming they shall come with exultation, carrying their bundles). This psalm is a thanksgiving from returning exiles,¹³⁴ and it is perhaps here that we can find echoes of the contemporary problems facing the Anglo-Saxons, either looking ahead to good times yet to come or rejoicing in the final arrival of peace. Thus, while the added cues may appear to be minor details at first, they do shed light on the fact that this mass specifically highlighted the importance of God’s law, and—to quote a modern cliché—the light at the end of a very long and very dark tunnel.

Liturgical Calendars

In addition to the *passiones* and masses, the increased production of manuscripts can also be seen in the number of surviving liturgical calendars that mention Juliana and Margaret. Although there had only been two calendars marking the feast day of either saint in the period leading up to the mid-ninth century (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby MS 63 and the Calendar of St. Willibrord), in the period that follows, there are twenty that mention Juliana, and sixteen that mention Margaret/Marina (Figures 2 and 3).

Wormald lists a total of eighteen calendars datable to the late Anglo-Saxon period,¹³⁵

¹³³ Psalm 125:6-7, in *The Vulgate Bible: The Poetical Books*, 506.

¹³⁴ Coogan, *New Oxford Annotated Bible*, 888 Hebrew Bible.

¹³⁵ Wormald lists a total of twenty calendars in his work, though given the early date of Oxford, Bodleian Digby 63, it was discussed in Chapter One. Further, recent scholarship strongly suggests that London, BL, Cotton Vitellius A.xii was copied at the end of the eleventh century, placing it just beyond the Anglo-Saxon era. Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 72.

Figure 2: Juliana in Later Anglo-Saxon Liturgical Calendars¹³⁶

| Manuscript | Date | Place of Origin |
|---|---------------------------|---|
| Salisbury Cathedral Library, MS 150 | c. 969-78 | SW England (perhaps Shaftesbury) |
| Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 579 | c. 978-87 | Canterbury |
| BL, Additional MS 37517 | c. 988-1012 | Christ Church, Canterbury |
| Paris, BNF, lat. 7299 ¹³⁷ | s.10 ^{ex} | Ramsey |
| BL, Arundel MS 155 | c. 1012-23 | Christ Church, Canterbury |
| Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale Y.6 ¹³⁸ | c. 1014-23 | Peterborough or Ely |
| BL, Cotton Titus D.xxvii | c. 1023-35 | New Minster, Winchester |
| Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.15.32 | c. 1025-7 | New Minster, Winchester (at St. Augustine's Canterbury by s. 11 ^{ex}) |
| Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 296 | c. 1025-50 ¹³⁹ | Crowland |
| BL, Cotton Nero A.ii | c. 1025-50 | Winchester |
| Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Reginensis Lat. 12 | c. 1025-50 | Christ Church, Canterbury (for use at Bury St. Edmunds) |

¹³⁶ Unless otherwise noted, the saint's appearances in the calendars are found in Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, and the dates and places of origin are found in Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*.

¹³⁷ Rushforth, *Saints in English Calendars*, 27.

¹³⁸ Rushforth, *Saints in English Calendars*, 31-2.

¹³⁹ Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies*, 78.

| Manuscript | Date | Place of Origin |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|--|
| CCCC 9 | c. 1025-50 ¹⁴⁰ | Worcester |
| BL, Cotton Vitellius E.viii | s. xi ^{med} | New Minster, Winchester |
| CCCC 422 | c. 1061 | Winchester (perhaps for use at Sherborne) ¹⁴¹ |
| BL, Cotton Vitellius A.viii | c. 1061-88 | Wells |
| CCCC 391 | c. 1065 ¹⁴² | St. Mary's Cathedral Priory, Worcester |
| Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113 | c. 1064-83 | Worcester |
| BL, Arundel MS 60 | c. 1073 | New Minster, Winchester |
| BL, Cotton Vitellius A.xii | s. xi ^{ex} | Salisbury |
| Cambridge, University Library Kk.5.32 | s. xi ^{ex} | Winchcombe Abbey or St. Augustine's, Canterbury ¹⁴³ |

¹⁴⁰ This manuscript may have been copied in or soon after 1032, since the Easter tables cover 1032-94. Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art*, 611-13.

¹⁴¹ Timothy Graham, "The Old English Liturgical Directions in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 422," *Anglia* 111 (1993): 439-46, at 439.

¹⁴² Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies*, 65.

¹⁴³ Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History*, 52-9.

Figure 3: Margaret/Marina in Later Anglo-Saxon Liturgical Calendars¹⁴⁴

| Saint | Feast Day | Manuscript | Date | Place of Origin |
|-----------------------|-----------|---|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Margaret | July 20 | Salisbury Cathedral Library, MS 150 | c. 969-78 | SW England (perhaps Shaftesbury) |
| Marina | July 7 | Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 579 | c. 978-87 | Canterbury |
| Margaret | July 18 | | | |
| Marina | July 7 | BL, Additional MS 37517 | c. 988-1012 | Christ Church, Canterbury |
| Margaret | July 20 | | | |
| Margaret | July 20 | BL, Arundel MS 155 | c. 1012-23 | Christ Church, Canterbury |
| Marina | July 7 | Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale Y.6 ¹⁴⁵ | c. 1014-23 | Peterborough or Ely |
| Margaret | July 20 | | | |
| Marina | July 7 | Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 296 | c. 1025-50 ¹⁴⁶ | Crowland |
| Margaret | July 20 | | | |
| Marina | July 7 | BL, Cotton Nero A.ii | c. 1025-50 | Winchester |
| Margaret | July 13 | | | |
| Marina ¹⁴⁷ | July 7 | CCCC 9 | c. 1025-50 ¹⁴⁸ | Worcester |

¹⁴⁴ Unless otherwise noted, the saint's appearances in the calendars are found in Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, and the dates and places of origin are found in Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*.

¹⁴⁵ Rushforth, *Saints in English Calendars*, 31-2.

¹⁴⁶ Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies*, 78.

| Saint | Feast Day | Manuscript | Date | Place of Origin |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|---|------------------------|--|
| Marina Margaret | July 7 July 20 | Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Reginensis Lat. 12 | c. 1025-50 | Christ Church, Canterbury (for use at Bury St. Edmunds) |
| Margaret | July 20 | BL, Cotton Vitellius A.xviii | c. 1061-88 | Wells |
| Marina Margaret | July 7 July 20 | Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113 | c. 1064-83 | Worcester |
| Marina ¹⁴⁹ Margaret | July 7 July 20 | CCCC 391 | c. 1065 ¹⁵⁰ | St. Mary's Cathedral Priory, Worcester |
| Margaret | July 20 | BL, Arundel MS 60 | c. 1073 | New Minster, Winchester |
| Marina Margaret | July 7 July 18 | Cambridge, University Library Kk.5.32 | s. xi ^{ex} | Winchcombe Abbey or St. Augustine's, Canterbury ¹⁵¹ |
| Margaret | July 20 | Paris, BNF, lat. 10062 ¹⁵² | s. xi ⁱⁿ | Christ Church, Canterbury |
| Margaret | July 20 | BL, Cotton Vitellius A.xii | s. xi ^{ex} | Salisbury |

¹⁴⁷ Misspelled as "Marie."

¹⁴⁸ This manuscript may have been copied in or soon after 1032, since the Easter tables cover 1032-94. Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art*, 611-13.

¹⁴⁹ Misspelled as "Marie."

¹⁵⁰ Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies*, 65.

¹⁵¹ Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History*, 52-9.

¹⁵² Rushforth, *Saints in English Calendars*, 29.

and, very tellingly, they all include Juliana.¹⁵³ This list was expanded by Rebecca Rushforth,¹⁵⁴ who added another two calendars passed over by Wormald, as well as the full edition for the calendar in the previously discussed Missal of Robert of Jumièges, which had been the only calendar mentioned by Wormald that lacked a corresponding edition.

Unlike the later *passiones*, which list Juliana's feast day as February 13, all the calendar entries for her fall on the standard February 16. Margaret's feast day, however, is a bit more ambiguous. It appears that the knowledge that "Marina" was the Byzantine version of "Margaret" had been lost by this time, since ten Anglo-Saxon calendars celebrate a completely separate feast day for Marina on July 7. Indeed, the July 7 dating is a tradition that appears to be limited to England, having perhaps originally begun as a misreading of July 17; of all the Anglo-Saxon texts, only the calendar in the ninth-century Digby 63 manuscript correctly lists her feast day as July 17.¹⁵⁵ Moreover, all but one of these ten calendars also have separate entries for Margaret.¹⁵⁶ In total, then, there are sixteen later Anglo-Saxon manuscripts that include twelve calendar entries for Margaret under July 20, ten for Marina under July 7, two entries for Margaret under July 18,¹⁵⁷ and

¹⁵³ The principles guiding Wormald's selection of calendars can be summarized in what he avoided: metrical calendars, and, as he remarks in his collection of calendars that post-date 1100, those whose "scrappiness did not warrant printing" (Wormald, *English Kalendars after A.D. 1100*, Vol. I, v).

¹⁵⁴ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars*.

¹⁵⁵ J. E. Cross initially identified eight of these calendars: the Leofric Missal; BL, Additional MS 37517; Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Reginensis Lat. 12; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 296; BL, Cotton Nero A.ii; Cambridge University Library, MS Kk.5.32; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113; and CCC 391. Cross, "The Notice on Marina," 428. To his list, we can add the Missal of Robert of Jumièges and CCC 9.

¹⁵⁶ The exception is CCC 9, which lists only Marina. Wormald, *English Kalendars*, 36, 50, 64, 78, 204, 218, 246, 260.

¹⁵⁷ As Clayton and Magennis explain, this represents "a dislocation of one day [from the Eastern tradition of July 18] common in the transferral [sic] of Eastern feasts to the West" (Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 72).

one that lists Margaret under the entry for July 13—the same date given for her feast by Hrabanus Maurus in his ninth-century martyrology.¹⁵⁸

Notably, fifteen of the sixteen manuscripts that mention Margaret (Marina) also mention Juliana; the only one that does not is Paris, BNF, lat. 10062, an early-eleventh-century text from Christ Church, Canterbury that has survived as a flyleaf for another manuscript, and thus only contains entries for May to August.¹⁵⁹ Conversely, there are five calendars that mention Juliana without Margaret (or Marina), suggesting that Juliana was slightly more popular than Margaret—a trend that would undergo a drastic reversal following the Norman Conquest. It should be noted, however, that BL, Arundel MS 155 and CCC 391—the only two calendars to cite the number of lections (or readings from the Scripture) to be read on Margaret’s feast day—state the number as twelve, which is the highest number of lections possible, thus elevating her feast day to one of the most important of the entire liturgical year.¹⁶⁰

Nevertheless, it is unclear why Margaret is passed over in five calendars; one of the five leaves July 20 blank, while four of the others list St. Wulmar (d. c. 700), the abbot who founded Samer Abbey near Calais,¹⁶¹ under July 20. This is not very telling, however, since in nine of the calendars in question, he appears alongside Margaret,¹⁶²

¹⁵⁸ Rabanus Maurus, *Martyrologium*, ed. John McCulloh (Turnholt: Brepols, 1978), 67-8. Hrabanus Maurus also confused Margaret and Marina for two separate saints, having an entry for Margaret on July 13 and Marina on June 18. Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 72-3. I am inclined to believe that the Anglo-Saxon confusion was not inherited from Maurus, however, as they adhere to the typical July 7 feast day for Marina, not Maurus’s June 18.

¹⁵⁹ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars*, 29.

¹⁶⁰ None of the calendars discussed in this chapter state the number of lections to be read on Juliana’s feast day.

¹⁶¹ Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 551.

¹⁶² Paris, BNF, lat. 10062; the Missal of Robert of Jumièges; BL, Additional MS 37517; BL, Cotton Vitellius A.xviii; BL, Arundel MS 60; BL, Arundel MS 155; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113; CCC 391; and Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codex Reginensis lat. 12.

suggesting that he was not necessarily a replacement for her. Fortunately, Marina's absences can be explained, as they are localized to a specific area. Of the five manuscripts that mention only Juliana, four were copied at New Minster, Winchester: BL, Titus D.xxvii; Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.15.32; BL, Cotton Vitellius E.xviii; and CCCC 422.¹⁶³ Previous scholarship has addressed the ways in which the calendars produced at Winchester varied from those produced elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon England, and one of the central differences is the appearance of St. Hædde on July 7, instead of Marina.¹⁶⁴ Hædde's popularity had less to do with an intentional oversight of Marina, and more to do with the fact that he was a local saint, having served as bishop of Winchester from 676-705.¹⁶⁵

In addition to the Winchester calendars that exclude Margaret is the one found in Paris, BNF, lat. 7299, which was copied in the late-tenth century, perhaps at Ramsey. This monastery, which was founded by the Benedictine reformer Oswald,¹⁶⁶ had strong ties to its founder's former abbey in Fleury,¹⁶⁷ and it is probable that this connection explains how this manuscript arrived in Fleury soon after its production. While Ramsey was clearly one of the reform houses, there was no particularly strong link between it and

¹⁶³ Wormald says CCCC 422 was copied at Sherborne in 1061. Wormald, *English Kalendars*, 183-90. Timothy Graham amends this claim, and suggests it was copied in Winchester in 1061, perhaps for the use of Sherborne Abbey, and in the twelfth century it arrived at the Church of St. Helen in Darley Dale, Derbyshire. Graham, "The Old English Liturgical Directions," 439. The year 1061 is gleaned from the Easter tables, which cover the years 1061-98; moreover, the script resembles what one would expect to find in a mid-eleventh-century liturgical text from Winchester, making it comparable to the script found in the Tiberius Psalter and the Æthelred Troper. Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art*, 647.

¹⁶⁴ Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History*, 58-9; Francis Aidan Gasquet and Edmund Bishop, ed., *The Bosworth Psalter: An Account of a Manuscript Formerly Belonging to O. Turville-Petre, Esq. of Bosworth Hall, Now Addit. MS 37517 at the British Museum* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1908), 59-64.

¹⁶⁵ Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 242.

¹⁶⁶ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars*, 27; and Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 137.

¹⁶⁷ Cyril Hart, "The Foundation of Ramsey Abbey," *Revue Bénédictine* 104 (1994): 295-327, at 295.

Winchester that might explain Marina's absence. Indeed, while Oswald had in fact been a monk at the New Minster in Winchester before its reform, he left because he disapproved of their way of life.¹⁶⁸ Ramsey's strongest connections were instead to its fellow Mercian monasteries in Worcester and Winchcombe,¹⁶⁹ and the surviving calendars from these sites, as shown in Figure 3, contain entries for Margaret.

Interestingly, the Anglo-Normans recognized Margaret's absence as an issue to be resolved. Entries for her were added under July 20 to: Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.15.32 in the late-eleventh century when it was at St. Augustine's, Canterbury;¹⁷⁰ BL, Cotton Vitellius E.xviii in the thirteenth century;¹⁷¹ and CCCC 422 in the twelfth century.¹⁷² Despite Margaret's popularity following the Conquest, however, she was not always included amongst the Anglo-Norman additions to these calendars. For example, the calendar in CCCC 9 contains a later addition of St. Wulmar made for July 20, yet Margaret was once more left out.¹⁷³

Most of the twenty-one calendars discussed here post-date the Benedictine reform; indeed, only two of the twenty calendars discussed are definitively datable to the reform itself: Salisbury Cathedral Library, MS 150 and the Leofric Missal. The places where these reform manuscripts were copied has been the subject of debate, though current scholarship leans towards placing the composition of the calendar in the Leofric Missal at Canterbury between the years 978 and 987,¹⁷⁴ and the composition of Salisbury,

¹⁶⁸ Hart, "The Foundation of Ramsey Abbey," 296.

¹⁶⁹ Hart, "The Foundation of Ramsey Abbey," 295, 317.

¹⁷⁰ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 74-5; and Wormald, *English Kalendars*, 134.

¹⁷¹ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 75; and Wormald, *English Kalendars*, 162.

¹⁷² Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 75; and Wormald, *English Kalendars*, 190.

¹⁷³ Wormald, *English Kalendars*, 232.

¹⁷⁴ See above, nn. 100-1.

Cathedral Library MS 150 at Shaftesbury between the years 969 and 978.¹⁷⁵ Tracing the history of the former, Dumville suggests that before famously reaching Exeter in the third quarter of the eleventh century, “the codex [might have] resided at Tavistock minster *ca.* 1000 and in the first half of the eleventh century,”¹⁷⁶ due to a series of manumissions recorded in the manuscript granted in the Tavistock area.¹⁷⁷

Beyond these two calendars are another two that could potentially be listed as reform calendars: the one found in BL, Additional 37517 (the “Bosworth Psalter”), since it was produced sometime between 988 and 1012 at Christ Church, Canterbury,¹⁷⁸ and the one in Paris, BNF, lat. 7299, since it was copied in late-tenth-century Ramsey. These dates would place them either in the last years of the Benedictine reform or in the midst of the Viking attacks. While it would be reasonable to assume that the Benedictine reform would witness the production of more calendars, evidence shows that this is not the case, suggesting that perhaps these two did indeed post-date the reform.

We are left with a total of seventeen (possibly nineteen) calendars that were produced after the end of the Benedictine reform. Eight were definitely copied during the reign of Edward the Confessor (r. 1042-66), though to this number we might add another

¹⁷⁵ Gneuss suggests Shaftesbury as a possibility, as opposed to Wormald’s more general claim of the “West Country.” Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 111; and Wormald, *English Kalendars*, 15.

¹⁷⁶ Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History*, 47.

¹⁷⁷ There is a possible explanation for how this manuscript might have arrived in Tavistock that is worth exploring, and for that we must turn to the heads of St. Augustine’s Abbey and Tavistock at the time in question. The exact years for Tavistock’s early abbots are difficult to pinpoint, but it appears that from c. 994-1009, a man named Ælfmær held the abbacy. Moreover, if we jump ahead a few years, we see that the abbot of St. Augustine’s Abbey from c. 1006-23 was also Ælfmær. The picture becomes complete when we take into consideration the 997 entry in the E-text of the *ASC*, which describes how the Vikings attacked Tavistock, and burnt it to the ground. The abbey was soon rebuilt, and it is possible that the Leofric Missal was a gift from the new abbot of St. Augustine’s to his former monastery upon (or soon after) its re-foundation. This, however, must remain speculation. Garmonsway, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 13; and David Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke, and Vera C. M. London, eds., *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, 940-1216*, Vol. I, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 2001), 35, 71.

¹⁷⁸ Wormald, *English Kalendars*, 57-64.

four, which were copied c. 1025-50; another eight might have been written during the reign of Cnut and his sons (r. 1016-42), but again the exact number is uncertain; and one was definitely written during the second wave of Viking attacks (991-1016), though another five are possible for this period. Obviously, this totals more than seventeen, yet it is difficult to do more than list the possibilities when dealing with manuscripts for which the exact date of composition is unknown. Nonetheless, from these possibilities emerges the clear fact that calendars were being copied consistently throughout the eleventh century. Likewise, few survive from the second wave of Viking attacks, which probably reflects the decreased ability of monks to produce manuscripts during these turbulent times.

Just as the dates of production are revealing, so, too, are the areas in which these calendars were produced. In total, seven (possibly eight) calendars were copied at Winchester (most of them at New Minster), five (possibly seven) at Canterbury (the majority at Christ Church), two at Worcester, and one at each of the houses in Shaftesbury, Salisbury, Crowland, Wells, Ramsey, and Peterborough. These numbers reveal not only the continuing trend from early Anglo-Saxon England connecting veneration of Juliana and Margaret to Canterbury, but also the growing interest in them at monasteries that had been reform centers.

Litanies

Appearances of Juliana and Margaret did not just swell within the calendars; they are also found in vastly more litanies in comparison to their appearances in the early Anglo-Saxon litanies. Juliana, who was listed in only five early litanies, now appears in nineteen, while Margaret's appearances rise from a mere three to sixteen (Figure 4). As

Figure 4: Later Anglo-Saxon Litanies¹⁷⁹

| Saint | Line Numbers | Manuscript | Date | Place of Origin |
|----------|--------------------------------|---|--------------------------|---|
| Juliana | 133 | Salisbury Cathedral Library, MS 150 | c. 969-78 ¹⁸⁰ | Shaftesbury |
| Margaret | 140 | | | |
| Juliana | 138 | Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 579 | s. x ^{ex} | Canterbury |
| Juliana | 202 | BL, Harley 2904 | s. x ^{ex} | Winchester or Ramsey |
| Juliana | 184 | Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale 127 | s. x ^{ex} | Winchcombe or Ramsey (prov. Fleury, s. 11 ⁱⁿ) |
| Marina | 174 | | | |
| Juliana | 326 | BL, Cotton Galba A.xiv | c. 1000-50 | Winchester or Shaftesbury |
| Margaret | 322 and (?) 323 ¹⁸¹ | | | |
| Marina | 309 | | | |
| Juliana | 110 | BL, Cotton Titus D.xxvi | c. 1023-31 | New Minster, Winchester |
| Juliana | 57 | CCCC 44 | c. 1025-50 | Canterbury (prov. Ely) |
| Margaret | 58 | | | |

¹⁷⁹ Unless otherwise noted, the saint's appearances in the litanies are found in Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies*, and the dates and places of origin are found in Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*.

¹⁸⁰ Litany erased and rewritten in the early twelfth century. Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies*, 83-4.

¹⁸¹ Line 323 reads "Mar[***] ora," and was added in the bottom margin of the manuscript.

| Saint | Line Numbers | Manuscript | Date | Place of Origin |
|----------|--------------|---|----------------------|---|
| Juliana | 122 | Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 296 | c. 1025-50 | Crowland |
| Margaret | 138 | | | |
| Marina | 123 | | | |
| Margaret | 96 | Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Reginensis Lat. 12 | c. 1025-50 | Christ Church, Canterbury (for use at Bury St. Edmunds) |
| Juliana | 136 | BL, Additional MS 28188 | c. 1050-75 | Exeter |
| Margaret | 137 | | | |
| Juliana | 133 | BL, Cotton Vitellius A.vii | c. 1030-46 | Ramsey (prov. Exeter, 1046-72) |
| Marina | 134 | | | |
| Juliana | 283 | BL, Harley 863 | c. 1046-72 | Exeter |
| Margaret | 279 | | | |
| Marina | 306 | | | |
| Juliana | 91 | Paris, BNF, lat. 10575 | c. 1050-1100 | England |
| Juliana | 88 | Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud lat. 81 | c. 1050-1100 | Glastonbury or N England |
| Margaret | 97 | | | |
| Juliana | 82 | BL, Cotton Tiberius A.iii | s. xi ^{med} | Christ Church, Canterbury |
| Margaret | 83 | | | |

| Saint | Line Numbers | Manuscript | Date | Place of Origin |
|----------|--------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------|--|
| Juliana | 131 | Cambridge, University Library Ff.1.23 | s. xi ^{med} | Ramsey or Canterbury |
| Juliana | 98 | Paris, BNF, lat. 8824 | s. xi ^{med} | No place of origin specified |
| Margaret | 95 | | | |
| Marina | 91 | | | |
| Margaret | 80 | CCCC 422 | c. 1061 | Winchester (perhaps for use at Sherborne) ¹⁸² |
| Juliana | 120 | CCCC 391 | c. 1065 ¹⁸³ | St. Mary's Cathedral Priory, Worcester |
| Margaret | 112 | | | |
| Juliana | 139 | BL, Arundel MS 60 | c. 1073 | New Minster, Winchester |
| Marina | 141 | | | |
| Juliana | 99 | Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale 231 | s. xi ^{ex} | St. Augustine's, Canterbury(?) |
| Margaret | 102 | | | |

¹⁸² Graham, "The Old English Liturgical Directions," 439.

¹⁸³ Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies*, 65.

with the calendars, the litanies reveal the apparent confusion between the Western version of her name (“Margareta/Margarita”), and the Byzantine version (“Marina”), resulting in four manuscripts listing Margareta and Marina as two separate saints in the litanies,¹⁸⁴ and another three simply listing Marina.¹⁸⁵

Overall, the trends that become apparent from the litanies are much like those that resulted from a study of the calendars. Only twice does Margaret appear without Juliana, while Juliana appears without Margaret (or Marina) a total of five times. Like the calendars, two (perhaps three) of the ones lacking Margaret were copied at either Winchester or Ramsey, though since litanies are organized by type of saint, rather than by liturgical feast days, Marina would not necessarily be replaced by Hædde, as she had been in the calendars. In determining the origins of these manuscripts, many have inconclusive dates and places, yet it appears that nine of the litanies were copied during the reigns of Cnut and his sons (though two of these litanies possibly were produced during the second wave of Viking invasions), another eight were copied during the reign of Edward the Confessor, four were produced during the Benedictine reform, and one was copied just following the Norman Conquest. Also similar to the data gleaned from the calendars are the places of origin for these texts: six or seven came from Canterbury, three to five came from Winchester, and the remainder were produced at Worcester, Shaftesbury, Ramsey, Exeter, Winchcombe, Salisbury, and Glastonbury—all of which (save Exeter) had connections to the Benedictine reform. The similarities between the

¹⁸⁴ BL, Cotton Galba A.xiv; BL, Harley 863; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 296; and Paris, BNF, lat. 8824. Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies*, 123-38, 168-9, 199-200, 252.

¹⁸⁵ BL, Arundel MS 60; BL, Cotton Vitellius A.vii; and Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale 127. Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies*, 145, 190, 223.

calendars and litanies should not be particularly surprising. Indeed, both a litany and a calendar appear in eight of the manuscripts discussed above.¹⁸⁶

Litanies, in particular, reveal the growing veneration of these saints. Whereas early litanies served five major purposes,¹⁸⁷ their role expanded during the Benedictine reform. Litanies now had six major uses, many of which were more developed and sophisticated versions of their earlier functions. They were now to be read by monks after Prime (as specified in both the *Regularis Concordia* and Ælfric's *Colloquium*); during the visitation of sick and dying monks (as specified in the *Regularis Concordia*); for personal devotion (as is the case in BL, Cotton Titus D.xxvi-xxvii and BL, Cotton Galba A.xiv); during confessionals as part of the penitential practices (as is the case in BL, Cotton Tiberius A.iii and Oxford, Bodley 718); for services during Holy Saturday, including the baptisms performed on this day (as specified in the *Regularis Concordia*, and seen in CCCC 422 and CCCC 190); and during the services of Pentecost (as is seen in CCCC 190 and the Missal of Robert of Jumièges).¹⁸⁸

Relics

The evidence that most strongly supports the idea of a functioning cult for any of these women is for Margaret. While Juliana appears in more calendars and litanies than Margaret, Margaret's appeal to Anglo-Saxons is attested to in a very important way that Juliana's is not: by the presence of her relics in Anglo-Saxon England. Serving as the physical signs of the divine on earth, relics were tangible objects that could range from an

¹⁸⁶ These manuscripts are: CCCC 391; CCCC 422; BL, Arundel MS 60; BL, Arundel MS 155; the Leofric Missal; Salisbury Cathedral Library, MS 150; Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensis lat. 12; and Douce 296.

¹⁸⁷ As discussed in Chapter One, these were: the dedication of a church by a bishop, the ordination of a monk by an abbot or a bishop, personal devotion, penitential purposes, and Easter services.

¹⁸⁸ Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies*, 44-8.

actual body part of a saint to an object blessed by a saint. While pilgrimages undertaken to see important relics certainly played a part in Anglo-Saxon piety, bringing relics to England was a far more common and desirable practice, as the possession of relics elevated the status of the place that housed them both within England itself and within the larger Christian community. As Peter Brown asserts: “Translations—the movement of relics to people—and not pilgrimages—the movement of people to relics—hold the center of the stage in late-antique and early-medieval piety.”¹⁸⁹ The decisions about both where to move certain relics, and which relics to acquire in the first place, uncover as much about the state of spiritual affairs as about the state of political ones. Such decisions reveal not only what types of sanctity were favored, but also which abbeys and cathedrals were favored by those in control of the relics (typically, the archbishops and the king).

Whereas relics had become essentially secular tools from 793 to 948 (as was shown in Chapter One), the use of them underwent a slight, but significant shift in the period that followed. Cnut’s actions make it clear that they continued to be used as a way to show royal favor, yet beyond this, they were also integrated into the rest of Anglo-Saxon culture to a level not experienced before. While the corporeal relics of foreign saints still dominated the relic-lists, an influx of secondary relics from Insular saints began to appear,¹⁹⁰ changing the way sanctity was viewed not only by the elite, but also by all levels of the laity. The growing interest in native saints reflects, as Nicholas Banton argues, a shift away from “the foreign relics with their imperial overtones that were

¹⁸⁹ Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1981), 88.

¹⁹⁰ Rollason, “Lists of Saints’ Resting-Places,” 81.

gained by Athelstan.”¹⁹¹ Instead, relics regained the religious overtones one would expect them to have, and led to churches and monasteries developing their “own *loca sancta* rather than looking to St. Augustine’s”¹⁹² where the vast majority of relics were housed before the eleventh century. In turn, this made it possible for these *loca sancta* to draw new crowds, making relics accessible to all levels of the laity. Saints were no longer the domain of just the religious and secular elite, a fact reflected in the growing popular interest in saints and their relics.¹⁹³ Not surprisingly, then, the three major reformers were keen to acquire relics for the reformed monasteries and churches. Æthelwold, in particular, was known for this, endowing Abingdon, Thorney, Ely, and Winchester with relics.¹⁹⁴ This shifting treatment of relics also explains the general movement of them from the north to the south,¹⁹⁵ since this is where the monasteries could now be found. While these changes appear to be caused by native saints, the effects of these changes were felt in the treatment and popular interest in foreign saints, such as Margaret.

Mentions of Margaret’s relics appear in five manuscripts that contain a total of Anglo-Saxon three relic-lists, including the lists from Bath (CCCC 111, which was copied in the second half of the eleventh century in Bath),¹⁹⁶ Exeter (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D.2.16,¹⁹⁷ a Breton manuscript from c. 900-50 that arrived in Exeter by the

¹⁹¹ Banton, “Monastic Reform,” 84.

¹⁹² Alan Thacker, “Cults at Canterbury: Relics and Reform under Dunstan and his Successors,” in *St. Dunstan: His Life, Times, and Cult*, ed. Nigel Ramsay, Margaret Sparks, and Tim Tatton-Brown (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1992), 221-46, at 240.

¹⁹³ Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, 186-7.

¹⁹⁴ Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, 179-80; and Gransden, “Traditionalism and Continuity,” 179-80.

¹⁹⁵ Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, 153.

¹⁹⁶ Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 31. Clayton and Magennis point out that the relic was certainly there when Abbot Ælfsige (r. 1076-87) opened the shrines to explore its contents, and most likely had been in Bath’s possession before 1066, since the contents of the shrines had apparently been unopened for some time. Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 80.

¹⁹⁷ This manuscript was donated to Exeter by Athelstan (d. 940).

mid-eleventh century, which is where the relic-list was copied in the third quarter of the eleventh century;¹⁹⁸ the previously discussed Leofric Missal, which had arrived in Exeter by the mid-eleventh century, around which time the relic-list was copied;¹⁹⁹ and BL, Royal 6.B.vii, which was copied in the late-eleventh or early-twelfth century at Exeter²⁰⁰ by the same scribe who copied the list in the Leofric Missal),²⁰¹ and Winchester (BL, Stowe 944, which was copied at New Minster, Winchester c. 1031, with the relic-lists added in the twelfth century).²⁰²

Moreover, Tracy-Ann Cooper has also suggested the presence of Margaret's relics at Christ Church, Canterbury. While not attested to in any pre-Conquest manuscripts, she points out that Waltham Abbey owned Margaret's girdle in the fourteenth century, and had also received the relics of Ælfheah and Dunstan from St. Gregory's, Canterbury. Further, following its foundation in 1085, St. Gregory's had received the relics of these latter two saints from Christ Church, and, Cooper asks, "is it possible, therefore, that they also received Margaret's girdle from Christ Church?"²⁰³ While nothing can be proven definitively, Margaret's popularity at Canterbury has been well-established, and, as will be discussed below, the man who may have been responsible for retrieving Margaret's relics from Italy was Sigeric, the archbishop of Canterbury from 990-4 (who, one expects, would give any relics he brought back to his

¹⁹⁸ Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 90.

¹⁹⁹ Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 95. The relic-list was copied by the same scribe who added the mass for St. Margaret, that is, Scribe 10 of Leofric C. Orchard, *The Leofric Missal*, Vol. I, 210-11.

²⁰⁰ Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 81.

²⁰¹ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 81.

²⁰² As with the Bath relic-list, we must acknowledge the fact that these monasteries most probably had the relics for some time before the lists themselves were copied. Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 85; and Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 81.

²⁰³ Cooper, "Why is Margaret's the Only Life," 78.

archiepiscopal see). While it is not known when exactly Margaret's relics came to England, it is extremely unlikely that they would have been collected by his predecessor, St. Dunstan, since this reformer displayed a great reluctance to promote popular cults.²⁰⁴ The attitude of Canterbury towards relics and cults began to change with Sigeric, but it was with the gruesome 1012 martyrdom of Ælfheah, the archbishop of Canterbury, that the most drastic shift in attitude occurred. Nevertheless, the presence of Margaret's relics in Canterbury remains speculative, so we must return to the relic-lists themselves.

The lists from both Bath and Winchester fail to mention which specific relic of Margaret they had acquired, yet Exeter makes the rather spectacular claim that it possessed the head of Margaret. As Cooper rightly points out, this is remarkable since in the Tiberius A.iii *passio* of Saint Margaret, we are told that the saint's head specifically was taken to heaven following her execution,²⁰⁵ a detail that is conspicuously absent in the standard BHL 5303 version of her *passio*. It is noteworthy that the scribes at Exeter never seem to have composed a *translatio* documenting their acquisition of such a significant relic.²⁰⁶ Moreover, Cooper argues, the Tiberius A.iii text was copied at Christ Church, Canterbury, and the addition of this detail might reflect "a rivalry between two centres that were developing cults of Margaret."²⁰⁷ The timing is certainly right, as the relevant sections in both manuscripts were copied in the mid-eleventh century, and further, if this is indeed the case, it might help explain why the Tiberius A.iii scribe chose

²⁰⁴ For a discussion of this, see Thacker, "Cults at Canterbury," 237-9.

²⁰⁵ Cooper, "Why is Margaret's the Only *Life*?" 79.

²⁰⁶ *Translationes* were a growing genre at this time, and the late-ninth-century Adrevald of Fleury summed up the major features: "the neglected grave, the miraculous relevation of the saint's desire to be translated, the discovery of the tomb, the elevation of the remains despite hostility from the local populace, and th long journey conveying them to the new resting-place, culminating in the final, emotional, reception" (Thacker, "Cults at Canterbury," 227).

²⁰⁷ Cooper, "Why is Margaret's the Only *Life*?" 80.

to capitalize and rubricate the entry for Margaret in the calendar—a detail not seen in the other Anglo-Saxon calendars. Moreover, we might question if a rivalry might have been spurred by Leofric’s choice to replace Exeter’s monks with canons, who were to follow the Rule of Chrodegang; Christ Church, it must be recalled, was by this point populated with monks who followed the Benedictine Rule. The question then turns into: are relics the domain of the priests or the monks? No doubt each group would have had emphatic views on the answer to this question.

We must therefore ask why acquiring her relics would have been desirable in the first place, and why her relics would have been reserved for these three cities. It is uncertain when Margaret’s relics may have arrived in Bath; although the relic-list dates from 1050-1100, the preface for this list explains “how Abbot Ælfsige and the monks opened the shrines when they were uncertain of what relics they had,”²⁰⁸ revealing that they were acquired long enough before this point to have been forgotten by the monks. Given the city’s history, it seems probable that the relics could have been given to Bath when it experienced its time of greatest royal favor: the late-tenth century. It was at Bath in 973 that King Edgar was famously crowned “emperor” of all England; moreover, a mint existed there continuously from his reign to at least 1086.²⁰⁹ Thus, while Bath may seem an odd choice given the popularity of other monasteries such as Shaftesbury, the city’s importance in both the secular and ecclesiastical realms is clear.

The explanation for the presence of Margaret’s relics at Winchester is similar. The Stowe 944 manuscript contains six relic-lists, two of which mention Margaret. While the manuscript itself dates to 1031, the relic-lists were added in the twelfth century,

²⁰⁸ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 80.

²⁰⁹ John Blair, “Bath,” in *BEASE*, 54.

making the exact year of their journey to Winchester uncertain. Nonetheless, the scribe does explicitly state that these relics were amongst those donated by Cnut and Emma, which—if true—would explain a great deal.²¹⁰ Not only was Winchester a major center of the Benedictine reform, it also served as the administrative center for the king. It makes a great deal of sense that Cnut, who was a well-known patron of monasteries, would ensure that the monasteries closest to him were endowed with relics.

Finally, there is the matter of the three relic-lists for Exeter, all of which were copied c. 1050-1100. Again, while the lists were copied fairly late, it is probable that the relics arrived earlier. King Athelstan (r. 924-39) is credited with donating a myriad of relics to Exeter, and it is certainly possible that the relics of Margaret were counted amongst them. Despite this royal favor, the monastery fell on hard times after being burned by the Vikings in the early-eleventh century. It would only be with the establishment of Exeter Cathedral in 1050 by Leofric (the namesake of the Leofric Missal) that the city would once more rise in prominence.²¹¹ As bishop of Exeter, Leofric worked to guarantee its standing within the religious landscape of Anglo-Saxon England, and what better way to do this than to put down in writing the many relics held by them?

While the story behind each acquisition remains somewhat muddled, the story of how Margaret's relics arrived in England is not a complete mystery. As Clayton and Magennis argue: "The presence of relics of Margaret in England is not surprising, given that her relics had been translated²¹² from the East to San Pietro della Valle near Lake

²¹⁰ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 81.

²¹¹ John Blair, "Exeter," in *BEASE*, 177.

²¹² It is more likely that they were stolen from Antioch in 908, only to turn up in San Pietro della Valle. Louis J. Rodrigues, "Margaret of Antioch—Pseudo-Saint and Martyr," in *SELIM 1996: Proceedings of the*

Bolsena in Italy in 908 and that Bolsena was on the route which English pilgrims commonly took to Rome.²¹³ This particular section of the route follows the Roman road, Via Cassia, which had become the standard path for Anglo-Saxon pilgrims travelling on the route to Rome from Canterbury, particularly after the attacks by pirates in the ninth and tenth centuries had shut down the sea-route.²¹⁴

Connecting the Italian cities Lucca and Rome, the Via Cassia contains many stops along its length of roughly 270 kilometers,²¹⁵ including the aforementioned San Pietro della Valle, which had become a frequent stop for Anglo-Saxon pilgrims, including Archbishop Sigeric, who travelled to Rome in 990 to receive the pallium. Much of our information about this route derives from the itinerary of Sigeric's travels, which is preserved in BL, Cotton Tiberius B.v. It is in this text that we find that his seventh stop after departing Rome was Bolsena.²¹⁶ Further, we know that six stops previous, he stayed at San Giovanni in Nono—now modern-day La Storta. This stop is also significant because papal bulls from 1026 and 1037 reveal that not only did this church have a *titulus*, or brief inscription, dedicated to St. Marina,²¹⁷ but also that one of the subsidiary churches of San Giovanni was the church of St. Marina.²¹⁸ It is impossible to know if Sigeric was aware that Marina was an alternate spelling of Margaret, but it is possible

⁹*International Conference of the Spanish Society for Medieval English Language and Literature*, ed. Margarita Giménez Bon and Vickie Olsen (Zaragoza: Pórtico, 1997), 265-71, at 270, n. 18.

²¹³ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 79-82, at 82.

²¹⁴ Veronica Ortenberg, "Archbishop Sigeric's Journey to Rome in 990," *Anglo-Saxon England* 19 (1990): 197-246, at 204.

²¹⁵ Julius Jung, "Das Itinerar des Erzbischofs Sigeric von Canterbury und die Strasse von Rom über Siena nach Lucca," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 25 (1904): 1-90, at 10, 30; and Alison Raju, *The Via Francigena—Pilgrim Trail Canterbury to Rome, 2: The Great St. Bernard Pass to Rome* (Milnthorpe, U.K.: Cicerone, 2014), 258-9.

²¹⁶ Ortenberg, "Archbishop Sigeric's Journey," 229.

²¹⁷ C. J. Wickham, "Historical and Topographical Notes on Early Medieval South Etruria," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 46 (1978): 132-79, at 138.

²¹⁸ Wickham, "Historical and Topographical Notes," 151.

that his interest in the saint was piqued before reaching San Pietro della Valle. No one can claim with certainty who actually brought her relics to England, but as the well-researched travels of Benedict Biscop (founder and abbot of Wearmouth-Jarrow in the seventh century) have shown,²¹⁹ it was not uncommon for religious leaders journeying to Rome to take advantage of their travels and return with relics; indeed, it was probably expected.

The value of relics cannot be overstated; an account by Goscelin of Canterbury written c. 1087-91 claims that Ælfstan, the abbot of St. Augustine's Abbey c. 1023-45/6,²²⁰ stole the relics of St. Mildrith from Minster-in-Thamet, and that since no divine retribution rained down upon him, St. Augustine's should be considered the worthier home for the relics.²²¹ Indeed, following the Norman Conquest, this theft apparently needed justification, and a pseudo-writ was attributed to Cnut, claiming that the king had granted the relics to St. Augustine's.²²² Conversely, when the abbess of the Nunnaminster sold the relics of St. Edburga to her nephew for 100 pounds, the saint was so upset that miracles in Winchester ceased completely until all the nuns walked barefoot to Pershore, to which the nephew had intended to give the relics.²²³

²¹⁹ H. L. Robson, "Benedict Bishop of Wearmouth," *Antiquities of Sunderland* 26 (1974-76): 34-46; and Patrick Wormald, "Bede and Benedict Biscop," in *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede*, ed. Gerald Bonner (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1976), 141-69.

²²⁰ Knowles, Brooke, and London, *The Heads of Religious Houses*, 35.

²²¹ Rollason, *The Mildrith Legend*, 103-4; and Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, 181.

²²² S. E. Kelly, ed., *Charters of St. Augustine's Abbey Canterbury and Minster-in-Thamet*, Anglo-Saxon Charters IV (Oxford: Oxford U P, 1995), no. 33, 121-2.

²²³ Christopher Holdsworth, "Benedictine Monks and Nuns of the 10th Century," in *Studies in the Early History of Shaftesbury Abbey*, ed. Laurence Keen (Dorchester: Dorchester County Council, 1999), 73-98, at 88.

Female Sanctity and Silenced Women

The popularity of Juliana and Margaret continued to come with a price, however. Before considering just which Anglo-Saxon women may have been “silenced” in favor of their foreign counterparts, we must first examine the ways in which female sanctity could be expressed during this later period. While the distinction between nuns and vowesses has already been made, it is particularly revealing that it was almost always from the group of nuns, and not the vowesses, that the few late Anglo-Saxon female saints were drawn. While no pre-Conquest *vita* exists for any of these women,²²⁴ they do appear listed as saints in some of the contemporary sources. One such source is the *Secgan* (c. 1031), in which the resting-places of saints are listed. Included in this text are:²²⁵ Edith of Polesworth,²²⁶ Eadburh of Winchester,²²⁷ Mærwyn,²²⁸ Ælflæd,²²⁹ Edith of Wilton,²³⁰ and Ælfgifu.²³¹

²²⁴ Post-Conquest *vitae* exist for Edith of Wilton, Wulfhild of Barking, Eadburh of the Nunnaminster, and Ælflæd and Mærwyn of Romsey. Yorke, ““Sisters Under the Skin?”” 98; and Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses*, 73.

²²⁵ Thacker, “Lists of Saints’ Resting-Places,” 63-5.

²²⁶ This saint is one of the most obscure. According to legend she founded a nunnery at Polesworth, yet there is strong cause to doubt the existence of any nunnery here that pre-dated the Conquest. Alan Thacker has argued that her legend is based upon the 925/6 entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that describes the unnamed sister of King Sihtric. Alan Thacker, “Dynastic Monasteries and Family Cults: Edward the Elder’s Sainted Kindred,” in *Edward the Elder, 899-924*, ed. N. J. Higham and D. H. Hill (London: Routledge, 2001), 248-63, at 257-8.

²²⁷ Eadburh was the daughter of King Edward the Elder, who was given as an infant to the Nunnaminster. After her death c. 950, she appeared in many calendars and litanies. Thacker, “Dynastic Monasteries,” 259-60. Susan Ridyard points out that the growth of her cult in the 970s might have been the nuns’ response at the Nunnaminster to the sudden and overwhelming popularity of St. Swithun in Winchester. Susan Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England: A Study of West Saxon and East Anglian Cults* (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1988), 96-139, esp. 113-14.

²²⁸ Mærwyn (Merewenna) was appointed abbess of Romsey Abbey in 967. She is often listed with Ælflæd, whom she fostered. Paul Anthony Hayward, “St. Merewenna,” in *BEASE*, 308. It has been suggested that Mærwyn, who was the first abbess of Romsey, and St. Merewenna, who was the abbess who fostered Ælflæd, should be viewed as separate individuals. Christopher Collier, “Romsey Minster in Saxon Times,” *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 46 (1990): 41-52, at 47.

²²⁹ There are some vagaries about just who Ælflæd (Æthelflæd) was. Some claim she was the daughter of King Edgar, while others claim she was the daughter of Ealdorman Æthelwold. It does appear, however, that she was given in infancy to Romsey Abbey, where she was raised by St. Mærwyn, and subsequently

Taking a closer look at this group of women, it is clear that the majority were royal women who had become nuns. Only two clear exceptions to this trend exist: Mærwyn was not a member of the royal family (though it is possible that she fostered one), and Ælfgifu may well have been a vowess like her mother. It must briefly be noted, however, that most of what has been studied concerning female sanctity in late Anglo-Saxon England has focused on a work that rarely includes native female saints: Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*. This text is a study unto itself, so I shall limit my discussion of it to three key points: (1) Ælfric's choices (of both the source material and the way he adapted it) were often guided by his "hesitation to place explicit descriptions of disfiguration, dismemberment, and sexual violence before his lay audience";²³² (2) neither Juliana nor Margaret are included in this text; and (3) of the roughly twenty-six *vitae* included (depending upon what one considers a saint's *vita*), only nine include female saints, and of these women, only one, Æthelthryth, was Anglo-Saxon. These three elements are important because they highlight why the discussion of female sanctity must expand beyond the works of Ælfric. Regarding the first observation, the influence of the reform upon Ælfric is clear in what he most emphasizes: chastity.²³³ Stressing this above all else, he moves the focus away from the suffering of the body towards the preservation and

became abbess of Romsey herself. Collier, "Romsey Minster," 46; and Knowles, Brooke, and London, *Heads of Religious Houses*, 218.

²³⁰ Edith (961-84) was the daughter of King Edgar and Wulfthryth, and as an infant was given to Wilton Abbey. At one point, Edgar tried to remove her from the nunnery in order to have her married, but she refused to leave Wilton. Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 160-1.

²³¹ Ælfgifu, who died in 944, is described as a saint in the 955 entry found in the D-text of the *ASC*. Further, she was "the first saint to be enshrined at Shaftesbury, [and] she was linked to the community through her mother Wynflæd" (Thacker, "Dynastic Monasteries," 258-9).

²³² Trilling, "Heavenly Bodies," 250.

²³³ Catherine Cubitt, "Virginity and Misogyny in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century England," *Gender and History* 12.1 (April 2000): 1-32, at 6-11; and Clare A. Lees, *Tradition and Belief: Religious Writing in Late-Anglo-Saxon England*, *Medieval Cultures* 19 (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1999), 133-53.

healing of the body.²³⁴ As Trilling has noted, even when writing about female martyrs, Ælfric “designated [them] simply as *virgo*.”²³⁵ Interestingly, nuns themselves are rarely depicted in the *Lives of Saints*, and “[n]unneries usually feature only as the props in historical dramas.”²³⁶ Moreover, by removing many of the speeches, Ælfric portrays many of the typically talkative martyrs as unusually quiet—a quality he seems to have found appealing.²³⁷

This may explain why he does not include Juliana or Margaret, even though they were popular saints in Anglo-Saxon England. In their *passiones*, both the suffering and the saints’ voices are central, so they might not have made desirable material for him. Unlike Agatha—a tortured saint whom Ælfric did include—neither Juliana nor Margaret is able to heal her body.²³⁸ Moreover, Ælfric was educated at Winchester, where Marina was notably absent from calendars, so this, too, may help to explain her absence. Finally, it is important to move beyond (while still being in dialogue with) the study of Ælfric’s *Lives of Saints* because late Anglo-Saxon women, not just one—albeit prolific—male author, made up an essential part of what sanctity did (and did not) mean for women.

As with Chapter One, the discussion of what sanctity did *not* mean for women must begin with those who were overlooked by hagiographers. The obvious place to turn for information is the history of the nunneries during the second wave of Viking invasions (c. 991-1016). Unlike the nuns from the first wave of attacks, however, there is no account about later Anglo-Saxon nuns being martyred at the hands of the Danes.

²³⁴ Even when virgin martyrs such as Agatha and Lucy are tortured, the descriptions of their wounds are as non-graphic as possible, and these wounds are quickly healed.

²³⁵ Trilling, “Heavenly Bodies,” 268.

²³⁶ Cubitt, “Virginity and Misogyny,” 12.

²³⁷ Trilling, “Heavenly Bodies,” 255.

²³⁸ Trilling, “Heavenly Bodies,” 264.

Nonetheless, the threat would have been very real. From the history of the nunneries identified earlier in this chapter, we know that of the thirteen identifiable abbeys, only eight would survive past 1066, and none of the thirteen had an uninterrupted history during this period. Indeed, the very existence of Bradford-on-Avon as a place of refuge for the nuns of Shaftesbury highlights how real the danger was. It has likewise been suggested that in 1001 the nuns of Romsey fled northeast to their confraternity of New Minster, Winchester, which was only an hour away “on a good horse.”²³⁹ Although this theory relies on a *vita* of St. Ælfflæd written in the second half of the fourteenth century (BL, Cotton Tiberius E.i),²⁴⁰ we do know from the Parker Chronicle that Bishop’s Waltham, roughly twelve miles away from Romsey, was burned in 1001;²⁴¹ this may have served as an impetus to flee. Further, the nuns could have also fled in 994, when, as the Laud Chronicle states, the coast of Hampshire was attacked—an area that includes Romsey.²⁴²

These were not the only nuns who could well have been forced to flee. Both the Parker and the Laud Chronicles state that Wilton was burnt in 1003,²⁴³ and the Laud Chronicle states that in 1006 the Danes rode through Reading.²⁴⁴ One can presume that like its neighbor Cholsey, Reading was pillaged at this time.²⁴⁵ Moreover, the Danes harried throughout Berkshire, where Reading is located, in 1009.²⁴⁶ Another nunnery that

²³⁹ Collier, “Romsey Minster,” 41-4, at 4.

²⁴⁰ Collier, “Romsey Minster,” 47-8.

²⁴¹ Garmonsway, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 132.

²⁴² Garmonsway, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 129.

²⁴³ Garmonsway, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 134-5.

²⁴⁴ Garmonsway, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 137.

²⁴⁵ Pauline Stafford, “*Cherchez la Femme*. Queens, Queens’ Lands and Nunneries: Missing Links in the Foundation of Reading Abbey,” *History* 85 (2000): 4-27, at 8; Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 74; and Knowles, Brooke, and London, *The Heads of Religious Houses*, 218.

²⁴⁶ Garmonsway, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 139.

may have been forced to disband for a time was Barking. London was one of the primary targets of the Danes, and Barking's location just east of London on the River Thames suggests that it would have been targeted at some point by the Danes on their way to London. Not much is known about Barking's history from 991 to 1016, though given the circumstances stated above, it is reasonable to suggest that the nuns at the very least felt the pressure whenever the Danes travelled up the Thames or attacked London itself, as was the case in 994, 999, 1009, and 1012.²⁴⁷ Despite the obvious danger these three abbeys were in, Wilton and Barking made full recoveries, while Reading continued to have an unofficial community of some sort beyond 1066.

One nunnery that may not have recovered, however, was Wareham.²⁴⁸ The *Laud Chronicle* relates that in both 998 and 1015, the Danes travelled up the mouth of the River Frome and attacked the surrounding areas; given its location, Wareham was the first religious house the Danes would have reached. As discussed earlier in this chapter, Wareham had fallen out of royal favor by 982, and one wonders if the Danish attacks in the area may have served as an excuse to let the nunnery fall into ruin. In line with this is the possibility that the success of places such as Shaftesbury, the Nunnaminster, Amesbury, and Wherwell was not simply a question of royal support, but also a question of defensible locations. Were the noble and royal families, who often sent widows and unwed daughters to nunneries, learning from the events of the late-ninth century, and sending them to safer areas?²⁴⁹

²⁴⁷ Garmonsway, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 126-7, 131, 139, 143.

²⁴⁸ Foot, "Unveiling Anglo-Saxon Nuns," 24.

²⁴⁹ Sarah Foot asks a similar question in "Remembering, Forgetting and Inventing: Attitudes to the Past in England at the End of the First Viking Age," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th Series, 9 (1999): 185-200, at 195.

Indeed, had four of the more questionable nunneries existed, they, too, would have keenly felt the threat from the attacks. The area around Horton was being pillaged in 998;²⁵⁰ one legend states that Coventry was destroyed in 1016,²⁵¹ and the areas around Minster-in-Thamet, which was in a particularly vulnerable location, were attacked in 991, 994, and 1006.²⁵² While the specific details about the fates of these nunneries must remain a mystery, there can be little doubt that at the very least, the nuns lived in a threatened environment, making clear the potential need for examples of virgin martyrs.

This must certainly have been true for Abbess Leofrun, who, in 1011, was in Canterbury when she was taken captive by Swein Forkbeard along with Archbishop Ælfheah. While Leofrun has traditionally been believed to be the abbess of Minster-in-Thamet (an idea that seems to have begun because the D-text of the *ASC* states that she was the abbess of St. Mildred's),²⁵³ more recent scholarship has posited that she was the abbess of Reading, who was listed in the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster and Hyde Abbey.²⁵⁴ Indeed, had the nuns of Reading been forced to flee in 1006, it could explain the presence of Leofrun at Canterbury in 1011. While nothing is recorded about the fate of the abbess herself, the appearance of an abbess Leofrun in the c. 1021 *Liber Vitae* suggests that, unlike Archbishop Ælfheah, she survived the ordeal. One must wonder, however, why she in particular was allowed to fade from memory. While she would not have been a virgin martyr, she would still have been an example of an abbess facing persecution from

²⁵⁰ Garmonsway, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 131. One must remember, however, that an abbess of Horton was listed in the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster and Hyde Abbey c. 1021.

²⁵¹ Foot, *Veiled Women I*, 166; and Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, 566.

²⁵² Garmonsway, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 126-9, 136-7.

²⁵³ Garmonsway, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 141, n. 7; Schulenburg, "Women's Monastic Communities," 276; and Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 70.

²⁵⁴ Foot, *Veiled Women II*, 125-32; and Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses*, 103, n. 215.

the Danes. If anything, her survival would have been even more motivating to the nuns who had cause to fear a similar capture.

Fears of this type must have risen when the larger picture of religious communities was taken as a whole. Ely's great patron, Ealdorman Byrhtnoth, was killed at the Battle of Maldon,²⁵⁵ and in the decisive 1016 battle of Ashingdon (*Assadun*), Wulfsgige, the abbot of Ramsey, and "a company of monks from Ely, who had gone there with their relics to pray for an English victory" were killed.²⁵⁶ Their fatal actions echo King Æthelræd's earlier decree at a 1009 council in Bath that "when the great army comes to land ... all should go out with the relics."²⁵⁷ Moreover, masses specifically developed for "Tempore Belli" (a time of war) survive in the Missal of Robert of Jumièges, and in the Leofric Missal.²⁵⁸ While these two masses are different, the sentiment behind them is the same: both contain prayers asking God to remember the faithful in their time of troubles, and to spare them "bellorum nequitia"²⁵⁹ (from the wickedness of wars).

Such anxiety is also reflected in the surviving literature. The entry concerning the Maccabees in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, which was written in the last years of the tenth century, adapts a premise established by Isidore of Seville about the four types of war. Ælfric changes the original idea that there is a "just war when it is waged about demanding satisfaction from an agreement or for the reason of repelling enemies," to say that a "just war [is] against the cruel seamen or against other nations who desire to

²⁵⁵ Hart, "Foundation of Ramsey Abbey," 320-1.

²⁵⁶ Gransden, "Traditionalism and Continuity," 181.

²⁵⁷ Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, 194.

²⁵⁸ Wilson, *Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, 267; and Orchard, *The Leofric Missal*, Vol. I, 339-40.

²⁵⁹ Wilson, *Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, 267.

destroy our homeland.”²⁶⁰ Similar allusions are made in the *Lives of Saints*’ entries for St. Swithun, the Forty Soldiers, the Exaltation of the Cross, Kings, and a Prayer of Moses.²⁶¹

As was the case with early Anglo-Saxon England, the enemies were not invariably external. In 1046, thirty-five years after the abduction of abbess Leofrun, history seems to have repeated itself as another Swein (Godwinson, this time) “het he feccan him to þa abbedessan”²⁶² (ordered the abbess to be fetched to him), a rather diluted way of saying that he “had the abbess [of the monastery at Leominster] dragged out by force and seduced her.”²⁶³ It is possible that this event led to the end of Leominster as an independent nunnery; indeed, while an unofficial community of women resided there past the Conquest, never again would the nuns of Leominster be tenants-in-chief.²⁶⁴ The story about abbess Edgiva’s life after her abduction has been carefully edited. The entry for 1046 continues by simply stating that Swein “hæfde hi þa while [sic] þe him geliste, ond let hi syþþan faran ham”²⁶⁵ (had himself been pleased by her for awhile, and allowed her afterwards to travel home), conveniently ignoring the fact that her home had apparently, by this point, been abandoned; it would not be until 1139 that the new priory of Saints Peter and Paul would be built at the site of the destroyed monastery.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁰ J. E. Cross, “The Ethic of War in Old English,” in *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1971), 269-82, at 272, nn. 3-4.

²⁶¹ M. R. Godden, “Ælfric’s Saints’ Lives and the Problem of Miracles,” in *Sources and Relations: Studies in Honour of J. E. Cross*, ed. Marie Collins, Jocelyn Price, and Andrew Hamer, Leeds Studies in English 16 (Leeds: School of English, U of Leeds, 1985), 83-100, at 95.

²⁶² Katherine O’Brien O’Keeffe, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, vol. 5: *MS. C* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001), 109.

²⁶³ Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 69; also see Schulenburg, “Women’s Monastic Communities,” 285.

²⁶⁴ See above, n. 25; Foot, *Veiled Women II*, 103-5.

²⁶⁵ O’Brien O’Keeffe, *MS C*, 109.

²⁶⁶ Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 69.

Evidence of the internal threats faced by nuns can also be found in the law codes, which reveal that throughout the Anglo-Saxon period the internal threat to nuns was a reality that was deemed important enough (and common enough) to address explicitly in the law codes. It is decreed in the Law of Æthelræd the Unready that “gif hwa nunnan gewemme oþþe wyde wan nydnæme, gebete þæt deope for Gode ond for worolde”²⁶⁷ (if anyone should defile a nun/vowess or ravish a widow, [he] must earnestly make amends for that before God and the world). The Laws of Cnut implicitly recognize nuns as *sponsae Christi*, by lumping nuns into the same category as married women: “It is wicked adultery that a married man should commit fornication with a single woman, and much worse if with another’s wife or with a woman consecrated [to God].”²⁶⁸ Further, in his letter to the English people of 1019/20, Cnut states that any who tried to marry a nun or vowess would be excommunicated and considered an outlaw.²⁶⁹ This concept is echoed in Vercelli Homily 9, in which priests are warned that if they “hæbbe” (should have) a nun, they will be excommunicated.²⁷⁰ Interestingly, another set of laws written during roughly the same time implies that the responsibility for crimes against nuns began to extend to the woman involved, unlike the earlier law codes in which only men were held responsible for such crimes. In the Law of the Northumbrian Priests (c. 1020-

²⁶⁷ Shari Horner, “The Language of Rape in Old English Literature and Law: Views from the Anglo-Saxon(ist)s,” in *Sex and Sexuality in Anglo-Saxon England: Essays in Memory of Daniel Gillmore Calder*, ed. Carol Braun Pasternack and Lisa M. C. Weston, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 277 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2004), 149-81, at 161; and Foot, *Veiled Women I*, 122.

²⁶⁸ “Extracts from the Laws of Cnut, no. 50.1,” in *EHD*, 426.

²⁶⁹ Foot, *Veiled Women I*, 89.

²⁷⁰ Donald Scragg, ed., *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, EETS, Original Series 300 (London: Oxford U P, 1992), 161; and Elaine M. Treharne, “A Unique Old English Formula for Excommunication from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 303,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 24 (1995): 185-211, at 197-8.

30), it is stated that “If anyone lies with a nun, both are liable to pay their wergild, both he and she,”²⁷¹ yet no distinction is made between consensual and coerced sexual acts.²⁷²

One cannot help but wonder if this is a reflection of the growing belief in the corruption of nuns and vowesses at this time. Barbara Yorke looks to the contemporary history for what might have given rise to such beliefs at this time. She acknowledges that with the attacks from Cnut and his men, many women would have been left without close male kin, which could have “resulted in a rush for the cloister.”²⁷³ If this were the case, she continues, it could explain why so many nuns eventually seemed to abandon their religious houses in favor of marriage.²⁷⁴ Regardless of the reason, the effect was still the same: a growing condemnation of “bad” nuns. The wariness of nuns seems to begin earlier, however; in Æthelwold’s account of Edgar’s establishment of monasteries (c. 970 x 984), the reformer warns abbesses that they must not give their estates to their kin, “ne for sceatte ne lyffetunge”²⁷⁵ (neither for wealth, nor flattery). Most accusation, however, addressed the nuns’ sexuality. Ælfric, who was a champion of chastity, was one who voiced such concerns. In his homily on Judith, he concludes by admonishing “contemporary *nunnan* for sexual laxity and reminds them of the gravity of the sin of fornication.”²⁷⁶ Further, in a letter to Wulfstan written c. 1002/5, Ælfric repeated this

²⁷¹ “The Law of the Northumbrian Priests, no. 63,” in *EHD*, 438.

²⁷² This is similar to *II Cnut*, which states that any widow who, either voluntarily or involuntarily, marries within the first year after her husband’s death will lose all her possessions, suggesting that she “is somehow responsible for her abduction unless she can escape and prove her innocence” (Richards and Stanfield, “Concepts of Anglo-Saxon Women,” 96).

²⁷³ Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses*, 90.

²⁷⁴ Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses*, 90.

²⁷⁵ Æthelwold, “An Account of King Edgar’s Establishment of Monasteries,” 153.

²⁷⁶ Cubitt, “Virginity and Misogyny,” 14. See also Mary Clayton, “Ælfric’s *Judith*: Manipulative or Manipulated?” *Anglo-Saxon England* 23 (1994): 215-27.

accusation by condemning “the offspring of adulterers and those born of *nonnae*.”²⁷⁷ It is worth questioning whether in these cases *nunne* strictly referred to vowesses, or if cloistered nuns were also included among the ranks of sinners.

It was not always the case that nuns left voluntarily, however. King Edgar’s penchant for abducting nuns was well-known, leading to a severe reprimand from the Church, and the explicit addendum found in the *Regularis Concordia* stating that the queen—not the king—was to be the guardian of nuns in order to prevent scandal.²⁷⁸ Thus, even kings who were candidates for canonization themselves, as King Edgar had been thanks to his support of the Benedictine reform, were accused of sinning with nuns.²⁷⁹ Indeed, one of the nuns who was able to resist Edgar’s advances, Wulfhild of Barking, would ultimately be recognized as a saint herself for the successful defense of her virginity.²⁸⁰

Thus, we are left with the final question: just who were the “silenced women” in later Anglo-Saxon England? They most certainly would have included the Anglo-Saxon women Wulfstan describes in his *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, who were jointly purchased by men who ravaged them “just like dogs, who do not care about filth; and then sell for a price out of the land into the power of strangers God’s creature and his own purchase.”²⁸¹ Also included in this community of silenced women are the abbesses abducted by male leaders during the eleventh century, and the many others who no doubt fled to avoid a

²⁷⁷ Foot, *Veiled Women I*, 102.

²⁷⁸ Yorke, ““Sisters Under the Skin?”” 100; and Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex*, 140-1.

²⁷⁹ Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, 140-1.

²⁸⁰ Wulfhild’s life was recorded by Goscelin of Saint-Bertin in early-eleventh-century England. For details on this saint, see Susan Millinger, “Humility and Power: Anglo-Saxon Nuns in Anglo-Norman Hagiography,” in *Medieval Religious Women, 1: Distant Echoes*, ed. John A. Nichols and Lillian Thomas Shank, *Cistercian Studies 71* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1984), 115-29, esp. 117-18.

²⁸¹ Wulfstan, “Sermon of the Wolf to the English,” in *EHD*, 857.

similar fate. While some, such as Wulfhild of Barking, would eventually be regarded as saints, this recognition would not occur until after the Conquest. There was no lack of native material for the hagiographers to draw upon when considering the virgin martyr, yet for all this, these women were effectively silenced.

This silencing occurred for a variety of socio-political reasons, the most telling of which is perhaps that the stories of these native women would have been too close for comfort for the intended audiences. The unsettling nature behind reliving the persecution of Anglo-Saxon women would have partially been an effect of the guilt people (usually men) were expected to have for their failure to protect these women. Wulfstan addresses this in his *Sermo Lupi*: “And often ten or a dozen, one after another, insult disgracefully the thegn’s wife, and sometimes his daughter or near kinswoman, whilst he looks on, who considered himself brave and mighty and stout enough before that happened.”²⁸² This idea is not a new one; in her study of the Old English poem *Judith*, Alexandra Hennessey Olsen connects the idea of male guilt to claims that “the poem is intended to galvanize the men into action by shaming those noblemen in the audience who have watched the abuse of their wives, daughters, and kinswomen”²⁸³ without taking action. Such shaming could therefore be overt, as it is in the *Sermo Lupi*, or implied, as it is in *Judith*.

Similarly telling of the desire to forget recent travesties is the rampant criticism surrounding King Æthelræd’s desire to do the same. In his treaty with the Viking army, clause 6.1 states: “Concerning all the slaughter and all the harrying and all the injuries which were committed before the truce was established, all of them are to be dismissed,

²⁸² Wulfstan, “Sermon of the Wolf to the English,” in *EHD*, 857-8.

²⁸³ Hennessey Olsen, “Inversion and Political Purpose,” 293.

and no one is to avenge it or ask for compensation.”²⁸⁴ Indeed, the desire to forget seems to be more of an Anglo-Saxon impulse than a later attempt by the Danes to whitewash history. For evidence of public atonement by the Danes, one need only to consider Cnut’s 1023 translation of Archbishop Ælfheah, who had been martyred by the Danes in 1012, from London to Canterbury.²⁸⁵ The process of Anglo-Saxon sanitization, it seems, reflects the desire to forget the manifold ways in which these silenced women had been failed, yet as the *Sermo Lupi* reveals, these failures could never be completely erased from memory.

We can find the truth of this when we turn back to Cotton Tiberius A.iii, which contains Ælfric’s homily for the sixth Sunday after Pentecost (*Catholic Homilies* [hereafter, *CH*] II.xiv). Weaved into matters of liturgy and faith are condemnations of the Anglo-Saxons, who “healdað wace ... Godes gesetryssa”²⁸⁶ (negligently guard the law of God), replacing the law of God with the newly created, and very corrupt, laws of men. Equating yielding to the Danes with paying homage to the devil, Ælfric finally asks, “bið æfre wyrse ænig þing on worlde þonne swylc dæd is ongean Drihten, and hine sylfne besence on ðam ecum suslum, ælfremod fram Gode, and fram eallum his halgum?”²⁸⁷ (is there ever anything worse in the world than such a deed [that] is against his own Lord, and [that he] drowns himself in the eternal torment, alienated from God, and from all His saints?). The audience does not have to look far for guidance; immediately preceding this

²⁸⁴ “King Ethelred’s Treaty with the Viking Army,” in *EHD*, 402.

²⁸⁵ Garmonsway, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 156-7.

²⁸⁶ John C. Pope, ed., *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection*, Vol. II, EETS, Original Series 260 (London: Oxford U P, 1968), 519, lines 98-9.

²⁸⁷ Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric*, Vol. II, 521, lines 136-9.

scathing homily is a *passio* about one of the foremost examples of strength and resistance: Margaret.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONTINUING THE TRADITION: THE APPEAL OF JULIANA AND MARGARET IN LATE ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND

By 948, both Juliana and Margaret had become staples of Anglo-Saxon veneration, so the study of their later appeal is less about how they became established in a place and time so far removed from their own, and more about how Anglo-Saxon culture developed in such a way that their stories continued to be appealing. Hints of the growing appeal of Margaret, for example, can be found at the end of her Old English *passiones*. The Tiberius A.iii *passio* tells the audience that wherever her relics were kept, “ne genealæcþ þær naþor ne yfel ne se unclæne gast” (neither evil nor the unclean spirit will approach there),¹ and the CCCC 303 *passio* explains that protection would be given to those who give alms in her name.² Even the Cotton Otho B.x *passio*, for which only the *incipit* and *explicit* survive, instructs the audience: “doþ gemynd þare halgan fæmnan, Sancta Margaretan, and Sancta Marian, and on heora ðanc ælmessan syllað” (commemorate the holy virgins St. Margaret and St. Mary and give alms for their sakes).³ With such emphatic statements as these, it is not difficult to imagine the Anglo-Saxon audience being motivated to venerate her relics that, by this point, were at Bath, Exeter, and Winchester.

Just as the actual presence of Margaret’s relics in England could well have affected the way her *passio* impacted the audience, so, too, could the circumstances surrounding the second wave of Viking invasions have influenced the audience’s

¹ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 134-5.

² Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 168-9.

³ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 95.

reactions. Of particular interest are both the native Anglo-Saxons who willingly submitted to the Danes, and those who actively supported the Danes. Tellingly, a major theme in the literature from this period was the line drawn between those who were loyal (even unto death) and those who either fled or turned traitor.⁴ With this in mind, we can better understand how a late Anglo-Saxon audience would react to the moment in the Harley 3020 *passio* of Juliana when Eleusius responds to Juliana's demand that he must convert to Christianity. He refuses because he fears that if the emperor hears of it, "capud meum amputabit"⁵ (he will cut off my head). Eleusius's cowardice in this moment strongly echoes the cowardice of some Anglo-Saxons that was often lamented by homilists such as Wulfstan and Ælfric. Moreover, this detail is absent from both the BNF, lat. 10861 *passio* (which is very similar to the Harley 3020 *passio*), and the *passio* redacted by the Bollandists.⁶

Similarly reminiscent of these circumstances are the many references to bad advisers found in the *passiones* of Margaret. After Margaret is beaten and bleeding, a crowd of onlookers begs her to worship the pagan idols in order to make the torture cease. In both the Tiberius and the CCCC *passiones*, she responds almost violently, labeling them "yfelan þehteras" (evil counsellors)⁷ and "geleasan witan" (false advisers).⁸ Moreover, Olibrius turns to his council of thegns for advice on how best to defile

⁴ This idea has been explored in detail by Jonathan Wilcox, in his article, "The Battle of Maldon and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 979-1016: A Winning Combination," *Proceedings of the Medieval Association of the Midwest* 3 (1996 for 1995): 31-50.

⁵ London, BL, Harley 3020, fol. 98v. All editions and translations for London, BL, Harley 3020 are my own.

⁶ In both cases, rather than refusing to convert, Eleusius immediately finds Affricanus to complain about Juliana's demand. Lapidge, "Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*," 157; and Strunk, *Juliana*, 34.

⁷ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 118-9.

⁸ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 158-9.

(“bismærian”)⁹ the saint, an episode not found in the standard BHL 5303 version of her *passio*,¹⁰ suggesting that the scribe wanted to highlight the important role of bad advice for his audience. We need only look to the moniker of the king during the late-tenth and early-eleventh centuries, Æthelræd Unræd (“ill counsel”), to understand why details such as these would resonate with the Anglo-Saxons.

While these three details (the relics of Margaret, cowardice, and bad advisers) represent but a small fraction of possible examples, they still highlight the ways in which these *passiones* would have appealed to a late Anglo-Saxon audience. For a more detailed understanding of this appeal, we must return to the elements that were outlined in Chapter Two—the saint’s pagan parents; the refusal to worship “deaf and dumb” idols; the two tortures (being hung and beaten, and being threatened with a vessel of boiling liquid); the allusions to the Harrowing of Hell; and the Pentcostal images—and examine how these traditions developed after 948. Since understandings of these elements did not remain static, a later Anglo-Saxon audience would interpret the *passiones* of Juliana and Margaret somewhat differently from their earlier counterparts.

In order to trace these new developments, the Old English *passiones* of Margaret found in BL, Cotton Tiberius A.iii (s. xi^{med}) and CCCC 303 (s. xii^{med}), and the *incipit* and *explicit* from BL, Cotton Otho B.x (s. xi¹) will be examined. Likewise, Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale 202 (s. ix²), which contains a Latin *passio* of Margaret, will be briefly discussed, as it arrived in England by the mid-eleventh century. This *passio* strongly resembles the *passio* found in BNF, lat. 5574, which was discussed at length in

⁹ Shari Horner discusses how this verb specifically signifies being defiled or raped. Horner, “The Language of Rape,” 167-78.

¹⁰ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 63, 156.

Chapter Two. While no edition of the Saint-Omer *passio* exists, it was used by Clayton and Magennis to supplement any omissions in BNF, lat. 5574, only these supplements will be focused on here. Likewise, I will study the new developments concerning the *passio* of Juliana found in Harley 3020 (s.x^{ex}/xiⁱⁿ). Since this *passio* is part of the same recension as the earlier BNF, lat. 10861 *passio* (as I argue in Chapter Three), many of the details remain the same, and shall not be repeated here. As is the case with all the aforementioned *passiones*, changes to the texts represent but one of the two central concerns of this chapter; the other concern is how new social, legal, political, and theological developments would have affected a later Anglo-Saxon audience's reception of the texts.

Legal, Political, and Social Elements

The Saint and Her Parents

Margaret's *passio* begins, as is customary, by expounding upon the differences between the saint and her parents. In the Tiberius version of Margaret's *passio*, this contrast is explicit:

Seo eadiga Margareta wæs Ðeodosius dohtor; se wæs þære hæþenre
hehfæder. Deofolgeld he wurþode and fædde his dohtor; seo wæs mid
Halgum Gaste gefylled and þurh fulwiht heo wæs geedniwod.

(The blessed Margaret was the daughter of Theodosius; he was the
patriarch of the heathens. He worshipped idols and he brought up his
daughter; she was filled with the Holy Ghost and she was renewed through
baptism.)¹¹

¹¹ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 112-13.

This passage is significant, since it marks the first time in this study that there has been any suggestion of Theodosius trying to raise Margaret himself. Moreover, the word “fædde” comes from “fedan,” which means that she was not simply brought up by her father, she was nourished and educated by him.¹² The Tiberius story continues, however, to mention that once Margaret’s mother had died, she was raised by her foster mother near, but not in, the city of Antioch. Importantly, “fedan” is also the word used to describe the positive way in which Margaret’s foster mother raised her.¹³ It is indeed in the house of her foster mother that she first hears tales of Christian martyrs, and is inspired by their actions. The careful use of language here makes Theodosius’s subsequent actions all the more dramatic and odious. Immediately after the foster mother is introduced, it is revealed that Margaret “wæs hire fæder swiþe lap”¹⁴ (was very loathsome to her father).

This story is slightly altered in the CCCC version, which removes all possible sympathy for Theodosius. The *passio* begins by claiming that once Theodosius, who was a king, not a patriarch of heathens, discovered his child was a girl, he “hit het ut aweopan” (ordered it [her] to be cast out).¹⁵ Ironically, right before Olibrius had Margaret locked in the prison, his frustration led him to accuse the saint of doing “þines fæðeres weorc, þæt is se deofol self” (your father’s work, who is the devil himself).¹⁶ While Margaret would only do the work of her spiritual father, it is perhaps not a stretch to call Theodosius the devil himself. Indeed, in this telling his actions were not motivated by the

¹² “Fedan,” in *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, 273.

¹³ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 112.

¹⁴ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 114.

¹⁵ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 152-3.

¹⁶ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 160-1.

death of Margaret's mother, who appears to be still alive. Maternal images are likewise marginalized; not only is Margaret's biological mother silent, her foster mother becomes a footnote to the man who finds her when she is first abandoned—Theotimus. While it is said that after finding Margaret, he secured her to a place to be “fedenne”¹⁷ (brought up), it is not until later that a foster mother is even mentioned, and the only detail given about her is the fact that she was the one who ordered the saint to go to the market where Olibrius first sees her.¹⁸ Theotimus, on the other hand, was not only the one to name her, but also the one to teach and train her in the ways of Christianity.¹⁹

Once Margaret is locked in the prison, Theotimus, who at this point is explicitly referred to as her “fosterfæder” (foster father), brings her water and bread, and copies down her story.²⁰ Theotimus, however, is not the only one to claim this title. Following a series of tortures at the end of the *passio*, a voice from heaven declares that “‘Ic eom þin godfæder and þu min goddohtor’” (‘I am your godfather and you are my goddaughter’).²¹ Parental roles, as might be expected in a religious text, therefore shift from the physical to the spiritual realm. The CCCC *passio* places a unique stress on the idea of male figures operating as the godparents to a female youth—a practice almost unheard of in Anglo-Saxon England. While “cross-sex sponsorship” was practiced in Byzantine and Roman societies, and had even been approved by Theodore in *Penitential* 2.4, “his [Theodore’s] opinion did not, however, change the Anglo-Saxon custom of same-sex sponsorship,

¹⁷ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 152.

¹⁸ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 154-5.

¹⁹ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 152-3.

²⁰ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 160-1.

²¹ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 168-9.

which explains why Anglo-Saxon texts never prohibited marriage between godparent and godchild.”²²

Moreover, the importance of spiritual parenthood is echoed in the idea that fostering often served as a metaphor for oblation. Brian McFadden has connected this idea directly to the *passio* of Margaret, claiming that “[i]n addition to the monks and child oblates, monasteries would often have an attached lay community ... and that parallel between Marina [Margaret] and an oblate suggests an audience of people in the religious life.”²³ This metaphor would have been particularly relevant to the Anglo-Saxons who lived in a society that was greatly impacted by monastic reform. Therefore, Theotimus arguably serves as a model for Christian foster fathers.

Where Theotimus succeeded, however, Margaret’s parents and the parents of Juliana failed. The details in Harley 3020 concerning Juliana’s parents are the same as those found in BNF, lat. 10861. New light can be shed, however, on one of Juliana’s speeches asking for deliverance from her pagan persecutors. Immediately after being thrown in prison, Juliana prays: “deduc me in portum tuum quomodo deduxisti fugientes ex egypto filios israhel per mare siccum et inimicos illorum operuit mare. Exaudi me domine et extingue tyrannum qui contra me surrexit”²⁴ (lead me into Your harbor just as You led the sons of Israel fleeing from Egypt through the dry sea, and covered their enemies with the sea. Hear me, Lord, and destroy the tyrant who has risen up against me). This prayer is remarkably similar to the mass “Contra Paganos”²⁵ (against the pagans)

²² Lynch, *Christianizing Kinship*, 162-3, at 163.

²³ Brian McFadden, “‘The Books of Life’: Theotimus as Narrator of Identity in the Old English Lives of St. Margaret,” *English Studies* 86.6 (December 2005): 473-92, at 476.

²⁴ London, BL, Harley 3020, fol. 100v.

²⁵ Wilson, *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, 268; and Orchard, *The Leofric Missal*, Vol. II, 341-2.

found in the Leofric Missal, a manuscript that had arrived in England sometime during the tenth century.²⁶ In this mass, the parishioners pray for help from God: “sicut liberasti filios israhel de manibus aegiptiorum, ita libera populum tuum christianum de oppensione paganorum”²⁷ (just as You freed the sons of Israel from the hands of the Egyptians, now free Your people from the oppression of pagans). Juliana’s prayer is thus framed in the same language that the later Anglo-Saxons would use when confronted with a pagan threat.

It should be noted, however, that Juliana’s prayer was not an addition made by the Harley 3020 scribe, since a very similar prayer can be found in the BNF, lat. 10861 *passio*.²⁸ The change is thus not to the text, but to the reception of the text, since there is no evidence that an early Anglo-Saxon audience would have known the “Contra Paganos” mass. Even though the Anglo-Saxons had practiced Christianity for centuries by the time the Leofric Missal had arrived in England, a fear of pagans was nevertheless still present. Indeed, a later Anglo-Saxon scribe recognized a need to update this mass, and later additions were made into the margins of the manuscript.²⁹ Moreover, this mass is tellingly very similar to the ones for a time of war that were discussed in the previous chapter, making one wonder if Anglo-Saxons would have equated such prayers for deliverance from pagans to the invasions by the Danes in the late-tenth and early-eleventh centuries.

²⁶ Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 95.

²⁷ Orchard, *The Leofric Missal*, Vol. II, 341.

²⁸ The second half of this prayer is phrased differently in BNF, lat. 10861, though the meaning is still the same. Following “per mare,” it reads: “sicut per terram (inimicos autem illorum operuit mare). Et me, Domine, exaudi et extingue tyrannum qui contra me exsurrexit” (Lapidge, “Cynwulf and the *Passio S. Juliana*,” 159). The phrasing in the BNF, lat. 10861 text can also be found in the *passio* redacted by the Bollandists. Strunk, *Juliana*, 37.

²⁹ Orchard, *The Leofric Missal*, Vol. II, 341.

Deaf and Dumb Idols

Central to the way pagans are portrayed in these works is their worship of literally senseless idols. In the case of Juliana, this type of worship further separates her from her pagan father. While in the BNF, lat. 10861 *passio* Juliana responds to her father's desire for her to worship idols by emphatically telling him: "Non credo, non adoro, non sacrifico idolis surdis et mutis"³⁰ (I do not believe in, or honor, or sacrifice to the deaf and mute idols), in the Harley 3020 *passio*, Juliana expands the list of senseless qualities to include idols that are "cecis"³¹ (blind).

Descriptions concerning the senselessness of idols are expanded even more elaborately in the CCCC *passio* of Margaret.³² This text begins with a detailed explanation of the idols worshipped by pagans; whereas they were simply the "handiwork of men"³³ in both the BNF, lat. 5574 and the Tiberius *passiones*, here it is said that the pagans "hæfdon heom geworht godes of golde and of seolfre; þa wæron dumbe and deafe and blinde" (had made gods for themselves from gold and silver; these were dumb and deaf and blind).³⁴ This *passio*'s focus on the detail and nature of idols and idolatry is revealed once more when Margaret refuses to worship the pagan gods because "hi syndon dumbe and deafe and blinde and mid drycraefte geworhte" (they are dumb and deaf and blind and created by sorcery).³⁵

³⁰ Lapidge, "Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*," 157.

³¹ London, BL, Harley 3020, fol. 98r. "Cecis" is also absent from the *passio* redacted by the Bollandists. Strunk, *Juliana*, 35.

³² This is the subject of Elaine Treharne's study of the *passio* in CCCC 303. Treharne, "'They Should Not Worship Devils,'" 221-36.

³³ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 112-13, 194-5.

³⁴ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 152-3.

³⁵ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 158-9.

The issue of senselessness is not limited to the physical world; indeed, it is a metaphor for spiritual senselessness within the *passiones*. As such, the nature of the idols is reflected in the nature and actions of the characters: “Olibrius, for example, is inactive, doing nothing for himself other than worshipping his gods,”³⁶ while Margaret “is alert, from the beginning, to what goes on about her, hearing and seeing, and making a point of reading books to discover the history of the contemporary persecutions.”³⁷ Given the senselessness of Olibrius, it is probable that he is one of those whom the second demon claims to have deceived in the interrogation scene: ““Ic hig ableonde fram geleafan and ic hi gedyde ofergeotan þa heofenlican gesælþe”” (I blinded them from their faith and caused them to forget heavenly wisdom).³⁸ The demon’s sin, then, is his ability to make others, like Olibrius, mirror his own senselessness. Conversely, Margaret’s sense is made explicit at the very beginning of the CCCC text. This *passio* very unusually begins with Margaret preaching to the pagans before she is persecuted, and asking them to “[f]orwyrpað þa deadan godas þe ge her before to gebugan, þe beoð mid mannes handen gegrafena” ([r]eject the dead gods to whom you have submitted up to now, who are carved by the hands of men).³⁹

This preaching dovetails with the end of the story, when she asks God that no children be born “ne dumb, ne deaf, ne blind” (dumb or deaf or blind)⁴⁰ wherever her *passio* is kept. Further, both of the Old English *passiones* mention the healing power of

³⁶ Treharne, “They Should Not Worship Devils,” 225.

³⁷ Treharne, “They Should Not Worship Devils,” 226.

³⁸ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 126-7.

³⁹ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 152-3.

⁴⁰ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 168-9.

Margaret's relics; in the CCCC text, the "untruman"⁴¹ (infirm) are healed, and in the Tiberius text, "ealle þa þe wannhale wæon, healtte and blinde, dumbe and deafe" (all who were ill, the lame and the blind, the dumb and the deaf)⁴² were healed. This final scene is one that appears in the part of the Saint-Omer *passio* used to supplement the edition of BNF, lat. 5574. Here, the list of the "senseless" maladies is greatly expanded: "infirmi, ceci, claudi, surdi, debiles, impotens omnes ueniebant et tangebant corpus beatae Margaritae, et omnes salui fiebant" (all the sick, blind, lame, deaf, weak and feeble came and touched the body of the blessed Margaret, and they all became well).⁴³ As was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, details such as these may have encouraged pilgrims to visit the Anglo-Saxon sites that by this time housed the relics of Margaret.

Later Old English literature frequently linked the healing of deafness and muteness to the image of Christ as the Divine Physician. Thus, when Margaret assumes a similar role, it is reasonable to conclude that a later Anglo-Saxon audience would have recognized the fact that the healing of these physical ailments often served as a metaphor for the healing of spiritual ailments. For example, in the poems "Soul and Body I" (which survives in the tenth-century Vercelli Book) and "Soul and Body II" (which survives in the tenth-century Exeter Book), the damned soul laments to the damned body that "[e]art ðu nu dumb ond deaf, ne synt þine dreamas awiht"⁴⁴ ([n]ow you are mute and deaf, your joys are nothing). Like the damned soul and body, Olibrius and Eleusius prove

⁴¹ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 170-1.

⁴² Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 136-7.

⁴³ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 216-17.

⁴⁴ "Soul and Body I," in *The Vercelli Book*, ed. George Philip Krapp, *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, Vol. II (New York: Columbia U P, 1932), 56, line 65. "Soul and Body II" has almost the exact same phrasing, though "nu" is omitted, and "sindon" is used instead of "synt." "Soul and Body II," in *The Exeter Book*, 176, line 60.

themselves to be beyond healing. This deliberate and damning senselessness takes shape in Ælfric's Supplemental Homily II, which was to be read on the first Friday in Lent. Here, it is explained that "þa beoþ deaf þe (Drihtnes) hæsum / nellað gehyrsumian"⁴⁵ (they are deaf, those who do not wish to obey the commands of the Lord)—an aside that spells out the exact problem with Eleusius and Olibrius.

As was the case with the earlier literature discussed in Chapter Two, understandings of "deaf and dumb," or "surdis et mutis," were rooted within the tradition of Christ's miracles. This continuing tradition is most readily apparent in the homiletic evidence, such as Ælfric's Supplemental Homily IV, which was to be read on the third Sunday of Lent. In this homily, Ælfric describes how Christ healed a man who "dumb and ablend deoflice wedde" (was devilishly mad, mute, and blind) by driving out the "hetelan deofol"⁴⁶ (evil devil). Ælfric returns to this theme about fifty lines later when he describes once more how Christ saved a man "fram his dumbnysse þæs deofolican bendas [sic], / and fram þæræ blindnysse þe hine ablende se deofol"⁴⁷ (from his muteness of the devilish fetter, and from the blindness with which the devil blinded him).

Homilies do not just provide evidence concerning the specifically "dumb and deaf," however; they also provide evidence concerning Anglo-Saxon attitudes towards idolatry.⁴⁸ Most famous for this are the two homilies entitled "De Falsis Diis," one by Ælfric, and one by Wulfstan. Ælfric's homily, which is preserved in its complete form in

⁴⁵ John C. Pope, ed., *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection*, Vol. I, EETS, Original Series 259 (London: Oxford U P, 1967), 233, lines 80-1.

⁴⁶ Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric I*, 264-5, lines 6-8.

⁴⁷ Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric I*, 268, lines 61-2.

⁴⁸ Two other homiletic examples not discussed here are Christ's healing of the "deaf and dumb" in Ælfric's Supplemental Homily XVII for the twelfth Sunday after the Octave of Pentecost (Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric*, Vol. II, esp. 568-73, lines 25-45, 82-151), and the senselessness of idols discussed in Ælfric's *CH I.xxvi* for the martyrdom of Peter and Paul (Peter Clemons, ed., *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies, The First Series: Text*, EETS, Extra Series 17 [Oxford: Oxford U P, 1997], 389, lines 40-4).

the early-eleventh-century CCCC 178,⁴⁹ was one of three general homilies that followed the *vitae* in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*.⁵⁰ Lines 99-209 explore in detail the particular heathen gods and practices of the Danes, an interest probably piqued by the fact that the Anglo-Saxons were in the midst of the second wave of Viking invasions at the time this was composed.⁵¹ Euhemerism is central to this homily, as the heathen gods are, according to Ælfric, simply very corrupt men put into positions of power by the devil: “Se syrwienda deofol, þe swicað embe mancyn, / gebrohte þa hæþenan on þæt healice gedwyld, / þæt hi swa fúle men him fundon to godum”⁵² (the contriving devil, who deceives in regard to mankind, brought the heathens into that egregious heresy, that they considered such corrupt men as gods).

Like the pagans in the beginning of the CCCC *passio*, the pagans here were said to have made images of these false gods “sume of smætum golde, and þa asmeadan mid cræfte, / sume of hwitum seolfre, sume eac of stanum”⁵³ (some from pure gold, and they devise with skill, some from white silver, also some from stone). The devils would then inhabit these icons and lead men astray; afterwards, a man of God would exorcize the devils, making the icons completely senseless once more. Ælfric goes on to provide a host of examples that highlight this pattern, one of which is the dragon in Babylon—a story that only appears in the longer, Greek version of the Book of Daniel. This dragon was worshipped as a god until the prophet Daniel fed the dragon a deadly concoction,

⁴⁹ Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 32. It also survives in partial form in another six manuscripts. Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric II*, 667.

⁵⁰ Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric II*, 667.

⁵¹ Clare Lees notes that this section does not simply serve the purpose of condemning the Danes; it also reflects an interest in religious origins: “If this tract is one of Ælfric’s responses to the Danes, however, it is a response that also speaks more generally to the late tenth-century interest in cultural origins” (Lees, *Tradition and Belief*, 64).

⁵² Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric II*, 685-6, lines 159-61.

⁵³ Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric II*, 687, lines 191-2.

thus making him able “butan wæpnum mihte þone wurm acwellan”⁵⁴ (to kill the dragon without weapons)—an image strongly reminiscent of Margaret’s slaying of a demonic dragon.

Ælfric uses this same language in *CHI.i* (“De Initio Creaturae”), in which he provides a succinct history of major biblical events. Ælfric leads up to Noah by describing the growing idolatry of the people, who “worhton him anlicnyssa. some of golde some of seolfre some eac of stane some of treowe. and sceopon him naman”⁵⁵ (made images for themselves—some from gold, some from silver, also some from stone, some from wood—and created names for them). Idolatry is thus considered a major offense, one that is compounded by the pagans’ naming of the idols, which serves as a poor mockery of Adam’s naming of the animals.⁵⁶

Wulfstan’s homily, “De Falsis Diis,” which survives in late-eleventh-century Oxford, Bodleian, Hatton MS 113,⁵⁷ is an adaptation of lines 72-161 of Ælfric’s homily of the same name.⁵⁸ The main focus is thus the heathenism of the Danes, and Wulfstan goes as far as to comment that heathenism did great harm, “and gyt dereð”⁵⁹ (and still does). In this way, Wulfstan is pointing a finger of blame at his own audience, once more suggesting that texts addressing idolatry were still relevant to the Anglo-Saxons. The tone of Wulfstan’s homily, however, not surprisingly moves away from the theological concerns of Ælfric in order to focus more on the juridical implications of idolatry.⁶⁰ Thus,

⁵⁴ Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric II*, 701, line 443.

⁵⁵ Clemons, *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies*, 186, lines 212-3.

⁵⁶ One wonders if Theotimus’s naming of Margaret in the CCC text was an example of “proper” naming.

⁵⁷ Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 100.

⁵⁸ Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric II*, 668.

⁵⁹ Dorothy Bethurum, ed., *The Homilies of Wulfstan* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1957), 221.

⁶⁰ This shift is also noted in Lees, *Tradition and Belief*, 48.

Wulfstan draws his homily to a close by pointing out that the devil deceives people not only into making corrupt men into gods, but also into making “heora fulan lust heom to lage sylfum”⁶¹ (their corrupt lusts as a law for themselves). The practical warning against idolatry is laid bare for his audience.

The surviving missals also address idolatry in a similar manner. In a section entitled “Item ad Caticuminum ex Pagano Faciendum”⁶² (Also to the Catechumen Who Will Be Fashioned from a Pagan) found in the Missal of Robert of Jumièges, the Christians-in-training are warned: “Horresce idola, respue simulacra”⁶³ (dread idols, reject images). Clearly, abandoning this practice would have been considered one of the largest hurdles pagans would have to overcome before their conversion—appropriately, this is also the practice Eleusius and Olibrius appear least willing to renounce.

Concerns about idolatry can also be found in the surviving law codes. *II Cnut 5* forbids all heathen practice, with code 5.1 expounding upon this, so there is no possible room for a misunderstanding: “It is heathen practice if one worships idols, namely if one worships heathen gods ... or if one practices witchcraft or encompasses death by any means, either by sacrifice or divination, or takes any part in such delusions.”⁶⁴ The Law of the Northumbrian Priests contains similar passages. Article 47 outlaws all heathen practices, and article 48 continues by condemning any man “who henceforth carries on any heathen practice, either by sacrifice or divination, or practises witchcraft by any means, or worship of idols, he is to pay, if he is a king’s thegn, 10 half-marks, half to

⁶¹ Bethurum, *Homilies of Wulfstan*, 224.

⁶² Wilson, *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, 101.

⁶³ Wilson, *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, 101.

⁶⁴ Whitelock, *EHD*, no. 50, 420.

Christ, half to the king.”⁶⁵ Clauses 49-54.1 of this same code outline punishments for the various ranks of society, and what to do if someone denies such charges. The complexity of such laws suggests a practical application of them, as opposed to nominal laws that tended towards vagueness, and were kept more for the sake of tradition than anything else. Senselessness and idolatry therefore continued to be major concerns in later Anglo-Saxon England. Whereas earlier understandings of these issues were primarily limited to the knowledge of Christ’s miracles, and secular punishments for related crimes, later understandings had become increasingly sophisticated, expanding into the realms of theological inquiries into the nature and origin of pagan gods.

High Beams and Vessels of Liquid

Just as the pagan persecutors confuse senseless idols for gods (that is, the physical for the spiritual), so, too, do they confuse the saints’ spiritual strengths for physical weaknesses. Not realizing that their power comes from God, the persecutors adhere to the belief that victory exists only on the physical plane. Scenes of torture, therefore, are central to these narratives and include two specific forms of torment: the saints are hung and beaten, and they are threatened with a vessel of liquid. Notably, the first type of torture, which is the one that actually results in physical harm, tends to emphasize the biological femaleness of the saints; while at first this may seem incongruous in stories about virgins, details such as these highlight the confusion between the physical and the spiritual.

⁶⁵ Whitelock, *EHD*, no. 53, 437.

In the CCCC *passio* the hanging scene is particularly graphic. Whereas Margaret is beaten with thin rods in the Tiberius text,⁶⁶ here she is beaten with thick sticks,⁶⁷ suggesting a heavier impact. Margaret is still stripped naked, as she is in the BNF, lat. 5574 and Tiberius *passiones*, yet unlike these other two texts, the crowd of onlookers in CCCC is no longer limited to women, further complicating her nudity. Moreover, this scene extends beyond both the BNF, lat. 5574 and the Tiberius versions in a gruesome way. Frustrated with her steadfast faith, Olibrius orders Margaret to be “be þan fexe upahon and bæd wyrcaþ scearpa piles and het wrecen between flæsce and bane” (hung up by the hair and he commanded sharp pointed sticks to be made and ordered that they be driven between flesh and bone).⁶⁸ Not only do these details make this torture all the more graphic, they also mark the first time that Margaret is hung specifically by her hair in the Insular tellings of this story.

Similarly, new details appear in the second, and final hanging of Margaret. Whereas in the BNF, lat. 5574 and Tiberius *passiones*, Olibrius orders his men to hang Margaret, and “mid kandelum byrnan” (to burn her with torches),⁶⁹ in the CCCC *passio* Margaret is once more stripped naked, hung “bi þan fotum” (by the feet),⁷⁰ and pummeled with hot stones. Not only does this text expose her body to a public gaze for a second time, this scene also echoes the death of St. Peter, who was crucified upside down. Peter’s martyrdom was certainly well known in Anglo-Saxon England (as it was

⁶⁶ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 116-19, at 116-17.

⁶⁷ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 158-9.

⁶⁸ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 160-1.

⁶⁹ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 128-9. The BNF, lat. 5774 *passio* describes how Margaret was hung, and “cum lampadibus ardentibus incendi” (burned with flaming torches). Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 210-11.

⁷⁰ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 166-7.

throughout all of Western Christendom), and is depicted on folio 95v of the Benedictional of St. Æthelwold (London, BL, Additional MS 49598)⁷¹ and on the eleventh-century cross at Aycliffe Church in County Durham.⁷² The visual drama of this scene could account for its appearance in the CCCC *passio*, which itself is a dramatic portrayal of martyrdom. Following Margaret's graphic torture, the crowd of false advisers from earlier returns, and this time they actively engage in the torture by throwing the hot stones at the saint,⁷³ another detail absent in the two earlier *passiones*, where they instead function as complicit voyeurs. Throughout all this, Margaret remains victoriously silent.

While the first form of torture highlights the ability of the saints to withstand pain, the second form is marked for the saints' lack of pain due to divine intervention. When Margaret is faced with a lead vessel filled with boiling water in the Tiberius *passio*, she prays for the liquid to be converted into a "fulwihtes bæpe" (a bath of baptism)⁷⁴—a wish that is implicitly granted with the immediate arrival of a dove, calling to mind the dove present at the baptism of Christ. The baptism is probably implicit here, since at the beginning of the *passio* the narrator claims that she "þurh fulwiht heo wæs geedniwod"

⁷¹ This manuscript was copied c. 971-84 at Old Minster, Winchester. Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 60; and Andrew Prescott, *The Benedictional of St. Æthelwold: A Masterpiece of Anglo-Saxon Art, A Facsimile* (London: The British Library, 2002), 6.

⁷² This cross is located at the west end of the north aisle, and is thought to be from the eleventh century, since it exhibits characteristics of the Lindisfarne revival ongoing in the area after the community of Cuthbert relocated to Durham in 995. Christopher D. Morris, with appendix by Elizabeth Coatsworth, "Aycliffe and Its Pre-Norman Sculpture," in *Anglo-Saxon and Viking Age Sculpture and Its Context: Papers from the Collingwood Symposium on Insular Sculpture from 800 to 1066*, ed. James Lang, British Archaeological Reports, British Series 49 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1978), 97-133, esp. 103-4, 108, 114.

⁷³ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 166-7.

⁷⁴ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 128-31.

(was renewed through baptism).⁷⁵ Indeed, in Ælfric's Supplemental Homily XII for the first Sunday after Pentecost, people are warned that after a child has been baptized once, he or she may not then be "gefullod æt beterum lareowe, þæt seo halige Þrynnys ne beo swa geunwurðod"⁷⁶ (baptized by a better priest, so that the Holy Trinity will not be dishonored).

The conversion of the vessel from torture device to baptismal font is unusually explicit in the CCCC *passio*, in which an angel descends and "gehalgode þæt wallende wæter to fonte" (consecrated the boiling water as a font).⁷⁷ No mention is made in the CCCC *passio* of Margaret's actual baptism, which explains the particular phrasing of this passage. Importantly, this scene also brings the CCCC *passio* full circle. Before Margaret's persecution, she studies the martyrs, and a list is given about how they died, including death by: weapons, hot water, hanging by the feet, hanging by the arms, swords, and piercing rods—all of which Margaret has now faced to some degree before her ultimate death.⁷⁸

Whereas the hanging scene was explored in depth in Chapter Two, here the image of the vessel will be explored, specifically in terms of its duality as an instrument of salvation, and—as will be shown in the Harley 3020 *passio* of Juliana—as an instrument of persecution. Discussions of baptism are particularly prominent in the homilies. There exist three different homilies by Wulfstan that were specifically to be read at baptisms.

⁷⁵ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 112-13.

⁷⁶ Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric I*, 483, lines 88-9. This sentiment is echoed in Ælfric's *CH I.xx* ("De Fide Catholica"), in which he states that "nan man ne mot beon tua gefullod" (no man may be baptized twice). Clemons, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, 344.

⁷⁷ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 166-7.

⁷⁸ Brian McFadden also comments on this foreshadowing of Margaret's persecution. McFadden, "The Books of Life," 481.

The first two, Homilies VIIIa and VIIIb, outline the specific procedure,⁷⁹ much like what would be found in missals and benedictionals. The last homily, VIIIc, is more pastoral in nature. It discusses how baptism is a crucial element to salvation and helps the baptized individual to resist the temptations of the devil.⁸⁰ Moreover, Wulfstan is keen to acknowledge that when the priest blesses the water in the font, it is “mid þam halgan gaste ðurhgoten”⁸¹ (imbued with the Holy Spirit). This concept is echoed in Wulfstan’s homily “De Dedicatione Ecclesiae,” in which he claims that once a person is baptized, “him wunað on se Halga Gast”⁸² (the Holy Spirit dwells within him). Similarly, a large portion of the previously mentioned Supplemental Homily XII by Ælfric is dedicated to the rite of baptism.⁸³ Like Wulfstan, Ælfric here emphasizes the link between the Holy Spirit and baptism, and goes as far as to say that anyone who is not “[ge]edcenned of wætere and of ðam Halgan Gaste, ne mæg he inn to Godes rice”⁸⁴ (created from water and from the Holy Spirit, he may not enter the kingdom of God).

However, just as water can be salvific, as it is with Margaret, so, too, can it be damning, as it is in the case of Juliana. Once more, the details describing Juliana’s torture do not vary greatly from the details found in the BNF, lat. 10861 *passio*—the vessel of boiling liquid⁸⁵ is still set aflame, killing seventy-five of the pagan onlookers. What does change is the context within which the Anglo-Saxon audience would interpret this scene. Trials by ordeal were a common practice for determining guilt or innocence in medieval

⁷⁹ Bethurum, *Homilies of Wulfstan*, 169-74.

⁸⁰ Bethurum, *Homilies of Wulfstan*, 175-84.

⁸¹ Bethurum, *Homilies of Wulfstan*, 179, line 76.

⁸² Bethurum, *Homilies of Wulfstan*, 248, line 79.

⁸³ Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric I*, esp. 482-5, lines 72-138.

⁸⁴ Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric I*, 483, lines 96-7.

⁸⁵ Here, the liquid is “picem” (tar), rather than molten lead, as it had been in BNF, lat. 10861. London, BL, Harley 3020, fol. 109v; and Lapidge, “Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*,” 164.

courts of law, including those in Anglo-Saxon England. This practice was considered “Judicium Dei,” or the judgment of God, and relied on the belief that God would intervene on behalf of the innocent. One of the most common ordeals was that of water; the idea was that the accused would retrieve a stone from the bottom of a pot filled with boiling water—if the hand was festering after three days, he or she would be considered guilty. Evidence for this ordeal can be found in the law code *II Æthelstan*, which is preserved in the *Textus Roffensis*, a twelfth-century compilation of Anglo-Saxon laws that includes this code of King Æthelstan (r. 924-39). Clause 23.2 states that “gif hit anfeald tyhle [sic] sy, dufe seo hand æfter þam stane oð þa wriste, and gif hit þryfeald sy, oð þæne elbogan”⁸⁶ (if it is a single accusation, the hand sinks after the stone up to the wrist, and if it is threefold, up to the elbow). Even with limitations such as these, the chance of infection was great, so it would have resonated strongly with an Anglo-Saxon audience when the saints are unharmed after being fully immersed in boiling water. A similar incident appears in chapter fourteen of the *lives* of Æthelwold by Ælfric and Wulfstan the Cantor, in which the saint tests another monk, Ælfstan, by having him take a piece of food from the bottom of a boiling pot. Ælfstan’s ability to do so without incurring an injury is what ultimately proves the steadfast quality of his obedience and his faith.⁸⁷

In many ways, then, the success of the ordeal relies upon its nature as a spectacle.

This ties in well with Katherine O’Brien O’Keeffe’s study of the body and law in late

⁸⁶ Felix Liebermann, ed., *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen: Text und Übersetzung*, Vol. I (Halle, Germany: Max Niemeyer, 1903), 386-7, at 386; and Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, 170-3.

⁸⁷ Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, 171; and Katherine O’Brien O’Keeffe, *Stealing Obedience: Narratives of Agency and Identity in Later Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2012), 3-6, 46-52.

Anglo-Saxon England. Noting the rise of punishments involving visible mutilation in late Anglo-Saxon England, she concludes that:

compensation for wrongdoing shifts from an external, and in some ways communal, responsibility satisfiable by compurgation and fine (as is paramount in the late-ninth-century laws of Alfred), to an internal guilt in the eleventh-century codes (in a mutilation which forever after forces the body to confess to its guilt as part of the process of salvation).⁸⁸

Thus, the idea of the ordeal, she continues, is evidentiary rather than penal; the ordeal, while painful, only determines guilt or innocence, and any found guilty would still be punished accordingly.⁸⁹

The emphasis is therefore placed on the sight of the mutilated body itself, rather than on the process through which the body was mutilated. Returning to the case of Margaret, then, new light can be shed on the moment in which her bloodied body is on full display. From a late Anglo-Saxon juridical perspective, her mutilated body should have been evidence of her guilt. Within the framework of Anglo-Saxon society, however, being Christian is to be commended, not condemned, and the reaction of the onlookers supports this. Rather than accepting her guilt and preparing for her “actual” punishment, the onlookers weep (implicitly recognizing the injustice of it all), and beg her to do anything but accept such punishment. Olibrius himself is so horrified that “bewrah se arleasa geref a his ansyna mid his hacelan, forþon þe he ne mihte on hire locian for þæm blode” (the impious prefect covered his face with his cloak, for he could not look upon

⁸⁸ Katherine O’Brien O’Keefe, “Body and Law in Late Anglo-Saxon England,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 27 (1998): 209-32, at 217.

⁸⁹ O’Brien O’Keefe, “Body and Law,” 224.

her because of the blood).⁹⁰ By averting his gaze, Olibrius completely undermines his judicial authority. Ironically, the physical mutilations of Margaret and Juliana still serve as evidence of guilt, yet it is not their guilt that is being proven.

Theological Elements

Saints under Siege: The Harrowing of Hell Motif

Separating the two moments of torture is a scene framed around the Harrowing of Hell motif: the saint is locked in a dark prison, and must face and defeat one or more demons. As with the earlier *passiones*, these later works incorporate allusions to the Harrowing of Hell through a variety of sources, including the Bible. In later Anglo-Saxon England, the major biblical passages influencing interpretations of the Harrowing continued to be: I Peter 3:18-20, Matthew 27:52-53, Psalm 15:10, and Psalm 23:7-10. Added to the biblical sources, however, are the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, and the liturgical and homiletic evidence for belief in Christ's Harrowing—elements almost completely lacking in the earlier works. Before exploring the actual prison episode in the *passiones*, therefore, these new sources must be examined in order to show how understandings of the Harrowing developed in late Anglo-Saxon England. While the allusions to the Harrowing appear in all *passiones* about Juliana and Margaret, regardless of when and where they were produced, the concern here is why the Anglo-Saxons found texts with these allusions so appealing.

The Gospel of Nicodemus (hereafter, GN), which was first written in Greek sometime “after the second century, and translated into Latin by the fifth century,”⁹¹ is a text that ultimately became the principal source for medieval understandings of the

⁹⁰ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 120-1. This detail is omitted in the CCCC version.

⁹¹ Glaeske, “Eve,” 82.

Harrowing of Hell throughout the Eastern and Western Churches. While GN has early origins, evidence for this work's appearance in England only dates from the tenth century onwards. Three surviving manuscripts of GN were known to be in England during this time: two Latin versions copied on the Continent, and one Old English version copied in Exeter. The first to arrive in England was the incomplete Latin text found in London, BL, Royal 5.E.xiii, which had originally been copied in Brittany in the mid- to late-ninth century, and arrived in Worcester at some point around the middle of the tenth century.⁹² This text was of interest to at least one Anglo-Saxon scribe, who made corrections and glosses in Old English.⁹³ In the middle of the eleventh century, the second Latin text arrived in Exeter, and can be found in Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale 202⁹⁴—a manuscript already discussed, as it also contains a Latin *passio* of St. Margaret. Finally, the Old English version of the gospel,⁹⁵ found in Cambridge, University Library li.2.11, was copied in the third quarter of the eleventh century at Exeter.⁹⁶ This manuscript reveals the particularly exalted position held by GN at this time, since it directly follows the four canonical gospels in this impressively decorated gospel book.⁹⁷

Briefly, GN recounts the Harrowing from the position of those already doomed in hell witnessing the sudden appearance of a bright light that signifies Christ's arrival. Satan tries to ignore the significance of the light, while a personified (and very frightened) Hell declares that the light came from Christ, whom Satan must now go

⁹² Cross, *Two Old English Apocrypha*, 48; and Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 80-1.

⁹³ Cross, *Two Old English Apocrypha*, 48.

⁹⁴ Cross, *Two Old English Apocrypha*, 55.

⁹⁵ There are also two Old English versions of the gospel found in BL, Cotton Vitellius A.xv and BL, Cotton Vespasian D.xiv, though since these were copied in the twelfth century, they will not be discussed here. Campbell, "To Hell and Back," 113.

⁹⁶ Cross, *Two Old English Apocrypha*, 135; and Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 28.

⁹⁷ Campbell, "To Hell and Back," 113.

battle. The doors to hell are opened following the chanting of Psalm 23:7-10, and Christ enters despite not actually battling Satan. Adam is the first to be rescued, along with the rest of the just, and Christ leads them to the gates of Paradise after binding Satan and placing him under the power of Hell for all eternity. Eve, notably, is not amongst those named in GN.

Many of these details are also present in the second major source: the liturgical references, which had become increasingly regulated with the inception of the Benedictine reform. The most widespread knowledge of the Harrowing came through the recitation of the Apostles' Creed,⁹⁸ which includes the line describing how Christ "of helle huðe gefette, of þam susl-hofe, sawla manega, het ða uplicne eþel secan"⁹⁹ (brought [His] spoils out from hell, the souls of many from that place of torment; [He] commanded them to seek the celestial realm). This vernacular translation of the Creed is part of the Benedictine Office found in Oxford, Bodleian, Junius 121, which was copied c. 1065 in Worcester.¹⁰⁰ According to this text, the Creed was to be read every day during Prime, along with an expanded version of the Pater Noster (Lord's Prayer) that ends by giving thanks to God who "us milde mihtum alysdest fram hæft-nyde helle-wites"¹⁰¹ (mercifully liberated us by [Your] powers from the thralldom of hell's torments).

⁹⁸ While texts (such as Bede's letter to Ecgbert) and councils (such as the 747 Council of Clofesho and the legatine council of 786) reveal that the Creed was known and recited in early Anglo-Saxon England, evidence for widespread knowledge of the Creed (including vernacular translations of it) mostly comes from later Anglo-Saxon England. For a discussion of the early evidence, see Lynch, *Christianizing Kinship*, 174-9.

⁹⁹ James M. Ure, ed., *The Benedictine Office: An Old English Text* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh U P, 1957), 88.

¹⁰⁰ Ure, *The Benedictine Office*, 5.

¹⁰¹ Ure, *The Benedictine Office*, 87.

It was not just the cloistered religious who were expected to recite these prayers, however. In BL, Cotton Titus D.xxvi, also known as Ælfwine’s Prayerbook,¹⁰² directions for private devotions are specified, which state that every Sunday the faithful are required to “sing” the Creed and the Pater Noster, further suggesting that it would be better “þæt ðu sunge ælce dæge, þonne ðu ærest onwoce”¹⁰³ (that you should sing each day when you first awake). The incorporation of the Creed into expressions of faith was a rapid one; indeed, it “became a standard element of the Ordinary of the Mass only in the eleventh century.”¹⁰⁴ Thus, while Christ’s Harrowing is all but forgotten in modern theology, Anglo-Saxons from all walks of life would have been familiar with it, and would have been able to recognize allusions to it, such as those found in the *passiones* of Juliana and Margaret.

Moreover, the growing interest in the Creed is reflected in two of Wulfstan’s catechetical homilies, “De Fide Catholica” (Concerning the Catholic Faith)¹⁰⁵ and “To Eallum Folke” (To All the People). In the first, Wulfstan frames his homilies around the precepts found in the Creed, and includes a brief account of the Harrowing: “he abræc þurh his godcundan mihte helle geata and ðone deofol gewylde and of helle ut gelædde ealle þa ðe him sylfum gecweme wæron”¹⁰⁶ (He [Christ] burst the gates of hell by means

¹⁰² This manuscript was copied c. 1023-35 at New Minster, Winchester. Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 70.

¹⁰³ Beate Günzel, ed., *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook* (London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvi + xxvii), Henry Bradshaw Society 108 (London: Boydell, 1993), 143.

¹⁰⁴ John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy: From the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century, A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1991), 118. For a discussion about knowledge of the Creed in later Anglo-Saxon England, see Lynch, *Christianizing Kinship*, 180-8.

¹⁰⁵ Ælfric also wrote a homily entitled “De Fide Catholica,” and while he does begin the text by stressing that a person will “his geleafan getrymman” (confirm his faith) by reciting the Creed, the majority of the homily deals with the nature of the Holy Trinity. Clemoes, *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies*, 335-44, at 335.

¹⁰⁶ Bethurum, *Homilies of Wulfstan*, 160.

of His divine power, and conquered the devil, and led out from hell those who were pleasing to Himself). Wulfstan is explicit in his belief that the Harrowing was not an act of universal liberation; only some of those bound in hell would be allowed to enter Paradise. The second homily is even more practical; its entire purpose is to provide a vernacular translation of the Pater Noster and the Creed. His translation for the Harrowing section of the Creed differs from the one found in Junius 121, yet its meaning remains the same: “he to helle ferde and ðærof gehergode eal þæt he wolde”¹⁰⁷ (He [Christ] journeyed to hell, and from it He harrowed all that He wished).

Interest in the Harrowing is likewise found in the devotions laid out in the Benedictine Office for Sext, which focuses on the Passion of Christ. This Office finishes with a collect reminding the audience that after Christ was crucified in the sixth hour, “Adam de inferno eruisti eumque in paradyso restituisti”¹⁰⁸ (You have plucked Adam from hell, and restored him in Paradise). Thus, the text in Junius 121 may well be a detailed expansion of what was only hinted at in the much earlier Durham Collectar, which pre-dates the Benedictine Office by about one hundred years. The collectar contains a very brief list of the “Horae Canonicae” (Canonical Hours). Here, the Office for Sext quite simply states that at this time the crucifixion of Christ was to be meditated upon, specifically in terms of how Christ died to save humanity.¹⁰⁹

A great majority of the liturgical references to the Harrowing, however, were limited to Paschaltide, and, more specifically, to Easter Day itself. Indeed, almost the

¹⁰⁷ Bethurum, *Homilies of Wulfstan*, 167.

¹⁰⁸ Ure, *The Benedictine Office*, 97.

¹⁰⁹ “Domine Iesu Christe qui dum hora sexta pro redemptione mundi crucis ascendisti lignum uniuersus mundus in tenebris conuersus est, illum nobis lucem in anima et corpore nostro semper tribue per quam ad aeternam uitam peruenire mereamur. Iesu Christe qui cum” (Corrêa, *The Durham Collectar*, 234).

exact wording used in the collect for Sext appeared almost eighty years earlier in the late-tenth-century Benedictional of St. Æthelwold.¹¹⁰ Here, the account of the Harrowing can be found in a Gregorian mass to be read on the Wednesday of Easter Week:¹¹¹ “Dominus Deus Noster uos perducatur ad arborem uitae qui eruit de lacu miseriae ipse uobis aperiat ianuam paradysi qui confregit portas inferni”¹¹² (May the Lord Our God lead you to the Tree of Life, He who plucked [them] out from the pit of suffering; may He Himself, who shattered the gates of hell, open the entrance of Paradise for you). The underlying message in this prayer is clear: the Anglo-Saxons should pray to be saved, just as those bound in hell before the Harrowing had been. The link between Easter and the Harrowing has also been pointed out by Clare Lees, who shows that Psalm 23 (one of the most frequently quoted sources in accounts of the Harrowing) was used as a canticle in the Masses for Easter and the Octave of Easter in the *Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey*.¹¹³ Furthermore, the *Regularis Concordia*, which was arguably the most important document produced for the Benedictine reform, stipulates that on Holy Saturday a child was to read aloud an account of the Passion, in honor of His “uictoriam triumphi qua, destructis Herebi claustris, secum fideles quosque in caelos aduexit”¹¹⁴ (victory of triumph, by which, having torn down the gates of hell, [He] brought every faithful person with Him into heaven).

Although texts such as these can provide useful hints about how the Harrowing was incorporated on a practical level into Anglo-Saxon expressions of faith, the

¹¹⁰ Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 60; and Prescott, *The Benedictional of St. Æthelwold*, 6.

¹¹¹ Prescott, *The Benedictional of St. Æthelwold*, 21.

¹¹² Prescott, *The Benedictional of St. Æthelwold*, fol. 54r-v.

¹¹³ Clare A. Lees, “Theme and Echo in an Anonymous Old English Homily for Easter,” *Traditio* 42 (1986): 115-42, at 134-5.

¹¹⁴ Symons, *Regularis Concordia*, 28.

theological link between Easter and the Harrowing is most developed in the homilies.

While many homilies make references to the Harrowing, the most complete expositions on the episode can be found in the homilies for Easter Day, such as Blickling Homily 7, and the anonymous homilies found in CCC 41, CCC 303, and Junius 121. Of these four homilies, it is the account by the Blickling homilist that is the most detailed.

Centered more around the concept of judgment than that of Christ's actual resurrection, this Easter homily shares many similarities to the account of the Harrowing in the Book of Cerne, which was discussed in Chapter Two.¹¹⁵ Of particular note in this homily are the power of Christ's light in the darkness of hell, Satan's foolishness in letting Christ enter, the complete silence of Satan, and the presence of Adam and Eve in hell (both of whom plead with Christ to show them mercy).¹¹⁶

The Easter homily found in CCC 41 was copied into the margins of the Old English version of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*.¹¹⁷ While the original manuscript was copied in Southern England during the first half of the eleventh century,¹¹⁸ the homily was most likely added by a scribe during the first half of the eleventh century, before famously reaching Exeter during the episcopacy of Leofric (r. 1050-72).¹¹⁹ The homilist refers to an unspecified book he is using for his exemplar, though GN, other Anglo-

¹¹⁵ Like the Book of Cerne, Blickling Homily 7 follows Pseudo-Augustine's Sermon 160 imprecisely, though it is unclear if this is because the homilist was following a now lost variant of the sermon, as Dumville has suggested, or because the homilist created an original homily using a "combination of Descent lore (combining sermon 160 and an expanded Cerne text) and Apocalypse material" (Jackson, "To Hell and Back," 138). Dumville, "Liturgical Drama," 375-80.

¹¹⁶ Richard Morris, ed. and trans., *The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century*, EETS, Original Series 73 (London: N. Trübner and Co., 1880), 82-97; and Richard J. Kelly, ed. and trans., *The Blickling Homilies: Edition and Translation* (London: Continuum, 2003), 58-67.

¹¹⁷ This homily was edited by William H. Hulme in his article, "The Old English Gospel of Nicodemus," *Modern Philology* 1.4 (April 1904): 579-614, at 610-14.

¹¹⁸ Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art*, 501.

¹¹⁹ Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art*, 509.

Saxon homilies, and Sermon 160 (including any of its variants) have been ruled out as possibilities.¹²⁰ Little scholarly attention has been paid to this homily, other than to acknowledge that it was written by “a writer of very minor talent,”¹²¹ who frequently confused the chronology of the Harrowing, and downplayed (intentionally or not) the drama of the event. Nonetheless, this homily still touches upon the fear of the demons at the light betokening Christ’s arrival, Adam’s complete confusion about the light’s significance and subsequent plea for mercy, the binding of Satan, and the arrival of Adam and the rest of the faithful in heaven. Even less attention has been paid to the homily in CCCC 303, a manuscript discussed at length in this study because of its inclusion of a *passio* about Margaret. Scholarly silence about this homily is likely due to the fact that not only is it a version of the homily “of minor talent” found in CCCC 41,¹²² but also because the CCCC 303 homily, unlike its counterpart, has not been edited.

The last of the four major Easter homilies that discuss the Harrowing is the one found in Junius 121. This part of the manuscript, which was copied in Worcester, has been attributed to the scribe Hemming, which would narrow down the date of composition to 1064-83.¹²³ Much of the scholarly focus on this homily has been dedicated to finding its possible sources, as it is a particularly complex composite

¹²⁰ Campbell, “To Hell and Back,” 142.

¹²¹ Campbell, “To Hell and Back,” 141.

¹²² Donald G. Scragg, “The Corpus of Vernacular Homilies and Prose Saints’ Lives before Ælfric,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 8 (1979): 223-77, at 237 and 243; and Janet Bately, *Anonymous Old English Homilies: A Preliminary Bibliography of Source Studies* (Binghamton: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, SUNY at Binghamton, 1993), 24-5.

¹²³ Donald Scragg, “A Late Old English Harrowing of Hell Homily from Worcester and Blickling Homily VII,” in *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, ed. Katherine O’Brien O’Keeffe and Andy Orchard (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2005), 197-211, at 198.

homily.¹²⁴ The major piece of contention has been whether this homily was an adaptation of Blickling Homily 7,¹²⁵ or simply an analogue of it.¹²⁶ A close study of the arguments, the texts, and the style of the Junius 121 homilist has led Donald Scragg to conclude convincingly that the homilist was actually adapting Blickling Homily 7.¹²⁷ With this in mind, it becomes apparent that the homilist must have had a specific goal when he chose to adapt rather than to copy. Indeed, his omission of the events of the Last Judgment found at the end of the Blickling homily suggests that “while B[lickling] focuses upon Doomsday, J[unius] is much more concerned with salvation.”¹²⁸ This idea is supported by the details present in this account, namely: Christ’s deception of the devil, the binding and trampling of Satan (alluding to Psalm 90:13), Adam and Eve’s plea to Christ for mercy, and the fact that not all souls were rescued from hell. Careful attention should also be paid to lines 182-4, which read “*O mors, ero mors tua, morsus tuus ero, inferne*, ðæt is on englisc: ‘Eala þu deað, ic beo þin deap and þu hell ic beo þin bite’”¹²⁹ (Oh death, I am your death, I am your bite, hell; that is, in English, ‘Oh you death, I am your death, and you, hell, I am your bite’). As can be found in the Winchester Troper,¹³⁰ these words are a variation of the sequence used in Paschaltide: “*moriendo mortis mors fuissem, morsus*

¹²⁴ The end of the homily takes a passage from Ælfric’s Palm Sunday homily almost verbatim, while the passage detailing Satan’s hold over mankind before the Crucifixion is most probably taken from Wulfstan’s homily XIII, “*Sermo ad Populum*.” Bethurum, *Homilies of Wulfstan*, 225-32; and Scragg, “A Late Old English Harrowing,” 199, 203-4.

¹²⁵ Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric I*, 73, n. 2.

¹²⁶ Anna Maria Luisella Fadda, ed., “‘De descensu Christi ad inferos’: una inedita omelia anglossassone,” *Studi Medievali* 13 (1972): 989-1011, at 991-2.

¹²⁷ Scragg, “A Late Old English Harrowing,” esp. 204-7.

¹²⁸ Scragg, “A Late Old English Harrowing,” 207.

¹²⁹ Luisella Fadda, “‘De descensu Christi ad inferos,’” 1008.

¹³⁰ This troper is found in CCC 473, which was copied at the Old Minster, Winchester in the late-tenth or early-eleventh century. Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 38.

infernī et uita mundo”¹³¹ (By dying, I had been the death of death, the bite of hell and life for the world)—an apparent reshaping of a biblical passage often associated with the Harrowing: the Apocalypse of Saint John 1:18,¹³² which states, “vīvus et fui mortuus, et ecce: sum vivens in saecula saeculorum et habeo claves mortis et infernī” (I am alive and was dead, and behold: I am living for ever and ever and have the keys of death and of hell).¹³³ Allusions such as this highlight the subtle ways in which Anglo-Saxon homilists wove together the celebration of Easter and the tradition of the Harrowing of Hell; they also suggest that the Harrowing of Hell enjoyed both a complex and vivacious tradition in later Anglo-Saxon England.

A fifth Easter homily, Ælfric’s *CH* I.xv, only briefly touches on the Harrowing.¹³⁴ The majority of this work addresses Christ’s interactions with the apostles and the disbelief of the Jews. Separating these two major themes is the story of Samson, who, Ælfric bluntly points out, “getacnode Christ. Seo burh Gaza getacnode helle”¹³⁵ (signified

¹³¹ Walter Howard Frere, ed., *The Winchester Troper: From MSS. of the Xth and XIth Centuries, With Other Documents Illustrating the History of Tropes in England and France*, Henry Bradshaw Society 8 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1894), 17.

¹³² Tamburr, *The Harrowing of Hell*, 29.

¹³³ Apocalypse of Saint John 1:18, in *The Vulgate Bible: The New Testament*, 1318-21.

¹³⁴ The anonymous Easter homily in CCC 162 also addresses the Harrowing, though in a far more abbreviated manner than those discussed above. CCC 162, which was copied in southeastern England during the late-tenth or early-eleventh century, is a manuscript that contains a collection of homilies predominantly by Ælfric, and while this particular Easter homily is not by him, it does end by drawing from his *Sermo de sacrificio in die Pascae*. As Clare Lees has pointed out, this homily is not shaped around a single narrative, but rather touches upon five major themes, which she identifies as: the Earthly Paradise, the Evils of the Sixth Day, the Sunday List, the Harrowing of Hell, and the Last Judgment. It is the fourth theme, which spans lines 70-86 of the homily, that concerns this study. While this is a short passage, the homilist nonetheless includes the ideas that the harrowing occurred specifically on Easter day, that Christ bound the devil and saved Adam, Eve, and their progeny (though neither Adam nor Eve speaks), that Christ’s light filled hell, and that the frightened demons questioned Christ’s identity by quoting Psalm 23:10. Lees also points out two unusual details in this homily: Satan is uniquely referred to as Leviathan (perhaps a nod to the serpent of the Apocalypse), and Judas is specifically named as one of those in hell—a detail with only one parallel in Old English: *Christ and Satan*. Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 32; Lees, “Theme and Echo,” 116-17, 119, 125, 135-6.

¹³⁵ Clemoes, *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies*, 305, lines 163-4.

Christ. The city of Gaza signified hell), showing that Anglo-Saxon homilists and hagiographers, such as Ælfric, recognized that Christ's Harrowing could be used to help understand stories containing similar events. Ælfric's candor in making the specific connection between Christ and Samson can perhaps be attributed to the way he treats this scene in his homiletic version of the Book of Judges in the Old English Heptateuch (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 509).¹³⁶ In this work, Ælfric continues past Judges 16:31, where the story of Samson traditionally concludes, and declares that Samson "hæfde getacnunges ures hælendes Cristes þe on his agenum deaðe þone deofol gewylde"¹³⁷ (had a sign of Christ our Savior, who conquered the devil in His death). Ælfric continues his expansion of Judges by clarifying that Christ only saved "þone dæl þe he wolde Adames ofspringes"¹³⁸ (the portion that He wished of Adam's progeny). This is a typological connection clearly favored by Ælfric,¹³⁹ and it is one that specifically relies on the parallels between the images of Christ harrowing hell and Samson breaking the gates of Gaza. As he did in Judges, Ælfric is careful to tell the audience of *CH* I.xv that "Þa manfullan he let beon bæftan to ðam ecum wítum"¹⁴⁰ (He [Christ] allowed the wicked to be abandoned behind to the eternal torments). The wicked included the disbelieving, and Ælfric concludes with

¹³⁶ While the majority of the Old English Heptateuch was composed by an anonymous scribe, the homiletic version of Judges (which appears in only two of the nine manuscripts containing part or all of the Old English Heptateuch) is attributed to Ælfric. Richard Marsden, ed., *The Old English Heptateuch and Ælfric's Libellus de Veteri Testamento et Novo*, vol. I: *Introduction and Text*, EETS, Original Series 330 (Oxford: Oxford U P, 2008), xxxvi-ii, 190-200.

¹³⁷ Marsden, *The Old English Heptateuch*, 198.

¹³⁸ Marsden, *The Old English Heptateuch*, 198.

¹³⁹ This particular typological connection appears to have first been made by Gregory the Great in his Homily 21. Malcolm Godden, ed. *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary, and Glossary*, EETS, Extra Series 18 (Oxford: Oxford U P, 2000), 126. This point has also been noted in Tamburr, *The Harrowing of Hell*, 22-3.

¹⁴⁰ Clemons, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, 305, lines 168-9.

his criticism of the Jews, claiming that even Hell “oncneow crist, þa ða heo forlet hyre hæftlingas ut þurh ðæs hælendes hergunge”¹⁴¹ (recognized Christ, when she let her captives out, on account of the harrowing of the Savior). Indeed, while Christ and Hell are on opposite ends of the spectrum of divinity, they are at least on the same spectrum. Hell’s recognition of Christ’s true nature is thus much like Belial’s recognition of Juliana’s identity, as was discussed in Chapter Two. Since the saint and the demon are on the same spectrum, he is able to see her sanctity, whereas the pagan persecutor Eleusius, who operates only on an earthly spectrum, is blind to her identity.

The final connection between Paschaltide and the Harrowing is reflected in the Old English poem, “The Descent into Hell,” found in the Exeter Book.¹⁴² This creative rendering of the Harrowing includes some of the “standard” details, such as the light in hell heralding Christ’s arrival, and the breaking of the gates of hell, yet it also includes telling variations. Eve is never mentioned, but the audience is told that “wifmonna þreat, / fela fæmnena”¹⁴³ (a troop of women, many virgins) were among those in hell. Moreover, while Adam is said to be in hell, he is completely silent, and the one who speaks to Christ is John the Baptist. John’s speech centers more on the idea that Christ’s arrival was a fulfillment of a promise, and thus, entirely expected; it is only nominally a plea for mercy. The language of John’s speech, which comprises over half the poem, has been the focus of much study. Central to these studies is the idea that the poet drew from the Mass and Divine Office for Holy Saturday.¹⁴⁴ As Patrick Conner has argued, the first fifty-five

¹⁴¹ Clemons, *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies*, 306, lines 179-80.

¹⁴² “The Descent into Hell,” in *The Exeter Book*, 219-23.

¹⁴³ “The Descent into Hell,” in *The Exeter Book*, 220, lines 48-9.

¹⁴⁴ The imagery from Holy Saturday is not the only interpretation for the source material of “The Descent into Hell,” however. Jessica Brantley has pointed to two unusual facts that cannot be accounted for by the

lines recreate “the symbology of the Light Service,”¹⁴⁵ in which a priest would strike a fire from flint (alluding to Christ’s resurrection in the tomb), blessing the fire, and using it to light the Paschal Candle, and, thereby, all the other candles in the church.¹⁴⁶ Indeed, the first sixteen lines are based on an antiphon similar to that for the Easter Vigil.¹⁴⁷ The majority of the rest of the poem, Conner argues, is based on the Baptismal Service for Holy Saturday,¹⁴⁸ and is therefore narrated by John the Baptist.¹⁴⁹ His speech (59-132) “emphasizes baptism as a culminating religious experience, not only thematically but also formally. The whole speech becomes a vernacular liturgy for the Baptism, from the mouth of the ritual’s most remembered celebrant.”¹⁵⁰ By being framed in such a way, “The Descent into Hell” makes a direct connection between the Harrowing and the rites

liturgy: the absence of any direct appearance of Satan, and the inclusion at the beginning of the poem of the holy women’s visit to the Sepulchre—a scene not traditionally associated with the Harrowing. With these details in mind, she argues that the poet was instead influenced by the “visual exegesis of Ps. XV.10 in the iconographical tradition of the Utrecht Psalter” (Jessica Brantley, “The Iconography of the Utrecht Psalter and the Old English *Descent into Hell*,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 28 [1999]: 43-63, at 54). This psalm, which is indeed one of the major biblical sources for the Harrowing, is here depicted by juxtaposing Christ plucking Adam and Eve out of hell with an image of the holy women at the Sepulchre. The argument is a convincing one, and offers an important, and often overlooked, element in the study of composite texts. While the date of this poem’s composition is unknown, I have decided to include it with the later material since it seems to rely on a sophisticated understanding of both the Paschal liturgy, which would only be truly developed and regulated with the Benedictine reform, and the particular strand of visual exegesis begun in the Utrecht Psalter, which would not arrive in England until the late-tenth or early-eleventh century; one can assume its dissemination would have taken longer. Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 145; and Brantley, “The Iconography of the Utrecht Psalter,” 57-61.

¹⁴⁵ Conner, “The Liturgy and the Old English ‘Descent into Hell,’” 180.

¹⁴⁶ For an example of this service for Holy Saturday, see Orchard, *The Leofric Missal II*, 170-1.

¹⁴⁷ Conner, “The Liturgy and the Old English ‘Descent into Hell,’” 180.

¹⁴⁸ For examples of this service for Holy Saturday, see Orchard, *The Leofric Missal II*, 174-6; Symons, *Regularis Concordia*, 47-8; and Christopher A. Jones, ed. and trans., *Ælfric’s Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, CSASE 24 (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1998), 132-5. Campbell explains that baptism seems to have been originally connected to the Harrowing because of I Peter 3:19-21. These verses, which were a major part of the Harrowing tradition, end by discussing baptism. Campbell, “To Hell and Back,” 121.

¹⁴⁹ Conner, “The Liturgy and the Old English ‘Descent into Hell,’” 180.

¹⁵⁰ Conner, “The Liturgy and the Old English ‘Descent into Hell,’” 185.

for Holy Saturday—something that is explicit in only some liturgical texts, such as the Gelasian Sacramentary and Book of Cerne.¹⁵¹

Although the majority of Anglo-Saxon texts dealing with the Harrowing are associated with Paschaltide, references to this tradition could also be utilized for any occasions that were found to be appropriate.¹⁵² One of the most famous images of the Harrowing comes from Ælfric’s *CH* I.xv, which was to be read on Palm Sunday.¹⁵³ While the majority of this homily predictably discusses Christ’s arrival in Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, Ælfric brings the homily to a close by discussing the persecution of Christ. It is here that Ælfric explains that Christ could have only saved those in hell through deceit, not through force:

þa getimode þam reðan deofle. swa swa deð þam grædian fisce. þe gesihð
þæt æs. and ne gesihð ðone angel. þe on ðam æse sticað; bið þonne grædig
þæs æses. and forswylcð þone angel forð mid þam æse; Swa wæs þam

¹⁵¹ Campbell, “To Hell and Back,” 123.

¹⁵² Ælfric, for example, specifies in his *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham* (c. 1005) that on the Vigil of Christ’s Nativity, the monks should give thanks to Christ for the mercifulness “qua mundum a laqueis diaboli redempturus descendit” (through which He descended in order to save the world from the Devil’s snares [Jones, *Ælfric’s Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, 116-17]). This descent, of course, might simply refer to the Incarnation, but Ælfric does continue to say that the same is to be said on Holy Saturday, a feast day associated with the Harrowing. Likewise, the *Regularis Concordia* stipulates that part of the collect for Good Friday is: “adoro te descendentem ad inferos liberantem captiuos”¹⁵² (I adore You [Christ], descending into hell to liberate the prisoners [Symons, ed. and trans., *Regularis Concordia*, 43]). Similarly, Ælfric’s *CH* I.i (“De Initio Creaturae”) is concerned, not with the Harrowing specifically, but rather with providing a sweeping overview of Christian history. The last major event mentioned is the Harrowing, in which Ælfric fits into only nine lines the idea that Christ victoriously deceived Satan through His humanity, led Adam, Eve, and their progeny from hell, yet left behind the souls displeasing to Him. Clemoes, *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies*, 188, lines 272-80. Another example can be found in an adaptation of a Latin homily by Abbo of St. Germain, in which Wulfstan describes Adam’s fall from grace, explaining that he “ferde to helle and þær þa syðþan wunode lange in yrmðe” (travelled to hell, and then dwelled there afterwards for a long time in misery) until Christ led him to the heavenly kingdom. This homily was meant to be preached by a bishop to reconcile penitents on Maundy Thursday, making the story of Adam’s suffering particularly appealing. Bethurum, *Homilies of Wulfstan*, 236, lines 22-3. For arguments about Wulfstan’s authorship, see Bethurum, *Homilies of Wulfstan*, 345.

¹⁵³ While Palm Sunday occurs one week before Easter, it is not considered part of Paschaltide.

deofle. he geseh þa mennyscnyse on criste. and na ða godcundnyse; Þa sprytte he þæt iudeisce folc to his slege. and gefredde þa ðone angel cristes godcundnyse þurh þa he wæs. to deaðe aceocod. and benæmed ealles mancynnes þara þe on god belyfað.¹⁵⁴

(Then it happened to the cruel devil, just as it does to the greedy fish, which sees the bait and does not see the hook which pierces the bait; then it is greedy for the bait, and thence devours the hook with the bait. So it was with the devil; he saw the humanity in Christ, and not the divinity. When he incited the Jewish people to slay him, then he felt the hook of Christ's divinity; through that he was choked to death, and deprived of all mankind, of those who believe in God.)

Ælfric then quickly recounts the details of the Harrowing, namely, that Christ bound Satan, and freed only those pleasing to Him, including Adam, Eve, and their progeny.

This method of weaving the Harrowing scene into a larger biblical narrative is also found in the second major creative adaptation surviving from this period: the 729-line-long Old English poem, *Christ and Satan*. This poem survives only in the late-tenth- or early-eleventh-century Junius 11 manuscript, though it is thought to have been a later addition to the codex, and its speculated date of composition is the first half of the eleventh century.¹⁵⁵ This chronologically disjointed poem has three main sections: the Fall of Satan, the Harrowing of Hell, and the Temptation of Christ—notably, no mention of the Crucifixion is made. As with many of the homilies, the concept of salvation is

¹⁵⁴ Clemons, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, 296, lines 171-8.

¹⁵⁵ Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 101.

heavily stressed, with darkness and the damned being repeatedly juxtaposed with light and the saved.

As with many of the texts already discussed, central to this rendition of the Harrowing are the following elements: Christ's arrival in hell is preceded by a shining light and this strikes fear into the demons, Satan is bound, and Adam, Eve, and their progeny are saved. It should be noted, however, that Satan—who has large portions of dialogue in the first and third section of this poem—is oddly silent during this section. Moreover, Eve's salvation is almost denied. While Adam is released from his bonds almost immediately, Eve is required to make a long plea to Christ, ultimately calling upon her kinship with the Virgin Mary as an almost last-ditch effort for mercy. While this invocation of Mary is found in the Old English *Martyrology* and Blickling Homily 7, the rest of Eve's speech does not resemble these sources, making Campbell suggest that this invocation was formulaic.¹⁵⁶ Christ's initial refusal to save Eve is similar to what is found in the Junius 121 homily, though here He refuses both Adam and Eve, who must each make a plea for mercy.¹⁵⁷ Moreover, Eve does not reference her connection to Mary in *Christ and Satan*, suggesting that while two texts were not related, there was an extant tradition for Christ's initial refusal. Indeed, the near-damning of Adam and Eve adds suspense to an already dramatic scene.

The dramatic nature of the Harrowing made it an appealing scene to depict not only in texts, but also in images. Both the Utrecht Psalter, which was in England perhaps as early as the late-tenth century, and one of its three surviving copies made in England

¹⁵⁶ Campbell, "To Hell and Back," 157.

¹⁵⁷ Luisella Fadda, "'De descensu Christi ad inferos,'" 104-6.

(the Harley Psalter),¹⁵⁸ depict Christ trampling a nondescript figure (presumably, Satan), and heavily stooping to pluck Adam and Eve from hell alongside Psalm 15 (and, in the Harley Psalter, again alongside Psalm 138).¹⁵⁹ In both these manuscripts, Satan has already been defeated, “minimizing still further the role of the demonic.”¹⁶⁰ A similar scene is depicted on the seven-foot-tall Harrowing of Hell relief found in Bristol Cathedral, which is datable to c. 1050.¹⁶¹ In this sculpture, Christ stands upright while rescuing three naked figures from the jaws of the hell-mouth, which is shaped in the form of a dog’s or a dragon’s head.¹⁶² In the same image, Christ also tramples the figure of a human-like Satan, who is bound with his limbs contorted behind his back. The style of this sculpture has led scholars to conclude that it is an example of the Winchester School of art, and should therefore be connected to the image found in the Tiberius Psalter (BL, Cotton Tiberius C.vi), dated to c. 1050-65.¹⁶³ In this manuscript, Christ is heavily stooped as He retrieves Adam and Eve from hell, and the figure He tramples is unquestionably a bound and bestial-looking Satan.¹⁶⁴ In the lower left-hand corner is a dragon, whose presence may be attributed to a certain strand of belief that the dragon was one of the guardians of hell. While this belief was not often tied to the Harrowing, it is a detail

¹⁵⁸ The other two copies are the Eadwine Psalter and the Canterbury Psalter. Brantley, “The Iconography of the Utrecht Psalter,” 57-61.

¹⁵⁹ Brantley, “The Iconography of the Utrecht Psalter,” 57-61.

¹⁶⁰ Brantley, “The Iconography of the Utrecht Psalter,” 59.

¹⁶¹ M. Q. Smith, “The Harrowing of Hell Relief in Bristol Cathedral,” *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 94 (1977): 101-6, at 101, 104; and María Muñoz de Miguel, “The Iconography of Christ *Victor* in Anglo-Saxon Art: A New Approach to the Study of the ‘Harrowing of Hell’ Relief in Bristol Cathedral,” in “*Almost the Richest City*”: *Bristol in the Middle Ages*, ed. Laurence Keen, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 19 (London: British Archaeological Association, 1997), 75-80, at 75.

¹⁶² Muñoz de Miguel, “The Iconography of Christ,” 75, 77.

¹⁶³ Muñoz de Miguel, “The Iconography of Christ,” 77; Smith, “The Harrowing of Hell Relief,” 105; Whitelock, *The Beginnings of English Society*, 236; K. M. Openshaw, “The Battle between Christ and Satan in the Tiberius Psalter,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 52 (1989): 14-33, at 14; and Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 69.

¹⁶⁴ Openshaw, “The Battle between Christ and Satan,” 19.

found in *Christ and Satan*¹⁶⁵ and in several penitential prayers to St. Michael.¹⁶⁶

Moreover, hell is depicted here as the anthropomorphized and leonine hell-mouth, from an unusual three-quarter angle.¹⁶⁷ While the Utrecht Psalter does have depictions of the hell-mouth, it is not an image used in the Psalm 15 drawing. This is significant since in some traditions of the Harrowing, such as the one represented in GN, Hell is an anthropomorphized character who berates Satan.

Since the tradition of the Harrowing is extremely complex, breaking it down like this makes its appearances in the *passiones* identifiable, which is necessary in order to understand why allusions to the Harrowing would be so appealing to a later Anglo-Saxon audience. Part of its appeal certainly comes from its dramatic nature; as Campbell so rightly put it, the Harrowing “dramatizes and visualizes the theology of salvation.”¹⁶⁸ When looking at Anglo-Saxon understandings of the Harrowing as a whole, it is clear that accounts could vary in detail, and it is perhaps for this reason that the events associated with this tradition did not need to be recounted in a chronological order for the audience to understand its impact. Features most common to all these accounts were: the light in hell portending Christ’s arrival, the fear incited within the demons, the binding of Satan, the pleas for mercy from the just (most commonly, Adam and Eve), and, finally, the fact that not everyone in hell would be saved. With these concepts in mind, we can turn back to the *passiones*, and appreciate how and where the allusions to the Harrowing were at work.

¹⁶⁵ *Christ and Satan*, ed. and trans. Mary Clayton, in *Old English Poems of Christ and His Saints* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard U P, 2013), 303-51, at 308-9, lines 97-8.

¹⁶⁶ These prayers are found in the Book of Cerne, the Crowland Psalter, and CCC 391. Openshaw, “The Battle between Christ and Satan,” 22, n. 50.

¹⁶⁷ Openshaw, “The Battle between Christ and Satan,” 21.

¹⁶⁸ Campbell, “To Hell and Back,” 111.

In the *passio* of Juliana found in Harley 3020, the Harrowing imagery begins immediately after she is tortured with boiling tar. Eleusius orders her to be taken to prison, and at this point the Harley scribe deviates slightly, but significantly, from what is found in the very similar text of BNF, lat. 10861. Whereas the BNF, lat. 10861 scribe writes that the saint was put “in loco”¹⁶⁹ (in the place [i.e. the prison]), the Harley scribe writes that she was put “in solo,”¹⁷⁰ stressing the fact that she was placed “in the ground,” calling forth images of descent and the underworld.¹⁷¹ Following her prayer to God for salvation, the demon Belial appears “in figura angelica”¹⁷² (in an angelic form). As was seen with the earlier *passiones* about Juliana, this is the moment in which the demon tries and fails to usurp the role of Christ as Harrower. What would resonate most with a late Anglo-Saxon audience, however, is how Juliana briefly inverts the Harrowing by asking the demon, “Tu quis es”¹⁷³ (Who are you). This question, which is asked by the fearful demons upon Christ’s arrival, becomes one of the most frequently repeated elements in the later Old English homilies. In Blickling Homily 7, for example, the demons ask: “Hwonon is þes þus strang, and þus beorht, and þus egesfull?”¹⁷⁴ (From where is this one, [who is] so strong, and so bright, and so terrible?). Belial, however, is not the true Harrower, and Juliana is quick to turn the tables on the demon.

¹⁶⁹ Lapidge, “Cynwulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*,” 158.

¹⁷⁰ London, BL, Harley 3020, fol. 99v.

¹⁷¹ While there is also an adjective “solus” (lonely), there is no noun that “solo” can be modifying here, suggesting that the stress is more on Juliana’s descent than on her being alone (indeed, she is not alone for long).

¹⁷² London, BL, Harley 3020, fol. 101r.

¹⁷³ London, BL, Harley 3020, fol. 101r.

¹⁷⁴ Morris, *The Blickling Homilies*, 84. This question is echoed in the CCCC 41 homily both by the demons who ask “Hwæt taliað we hwæt ðes cempa sie ðe into us gæð?” (What do we make of who the soldier may be who enters us?), and the equally confused Adam who repeats this question almost verbatim. Hulme, “The Old English Gospel of Nicodemus,” 610-11. It is similarly asked by the demons in the CCCC 162 homily. Lees, “Theme and Echo,” 119, lines 83-4.

This reversal can likewise be seen in the shifting pleas for mercy. Immediately preceding Juliana's incarceration, the saint cries out to God for help: "exaudi me domine et miserere mei"¹⁷⁵ (hear me, Lord, and have mercy upon me). Once she enters the prison, however, this plea is transferred to the mouth of Belial, who begs Juliana: "Adiuro te ... infelicitate mee [sic] miserere"¹⁷⁶ (I entreat you ... have mercy upon my misfortune). The fact that Juliana's prayer is answered whereas Belial's is not can be accounted for by this scene's allusion to the Harrowing. By the later Anglo-Saxon period, it was fairly standard to see both Adam and Eve begging Christ for mercy by using the formulaic phrase, "Miltsa me" (have mercy upon me).¹⁷⁷ Indeed, this is the case in both the Junius 121 homily¹⁷⁸ and Blickling Homily 7.¹⁷⁹ This formula, as was shown in Chapter Two, corresponds to the Latin "miserere mei," and is a phrase best known for appearing in Psalm 50, which, as one of the seven penitential psalms, was to be sung by monks at Matins just before the Nocturn, according to the *Regularis Concordia*.¹⁸⁰ Prayers to be said during Prime also reference this psalm; for example, according to the Benedictine Office, the forty-second prayer in Prime is: "Mildsa us nu þa, mihtig drihten, midsa us"¹⁸¹ (have mercy upon us, mighty Lord, have mercy upon us), and the forty-eighth is: "Miserere mei deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam. Mildsa me, mihtig drihten, swa ðu manegum dydest, æfter ðinre þære mycelan mildheortnyse"¹⁸²

¹⁷⁵ London, BL, Harley 3020, fol. 100r.

¹⁷⁶ London, BL, Harley 3020, fol. 105r.

¹⁷⁷ The use of this phrase is so common that it is worth noting when it is not used, such as in Eve's extended plea to Christ in *Christ and Satan*. *Christ and Satan*, in *Old English Poems of Christ and His Saints*, 328-30, lines 408-40.

¹⁷⁸ Luisella Fadda, "De descensu Christi ad inferos," 1006.

¹⁷⁹ Morris, *The Blickling Homilies*, 87.

¹⁸⁰ Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations*, 15.

¹⁸¹ Ure, *The Benedictine Office*, 93.

¹⁸² Ure, *The Benedictine Office*, 94.

(Have mercy upon me, God, according to Your great compassion. Show mercy to me, mighty Lord, as You have done for many, according to Your great compassion).

Furthermore, the directions for private devotion found in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* recommend that every day laypeople recite what appears to be a creative summary of Psalm 50.¹⁸³ The directions end by confirming that God will “miltsað”¹⁸⁴ (have mercy) upon those who are steadfast in their faith. As was the case with Adam and Eve, and (presumably) with those who recite Psalm 5, Juliana's prayer is heard because she is numbered among the just. When Belial, who is one of the damned, tries to commandeer such a role, his efforts fail spectacularly—something which the Anglo-Saxon audience for Harley 3020 would recognize more readily than their earlier counterparts for BNF, lat. 10861 and BNF, lat. 5574, since the later accounts of the Harrowing (particularly, those by *Ælfric*) are the ones to stress the idea that Christ only saved the just when He harrowed hell.

Juliana's embodiment of the role of Harrower culminates in her actual binding of Belial. Like the scribes of BNF, lat. 10861 and BNF, lat. 5574, the Harley 3020 scribe describes how she “postergum manibus ligauit eum, et posuit super terram, et capiens unum ferrum de ligamentis, de quibus ipsa fuerat ligata c[a]debat ipsum demonum”¹⁸⁵ (bound him by the hands behind his back, and put him on the ground, and, seizing one of the iron chains with which she herself had been bound, she struck the demon himself).

¹⁸³ “For þinre miclan mildheortnesse and for ðissa godes worda mægne, miltsa me, and syle me minra gedonra synna forgyfnesse, and ðara towardra gescildnessa, and þine bletsunga to eallum þingum and huru minre sawle reste on ðam ecan life and a ðine miltse” (On account of Your great compassion, and on account of the power of these words of God, have mercy upon me, and grant me forgiveness for my committed sins, and future protection, and Your blessing for all things, and especially for the rest of my soul in the eternal life, and Your mercy forever). Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, 143.

¹⁸⁴ Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, 143.

¹⁸⁵ London, BL, Harley 3020, fols. 104v-105r.

This particular image, with its details about the demon being bound in irons while prostrated on the ground, would also resonate more strongly with a later Anglo-Saxon audience than with an earlier one, since the depiction of Satan as a bound and contorted figure is an element of later Anglo-Saxon iconography, as is evidenced by the Tiberius Psalter and the Bristol relief, both of which date to the mid-eleventh century.

Like the Harley 3020 *passio*, the *passiones* of Saint Margaret incorporate images of the Harrowing of Hell. While the dragon scene in the Tiberius *passio* closely follows what can be found in the BNF, lat. 5574 *passio*, one major difference can be found in the CCCC 303 version: the moment of Margaret's fear is missing, representing an omission unique to the text.¹⁸⁶ By removing this moment of fear, the audience's perception of Margaret is shifted, as she already seems a little more divine and a little less human in her reactions. Ironically, it is in the Tiberius version, rather than the CCCC 303 one, that Margaret herself directly asks for the dragon to appear. Just before her incarceration, she prayed for judgment "betwux me and þyssum deoflum" (between me and these devils).¹⁸⁷ One imagines she might have been referring to Olibrius and his followers originally; instead, her judgment takes the form of two demons, the first of which is a dragon—a creature not only said to be one of the guardians of hell, but also one that was commonly associated with Satan himself.¹⁸⁸ Indeed, later accounts of the Harrowing, such as the ones found in the Junius 121 and the CCCC 41 homilies,¹⁸⁹ often quote the passage about

¹⁸⁶ Magennis, "Listen Now All and Understand," 40.

¹⁸⁷ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 120-1.

¹⁸⁸ For example, the Apocalypse of St. John 20:2.

¹⁸⁹ See, for example, Luisella Fadda, "De descensu Christi ad inferos," 1002, lines 71-8; and Hulme, "The Old English Gospel of Nicodemus," 611.

Christ's trampling of a dragon from Psalm 90:13¹⁹⁰ when describing how He bound Satan in hell. Moreover, Margaret also seems to lay the foundation for her own Harrowing when, immediately after being thrown into the prison, she cries out to God for help, adopting the same words used by the faithful in the previously discussed accounts of the Harrowing: "gemildsa me, Drihten, forþon þe ic ane eom herinne, and min fæder, he me forlet. Ne forlæt þu me, min Drihten, ac gemiltsa me"¹⁹¹ (have mercy upon me, Lord, because I am alone here and my father, he abandoned me. Do not abandon me, my Lord, but have mercy upon me). At this point, it is appropriate to turn back to Eve in Blickling Homily 7, the Junius 121 homily, and *Christ and Satan*. In these works, Eve is almost left behind, and reminds Christ of His knowledge that "þu of minre dehter, Drihten, onwoce; and þæt hire flæsc is of minum flæsce, and hire ban of minum banum"¹⁹² (You were born from my daughter, Lord; and that her [Mary's] flesh is from my flesh, and her bone from my bones). While the situation is not exactly the same, Margaret does choose to validate her appeals to God's mercy through her familial situation.

This situation plays out quite differently in the CCCC 303 *passio*. It is when Margaret is first taken by Olibrius that she echoes the pleas of the just in hell: "Miserere

¹⁹⁰ This verse was well known to the Anglo-Saxons both in literary allusions and in artistic portrayals of Christ Triumphant. These artistic depictions include: panels on the Bewcastle and Ruthwell Crosses, folios 36r and 53v of the Utrecht Psalter, folio 40r of the Crowland Psalter, an eleventh-century carved panel in Jevington Church, and folio 40r of the Douce Psalter. Éamonn Ó Carragáin, "Christ over the Beasts and the Agnus Dei: Two Multivalent Panels on the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses," in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach, with the assistance of Virginia Darrow Oggins, Studies in Medieval Culture 20 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986), 377-403, at 379-90; David M. Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Art: From the Seventh Century to the Norman Conquest* (Woodstock, NY: Overlook P, 1984), 174-5; and Muñoz de Miguel, "The Iconography of Christ," 76.

¹⁹¹ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 120.

¹⁹² Morris, *The Blickling Homilies*, 89. See also, Luisella Fadda, "'De descensu Christi ad inferos,'" 1006, lines 146-9; and *Christ and Satan*, in *Old English Poems of Christ and His Saints*, 33, lines 435-40.

mei, Deus, miserere mei. Gemiltse me, Drihten, gemiltse me”¹⁹³ (Have mercy upon me, God, have mercy upon me. Have mercy upon me, Lord, have mercy upon me). These words are not repeated when she is imprisoned, though she does ask God: “dem nu between me and heom” (judge now between me and them [my enemies]).¹⁹⁴ It seems that unlike the Margaret in the Tiberius *passio*, the Margaret here may have expected a demonic encounter. Not only is she not surprised or afraid at the dragon’s appearance, her immediate reaction is a prayer that serves as a blatant nod to the audience that a Harrowing scene is about to develop: “þu to helle astige and þu þine halgan utgedydot and þone mycele deofol Sathan fæste gebunde, gehelp þu me, leofe Drihten, þæt ic þisne deofol fæste mote gebinden” (You descended to hell, and You rescued Your saints, and bound fast the great devil Satan, help me, beloved Lord, that I may bind fast this devil).¹⁹⁵ With a statement such as this, it is not surprising that Margaret then undergoes an *imitatio* of the Harrowing. Notably, however, the dragon does not swallow Margaret in the CCCC 303 text. She reacts more quickly to the threat posed by the dragon here than she does in the Tiberius version—a fact that aligns well with how the CCCC 303 Margaret was not surprised or fearful at the dragon’s arrival.

In both *passiones*, Margaret does not simply cast the demon back into hell; instead, she completely demolishes the dragon. Unlike the Christ of the Old English *Martyrology*, who is armed with a *godcunde sweorde* (divine sword) with which he “sloh þara feonda weorod”¹⁹⁶ (struck a throng of those fiends), or the Margaret of BNF, lat. 5574, who is armed with an actual crucifix, the Margaret in the Old English *passiones* is

¹⁹³ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 154.

¹⁹⁴ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 160-1.

¹⁹⁵ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 162-3.

¹⁹⁶ Kotzor, “Christ’s Descent into Hell,” 46, lines 1-2.

more like the Christ of “The Descent into Hell” in the Exeter Book, who had no thought about bringing “hilde helm-berendra”¹⁹⁷ (helmet-bearing [soldiers] to the battle), yet was still successful in breaking down the gates of hell. Armed only with the sign of the cross, Margaret is able to fell the beast. In the Tiberius version, she crosses herself in the dragon’s stomach, and, as a result of this, she “hine toslat on twæigen dælas” (rent him into two parts);¹⁹⁸ in the CCCC version, she makes the sign of the cross on her forehead immediately following the dragon’s appearance, and thus “wið þone draca wel generode” (protected herself thoroughly against the dragon),¹⁹⁹ who then “sticmælum toðwan”²⁰⁰ (burst and vanished in pieces).

Making the sign of the cross, unsurprisingly, is also a specific element in many accounts of the Harrowing. As Tamburr has pointed out,²⁰¹ Blickling Homily 7 and GN claim that after Christ harrowed hell, he set “wuldres tacn in helle”²⁰² (a sign of glory in hell); in other words, He erected the sign of the cross in hell. Moreover, the *passio* of Margaret is not the only text to highlight the punitive power of the sign of the cross. Almost the exact same situation is described in Gregory’s *Dialogues*, which had been part of the Alfredian translation project: “in swa hwilcre stowe swa he gemette nædran ... þæt he hi acwealde sona gif he hi gesegnode *mid Cristes rodetacne*, swa þæt heo toborostenum þam innoðum” (in whichever place he met a serpent ... that he killed it instantly if he blessed it with the sign of Christ’s cross, so that it died from burst

¹⁹⁷ “The Descent into Hell,” in *Old English Poems of Christ and His Saints*, 150, line 37.

¹⁹⁸ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 122-3.

¹⁹⁹ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 162-3.

²⁰⁰ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 162.

²⁰¹ Tamburr, *The Harrowing of Hell*, 74.

²⁰² Morris, *The Blickling Homilies*, 86.

insides).²⁰³ Moreover, Ælfric's "Exaltation of the Holy Cross" explains that the "heofonlice tacn þære halgan rode / is ure gúðfana wiþ þone gram-lican deofol"²⁰⁴ (heavenly sign of the Holy Rood is our banner against the hostile devil). Finally, an extraordinarily similar situation plays out in Blickling Homily 18, in which St. Andrew frees Matthew from the prison in Marmadonia simply by making the sign of the cross.²⁰⁵ Whereas Margaret's signing violently opens the dragon, Andrew's sign opens the prison doors. In all cases, making the sign of the cross leads to liberation.

After conquering the dragon, Margaret is faced with yet another devil, and it is this discursive episode that most closely echoes the Harrowing of Hell scene in the *passio* of Juliana. In the Tiberius *passio*, this scene begins with a detail apparently unique to this text. When the second devil recognizes the futility of his fight against Margaret, he begs the saint for mercy: "ic bidde þe for þinne mægþhad þæt þu me ne geswinge"²⁰⁶ (I beg you on account of your virginity/kinship that you do not strike me). The use of "mægþhad" here is a telling one. While the seemingly obvious choice would be to translate this as "virginity,"²⁰⁷ the secondary meaning of "kinship"²⁰⁸ is also at work here. With this in mind, it becomes apparent that the demon is trying to assume the role of Eve by begging Margaret for salvation on account of "kinship." This detail is absent from the other *passiones* of Margaret that were copied or owned in Anglo-Saxon England.

²⁰³ Ursula Lenker, "Signifying Christ in Anglo-Saxon England: Old English Terms for the Sign of the Cross," in *Cross and Cruciform in the Anglo-Saxon World: Studies to Honor the Memory of Timothy Reuter*, ed. Sarah Larratt Keefer, Karen Louise Jolly, and Catherine E. Karkov, Sancta Crux/Halig Rod 3 (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia U P, 2010), 233-75, at 249. Translation by Lenker.

²⁰⁴ Ælfric, "The Exaltation of the Cross," in *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, Vol. II, 152, lines 147-8; Lenker, "Signifying Christ," 241.

²⁰⁵ Tamburr, *The Harrowing of Hell*, 25; Morris, *The Blickling Homilies*, 228-49.

²⁰⁶ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 124.

²⁰⁷ Toller, "Mægþ-, mægþ-hád," in *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, 658.

²⁰⁸ Toller, "Mægþ-hád," in *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, 658.

The scene in which Margaret physically binds and interrogates the demon is very much a violent version of the scene's counterpart in the *passio* about Juliana. In particular, it is Margaret's binding of the demon in the Tiberius *passio* that is unusually violent. In this version, she "his swyþran ege utastang and ealle his ban heo tobrysd" (put out his right eye and shattered all his bones).²⁰⁹ Likewise, the dragon's death is more violent in Tiberius than it is in the CCC 303 *passio*, as he is rent from the inside; indeed, it has been postulated the Margaret's violent nature here might be either a reaction to "initially succumbing to the dragon's power [i.e., after being swallowed],"²¹⁰ or a representation of "a fuller account ... which has disappeared from texts of the Latin."²¹¹ Moreover, it must be noted that while little survives from the *passio* in Cotton Otho B.x, the *explicit* reveals a focus more on Margaret's martial strengths than on her virginity. In an apparent summary of the text, the scribe reminds the monks that they have just heard about the passion of Margaret, and "hu heo oferswiðe ealra deofla mægen" (how she overcame the power of all the devils).²¹²

Margaret's defeat of the second demon is typically emphasized in his confession. In the Tiberius version, however, this confession is abbreviated, and the demon "has one fewer speech in the Old English than in *BHL* 5303 (four as against five) and his speeches are much shorter than in the latter version."²¹³ Indeed, the demon never actually reveals where he is from, nor who his father is; the moment he asks Margaret a question instead of providing her with answers, she silences him, and he is immediately swallowed by the

²⁰⁹ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 124-5.

²¹⁰ Peter Dendle, *Satan Unbound: The Devil in Old English Narrative Literature* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2001), 56.

²¹¹ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 45.

²¹² Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 95.

²¹³ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 47.

earth,²¹⁴ an image evocative of the hell-mouth. This particular moment is also reminiscent of the scene in GN when Christ “*no*lde þæra deofla gemaðeles mare habban”²¹⁵ (would not have more of those devils’ talk), whereupon He binds Satan and delivers him into an anthropomorphized Hell’s keeping. While the silencing and casting down of the demon is the same, the demons in the Gospel are extremely verbose—something denied to the demons in the *passio* of Margaret. The effect of this denial of speech is obvious—it deemphasizes the role of the second demon. Even so, the reasons for this omission are less clear. Tracey-Anne Cooper has speculated that since the Tiberius manuscript already contained an account of the horrors of hell in a separate homily, any other mention of such would have proved redundant in a didactic manuscript.²¹⁶ Even if this is the case, it is still extremely unusual for such a crucial element of the *passio* to undergo such heavy revision.

It is instead in the CCCC 303 version that a full account of the demon’s confession appears, revealing just how much the Tiberius version omits. This omission, which covers almost all of chapters fifteen and sixteen of the *passio*, makes up roughly thirty-two lines of the edited text.²¹⁷ Significantly, the demon’s confession in the CCCC *passio* begins with an immediate reference to the Harrowing, as he tells the saint he has dwelt among humans ever since: “Sathan gebunden wearð” (Satan was bound).²¹⁸ As the “ancient devil” could no longer deceive people himself, he sent his demons to do this work instead. Appropriately, the demon in the *passio* outlines exactly whom he deceived,

²¹⁴ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 128-9.

²¹⁵ Cross, *Two Old English Apocrypha*, 223.

²¹⁶ Cooper, “Why is Margaret’s the Only *Life*?” 62.

²¹⁷ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 164-7.

²¹⁸ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 164-5.

including murderers, adulterers, sodomites, those careless with their words, and those with physical ailments.²¹⁹ This list is so expansive and covers the spectrum of sins (including ones that would not be considered sins by modern standards) that one wonders if the Anglo-Saxon audience was meant to see themselves amongst those named in order to push them towards better behavior.

It would certainly not be the first time that an audience was meant to see themselves in a fallen individual; as Helene Scheck has argued in her discussion of *Genesis B*: “[Eve] is the conduit for psychological exploration in the poem ... [she] is exposed so that each listener may learn through her experience and, ideally, avoid his or her own personal downfall.”²²⁰ Eve’s speeches in the homilies reveal a similar tendency; the admission of her own faults makes her a relatable figure.²²¹ Such a use of direct speech in renditions of the Harrowing serves “to encourage a relationship with the story that is more experiential than descriptive.”²²² Turning back to the CCCC 303 *passio*, the demon’s own confession ends with him echoing Eve by begging Margaret for mercy. Unlike Eve, however, the demon has demonstrated only fear of pain, not true repentance, and Margaret’s refusal to “save” the demon shows once more that not all are capable of receiving salvation, even within the parameters of a Harrowing of Hell episode.

²¹⁹ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 164-5.

²²⁰ Helene Scheck, *Reform and Resistance: Formations of Female Subjectivity in Early Medieval Ecclesiastical Culture* (Albany: SUNY P, 2008), 107.

²²¹ See, for example, the Junius 121 homily and Blickling Homily 7. Luisella Fadda, “De descensu Christi ad inferos,” 1006, lines 136-52; and Morris, *The Blickling Homilies*, 88.

²²² M. Bradford Bedingfield, “Ritual Drama in Anglo-Saxon England: The Dangers of the Diachronic Perspective,” in *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. Helen Gittos and M. Bradford Bedingfield (London: Boydell, 2005), 291-317, at 316.

A Voice in the Darkness: Pentecostal Images

Salvation for the saints comes with the last element to be examined: the allusions to Pentecost. Significantly, the actions of Juliana and Margaret in their respective prisons are very much spurred on by the divine help and consolation they receive from the Holy Spirit. This help is particularly transformative, and instigates a metamorphosis in the saints from victim to victor. Moreover, the details of this intervention, as will be shown, reveal that it is operating within a Pentecostal framework. This framework operates in conjunction with (rather than apart from) the one for the Harrowing, and the juxtaposition of the two in the *passiones* is supported by the link between Easter and Pentecost in the liturgy, with the two bookending the fifty-day season of Paschaltide.²²³

Thankfully, the later Anglo-Saxon developments for the tradition of Pentecost are much more straightforward than those for the Harrowing. In large part, this is due to the existence of biblical passages explicitly addressing this event; as had been the case in earlier Anglo-Saxon England, the two major biblical sources for Pentecost continued to be Acts 2:1-8 and John 14. New evidence can likewise be found in the masses (which primarily adhered to the entries for Pentecost and the Vigil of Pentecost in the Gregorian

²²³ In Ælfric's Supplemental Homily II, the season of Paschaltide is identified as the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost (Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric I*, 238, lines 177-9). Ælfric directly connects the Harrowing tradition with Pentecost in one of his homilies for Pentecost (Supplemental Homily X), which he ends by discussing how Christ descended into hell, and left "mid þam herereafe þe he on helle gefette, ealle his gecorenan of Adames cynne" (with that plunder which He fetched in hell, all of His chosen from Adam's kin [Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric I*, 404, lines 202-3]). The connection between Easter and Pentecost is further laid out in Ælfric's *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham* (c. 1005), in which the directions for daily and yearly worship are explicated in detail. In chapter five of this letter, he stipulates that from Easter to the Octave of Pentecost, Chapter was to be held immediately after Prime, as opposed to mass being held after Prime, as it is for most of the year. Similarly, in chapter forty-nine, he states that from the Octave of Easter to the Octave of Pentecost, a single antiphon was to be read during the Office of All Saints (Jones, *Ælfric's Letter*, 12, 112-13, 136-7; and Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 35). This last detail is also found in the *Regularis Concordia* (Symons, *Regularis Concordia*, 55). It is in details such as these that the connection between these two feast days is revealed to have been a known and practiced reality.

Sacramentary),²²⁴ and in the homilies set aside specifically for the celebration of Pentecost. Indeed, it is from the masses that we can also add new biblical passages that were to be read during the week of Pentecost:²²⁵ Acts 10:14-21, John 3:16-21, Acts 8:14-17, Acts 2:14-21, Acts 5:12-16, John 6:44-52, Acts 8:5-9, Luke 9:1-6, Acts 2:22-8, and Luke 5:17-26. These passages predominantly focus on the apostles' ability to convert the masses thanks to their newly gained power of speech, though the passages from John discuss Christ as the only true path to salvation, and Acts 8:14-17 discusses baptism. What can be concluded from these additions is that the main foci in later Anglo-Saxon traditions of Pentecost were the power of language and the importance of conversion (as opposed to the heavier focus on baptism in the earlier traditions).²²⁶

The aforementioned readings specified for Pentecost and the six days that follow it are preserved in the Missal of the New Minster. Concerning the actual day of Pentecost, there are twelve parts to the mass, though only seven will be examined for this manuscript: the two readings from the New Testament, introit, collect, “infra actionem,”²²⁷ “hanc igitur,”²²⁸ and communion.²²⁹ The two readings from the New Testament—Acts 2:1-8 and John 14:23-31—were to be read after both the introit (which

²²⁴ H. A. Wilson, ed., *The Gregorian Sacramentary under Charles the Great*, Henry Bradshaw Society 49 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1915), 77-9.

²²⁵ Turner, *The Missal of the New Minster*, 15-20. As was noted by Ælfric, “we should celebrate the coming of the Holy Spirit for seven days only” (Jones, *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, 139).

²²⁶ For example, the Winchester Troper includes among its many entries for Pentecost one that states “Discipulis flammam infundens pectore blandas” ([The Holy Spirit] pouring the pleasant flames into the hearts of the apostles), and one that states “Omnigenis linguis patuit magnalia christi” ([The Holy Spirit] made known the mighty deeds of Christ in languages of all kinds). Frere, *The Winchester Troper*, 24.

²²⁷ This element, which is a prayer that introduces the “Communicantes” section of the mass, is typically associated with the Gelasian Sacramentary. While “Communicantes” (in union with) was typically a brief and general veneration of the saints, five major feast days (Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost) instead use this section to provide a brief summary of and prayer for the corresponding feast day.

²²⁸ The “hanc igitur” is a prayer recited by the celebrants that God will accept the oblation of their service.

²²⁹ The other five parts are: two alleluias, the secret, the preface, and the postcommunion.

quotes Wisdom 1:7 by stating that the Holy Spirit filled the earth and all knew its voice) and the collect (which states that on this day God “corda fidelium sancti spiritus illustratione docuisti”²³⁰ [taught the hearts of the faithful by the light of the Holy Spirit]). Also of note is the section, “infra actionem,” which follows the preface, and explains that on Pentecost “spiritus sanctus apostolis innumeris linguis apparuit”²³¹ (the Holy Spirit appeared to the apostles in innumerable languages). Next, the “hanc igitur” is read, which makes a direct reference to baptism by praying for the salvation of those who have been renewed “ex aqua et spiritu sancto”²³² (by water and by the Holy Spirit). Finally, during the communion, Acts 2:2-4 is recited once more—a section that highlights the sounds coming from heaven, and the apostles being filled with the Holy Spirit.²³³ Although the mass is complex, from it we can distill the major concepts central to Pentecost: the descent of the Holy Spirit, the acquisition of linguistic power, and baptism.²³⁴

The mass for Pentecost in the Missal of Robert of Jumièges contains the same passages for the “infra actionem,” “hanc igitur,” and postcommunion as the ones found in the Missal of the New Minster.²³⁵ However, even with these similarities, there are some major differences. The Missal of Robert of Jumièges contains neither the biblical readings for the mass, nor the introit; moreover, the preface for Pentecost in this missal

²³⁰ Turner, *The Missal of the New Minster*, 14.

²³¹ Turner, *The Missal of the New Minster*, 15.

²³² Turner, *The Missal of the New Minster*, 15.

²³³ Turner, *The Missal of the New Minster*, 15.

²³⁴ Notably, baptisms continued to be conducted only on Holy Saturday and Pentecost. Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies*, 46-7. This baptismal office is described in detail in “The Red Book of Darley” (CCCC 422). R. I. Page, “Old English Liturgical Rubrics in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 422,” *Anglia* 96 (1978): 149-58; Graham, “The Old English Liturgical Directions,” 439-46; and Lynch, *Christianizing Kinship*, 84.

²³⁵ Wilson, *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, 117.

(which claims that on Pentecost God is “sacramentum paschaliae [sic] consummans”²³⁶ [bringing to a close the Paschal sacrament]), deviates from the more common Gregorian mass, instead following the entry for Pentecost found in the eighth-century Gelasian Sacramentary.²³⁷ Notably, this means that this Pentecostal mass is very similar to the mass for the Vigil of Pentecost found in the Missal of the New Minster.²³⁸ This latter mass not only includes the same Gelasian preface, it also includes the same collect (which prays for the light of the Holy Spirit to fill the hearts of the faithful).²³⁹ Finally, there is a rather confusing addition in the Missal of Robert of Jumièges of an unspecified mass (simply called, “Ad Missam”) in between the masses for Pentecost and the Monday after Pentecost. It contains only a collect and secret, both of which are the same ones used for Pentecost in the Missal of the New Minster.²⁴⁰

Lastly, we must turn to the Leofric Missal for evidence of Pentecostal liturgy. Here, the collect, secret, preface, “infra actionem,” “hanc igitur,” and postcommunion are the same as the ones to be found in the Missal of the New Minster.²⁴¹ As was the case with the Missal of Robert of Jumièges, no readings from the New Testament are specified for this mass. There are, however, three unique additions that must be mentioned. A fairly long benediction taken from the Gregorian sacramentary is added,²⁴² and contains elements central to depictions of Pentecost, such as the idea that the apostles gained the

²³⁶ Wilson, *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, 117.

²³⁷ H. A. Wilson, ed., *The Gelasian Sacramentary: Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1894), 121.

²³⁸ Turner, *The Missal of the New Minster*, 13.

²³⁹ Wilson, *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, 117; and Turner, *The Missal of the New Minster*, 13.

²⁴⁰ Wilson, *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, 117; and Turner, *The Missal of the New Minster*, 14.

²⁴¹ Turner, *The Missal of the New Minster*, 14-15; and Orchard, *The Leofric Missal II*, 199-200. The scribe of the Leofric Missal tells the reader to refer to the Vigil of Pentecost for the “hanc igitur,” which is the same as the “hanc igitur” found in the Missal of the New Minster for Pentecost.

²⁴² This benediction is completely absent from the two other missals. Orchard, *The Leofric Missal II*, 200; and Wilson, *The Gregorian Sacramentary*, 309.

use of a single language of faith, and that “ignis qui super discipulos apparuit peccatorum uestrorum sordes expurget, et sui luminis infusione perlustret”²⁴³ (may the fire, which appeared over the disciples, cleanse the filth of your sins, and illuminate through the pouring in of His light). Notably, this is the same benediction found in the entry for Pentecost in the Benedictional of St. Æthelwold.²⁴⁴ Secondly, there is an addition to the end of the mass, entitled “Ad Populum.” Taken from the Gelasian Sacramentary,²⁴⁵ this section entails a prayer to the Holy Spirit, who “spiritalia dona nobis potenter infundat”²⁴⁶ (may powerfully pour upon us spiritual gifts). Lastly, in the right margin beside the secret, cues have been added so that parts of the mass that had originally been omitted are now included. As is found in the Missal of the New Minster, the cues here specify that “Spiritus domini repleuit” (Wisdom 1:7) is to be read for the introit and the alleluia. Similarly, the added cues for the offertory (a fairly standard text) and the communion (taken from Acts 2:2-4) are the same as those found in the Missal of the New Minster.²⁴⁷ The cues go beyond the Missal of the New Minster, however, in that they also specify that Psalm 67 (“Exurgat Deus”), which praises God’s victory over His enemies, is to be read, and that the first alleluia is “Emitte spiritum.”²⁴⁸ This alleluia is taken from Psalm 103:30 and is one of the rare Gallican antiphons preserved in Anglo-Saxon England.²⁴⁹

²⁴³ Orchard, *The Leofric Missal II*, 200.

²⁴⁴ Prescott, *The Benedictional of St. Æthelwold*, fol. 68r-v.

²⁴⁵ Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, 123.

²⁴⁶ Orchard, *The Leofric Missal II*, 200-1.

²⁴⁷ Turner, *The Missal of the New Minster*, 14-15; and Orchard, *The Leofric Missal II*, 200.

²⁴⁸ Orchard, *The Leofric Missal II*, 200.

²⁴⁹ This antiphon would have been read during both Pentecost and Christmas. Frere, *The Winchester Troper*, xxvi, 162, 191.

Indeed, the “Emitte” is specifically “the only one [of the Gallican antiphons] which had the good fortune to keep its place in general use.”²⁵⁰

Evidence for Pentecost can also be found in the canonical hours of the Benedictine Office. At the Office of Terce, monks and nuns were meant to commemorate Pentecost, when:

com se halga gast on undern-timan ofer ða apostolas þær hi ætgædere
gesamnode wæron, and hi ealle sona gefyllede wurdon swa swyðe mid
Godes gyfe þæt hi ealra gereorda getingnesse hæfdon.²⁵¹

(at the third hour, the Holy Ghost entered over the apostles, when they
were gathered together, and immediately they were all filled so greatly
with the grace of God that they had fluency of all languages.)

Ælfric supports this link in *CH* I.22 on Pentecost, in which the apostles preach to the masses of Jerusalem in a universal tongue immediately following the descent of the Holy Spirit. The Jews, who doubt this phenomenon, argue that the apostles must be drunk, at which point Peter responds: “Hit is underntid; hu mihte we on þyssere tide beon fordrencte?”²⁵² (It is the third hour; how might we be drunk at this time?). This linking of Terce with Pentecost indicates a shift from the tradition found in the earlier text of the Durham Collectar, which instead associates Terce only with the Passion of Christ.²⁵³ Taking these sources as a whole, it is clear that the celebration of Pentecost had gained a prominent place in Anglo-Saxon devotion, resulting in a complex tradition that

²⁵⁰ Frere, *The Winchester Troper*, xxvi.

²⁵¹ Ure, *The Benedictine Office*, 95-6.

²⁵² Clemons, *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies*, 356, lines 57-8.

²⁵³ Corrêa, *The Durham Collectar*, 234.

highlighted the visual elements of Acts 2:2-3, the power of language, and the necessity of baptism for salvation.

As was the case with the Harrowing, the homilies prove to be a rich source of information about the tradition of Pentecost. Ælfric's *CH I.22* and Supplemental Homily 10 were both written specifically for Pentecost; despite this, their content proves to be quite different. *CH I.22* reflects more of what one would expect to find in a Pentecostal homily by describing the events laid out in Acts 2:1-8: "com fælice micel swegi of heofonum and gefylde ealle ða upfleringe mid fyre, and wæs æteowod bufon heora æcum swilce fyrene tungan"²⁵⁴ (there suddenly came a great sound from heaven, and [it] filled the upper chamber with fire, and was manifested over each of them as if fiery tongues). Ælfric further mentions that following this the apostles could speak in many languages and used this to their advantage in order to convert the masses.²⁵⁵ Thus, Ælfric here "locates the inspirational power of the Holy Spirit ... in the performative nature of their [the apostles'] language, in their role in the codification of Christian wisdom, and in their courageous missionary zeal"²⁵⁶—all of which, as will be shown, are descriptions that could easily apply to Juliana and Margaret.

The homily does not simply address the literal events of Pentecost, however; the typological connection between the Tower of Babel and Pentecost is also central to this work.²⁵⁷ Just as languages were fractured due to the Tower of Babel episode, Ælfric

²⁵⁴ Clemoes, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, 356, lines 44-6.

²⁵⁵ Clemoes, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, 356-7, lines 47, 67-74.

²⁵⁶ Dekker, "Pentecost," 363.

²⁵⁷ This homily begins with another typological connection: the link between God giving Moses the commandments on Mount Sinai and God appointing a law to the people on Pentecost. Clemoes, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, 354-5, lines 17-33.

explains, they were united once more due to Pentecost.²⁵⁸ Perhaps the most interesting and unusual elements in this homily, however, are Ælfric's straightforward explanations about why the dove and fire were connected to Pentecost. He oddly bypasses all mentions of the dove appearing at Christ's own baptism, and instead explains that both doves and Christ live in "bilewitnysse and unscaeddinysse and gesibsumnysse"²⁵⁹ (meekness and innocence and peacefulness). The fire, on the other hand, is explained as consuming everything, and thus to be the heat with which the apostles might warm the hearts of heathens, which were cold through "geleafleaste and flæclicum gewilnungum"²⁶⁰ (infidelity and carnal desires).²⁶¹

Whereas this homily focuses on Acts 2:1-8, Ælfric's Supplemental Homily 10 instead focuses on the other major biblical source for Pentecost: John 14,²⁶² specifically, verses 23-31, in which Christ promises both salvation for the faithful and the arrival of the Holy Spirit, who will teach all things. Much of this homily, therefore, is a study of salvation and the consoling nature of the Holy Spirit. Indeed, in the 211 lines of the homily, only 10 are dedicated to the actual event of Pentecost. In lines 95-104, Ælfric succinctly explains that the Holy Spirit descended with both flames and a loud noise over the apostles. Following this, the apostles (with no explicit mention of their newly

²⁵⁸ Clemons, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, 358, lines 112-19.

²⁵⁹ Clemons, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, 359, line 140.

²⁶⁰ Clemons, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, 359, line 149.

²⁶¹ Kees Dekker has focused on paganism and torture (and the subsequent fearlessness of the apostles) in this homily to argue that it is reflective of contemporary events, namely, the ongoing threat posed by the Vikings at the end of the tenth century. Dekker, "Pentecost," 363.

²⁶² Ælfric's three major sources for this homily were Haymo's Homily 100, Gregory's Homily 30, and Augustine's commentary on John in *Tractatus LXXVI-LXXIX*. Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric I*, 393.

acquired language skills) began to convert the masses, creating the “anginn ealles Cristendomes”²⁶³ (beginning of all Christendom).

The importance of language—one of the major elements of Pentecost—is also downplayed in another Pentecostal homily; the “gift of tongues” is also omitted by the tenth-century Blickling homilist in Homily 12.²⁶⁴ This homily partially summarizes the events in Acts 2:1-8 by explaining how the “sweg” (voice) of the Holy Spirit descends, taking on the form of flames. To this, however, the homilist adds that the Holy Spirit also took two other forms: “windes onlicnesse”²⁶⁵ (the likeness of wind) and “culfran onlicnesse”²⁶⁶ (the likeness of a dove). Completely avoiding issues of language and conversion, the rest of the homily instead focuses on the other strengths the Holy Spirit gives to the faithful. Chief among these are the power to “wergan gaste wiþstondan and ofercuman”²⁶⁷ (withstand and overcome evil spirits) and the power to “eorðlican egsan forsawon”²⁶⁸ (reject earthly fear).

Blickling Homily 11, which was written for Ascension Thursday, also attributes the gift of these strengths to the Holy Spirit. Here, the homilist briefly switches from the Ascension to Pentecost, and explains that the Holy Spirit was sent to the apostles. The homilist continues by stating that they “ealle worldlice tintrega and ealle lichomlicu sar oforhogodan”²⁶⁹ (scorned all worldly torments and all bodily pain). The idea of the gifts of the Holy Spirit is one rooted deeply in Pentecostal traditions. Ælfric’s *CH* I.22, and his

²⁶³ Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric I*, 400, line 102.

²⁶⁴ Dekker, “Pentecost,” 370.

²⁶⁵ Morris, *The Blickling Homilies*, 133.

²⁶⁶ Morris, *The Blickling Homilies*, 135.

²⁶⁷ Morris, *The Blickling Homilies*, 135.

²⁶⁸ Morris, *The Blickling Homilies*, 137.

²⁶⁹ Kelly, *The Blickling Homilies*, 84-5.

Supplemental Homilies 11 and 11a²⁷⁰ all discuss the seven-fold gifts of the Holy Spirit, which were meant to be a topic of the liturgy for Pentecost and the six days that follow. These gifts are outlined in detail in Wulfstan's Homily 9, "De Septiformi Spiritu." The seven gifts that come from the Holy Spirit are: "wisdom" (wisdom), "andgyt" (intelligence), "rædgedæht" (counsel), "modes strengð" (fortitude), "ingehyd" (knowledge), "arfæstnyss" (piety), and "Godes ege" (fear of God).²⁷¹ In contrast to this are the seven "ungifa" (evil gifts) from the devil: "unwisdom" (folly), "stuntnys" (stupidity), "receleasnyss" (carelessness), "wacmodnys" (moral weakness), "nytenness" (ignorance), "arleasnyss" (impiety), and "dyrstignys" (boldness).²⁷² The breakdown and attribution of these (un)gifts are particularly apt when considering the quality and actions of the characters in the *passiones*.

Lastly, we must turn to the surviving artwork for evidence of Anglo-Saxon interpretations of Pentecost. In particular, this tradition is reflected in the iconographical depictions from the Winchester School.²⁷³ The most famous of these is the Pentecost miniature from the Æthelwold Benedictional,²⁷⁴ which shows "the dove of the Holy Spirit [as it] pours down undulating flames upon the apostles. A very significant detail, and an Anglo-Saxon innovation, is that the flames do not rest on the apostles' heads, but

²⁷⁰ Clemons, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, 363, lines 228-31; and Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric I*, 418, lines 66-71, and 470, lines 183-7.

²⁷¹ Bethurum, *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, 185.

²⁷² Bethurum, *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, 187.

²⁷³ Dekker, "Pentecost," 365. Nevertheless, "[t]here are many depictions of this theme in England before the 11th century. It probably reached the country through its portrayal on such portable artefacts as the 8th-century ivory book-covers from Genoels-Elderen, Belgium; or illuminated manuscripts such as the *Utrecht Psalter* ... dated to the second quarter of the 9th century" (Muñoz de Miguel, "The Iconography of Christ," 76).

²⁷⁴ Prescott, *The Benedictional of St. Æthelwold*, fol. 67v.

lead to their mouths.”²⁷⁵ A second depiction from the Winchester School can be found on folio 15v of the Tiberius Psalter. In this image, flames are being transferred from the mouth of a descending dove to the heads of the seated apostles.²⁷⁶ These depictions not only capture the moment the apostles gain the power of languages, they also reveal that the Holy Spirit’s form as a dove was an important visual element of this tradition, something that will be especially important for the Tiberius *passio* of Margaret.²⁷⁷ Thus, as the tradition of Pentecost became more accessible through both visual representation and vernacular literature, the importance of communication for conversion (and thus, salvation) became more heavily stressed than it had been in the earlier literature.

These are in fact the same qualities that are stressed in the *passiones* when the Pentecostal imagery begins. Juliana’s successful interrogation of Belial demonstrates her command of speech; while she embodies the seven-fold gifts from the Holy Spirit, particularly intelligence, counsel, fortitude, and piety, Belial reveals through his rhetorical impotence that he has only the evil (and ultimately useless) “ungifts” from the devil.²⁷⁸ The prison scene in the Harley 3020 *passio* fittingly closes with an image of Pentecost not found in the BNF, lat. 10861 version.²⁷⁹ Hinting at the flames that are famously associated with the descent of the Holy Spirit, Eleusius fetches the saint back to

²⁷⁵ Dekker, “Pentecost,” 366.

²⁷⁶ Francis Wormald, *English Drawings of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (London: Faber and Faber, 1952), 68-70.

²⁷⁷ In Acts 2:1-8, the Holy Spirit assumes the form of a flame, not a dove. The dove is instead tied to the images of Christ’s baptism (Matthew 3:16, Mark 1:10, and Luke 3:22).

²⁷⁸ Lenore Abraham similarly applies the gifts from the Holy Spirit to what is described in Cynewulf’s *Juliana*. Abraham, “Cynewulf’s Recharacterization,” 71.

²⁷⁹ Instead, this version describes how “*facies eius gloriosa erat*” (her face was full of glory), and how Eleusius “*admiratus*” (regarded [her] with wonder). Lapidge, “Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*,” 162. The *passio* redacted by the Bollandists follows the description found in BNF, lat. 10861. Strunk, *Juliana*, 43.

the palace, whereupon he is “metuens” (afraid) because “eius gloria quasi ignis fulgebat”²⁸⁰ (her glory shone as if it were a flame).

As was shown in the *OEM* and BNF, lat. 5574 texts about Margaret, while the Pentecostal allusions often include a dove, this detail is not required. Thus, while the Tiberius text includes multiple scenes with the dove, the CCCC 303 text includes none, replacing this figure with an angel in the prison scene, and with Christ in the execution scene. Just before Margaret’s imprisonment in the Tiberius *passio*, she specifically asks God: “gesend me þinne þone Halgan Gast fram heofonum, se cyme me to fultume” (send me your Holy Spirit from the heavens, which may come to my aid).²⁸¹ This makes explicit what is only hinted at in the BNF, lat. 5574 *passio*, since in that text she asks for a dove to be sent as aid.²⁸² This help arrives right after Margaret binds the second demon, and it is at this point that the Pentecostal imagery begins, paving the way for the demon’s rhetorical defeat. Here, the Holy Ghost takes the form of the dove, who arrives bringing “swiþe micel leoht on þæm þystran quarterne” (a very great light in the dark prison).²⁸³ The dove then prompts her to ask the devil very specific questions. This detail, which names a direct source for Margaret’s “gift of tongues,” is unique to the Tiberius version, as in the Latin tradition Margaret’s interrogation of the devil occurs through her own initiative.²⁸⁴

²⁸⁰ London, BL, Harley 3020, fol. 106r.

²⁸¹ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 118-19.

²⁸² Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 202-3. In the CCCC text, however, Margaret simply asks for aid, without specifying either the Holy Spirit or the dove. Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 160-1.

²⁸³ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 124-5.

²⁸⁴ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 46.

The Pentecostal allusions occurring in the prison scenes for both Juliana and Margaret therefore establish the rhetorical strength of the saints, and their ability to use the seven-fold gifts of the Holy Spirit to, as Blickling Homilies 11 and 12 described, “withstand and overcome evil spirits.” The Pentecostal allusions following the saints’ release from their prisons retain these elements, yet the focus is moved away from the saints’ ability to “withstand and overcome” to another major Pentecostal theme: the ability to convert pagans.²⁸⁵ In both the Harley 3020 *passio* and the Tiberius *passio*, Juliana and Margaret are respectively able to convert masses of pagans following adamant declarations of their faith.²⁸⁶ Once more, mass conversion is shown to be the logical next step to a Pentecostal scene, with these saints utilizing their newly gained rhetorical powers to bring to life the “missionary zeal” found in Ælfric’s *CHI.22*.

Significantly, the Pentecostal imagery in the *passiones* of Margaret is repeated in the moments preceding the saint’s execution. In the Tiberius *passio*, the dove returns to promise the salvation of those who commemorate Margaret after her death. Such a promise is evocative of the ones made by Christ in John 14 and discussed in Ælfric’s Supplemental Homily X. Notably, the dove’s speech here “is easily the longest in the whole text: only Margaret’s prayer, which it answers, comes anywhere near in length.”²⁸⁷

In most Latin versions, it is Margaret’s prayer that is typically the longest, suggesting that

²⁸⁵ Mass conversions played a major role in Anglo-Saxon understandings of Pentecost, as they were the effect of the apostles’ newly gained power of speech. See, for example, Ælfric’s *CHI.22* in Clemons, *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies*, 356-7, lines 67-80.

²⁸⁶ London, BL, Harley 3020, fol. 108v; and Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 130-1. In the Harley 3020 *passio*, Juliana converts five hundred pagans. This differs from the earlier Latin *passiones*, since BNF, lat. 5574 specifies 500 men and 130 women were converted, and BNF, lat. 10861 simply states that 130 pagans were converted. In the case of Margaret, the conversion of fifteen thousand pagans in the Tiberius *passio* appears to be a corruption “in the transmission of the Latin rather than the Old English, for the Old English figure [eighty-five] is confirmed by the Greek version edited by Usener and also by Surius” (Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 48).

²⁸⁷ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 49.

this change was made to highlight the power and salvation to be found through the Holy Spirit.

In the CCCC 303 version, it is not a dove, nor even an angel who descends; it is Christ Himself who promises to grant Margaret's prayer, strengthening the link to John 14 even further. This scene follows the more traditional Latin version in the fact that Margaret's speech is longer than Christ's. The CCCC 303 version continues by noting that when the infirm "þe wæron þær on lande"²⁸⁸ (who were there in the land) heard this, they *immediately* sought to be healed by her corpse, suggesting a second mass conversion. Conversely, the Tiberius version only states that her body had the power to heal, omitting the idea that more people were converted because of her death. This scene is also amongst the ones from Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale 202 used by Clayton and Magennis to supplement their edition of BNF, lat. 5574, and must therefore be included in this portion of the study. Aligning itself with the details found in the CCCC version, the reaction Margaret's death invokes is immediate in the Saint-Omer text; after hearing about Margaret's prayer, all the physically infirm left at once to see relics, and all who touched them were healed.²⁸⁹ Once more, it appears that Margaret's publicly made promises result in the conversion of pagans during her own place and time.

When taken together, all five elements (pagan parents, senseless idols, torture by hanging and by boiling water, allusion to the Harrowing, and Pentecostal imagery) reveal why Juliana and Margaret were saints that appealed to later Anglo-Saxons on multiple levels. In these *passiones*, the original audience would have seen reflections of the legal,

²⁸⁸ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 170.

²⁸⁹ Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives*, 216-17.

social, political, and theological elements that shaped the world they lived in; they would have heard descriptions and dialogue similar to the homilies and masses they attended on some of the most important feast days of the liturgical year. Details about the saints' ability to harness the power of language, and the importance of preaching and conversion, would have been particularly relevant to a society heavily influenced by the Benedictine reform. Moreover, the gruesome tribulations of the saints were exciting enough to hold the attention of an audience, relevant enough to have served as important examples for the nuns, and removed enough that, while the audience could well have made the link between the pagan persecutors and the second wave of Viking invasions, they would not have felt that the stories of Juliana and Margaret were a direct condemnation of their actions or inactions. It is no wonder, then, that these two foreign saints could find a voice in the same world that denied the same to their native counterparts.

CONCLUSION

THE QUESTION OF THE VIRGIN MARTYR IN ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND

The veneration of saints represents a crucial element in Anglo-Saxon devotion. Serving as divine intercessors, saints were accessible to all members of society. Evidence for their popularity is attested to not only in the surviving literature, but also in the laws, archeological artifacts, art, liturgical practices, and more, showing the extent to which sanctity permeated all aspects of Anglo-Saxon culture. Moreover, a study of these sources makes it readily apparent that certain types of sanctity were favored over others. Some of the most popular in Anglo-Saxon England were the martyred kings, hermits, noble abbesses, and virgin martyrs, yet of these four categories, only that last completely excluded the native ranks. While many virgin martyrs would be imported to Anglo-Saxon England throughout its history, two in particular stand out: Juliana and Margaret. These two saints attract notice not only because of their growing popularity throughout the entirety of the Anglo-Saxon era, but also because of the extraordinarily similar features found in their *passiones*.

But just what was the appeal of Juliana and Margaret that made them a presence throughout Anglo-Saxon history? It is difficult (and would be misguided) to pinpoint a single reason for their continued popularity. Moreover, the complexity of the surviving evidence for these two saints paints a larger picture concerning expressions of female sanctity in Anglo-Saxon England. This picture has two main components: the Anglo-Saxon women who were overlooked as potential virgin martyrs, and the appeal of the foreign saints who filled this cultural and textual gap. In order to understand both parts of this story, the culture and history of the Anglo-Saxons must first be taken into account.

The earliest Anglo-Saxon *passiones* about Juliana and Margaret were composed in turbulent times: the first wave of Viking invasions. As the Anglo-Saxons reflected on their own “age of martyrs,” it becomes apparent that while the men who were killed during these attacks (such as King Oswald and King Edmund) would almost immediately be viewed as martyrs, the Anglo-Saxon women who suffered similar fates were repeatedly overlooked. The reasons for this are unclear, though many factors must have been at work, such as the shame of the men who failed to protect these vulnerable women and the pain in remembering such horrific events. Whatever the true cause for their exclusion from the ranks of the saints, the gap was soon filled by Juliana and Margaret. While knowledge of these foreign saints had arrived in England much earlier, veneration of them truly began to flourish when the need for them was greatest.

Interest in these saints did not simply end with Alfred’s victory at Edington, however, proving that their appeal was not limited to the circumstances created by the Viking attacks. Within the texts themselves, Anglo-Saxons could find expressions of their own culture. One example of this is how their own practices concerning kinship obligations would have provided the framework through which they interpreted the actions of the pagan parents in the *passiones*. Moreover, the drama inherent in these stories would have captured the audience’s attention; as Juliana and Margaret acted out their fights against the demons, the audience would have been reminded of the liturgical dramas that acted out the Harrowing of Hell.

Even as Anglo-Saxon culture shifted with the changing times, the elements in the *passiones* would continue to appeal to the Anglo-Saxons. Trials by ordeal, for example, gave new weight to the images of the saints being submersed in boiling liquid. Likewise,

the rapidly growing homiletic tradition provides evidence for how the later Anglo-Saxons were instructed to interpret major themes. Idolatry, for instance, was a trait that the homilists, such as Wulfstan and Ælfric, often associated with the Danes—this association was particularly apt given the Viking attacks that had been renewed at the end of the tenth century. Despite the fact that Juliana and Margaret lived and died in a place and time so far removed from the Anglo-Saxons, the details of their stories remained extraordinarily relevant to a society whose own conversion was remarkably bloodless.

As was the case with earlier Anglo-Saxon England, however, both Juliana and Margaret gained renewed relevance in the face of foreign attacks. It is fair to state that the Harley 3020 *passio* of Juliana, which has been dated to the late-tenth or early-eleventh century, was copied within the context of the second wave of Viking invasions, which had been begun as concentrated attacks in 991 and continued until Cnut defeated Edmund Ironside in 1016 and became king of England. The need for a figure like Juliana would be much like the need present in the late-ninth century, and perhaps explains why the *passiones* of Juliana were copied during these tumultuous years. It would also explain why the veneration of both Juliana and Margaret experienced a lull during the Benedictine reform, only to explode once more in the face of foreign assailants. Evidence for the veneration of these two saints thus continued (somewhat underwhelmingly) during the Benedictine reform, and survived beyond the second wave of Viking invasions at the end of the tenth century.

Insular interest in Juliana and Margaret began early and was sustained throughout the Anglo-Saxon era. It was perhaps luck and coincidence that brought these two Mediterranean martyrs to England in the first place, but it was their appeal to the Anglo-

Saxons that made them popular. Juliana and Margaret thus found a space to flourish in the gap created by the silencing of native Anglo-Saxon women who could have fulfilled similar roles. While the question of female sanctity is often who were God's chosen, the question asked here is: who were the Anglo-Saxons' chosen?

Appendix A

26 March: “Christ’s Descent into Hell” (London, BL, MS Cotton Julius A.x, fols. 73v-7r)

On ðone syx ond twentegðan dæg ðæs monðes, on þone dæg Christ reste dead on byrgenne for us, ond his sawl somod his godcundnes somod hergode geond hellegrund, ond sloh þara feonda weorod mid his godcunde sweorde ond draf on hellegrund ond hi þær geband. Þær hine ongeatan weras ond wif ealle þa þe hine æfre ær gelyfdon, ond hi of þæm wítum forðræsdon ond wepende him to fotum lutan ond þis cwædon: “Help ure la, Hælend, nu þu hider come, ðeah ðe hit late wære. A we gehyton to þinum cyme; ac adwæsc nu ðas gebeot ond ðas wopas tobrec, ond gecyþ þinne þrymm on helle swa þu dydest on eorðan, þær þu alysddest cuce men mid þinre rode: genere nu us deadan mid þine deaðe.” Ðær hine eac ongeaton Adam ond Eua, þær hi asmoredede wæron mid deopum ðeostrum. Ða ða hi gesawon his þæt beorhte leoht æfter þære langan worolde, þær Eua hine halsode for Sancta Marian mægsibbe ðæt he hire miltsade. Heo cwæþ to him: “Gemýne, min Drihten, þæt seo wæs ban of minum banum, ond flæsc of minum flæsce. Help min forþon.” Ða Crist hi butu ðonan alyside ond unrím bliðes folces him beforan onsende, ða he wolde gesigefæsted eft siðian to þæm lichoman.¹

On the twenty-sixth day of this month, on the day Christ remained dead in the sepulcher for us, and His soul [and] His divine nature together simultaneously harrowed throughout the abyss of hell, and struck a throng of those fiends with His divine sword and drove [them] into the abyss of hell and bound them there. There, all the men and women, those who had ever believed in Him before, recognized Him, and they rushed forth from the tortures, and, weeping, fell down at His feet and said this: “Help us, o Savior, since You have come here, though it be late. We always hoped for Your coming, but now destroy these threats and diffuse these lamentations, and proclaim Your might in hell as You did on earth, where You redeemed living men by means of the Crucifix: now liberate us, the dead, by means of your death.” There Adam and Eve also recognized him, where they were smothered with the dark abyss. When they saw that, his bright light, after the long period of time, then Eve implored Him that He show mercy to her because of her relationship to Saint Mary. She said to him: “Remember, my Lord, that she was the bone from my bone, and the flesh from my flesh. Therefore, help me.” Then Christ liberated them both from there, and sent forth before Him a countless number of joyous people, since He wished to travel back to the body fastened in victory.

¹ Edition is from Günter Kotzor, ed., “Christ’s Descent into Hell,” in *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, Vol. II, 46-7. While the B-text of the *OEM* serves as the basis for this edition, Kotzor also notes variants found in the C-text (CCCC 196).

Appendix B

15 May: “Pentecost” (London, BL, MS Cotton Julius A.x, fol. 98r)

On ðone fifteogðan dæg þæs monðes bið se micla dæg ðe is nemned Pentecosten. Se dæg wæs mære on ðære ealdan æ ær Cristes cyme, forþon ðe God spræc to Moyse of heofonum geherendum eallum Israhela folce. Ond ðy dæge God sealed his æ ond his bebodu ðæm ylcan folce twam stænenum bredum awritene, on Sinai ðære dune. Ond eft æfter Cristes uppastignesse to heofonum, ðy ilcan dæge he onsænde his þegnum ðone Halgan Gast, ond ealra þara monna wæs on anum huse hundteontig ond twentig. Þa færinga wæs geworden sweg of heofonum swa swa stranges windes sweg, ond se sweg gefylde ðæt hus ðær hi sæton ond ofer heora ælcne onsundran sæt swa swa fyr. Ond hi mihton sona sprecan on æghwelc þara geðeoda þe under heofonum is, ond þa Hælend[e]s þegnas mihtan siþþan don heofonlico wundor ðurh þone gast. Ðæm gaste æghwelc gefullwad man nu onfehð þurh biscopa handa onsenesse, ond se gast wunað mid æghwelcne þara þe god deþ; ond he gefyhð on ðæs clænan mannes heortan swa swa culfre ðonne heo beðað hi on smyltum wætre on hluttere wællan.²

On the fifteenth day of this month is the great day which is called Pentecost. The day was famous in the old religion before the coming of Christ, owing to when God spoke to Moses from heaven before all the listening people of Israel. And on that day God gave His law and His commandments to the same people, inscribed on two broad stones, on Mount Sinai. And again after the Ascension of Christ into heaven, on the same day he sent forth the Holy Ghost to his followers, and one hundred twenty of all those men were in one house. Then a voice suddenly came from heaven, like the sound of a strong wind, and the voice filled the house where they sat, and settled over each of them as if a fire. And immediately they had the power to speak in each of the languages which is under heaven, and then the followers of the Savior had the power afterwards to perform heavenly miracles by means of the Spirit. Each baptized person now receives the Spirit through the laying on of bishops' hands, and the Spirit dwells among each of those who do good; and it [is] taken into the heart of a pure man just as a dove when it bathes itself in calm water in a clear pool.

² Edition is from Kotzor, “Pentecost,” *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, Vol. II, 104-5. While the B-text of the *OEM* serves as the basis for this edition, Kotzor also notes variants found in the C-text (CCCC 196).

Appendix C

Nunneries in Late Anglo-Saxon England

The Nunnaminster, Winchester

The Nunnaminster,³ which was originally founded by Ealhswith, King Alfred's wife,⁴ was reformed and enlarged around the year 963 by Æthelwold, who established Æthelthryth as abbess.⁵ Given its long history of royal connections, it is not surprising that the Nunnaminster was a recipient of royal gifts, including thirty pounds from King Eadred (d. 955) in his will, a *paten* from Ælfgifu (the mother of King Edgar), an estate and silver cross from Ætheling Æthelstan (the son of Æthelred the Unready, d. 1014) in his will,⁶ and two pounds from Æthelmær (d. 982), ealdorman of Hampshire, in his will.⁷

Chatteris

Unlike the Nunnaminster, there is no extant record of a strict Benedictine Rule being imposed upon the nuns of Chatteris.⁸ Nonetheless, it was established by a man with strong connections to the reform: Eadnoth, bishop of Dorchester. Before becoming bishop, Eadnoth, who founded Chatteris for his sister Ælfwen, had been a monk at Worcester with Oswald, and an abbot of Ramsey, one of the major reformed monasteries.⁹ Interestingly, while Chatteris was founded by a reformer, its establishment

³ For a general overview of this nunnery, see Foot, *Veiled Women II*, 243-52.

⁴ Yorke, "'Sisters Under the Skin?'" 98. Like other widowed queens, Ealhswith ultimately retired to the Nunnaminster as a dowager. Stafford, "Queens, Nunneries and Reforming Churchmen," 19.

⁵ Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 221; Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, 155; and Foot, *Veiled Women I*, 91.

⁶ Crick, "The Wealth, Patronage, and Connections," 168.

⁷ Crick, "The Wealth, Patronage, and Connections," 168.

⁸ For a general overview of this nunnery, see Foot, *Veiled Women II*, 55-8.

⁹ Foot, *Veiled Women I*, 92.

actually occurred sometime between 1006 and 1016,¹⁰ placing it after the period of the Benedictine reform and into the second wave of Viking attacks—a fact that helps narrow down the date of the foundation. As the only nunnery north of Watling Street,¹¹ it is easily the most northern of the nunneries during this period, and it is doubtful that the foundation would thus have occurred in 1016, when Cnut and his men were harrying the areas of Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire, both of which bordered Chatteris on the west. Further, it is unlikely that Eadnoth would have concerned himself with the foundation of a nunnery when the lands around Dorchester were being attacked in 1006 and 1009.¹²

Barking

The evidence for Barking from this period is important, as it highlights the favor with which it was regarded during the mid-tenth century.¹³ Among this evidence is the will of Ælfgar (c. 946 x 951) that named St. Mary's, Barking as one of his beneficiaries,¹⁴ and the donation of land from King Eadred both to the abbey itself,¹⁵ to two nuns,¹⁶ and to one minister.¹⁷ Further, there is speculation that Barking was officially re-founded c. 965 by King Edgar and St. Dunstan,¹⁸ yet even if this is in fact true, it is probable that the re-foundation was more of a ceremonial event than one that signified a major change for

¹⁰ Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses*, 89; and Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 256.

¹¹ Halpin, "Women Religious," 105.

¹² Garmonsway, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 136-41, 146-53.

¹³ For a general overview of this nunnery, see Foot, *Veiled Women II*, 27-33.

¹⁴ "S 1483," *The Electronic Sawyer*; Foot, *Veiled Women I*, 85, n. 4; and Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 256.

¹⁵ "S 552a," *The Electronic Sawyer*.

¹⁶ These were to Æthelgifu in 946 ("S 517a," *The Electronic Sawyer*) and Eawyn in 946 ("S 517b," *The Electronic Sawyer*).

¹⁷ This was to Ælfstan in 947 ("S 522a," *The Electronic Sawyer*).

¹⁸ Bruce L. Venarde, *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society: Nunneries in France and England, 890-1215* (Ithaca: Cornell U P, 1997), 26; and Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 256.

the nunnery. With the evidence provided by wills, it is clear that Barking was operational in the years just preceding 965 (and held in high enough esteem to merit bequests), and there is no contemporary evidence suggesting that Barking operated as a reformed house. Like many other nunneries, however, by the time of the Conquest its lands had been greatly depleted, with Battersea, Childerditch, and Isleworth instead being held by earls.¹⁹ Indeed, out of all the royal donations made to Barking during the tenth and eleventh centuries, only the ones from Eadred were still in Barking's ownership in 1066.²⁰

Shaftesbury

As with Barking, the evidence for Shaftesbury²¹ suggests it survived more or less throughout the later Anglo-Saxon period. Originally founded c. 888, this house was destined to become England's largest nunnery following the Norman Conquest.²² It is clear from the tenth-century *Chronicon* of Æthelweard that the abbey must have still been of importance in 944, since it was in this year that Ælfgifu, King Edmund's first wife, was buried here.²³ Moreover, like the Nunnaminster, Shaftesbury Abbey received the same gifts from King Eadred and ealdorman Æthelmær in their wills, as well as six pounds from Ætheling Æthelstan in his will,²⁴ providing clear evidence for the abbey in the years 955, 982, and 1014. In sum, approximately three-quarters of Shaftesbury's estates were gifts from royalty.²⁵ A large part of this house's popularity can be attributed to the translation of the body of Edward the Martyr to this abbey from Wareham in 982,

¹⁹ Robin Fleming, "Monastic Lands and England's Defense in the Viking Age," *The English Historical Review* 100.395 (April 1985): 247-65, at 256.

²⁰ Crick, "The Wealth, Patronage, and Connections," 169.

²¹ For a general overview of this nunnery, see Foot, *Veiled Women II*, 165-77.

²² Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 265.

²³ Campbell, *Chronicon Æthelwardi*, 54; and Yorke, "'Sisters Under the Skin?'" 100.

²⁴ Crick, "The Wealth, Patronage, and Connections," 168.

²⁵ Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, 8.

an act led by the reformer, St. Dunstan.²⁶ While the effect of this translation led to Shaftesbury becoming a major pilgrimage site, the motivation behind it was far more controversial; it is widely accepted that the move was largely political, seen as a way to expiate Queen Ælfthryth of the sin of Edward's 978 murder.²⁷

Berkeley

Berkeley²⁸ was an early nunnery whose fate was uncertain during the first wave of Viking invasions, but given its location in the western part of Wessex, it seems probable that the nunnery came out unscathed. The last recorded appearance of this abbey from this part of its history is a charter dated to 883, in which Æthelræd, an ealdorman of Mercia, granted the abbey privileges in exchange for 30 *mancuses* and 12 hides of land.²⁹ Nonetheless, its disappearance from records until 1031, when the abbess is mentioned in the Winchester *Liber Vitae*, suggests that the abbey was far from flourishing, and had perhaps lapsed at times.³⁰ Berkeley did not survive until 1066, though the reasons for its disappearance as a nunnery are unclear.³¹ There was still a community of some sort during the reign of Edward the Confessor and perhaps following the Conquest, yet there is evidence that the Godwins held control of the land for some time, and by the time the Domesday Book was recorded, its lands had become part of the royal holdings.³²

²⁶ Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 265.

²⁷ Yorke, "'Sisters Under the Skin?'" 103.

²⁸ For a general overview of this nunnery, see Foot, *Veiled Women II*, 39-42.

²⁹ "S 218," *The Electronic Sawyer*.

³⁰ Crick, "The Wealth, Patronage, and Connections," 159, n. 39.

³¹ Foot, "Unveiling Anglo-Saxon Nuns," 24.

³² Stafford, "*Cherchez la Femme*," 15; and Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, 143.

Leominster

Leominster³³ was founded in 660, and like Berkeley, its fate during the first wave of Viking invasions remains unknown, despite the claims of Knowles and Hadcock that it was destroyed in the ninth century.³⁴ Its position on the border of Wales suggests that it had been the target not of Viking raids, but rather of Welsh wrath, as was indeed the case in 1052, as the D-text of the *ASC* records, when it was attacked by the Welsh king, Griffin.³⁵ Leominster appears in the records again c. 1000, when Wulfgeat leaves four full-grown bulls to the abbey in his will,³⁶ and again in 1046, when Swein famously abducted the abbess, as is discussed at the end of Chapter Three. The history of the abbey becomes a bit convoluted at this point. Its relic collection survived at Leominster until 1121, when it was transferred to Reading. Moreover, while it appears to have become the personal property of Queen Edith by 1066, twenty years later the Domesday Book records the presence of an abbess and nuns here, the maintenance of whom was overseen by secular clerks at St. Katherine's in Hereford.³⁷

Wareham

Wareham was an early Anglo-Saxon nunnery that served as the burial site for King Beorhtric of Wessex in 802. Like so many nunneries, its exact fate at the end of the ninth century is unknown, though its location near the southern coast of England was certainly vulnerable, and the 876 entry in the A- and E-texts of the *ASC* states that the

³³ For a general overview of this nunnery, see Foot, *Veiled Women II*, 103-7.

³⁴ Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 69.

³⁵ Garmonsway, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 176.

³⁶ "S 1534," *The Electronic Sawyer*.

³⁷ Stafford, "Cherchez la Femme," 9-10; Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses*, 89; Meyer, "Patronage of the West Saxon Royal Nunneries," 337; and Halpin, "Women Religious," 103.

town was attacked and used as a base for the Vikings.³⁸ While it is clear that the nuns returned sometime after the attack, it is unclear when exactly this was. Further, as Barbara Yorke speculates, its association with the family of Beorhtric may have put the abbey in royal disfavor by the time of King Alfred. This may also explain why Edward the Martyr's body was moved in 979 to the more royally favored Shaftesbury.³⁹ Wareham's last recorded appearance as a nunnery is in the 982 entry in the C-text of the *ASC*, which mentions the death of the abbess, Wulfwyn.⁴⁰ This nunnery appears to have been destroyed in the second wave of Viking attacks, as was discussed in Chapter Three. While the nunnery disappears from records, it is believed that William the Conqueror gave this land and church to the abbey of Fontanelle, or to Horton Abbey, though this latter possibility is more unlikely.⁴¹

Wilton

Wilton⁴² was founded during the reign of Edward the Elder (r. 899-924), and it would be here that the king's second wife, Ælfflæd retired (possibly forcibly), thus enabling the king to marry Eadgifu. This abbey would ultimately become one of the most well-known nunneries of the later Anglo-Saxon period, thanks in large part to the abbey's association with Edgar's daughter, St. Edith of Wilton.⁴³ Edith's own mother, Wulfthryth, had been abbess of Wilton in the late-tenth century, and petitioned King Edgar (her former husband) in 968 to transfer her privately owned lands in Wiltshire and the Isle of

³⁸ Garmonsway, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 74-5.

³⁹ Yorke, "Sisters Under the Skin?" 97-105; and Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses*, 75-7.

⁴⁰ Foot, *Veiled Women I*, 157; Yorke, "Sisters Under the Skin?" 97-105; and Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses*, 75-7.

⁴¹ Foot, *Veiled Women II*, 197-204, at 202-4.

⁴² For a general overview of this nunnery, see Foot, *Veiled Women II*, 221-31.

⁴³ Yorke, "Sisters Under the Skin?" 98, 102; and Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses*, 76.

Wight to Wilton Abbey.⁴⁴ Even before Edith and Wulfthryth, however, Wilton had royal connections, with King Æthelstan giving six hides of land at Burcombe to the abbey in 937⁴⁵ and King Eadred giving 100 hides of land at Chalke to the abbey in 955.⁴⁶ As with Shaftesbury and the Nunnaminster, Wilton received both thirty pounds in King Eadred's 955 will and two pounds from ealdorman Æthelmær's 982 will. More unique, however, was the gift of a chalice and paten of 120 mancuses from bishop Ælfwold of Crediton.⁴⁷

Reading

The exact date of Reading's foundation as a nunnery is unknown,⁴⁸ though it "can arguably be traced from the last decades of the tenth century to 1066."⁴⁹ The abbess for at least part of this time, Leofrun, appears in the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, and is possibly the same abbess who was in Canterbury with Archbishop Ælfheah when the city was attacked in 1011. It is possible, as had been discussed in Chapter Three, that the nunnery was dispersed in 1006 when the Danes were attacking this area. Reading, which would be re-founded as the all-male Reading Priory in 1121, was considered royal property by 1066, yet like Berkeley and Leominster, may still have had some type of female religious community.⁵⁰

Romsey

The story of Romsey's foundation is a complicated one,⁵¹ with credit going to both Edward the Elder in 907 and Edgar in 968.⁵² While this could be another case of a

⁴⁴ "S 766," *The Electronic Sawyer*; and Meyer, "Patronage of the West Saxon Royal Nunneries," 353.

⁴⁵ "S 438," *The Electronic Sawyer*.

⁴⁶ "S 582," *The Electronic Sawyer*; and Crick, "The Wealth, Patronage, and Connections," 167.

⁴⁷ Crick, "The Wealth, Patronage, and Connections," 167-8.

⁴⁸ For a general overview of this nunnery, see Foot, *Veiled Women II*, 145-7.

⁴⁹ Stafford, "*Cherchez la Femme*," 8.

⁵⁰ Stafford, "*Cherchez la Femme*," 8, 11.

⁵¹ For a general overview of this nunnery, see Foot, *Veiled Women II*, 149-55.

re-foundation, the only contemporary evidence for its foundation supports the latter claim. In 968, Edgar gave land in Edington to Romsey Abbey,⁵³ and somewhere between 967 and 975 he also confirmed the abbey's privileges, including the free election of a new abbess—a particularly reform-minded policy.⁵⁴ Further, the A- and G-texts of the *ASC* state that in 971, Ætheling Edmund was buried at Romsey.⁵⁵ Romsey was one of the eight nunneries to survive as a tenant-in-chief when the Domesday Book was recorded in 1086.⁵⁶

Amesbury

Amesbury⁵⁷ was one of two nunneries founded c. 979 by Ælfthryth following the death of her husband, King Edgar.⁵⁸ While Amesbury has no original foundation charter, in 1423, “the prioress of Amesbury produced this [1002] charter in the Court of the Exchequer.”⁵⁹ Given its similarity to the charter for its sister abbey, Wherwell, this document is generally accepted to be an authentic copy of an earlier charter.⁶⁰ One possible reference to this abbey is the 994 entry in the F-text of the *ASC*, which states that after Archbishop Sigeric's death, Ælfric, bishop of Wiltshire, was elected his successor at

⁵² Foot, *Veiled Women I*, 160-1; Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses*, 78; and Ian R. Scott, “Romsey Abbey: Benedictine Nunnery and Parish Church,” in *Monastic Archaeology: Papers on the Study of Medieval Monasteries*, ed. Graham Keevill, Mick Aston, and Teresa Hall (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001), 150-60, at 15.

⁵³ “S 765,” *The Electronic Sawyer*.

⁵⁴ “S 812,” *The Electronic Sawyer*.

⁵⁵ Foot, *Veiled Women I*, 161.

⁵⁶ Crick, “The Wealth, Patronage, and Connections,” 162.

⁵⁷ For a general overview of this nunnery, see Foot, *Veiled Women II*, 21-5.

⁵⁸ Knowles, Brooke, and London, *The Heads of Religious Houses*, 207.

⁵⁹ H. P. R. Finberg, *Early Charters of Wessex* (Leicester: Leicester U P, 1964), 103, no. 331.

⁶⁰ Finberg, *Early Charters of Wessex*, 104; Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses*, 87; and Meyer, “Patronage of the West Saxon Royal Nunneries,” 343

Amesbury.⁶¹ Not much is known about Amesbury beyond this, though it is amongst the nunneries to survive (albeit poorly) as a tenant-in-chief in 1086.⁶²

Wherwell

Wherwell's history is extraordinarily similar to Amesbury's. It, too, was founded by Ælfthryth after her husband's death, and it was to this abbey that she eventually retired until her death in 1002.⁶³ Unlike Amesbury, however, there is an extant 1002 charter from King Æthelræd the Unready confirming Wherwell's privileges and lands to the abbess, Heanflæd. A note was added to this charter in 1008, granting ten hides of land in Bullington and 29 burghal tenements in Winchester to the abbey.⁶⁴ In 1051, the D-text of the *ASC* records, the daughter of Earl Godwin was committed to Wherwell's abbess.⁶⁵ As with its sister foundation of Amesbury, not much more can be said about the nunnery, except that it survived past the Norman Conquest, though its income in 1086 was a mere 41 pounds.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Garmonsway, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 128.

⁶² Crick, "The Wealth, Patronage, and Connections," 162.

⁶³ Stafford, "Queens, Nunneries and Reforming Churchmen," 19.

⁶⁴ "S 904," *The Electronic Sawyer*; Meyer, "Patronage of the West Saxon Royal Nunneries," 343-4.

⁶⁵ Garmonsway, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 176.

⁶⁶ Crick, "The Wealth, Patronage, and Connections," 163.

Appendix D

Dubious Nunneries in Late Anglo-Saxon England

Minster-in-Thanet

This nunnery was founded in 670,⁶⁷ but was one of the first nunneries attacked by the Vikings. Its history immediately following this attack is uncertain, but it appears in records once more in 943, when King Edmund gave the land to his mother, Eadgifu. Notably, however, no abbess of Thanet is listed as a witness to this charter, suggesting that the land had passed out of the nunnery's hands some time before.⁶⁸ Moreover, as the C-text of the *ASC* attests, Thanet was harried in 980—a fact not too surprising given its extremely vulnerable position.⁶⁹ Previous scholarship has often assumed, however, that Thanet was a nunnery once more by 1011, when a certain abbess Leofrun is abducted by the Danes in Canterbury, though, as is discussed in Chapter Three, Leofrun was probably the abbess of Reading instead. It must be recalled from Chapter One, however, that Thanet's community, along with the nuns from Lyminge, could well have relocated to Canterbury after their communities were attacked c. 841.⁷⁰ Ultimately, this nunnery's former lands at Thanet are absorbed by St. Augustine's Abbey sometime between 1042 and 1046, when King Edward granted them to this ecclesiastical center.⁷¹

⁶⁷ For a general overview of this nunnery, see Foot, *Veiled Women II*, 125-32.

⁶⁸ "S 489," *The Electronic Sawyer*.

⁶⁹ Garmonsway, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 124.

⁷⁰ Brooks, *The Early History*, 35.

⁷¹ "S 1048," *The Electronic Sawyer*.

Horton

The story of Horton's existence as a nunnery⁷² relies on Goscelin of Canterbury's unsupported late-eleventh-century *Life of St. Wulfhild*, in which he states that this nunnery was one of five given to the saint c. 960.⁷³ The most convincing evidence for Horton's existence as a nunnery is the appearance of an abbess of Horton in the 1021 *Liber Vitae* of New Minster and Hyde Abbey.⁷⁴ Most evidence for Horton, however, suggests that it instead housed monks. That was certainly the case by the time the Domesday Book was recorded in 1086, with Horton Abbey being the poorest of the monasteries, having an income of only twelve pounds.⁷⁵ Indeed, if we work backwards from 1086, we find that at the 1075 Council of London, Osirich is listed as the abbot of Horton,⁷⁶ and in 1061 King Edward confirmed Horton Abbey's privileges. While this confirmation charter does not mention if the abbey housed monks or nuns, it is telling that the charter itself is housed at Sherborne Abbey, for which the male abbey of Horton had been a cell.⁷⁷

Polesworth

According to the thirteenth-century accounts of Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris, Polesworth⁷⁸ was founded in the 920s for King Æthelstan's sister, Edith, after her husband, Sihtric of York, had died. As Sarah Foot points out, however, "Edith is more conventionally held to have married the Saxon king Otto, and the tale may have arisen

⁷² For a general overview of this nunnery, see Foot, *Veiled Women II*, 101-2.

⁷³ Foot, *Veiled Women I*, 161.

⁷⁴ Foot, *Veiled Women I*, 167; and Knowles, Brooke, and London, *The Heads of Religious Houses*, 213.

⁷⁵ David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: From the Times of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 940-1216* (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1963), 101.

⁷⁶ David Wilkins, *Concilia magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae a synodo Verolamiensi A.D. CCCCXLVI ad Londinensem A.D. MDDCCXVII*, Vol. I [London: Gosling, Gyles, Woodward, and Davis, 1737], 364.

⁷⁷ "S 1032," *The Electronic Sawyer*.

⁷⁸ For a general overview of this nunnery, see Foot, *Veiled Women II*, 139-42.

in an attempt to account for the placing of the relics of a saint Edith at Polesworth in the earliest of the surviving lists of saints' resting-places."⁷⁹ Polesworth Abbey is not the subject of any surviving charters, and the scholarship that has argued for its existence during the late Anglo-Saxon period has relied on the thirteenth-century accounts and its inclusion in the 1031 *Secgan*.⁸⁰ Polesworth, despite its clear existence as a nunnery after the Conquest, is not one of the eight nunneries listed in the Domesday Book, suggesting a later foundation.⁸¹ Moreover, had Polesworth indeed been a nunnery in the tenth and eleventh centuries, it would have been even further north than Chatteris, going against the general geographic trends guiding the placement of nunneries during this period.

Coventry

There is no evidence from the Anglo-Saxon era to suggest that Coventry⁸² was ever a nunnery; despite this, the seventeenth-century historian of Warwickshire, William Dugdale, claimed it was a nunnery that was destroyed by Cnut in 1016.⁸³ This idea was picked up decades later by Thomas Tanner, and, though generally dismissed by scholars now, is a claim worth acknowledging.⁸⁴ All contemporary evidence instead suggests that in 1043, Earl Leofric and his wife, Godgifu, donated the land for the

⁷⁹ Foot, *Veiled Women I*, 157.

⁸⁰ Rollason, "List of Saints' Resting-Places," 63, n. 10.

⁸¹ Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses*, 77-8; and Crick, "The Wealth, Patronage, and Connections," 162-3.

⁸² For a general overview of this nunnery, see Foot, *Veiled Women II*, 71-2.

⁸³ Foot, *Veiled Women I*, 166.

⁸⁴ Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, 566.

monastery, which was then occupied by Abbot Leofwine and his monks.⁸⁵ Indeed, by the 1050s, the *ASC* begins mentioning abbots of Coventry.⁸⁶

Southampton

Southampton's⁸⁷ story parallels that of Horton; it was one of the five houses Goscelin of Canterbury claimed was given to Wulfhild c. 960. Unlike Horton, however, there is no abbess of Southampton mentioned in the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, making its existence as a nunnery all the more dubious.⁸⁸ Further, there is no evidence from the charters or the *ASC* to support Goscelin's claim.

⁸⁵ "S 1000," "S 1098," "S 1099," and "S 1226," *The Electronic Sawyer*.

⁸⁶ Garmonsway, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 184, 198.

⁸⁷ For a general overview of this nunnery, see Foot, *Veiled Women II*, 179-80.

⁸⁸ Foot, *Veiled Women I*, 161, 167.

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