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THE ASSEMBLED BODY:
ANATOMICAL ENUMERATION AND EMBODIMENT
IN ANGLO-SAXON DEVOTIONAL TEXTS

BY

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DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

“The Assembled Body: Anatomical Enumeration and Embodiment in Anglo-Saxon Devotional Texts” argues that Anglo-Saxon Christians viewed the material body as a potent site for spiritual transformation. This notion finds its fullest expression in the rhetorical scheme of anatomical enumeration which appears across a diverse collection of Old English and Anglo-Latin devotional forms that range from the seventh to eleventh century, such as anonymous personal protective charms and prayers, confessional formulae, monastic execrations, scientific writing and diagrams produced by Byrhtferth, as well as a number of Ælfric of Eynsham’s vernacular homilies. This project demonstrates how Anglo-Saxon authors employed such enumerative anatomical catalogs to highlight the vibrancy of the flesh at moments of spiritual uncertainty. Casting the material body as an assemblage of agents, this rhetorical disarticulation of the flesh enables readers to envision the realignment and reintegration of their disordered and disobedient limbs into the unity of Christ’s spiritual body.

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Za Aidu i Eminu

*Što te volim, ah što te ljubim
aman, aman, bože moj*

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ASE</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon England.</i>
ASPR	Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records.
B&T	Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller, ed., <i>An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.</i>
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina.
CSASE	Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England.
<i>CH</i>	<i>Ælfric's Catholic Homilies.</i>
<i>DOE</i>	<i>Dictionary of Old English: A to H online.</i>
<i>DRBO</i>	<i>Douay-Rheims Bible Online.</i>
EETS	Early English Text Society
<i>JEGP</i>	<i>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</i>
Ker	N. R. Ker, ed., <i>Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon.</i>
<i>LS</i>	<i>Ælfric's Lives of Saints.</i>
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
PL	Patrologia Latina

INTRODUCTION:

OLD ENGLISH LITERATURE, NEW MATERIALISMS, AND THE BODY'S POTENTIAL

What is an assemblage? It is a multiplicity which is made up of many heterogeneous terms and which establishes liaisons, relations between them, across ages, sexes, and reigns – different natures. Thus, the assemblage's only unity is that of a co-functioning: it is a symbiosis, a 'sympathy.'

Gilles Deleuze and Claire Parnet, *Dialogues II*

What if the body is more than its limbs, organs, and flesh as traced by an anatomical chart, as united into a finite whole?

Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Medieval Identity Machines*

Images of the body—as a whole or in pieces—permeate the Anglo-Saxon literary canon. For example, Beowulf swells with anger anticipating his heroic grappling match with the monstrous Grendel in the same codex as other freakish foreign bodies that roam the distant East; Holofernes's disembodied head is a clear sign of Judith's spiritual triumph while a thief's missing hand marks his crime as well as the authority of the state; saints lives reveal the holiness of their subjects through descriptions of both physical incorruption and dismemberment; and the resurrected flesh pictured in the poetic *Christ III* and prose *Blickling Homily 10* transmogrifies into a state like glass that reveals one's sins at Judgement Day.¹ While the Anglo-Saxon body

¹ Frederick Klaeber, *Klaeber's Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*, 4th ed. rev. R.D. Fulk, Robert E. Bjork, John D. Niles (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008); Andy Orchard provides an edition and translation of the Latin and Old English iterations of *The Wonders of the East* in *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf-Manuscript* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 175-203; Mark Griffith, ed., *Judith* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1997); representative examples from Æthelberht or Alfred's law codes are found in Felix

has only recently become a subject for examination, especially in comparison to other fields such as Middle English or Early Modern studies, scholars of early medieval literature have quickly brought to bear a dizzying array of methodologies and theoretical approaches whose readings uncover bodies as diverse, and sometimes as contradictory, as those on the manuscript page.²

To accurately describe the current state of the body in early medieval scholarship we must necessarily broach, in broad terms, the circumspect reception of critical theory within Anglo-Saxon studies. While disciplines inside the humanities began to employ theory during the 1980s to better frame or articulate various aspects of critical discourses, chief among these the body, Anglo-Saxonists would deviate little from traditional forms of textual study rooted in philology, codicology, and source study. It is not until the early 1990's, with Allen J. Frantzen's seminal appeal for scholars of early medieval literature to reevaluate customary boundaries drawn between past and present, or rather what is deemed properly "Anglo-Saxon" and what is not, that aspects of theoretical perspectives would enjoy broader approval within the conventional ambit of Anglo-Saxon studies.³ Following Frantzen the body began to dominate

Liebermann, ed., *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, vol. 1 (Halle, 1903), 3-9, 15-87; Rev. William W. Skeat collects Ælfric's extensive catalog of *vitae* in *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, EETS o.s. 94 and 114 (London, 1881-1890); for *Christ III* see George Phillip Krapp and Elliott van Kirk Dobbie, ed., *The Exeter Book*, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, vol. 3 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), 27-49 (hereafter ASPR III). For *Blickling 10* see R. Morris, ed., *The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century*, EETS o.s. 73 (London, 1880), 106-15.

² Benjamin C. Withers anticipates this burgeoning wave of interest but views it in terms of necessity rather than a fad: "The investigation of the medieval body has arisen only recently and those studies that do exist have been directed toward either the conditions of its formation in Late Antiquity or toward its most 'flamboyant' expression in the High and Late Gothic eras, leaving the periods between the decline of Roman society and the late-eleventh century relatively unexplored and obscure" ("Forward: Uncovering the Body in Anglo-Saxon England," in *Naked Before God: Uncovering the Body in Anglo-Saxon England*, eds. Benjamin C. Withers and Jonathan Wilcox [Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2003], 1-14 at 14).

³ Frantzen, *Desire for Origins: New Language, Old English, and Teaching the Tradition* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990). Frantzen's call is not a condemnation of these traditional methodologies but rather a demonstration of how theoretical perspectives might augment them, and in doing so provide Anglo-Saxonists with a vocabulary to maintain their relevance within broader literary conversations. A series of collections complement and extend this observation in Frantzen, ed., *Speaking Two Languages: Traditional Disciplines and Contemporary Theory in Medieval Studies* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991); Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe, ed., *Reading Old English Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); and most recently in Jacqueline

discourses attending to gender, sexuality, and identity in literary analysis of Old English texts.⁴ Although early applications of literary theory undoubtedly yielded groundbreaking insights, practitioners noted how their chosen critical frames failed to account for fundamental aspects of the pre-modern body. Such frames took shape from notions of social construction that understand the body as a unitary object to be leveraged by a master consciousness as a symbolic site of resistance to overlapping power structures.⁵ This view of the body as a passive construction provides little conceptual context for what Clare A. Lees describes as a “firm

Stodnick and Renée R. Trilling, eds., *A Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Studies* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2013). Frantzen’s initial challenge still resonates, as Stodnick and Trilling note: “In beginning with a historical analysis of a word, we are not far from the disciplinary ‘comfort zone’ for Anglo-Saxon studies, long dominated by textual study and specifically philological aims. However, in our attention to discordance – for instance, between stated authorial aims and underlying textual effects – and our acknowledgement that contemporary meanings and concerns inevitably intrude into our work, we are indebted in obvious ways to theory and the changes it has wrought on the practice of humanistic study... In this duality lies the point of this volume, which in many respects aims to erase a troublesome sense of division between the practice of theory and Anglo-Saxon studies: what would it look like to make the two languages one?” (3). For a broad but succinct overview, with examples, of the variety of theoretical perspectives now employed within Anglo-Saxon studies see Renée R. Trilling, “Old English Literature and Critical Theory,” *Oxford Bibliographies Online*, accessed April 17, 2017, <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com>. And happily, philological source study remains a fruitful field for investigation, as a cursory glance at catalogues from Thomas D. Hill or Charles D. Wright attests; a *festchrift* for R.D. Fulk most recently demonstrates the persistence of and possibility for philology in *Old English Philology: Studies in Honour of R.D. Fulk*, eds. Leonard Neidorf, Rafael J. Pascual, and Tom Shippey (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2016). I should also note that much of the work from John P. Herman seeks to demonstrate the utility of theory for Anglo-Saxon studies, culminating in his masterful study of the spiritual warfare topos in *Allegories of War: Language and Violence in Old English Poetry* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1989). Herman’s work predates Frantzen, although it does not receive the same notoriety.

⁴ Foundational studies appeared from Frantzen on sexuality in “Between the Lines: Queer Theory, The History of Homosexuality, and Anglo-Saxon Penitentials,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 26 (1996): 255-96, and *Before the Closet: Same-Sex Love from Beowulf to Angels in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); from Clare A. Lees and Gillian Overing on gender in “Before History, Before Difference: Bodies, Metaphor, and the Church in Anglo-Saxon England,” *Yale Journal of Criticism* 11 (1998): 315-34, and *Double Agents: Women and Clerical Culture in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001); from O’Brien O’Keeffe on law in “Body and Law in late Anglo-Saxon England,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 27 (1998): 209-32. The essays collected in Stodnick and Trilling’s *Handbook* – along with their concomitant bibliographies – provide a more recent sketch of the expansive place the body occupies in contemporary Anglo-Saxon scholarship.

⁵ Here I am thinking of Foucault’s notion of the *discursive* production of the body—that is via the overlapping discourses of competing power structures—but we might also consider the Lacanian structural perspective in which the body transforms into the symbolic through metaphor. Suzanne Lewis provides a thorough account of the body in Anglo-Saxon studies, with particular attention to the tension between constructivist readings of the body and an impulse to uncover the material/embodied aspects of lived experience, in “Introduction: Medieval Bodies Then and Now: Negotiating Problems of ambivalence and Paradox,” in Withers, *Naked Before God*, 15-28.

insistence on the material presence of the body” in early medieval texts, its inherent agency, and the paradoxical, often profoundly ambivalent, representations that emerge from the intersection of literary production, theological discourse, and lived experience.⁶ The growing concern with inherent tensions between such social constructivist views of the body and a desire to uncover the physical Anglo-Saxon body, as well as embodied experience, reflects the larger materialist turn within the discipline of cultural criticism, whose goal is to enliven our understanding of the roles played by material culture and embodiment in discourses of the self.⁷ This turn finds fullest expression in the diverse lines of New Materialisms that currently loom large in many fields of the humanities.

Jacqueline Stodnick and Renée R. Trilling offer the most cogent defense for New Materialist readings of Old English texts in which the primary focus is to demonstrate the way in which this theoretical frame necessarily demands a reconsideration of notions of subjectivity

⁶ Lees, “Engendering Religious Desire: Sex, Knowledge, and Christian Identity in Anglo-Saxon England,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 27 (1997): 17-45, at 22-23. In Lees’ view this paradox emerges from a cultural emphasis on restraint, which simultaneously acknowledges the importance of the material body even as it works to make the material body absent by translating it into writing (18 and 39). The most focused warning against rejecting the material pre-modern body in favor of a slavish adherence to any particular (constructivist) theoretical lens comes from Caroline Walker Bynum in “Why all the Fuss about the Body? A Medievalist’s Perspective,” *Critical Inquiry* 22, no. 1 (1995): 1-33. Bynum argues that attention to the material body will not only deepen our understanding of medieval culture but shed light on our own: “It is not only possible, it is imperative to use modern concerns we confront the past. So long as we reason by analogy rather rewriting or rejecting, the present will help us see past complexity the past will help us to understand ourselves” (31).

⁷ Lewis, 18. Indeed this is the intent of the essays gathered in *Naked Before God*. Regarding theory and methodology, Lewis finds a practical and ultimately optimistic impulse in the collection wherein medievalists do not reject theory or apply it slavishly but take from it what they determine will deepen our understanding of an ancient that simultaneously demonstrates new insight into the critical frame: “Each author engages in critical self-consciousness to extend the boundaries of a medieval culture, so circumscribed in time and space, by invoking contemporary theoretical approaches to reading, writing, and imagining – whether Foucauldian, Lacanian, or Derridean. While all the essays in this collection ‘read’ texts and images, they do so in order to see them as embodiments of cultural forces that critical analysis can dislodge, scrutinize, and identify. Their goal has not been to ‘apply’ theory to the same small Anglo-Saxon corpus of visual and textual representations of the body but to test the flexibility of theoretical paradigms” (28).

animating Anglo-Saxon discourses on the body and selfhood.⁸ The different approaches comprising New Materialisms draw from a metaphysics that regards the body as a nexus of disparate relations constantly in process, first sketched by philosopher Gilles Deleuze and psychoanalyst Felix Guattari.⁹ During their collaborations Deleuze and Guattari sought to articulate aspects for a model of assemblage they first term the “Body without Organs” (BwO), and later use interchangeably with the term *agencement* (assemblage), to conceptually approach dimensions of embodiment beyond what had previously been understood in models that viewed the physical body as a static, prearranged “organic” whole.¹⁰ The BwO is primarily a reaction against traditional characterizations of the body in science and philosophy. Biology and anatomy privilege the normal, healthy organ, to be understood as an individual entity but also conceived as part of an integrated organic whole that, if removed, would lose functionality and determination. A correlative philosophical view interprets the body as a seamless mechanism under the control of a transcendent mind, along with the related idea of the social organism

⁸ Stodnick and Trilling, “Before and after theory: Seeing through the body in early medieval England,” *Postmedieval* 1, no. 3 (2010): 347-353.

⁹ Stodnick and Trilling, “Before and after theory,” 348.

¹⁰ The concept appears throughout *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. by Robert Hurley, Mark Seem, and Helen R. Lane (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983); and *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987). In *Anti-Oedipus*, Deleuze and Guattari employ the concept of *machines désirantes* (desiring machines) to help express the impulse/charges animating the pull and push between the [organic and inorganic] bodies on the continuum of the BwO: “It is at work everywhere, functioning smoothly at times, at other times in fits and starts. It breathes, it heats, it eats. It shits and fucks.... Everywhere it is machines-real ones, not figurative ones: machines driving other machines, machines being driven by other machines, with all the necessary couplings and connections. An organ-machine is plugged into an energy-source machine: the one produces a flow that the other interrupts. The breast is a machine that produces milk, and the mouth a machine coupled to it... All the time, flows and interruptions” (1-2). Manuel DeLanda cautions how the English term “assemblage,” used to translate *agencement*, unintentionally eschews the notion of development or continual process at the core of the original concept: “The word in English [assemblage] fails to capture the meaning of the original *agencement*, a term that refers to the action of matching or fitting together a set of components (*agencer*), as well as to the result of such an action... The English word used as a translation captures only the second of these meanings, creating the impression that the concept refers to a product not a process” (*Assemblage Theory* [Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016], 1).

organized by sovereign authority.¹¹ The BwO, as a theory of assemblage, allows us to consider the processes at work in the alignment of these pieces or bodies, the becoming of the assembled body, and the attendant proliferation of possibilities, rather than the typical retrospective determinism that informs organicist models. Deleuze and Guattari draw on embryology to characterize the BwO as an egg “crisscrossed with axes and thresholds, with latitudes and longitudes and geodesic lines, traversed by gradients marking the transitions and the becomings,”¹² and elsewhere as an open plane of consistency:

before extension of the organism and the organization of the organism and the organization of the organs, before the formation of the strata; as the intense egg defined by axes and vectors, gradients and thresholds, by dynamic tendencies involving energy transformation and kinematic movements involving group displacement, by migrations; all independent of *accessory forms* because the organs appear and function here only as pure intensities.¹³

This model provides a means to conceptualize the multidirectional plane across which bodies, here as indeterminate or non-specialized elements, occur, and it illuminates the continual process of change, flight, or movement within and between assemblages.¹⁴ Along this plane bodies are outside any determinate state, poised for any alignment or action in their repertoire; this is the body from the point of view of its potential, where immanence and emergence converge.¹⁵ This

¹¹ This philosophical view underwrites the greater portion of theoretical perspectives that read the body in symbolic, constructivist terms. See page 3 above.

¹² *Anti-Oedipus*, 21.

¹³ *Thousand Plateaus*, 153.

¹⁴ The BwO, like the phenomena it seeks to describe, is rather fluid and Deleuze and Guattari seem playfully unwilling to provide a set definition, which is likely the result of the phenomena with which they are dealing. Helpful points of entry appear at *Anti-Oedipus*, 9-16, and *Thousand Plateaus*, 149-66.

¹⁵ Brian Massumi, English translator of *Thousand Plateaus*, elaborates this concept of the *virtual* in *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002).

potential reveals a vibrancy in the body: it desires, attracts, repels, affects and is affected.¹⁶ Our bodies, as assemblages, are associative; they imbricate us within our environments and likewise draw us to and from encounters as well as co-operations that problematize organicist and social constructivist notions of stable and finished selfhood.

Deleuze and Guattari's formulation of the material processes at work in assemblages offers early medieval studies a theoretical methodology to address the materiality of the Anglo-Saxon self, how the individual, as an assemblage of bodies (biological, manmade, or divine) is enmeshed within its environment, and how this enmeshment gives rise to particular modes of subjectivity grounded in the network of material bodies.¹⁷ Emphasizing the imbrication of body and subjectivity, it allows critics to flesh out nuances of the Anglo-Saxon body misunderstood or undervalued by Cartesian hierarchies that subordinate the human body to mind or soul and degrade the flesh as inert object in favor of a master Subject. In the Guest/Host trope of *Exeter Riddle 43* or in both the sinful and virtuous bodies that rejoin their souls at judgment of the *Soul and Body* poems, Anglo-Saxonists find a mutuality between actants, an inextricable bond where the human body is equally a route to sin or salvation.¹⁸ Accommodating a variety of methodologies such as Object-Oriented Ontology, Speculative Realism, Actor-Network Theory,

¹⁶ Writing on the agency of assemblages, Jane Bennett grounds this notion of the *associative* body in the seventeenth-century philosopher Baruch Spinoza's notion of conative bodies, that "each is, by its very nature as a body, continuously affecting and being affected by other bodies. Deleuze explicates this point: the power of a body to affect other bodies includes a 'corresponding and inseparable' capacity to be affected" in *Vibrant Matter: a political ecology of things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 21. For Deleuze's familiarity with Spinoza see Deleuze, *Spinoza: Practical Philosophy*, trans. Robert Hurley (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1988).

¹⁷ These include Vibrant Materialism, Speculative Realism, and Object-Oriented Ontologies. Stodnick and Trilling contend: "it is possible to conceive of a material subjectivity that does not depend on the separation of nature and culture. By focusing our attention on how early medieval bodies are connected to their environments – from the worms burrowing through the dead flesh that marks the boundary of a community to the evidence of sin in the transparent body of the Christian subject on Judgment Day – we can allow theoretical insights and early medieval materials to illuminate one another" ("Before and After Theory," 352).

¹⁸ ASPR III: 204; Douglas Moffatt, ed., *The Old English Soul and Body* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1990).

or Vibrant Materialism, New Materialist approaches reconceptualize the philosophical problem of things, objects, and subjectivity in a way that provides a model for Anglo-Saxonists to articulate relationships that confound Cartesian dualism and that would extend work by scholars such as Caroline Walker Bynum who reveal the many visual and literary modes medieval thinkers employed to blur the body/soul distinction,¹⁹ and it allows medievalists to convey “how significant the medieval is to the very task of doing theory.”²⁰

Recent work effectively employs aspects of these various approaches to expand notions of subjectivity emanating from Anglo-Saxon objects and bodies that brush against or impinge upon the human. Sheeta Chaganti and James Paz both consider inscribed matter (the Ruthwell Cross and the engraved swordhilt in *Beowulf* respectively) to explore how such “things” carry a charge of meaning that eludes linguistic efforts to define them, while Anne F. Harris speculates how the “hewn” tree *cum* cross of *The Dream of the Rood* expresses its own logic of transformation, and Daniel Tiffany observes how the verbal obfuscation inherent to Old English

¹⁹ Clarifying the role of the material body in the spiritual discourse and religious practice of the later Middle Ages is a the focus unifying much of Bynum’s work, see *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1992); *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995); *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York: Zone Books, 2011). Despite Bynum’s practice, there has been little explicit exploration of the material body in early medieval spiritual texts or devotional activity. Amity Reading is a notable exception; see her book-length investigation in this area with “Soul and Body: Reading the Anglo-Saxon Self through the Vercelli Book” (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2009).

²⁰ In his introduction to a special collection of essays for the *Minnesota Review*, Andrew Cole posits: “the idea here is not to replace modern with medieval theory in some nostalgic turn to the past... Rather, it is to show that when medieval and modern modes of thought are brought into contact with one another, the former emerges in all its philosophical and critical depth, while the latter acquires renewed validity in the art of historical interpretation” (“Introduction: The Medieval Turn in Theory,” *Minnesota Review* 80 [2013]: 80-82). Indeed, this is the goal of the journal *postmedieval* as stated by chief editor Eileen Joy: “The journal will work to develop a present-minded medieval studies in which contemporary events, issues, ideas, problems, objects, and texts serve as triggers for critical investigations of the Middle Ages. Further, we are concerned to illuminate the deep historical structures—mental, linguistic, social, cultural, aesthetic, religious, political, sexual, and the like—that underlie contemporary thought and life, and therefore, we are also interested in attending to the *question* of the *relation* of the medieval to the modern (and vice versa) in different times and places” (“Journal Prospectus,” *postmedieval: a Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies*, accessed April 12, 2017, <http://www.siue.edu/~ejoy/postmedievalProspectus.htm>).

riddles mirrors the material uncertainty of the objects they seek to describe.²¹ Confronting this budding desire for medieval things to speak for themselves, Andrew Cole and others are uneasy with how these new ontologies decentralize, or completely eschew, human experience or consciousness in a way that may obscure the richness of medieval thought.²² Of equal concern is the effect this ontological turn to matter, which equates the departure from social constructionism with a turn from language-centeredness, may have on the study of a literature that foregrounds complex relationships between the human body, language, and experience.²³ Leslie Lockett

²¹ Chaganti, “Vestigial Signs: Inscription, Performance, and The Dream of the Rood,” *PMLA* 125, no. 1 (2010): 48–72; Paz, “Æschere’s Head, Grendel’s Mother, and the Sword That Isn’t a Sword: Unreadable Things in Beowulf,” *Exemplaria* 25, no. 3 (2013): 231–51; Harris, “Hewn,” in *Inhuman Nature*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (Washington, DC: Oliphaunt, 2014), 17–38; Tiffany, “Lyric Substance: On Riddles, Materialism, and Poetic Obscurity,” *Critical Inquiry* 28, no. 1 (2001): 72–98. More recently Chaganti employs “figure and ground” theory to consider the matter of the *arma Christi* in Old English verse in “Figure and Ground: *Elene*’s Nails, Cynewulf’s Runes, Hrabanus Maurus’s Painted Poems,” in *The Arma Christi in Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture*, ed. Lisa H. Cooper and Andrea Deny-Brown (New York: Routledge, 2016), 53–82. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen reads Guthlac’s saintly body through the lens of *machines désirantes* (desiring machines), in what is the earliest application of assemblage theory/New Materialisms to an Anglo-Saxon text, in *Medieval Identity Machines* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 116–53. Although Cohen’s monograph deals primarily with later medieval texts, this chapter is a fascinating demonstration of what assemblage theory offers studies of Old English works. I engage Cohen further in my Conclusion. Bill Brown first employs the conceptual category of the *thing*—during his effort to outline Thing Theory—to articulate the moment/exchange in which an object exerts its innate agency, forcing the human to recognize and reconsider the object as subject, in “Thing Theory,” *Critical Inquiry* 28, no. 1 (2001): 1–22.

²² In a specific critique of actor-network theory, object oriented ontologies, and speculative realism, Cole cautions: “Despite the new rule that we cannot think of objects as being-for-us and must reject older philosophies smacking of ‘presence’ and traditional ontology or ontotheology. The contradictions within each of these new philosophies—it is and it is not anthropocentrism, anthropocentrism is and is not a bad thing—can be resolved, I suggest, when the idealism and mysticism of these fields are acknowledged rather than disavowed in facile critiques of ersatz idealism and pseudosubjectivism. More crucially, a philosophical Middle Ages, which comes into view when generous attention is paid to the richness of premodern thought, presents an opportunity, if not a challenge, to these areas, enabling them to acknowledge cognitive limits that will never be breached by colorful, and sometimes only purple, prose” (“The Call of Things: A Critique of Object-Oriented Ontologies,” *Minnesota Review* 80 [2013]: 107). Cole’s call is not for traditionalism; rather it is an exhortation in the hope that “medievalists will not limit themselves to the ‘application’ of its ideas and the mimicking of its lyricism in the reading of medieval texts and will instead show what it means for a new philosophy to be built almost entirely on the exclusion of the Middle Ages” (118). Cole offers a similar, albeit brief, critique of vital materialisms in “A Questionnaire on Materialism,” *October* 155 (2016): 22–25.

²³ See the introduction to Diana Coole and Samantha Frost, eds., *New Materialisms: Ontology, Agency, and Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 1–46. DeLanda is more permissive regarding the role of language in his “realist” social ontology: “a wide range of social entities, from persons to nation-states, will be treated as assemblages constructed through very specific historical processes, processes in which language plays an important but not a constitutive role” (*A New Philosophy of Society: Assemblage Theory and Social Complexity* [New York: Continuum, 2009], 3).

successfully navigates these problems in a groundbreaking study that takes literally what have been traditionally been read as metaphorical descriptions of affect, such as when Beowulf is *bolgen-mod* (heart/mind/soul-swollen in anger).²⁴ Rooted in an analysis of what George Lakoff and Mark Johnson term *embodied realism*—the view “that the locus of experience, meaning, and thought is the ongoing series of embodied organism-environment interactions that constitute our understanding of the world”—Lockett’s study is important for Anglo-Saxon materialisms in many respects.²⁵ First is the way in which her delineation of the mind/body relationship, along with embodied emotion, tacitly reframes the human body in New Materialist terms of a vibrant material object, that is to say a body firmly enmeshed within its environment and capable of affecting and being affected.²⁶ Second is the way in which Lockett’s recourse to cognitive

²⁴ Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies in the Vernacular and Latin Traditions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011). Through an impressive survey of primary texts and intellectual history, Lockett argues such images are literal descriptions of a folk psychology she describes as the “hydraulic model:” in which the mind is an embodied entity located near the heart and thus subject to the swelling and heat of the latter. Lockett places her analysis in opposition to what she calls the Medievalist Bias: “a dualistic anthropology, in which the mind formed part of the incorporeal and immortal soul, those who espoused [Augustine’s] teachings could not have employed or received the hydraulic model literally: this, in brief, is the basis of the medievalist bias” (13). For example, the presumption of Augustine as monolithic influence underwrites Bernard Felix Huppé, *Doctrine and Poetry: Augustine’s Influence on Old English Poetry* (New York: State University of New York, 1959). Malcolm Godden offers a more even-handed approach in “Anglo-Saxons on the Mind,” in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 271-298. The complex *bolgen-mod* (enraged) is composed by the participial form of *belgan* (to swell with anger, to be angry) and *mod* (which can variously mean heart, mind, or spirit) see Angus Cameron et al., ed., *Dictionary of Old English: A to H online* (Toronto, 2016), accessed April 12, 2017, <http://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doe/> (hereafter DOE) for *bolgen-mod* and *belgan* and for *mod* see Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1882), 693. Hereafter B&T.

²⁵ Johnson and Lakoff, “Why Cognitive Linguistics Requires Embodied Realism,” *Cognitive Linguistics* 13, no. 3 (2002): 249. They expand: “There is no severing, separation from, or bleaching out of the bodily dimensions of meaning. Mind is embodied, meaning is embodied, and thought is embodied in this most profound sense. This is the substance of an embodied realism” (249). Antonina Harbus effectively draws on elements of cognitive linguistics in *Cognitive Approaches to Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2012).

²⁶ I should also note affect in the sense of emotion because this subject—equally as emotion or affect—has likewise enjoyed a recent spike in interest; see Barbara Rosenwein, “Thinking Historically about Medieval Emotions,” *History Compass* 8, no. 8 (2002): 828-42; Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2007); Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions, 600-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016). Rosenwein’s focus is largely on the later Middle Ages. For affect in Anglo-Saxon thought, see Frantzen, “Spirituality and Devotion in the Anglo-Saxon Penitentials,” *Essays in Medieval Studies* 22 (2005): 117-28; Scott DeGregorio, “Affective Spirituality: Theory and Practice in Bede and

linguistics demonstrates the relevance of formulaic or poetic language to materialist analyses of Anglo-Saxon writing; here language is not an attempt to project human consciousness or control upon an inert object but rather an outgrowth of embodied experience; it is an attempt by Anglo-Saxon scribes to convey what one experiences with and through one's body.²⁷ Third, Lockett's articulation of the human body, specifically the mind, as material object advances a number of questions which Anglo-Saxonists have yet to explore. For example, if Anglo-Saxons viewed emotion as an embodied process, does this perception extend into other realms that medievalists have traditionally placed solely within the ambit of psychic activity, such as prayer? More specifically, if recent work by Frantzen and Scott DeGregorio successfully locates aspects of affective piety within modes of early medieval spirituality, challenging the monopoly long held by late-medieval theologians and mystics, then what effects did Anglo-Saxon writers impute to the body, and what role did they play?²⁸ If Anglo-Saxons understood the body as a seat of spiritual experience, then to what degree did this vibrant object condition conceptions of Christian subjectivity? In the wake of such questions, an exploration of the material Anglo-Saxon body as both site of and participant in Christian subject formation is not only timely, but necessary.

Alfred the Great," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 22 (2005): 129-39; Tracey-Anne Cooper, "The Shedding of Tears in Late Anglo-Saxon England," in *Crying in the Middle Ages: Tears of History*, ed. Elina Gertsman (New York: Routledge, 2011), 175-92; Alice Jorgensen, Frances McCormak, Jonathan Wilcox, eds., *Anglo-Saxon Emotions: Reading the Heart in Old English Language, Literature, and Culture* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2015). The majority of these works, however, view the body in terms of expression or symbolism rather than the notions of generativity or agency that weave through Lockett's reading of the embodied mind.

²⁷ Lakoff and Johnson recognize this potential, noting embodied realism's value to science as it rejects a strict subject-object dichotomy: "embodied realism relies on the fact that we are coupled to the world through our embodied interactions. Our directly embodied concepts...can reliably fit those embodied interactions and the understandings of the world that arise from them" (*Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and its Challenge to Western Thought* [New York: Basic Books, 1999], 93).

²⁸ See footnote 26 above.

The present study is foremost an exploration of the ways in which Anglo-Saxon spiritual discourse forms and transforms the Christian subject through the material body. To accomplish this I approach the Anglo-Saxon body, primarily in devotional texts, as a material assemblage. Following Lockett, my analysis centers on a particular rhetorical formation: the anatomical catalog. Anatomical enumeration finds its most robust expression, if not origin, in Irish and Hiberno-Latin prayers where, as part of the larger “enumerative style” in early insular writing, it typically functions as a demonstration of scribal learning.²⁹ My readings of anatomical catalogs move beyond the prevailing philological approach that views these lists purely as a rhetorical device or a cultural artifact attesting Irish influence. Instead, this study reads anatomical lists in terms of an embodied metaphor, which I term the *assembled body*, to explore how scribes employ the image to address and mitigate anxieties that crystallize around the inherent vibrancy of the material body during moments of spiritual change. My analysis draws on aspects of embodied realism and New Materialisms to demonstrate how the assembled body trope reveals a positive association between materiality and subjectivity in Anglo-Saxon spiritual discourse.

That the material body, one’s flesh, bears innate agency is such a commonplace in Anglo-Saxon thought and literature that it is typically taken for granted by scholars of early English literature.³⁰ The concept is itself fundamental to Christian doctrine and at its core speaks to an inextricable connection between spiritual and material aspects of the human, put most famously by Paul the Apostle in his letter to the Romans: “Video autem aliam legem in membris meis, repugnantem legi mentis meae, et captivantem me in lege peccati, quae est in membris meis”

²⁹ Charles D. Wright delineates the enumerative style and its influence on Anglo-Saxon writing in *The Irish Tradition in Old English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 49-105, especially 99. I discuss the enumerative style at greater length in Chapter 1, “Enacting Protection.”

³⁰ Glenn Davis provides helpful context along with his literary analysis in “Corporeal Anxiety in *Soul and Body II*,” *Philological Quarterly* 87 (2008): 33-50. This study builds on previous observations by Frantzen, “The Body in *Soul and Body I*,” *Chaucer Review* 17 (1982): 76-88.

[But I see another law in my members, fighting against the law of my mind, and captivating me in the law of sin, that is in my members].³¹ Paul's language speaks to a cognitive dissonance between the humans and their bodies, foregrounding the uncanny nature of the flesh in a way familiar to modern readers: it is our own but not wholly under our control; it is a part of us yet simultaneously apart from us. Moreover, Paul does not describe his body in abstract terms of unity. That is, Paul does not employ the common terms *corpus* (body) or *caro* (flesh), which connote a seamless unity; rather, in the repetition of *in membris meis* (in my members) the passage foregrounds the body as an accumulation of actants, each with the capacity to act on its own, to desire beyond human will. Anglo-Saxon scribes often characterize this vibrancy as a congenital defect inherited from Adam and the disjunction between human and body as a symptom of our dislocation from divine wisdom.³² This capacity of each member to act in its own interest was likewise taken as a marker of the body's porous and fluid nature, its tendency to be penetrated and unsettled by both sin and sickness.³³ Indeed, the vibrancy of the material body

³¹ Romans 7:23, *Douay-Rheims Bible Online*, accessed April 12, 2017, <http://www.drbo.org/index.htm>; (hereafter DRBO). Translation provided by site. This verse was of particular interest to St. Augustine who devoted a great deal of his effort to expanding on what he read as Paul marking a division between the rational mind and flesh. In turn, this verse is fundamental to the development of Augustine's dualist theology. Augustine's dualism is beyond the scope of this project and has been thoroughly covered by Locket (see footnote 24 above).

³² See Kyle Joseph Williams, "The Worm and the Chalice: Eucharistic Imagery and the Unity of Exeter Riddles 47 and 48," *Modern Philology* 114 (2017): 491.

³³ Audrey Meaney notes, "What first struck me about *Bald's Leechbook*, too, was that for many diseases no cause was stated, or they were assumed to arise from 'the human condition,'" in "The Anglo-Saxon View of the Cause of Illness," in *Health, Disease, and Healing in Medieval Culture*, ed. Sheila Campbell, Bert Hull, David Klausner (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 12. Meaney gives a helpful survey of the natural and paranormal causes of illness, but most helpful is her observation of how the language in descriptions of illness tend to blur the line between the two. The malleable body—affected by its humors as tied to the flow of seasons and motions of celestial bodies—is a cornerstone of Galenic physiology and epidemiology that finds its way into Anglo-Saxon thought by way of Latin medical theory. These lines of influence have been well documented by work from Meaney as well as M. L. Cameron, *Anglo-Saxon Medicine*, CSASE 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Karen Louise Jolly, *Popular Religion in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Elf-Charms in Context* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); and Sally Crawford and Christina Lee, eds., *Bodies of Knowledge: Cultural Interpretations of Illness and Medicine in Medieval Europe*, Studies in Early Medicine 1 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2010). I deal with the intersection of Anglo-Saxon physiology and cosmology in Chapter 3, "Ruling the Microcosm."

resonates through language conveying the experience of temptation in homilies, saint’s lives, prayers, and medical texts. For example, *ypung* and *styrung* liken bodily urges to the violent motion of waves,³⁴ while *tihtan/tihting* [literally to draw out, stretch, tighten as with leather or vellum] evokes the tension one feels when compelled to immoral acts.³⁵ This notion of incitement underwriting conceptions of *costnung* [temptation] materializes in a more abstract metaphor, the Devil’s arrows, speaking to the way desire feels as if it pricks, goads us to its own fulfillment.³⁶ Yet these pricks likewise bear a positive valuation best expressed in the term *onbryrdnyss*, which, like *ypung* and *styrung*, appears across a variety of genres dealing with spiritual concerns.³⁷ Typically defined metaphorically as “inspiration, incitement, to cause a strong feeling,” the term is an Old English translation of the Latin *compunctio* [literally to prick,

³⁴ B&T define *ypung* as “movement of waves, fluctuation” (1302) and give a secondary definition of *styrung* as “of violent movement, literal disturbance, agitation, commotion” (932). Ælfric provides a telling example in his homily *Dominica XVII Post Pentecosten* in which he provides an etymology for the name of the city Naim, which acts as an allegory for the body: “seo burh naim is gereht *ypung* oððe *styrung*... þæt portgeat getacnað sum lichamlic andgitu. Þe men þurh syngiað” [the city Naim is interpreted *movement as of waves* or *violent movement*... the gate signifies a bodily sense through which men sin] (Clemoes, ed., *Ælfric’s Homilies: First Series*, EETS s.s. 17 [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997], 458, lines 16-18). My translation. I read this passage with greater detail in Chapter 4, “Translating the Senses,” at pages 219-24.

³⁵ “I. To draw, stretch... II. but mostly in a metaphorical sense, to draw the mind to something, to incite, exhort, provoke, solicit, prompt, urge, persuade” (B&T, 1028). Again, Ælfric provides a helpful example in his homily *Dominica I in Quadragesima*: “On ðreo wisan bið deofles *costnung*: þæt is on *tyhtinge*, on lustfullunge on geðafunge, deofol *tyht* us to yfele” [Temptation comes from the devil in three ways: that is by incitement, by desire/pleasure, by consent, the devil urges us to evil] (Clemoes, 271, lines 138-39).

³⁶ Robert DiNapoli gives only one occurrence of the topos—*Vercelli* Homily iv, lines 308-21—in *An Index of Theme and Image to the homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church* (Norfolk: Anglo-Saxon Books, 2003), 13. A proximity search of the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus* using combinations of fragmentary instances of Deof* or Diof* with stræl*, streal*, flan*, bog*, sceot*, scot*, scut* returns approximately 20 results, leaving out *Vercelli* 4, see *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus* (Toronto, 2016), accessed April 12, 2017, <http://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doecorpus/>. For example, Ælfric writes: “Þa wurdon hi mid deofles flan þurhscotene. & dreorige on mode” [Then he become shot-through with the devil’s arrows and sorrowful in mind/heart] (Clemoes, 209, lines 80). Physical affliction as a means of temptation is a common theme. A devil notes this tactic during his confession to Juliana while the devils who engage in a turf war with Guthlac actually attempt to sway the saint through fever. For instances in homiletic writing see DiNapoli, 29 (“Disease”). Donald Scragg provides an edition of *Vercelli* iv in *The Vercelli Homilies*, EETS o.s. 300 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 90-107. Herman provides helpful analysis of these motifs in *Allegories of War*, 37-56.

³⁷ Sandra McEntire offers a helpful survey of the concept’s patristic background as well as the intergeneric application of the term in *The Doctrine of Compunction in Medieval England: Holy Tears* (New York: Edward Mellen Press, 1990).

puncture] and as such combines the preposition *on* [with, by means of] with the noun *brord* [a point, sting, puncture].³⁸

Anglo-Saxon scribes treat sinful or sacral acts as manifestations of spiritual and physical illness or health through language connoting bodily disarticulation or accumulation. This concept is at the core of the most common terms for health in the adjectival *hal* (whole, undivided, all in one piece; of physical well-being; of spiritual health) and substantive *hælu/hæl* (physical health; mental or spiritual health) as well as illness, *unhal* (ill, unwhole).³⁹ While the body, understood as an incorporation of actants, is porous in a way that lends itself to disruptive urges, the dichotomy of *hal/unhal* speaks to an anxiety over bodily integrity, how members may become disarticulated to a degree that one's life (both mortal and everlasting) is at stake. A useful example appears in Wulfstan's homily *De Temporibus Anticristi*.⁴⁰ Noting how a Christian may distinguish his true Lord from the imposter, the Antichrist, and of what the latter is capable, the homilist notes: "ure drihten Crist gehælde fela þæra on life þe unhale wæron, 7 se deofol Antecrist *gebrocað* 7 geuntrumað þa ðe ær hale wæron" [Our Lord Christ healed/made whole many who were ill/unwhole in life, and the devil Antichrist *afflicts/breaks* and makes sick those who were previously healthy/whole] (ll. 53-55).⁴¹ While the initial tension between *gehælan* and *unhal* demonstrates the embodied link between unity/wholeness and health, what is of interest here is how the verb *gebrocian*—as well as the related substantive *broc*—conflates affliction and

³⁸ B&T, s. v. "onbryrdnyss." For *brord* see DOE. Dom Jean Leclercq offers an etymology as well as the place *compunctio* within the *lectio divina* in *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1988), 15-17.

³⁹ DOE, s. v. "hal" and "hælu;" B&T, s. v. "unhal."

⁴⁰ Dorothy Behurum, ed., *The Homilies of Wulfstan* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1998), 128-33.

⁴¹ My emphasis. The capacity of the Antichrist to afflict would also likely be viewed as an act of temptation, see note 36 above.

material fragmentation.⁴² In this way the Anglo-Saxon body emerges from a fraught network between states of unwholeness/wholeness, illness/health, discord/accord, damnation/salvation. Images of the assembled body become most pronounced in such moments of indeterminacy, between fragmentation and re-integration. The trope frequently appears in scenes of extreme unction where the innate potential of the material body as assemblage, a structure of alliance and becoming, allows the Christian Anglo-Saxon to envision restored harmony and reintegration as part of Christ's spiritual body.

A salient example of the trope appears as part of a remedy for *ælfadle* described in the third *Leechbook*.⁴³ Listed under a subheading focusing on the attendant symptom *ælfsoġoþa* [elf-hiccough, heartburn (?)],⁴⁴ the instructions take the healer through a complex ritual in which they bind various herbs in cloth, consecrate the collection in holy water, cense the ill at morning and night while singing various litanies as well as the pater noster over the patient. If the patient has *ælfsoġoþa* in addition to *ælfadle* the remedy instructs that a charm be written on the cloth before binding the herbs:

Deus omnipotens pater domini nostril iesu cristi. Per impositionem huius scriptura expelle a famulo tuo N. Omnem Impetuu castalidum: de capite, de capillis, de cerebro, de fronte, de lingua, de sublingual, de guttore, de faucibus, de dentibus, de collo, de brachiis, de corde, de anima, de genibus, de coxis, de pedibus, de compaginibus, omnium membrorum intus et foris. Amen. (Olds, 147-48)

⁴² DOE gives “To afflict, oppress” for *brocian* and “Affliction (spiritual and bodily)” with a tertiary meaning of “Fragment, piece” for *broc*. B&T allow “break” with *brocian* and are more expansive with *broc* noting: “metaphorically that which violently breaks from the body or mind; hence affliction, misery...sickness” (126). The DOE notes that OE *broc* is the precursor of ME noun *broke*.

⁴³ British Library, MS Royal 12 D xvii; see Neil R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), no. 264. Reverend Oswald Cockayne provides an edition in *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England*, vol. 2 (London: Longman, 1865), item lxii, 344-51. An updated edition with more in-depth commentary appears from Barbara M. Olds, *The Anglo-Saxon Leechbook III: A Critical Edition and Translation* (PhD diss., The University of Denver, 1984), 143-149.

⁴⁴ The meaning is disputed, see DOE, s. v. “ælfsoġoþa,” Olds, 149.

[All powerful God, father of our lord Jesus Christ, by the application of this writing expel from your servant .N. all attacks by elves/muses: from the head, from the hair, from the brain, from the forehead, from the tongue, from under the tongue, from the throat, from the gullet, from the teeth, from the neck, from the arms, from the heart, from the mind/spirit, from the knees, from the hips, from the feet, from the framework of joints, all the members, interior (within) and exterior (without). Amen.]⁴⁵

Structurally the list moves head to toe in a manner common among other remedies, protective prayers, and exorcism formulae where the catalogue sketches the body through a list of its members.⁴⁶ This formulaic presentation signifies the material body during such indeterminate moments. Ostensibly the catalogue speaks to fears of disarticulation, figuring the body in pieces as each member acts against the others. Yet the list, as an enumeration of parts accumulating in the body, functions primarily through a series of synecdoches in a manner that evokes the whole through a catalogue of its discrete parts. We might look to the way in which the catalogue aligns *de compaginibus* [network of joints] and *omnium membrorum* [all members] not simply as a fail-safe for the formula to ensure the entire body is cleansed but also as a means to achieve this rhetorical effect. By focusing on the seams, where each member touches the next, the catalogue presents the body fundamentally as a structure of alliance. In effect .N. is an assemblage of his or her limbs, an incorporation of vital members with the potential for each to function as an agent for sin or piety, to individually rebel against or acquiesce to God. Rather than an affirmation of sickness and fragmentation, the catalogue functions in a positive mode wherein each vibrant limb plays a role in its own healing and reintegration, from which a state of bodily wholeness and health emerges. Here the assembled body trope allows the scribe/speaker to envision the recuperation of the body's vibrant nature as a (wholly) holy entity.

⁴⁵ All translations are mine unless noted.

⁴⁶ Indeed the content of the remedy recalls one of the earliest extant exorcism prayers found in a baptism ritual in the *Antiphonary of Bangor*. I discuss this rite further in Chapter 1, "Enacting Protection."

As the ritual continues, the assembled body, figured through the anatomical catalogue, is understood as more than a figural construction. After preparing a drink from herbs steeped in holy water, the remedy instructs the healer to:

Wæt þæt gewrit on þam drence ond writ crucem mid him on ælcum lime on cweþ:
“signum crucis xpi conseruate in uitam eternam. Amen.” Gif þe ne lyste, hat hine selfne
oþþe swa gesubne swa he gesibbost hæbbe ond senige swa he selost cunne. Þes craft
mæg wiþ ælcra feondes costunge. (Olds, 148)

[Wet the writing in the drink and write the cross on each limb with it and say “the sign of Christ’s cross preserve you in life eternal. Amen” If you don’t desire (to do this) direct him himself or a close relative in a like manner to do it and sign (the cross) as best he can. This art/skill is powerful against all temptations of the fiend.]

By instructing either the healer or patient to mark *ælcum lime* [each limb], the remedy reveals a performative aspect associated with the assembled body; the process materializes the assembled body, literally aligning it with the patient’s physical form. As with the catalogue, the act draws each limb together, evoking a sense of wholeness. Beyond this aggregation of limbs the act likewise situates the physical body firmly within its environment, drawing together kin and clergy, lay and learned, plant and vellum, language and flesh, devilish and divine rule. Here the charge of each group flows across the material body and foregrounds both its mutability and potential, in the words of Brian Massumi: “Think of the body without organs as the body outside any determinate state, poised for any action in its repertory; this is the body from the point of view of its potential.”⁴⁷ The remedy attends to the body’s vibrancy as a site of possibility, what Jane Bennett evocatively describes as an “event space,” an assemblage from which health may emerge as its members are drawn in line with each other as well as divine power.⁴⁸ Yet the

⁴⁷ Massumi, *A User's Guide to Capitalism and Schizophrenia: Deviations from Deleuze and Guattari* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992), 70.

⁴⁸ Bennett, 23. Although Bennett emphasizes randomness in an attempt to decentralize human agency, her descriptions of accumulation and emergence are useful; “An assemblage owes its agentic capacity to the vitality of

assembled body speaks to greater potential. As the formula commends the whole/healthy members *in uitam eternam* [until life eternal], the assembled body becomes a site of hope wherein the individual might negotiate health and envision their incorporation into both Christ's body and the scope of Christian history.

Over the course of four chapters, I trace images of the assembled body through specific social contexts in personal and communal devotional texts to reveal the early medieval body as a potent space for Anglo-Saxon writers to negotiate individual and communal Christian identity. The trajectory of my project moves from the discrete body in personal devotion in Chapters One and Two to then explore the position of the individual as a member of the communal body of believers in Chapters Three and Four.

In Chapter One, I explore how anatomical catalogs function in the genre of personal protective prayer known as the *Lorica* (Breastplate) that recurs in Insular and Continental sources from the eighth to the eleventh centuries. Framing the supplicant as a pilgrim or exile, *loricae* invoke a comprehensive list of body parts that require divine protection from physical injury and sin. Building upon previous source studies and philological approaches, I compare anatomical catalogs from genres influenced by the *loricae*, notably secular charms and monastic curses, with excommunication rites. I argue that rhetorical dismemberment of the body functions as a kind of topographical survey whereby selfhood and integrity emerge from a ritualized enactment of the body's assembled, synechdocal boundaries. In *loricae* the body is a performative *locus* in which the mapping of its discrete parts in the anatomical catalog reconstitutes the supplicant's corporeal unity within God's cosmological order and reclaims the body as a protected space.

the materialities that constitute it" (34); "The effects generated by an assemblage are, rather, emergent properties, emergent in that their ability to make something happen... is distinct from the sum of the vital force of each materiality considered alone (24). I engage her notion of an event space in Chapter 1, "Enacting Protection."

Chapter Two considers the salutary and salvific function of the assembled body in manuals of confession. An anatomical catalog embedded in a prayer in the *Old English Handbook for the Use of a Confessor* represents confession as an emetic drink, somatizing penitential disposition as each limb participates in its own reflexive purgation of the poison of sin. Recent scholarship has discussed the affective language of late Anglo-Saxon penitential practice without taking into account the body's role as catalyst of these interior motions.⁴⁹ My analysis draws on Bill Brown's notion of "Thingness," which theorizes that an object simultaneously asserts its presence and stirs both contemplation and affect through a rupture.⁵⁰ From this I examine how the rhetorical rupture of confessional catalogs frames the body as a space in which reflection and contrition intersect. Looking to a series of Anglo-Latin confessional prayers attributed to Alcuin, as well as later medical and poetic analogues, I show how the *Handbook's* confessional enumeration reflects Anglo-Saxon conceptions of confession as a physical expulsion of sin by reclaiming the assembled body to enact more complete contrition and purification.

Chapter Three marks a turn in my project from devotional and penitential writing focused on the body of an individual supplicant to texts that figure the generic Christian as a member of the larger social body of the Church: Christ's spiritual body. In the postscript to his scientific manual, *The Enchiridion*, Byrhtferth of Ramsey admonishes his monastic readers to practice the lessons of the text during their daily habit: to turn their eyes from evil sights, ears from deceitful words, noses from forbidden odors, tongues from idle speech, hands from bloodshed, and feet

⁴⁹ Roger Fowler provides an edition in "A Late Old English Handbook for the Use of a Confessor," *Anglia* 83 (1965): 1-34.

⁵⁰ Brown, 4.

from a sinful path.⁵¹ Byrhtferth sees the assembled body as a microcosm of the world, composed of the same four vital elements—a concept drawn from his sources in the Adam Apocrypha, Isidore of Seville, Bede, and Abbo of Fleury. His rhetorical dissection of the body aligns scientific discourse with monastic praxis. I explore how Byrhtferth’s formulation reflects the interplay between microcosm and macrocosm, how the strictly controlled monastic schedule restores the body’s cohesion, and how this reformed body affirms order within the monastic community.

Chapter Four examines how the homilies of Ælfric of Eynsham employ the assembled body to illustrate the place of his secular audience within Christ’s mystical body. Ælfric grounds his exposition in material terms: “we magon geseon on urum agenum lichaman hu ælc lim oþrum ðenað” [we may see in our own bodies how each limb serves the other].⁵² This formulation presents Christ’s body as a vibrant assemblage of believers, an accumulation whose properties emerge between interactions of its parts. Yet unlike Byrhtferth, Ælfric complicates the implicit unity of the assembled body by recalling its potential for disorder and impurity: “Gif an lim bið untrum, ealle ða oðre þrowiað mid þam anum” [If one limb is diseased, all the others suffer with that one].⁵³ Contrary to prevailing readings of his theology, Ælfric’s focus on the disordered nature of the human body speaks not to a disdain for the flesh but to a view of the body as an agent both for sin and grace. This nuanced view of the assembled body allows Ælfric to articulate tensions between individuation and communal identity, discord and harmony,

⁵¹ For the standard edition see Peter S. Barker and Michael Lapidge, ed., *Byrhtferth’s Enchiridion*, EETS s.s. 15 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 242-250 for postscript

⁵² Clemoes, 325-33, lines 225-26. Hereafter CH I.19.

⁵³ CH I.19, lines 237-38.

creating a sacred space for secular piety as the Christian layperson is integrated into the communal body of Christ.

Whereas studies of late medieval piety have long accepted the centrality of the physical body, early medieval scholarship tends to approach prayer and confession as wholly spiritual or psychological practices. I foreground instead their innate materiality. By integrating Anglo-Saxon discourses of penance and devotional praxis with contemporary theoretical discourses of New Materialisms, *The Assembled Body* contributes to a number of recent scholarly conversations attending to the ways that early medieval prayer and penance inform concepts of subjectivity and social order. Combining aspects of source study, iconography, and literary analysis with recent theories of how vibrant matter shapes human experience, I argue that the assembled body trope points to the singular importance of the material body in modes of Anglo-Saxon devotional practice. My project casts new light on Anglo-Saxon spirituality as well as often marginalized texts and textual formulae. By recuperating the assembled body's active and positive role within the formation of religious identity, my analysis offers the first explicit consideration of somatics of the Anglo-Saxon spirituality.

CHAPTER 1

ENACTING PROTECTION: ANATOMICAL ENUMERATION AND EMBODIMENT IN LATE ANGLO-SAXON PROTECTIVE PRAYERS

The vital materialist affirms a figure of matter as an active principle, and a universe of this lively materiality that is always in various states of congealment and diffusion...

Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter*

The local must find its place in the eternal.

Nicholas Howe, *Writing the Map of Anglo-Saxon England*

The genre of protective prayer identified as *lorica* appears in its recognized form among Irish monastics during the seventh century.¹ Personal in practice and apotropaic in nature, *loricae* are formally characterized by a variety of successive litanies and enumerative catalogues.² It is through the invocation of varying combinations of these litanies—the Trinity, Evangelists, choirs of angels, etc.—that the supplicant invokes protection from spiritual and physical danger.³

¹ Scholars adopted the name “lorica” as a means to identify prayers exhibiting similar formal and thematic aspects. The name derives from the genre’s principal metaphor, the eponymous Roman “breastplate.”

² Throughout the chapter I use “personal” instead of the more common “private” to avoid current debate over the utility of the prevailing dichotomy between *private* and *public* forms of devotion, with particular regard to penitential practice. I give greater detail at note 28 in Chapter 2, “Confessing Things.”

³ The *lorica* genre is incredibly diverse. Louis Gougaud produced the first modern study to describe and catalogue the myriad structural aspects covered by the genre in “Étude sur les *loricae* celtiques et sur les prières qui s’en rapprochent,” *Bulletin d’ancienne littérature et d’archéologie chrétiennes* 1 (1911): 265-81 and 2 (1912): 33-41 and 101-27. Gougaud’s work remains foundational, providing an exhaustive catalogue of the various conventional lists and attestations of the genre.

Enumerative anatomical catalogues have received the most critical attention of these lists. The following example is drawn from the *Lorica of Laidcenn*:

Gefultimige seo þrinis seo annis
Suffragare Trinitatis unitas
Ðære annisse gemildsa me seo þrinnis
unitatis miserere Trinitatis...
Mines lichoman lewera alle alæs
Mei gibrae pernas omnes libera,
Gesundum plegscylde gescyldendum anra gehwylc
tuta pelta protegente singula...
Þone hnoll ða heafodpannan mid þæm loccum ond Eagan
Gigram, cephalæ cum iaris et conas,
Ondwleotanm tungan teð 7 ða næsþyrllu
patham liganam, sennas atque michinas,
Swiran hryncg sidan lendenu
cladum carsum madianum talias
Dyoh micgernan on ða twa Honda
bathma exugiam atque binas idumas... (lines 1-2, 31-32, and 35-38)

[Protect me, unity of the Trinity. Pity me, Trinity of unity... Deliver all the solid portions of my person, with your secure shield covering every member... [Protect my] skull, head with hair, and eyes, mouth, tongue, teeth, and nostrils, neck, breast, side, and limbs, joints fat and two hands...]⁴

Laidcenn names roughly 119 individuated parts of the body before ending with the synoptic petition: “Tege totum me cum quique sensibus / Et cum X fabrefactis foribus / Ut a plantis usque ad uerticem / Nullo membro foris intus egrotem” (Cover all of me including my five senses, along with those ten finely fashioned doors so that, from the soles of my feet to the top of my

⁴ Hereafter as *Laidcenn*. Because of *Laidcenn*'s great length I have included it whole in Latin with its Old English gloss and Modern English translation in the Appendix, 251-56; all excerpts are taken from this Appendix. I draw the Latin from Michael W. Herren, *The Hisperica Famina: II. Related Poems, A Critical Edition with English Translation and Philological Commentary* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1989), 76-89. Herren's edition is the product of a thorough synthesis of *Laidcenn*'s multiple Latin attestations. I take the Old English gloss from the *Lacnunga* (MS information is printed below at note 8) as edited by J. H. G. Grattan and Charles Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952), 130-47. All translations are mine unless noted. In the above excerpt, I include the opening couplets to frame the anatomical list, clarifying whom the supplicant invokes (the Trinity and not 'God' or 'Christ' alone) and what verb governs the list. The first lacuna cuts out a long series of litanies invoking persons (holy and divine) and forces that carry out aspects of the Trinity's protection.

head, so that I might not be afflicted within or without).⁵ Such prolixity has been taken as emblematic of the aspects of subdivision, specification, and erudition that characterize the Irish intellectual milieu in which the *lorica* genre developed.⁶ Anatomical catalogues, like that in *Laidcenn*, have been valuable for scholars seeking to demonstrate aspects of Irish influence within early Anglo-Saxon spirituality and literary culture.⁷ In this regard the critical landscape surrounding anatomical enumeration has been predominantly shaped by questions of

⁵ Appendix, lines 83-86. The text has previously been misattributed to Gildas; see Herren, "The Authorship, Date of Composition and Provenance of the So-Called *Lorica Gildae*," *Eriu* 24 (1973): 35-51. Bernhard Bischoff provides a brief note on the Irish tendency to double the senses but does not elaborate in "Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter," *Sacris Erudiri* 6 (1954): 189-279, repr. with his revisions in *Mittelalterliche Studien Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1966-81), I:229, trans. Colm O'Grady, "Turning-Points in the History of Latin Exegesis in the Early Irish Church: A.D. 650-800," in *Biblical Studies: The Medieval Irish Contribution*, ed. Martin McNamara, Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association 1 (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1976), 74-160, esp. 86. I should note that the anatomical catalogue of *Laidcenn* is remarkable for its length even among other identifiable *loricae*.

⁶ Bischoff is first to note the tendency toward enumeration in Irish exegesis in "Turning Points." Subsequent scholarship has articulated the relation between or effect of this enumerative drive on various fields. Jennifer Karyn Reid further details the link between enumeration and grammatical theory in her recent study, "'Caro Verbum Est': Incarnations of word in Early English and Celtic Texts," (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2007), and Faith Wallis enunciates a congruity with computistics in "Images of Order in the Medieval Computus," in *Acta XV: Ideas of Order in the Middle Ages*, ed. Warren Ginsberg (Binghamton: State University of New York Press, 1988), 45-67. I address this intersection with greater detail in Chapter 3, "Ruling the Microcosm."

⁷ Thomas Oswald Cockayne first notes this formal link in his edition of the *Lacnunga* and various late Anglo-Saxon charms in *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England* (London, 1866), II:348-50, III:26. Cockayne's notes and edition of *Laidcenn* come at I:lxvi-lxxv; Kuypers observes the same in *Cerne* at xxiv-xxv. Felix Liebermann observes the same anatomical enumeration in maledictions employed in Anglo-Saxon excommunication formulae dating to the eleventh and early twelfth centuries in "Zur angelsächsischen Exkommunikation," *Archiv* 119 (1907): 176. Kathleen Hughes places the *lorica* genre within the breadth of Irish influence in "Some Aspects of Irish Influence on Early English Private Prayer," *Studia Celtica* 5 (1970): 48-61. Hughes suggests that as early as the eighth century the *lorica* genre "had become naturalized" by Anglo-Saxon scribes (61). Her work also re-affirms and develops Bischoff's observations on the anatomical catalogue and the Irish enumerative style (see note 6 above). Patrick Sims-Williams examines the similarities linking the anatomical list of Isidore's *Etymologiae*, a formula for exorcism in the *Antiphonary of Bangor*, and *Laidcenn* in Nunnaminster; see "Thought, Word and Deed: an Irish Triad," *Eriu* 29 (1978): 78-111, esp. 89-93. Thomas D. Hill observes a familiarity with the form in the work of Cynewulf in "Invocation of the Trinity and the Tradition of the *Lorica* in Old English Poetry," *Speculum* 56, no. 2 (1981): 259-67. Allen Frantzen charts both the Irish derivation of the anatomical lists and their infusion into para-liturgical confessional prayer by Anglo-Saxon clerics (the most famous traditionally believed to be Alcuin) in *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1983), 85-90 and 171. I separately analyze the significance of these lists within confessional prayers in Chapter 2, "Confessing Things." Charles D. Wright meticulously explores the English reception of the broader Irish "enumerative style" in his foundational monograph *The Irish Tradition in Old English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). By the time of Wright's publication, English familiarity with anatomical enumeration was so well established he succinctly writes: "[anatomical lists have] long been recognized as a sign of Irish influence" (99). On this see also Herren, *Hisperica Famina: II*, 24-31, 201-4.

transmission applying philological and codicological approaches. The present chapter departs in both scope and methodology by considering *Laidcenn*'s anatomical motif *in situ*, firmly within the Anglo-Saxon milieu of protective prayers and charms. Despite its verbosity *Laidcenn* is the most widely attested lorica in the Anglo-Saxon manuscript record, appearing in both liturgically-inflected prayerbooks and secular collections of charms that range from the eighth to eleventh centuries. Indeed of its seven extant manuscripts, the prayer's three earliest witnesses are products of English scriptoria.⁸ I place *Laidcenn* in conversation with a variety of texts that all exhibit a similar interest in bodily cohesion in order to reassess the anatomical catalogue as a literary device rather than cultural artifact. I explore how the loricae, along with a variety of analogues, frame protection both in terms of accretion and enclosure that lends the apparent cohesion of the supplicant's material body a talismanic quality. From this perspective I demonstrate how the rhetorical motif allows scribes to figure the intersection of spiritual and

⁸ London, British Library MS Harley 2965, s. viii/ix, fols. 38v-40r ("The Book of Nunnaminster," ed. Walter de Gray Birch, *An Ancient Manuscript of the Eighth or Ninth Century* [Winchester, 1889]). See Neil R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), no. 237; hereafter Ker, *Catalogue*. Cambridge, University Library L1.1.10, s. ix in. fols. 43v-44r ("The Book of Cerne," ed. A. B. Kuypers, *The Prayer Book of Aedelwald the Bishop commonly called The Book of Cerne* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902]). See Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 27, while Helmut Gneuss and Michael Lapidge set the date within the specific range of 820-840 with a Mercian provenance in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), no. 28. Hereafter Gneuss and Lapidge. London, BL, Harley 585, s. x/xi, fols. 152v-157r ("The Lacnunga," ed. Grattan and Singer). Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 231 and Gneuss and Lapidge, no. 421. The prayer is accompanied with an Old English gloss in Cerne and the Lacnunga. There are later manuscripts not of apparent Anglo-Saxon provenance. These are: Köln, Dombibliothek, MS. 106, s. ix, fols. 60b-62 (Heinrich Zimmer, ed., *Nennius Vindictus* [Berlin, 1893], 289-311, 337-40); Verona Biblioteca Capitolare MS LXVII (64), s. ix, fols. 32v-r (Mario Esposito, ed., "Bacharius, Arator, Lathcen," *Journal of Theological Studies* 30 [1929]: 289-291.). Dublin, Royal Irish Academy MS 23 P 16, saec. XV in. fols. 241^b-242^a ("The Speckled Book" [*Leahbar Breac*]); and Vienna Nationalbibliothek MS 11857, s. xvi, fol. 248a-b. For manuscripts not listed in Ker or Gneuss and Lapidge, I employ the information provided in Herren, *Hesperica Famina: II*, 4. Herren argues the iterations of *Laidcenn* in *Nunnaminster* and *Cerne* derive from a, now lost, glossed eighth century English codex while *Lacnunga* is based on both the lost English exemplar and *Nunnaminster* (5). I should clarify that because *Laidcenn* is the oldest extant and most widely attested lorica in the Anglo-Saxon manuscript record, I treat the prayer as an exemplar and archetype for Anglo-Saxon scribes.

physical protection in the integrity and incorporation of the material body and its members.⁹ Such a reading of the anatomical catalogue provides insight into the place of the material body in late Anglo-Saxon prayer and its role in affirming spiritual health. Throughout the chapter, I draw on the theoretical notion of *assemblage*—an accumulation whose properties emerge between interactions of its parts—to help articulate how the conceptual intersection of mystical protection and physical cohesion reveals a complex notion of Christian selfhood founded in the body. I argue the durability of the anatomical catalogue as a rhetorical motif—attested by *Laidcenn*'s popularity—speaks to a holistic vision of protection in Anglo-Saxon apotropaic prayer, one in which spiritual protection is both framed in terms of the supplicant's knowledge of his physical dimensions and enacted through the ritualized mapping of those bounds.

Early studies of the lorica genre are primarily concerned with defining its formal aspects; the best example of such early scholarship is Louis Gougaud's fundamental effort to provide a comprehensive index of prayers.¹⁰ His work locates archetypes for the various kinds of catalogues and frames a detailed, if not wholly undisputed, sketch of the genre's intellectual genealogy and transmission throughout Insular culture. Based on his findings, Gougaud posits that loricae are a purely Celtic innovation. Michael W. Herren confirms Gougaud, but notes that in the broad scope of Christian prayer Celtic Christians did not invent the genre *ex nihilo*.¹¹ The

⁹ I base my subsequent reading of the catalogue on the understanding that Anglo-Saxon authors express notions of sinfulness and purity in somatic terms to argue that such images of physical malleability—that have previously been interpreted by scholars of Anglo-Saxon literature strictly as spiritual metaphor—reflect a materiality grounded in the belief that the body's natural motions emerge from its innate vitality, which is typically represented as pathological disobedience in a theological context. My perspective develops from the critical notion of *embodied realism*, which understands that “the locus of experience, meaning, and thought is the ongoing series of embodied organism-environment interactions that constitute our understanding of the world” (Mark Johnson and George Lakoff, “Why Cognitive Linguistics requires Embodied Realism,” *Cognitive Linguistics* 13 [2002]: 249). This theoretical frame is more fully expressed in my Introduction.

¹⁰ See note 3 above.

¹¹ Herren, *Hisperica Famina: II*, 26-31. Herren points to the ancient tradition of protective amulets and execration tablets as generic models from which the loricae likely developed. In Herren's words: “The roots of the

popularity of the genre among Insular circles likely relates to the manner in which the prayers shape a response to heterodox concerns (curses, etc.) through orthodox imagery, expanding on the “shield” in the Pauline *armaturam dei*¹² and martial tropes lifted from the exceptionally popular Psychomachian allegory of the fifth century poet Prudentius.¹³ Indeed, loricae provide a form through which the suppliant could respond to the dangers faced in their daily circumstances; in *Laidcenn*, for example, we find a variety of concerns inflected by Insular philosophies of epidemiology, physiology, and cosmography.¹⁴ Scholars point to the integration of anatomical catalogues into contemporary seventh-century Irish exorcisms as evidence of the form’s popularity and perceived efficacy. As an example I offer the earliest extant exorcism located within a baptism ritual in the *Antiphonary of Bangor*:¹⁵

loricae are not buried in Christian soil. The invocation of the Trinity and other apparently Christian features represent rather superficial attempts to give a Christian cast to a form of spirituality—superstition, if you will—that springs from Greco-Roman paganism and from the semi-pagan wells of the Jewish diaspora” (31).

¹² The armor of God in Ephesians 6:13-17: “Propterea accipite armaturam Dei, ut possitis resistere in die malo, et in omnibus perfecti stare. State ergo succincti lumbos vestros in veritate, et induti lorica[m] iustitiae, et calceati pedes in praeparatione Evangelii pacis, in omnibus sumentes scutum fidei, in quo possitis omnia tela nequissimi ignea extinguere: et galeam salutis assumite, et gladium spiritus (quod est verbum Dei)” [Therefore take unto you the armor of God, that you may be able to resist in the evil day, and to stand in all things perfect. Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of justice, and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace: In all things taking the shield of faith, wherewith you may be able to extinguish all the fiery darts of the most wicked one. And take unto you the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit (which is the word of God)]. From *Douay-Rheims Bible Online*, accessed October 2, 2016, <http://www.drbo.org/index.htm>. Hereafter DRBO. Translation taken from the site.

¹³ For knowledge of Prudentius in Anglo-Saxon England see Gernot Wieland, “Prudentius,” in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: A Trial Version*, ed. Frederick M. Biggs, Thomas D. Hill, and Paul E. Szarmach (Binghamton: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1990), 150-56. For the adaptation of Psychomachian tropes see John P. Hermann, “The Recurrent Motifs of Spiritual Warfare in Old English Poetry,” *Annuaire Mediaevale* 22 (1982): 7-35; and Hermann, *Allegories of War* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1989).

¹⁴ Herren, *Hisperica Famina: II*, lines 5-10, 85-90. I address these concerns as they align with the conception of the material body as a fluid assemblage, prone to physical and spiritual disruption, in my Introduction at pages 12-17.

¹⁵ Milano Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS. C.5 inf, fol. 30v. For an edition see F. E. Warren, ed., *The Antiphonary of Bangor: An Early Irish Manuscript in the Ambrosian Library at Milan*, Henry Bradshaw Society 4 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1893). *Bangor*’s exorcism predates all manuscript witnesses for *Laidcenn*.

Domine sancte pater omnipotens aeterne deus expelle diabulum et gentilitatem ab homine isto de capite de capilis de cerebro de vertice de fronte de oculis de auribus de naribus de labis de ore de lingua de sublingua de faucibus de guttore de collo de corde de corpore toto de omnibus membrorum copaginibus membrorum sourum intus et defores de ossibus de uenus de neruis de sanguine de sensu de cogitationibus de uerbis de omnibus operibus suis.

[O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty and Eternal God. Expel the Devil and paganism from this man, from his head, from his hair, from his brain, from the top of his head, from his forehead, from his eyes, from his ears, from his nose, from his lips, from his mouth, from his tongue, from beneath his tongue, from his throat, from his gullet, from his neck, from his heart, from his entire body, from all the joinings of members within and without, from his bones, from his veins, from his nerves, from his blood, from his senses, from his thoughts, words, and all his deeds.]¹⁶

Although the exorcism's explicit purpose is expulsion (*expelle*) and not protection (*suffragare*, *tege*),¹⁷ it provides a helpful entry point for our exploration of anatomical enumeration, embodiment, and spiritual protection. *Bangor*'s catalogue assembles the newly Christian body through a series of synecdoches in a manner that evokes a sense of the whole through a list of its discrete parts. In effect "this man" is an assemblage of his limbs, an incorporation of vital members with the potential for each to function as an agent for sin or piety, to individually rebel against or acquiesce to God.¹⁸ It is the vibrancy signified in the assembled body that allows the newly baptized Christian to anticipate purification emerging through his sinful members and envision his integration into the Church, the spiritual body of believers, through the keen

¹⁶ Analogues appear in the *Stowe Missal* (George F. Warner, ed., *The Stowe Missal: MS. D. II. 3 in the Library of the Royal Dublin Academy*, vol. 2, Henry Bradshaw Society 32 [Suffolk, 1905], fol. 47); the *Leofric Missal* (Nicholas Orchard, ed., *The Leofric Missal*, vol. 2, Henry Bradshaw Society 114 [Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2002], 235); and interestingly as a charm in *Leechbook III* (Cockayne, II:349). I consider the latter charm in my Introduction at pages 16-19.

¹⁷ See pages 24-25 above.

¹⁸ I outline the embodied nature of this metaphor in my Introduction.

examination of the priest and *christus medicus*.¹⁹ Jennifer Karyn Reid, most recently, reconsiders anatomical enumeration within the context of early Irish grammatical theory. Approaching the motif as “one permutation of [the] pervasive theme” of *grammatica*, she explores how anatomical lists function in a devotional context.²⁰ Reid convincingly argues such catalogues lexicalize the supplicant’s body and re-order his flesh under the purview of orthodox rule through recitation.²¹ But *loricae* and their anatomical lists—demonstrated by *Laidcenn*—endured past the direct influence of Insular-Irish culture, circulated beyond the recognizable interpretive orbit of *grammatica*, and found distinctly un-orthodox readers and broader applications in late Anglo-Saxon England. In what follows, I analyze a number of prayers and charms—either collected alongside *Laidcenn* or demonstrating *lorica* influence—whose central thematic focus on bodily coherence illuminates notions of embodied subjectivity underlying the late Anglo-Saxon practice of personal prayer.

¹⁹ The concepts are closely linked in Anglo-Saxon prayers of excommunication and confession and appear frequently in Augustine’s sermons. For a helpful introduction see R. Arbesmann, “The Concept of ‘Christus Medicus’ in St. Augustine,” *Traditio* 10 (1954): 1-28. For some early Insular references to medicine in relation to Christ see H. Williams, ed., *Gildas* (London, 1899), I: 178, no. 1; G. S. M. Walker, ed., *Sancti Columbani Opera*, SLH 2 (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1957), 120, 172; Ludwig Bieler, ed., *The Irish Penitentials*, SLH 5 (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1963), 46-47; R. Ehwald, ed., *Aldhelmi Opera*, MGH, Auctores antiquissimi 15 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1919), 235, 484; and Bertram Colgrave, ed., *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great by an Anonymous Monk of Whitby* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 114, 154, fn. 92. For the motif in Anglo-Saxon prayer see Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, 30-31, 65, 84-5, 87, 89.

²⁰ Reid, 4. Reid’s study is further significant in that it calls attention to the way previous scholarship of anatomical enumeration implicitly elides questions of genre and purpose. Anatomical lists appear in Anglo-Saxon prayers dedicated separately to protection or confession. *Laidcenn* exemplifies the former while a prayer traditionally ascribed to Alcuin incorporates an anatomical list in confession. Indeed, it appears that the use of anatomical enumeration in a confessional context is an Anglo-Saxon innovation. I analyze these *confessional-loricae* in Chapter 2, “Confessing Things.” Some work, however, has classified all Anglo-Saxon applications of the anatomical motif as “confessional”—even in *loricae* that request protection, like *Laidcenn*—and link the prayers with the expectation of purgation (as witnessed in the excommunication above). Both Frantzen (85-6) and Hughes (54) propose a strict division between “Irish *loricae*” (as apotropaic) and “English *loricae*” (as purgative). My analysis—spanning this chapter and the next—problematizes the failure to distinguish between modes of protective and purgative enumeration by exploring how the differing goals expressed in protective and confessional prayer inflect the ways in which supplicants frame a relationship with their bodies.

²¹ Reid, 125-26, 174.

While *Laidcenn*'s transmission history invites such an approach it likewise complicates the long accepted critical binary separating *prayer* and *charm*. A wealth of personal prayerbooks, ranging from the eighth to eleventh centuries, attests the importance ascribed to the practice of personal prayer in both vernacular and Anglo-Latin sources.²² Indeed, an absence of continental prayerbooks before the ninth century and lack of comparable Irish prayerbooks has led Patrick Sims-Williams to suggest the genre is expressly English or at least an Insular innovation to meet the needs of those who could not pray in Latin spontaneously.²³ Despite forming a relatively clear picture of personal prayer as devotional praxis, scholars have struggled to define its nature;²⁴ Herren offers the terse assessment, "A prayer to be a prayer and not an incantation must be addressed to God."²⁵ Conversely, the practical history of Anglo-Saxon charms—although ancient—is much less clear. Charms do not appear in Anglo-Saxon writing before the tenth century and then are wrapped with a Christian veneer. Scholarship on charms has traditionally placed them in opposition to orthodox, that is liturgical, prayer—with prayer as a means for the

²² Prayerbooks were owned by laity—King Alfred's *Enchiridion*, *Cerne*, and *Nunnaminster* for example—and the religious orders (Bede's *Collectio psalterii* and Alcuin's *De laude Dei*). On the significance and import of personal prayerbooks see Helmut Gneuss, "Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English Terminology," in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 137-8; CCSL 122: 452-70 [for an edition of Bede's *Collectio*]; R. Constantinescu, "Alcuin et les 'Libelli precum' de l'époque carolingienne," *Revue d'histoire de la spiritualité* 50 (1974): 17-56; Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, Henry Bradshaw Society 106 (Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1991); Bernard J. Muir, *A Pre-Conquest English Prayer-Book*, Henry Bradshaw Society 103 (Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1988); and Beate Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, Henry Bradshaw Society 108 (Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1993).

²³ Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England: 600-800*, CSASE 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 276-77. Sims-Williams notes the comparative paucity of liturgical documents versus prayerbooks in early western England and provides a helpful list of early prayerbooks (275).

²⁴ In a recent anthology attempting to address this issue, Roy Hammerling points out: "[A] definition or even a broad consensus concerning the nature of prayer has been difficult to come by in part because many scholars assume a definition of prayer without attempting to define it. Likewise, many have tended to pursue the study of spirituality by looking at a variety of valuable primary sources without attempting to look closely at prayer itself." See "Introduction: Prayer, A Simply Complicated Scholarly Problem," in *A History of Prayer: The First to the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Roy Hammerling (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 2.

²⁵ *Hisperica Famina*: II, 24.

Church to control access to divine power—or sought to mine what many early scholars characterized as half-barbarous texts for elements of native Germanic belief, with charms as evidence of a corrupted Christian faith.²⁶ Observing that the literature on charms fails to provide a succinct definition, Audrey Meaney suggests a definition of “a formula by which an end is attempted by magic means.”²⁷ But between Herren’s and Meaney’s assessments, the old implication persists that charms are misguided prayers focused on degraded sources of power. More recent scholarship on protective charms, by Karen Louise Jolly, challenges this easy binary through a thorough analysis of the cultural context from which these Christianized formulae emerge, or are at least recorded. Jolly presents an abundance of documentary and archeological sources that re-frame the charms, and their practice, as aspects of late Anglo-Saxon “popular religion,” developing from the sustained interface of church doctrine and folk belief.²⁸ A tenth century homily by Ælfric of Eynsham provides a helpful portrait of this environment:

Eall swa gelice se ðe gelyfð wíglungum
oððe be fugelum oððe be fnorum

²⁶ Valerie Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991). Her approach influences two books: Bill Griffiths, *Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Magic* (Norfolk: Anglo-Saxon Books, 2003); and Stephen Pollington, *Leechcraft: Early English Charms, Plantlore, and Healing* (Norfolk: Anglo-Saxon Books, 2008). These are two of the most recent editions/translations of Anglo-Saxon charms. The front-matter of earlier editions can be helpful but should be read carefully as editors frequently make the mistake of judging these “medical” charms by modern scientific standards, the most derisive being Grattan and Singer, *Magic and Medicine*. See also Godfrid Storms, ed. and trans., *Anglo-Saxon Magic* (Halle: Nijhoff, 1948); Felix Grendon, ed. and trans., “The Anglo-Saxon Charms,” *The Journal of American Folklore* 22 (1909): 105-237. More recently, M. L. Cameron attempts to recuperate the reputation of the charms in *Anglo-Saxon Medicine*, CSASE 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). Yet, Cameron still places these texts in modern paradigms of scientific knowledge and medicine. On this problem see Barbara Brennessel, Michael D. C. Drout and Robyn Gravel, “A Re-Assessment of the Efficacy of Anglo-Saxon Medicine,” *ASE* 34 (2005): 183-95.

²⁷ See her entry for “Charms” in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Michael Lapidge et al. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 96-97.

²⁸ Karen Louise Jolly, *Popular Religion In Late Saxon England: Elf Charms in Context* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 2: “The evolution of medical and liturgical texts in relation to this developing Christian folklore provides a rich, multilayered field of ideas and crosscurrents that produced the later Anglo-Saxon charms. These texts, seen in that dynamic context of growth and reform, demonstrate how assimilation occurred between the Christian religion and early European cultures in a much more subtle way than the more obvious conflicts between paganism and Christianity usually attracting attention.”

oððe be horsum oððe be hundum
 ne bið he na cristen ac bið for-cuð wiðer-saca
 Ne sceal nan man cepan be dagum
 on hwilcum dæge he fare oððe on hwylcum he gecyrre
 forðan þe god gesceop ealle ða seofan dagas
 þe yrnað on flære wucan oð þysre worulde geendunge
 Ac seðe hwider faran wille singe his paternoster
 and credan gif he cunne and clypige to his dryhten
 and bletsige hine sylfne and siðige orsorh
 þurh godes gescyldnyse butan ðæra sceoccena wiglunga

[Also likewise he who believes in sorceries, either by birds or by sneezings or by horses or by hounds, he is not at all Christian, but is a despised apostate. Nor may any man observe according to days, on which day he travel or on which he returns; because God made all the seven days which run through the week until this world's ending. But he who wishes to travel should sing his Paternoster and Creed, if he knows them, and call to his Lord, and bless himself, and travel safely through God's protection without the devil's sorceries.]²⁹

For Ælfric, prayers should take the place of sorcerous “spells” not simply for doctrinal reasons but because the Paternoster or Creed are more effective. Yet the Paternoster is not an explicit request for protection and the Creed is a rote doctrinal précis. Stephanie Clark identifies the “charm-like” use of these orthodox formulae, suggesting “this seems to be prayer of the most objectively efficacious nature, working by formula or gesture alone to confer protection automatically.”³⁰ Within this milieu of the Christian charm, we might explore how performance of the anatomical catalogue pronounces protected subjectivity from within the contours of the physical body.

I. Converting a pagan formula

²⁹ Walter William Skeat, ed., *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, EETS o.s. 76 (London, 1881), I: 370.

³⁰ Clark, “Theorizing Prayer in Anglo-Saxon England: Bede and Ælfric” (PhD diss., The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2011), 109.

Although the provenance of extant loricae have mostly been established, the origins of their formal aspects remain uncertain. W. M. Lindsay is the first to observe a formal similarity between the anatomical motif of Christian loricae and pagan execration tablets from late antiquity;³¹ he speculates that the loricae developed from an attempt to more thoroughly counter spiritual attacks directed against classical Christian missionaries or the newly converted by recasting the form of heathen spells within a Christian mold.³² A more thorough survey of these *tabellae defixionum* alongside protective amulets, by Herren, has given credence to Lindsay's supposition and demonstrated the loricae to be a relatively young innovation within an ancient tradition of cursing and protection.³³ It is the application of anatomical lists that provides the most salient formal connection between pagan execration, classical Christian protective formulae, and early Irish loricae for both scholars.³⁴ As an example I provide an anonymous classical Latin *tabella* directed at woman named Tychene:

Dii inferi... trado Tychenen Carisi: quodquod (*i.e.* quidquid) agat, quod (*i.e.* ut) incidant omnia in adversa. Dii inferi, uobis commendo illius membra, colorem, figuram. caput, capillos, umbram. cerebrum, frontem, supercilia, os. nasum, mentum. buccas, labra, uerbum, uictum, collum, iecur, umeros, cor, pulmones, intestina, uentrem, bracchia, digitos. manus, umbilicum. uesicam, femina. genua, crura, talos, plantas, digitos. (Audollent, no. 190)

³¹ Execration tablets are engraved with a curse, often struck through with nails or needles, and sometimes buried with an image of the intended victim (Herren, *Hisperica Famina*: II, 26). Witnesses from Europe, the Middle East, North Africa, and Roman Britain speak to the practice's popularity during classical and late antiquity. See Augustus Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (Paris: Albert Fontemoing, 1904), cvii-cviii. Audollent provides a thorough collection of the *tabellae*.

³² W. M. Lindsay, *Early Welsh Script* (Oxford: James Parker, 1912), 23.

³³ See note 11 above.

³⁴ I should reiterate a point of clarification within lorica scholarship: the *tabellae* are recognized as formal and thematic antecedents to the loricae—in that the rhetorical presentation of the body are germane—but not as direct lexical sources for the anatomical catalogue in any particular version of loricae, especially *Laidcenn*. It is generally accepted that the anatomical list in the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville and the *Hermeneumata Pseudo-Dositheana* provided the model if not lexicon for the author of *Laidcenn*. Herren outlines this argument in “On the Earliest Irish Acquaintance with Isidore of Seville,” in *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches*, ed. Edward James (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 243-50. Sims-Williams notes conclusive proof in the form of a seventh century Irish fragment of Isidore containing “De Homine et Portentis;” see “Thought, Word, Deed,” 91 fn. 84.

[Gods of the underworld... I hand over Tychenen Carisius in everything she may do, so that all evils may fall upon her. I commend to you her members, aspect, form: her head, hair, ghost, brain, forehead, eyebrows, mouth, nose, chin, cheeks, lips, sustenance, neck, liver, shoulders, heart, lungs, intestines, belly, arms, fingers, hands, navel, bladder, thighs, knees, legs/shins, ankles, soles of the feet, toes.]³⁵

A concern with corporeal integrity is apparent in the formal and thematic aspects of the tablet's curse. The catalogue is concise, moving head to toe—a directional quality shared with most *loricae*—as it lists each part that might be afflicted. Rhetorically, each list item/body part functions as a synecdoche, signifying the collective whole to which they belong as in *Laidcenn* and *Bangor*. The effect of this rhetorical strategy is to formally emphasize the composite nature of the body; this notion of assemblage likewise appears in the triad of collective terms framing the list, “*membra, colorem, figuram*” [members, aspect, form]. Yet in the context of a curse, the use of synecdoche undercuts the implicit coherence of the body, highlighting instead the fragility of the assembled collective. Here the accursed individual is framed not in abstract terms of her impregnable whole, the rhetorical integument of the term *corpus*; rather the material specificity in the synecdochal list probes the junctures from which the body emerges, as a corporate structure, for any chink by which affliction may enter.

The verbs opening the curse add nuance to the image of the assembled body, with *ago*, *agere* [to drive, to do, to accomplish] connoting a sense of motion.³⁶ Tychene's body is not static; instead the reader understands her head, mouth, nose, etc. joined in motion, functioning as part of her daily life; the body is not simply an incorporation but rather it—and the individual—

³⁵ Here I print a normalization of the text from E. Pulgram, *Italic, Latin, Italian: 600 B.C. to A.D. 1260* (Heidelberg, 1978), 236.

³⁶ Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, eds., *A Latin Dictionary Online*, accessed January 25, 2017, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.04.0059>, hereafter Lewis and Short.

emerges through an assemblage of moving parts. Similarly, the verb occupying the center of the curse—*incidere*—directs malevolent forces toward the individual wherever she may be. The actual or intended meaning of *incidant*, however, is nebulous as the absence of accent marks creates a phonetic ambiguity wherein the verb could mean either “to happen, fall upon” or “to inscribe, cut into.”³⁷ Although curious, the material state of many recovered *tabellae* might shed light on this aural play. Perforations on many of the leaden tablets indicate that, during the performance of the curse, the speaker would drive nails into the tablet before it was buried.³⁸ It is not difficult to image the power felt by the speaker during this synergy of speech and demonstrative act; akin to Reid’s analysis, the body of the cursed is lexicalized, literally inscribed into the tablet, while nails—reifying the evils or pain to befall the afflicted—puncture the text/body.

Lindsay’s claim that *loricae* developed as a Christian inversion of ancient curse forms finds further support in continental “counter-curse” tablets, inscribed on lead and demonstrating similar puncture marks.³⁹ These protective tablets speak to a willingness within late antique and early Insular Christianity to co-opt and thus negate the power of various forms of pagan curses.⁴⁰ Indeed, three distinct movements in *Laidcenn* echo the *tabulae*: 1) a plea to the Trinity and various litanies, 2) a thorough anatomical list moving from head to toe, and 3) a second, less detailed catalogue—that generally continues the downward progression—followed by a result clause, begging protection “so that” the supplicant may eventually repent and achieve

³⁷ Lewis and Short, s. v. “*incidant*.”

³⁸ Audollent, 191, item lvi.

³⁹ A good example is a Yugoslav tablet dating to the fifth century printed in Giulio Bertoni, “L'exorcisme chrétien du musée de Zagabria,” *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétiennes* 1 (1911): 81-87.

⁴⁰ Herren notes this willingness extends beyond textual formulae to objects such as amulets (*Hisperica Famina*: II, 28-29).

reconciliation.⁴¹ While *Laidcenn* clearly expands the anatomical catalogue in comparison to the above execration, a full lexical consideration is beyond the scope of this chapter. I wish to draw attention to how the passages frame the anatomical catalogues and establish an embodied perspective that draws on and reinforces the rhetorical tension between cohesion and fragmentation emerging from the assembled body.

II. The formalized body and protection

At *Laidcenn*'s outset the speaker invokes each figure of the Trinity along with various litanies, during which he specifies his need for protection:

Gefultimige ic bidde me gesettum
Suffragare quaeso mihi posito
Saes micles swaswa in fræcennisse
Maris magni uelut in periculo ...
7 ðæp ilce ic bidde from þæm hyhstum
Et hoidem peto a sublimibus
Þæs heofonlican compwerodes mægenum
Celestis militia uirtutibus
Ðylæs mec forlæten to slittenne feondum
Ne me linquant lacerandum hostibus (lines 3-9)

[I pray you protect me, who is placed in danger as if in a great sea... And I beg this also of the high powers of the heavenly host, that they not abandon me to be torn apart by my enemies.]

After his invocation of the Trinity, the speaker positions himself as a *peregrinus* in need of sure protection during his journey.⁴² The participial forms of *lacerare* and *slitan*, however,

⁴¹ Herren defines the corresponding aspects of the *tabulae* as: 1) commending the cursed to gods of the underworld, 2) a detailed list of body parts to be afflicted, 3) a *do ut des* pact between the supplicant and gods; *Hisperica Famina: II*, 27.

⁴²For the motif in Insular-Irish culture see T. M. Charles-Edwards, "The social background to Irish *peregrinatio*," *Studia Celtica* 11 (1976): 43-59; in Anglo-Saxon literature see Robert E. Bjork "Sundor æt Rune: The Voluntary Exile of the Wanderer," in *Old English Literature: Critical Essays*, ed. R. M. Liuzza (New Haven: Yale

characterize the threats faced by this wanderer in stark physical terms. The images of cutting and tearing display the implicit threat of lost physical integrity, a disjunction set in counterpoint to the insoluble unity of the Trinity that opens and ultimately frames the thematic focus of the prayer. Three passages reiterate this tension as the prayer develops. A more detailed image immediately precedes the first anatomical catalogue:

God unþurhsceotendlicre gescyldnesse
 Deus impenetrabili tutela
Æghwonan me gescild ðinre mæhte
 Undique me defende potentia;
Mines lichoman lewera alle alæs
 Mee gibbrae pernas omnes libera
Gesundum plegscylde gescyldendum anra gehwylc
 Tuta pelta protegente singula,
Þætte næles ða sweartan deoblu in mine sidan
 Ut non tetri demones in latera
Leligen swaswa gewuniað scytas flanas
 Mea librent ut soleant iacula (lines 27-32)

[God defend me on every side. Defend me with your impenetrable power and protection. Defend all solid portions of my body. Defend me with your secure shield covering each member, so that the foul demons do not hurl their shooting darts into my sides as they are accustomed.]

God's protection is preemptive, with its impermeable quality set in opposition to the *iacula/scytas flanas* seeking out the supplicant. Holy protection is likewise described in martial terms, as a *pelta/plegscylde* (OE, small-shield) that provides a more fitting analogy for the shots against which it protects.⁴³ Similar imagery appears after the supplicant enumerates the manifold parts composing his head:

University Press, 2002), 315-27. I should note the similarity of the image of *navis Christi/scipes Cristes* (*Hisperica Famina: II*, line 21) to the motif of the *navis ecclesia* invoked by Cynewulf in *Christ II*; see George Phillip Krapp and Elliott van Kirk Dobbie, eds., *The Exeter Book*, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, 3 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), lines 850-63; hereafter ASPR III.

⁴³ The trope of the Devil's arrows is widely attested in Anglo-Saxon literature. Peter Dendle provides a helpful introduction through a close reading of homilies and the patristic roots of the trope in *Satan Unbound* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 33-39; J. P. Hermann also notes the martial aspect of the trope (see

Æfter þon beoðu me byrne seo gehealdfæstseðe
 Deinde esto lurica tutissima
Ymb min leomu ymb mine innoðas
 Erga membra erga mea uiscera,
Þætte ðu ascufe from me ða ungesewenlican
 Ut retrudas a me inuisibilis
Slega næglas ða fæstniað ða laðwendan
 Sudum clausos quos fingunt odibiles. (lines 49-52)

[Then be a most protective breast-plate [lorica] to me, to my limbs, to my inner-parts, so that you drive back from me the invisible nails that the hateful ones shape.]

Containing the text’s first reference to the eponymous “lorica,” the passage reiterates a need for comprehensive protection.⁴⁴ Set before and within the prolix anatomical catalogue, these general appeals to complete protection of an indistinct body—described only in the generalized language of *lichoman*, *leomu*, and *innoðas* (lines 29, 50)—anticipate the enumerative list; the detail provided in the list fleshes out the generalized “members” or “body” and in so doing directs God’s shield. This aspect is most apparent in the longer enumerative list, moving from the shoulders to feet to *membra reliqua quorum forte præteribi nomina* (lines 53-80). While continuing the use of synecdoche, this second anatomical list employs an additional rhetorical device, repetition of the verbs *tegere/gescieldan*.⁴⁵ The imperative *tege/gescyld*⁴⁶ subdivides the list and in so doing creates a refrain that draws together individuated body parts through structural symmetry. Here the catalogue is not a simple exercise in erudition; rather it maps the

note 13 above); Jolly provides a helpful folk context (see note 7 above). Other useful studies include C. Abbtmeyer, *Old English Poetical Motives Derived from the Doctrine of Sin*, (Minneapolis: H. Wilson, 1903), 37-39; Friedrich Klaeber, “The Christian Elements in *Beowulf*,” trans. Paul Battles, *Old English Newsletter Subsidia* 24 (1996): 12-14; originally published as “Die christlichen Elemente im *Beowulf*,” *Anglia* 35 (1912): 111-36.

⁴⁴ The demons’ weapons as *clausos/næglas* [nails] provide a striking analogy to the *tabellae* cited above.

⁴⁵ Appendix, lines 53, 55, 57, 59, 61, 63, 65, 67, 69, 71, 73, 75, 77, 79, 81.

⁴⁶ The Old English gloss in *Lacnunga* substitutes *gemundbyrdan* for *gescieldan* at lines 55 and 63.

contours of a protected space, a topography given shape as each member joins the next. Within its encyclopedic list, the protective refrain of “shield my...” weaves the lorica around and through the assembled body. This repetition finds resonance with the Anglo-Saxon aesthetic mode of visual and verbal interlace—as well as the poetic envelope structure—but here acts as a rhetorical ligature whose performed invocation binds the individuated member more securely to the abstract whole.⁴⁷

These notions of cohesion and stability are summarized at the conclusion of the anatomical catalogue:

Gescyld alne mec mid fif ondgeotum
 Tege totum me cum quique sensibus
7 mid ten smicre geworhtum durum
 Et cum X fabrefactis foribus
Þætte from þæm hælum oð ðæs heafdes heannesse
 Ut a plantis usque ad uerticem
Nængum lime minum utan innan ic geuntrumige
 Nullo membro foris intus egrotem;
Þylæs of minum mæge lif ascufan
 Ne de meo possit uitam trudere
Wolnes fefor ece adl sar lichoman
 Pestis febris languor dolor corpore,
Ærðon soðlice gode syllendum ic gealdige
 Donec iam deo dante seneam
7 mine synne mid godum ic adilgie
 Et peccata mea bonis deleam (lines 81-88)

[Protect all of me along with my fives senses, along with my ten skillfully made doors (orifices) so that from the soles of my feet to the top of my head I might not be afflicted in any member, within or without, that plague, fever, feebleness, or pain may not be able to thrust the life from my body until, God willing, I may reach old age and erase my sins with good deeds.]

⁴⁷ The term *interlace* was borrowed from analysis of visual arts by John Leyerle’s fundamental description of the “interwovenness” in Old English texts wherein episodes, motifs, images, etc. are tied to each other, in “The Interlace Structure of Beowulf,” *University of Toronto Quarterly* 37 (1967): 1-17. The “envelope pattern” is an arrangement of parallel syntax in which the same word, phrase, or idea both begins and ends a passage. Adeline Courtney Bartlett first describes the pattern in *The Larger Rhetorical Patterns in Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1966), 9-29. Both interlace and envelope patterns are distinct literary devices but can be used in conjunction with one another.

This section is significant in a number of respects. As *Laidcenn*'s penultimate passage, the appeal occurs at a transitional thematic point; it functions as a bridge, concluding the anatomical catalogue while joining the list to a final, eschatological plea for salvation. The passage creates an implicit link between the integrity of the material body assembled in prayer and spiritual purity in the way it aligns protection from plague, fever, etc. (lines 84-88) with a potential to "erase my sins" (line 88) through penitential deeds. A similar equation is commonplace in Insular and later Anglo-Saxon spirituality, attested by even a cursory reading of Old English *vitae*. But *Laidcenn* inverts the typical formulation as physical incorruption is not a sign—or result—of spiritual purity; rather the former is a means to the latter. An example is the allusion to circumscription attendant in the image of the five senses as doors capable of closing (lines 81-82).⁴⁸ The passage rhetorically eschews enumerative detail in favor of synopsis, apparent in the phrases "all of me" and "from the soles of my feet to the top of my head." Such a move foregrounds a desired unity between individual and body, verbally eliding fragmentation—previously signified through the synecdochical catalogues—as each member is subsumed within a whole *corpus/lichoman*.

As a rhetorical scheme the anatomical catalogue presents a formulized body to be reiterated as a charm. It is through this formulaic enumeration that the supplicant—framed as a

⁴⁸ Indeed the senses would be no small source of anxiety for the Anglo-Saxon supplicant as the senses were understood to be the interface between the body and world. Theologians thus interpreted the senses to be openings by which both physical and spiritual pathogens might enter the individual. For the senses in Patristic and Anglo-Saxon thought see David Pratt, "Persuasion and Invention at the Court of King Alfred the Great," in *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Catherine Cubitt (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 189-222; Rosa Maria Fera, "Metaphors for the Five Senses in Old English Prose," *Review of English Studies* 63 (2012): 709-32. On the imagery of the five senses see Wright, "Why Sight Holds Flowers: An Apocryphal Source for the Iconography of the Alfred Jewel and Fuller Brooch," in *Text Image and Interpretation*, ed. Alastair Minis and Jane Roberts (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 169-86. Dealing with issues of transmission, Earl Anderson argues that the five senses—as a non-native taxonomy and cultural construct—entered the Anglo-Saxon literary imagination through patristic Latin sources in *Folk-Taxonomies in Early English* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2003), 309-26. Anderson notes that the Anglo-Saxons clearly recognized the sense of smell [*smeccce/swæc/stænc*] and taste [*sweccce/swæc*] but that sometime their distinction (or location) is not fully lexicalized.

peregrinus (line 1)⁴⁹—asserts their state as a protected Christian. Such a confluence of the subject and formulae runs contrary to the modern understanding of prayer as an improvisational act and selfhood as rooted in individuality, interiority, and genuine emotion.⁵⁰ In a pivotal study, Clark observes how most studies of Anglo-Saxon prayer reproduce modern presumptions that privilege spontaneity and improvisation. She instead offers a theory of early medieval subjectivity that privileges symbol, action, gesture, and community through the performance of such sacred formulae.⁵¹ Clark describes how the appeal functions as a declaration of allegiance in Ælfric’s conception of prayer:

The very act of praying implies that the precator means to return *lean* for *lisse* in a trustworthy fashion. In this way, prayer is more like a vow...and thus more like performative language. Prayer changes (or reiterates) the status of the one praying and formalizes intent through the formality of the language—in this case, the intent to be subject to God.⁵²

This formulation of petition and repayment sheds light on the eight formal result clauses interspersed throughout *Laidcenn*.⁵³ The first four relate to the invocation of litanies up to line 23 of the prayer; each allows the supplicant to invite bodily integrity through the enfolding

⁴⁹ See footnote 43 above.

⁵⁰ The psychologist William James defines prayer as “no mere repetition of certain sacred formulae, but the very movement itself of the soul, putting itself in a personal relation of contact with the mysterious power of which it feels the presence,” see *Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature* (New York: Mentor, 1958), 352. Friedrich Heiler, James’ contemporary, qualifies “genuine prayer” as “the free, spontaneous expression of one’s own experience, or at least the fruit of what one has experienced and gained in struggle,” in *A Study in the History and Psychology of Religion*, trans. Samuel McComb (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), xxiii.

⁵¹ Clark, “Theorizing Prayer,” see note 30 above. Clark provides a thorough and incisive historiography of the ways in which scholars ranging from Allen Frantzen to Rachel Fulton privilege personal affect or creativity (1-55). Her study employs the frame of petition, supplemented by gift theory, through a series of micro-studies in Bede and Ælfric to articulate a relationship between the subject, community, and formulaic prayer.

⁵² Clark, “Theorizing Prayer,” 207.

⁵³ Appendix, lines 5, 11, 17, 23, 31, 51, 83, 89. The Latin construction is marked by “ut + subjunctive verb.” The Old English gloss likewise incorporates the construction where “ut” is translated as “þæt, þætte, swa þæt, or swa...þæt.”; see Bruce Mitchell and Fred Robinson, *A Guide to Old English*, 7th ed. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 94-95. In the examples that follow I provide only the Latin as it is more easily recognizable.

protection of the various powers.⁵⁴ Two succeeding *ut* clauses frame the longest of *Laidcenn*'s anatomical catalogues, beginning "Tuta pelta protegente singula, *ut* non tetri demones in latera" [With your secure shield covering every member, so that the foul demons do not hurl their darts into my sides as they are accustomed] and concluding "Erga membra erga mea uiscera, *ut* retrudas a me inuisibilis, sudum clabos quos fingunt odibiles" [(be a lorica) to my limbs, to my inner-parts, so that you drive back from me the invisible nails that the hateful ones shape].⁵⁵ Here the implicit concern with bodily cohesion is made clear, shifting to frame the anatomical catalogue; the formal result clauses provide a more detailed image of the protected Christian, one fleshed out in enumerative detail.

Laidcenn's final two result clauses function as a means to secure the earlier petitions. This closing passage characterizes the supplicant's potential spiritual absolution not simply within the conceptual orbit of physical unity but rather as contingent upon the material integrity of his body:

Tege totum me...
 Ut a plantis usque ad uerticem
 Nullo membro foris intus egrotem;
 Ne de meo possit uitam trudere
 Pestis febris languor dolor corpore,
 Donec iam deo dante seneam
 Et peccata mea bonis deileam,
 Ut de carne iens imis
 Et ad alta euolare ualeam
 Et miserto deo ad etheria
 Letus uehar regni refrigeria. Amen. (lines 81-92)

[Cover all of me... so that from the soles of my feet to the top of my head I might not be afflicted in any member, within or without; so that plague, fever, feebleness, or pain may

⁵⁴ For example: Opto thronos uirtutes archangelos/ Principatus, potestates, angelos/ Ut me denso defendentes agmine/ Inimicos ualeam prosternere [I pray for the thrones, virtues, and Archangels, principalities, powers, and angels that while they are guarding me in a dense battle procession, so that I might be strong enough to strike down the enemies] (Appendix, lines 15-18).

⁵⁵ Appendix, lines 30-31, 50-52. My emphasis.

not be able to thrust the life from my body until, God willing, I may reach old age and erase my sins with good deeds; so that, departing from my flesh, I may avoid the depths and be able to fly to the heights, and by the mercy of God, be joyfully carried to the heavenly consolations of his kingdom. Amen.]

Here purgation of sin is grammatically dependent upon Christ surrounding the body with his shield. Moreover, the subordinate clause *a plantis usque ad uerticem* bears a particular rhetorical weight that highlights the potency associated with the physical body. The phrase is a near exact match with two verses of the Old Testament, Job 2:7 and Isaiah 1:6.⁵⁶ While the ultimate source is unclear because of such parallelism, both verses emphasize the vulnerability of the body and reinforce the penitential tone of *Laidcenn* as they recount the travails suffered by men either as a test of their faith or a slide into apostasy. Reid locates a talismanic quality in the phrase; the supplicant appropriates and inverts the language of affliction, present in the Biblical source material, adopting it as protection against his enemies.⁵⁷ Reid's evaluation recalls the ancestry of Christian anatomical catalogues put forward by Lindsay, as means to co-opt and thus counter pagan curse forms. Yet if we accept their talismanic qualities, both the synoptic *ut* clause—*ut a plantis usque ad uerticem*—and the longer anatomical list speak to a notion of spiritual protection rooted in and contingent upon an ability to define the borders of the physical body.

In this sense the final result clauses move beyond simply reiterating the supplicant's allegiance to God to, as Clark puts it, "formalize" his intent to repay protection with penitential works. Figured as a peregrine/exile at the prayer's outset, the closing formula obliges the

⁵⁶ Reid traces this phrase to ten manuscripts; see "The Lorica of Laidcenn: the Biblical Connections," *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 12 (2002): 146-47. Job 2:7 reads: "Egressus igitur Satan a facie Domini, percussit Job ulcere pessimo, a planta pedis usque ad verticem ejus" [So Satan went forth from the presence of the Lord, and struck Job with a very grievous ulcer, from the sole of the foot even to the top of his head]; Isaiah 1:6: "A planta pedis usque ad verticem, non est in eo sanitas; vulnus, et livor, et plaga tumens, non est circumligata, nec curata medicamine, neque fota oleo" [From the sole of the foot unto the top of the head, there is no soundness therein: wounds and bruises and swelling sores: they are not bound up, nor dressed, nor fomented with oil]; source and translation from DRBO.

⁵⁷ Reid, "Biblical Connections," 145-46.

Christian to explicitly acknowledge his sins (*pecatta/synne*) – the cause of his physical and metaphysical dislocation – and reassert his status as a protected, and eventually shriven, subject of Christ through his vow of good works (*bonis/godum*). Moreover, this vow is an expression of intent; a formal declaration that rhetorically fulfills the supplicant’s desire to return from exile into the order of Christ’s kingdom.

While *Laidcenn*’s litany of result clauses provide a series of formal appeals for the supplicant to assert his place as Christ’s protected subject, these assertions are linked to the subject’s flesh; the body—just as the anatomical catalogs link the flesh both structurally and grammatically to litanies of angels, saints, etc.—serves as the rhetorical ligature that binds petition and result. Indeed, *Laidcenn*’s final emphasis on good deeds as recompense frames the body as a vehicle to actualize repayment and thus confirm the subject as Christian, but we may extend this rhetorical analysis to explore how the significance of the assembled body sheds light on the intersection of embodiment and subjectivity in late Anglo-Saxon devotion.

Emerging from a catalogue of limbs, the assembled body depicts an assemblage of vital, en fleshed agents. Yet to end with this basic observation both overlooks the ways in which loricae situate the material body within a larger cosmic and mystical network and fails to acknowledge the expansive nature of the assemblage. That is to say just as the formal contours of loricae take shape from a fluid arrangement of litanies, *Laidcenn*’s assembled body is more than the determinate whole of the supplicant’s flesh; it is the accretion of multiple agents that align around the supplicant’s body—the Trinity, choirs or angels, Apostles, etc.⁵⁸—in context of the prayer. Bennett uses the evocative term “congealment” to describe such a temporary

⁵⁸ The entire catalogue includes: Trinity, Cherubim, Seraphim, Michael, Gabriel, Thrones, Virtues, Archangels, Principalities, Powers, Angels, Patriarchs, four by four Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Athletes of God, Virgins, Faithful Widows, Confessors (Appendix, lines 1-25). For notes on this collection, see Herren, *Hisperica Famina: II*, 113-17.

accumulation of actants but a more focused effort to articulate the nature of this process—and the imminent possibility at its core—comes in the earlier collaborative work of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari.⁵⁹

In their initial descriptions of assemblage as a theoretical category, Deleuze and Guattari develop the model of the “Body without Organs” to conceptually approach dimensions of embodiment beyond what had previously been understood by models accepting the physical body as a static, prearranged organic whole.⁶⁰ In other words, the BwO allows one to consider the machinic processes at work in the alignment of these bodies, the *becoming* of the assemblage—and the attendant proliferation of possibilities—rather than the typical retrospection informing organismist models. Deleuze and Guattari draw on embryology to characterize the BwO as an egg “crisscrossed with axes and thresholds, with latitudes and longitudes and geodesic lines, traversed by gradients marking the transitions and the becomings”⁶¹ and elsewhere as an open plane of consistency:

before extension of the organism and the organization of the organism and the organization of the organs, before the formation of the strata; as the intense egg defined by axes and vectors, gradients and thresholds, by dynamic tendencies involving energy transformation and kinematic movements involving group displacement, by migrations; all independent of *accessory forms* because the organs appear and function here only as pure intensities.⁶²

⁵⁹ For the full quote see the epigraph above, taken from *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 93.

⁶⁰ Hereafter BwO. The concept appears throughout, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. by Robert Hurley, Mark Seem, and Helen R. Lane (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983); *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987). I discuss this notion in my Introduction, 5-7.

⁶¹ *Anti-Oedipus*, 21.

⁶² *Thousand Plateaus*, 153.

This model provides a means to conceptualize the multidirectional plane across which bodies, here as indeterminate or non-specialized elements, occur and illuminates the continual process of change, flight, or movement within and between assemblages.⁶³ Along this plane the bodies are outside any determinate state, poised for any alignment or action in their repertory; this is the body from the point of view of its potential, where immanence and emergence converge.⁶⁴ As an assemblage—that is a field of imminent potential—the limbs-bodies assembled in loricae mark a mutable and dynamic site of pure potential. Approached from this perspective, the assembled body operates as an “event space,” a structure of alliance from which the quality of divine protection emerges.⁶⁵

III. Enmeshment, enclosure, and protection

A number of apotropaic prayers reveal a similar correlation between protection and joining the spatial dimensions of the body to that witnessed in *Laidcenn*. Analysis of how these prayers conceptualize the outer margins of the supplicant—through a variety of methods—will provide insight into the late Anglo-Saxon reception of the anatomical device as a mechanism for

⁶³ The BwO, like the phenomena it seeks to describe, is rather fluid and Deleuze and Guattari seem playfully unwilling to provide a set definition, which is likely the result of the phenomena with which they are dealing. Help points of entry are in *Anti-Oedipus*, 9-16; *Thousand Plateaus*, 149-66.

⁶⁴ Brian Massumi, English translator of *Thousand Plateaus*, elaborates this concept of the *virtual* in *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002).

⁶⁵ Bennett, 24. Bennett’s more recent description of assemblage is evocative in its ability to capture the inherent vibrancy of the process/state: “Assemblages are living, throbbing confederations that are able to function despite the persistent presence of energies that confound them from within” (23). I rely on Deleuze and Guattari because their articulation allows space for human agency whereas Bennett eschews the Subjective/Individual or teleology to foreground the power of “ad hoc”—that is non-agential, non-directed, and spontaneously meaningful—groupings of elements (23). The goal of her object-oriented ontology is to delineate a political ecology of non-human bodies (through concepts such a “Thing Power”) and thus destabilize the political Subject by problematizing modern presumptions surrounding the monolithic control exerted by the Human Agent.

marshaling spiritual protection via physical coherence, through a direct appeal to their distinct bodily members.

A helpful illustration of both the general conception of assemblage and the specific assembled body trope appears in a protective *oratio* found in the tenth century *Royal Prayer Book*.⁶⁶ Dedicated to the Cross, the prayer grants the holy symbol qualities of both an amulet—that recall classical protective amulets⁶⁷—and intercessor as the devotee seeks to access Christ’s protection through the object:

Obsecro te ihs xps filius di uiui per crucem
tuuam ut demittas delicta mea, pro beata
cruce custodi caput meum, pro benedicta
cruce custodi oculos meos, pro ueneranda
cruce custodi manus meas, pro sca cruce
custodi uiscera mea, pro gloriosa cruce custodi
genua mea, pro honorabili cruce custodi
pedes meos et omnia membra mea ab omnibus
insidiis inimici, pro dedicata cruce in corpore
xpi custodi animam meam et libera me in
nouissimo die ab omnibus aduersariis, pro clauibus
sanctis quae in corpore xpi dedicata errant. (lines 1-12)

[I implore you, Jesus Christ, son of the living God, by your cross so that you dismiss my faults: on behalf of the blessed cross guard my head, on behalf of the blessed cross guard my eyes, on behalf of the venerable cross guard my hands, on behalf of the sacred cross guard my intestines, on behalf of the glorious cross guard my knees, on behalf of the honorable cross guard my feet and all my members from all plots of the enemy, on behalf of the consecrated cross in the body of Christ guard my soul and deliver me on the final day from all adversaries on behalf of the holy nails which are consecrated in the body of Christ.]

⁶⁶ MS. Royal 2 A. XX, fol. 45b (Ker, *Caralogue*, no. 248). The manuscript is described and edited in an appendix to Kuypers, *Book of Cerne*, 200-25, esp. 221. Kuypers notes the close association between *Cerne* and *Royal* (v-vi). The codex is in line with the tradition of devotional prayerbooks developed by Anglo-Saxon theologians in the eighth and ninth centuries, a form that likewise enjoyed broad circulation of the continent; see Frantzen, *The Literature of Penance*, 88.

⁶⁷ See my discussion of the classical Christian and Pagan roots of the anatomical catalogue above at pages 33-37.

Here the supplicant actively projects his physical characteristics, rhetorically joining them with the divinely charged object of the cross in an attempt to access Christ's favor. *Royal's* anatomical catalogue draws attention more explicitly to the limits of his discrete bodily members in the performance of the prayer.⁶⁸ As the supplicant invokes the cross he vocalizes the physical limits of his form, rhetorically disassembling and reassembling his body, and thus enacting bodily coherence through its capacity to rhetorically align with the holy object. The cross's role in *Royal* likewise provides a useful analogue for the litany of ethereal agents invoked in *Laidcenn*. While the material cross bears weight, depth, texture, etc., modern readers should not discount that the angels or saints invoked by loricae would be no less physically present for Anglo-Saxon supplicants.⁶⁹ *Royal's* anatomical enumeration functions in a manner analogous to *Laidcenn* as the mechanism that traces the dimensions of the assembled body; the assemblage of vibrant holy object, vital limbs, and supplicant becomes the event space from which the quality of protection emerges. It is the vitality of the human body, its natural dynamic of disorder and reunion that enables the supplicant to enact such assemblage.

Directions in many prayerbooks similarly demonstrate an interest in literally marking the physical limits of the body. A brief instruction set within a devotional program of the early ninth century *Fleury Prayerbook* notes the ritual signing of the body: "Deinde, signato fronte et oculis, omnibusque membris signo cruces" [Then, mark the forehead and eyes, and all of the members (of the body) with the sign of the cross].⁷⁰ David F. Johnson demonstrates how the lexical

⁶⁸ I should note the recurrent image of nails. This is not to suggest a direct link between the execration *tabellae* and the *Royal* prayer, but rather to note how the nails remain such a salient image.

⁶⁹ For these litanies in *Laidcenn*, see note 58 above.

⁷⁰ Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, 184; J. P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia Latina* (Paris, 1863), 101:1412c; hereafter PL. The passage finds a correlative in an admonition from *Blickling Homily IV: The Third Sunday in Lent*: "Ond eallum Cristenum mannum is beboden þæt hi ealne heora lichoman seofon siþum gebletsian mid Cristes rode tacen, ærest on ærne morgen oþre siþe on undertid, þriddan siþe on midne dæg, feorþan siþe on nontid, fiftan siþe on

complexity of the term *signo*, *signum* inspired conceptual richness with respect to the *crux usualis* in the Anglo-Saxon literary imagination; to make the sign of the cross was to purify or protect a space by sealing it.⁷¹ Read against the *Royal* prayer, *Fleury*'s instruction attests a method of demarcating the bodily margins that might function in concert with a vocalized anatomical formula. In its capacity to help mark – or rather seal – its own boundaries the body itself reveals an amuletic quality as the tool enabling the supplicant to enact protection. An analogous question has been addressed in relation to the practice of *loricae*. Noting the context of ancient *tabellae* and amulets that likely influenced the genre's formation, Michael Herren posits that the performance of *loricae* could involve a physical object: "It is possible that *loricae* were meant not only to be recited, but also to be carried on the person, or even worn."⁷² Don Skemer's study of early medieval "textual amulets" delineates a broad cultural acceptance that appears to affirm Herren, although Skemer groups *loricae* as "verbal charms."⁷³ Gougaud similarly argues that supplicants could literally enact this power by ritualistically signing each member while

æfen, syxtan siþe on niht ær he ræste, seofon siþe on uhtan. Huru he hine Gode bebeode. Ond gif þa lareowas þis nellap fastlice Godes folce bebeodan, þonne beoþ hi wiþ God swyþe scyldige, forþon þæt Godes folc sceal witon hu hi hi sylfe scyldan sceolan wiþ deoflu." [It is commanded to all Christian men that they should bless their entire bodies seven times (daily) with the sign Christ's Cross. First in the early morning, the second time at before noon, the third time at midday, the fourth time at the hour of none, the fifth time in the evening, the sixth time at night before he goes to sleep, and the seventh time at dawn. At all such times, he should commend himself to God. If the teachers will not impart this upon God's people, they will be very guilty before God because God's people ought to know how to protect themselves from devils] (Morris, 47).

⁷¹ Johnson, "The *Crux Usualis* as Apotropaic Weapon in Anglo-Saxon England," in *The Place of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Catherine E. Karkov, Sarah Larratt Keefer, Karen Louise Jolly (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), 82.

⁷² Herren, *Hisperica Famina: II*, 30. On the genre's origin, Herren writes: "What seems probable, however, is that the amulets and the *tabellae* served as the generic models of the Celtic *loricae*" (31).

⁷³ Don C. Skemer, *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 42. Skemer opens with a helpful definition of textual amulets: "Brief apotropaic texts, handwritten or mechanically printed on separate sheets, rolls, and scraps of parchment, paper, or other flexible writings supports of varying dimensions. . . worn around the neck or placed elsewhere on the body. . . thought to protect the bearer against known and unknown enemies, to drive away or exorcise evil spirits, to heal specific afflictions caused by demonic invasions of the unprotected self" (1).

speaking its name.⁷⁴ Of interest here is the way in which such extra-verbal practice, suggested by Gougaud and witnessed in numerous prayerbooks, highlights a material engagement implicit in texts such a *Laidcenn*. As the supplicant marks out his body it becomes a protective amulet; as the Christian crosses their eyes, nose, etc., each limb is invested with a talismanic quality from which the assembled collection of limbs embodies protective cohesion.

Such an interest in the spatial dimensions of the body is framed with remarkable nuance in the *Lorica of St. Patrick*, recorded in the eleventh century Irish and Latin *Liber Hymnorum*:⁷⁵

Cumachtae nDé dom chumgabáil,
Ciall Dé dom imthús
Rosc nDé dom remcisiu,
cluas Dé dom étsecht
briathar Dé dom erlabrai,
lám Dé dom imdegail,
intech Dé dom remthechtas,
sciath Dé dom imdítin. (lines 36-43)

[The might of God to exalt me, the mind of God to lead me, the eye of God to watch over me, the ear of God to watch over me, the mouth of God to speak to me, the hand of God to defend me, the path of God to go before me, the shield of God to guard me.]⁷⁶

Truncated significantly in comparison to *Laidcenn*, the catalogue of aligns bodily members with an ethereal protector that echoes the assemblage of body and cross in the *Royal* prayer. John Carey reads this transposition in terms of an analogous appeal to the Godhead, stopping just

⁷⁴ Gougaud, 109. Sims-Williams notes the likelihood of this practice with loricae based on the broad diffusion of instructions in prayerbooks like *Fleury* (284). For a similar observation related to charms see Storms, 222, 226.

⁷⁵ Dublin, Trinity College Library MS. E.4.2. The standard edition is J. H. Bernard and R. Atkinson, ed., *The Irish Liber Hymnorum*, 2 vols., Henry Bradshaw Society 13, 14 (London, 1898), I:133-136 (text), II:208-12 (commentary). A more recent edition appears in John Carey, ed. and trans., *King of Mysteries: Early Irish Religious Writings* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998), 130-35. Gougaud presumes this to be the oldest and thus archetypal lorica, but the evidence for his claim is spurious and questioned by both Herren (24) and Carey (128). Hereafter, the poem will be referred to as *Patrick*.

⁷⁶ All translations of *Patrick* are Carey's.

before one may infer the radical fusion of supplicant and Creator to suspend his faculties “in prayerful submission to an ubiquitous Deity.”⁷⁷ Concluding the list, the path and shield of God provide salient images for the reader/reciter to conceptualize holy guidance and protection. Later in the prayer the supplicant expands this notion of protection—while making an appeal to Christ—in terms of its relation to his body within its spatial environment:

Críst dom imdegail indiu
ar neim, ar loscud, ar bádud, ar guin,
condom-thair ilar fochraicce.
Críst limm, Críst reum, Crí im degaid,
Críst indium, Críst ísum, Críst uasum,
Críst desum, Críst tuatham,
Críst i illius, Críst i sius, Críst i n-erus,
Críst i cridiu cech diuni immunrorda,
Críst i ngin cech oín rodóm-labrathar,
Críst i cech rusc nodóm-dercathar,
Críst i cech cluais rodóm-chloathar. (lines 59-69)

[May Christ protect me today against poison, against burning, against drowning, against wounding, that many rewards may come to me. May Christ be with me, Christ before me, Christ behind me, Christ within me, Christ beneath me, Christ above me, Christ to my right, Christ to my left, Christ where I lie down, Christ where I sit, Christ where I stand, Christ in the heart of everyone who thinks of me, Christ in the mouth of everyone who speaks to me, Christ in every eye which looks on me, Christ in every ear which hears me.]

Here *Patrick* outlines the body not through a prolix recitation of disarticulated members but rather through a sense of negative space: before, behind, within, beneath, etc. define the supplicant’s dimensions implicitly through the all-encompassing presence of Christ. In this regard, Christ’s protection is framed in a way that provides resolution to the porous senses referenced in *Laidcenn* as *durum* [doors]; here Christ replaces the senses as the interface between individual and environment, enclosing the individual in sure protection.⁷⁸ *Patrick* delineates the

⁷⁷ Carey, 127.

⁷⁸ See footnote 48 above.

margins of the body through the contours of Christ’s presence, framing Christ as a proxy for the body as it moves through its environment [“Christ where I lie down, Christ where I sit...Christ in every ear which hears me”]. This sense of transposition illuminates implicit notions of alignment or juncture underwriting the litany of appeals—formalized through result clauses—in *Laidcenn*. *Patrick*’s variation of the assembled body locates protection not only within the inherent potential for the limbs of the body to coalesce but capacity for those incorporated limbs to likewise cohere with a litany of heavenly bodies. In both *Patrick* and *Laidcenn*, anatomical catalogues do not simply circumscribe the body; they resituate the assembled body within Christ’s universal order.

A similar interest in marking out the dimensions of the body occurs in a late Anglo-Saxon metrical charm, titled by Godfrid Storms as *Sip Gealdor (Journey Charm)*:⁷⁹

Ic me on þisse gyrde beluce and on godes helde bebeode
 wið þane sara stice, wið þane sara slege,
 wið þane grymma gryre,
 wið ðane micela egða þe bið eghwam lað,
 and wið eal þæt lað þe in to land fare.
 Sygegealdor ic begale, sigegyrd ic me wege,
 wordsige and worcsige. (lines 1-7)

[I enclose myself according to this rod, and entrust myself into God’s protection, against the painful stich, against the painful blow, against the grim violence, against the great fear that is hostile to everyone, and against all hostility when I journey into that land. A victory-bringing charm I chant, a victory-bringing rod I bear, success in words and success in works.]

⁷⁹ The text appears as marginalia in Cambridge Corpus Christi College MS 41 and is printed in Dobbie, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, ASPR, vol. 6, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942), 126-28. An edition with helpful notes is Godfrid Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic* (Nijhoff, 1948), 218-23. Marion Amies presents an allegorical reading of the text and tentatively suggests the charm should be considered as a lorica in “The *Journey Charm*: A Lorica for Life’s Journey,” *Neophilologus* 67 (1983): 448-62. Jolly provides a thorough reading of the charm *in situ* and how it provides insight on the text it accompanies in “On the Margins of Orthodoxy: Devotional Formulas and Protective Prayers in Cambridge Corpus Christi College MS 41,” in *Signs on the Edge: Space, Texts and Margin in Medieval Manuscripts*, ed. Sarah Larratt Keefer and Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr. (Paris: Peeters, 2007), 135-83, esp. 170-72.

Although an anatomical catalogue is absent, the means by which this charm literally circumscribes the body provides a conceptual frame for understanding how late Anglo-Saxon practitioners of *loricae* would conceive of the effects of anatomical enumeration. The opening line is terse, apparently referring to a simultaneous extra-textual ritual in which the speaker physically circumscribes himself by tracing a circle around his body;⁸⁰ what type of “rod” the line implies is also unclear and some have suggested a euphemistic reference to a cross, which would fit with the ubiquity of the cross as a symbol/implement in contemporary medical texts.⁸¹ Noting such cryptic elements of the charm, recent studies have attempted to draw out the oral and performative aspects of the work.⁸² Here the speaker engages his body through the act of marking it out against a litany of threats. This ritual act of circumscription, then, functions akin to the invocation of Christ’s shield in *Laidcenn* and other *loricae*. Moreover, the *locus* created through this act takes on a dual significance as the physical demarcation of body’s dimensions and the source of the charm’s power, as its protective charge is transposed from the line circumscribing the body to the body itself during the journey. This bivalence is witnessed in the

⁸⁰ Jolly, “Margins,” 172.

⁸¹ Felix Grendon is the first to suggest this in “The Anglo-Saxon Charms,” *Journal of American Folklore* 22 (1909): 105-237; Jolly echoes this possibility (“Margins,” 172). Jolly provides a thorough study of the cross as it was adapted as a healing instrument by Anglo-Saxon leeches in “Cross-Referencing Anglo-Saxon Liturgy and Remedies: the Sign of the Cross as Ritual Protection,” in *The Liturgy of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. Helen Gittos and M. Bradford Bedingfield (London: Boydell and Brewer, 2005), 213-43. This adaption ran parallel to a shift in perception emphasizing physical signing of the cross as a means invoke its spiritual potency if the actual object was not at hand. Such a shift was counter to orthodox notions emphasizing signification and allegorical meaning over the literal: “the symbolizing process can flow in the other direction, such that the spiritual significance comes to inhabit the literal symbol...the actual physical cross of the gesture contains and distributes power derived from its devotional meaning” (217).

⁸² Katrina Rupp, “The Anxiety of Writing: A Reading of the Old English *Journey Charm*,” *Oral Tradition* 23 (2008): 255-66; Katherine O’Brien-O’Keeffe, *Visible Song*, CSASE 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 70; and Lori Ann Garner, “Anglo-Saxon Charms in Performance,” *Oral Tradition* 19 (2004): 20-42. Garner envisions the performative as a space in which reductive binaries such as living ritual/static text, poetry/science, and verbal/non-verbal collapse and wherein “the charm’s function as healing remedy becomes all encompassing” (21-22).

juxtaposition of the verbs *belucan* and *bebeodan* in the opening line, effectively signaling a collapse of meaning between enclosing and commending. Conceptually, the body is marked out as a distinct entity wherein an identification of its physical dimensions coincides with its potential to function as a cohesive, protected, whole.⁸³ It is not unreasonable to suppose the audience—leech or patient—of the *Lacnunga* would conceive of *Laidcenn*'s anatomical catalogue as an analogous ritual; believing its effect is not simply a grammatical re-organization—i.e. purification—of the self but an actualization of the body as a hermetic—and thus protected—enclosure, the creation of physical event space from which spiritual protection may emerge.

Indeed, a similar constellation of space-enclosure-protection appears more broadly in vernacular poetry utilizing tropes of spiritual warfare. In a passage preceding the well-known eschatological turn which concludes *Christ II*,⁸⁴ Cynewulf's poetic persona calls for all Christians to gird themselves against the perpetual onslaught of devils:

Utan us beorgan þa,
 þenden we on eorðan eard weardien;
 utan us to fæder freoþa wilnian,
 biddan bearn godes ond þone bliðan gæst
 þaet he us gescilde wið sceapæn wæpnum,
 laþra lygesearwum, se us lif forgeaf,
 leomu, lic ond gæst. (lines 771b-777a)

⁸³ The lexical range of *gyrde* raises interesting implications. The primary sense of the word means “rod” as in the physical implement, but alternately *gyrde* may connote a “rod used in measuring” or particular measurement of territorial space (from which ME “yard” evolves). Given these secondary meanings, it is tempting to read the line as “I enclose myself in this space,” but the unit of measurement denoted by *gyrde* is typically associated with a quarter of a hide, making the reading unlikely. See Angus Cameron et al., eds., *Dictionary of Old English: A to H online* (Toronto, 2016), accessed January 20, 2017, <http://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doe/>; hereafter DOE.

⁸⁴ ASPR III, 25. The fame of *Christ II*'s concluding passage derives from the fact that it contains one of only four extant instances of Cynewulf's runic signature. Aside from *Christ II*, the signatures occur in *The Fates of the Apostles* and *Elene* of the Vercelli Codex (Krapp, ed., *The Vercelli Book*, ASPR, vol. 2 [New York: Columbia University Press, 1932] 54, 101) and *Juliana* of the Exeter Codex (ASPR III, 133). A series of articles from Ralph W. V. Elliott, Robert E. Diamond, and Dolores Warwick Frese—collected by Robert E. Bjork—provide a helpful introduction to both the form and function of the runic signature within Cynewulf's distinctive style in *The Cynewulf Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 281-323.

[Let us now fortify ourselves as long as we may inhabit our dwelling upon earth; let us beg peace of the Father, pray to the Son of God and that joyous Spirit, that He shield us from the weapons of the harmful ones, from the lying tricks of hateful ones, He who gave us life, limbs, body, and soul.]⁸⁵

The narrator's language echoes the loricae considered above: the machinations of devils become weapons, while God's protection is his shield. Thomas Hill convincingly argues the passage is directly influenced by the loricae.⁸⁶ Moreover, Hill's conclusion provides insight into certain aspects of the passage. For example in the closing list *lif*, *leomu*, *lic*, and *gæst*, the juxtaposition of *leomu* and *lic* recalls the rhetorical disarticulation of the body common in the lorica genre and speaks to hopefulness signified in the assemblage that echoes the intersection of bodily integrity and purification in *Laidcenn*'s closing passage.

A spatial quality underwrites the passage's opening exhortation that likewise recalls *Laidcenn*. The succession of *eorðan* and *eard* presents the reader with contrasting notions of geographic scale: the broad, unknown yet finite, expanse of the earth is juxtaposed with the more familiar and traceable dimensions of one's own native land or estate.⁸⁷ Moreover the verb for "protection" denotes a sense of space as well. Derived from the same etymological root as the noun *burh/burg* (fortified enclosure, stronghold, fortress), *beorgan* is generally translated as "to protect, defend" but this common root denotes protection stemming from a sense of fortification

⁸⁵ ASPR III, 24.

⁸⁶ Hill, "Invocation," see note 7 above. Hill bases his argument on the rare method by which the narrator invokes the Trinity—naming each discrete member—to demonstrate a formal connection.

⁸⁷ Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller note *eard* can stand for 'estate' as well in *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1882), 231. Hereafter B&T. Nicholas Howe observes a similar impulse toward exact measurement in the specialized legal term *snæd*: "a piece of land within defined limits, but without enclosures; a limited, circumscribed woodland or pasturage" (*Writing the Map of Anglo-Saxon England: Essays in Cultural Geography* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008], 39). Interestingly, Howe's analysis of Anglo-Saxon land charters demonstrates the importance ascribed to boundary markers to signify ownership, authority, and protection that resonates with the loricae: "The landscape is thus invented as a series of markers that guide local inhabitants from point to point... and thus resolve the problem posed by the landscape" (*Writing the Map*, 40).

and enclosure.⁸⁸ The spatial quality associated with protection is further underscored in the succession *eorðan* and *eard*. Indeed Wulfstan deploys a similar constellation of physical enclosure, spiritual protection, and Christian identity during his *Sermo De Baptisme*.⁸⁹

þonne orðað he on þone man, þonne hit swa gebyrað, *in modum crucis*, 7 ðonne wyrð þurh Godes mihte sona deofol swyðe geyrged, 7 mid þæs sacerdes halsunge se deofol wyrð aflymed fram þare menniscan gesceafte þe ær ðurh Adam forworht wæs, 7 ðam halgum gaste byð sona *eardungstow* on þam men gerymed... Þæt sealt þæt se sacerd þam men on muð deð þonne he cristnað, þæt getacnað godcundne wisdom, 7 ealswa se lichama þonne gefelð þæs sealtess scarpnesse, swa sceal seo sawul ongytan wisdomes snotornesse... And ðonne se sacerd æthrinð mid his spatle þæs mannes nose 7 earan, þonne tacnað he mid þam þæt he sceal ægðer ge þurh stenc ge ðurh hlyst underfon godcunde halignesse 7 gesceadwisnesse. And ðonne se sacerd smyreð mid þam halgan crisman breost 7 sculdru, þonne befehð he þæne man mid Godes scylde on ægðre healf, þæt deofol ne mæg ænig his ættenra wæpna him on afæstnian, naðor ne beforan ne wiðæftan. (lines 30-35, 53-67)

[Then (the priest) breaths on the man, as it is fitting, in shape of the cross,⁹⁰ and then immediately through God's might the Devil is severely terrified, and by means of the priest's exorcism the is put to flight from that human creature who had previously been undone by Adam, and a *dwelling place* for the holy spirit is prepared within that person... The salt that the priest places in the mouth while he christens that man, that signifies divine wisdom, and just as the body feels the sharpness of the salt, so shall the soul see (perceive) the prudence of wisdom... And when the priest touches with his saliva the man's nose and ears, this signifies that through smell and hearing he will receive divine holiness and reason. And when the priest anoints his breast and shoulders with holy oil, then he arms that man with God's shield, so that the Devil may not pierce him with any of his poisonous weapons, neither from in front nor from behind.]

Protection is set in line with a reassertion of corporeal bounds against the psycho-physiological threats of the Devil. In this respect individual protection is figured in an embodied manner that

⁸⁸ DOE, s. v. "burh." Stephen A. Barney demonstrates this relation in *Word-Hoard: An Introduction to Old English Vocabulary*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 43.

⁸⁹ Dorothy Bethurum, ed., *The Homilies of Wulfstan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 175-84. My emphasis.

⁹⁰ Although this detail is absent from *Sermo De Baptisme* it appear in *Dominica III Vel Quando Volueris*, whose description of the rite shares a great deal of language with *De Baptisme*. The passage reads: "þonne se mæssepreost cristnað ærest þæt cild, þonne orðað he þry on an on hit, þonne hit swa gebyrað, on Cristes rode tacne 7 on his ansyne" [When the priest first christens the child, then he breaths on it three times, as is fitting, in the sign of Christ's cross and on its face] (Bethurum, 172).

recalls the ritual circumscription opening the *Journey Charm*: a mutual emphasis on the establishment of a protected, physical, space through the invocation of bodily margins. Yet Wulfstan’s formulation goes further. His characterization of the individual as a dwelling place (*eardungstow*) for the Holy Spirit frames the material body as a space in which protection, purity, and Christian identity intersect; while the assemblage of mouth, nose, ears, chest, and shoulders marks out the body as a discrete, protected and purified Christian space, the natural capacities of these agents enable the assemblage to continually affirm its Christian disposition by tasting wisdom and smelling or hearing holiness and reason.⁹¹ This correlation, moreover, lends nuance to the unalloyed potential to cohere underscoring the assembled body witnessed in *Laidcenn* and other loricae. The assembled body is a site of propulsive alliance between limbs/bodies physical and divine, in which concomitant qualities of becoming-protected and becoming-Christian emerge from its receptiveness to what Elizabeth Grosz describes as “provisional linkages of elements, fragments, flows of disparate status and substance.”⁹² The capacity of distinct bodily members to join with one another is simultaneously a disposition to cohere to Christ and in doing so shield (*scylde*) themselves from the Devil. Wulfstan clarifies this concept later in the homily, saying: “Ðonne eac æfter ðysum he bið wel husles wyrðe, 7 him gebyreð þæt swyðe rihte þæt he þonne þicge Cristes lichaman 7 his blod, forðan he bið þonne Cristes lima an [Then likewise after this (baptism) he is well worthy of the Host, and it benefits him greatly then that straightaway he receives the body of Christ and his blood, because he is

⁹¹ It seems likely that Wulfstan’s analogy between physical taste and spiritual wisdom relates to the metaphor of “consuming wisdom,” which appears across all genres of Anglo-Saxon literature. For a helpful introduction to the concept and index of previous scholarship see Kyle Joseph Williams, “The Worm and the Chalice: Eucharistic Imagery and the Unity of Exeter Riddles 47 and 48,” *Modern Philology* 114 (2017): 482-502.

⁹² Grosz, *Volatile Bodies: Toward A Corporeal Feminism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 167.

hereafter a limb of Christ].⁹³ Just as an assemblage becomes more than the sum total of its parts, the salience of the assembled body lies in the way this trope allows the reciter of *loricae* to conceive of himself through the inherent vibrancy of his flesh: a vital collection of limbs that allows the wandering supplicant to assert his place within Christ's spiritual body.

IV. Separation anxiety

Baptismal rites are not the sole liturgical source for the trope the embodied metaphor of Christ's limbs or assembled body.⁹⁴ The tropes likewise appear in excommunication rituals as a means to elucidate notions of expulsion and anathema to the lay audience. Analysis of the metaphor as an expression of the physical separation of the individual from the community of believers offers further insight into notions of embodiment animating images of enclosure, protection, and Christian identity that intersect in the assembled body trope present in *loricae*. A detailed ritual in the mid eleventh-century London, British Library MS Cotton Tiberius C. i. provides the richest illustration of the trope within excommunication formulae:⁹⁵

⁹³ Bethurum, 180.

⁹⁴ The trope is popular among Anglo-Saxon religious writing; for a helpful catalogue see Robert DiNapoli, *An Index of Theme and Image to the Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church* (Norfolk: Anglo-Saxon Books, 2005), 16, under the heading "Body" and sub-heading "Christians are Christ's limbs."

⁹⁵ Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 197. Felix Liebermann provides an edition in *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, vol. 1 (Max Niemeyer, 1903), 432-33. The ritual finds its ultimate source in Frankish abbot Regino of Prüm's tenth century collection of church law titled *Libri duo de synodalibus causis et disciplinis ecclesiasticis*. For an edition see F. G. A Wasserschleben, ed., *Libri Duo: De Synodalibus Causis et Disciplinis Ecclesiasticis* (Lipsiae, 1840), 370, cap. ccccxii: *Allocutio*. Regino's formulation was incorporated in the influential compendium now known as the *Romano-German Pontifical* (hereafter RGP), which circulated in Anglo-Saxon scriptoria; because of this it is unclear if the Tiberius scribe was aware of Regino's authorship. The standard edition of the RGP remains Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze, eds., *Le pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, Studi e Testi 226-27, 229, 3 vols. (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1963-72). On the popularity structure of Regino's ritual see Sarah Hamilton, "Interpreting Diversity: Excommunication Rites in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," in *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays and Interpretation*, ed. Helen Gittos and Sarah Hamilton (Surrey: Ashgate, 2016), 125-58. For the transmission of Regino and the RGP in England see Genevieve Steele Edwards, "Ritual Excommunication in Medieval France an England, 900-1200" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1997), 23-50, 51-76. Noting the

Ait enim Dominus in evangelio: Si peccaverit in te frater tuus, corripe eum. Fratres, in unoquoque nostrum peccat, qui in sanctam ecclesiam peccat. Si enim sancta ecclesia unum corpus est, cuius corporis caput Christus est, singuli autem sumus alter alterius membra, et quum patitur unum membrum, compatiuntur omnia membra, procul dubio in nos peccat, qui membra nostra laedit... et in alio loco membrum, quod a sua compage resolvitur, et a iunctura caritatis dissociatur, et omne corpus scandalizat, Dominus abscindi et proiici iubet, dicens: Si oculus vel manus vel pes tuus scandalizat te, erue eum et proiice abs te. (lines 6-7)

[For as the Lord said in the Gospel: “If your brother sins against you, rebuke him” (Matt. 18:15). That brother sins against everyone of us because he sins against Holy Church. For if the Holy Church is one body, the head of which is Christ, and we are members of that body, one of the other and what is suffered by one member (of the body) is suffered by all members, it is beyond doubt that he who sins against wounds (all) our members... And in another place the Lord orders the member which has been unbound from its joint and become disjoined from the structure of charity, and tempts to evil the whole body to be cut off and thrust out saying: “If your eye, hand, or foot tempts you to evil, cut it off and thrust it from you” (Matt. 18:8-9)]

The excerpts from Matthew provide the explicator biblical authority but also present a multivalent image of the individual/limb within the holy body. Initially described as a cause of injury in the conflation of the verbs to sin (*peccat*) and to wound (*laedit*), fellow believers are advised to censure their brother (*corripe eum*) in hope of correcting him. This injurious member—seen likewise as *sua compage resolvitur* [unbound from its joint] and *a iunctura*

tendency toward innovation and variation in medieval manuscript collation in general and specifically within the “scores of eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscripts identified as [RGP] sources, whose mutual differences are actually as marked as their similarities,” Henry Parkes moves beyond philology in an attempt to better grasp nuances within the diverse scribal, ritual, intellectual and institutional traditions from which the RGP emerged in “Questioning the Authority of Vogel and Elze’s *Pontifical romano-germanique*,” in *Understanding Medieval Liturgy*, 75-102. Ælfric echoes this language but modifies it to emphasize pity and hope for the excommunicant’s re-incorporation in his homily for *Tuesday on Rogationtide: On the Lord’s Prayer*: “Eallswa wel behofað þæt heafod þæra oðra lima, swa swa þa lymu behofiað þæs heafdes. Gif an lim bið untrum ealle þa oðre þrowiað mid þam anum; Swa we sceolon eac gif bið an ure geferena on sumere earfoðnyse ealle we sceolon his yfel besargian 7 hogian ymbe þa bote gif we hit gebetan magon 7 on eallum þingum we sceolon healdan sibbe and annysse gif we wyllað habban þa micclan geþincþe þæt we beon godes bearn se þe on heofenum is on þære he rixað mid eallum his halgum on eallra worulda woruld” [Just as thoroughly the head needs the other limbs, so the limbs need the head. If one limb is sick all others suffer with that one so we must also if one of our companions is in some hardship/suffering. We all must pity/lament his evil and take care concerning the atonement/remedy if we may remedy it and in all things we must preserve/maintain peace and unity. If we desire to have the great honor that we are children of God—who is in heaven—wherein he rules with all his saints through all ages forever] (Clemons, *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies: The First Series* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997], 333-34, lines 237-43). I explore Ælfric’s use of this trope at greater depth in Chapter 4, “Translating the Senses.”

caritatis dissociatur [disassociated from the structure of charity]—is a source of disruption capable of spreading sinful impulses throughout the body. Once the corrupted member becomes an implicit site of infection he must be removed for the spiritual health of the remaining limbs. This is an act of last resort, to cut off a gangrenous finger to save one’s hand.⁹⁶ The decree of exclusion appears later in the rite: “a pretiosi corporis et sanguinis Domini perceptione, et a societate omnium Christianomin separamus, et a liminibus sanctae matris ecclesiae in coelo et in terra excludimus [we separate [N] from receiving the precious body and blood of the Lord, from all fellowship of Christians, and we exclude/cut off [N] from the thresholds of mother church in heaven and in earth].⁹⁷ Of most interest here is the dual nature of this expulsion. While the excommunicant’s spiritual exclusion is the preeminent concern it is characterized through physical separation; he is displaced from the material aspect of Christ—the Host—and removed

⁹⁶ While notions of infection are left implicit, a passage appearing in the original *Libri duo*—and excluded from Tiberius—is more explicit: “Una enim ovis mórbida omnem gregem contaminât, et modicum fermentum totam massam corrumpit, et plerumque unum membrum putridam totem corpus inficit, et ideo tam pernicioosa pestis a corpore ecclesiae radicitus evellatur” [Indeed one diseased sheep corrupts/contaminates all assembled (in a flock), and a tiny amount of leaven corrupts the entire lump of dough, and often one rotten member infects the whole body, and therefore so the destructive pest should be torn out by the root from the body of the Church] (Wasserschleben, 373). However, Regino’s images echo a passage on excommunication *caput xxviii* of the *Rugula Benedicti*, see Henri Logeman, ed., *The Rule of St. Benet: Latin and Anglo-Saxon Interlinear Version*, EETS os. 90 (London: N. Trubner and Co., 1888), 59-60. I read this image in the context of English Benedictine thought in Chapter 3, “Ruling the Microcosm,” 142-45.

⁹⁷ The entire section reads: *Dei omnipotentis, Patris, Filii et Spiritus sancti et beati Petri principis Apostolorum, et omnium sanctorum, nec non et nostrae mediocritatis auctoritate et potestate nobis divinitus collata ligandi et solvendi in coelo et in terra, a pretiosi corporis et sanguinis Domini perceptione, et a societate omnium Christianomin separamus, et a liminibus sanctae matris ecclesiae in coelo et in terra excludimus, et excommunicatum et anathematizatum esse decernimus, et damnatum cum diabolo et angelis eius et omnibus reprobis in igne aeterno iudicamus, nisi forte a diaboli laqueis respiscat, et ad emendationem et poenitentiam redeat, et ecclesiae Dei, quam laesit, satisfaciat. Et respondeant omnes tertio: Amen, aut: Fiat aut: Anathema sit*” [By all powerful God, the son, and holy spirit, and blessed Peter first apostle, and all the saints, and likewise by our authority of moderation (?), and by heavenly power we bind and loose on heaven and on earth, we separate [N] from receiving the precious body and blood of the Lord, from all fellowship of Christians, and we exclude/cut off [N] from the thresholds of mother church in heaven and in church, we decree you to be both excommunicate and anathema, we judge [N] both damned with the devil and his angels and all the condemned in eternal fire, unless he should escape from the snares of the devil, and he should return through correction and repentance, and should give satisfaction to the church which he injured. And all respond three times: Amen, or May it be done, or May he be cursed] (Wasserschleben, 371-72).

from social fellowship. Moreover, *limen* (threshold, doorway, entrance)⁹⁸ denotes a spatial quality in this separation wherein the excommunicant is literally dislocated from the *locus* in which Christ's body takes shape. Recent scholarship on excommunication in the Anglo-Saxon church has done much to draw attention to the practical elements of the ritual. Sarah Hamilton notes that although the intensity of this physical exclusion may vary in degree—the individual could merely be confined to a certain part of the sanctuary and occluded from communion or fully barred from the construction—we should not think it uncommon.⁹⁹ Pointing to both the conceptual and lexical collapse of ecclesiastical and judicial outlawry during the late tenth and early eleventh century, Stefan Jurasinski notes the concomitant bodily dangers of such exile.¹⁰⁰ This separation could extend beyond the grave as surveys of deviant burials demonstrate that those who died in an exceptional state of sin would be interred outside the bounds of consecrated ground.¹⁰¹ Whereas the virtuous dead remain enmeshed among believers, relics, and other holy objects, the sinful would, in the words of Nicole Marifioti, “be buried among heathens, beyond the Church's jurisdiction, where no prayers would be offered to help rescue his soul from

⁹⁸ Lewis and Short, s. v. “limen.”

⁹⁹ Hamilton, “Remedies for ‘Great Transgressions’: Penance and Excommunication in Late Anglo-Saxon England,” in *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Francesca Tinti (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2005), 83-105. For more general considerations of excommunication as part of insular penitential practice see Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance, 900-1050* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), 69-70, 82-83, 86, 90-91; and on the continent in Rob Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe: 600-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 44-46, 106, 118, 184-86, 208.

¹⁰⁰ Jurasinski, *The Old English Penitentials and Anglo-Saxon Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015). Jurasinski's is the first book-length study on the interplay between Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical and secular law.

¹⁰¹ Victoria Thompson, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England*, Anglo-Saxon Studies 4 (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 170-80. The earliest evidence appears in law codes like II Æthelstan 26 (see Liebermann, I:164-65). On the development of consecrated burial: Helen Gittos, “Creating the Sacred: Anglo-Saxon Rites for Consecrating Cemeteries,” in *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*, ed. Sam Lucy and Andrew Reynolds (London: Society for Medieval Archaeology, 2002), 195-208; Dawn M. Hadley and Jo Buckberry, “Caring for the Dead in Late Anglo-Saxon England,” in *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Tinti, 121-47.

hell.”¹⁰² These works highlight a material dimension of the rite that views the physical body both as a marker of one’s spiritual status—reflected in its physical proximity to the space that the community of believers inhabits—and a medium through which the exile-pilgrim might rejoin or rather cohere to the other believers, relics, and prayers that accumulate around him.

If baptism marks the incorporation of the individual, a rite that gives orthodox shape to the assembled body as what Wulfstan describes as God’s dwelling place (*eardungstow*), then excommunication deterritorializes the body, removing it from what Deleuze and Guattari term an “apparatus of capture”: a social structure that produces identity by regulating its form.¹⁰³ Excommunication depicts a disorganized individual, dislocated from Christ’s body and thus fundamentally vulnerable. A late Anglo-Saxon mode of execration seeks to formulize this vulnerability through a novel use of anatomical enumeration. Appearing in a group of eight English manuscripts that range from the eleventh to twelfth centuries this new formula plays on embedded notions of bodily cohesion and protection through a focus on the relation of the individual to their immediate material environment and the coherence of his limbs.¹⁰⁴ Of the four extant manuscript witnesses, three exist in un-glossed Latin¹⁰⁵ while the fourth contains both Latin and Old English:

Beon hi awergode etende 7 drincende! Beon hi awergode gangende 7
sittende! Beon hi awergode spreccende 7 swigiande! Beon hi awergode

¹⁰² Marifioti, “Punishing Bodies and Saving Souls: Capital and Corporal Punishment in Late Anglo-Saxon England,” *The Haskins Society Journal* 20 (2008): 40.

¹⁰³ A thorough, albeit terse, description is in *A Thousand Plateaus*, 424-73 (“7000 B.C.: The Apparatus of Capture”).

¹⁰⁴ All manuscripts are collected in Liebermann, I:432-441, under the heading “Excommunication.” Although only four manuscripts contain anatomical enumeration, five contain the phrase *a planta pedis usque ad uerticem capitis* first attested in *Laidcenn*. While Reid observes this phrase in continental maledictions she fails to note any Anglo-Saxon iteration. See Reid, “Biblical Connections,” 146-47.

¹⁰⁵ Felix Liebermann provides an edition of the Latin in “Textus Roffensis,” in *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I:432-41, no. vi, viii.

waciende 7 slaepende! Beon hi awergode rowende 7 ridende! Beon hi awergode hlehhende 7 wepende! Beon hi awergode on huse 7 on æcere! Beon hi awergode on wætere 7 on lande 7 on eallen steden! Awergoden beon heora hæfdon 7 on heora recgan! Aweregoden beon heora eagan 7 heora earan! Awergode beon heara tungan 7 lippan! Awergode beon heora teð 7 heora þrotbollan! Awergoden beon heora sculdran 7 heora breost! Awergoden beon heora fet 7 scancan! Awergode beon heora þeoh 7 eall heora inneward! Ðurhwunian hi awergoden fram þæs fotes tredele oð ufewealde þæs heafdes hnolle, buton hi hi selfa underþæncan 7 to dædbote cuman.

[May they be cursed eating and drinking! May they be cursed traveling and abiding! May they be cursed speaking and keeping silent! May they be cursed waking and sleeping! May they be cursed rowing and riding! May they be cursed laughing and weeping! May they be cursed in home and in field! May they be cursed on water and on land and in all places! May they be cursed in their heads and in their back! May they be cursed in their eyes and their ears! May they be cursed in their tongues and lips! May they be cursed in their teeth and their gullet! May they be cursed in their shoulders and their breast! May they be cursed in their feet and their shanks! May they be cursed in their thighs and all their interior! May he remain cursed from the sole of his feet up to the crown of his head unless he consider himself and comes to make penance!] ¹⁰⁶

Observing that many continental analogues predate the Anglo-Saxon attestations, Felix Liebermann credits a well-established tradition of official cursing among French monastics as the source for the new excommunication formula.¹⁰⁷ Elaine Treharne develops Liebermann’s assertion; noting that while the enumerative catalogues vary greatly in detail the structure of the larger formula remains constant, she suggests the schema became familiar to Anglo-Saxons through *ordines excommunicationis* circulating in continental pontificals.¹⁰⁸ This question of

¹⁰⁶ Cambridge Corpus Christi College 303 (Liebermann, I:438-39). Hereafter CCC 303. Recently Thomas D. Hill suggests possible folk roots for the excommunication formula in “The Motif of Paradoxical Tasks and Old English Exorcism Ritual” (paper presented at the International Medieval Congress, Kalamazoo, MI, May 2014).

¹⁰⁷ Liebermann, 432-34. For a thorough survey of this tradition in French monasteries see Lester K. Little, *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).

¹⁰⁸ Treharne points to the tenth century *De ecclesiasticis disciplinis et religion Christiana* of Regino of Prüm, a work that enjoyed a broad Anglo-Saxon readership after its inclusion in Burchard of Worm’s *Decretum* in “A unique Old English formula for excommunication from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 303,” *ASE* 24 (1995): 192-97, esp. 203.

origin is complicated by the fact that—although evidence strongly suggests the Anglo-Saxon church performed ritual excommunication—no manuscript witnesses exist prior to the eleventh century.¹⁰⁹ Yet the anatomical catalogues, the synoptic phrase *a planta pedis usque ad uerticem capitis*, and the invocation of various litanies (saints, angels, patriarchs, and even forces of nature) suggest elements of these curses were drawn from the lorica tradition.¹¹⁰ If the ultimate source for these formal aspects is the loricae, one is left to wonder whether the practitioners of these Christian maledictions would be aware that they were returning the anatomical catalog to its original purpose. A remarkable analogue to these enumerative maledictions precedes *Laidcenn* on folios 148b-149a of the *Lacnunga*, dating to the late tenth or early eleventh century.¹¹¹

Domine sancte pater omnipotens aeteme deus per inpositionem manum mearum refugiat inimicus diabolus a capillis a capite ab oculis a naribus a labiis a linguis a sublinguis a collo a pectore a pedibus a calcaneis ab universis compaginibus membrorum eis ut non habeat potestatem diabolus nec loquendi nec tacendi nec dormiendi nec resurgendi nec in die nec in nocte nec in tangendo nec in somno nec in gressu nec in visu nec in risu nec in legendo sed in nomine domini iesu christi qui nos suo sancto sanguine redemit qui cum patre vivit et regnat deus in saecula saeculorum, amen.

[O Holy Lord, omnipotent Father, eternal God! By means of the laying on of my hands, may the hostile devil flee/avoid him: from the eyes, from the head, from the eyes, from the nose, from the lips, from the tongue, from under the tongue, from the neck, from the chest, from the feet, from the bones, from the entire framework of members so that the Devil may have no power over him, neither in speaking, nor in silence, nor in sleeping, nor in waking. Neither by day nor by night, neither in doing nor in resting, nor in writing, nor in seeing, nor in laughing, nor in reading, but by the name of the Lord Jesus Christ

¹⁰⁹ Treharne suggests this dearth of evidence may “indicate that it was only in this late period that the codification of this particular practice was undertaken” (202). Hamilton suggests this late attempt at codification arises from the ephemeral nature of the ritual and the propensity for the rite to vary among locales and likewise to be tailored to specific occasions (“Remedies for ‘Great Transgressions,’” 102-3).

¹¹⁰ No formal study exists, but one would be of great utility.

¹¹¹ Grattan and Singer, 124-27. The prayer is set in association with a recipe *To haligre sealfre* [As a Holy Salve], fols. 147b-48b.

who redeemed us with his holy blood, who lives and reigns with God the Father in eternity. Amen]¹¹²

The anatomical catalogue of *To haligre sealfre* exhibits the same psycho-physiological notions linking physical cohesion with spiritual health witnessed in the loricae, while an innate purgative quality recalls the use of such enumeration in rites of exorcism.¹¹³ But set within a liturgical execration, maledictory enumeration directs this power toward an objective that echoes the *tabellae defixionum*; monastic maledictions exploit the rhetorical fragmentation of the body, seeking to leave its gaps exposed and vulnerable rather than weave coherence from a list of disparate parts. Such curses thematically extend excommunicative dislocation throughout the entire body of the anathemized member, repaying disruption with disruption. As part of an excommunication, maledictions expose the tenuous junctures of the body through a dual sense; the catalogue implicitly frames the body as a fractious enclosure—inverting images of stability witnessed in *Christ II*—while the list of positional contraries (i.e. “sleeping or awake”) foregrounds this vulnerability through the supplicant’s dislocation from the social, protective body of believers. These positional contraries of the maledictions more thoroughly evoke a synchronicity informing the lorica genre: the physical dimensions invoked through anatomical catalogue leave the excommunicant to dwell upon the enduring vulnerability of his dislocated body wherever he is or whatever he is doing while outside the protective enclosure of Christ’s body.¹¹⁴ But through this inversion, excommunications and execrations elucidate the nature of protection implicit in *Laidcenn*. To put it simply, coherence—as enmeshment—is protection.

¹¹² This comparison means not to imply a direct link between the prayer and excommunication formulae but to demonstrate the structure employing both positional phrases and anatomical enumeration to define the individual was known to Anglo-Saxon churchmen long before the excommunication rites were codified.

¹¹³ See the *Bangor Exorcism* above at page 29.

¹¹⁴ Treharne notes an analogue in the *Life of Saint Margaret* (208).

Liturgical execrations likewise provide an orthodox context from which to reassess the formulaic aspects of *loricae* and thus the utility of the assembled body. Excommunication is an essential procedure in the Anglo-Saxon application of ecclesiastical discipline, situated between the stages of confession and satisfaction in the penitential process.¹¹⁵ Restrictions or penalties could vary greatly in their severity; in its most benign form a penitent, who has confessed minor sins, would be barred from communion—physically segregated from his shriven brethren during mass—until performing the requisite penitential acts to achieve reconciliation and reintegration while egregious sin—or habitual relapse—could result in complete expulsion from both communion and the literal space of the Church, to signify—as a sinner—his dislocation from Christ’s mystical body.¹¹⁶ In the post-Benedictine reform era, the threat of expulsion would be particularly grim as documentary evidence suggests a growing cooperation between ecclesiastical and secular authorities in the punishment, with particularly heinous sins resulting in outlawry.¹¹⁷ Yet hope for reconciliation underwrites these curses: “*Ðurhwunian hi awergoden fram þæs fotes tredele oð ufewealde þæs heafdes hnolle, buton hi hi selfa underþæncan 7 to dædbote cuman*” [May they remain cursed from the sole of the feet up to the crown of the head unless they consider themselves and comes to make penance].¹¹⁸ A passage from *Laidcenn*

¹¹⁵ The penitential process of the early medieval church is composed of three movements: confession, satisfaction, and reconciliation. For evidence and elaboration see Josef A. Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy to the Time of Gregory the Great*, trans. Francis A. Brunner (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959), 240-48.

¹¹⁶ Hamilton, “Remedies for ‘Great Transgressions,’” 92. For broader context see Bernhard Poschmann, *Penance and the Anointing of the Sick*, trans. Francis Courtney (New York: Herder and Herder, 1964), esp. 119-21 and 138-45; E. Vodola, *Excommunication in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Berkeley Press, 1986); and Little, 36-44.

¹¹⁷ Treharne provides a helpful introduction to this material, citing *II Cnut*, ch. 39: “If anyone slays a minister of the alter, he shall be an outlaw from God and men, unless he make amends to the best of his ability by pilgrimage and likewise to the kin” (193).

¹¹⁸ From CCC 303, see footnote 106 above. My emphasis. The Latin excommunications also end with similar clauses, for example Cambridge Corpus Christi College 146: “*Maledicti sint a planta pedis usque ad*

mirrors this exhortation: “Þætte from þæm hælum oð ðæs heafdes heannesse / Nængum lime minum utan innan ic geuntrumige... *Ærðon soðlice gode sylendum ic gealdige / 7 mine synne mid godum ic adilgie*” [so that from the soles of the feet to the top of the head I might not be afflicted in any of my limbs, within or without... *until, God willing, I may reach old age and erase my sins with good deeds*].¹¹⁹ As I note above, this passage is one of eight result clauses interspersed throughout *Laidcenn*.¹²⁰ The clauses function as a formal means to beg/invoke protection from both God and a litany of other heavenly powers. Structurally, however, these result clauses frame both of *Laidcenn*’s anatomical catalogues and in doing so rhetorically suture the supplicant – through his body – to this network of heavenly forces in a formulation of petition and repayment: protection now for penance later.¹²¹ The assembled body affords the supplicant a formal means to address the bivalent sense of dislocation, collapsing physical disarticulation and spiritual rot, at the core of liturgical execrations. As a formal invocation of the innate capacity of the body’s members to cohere to each other as well as with a litany of heavenly agents, the assembled body signifies a temporary community from which the becoming-Christian emerges.

V. Conclusion

uerticemcapitis, nisi resipuerint et ad satisfactionem uenerint. Amen” (May they be cursed from the sole of the foot up to the crown of the head, *unless* they repent and come to make satisfaction. Amen). My emphasis.

¹¹⁹ Appendix, lines 83-88. The Latin reads: “*Ut a plantis usque ad uerticem/ Nullo membro foris intus egrotem... Donec iam deo dante seneam / Et peccata mea bonis delem.*” My emphasis.

¹²⁰ See pages 42-46 above.

¹²¹ On how this formulation of petition and repayment provides an essential frame for Anglo-Saxon prayer see Clark, footnote 30 above.

What then does this reading of the formulized body offer our understanding of Anglo-Saxon perceptions of embodiment and Christian selfhood? This scheme offers the *peregrinus* a formal means by which to address concerns over physical dislocation that inverts the thematic links between images of physical disarticulation and spiritual harm at the core of liturgical execrations. As an ecclesiastical and/or legal exile the individual reciting a lorica prayer would recognize the fundamental role of his material body as a vehicle for enacting repayment and accessing reconciliation with the Church.¹²² Writing on textual amulets, Skemer describes a renewable source of empowerment located in the “ever changing potpourri of scriptural quotations, divine names, [etc.]... that were assembled materially and then used physically to exploit and enhance the magical efficacy of words.”¹²³ Recast in terms of the loricae, the material limbs become an event space, a performative locus for and source of renewable power for the potent charm. The supplicant’s amuletic body proves the efficacy of the synecdochical list through its ostensible integrity. In the performance of his own dislocation, the supplicant reclaims his natural inclination toward fragmentation and expulsion from the aegis of Christ’s communal body of believers. To invoke and mark out the physical bounds of one’s body within the universal scale signified through *Laidcenn*’s litany of divine figures is not simply to re-order but likewise re-orient the self within the divine order of creation and reterritorialize oneself as an enclosed *eardungstow* for Christ. In the context of penitential or legal exile, as the Christian is forced outside the bounds of his spiritual and social community, the loricae allow the peregrine

¹²² The necessity of the body in penance and prayer (particularly confession, as I will demonstrate in the following chapter) and its perception as a salvific tool complicates the accepted presumption that Anglo-Saxons completely disdained the body. Treharne’s assessment of the CCC 303 excommunication exemplifies this scholarly perspective: “Excommunication texts clearly show how the body was believed to be the cause of sin. As it is the body which leads the soul into danger through voluntary sins such as gluttony, pride, envy and adultery, so it is the physical parts that are damned” (208).

¹²³ Skemer, 1.

to assert his place within God's order, wherever that place may be, through the event space of his body.

This chapter has used the BwO to explore conceptions of the exiled body's potential during prayer, but as is apparent to those familiar with Deleuze and Guattari I have considered only one aspect of this infinite potential: its capacity to rejoin and re-form within the structure of Christ's spiritual body.¹²⁴ As such my analysis largely neglects the natural capacity of the body's multiple agents to resist this structure formally recognized during excommunication. *Laidcenn's* image of the senses as doors speaks to this tension: "Gescyld alne mec mid fif ondgeotum / 7 mid ten smicre geworhtum durum" [Protect me all, with my five senses / and with the ten elegantly fashioned doors] (lines 81-82).¹²⁵ The prayer's impulse to protection and portal imagery denote a hope to enclose or seal the senses. Nevertheless, an enigma from the eighth century Anglo-Saxon poet Tatwine speaks to the complexity of this proposition:

Nos quini, uario fratres sub nomine, *templum*
Concessum nobis colimu constanter ab ortu.
Nam thuris segetem *fero*, fercula et ille saporis,
Hic totum presens affert tangi, ille uidendum,
Ast laetam quintus faman tristemque *ministrat*. (lines 1-5)

[We five brothers, under diverse names, resolutely maintained a temple since it was granted to us by birth. One of us provides fragrance, another presents tasty dishes, another everything tangible, still another the visible, and the fifth brings home good and bad news.]¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Moreover they will note that my reading privileges the individual as organizer (or at least the human subject as "invoker") of these agents in a manner that reduces Deleuze and Guattari's notion of rhizomatic multiplicity to an arborescent—unidirectional, hierarchical, and totalizing—structure. I address this tension and the specific way I employ their terminology in my Introduction, 5-11.

¹²⁵ The Latin reads: "Tege totum me cum quique sensibus / Et cum X fabrefactis foribus."

¹²⁶ *Enigma xxvi: De quinque sensibus* in F. R. Glorie and Maria De Marco, ed., *Tatwini Opera Omnia: Ars Tatwini*, trans. E. von Erhardt-Siebold, CCSL 233 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1968), 193.

The earliest Anglo-Saxon text dedicated solely to the senses, Tatwine's enigma affords a helpful context to appreciate how Insular readers conceived of their relationship to the natural world. While the senses generally function as the point of contact and interaction between the individual body and its environment, the characterization of these five *fratres* runs contrary to how modern readers perceive their own senses; they are characterized in distinctively active terms as the verbs *fero, ferre* (to bear, carry) and *ministro, ministrare* (to attend, serve, manage) impart an agency to the varying duties.¹²⁷ Here the senses are by no means passive; they actively supply and bring sensation into the body. It is this agency that provides insight into how the audience would receive the passage in *Laidcenn*. A liminal quality is apparent in the senses and problematizes the implicit, concrete bounds of the *templum*/body. As the senses must act within the world to relay sensation to the individual, the potential of the *fratres*—or *Laidcenn*'s open *durum*—obliges the reader to acknowledge the body's permeability as well as its natural desire to reach across boundaries. *Loricæ* are invoked at points of contact: between physical body and world, between material and spiritual agents, and also between the *will* of the individual and his bodily members. The following chapter looks to situations where these points of contact are framed as points of conflict. I explore how a variety of confessional texts—devotional prayers, penitential handbooks, and poetic descriptions of the act—employ the assembled body trope to confront anxieties that coalesce around the natural agency of the body's members, texts that ask: what happens when one calls on his limbs and they fail to answer.

¹²⁷ lines 3, 5.

CHAPTER 2

CONFESSING THINGS:

ANATOMICAL ENUMERATION AND EMBODIMENT IN LATE ANGLO-SAXON

CONFESSION

Cor meum et caro mea exultaverunt in Deum vivum

[My heart and my flesh have rejoiced in the living God]

Psalms 83:3

In common English usage the words designating affective experience sit awkwardly on the borders of the material and the immaterial, the physical and the metaphysical... Could you possibly “feel” that you were in love if you couldn’t also feel your beating heart climbing into your throat or your palms sweat? Would I really be “moved” by a tragedy if I didn’t experience rivulets of tears trickling down my cheeks?

Ben Highmore, *The Affect Theory Reader*

The Latin *ordo confessionis* opening what is known as the *Old English Handbook for the Use of a Confessor*¹ quite literally takes the penitent through the steps of confession:

Portions of this chapter were presented as a conference paper during the 2013 Anglo-Saxon Studies Colloquium at New York University.

¹ Hereafter *Handbook*. For the standard edition see Roger Fowler, “A Late Old English Handbook for the Use of a Confessor,” *Anglia* 83 (1965): 1-34. The text is extant in six manuscripts dating from the early to late eleventh century: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201 (see Neil R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957], no. 49; hereafter Ker, *Catalogue*); Brussels, Bibliotheque Royale 8558 (Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 10); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 265 (Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 53); London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. iii (Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 186); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121 (Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 338); and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 482 (Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 343). Fowler also notes an additional four manuscripts with parallels to sections of the *Handbook*, 2-3. The *ordo* appears in two of the six manuscripts, CCCC 201 and Cotton Tiberius A. iii, which Fowler designates as the “full” version of the *Handbook* (4-6). Allen Frantzen has made a more recent digital edition of the *Handbook* available at his website *Anglo-Saxon Penitentials*, accessed October 16, 2016, <http://www.anglo-saxon.net/penance/txhdoeh.html>. Frantzen’s website is both helpful as an introduction to penitential texts and convenient as a means to access difficult-to-obtain primary sources.

Quando aliquis uoluerit confessionem facere peccatorum suorum, uiriliter agat et non erubescat confiteri... Confessio enim sanat, confessio iustificat, confessio ueniam peccatis donat. Inprimis igitur prosternat se humiliter in conspectus Dei super terram, adorationem et lacrimas fundens: roget... (lines 3-9)

[When someone wishes to make a confession of his sins, he should do so courageously and should not blush to confess... Indeed, confession cures, confession justifies, confession gives pardon for sins. Therefore first he should, in the sight of God, prostrate himself humbly on the ground in an act of worship and with flowing tears he should beg...]²

Taken from the *Rule of Chrodegang*³ the *Handbook's ordo* is unique among late Anglo-Saxon penitentials.⁴ The *ordo* has typically been analyzed as a formal element with regard to what understanding it offers toward administrative or pedagogical aspects of penitential manuals.⁵ Still more remarkable are the details the *ordo* provides scholars on a process left implicit—or simply taken for granted—in the bulk of Insular penitentials, the confessional moment. Allen Frantzen has more recently drawn attention to the affective language of the *ordo* in order to locate notions of “felt prayer” during the Anglo-Saxon period.⁶ His consideration of affect is useful but privileges interiority in a way that elides the generative role of the flesh, framing the confessant’s

² Fowler, 16. All translations in the chapter are my own unless noted.

³ See Max Förster, “Zur Liturgik der angelsächsischen Kirche,” *Anglia* 66 (1950): 25. Frantzen confirms Förster’s observation in *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1983), 139. The standard edition of the *Rule* is Arthur S. Napier, ed., *The Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang: The Old English Version with the Latin Original*, EETS o.s. 150 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1916), the parallel text appears as page 38. The *Handbook* deviates from its source, adding *lacrimas fundens*. Forster and Frantzen do not note this. The original passage reads: “Quando uolueris confessionem facere peccatorum tuorum, uiriliter age, et noli erubescere, quia inde uenit indulgentia, et sine confessione non est indulgentia. Inprimis prosterne te humiliter in conspectus Dei in terram ad orationem, et roga...” [When you desire to make confession of your sins, conduct yourself courageously and refuse to blush, because forgiveness comes from that place and without confession there is no forgiveness. First, humbly prostrate yourself on the earth before the sight of God to pray and beg...] (Napier, xxx).

⁴ Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, 140. Two of the *Handbooks* six manuscript witnesses include the *ordo* along with a formal confessional prayer: CCC 201 and Cotton Tiberius A. iii.

⁵ Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, 105-106, 140.

⁶ Frantzen, “Spirituality and Devotion in the Anglo-Saxon Penitentials,” *Essays in Medieval Studies* 22 (2005): 117-128, esp. 120.

body in a retrospective manner wherein its physical motions matter only to the degree they express psychological unctio⁷. Lost among considerations of the *ordo*—whether simply as a prescriptive document or more portentously as the birth of the individual⁸—is the role of the material body as a medium for the affective process of confession. Yet the confessional process is described in stark corporeal terms. The supplicant must prostrate himself, flatten the entirety of his body and feel the chill and grit of the earth. The supplicant’s affective state, likewise, is not described in terms of abstract emotion but rather as an emergent bodily process: shame (or hesitation) is colored as a “blush” and worshipful sorrow is both achieved and demonstrated through “flowing tears” (lines 4, 9).⁹ Such descriptions disrupt the bounds between the physical and metaphysical and frame the body as a space in which the psychological and physiological dovetail. From these faint contours emerges a doubled, if not inherently ambivalent, perception of the body during confession. In its capacity to bow and produce compliant tears, the body is objectified as a vehicle through which the supplicant must perform confession. Yet the subtle recalcitrance of its blush speaks to an immanent subjectivity in its potential to rebel, to sin.

A confessional prayer following the *Handbook*’s *ordo* provides better insight into the material body’s vibrant potential. Embedded in this plaintive formula is a succinct enumerative anatomical catalogue in which the supplicant confesses not for himself as a unified subject but for discrete parts of his body ranging from his eyes and bones to his tongue.¹⁰ The catalogue

⁷ “Affectivity is the translation of idea into expressive gesture” (Frantzen, “Spirituality and Devotion,” 122).

⁸ Frantzen’s goal is to ask “questions about the continuity of English spiritual traditions and call attention to the importance of Anglo-Saxon evidence in those spiritual traditions” and extend the scholarly language of the individual/self into the Anglo-Saxon period (“Spirituality and Devotion,” 117).

⁹ See note 2 above.

¹⁰ The text reads: “Ic andette eal þæt ic æfre mid eagum geseah to gitsunge oððe to tælness, oððe midearum to unite gehirde, oððe mid minum muðe to unnytte gecwæð. Ic andette þe ealles mines lichoman synna,

draws the body—left implicit in the *ordo*—into explicit relief that obliges the penitent to more fully acknowledge its place in the confessional act. Finding their ultimate source in Irish *loricae*, enumerative anatomical catalogues were adapted by Anglo-Saxon scribes into devotional confessions from the eighth century onward.¹¹ As a complement to the previous chapter, this current study considers the use of anatomical enumeration within the Insular penitential milieu, the “literature of penance,”¹² to explore the importance ascribed to the body during the act of confession. I demonstrate how the anatomical catalogue’s rhetoric of corporeal disarticulation depicts the confessional moment—counter to the prevailing understanding of the sacrament—as an embodied act and provides insight into the ways Anglo-Saxons conceived of the somatic mechanisms necessary for full or true salvific change in the penitent. My analysis employs aspects of Bill Brown’s “Thing Theory”—an important early perspective within Object-Oriented Ontology—to provide a salient theoretical lens that brings into focus the link between physical fragmentation and psychological transformation in this confessional trope.¹³ I argue the assembled body emerging from confessional enumeration—the vibrant assemblage of corporeal members, sins, affect, text, confessor, etc.—casts the notion of shriven selfhood in terms of an

for fel and for flæsc, and for ban and for sinuwan, and for æddran and for grislan, and for tungan and for weleras, and for goman and for teð, and for feax and for mearh, and for æghwæt hnesces oððe heardes, wætes oððe driges” [I confess all that I have ever seen with my eyes in covetousness or calumny, or heard with my ears to ill use, or said to ill use with my mouth. I confess to you all the sins of my body: for skin, for flesh, for bone, for sinews, for veins, for gristle, for tongue, for lips, for gums, and for teeth, for hair, and for marrow, for everything soft or hard, wet or dry] (Fowler, *Handbook*, 17-18, lines 48-55). See note 1 above for MS distribution. I analyze the text along with notions of compunction and memory below.

¹¹ Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, 29. Devotional confession is personal confession of minor sins to God alone, that may be practiced as part regular devotional exercise for lay Christians. My first chapter theorizes the anatomical motif – common among *loricae*—frames the supplicant’s body as a protective locus.

¹² Frantzen defines the “literature of penance” as an inter-generic group of texts “which makes use of the motif or images and themes specifically associated with confession and penance” (*Literature of Penance*, 179).

¹³ Brown first lays out the theory in “Thing Theory,” *Critical Inquiry* 28, no. 1 (2001): 1-22. A subsequent monograph provides a greater exploration of *things* in modern American literature. See Brown, *A Sense of Things: The Object Matter of American Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

ongoing process that reclaims the material body as a vital field from which contrition and purification intersect and emerge.¹⁴

Any attempt to tease out the somatic elements of Anglo-Saxon confession encounters obstacles emerging from both the historical record and the ways scholars have typically characterized early medieval confession. A brief outline of such approaches is necessary to better underscore what is at stake in my methodology and theoretical perspective. For a great many scholars, the history of confession is inextricable from the history of sacramental *poenitentia*.¹⁵ Late antique sources, in which its liturgy first appears in any discernable form in the Roman Church, present *poenitentia* as a process composed of three distinct movements: confession, satisfaction, and reconciliation.¹⁶ Early medieval documents express a similar understanding of confession as the preliminary step within a lengthy progression of discrete yet interdependent rituals to fulfill the sacrament.¹⁷ Indeed, confession and penance are intimately tied, functioning

¹⁴ I define this term in my Introduction, at pages 11-12.

¹⁵ When referring to the sacrament of penance I will use the Latin *poenitentia* to avoid any confusion with the common use of the word penance to mean assigned, or performance of assigned, penitential acts. For the etymology of *poenitentia* see E. Amann, “Pénitence-Repentir,” in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* 12 (1932): 772-73.

¹⁶ Josef A. Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy to the Time of Gregory the Great*, trans. Francis A. Brunner (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959), 240-48. The medieval Christian would be required to confess his sins in an act of humility, complete assigned penitential acts—penance—as repayment for his past wrongs, and obtain absolution as he was reconciled with the body of believers. At times confession might also involve the literal expulsion, or excommunication, of the penitent from the congregation; I explore notions of embodiment informing ritual excommunication and ritual maledictions in my first chapter at pages 63-68. There is also abundant evidence suggesting the true and reconciled penitent would perform good works as often as possible (giving alms, generosity, etc.) but this seems to be more a general expectation as a demonstration of their shriven nature than the performance of any specific or formalized ritual as part of the penitential process. Bernhard Poschmann presents a helpful delineation of this process in *Penance and the Anointing of the Sick*, trans. Francis Courtney (New York: Herder and Herder, 1964), esp. 119-21 and 138-45; see also Poschman, *Die abendländische Kirchenbusse im Ausgang des christlichen Altertums* (Munich: Kösel and Pustet, 1928); and *Die abendländische Kirchenbusse im frühen Mittelalter* (Breslau: Müller and Seiffert, 1930).

¹⁷ Poschmann describes early medieval confession as “a means” which, despite the attention it received from theologians, was “by no means considered as the most important factor in the performance of penance” (*Penance and the Anointing of the Sick*, 140-41).

as counterpoints, a duet in which each part must be fully orchestrated to achieve absolution.¹⁸ This twin bond has, however, proven problematic for historians. Because it is the initial portion of *poenitentia* and because many sources are administrative in nature, confession appears obliquely; it is simply understood, for example, that the penitent is ready to begin penance because he has already confessed.¹⁹ When early medieval authors deal with the topic explicitly, however, details come in the form of exhortations, prescriptive instructions, or pronouncements of import rather than theorization or explication.²⁰

Penitential manuals have long interested cultural historians, who have approached the texts from a variety of critical perspectives.²¹ The comparative methodology I apply below seeks to open new avenues of inquiry into notions of confession and materiality by tracing the assembled body trope across genres from the early to late Anglo-Saxon period. My focus on

¹⁸ Such a protracted process is far removed from the modern iteration of the sacrament wherein confession has become synonymous and simultaneous with satisfaction and absolution. In the performance of the modern sacrament, confession has absorbed satisfaction and absolution to the degree that the act of confession has become the central mode of expiation. James Dallen provides a helpful comparison of medieval and modern penance in *The Reconciling Community: The Rite of Penance* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1991), 139-67. See also Annamarie S. Kidder, *Making Confession, Hearing Confession: A History of the Cure of Souls* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2010), for a more thorough consideration of confession's role in the modern performance of *poenitentia*. R. Emmet McLaughlin provides a comprehensive historiography of penance and confession in the late medieval and early modern periods in "Truth, Tradition, and History: The Historiography of High/Late Medieval and Early Modern Penance," in *A New History of Penance*, ed. Abigail Firey (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 19-71.

¹⁹ See for example the *Handbook's ordo*.

²⁰ Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, 13.

²¹ Modern studies considering the penitentials within their cultural matrix began with the work of John McNeil in his "Medicine for Sin as Prescribed in the Penitentials," *Church History* 1 (1932): 14-26. See also Ludwig Bieler, "The Irish Penitentials: Their Religious and Social Background," *Studia Patristica* 8 (1966): 329-39; and Aron Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception*, Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Culture 14 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 78-103. The application of critical theory within studies of the penitentials has also become common. Such theoretical analysis tends to focus on aspects of social power and sexuality. See Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1 (Random House: New York, 1978); Frantzen, "Between the Lines: Queer Theory, the History of Homosexuality and Anglo-Saxon Penitentials," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 26 (1996): 255-96; Frantzen, "Where the Boys Are: Children and Sex in the Anglo-Saxon Penitentials," in *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey J. Cohen and Bonnie Wheeler (New York: Garland, 1997), 43-66; and Frantzen, *Before the Closet: Same Sex Love from Beowulf to Angels in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 138-83.

embodiment responds to both an interest in emotion shared by many current studies of confession²² and the traditional valuation of the act as an exclusively psychological experience.²³ I wish to complicate this conventional narrative by bringing into focus a more nuanced image of confession. While the subject of emotion promises to remain a fruitful area within Anglo-Saxon studies, I would caution that a singular emphasis on the emotive, that is, expressive, aspects of confession constructs a skewed and retrospective understanding of selfhood. Recent advances in the field of Affect Theory have helped to blur the boundaries that have traditionally separated psychology from the material body, destabilizing the notion of a unified enduring self—the human subject—through a retreat from the social realm of Emotion, beyond personal/biographical Feeling to a matrix of pre-personal “motions.”²⁴ The self, instead of being

²² Barbara Rosenwein, “Thinking Historically about Medieval Emotions,” *History Compass* 8, no. 8 (2002): 828-42. Rosenwein developed the influential concept of “emotional communities:” “the same as social communities—families, neighborhoods, parliaments, guilds, monasteries, parish church memberships—but the researcher looking at them seeks above all to uncover systems of feeling: what these communities (and the individuals within them) define and assess as valuable or harmful to them; the evaluations that they make about others’ emotions; the nature of the affective bonds between people that they recognize; and the modes of emotional expression that they expect, encourage, tolerate, and deplore” (831-2). Rosenwein expands this concept in her monograph, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2007). More recently in *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions, 600-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), Rosenwein outlines both the emotional aspects of confession and embodied conception of ‘the vices’ in the works of Alcuin (67-87). For application of these concepts within Anglo-Saxon texts see Frantzen, “Spirituality and Devotion”; Tracey-Anne Cooper, “The Shedding of Tears in Late Anglo-Saxon England,” in *Crying in the Middle Ages: Tears of History*, ed. Elina Gertsman (New York: Routledge, 2011), 175-92.

²³ Witnessed in Alexander Murray, “Confession before 1215,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 3 (1993): 51-81; Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*; and Michael Matto, “The Seafarer and Technologies of the ‘Sylf’,” *JEGP* 103 (2004): 156-79. This supposition is understandable, albeit untenable, because of the emphatic link between penance and bodily suffering in Anglo-Saxon thought. The tenet appears throughout Old English and Anglo-Latin genres but is first—and most clearly—stated in the *Confessionale Pseudo-Egberti* (here I provide the later Old English gloss): “Se þe ðurh his lichaman gesýngige, he eac þurh his lichaman bete” [He who sins through his body also atones through his body]; see *Das Altenglische Bussbuch (sog. Confessionale Pseudo-Egberti)*, ed. Robert Spindler (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1934), 174. The *Confessionale Pseudo-Egberti* is one of four vernacular penitential texts circulating during the Anglo-Saxon period, the other three being the *Poenitentiale Pseudo-Egberti* (ed. J. Raith [Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964]); “A Late Old English Handbook for the Use of a Confessor” (ed. R. Fowler, *Anglia* 83 [1965]: 1-34); and the “Canons of Theodore” (ed. F. J. Mone, in *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der deutschen Literatur und Sprache* [Aachen and Leipzig: 1830], 514-28).

²⁴ Ben Highmore Highmore, “Bitter After Taste: Affect, Food, and Social Aesthetics,” in *The Affect Theory Reader*, ed. Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 118-37. See the

understood as the end of a process, is conceptualized *as* the process,²⁵ a reconceptualization of selfhood that fits neatly with the ethic of perpetual repentance and conversion underlying Christian ideology.²⁶ Amity Reading locates such a model at work in Anglo-Saxon thought in her groundbreaking study of performance and embodied identity in the Vercelli codex.²⁷ To flesh out the embodied aspects of confession I explore personal²⁸ and sacerdotal confessional prayers as literary texts rather than administrative documents, reading their utilization of anatomical enumeration as a means to articulate and reclaim the body's natural agency. I suggest these anatomical catalogues—beyond simple formal components—express the perceived vitality of the

epigraph to this chapter for an example which highlights such an intersection of affect and embodiment. The essays collected along with Highmore help provide a more thorough frame of reference for this perspective.

²⁵ My description draws on Brian Massumi's concept of *ontogeny* as the state of continual emergence, becoming not being; see Massumi, *Parables of the Virtual* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 8.

²⁶ Gerhart B. Ladner demonstrates the legacy and influence of personal renewal—tied with monastic ascetic practice—in Medieval Christian thought in his pivotal study *The Idea of Reform: Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959).

²⁷ Amity Alissa Reading, "Soul and Body: Reading the Anglo-Saxon Self Through the Vercelli Book," (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2009).

²⁸ I avoid the typical label "private" (as part of the formerly accepted public vs. private dichotomy) because confession undertaken by an individual or between that person and their confessor albeit in privacy can be understood in a very much public or communal sense. Jungmann and Poschmann defined the public/private dichotomy as a linear narrative tracking the decline of public penance, wherein the antique practice of public *poenitentia* wholly gives way to a medieval system of private tariffed penance (see note 16 above). Peter Brown posits the decline of the Roman Empire led to the erosion of public penitential practice in "The Decline of the Empire of God: Amnesty, Penance, and the Afterlife from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages," in *Last Things: Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Caroline Walker Bynum and Paul Freedman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 41–42. Recent scholarship has come to question the soundness of this grand narrative and usefulness of the dichotomy. Mary Mansfield first interrogates this model in *The Humiliation of Sinners: Public Penance in Thirteenth-Century France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); see also Mayke de Jong, "What was 'Public' about Public Penance? *Poenitentia publica* and justice in the Carolingian World," *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'Alto Medioevo* 44 (1997): 863-904; Michael Driscoll, "Penance in Transition: Popular Piety and Practice," in *Medieval Liturgy: A Book of Essays*, ed. Lizette Larson-Miller (New York: Garland, 1997), 21-63; Rob Meens, "The Frequency and Nature of Early Medieval Penance," in *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter Biller and A. J. Minnis (York: York Medieval Press, 1998), 35-61; Sarah Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance, 900-1050* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2001), 7-8; M. Bradford Bedingfield, "Public Penance in Anglo-Saxon England," *ASE* 31 (2003): 223-55; Hamilton, "Remedies for the Great Transgression: Penance and Excommunication in Late Anglo-Saxon England," in *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Francesca Tinti (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), 83-105; Meens, "Penitentials and the Practice of Penance in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," *Early Medieval Europe* 14 (2006): 7-21; Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe: 600-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 1-11.

body during confession in a way that complicates our tacit understanding of the Anglo-Saxon confessional body as an inert object, instead allowing the supplicant to envision his or her vibrant flesh as an agent—a Thing—to aid in a more complete purification. Bill Brown articulates this movement from object to Thing through an elaboration of the way in which objects assert their agency, their Thingness, during moments of disruption or fracture: “We begin to confront the thingness of objects when they stop working for us: when the drill breaks... when their flow within the circuits of production and distribution, consumption and exhibition, has been arrested, however momentarily.”²⁹ This interruption is not simply revelatory; rather, such delay is a space in which the revelation of an object as agent breaks our habits of use, a moment of meditation that affects us.³⁰ Brown understands Thingness in terms of physical and/or metaphysical excess, as in the delay we experience when a glass shatters in hand but also when “you suddenly recognize, oh, this is a glass that your grandmother owned, and so it has a certain kind of value because of the genealogy of its use.”³¹ In the readings of anatomical catalogues that follow I show how this rhetorical disarticulation allows Anglo-Saxon writers and confessants to both confront and reclaim the body’s inherent vibrancy.³² Indeed, while Brown is interested in the aesthetics of Things, his larger concern is the way in which literature shapes the way we interact with Things and how Things interact with us. This reorientation allows for an exploration of the

²⁹ Brown, *Thing Theory*, 4.

³⁰ Brown, *Thing Theory*, 7: “These are questions that ask less about the material effects of ideas and ideology than about the ideological and ideational effects of the material world and of transformations of it. They are questions, in fact, not about things themselves but about the subject-object relation in particular temporal and spatial contexts.” These questions “precipitate a new materialism that takes objects for granted only in order to grant them their potency—to show how they organize our private and public affection.”

³¹ Bill Brown, *Big Think*, accessed April 23, 2012, <http://bigthink.com/videos/the-nature-of-things>.

³² For this tenet’s place in broader Christian philosophy and a reading of representations of the body as Embodied Realism, see my Introduction, 9-12.

ways Anglo-Saxon writers restore the vital confessional body within the broader Christian ethos of renewal and redemption laid out in the instructional literature of confession.

I. Insular origin and manuscript distribution

It is well established that the motif of anatomical enumeration is of Irish origin and entered Anglo-Saxon literary culture and private devotional prayer through the protective prayers known as *loricae*.³³ Distribution of *loricae* among two of the four extant Anglo-Saxon prayer books compiled during the ninth-century confirm both the durability of the Irish influence on personal prayer and popularity of the *lorica* tradition.³⁴ Indeed, there is ample evidence suggesting *lorica*-type prayers, along with Irish forms of personal devotion, had become so fully naturalized that it is doubtful if the ninth-century Anglo-Saxon scribes involved in the compilation of the prayer books would have considered these prayers “Irish.”³⁵ By the time these prayers were collated in ninth-century prayerbooks, it is apparent that Anglo-Saxon scribes felt free to adapt the genre through modification to, and inventive use of, its distinctive formal aspect—the enumerative anatomical catalogue. Indeed the incorporation of the anatomical catalogue within devotional prayers of confession is understood to be an English innovation.³⁶ Certain scholarship gives this unique prayer type the helpful title “confessional-*lorica*” to

³³ For an introduction to scholarship on the *lorica* genre see Chapter 1, notes 3, 6, 7.

³⁴ For distribution see Chapter 1, note 8.

³⁵ Kathleen Hughes, “Some Aspects of Irish Influence on Early English Private Prayer,” *Studia Celtica* 5 (1970): 61.

³⁶ Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, 88.

emphasize the link to its antecedent genre while highlighting the inventive use of the motif.³⁷ Confessional enumeration is distinguished from its counterpart in the *loricae* not simply through its focus on forgiveness and expiation rather than protection, but in the truncated nature of the catalogue³⁸ as well as the profusion of medical metaphors framing sin as embodied wounds.³⁹ A wealth of manuscript evidence ranging from the ninth to eleventh centuries confirms the popularity of the anatomical motif within prayers for personal confession; confessional enumeration appears thirteen times in ten manuscripts. A close comparison of incipits and formal and thematic conventions, as well as the presentation of the anatomical motif, suggests that these thirteen attestations might be divided into three general categories:⁴⁰ *Deus inaestimabilis misericorde*⁴¹ (hereafter, *DIM*), *Ego humiliter te adoro*⁴² (hereafter, *Te adoro*), and a vernacular form witnessed in four manuscripts, *Ic andette eall*.⁴³

³⁷ Kate Heulwen Thomas, “The Meaning, Practice and Context of Private Prayer in Late Anglo-Saxon England,” (PhD diss., University of York, 2011), 69. I adopt the phrase “confessional enumeration” not to deny association with the *loricae* but to reflect my belief that anatomical enumeration functions differently in confessional prayer.

³⁸ Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, 88; Hughes, 54.

³⁹ Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, 84: “One important literary form attests more strongly than any other to the impact of penance on the language of devotion in early England. This is private prayer.” Further, I am dubious of the title “confessional-*lorica*” as it takes no consideration of the similarities between the more concise enumerative catalogues and the compact anatomical catalogues found in prayers of exorcism found in baptismal rites.

⁴⁰ The manuscripts have been listed below by group. Groups are designated by the common opening line of the prayers. The order in which the groups are presented represents the presumed date of the group’s earliest attestation, moving from earliest to latest.

⁴¹ Rome, Vatican Library Regina MS 12 (Andre Wilmart, “The Prayers of the Bury Psalter,” *The Downside Review* 48 [1930]: 198-216, no. 17); London, British Library Cotton Galba A. xiv, fol. 65r-68v (Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 157) (Bernard James Muir, ed., *A Pre-Conquest English Prayer-Book [BL MSS Cotton Galba A. xiv and Nero A. ii [ff. 3-13]]*, Henry Bradshaw Society 103 [London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1988], no. 26); London, British Library Cotton Vespasian A. i, fols. 156v-157v (Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 203) (Sherman M. Kuhn, ed., *The Vespasian Psalter* [Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965], Appendix II: 314-15; Kuhn notes the prayer is in a hand dated to the eleventh century while the bulk of the psalter was recorded between the seventh and ninth centuries.); and London, British Library MS Arundel 155, fols. 176r-177r (Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 135) (Henri Logeman, “Anglo-Saxon Minora,” *Anglia* 11 [1889]: 115-19. This MS contains the Latin accompanied with Old English gloss.).

DIM is extraordinary among our sources for confessional enumeration in content and form: the anatomical catalogue is the most extensive of extant confessional prayers while its prose lends the prayer a narrative quality absent from its counterparts. Further, *DIM* is the only devotional confession for which scholars are willing to propose authorship. It is generally accepted that Alcuin authored the prayer during the late eighth or early ninth century as a means of personal devotional confession for the Holy Roman Emperor, Charlemagne.⁴⁴ The number of continental manuscript witnesses, concentrated within the Carolingian *libelli precum*, and its extended transmission history in Anglo-Saxon collections is truly striking, doubtless making

⁴² The Book of Cerne, fol. 48v-50r, no. 10 (see note 68 below); The Galba Prayer Book #3 (see note 41 above); The Bury Psalter #9; and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391 (Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 67) (Anselm Hughes, ed., *The Portiforium of St. Wulfstan* [Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1960], 5-7).

⁴³ The Book of Cerne, no. 8; London, British Library Cotton Vespasian D. XX, fol. 87 (Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 212) (Logeman, 98-99); London, British Library Cotton Tiberius C. i, fols. 160v-161v (Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 197) (Logeman, 101-102); British Lib. Cotton Tiberius A. iii, fol. 155v (Roger Fowler, "A Late Old English Handbook for the Use of a Confessor," *Anglia* 83 [1965]: 18-19); and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 201, 115-17 (Fowler, 18-19). The first attestation, Cerne 8, is an early antecedent or analogue and recorded in Latin. This link is only recently observed by Thijs Porck in "Two Notes on an Old English Confessional Prayer in Vespasian D. XX," *Notes & Queries* 60 (2013): 493-98. The final two MSS—Tiberius A. iii and CCCC 201—contain the text of the *Handbook*.

⁴⁴ This has led to speculation that *DIM* is the archetype for all Anglo-Saxon prayers with confessional enumeration. Opinion, however, is split on the matter. While Frantzen and Jonathan Black are more hesitant to ascribe authorship, Thomas is confident that Alcuin is the originator of confessional enumeration (Thomas, 69). In fact, Thomas reasons that any derivation of the confessional lorica form is an adaptation of this prayer implying the Anglo-Saxon inclusion of the anatomical motif within private prayer was affected by Alcuin's innovation (69). Frantzen qualifies *DIM* as a prayer "believed to be Alcuin's" and views the English application of the anatomical catalogue to be contemporaneous with Alcuin's (*Literature and Penance*, 89). Black notes the link developed from several "ninth century attributions" where the prayer is prefaced with a rubric claiming Alcuin's authorship but he cautions that these attributions appear in MSS post-dating Alcuin's death by some fifty years. Black also observes a second prayer he titles *Confiteor*, based on its incipit, in an addition to a ninth-century sacramentary of Tours (Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat.9430, fols. 263r-266r [E. Martene, ed., *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, vol. 1 (Antwerp, 1736), 775-79, ordo 3]) and the eleventh-century prayerbook of Arnulf II of Milan (London, British Library Egerton 3763 [Odilo Heiming, ed., "Ein benediktinisch Ambrosianisches Gebetbuch des fruhen XI Jh," *Archiv fur Liturgiewissenschaft* 8, no. 1 (1964): 400-3]) that exhibits striking similarity to *DIM* but cautions there is not enough evidence to claim which is the original or adaptation or if both prayers are derived from a now lost archetype. See Jonathan Black, "Psalm Uses in Carolingian Prayerbooks: Alcuin's *Confessio Peccatorum Pura* and The Seven Penitential Psalms (USE 1)," *Mediaeval Studies* 65 (2003): 3, 9-11. Andre Wilmart provides formative remarks on ascribing authorship to Alcuin in "Le manuel de prieres de saint Jean Gualbert," *Revue Bénédictine* 48 (1936): 283, item 5; Wilmart, "The Prayers of the Bury Psalter," *The Downside Review* 48 (1930): 210-11. The earliest extant manuscript witness of the prayer is believed to be located in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France lat. 1154. Designating the original is, however, beyond the scope of this study.

DIM one of the most popular personal prayers of the early medieval period.⁴⁵ One might speculate that the prayer's currency is due both to the eminence of its presumed author and the innovative way in which it figures the body during confession.

It is difficult to overstate Alcuin's contributions to Carolingian doctrine. Rooted in the Insular penitential tradition, his application of medical tropes—sin as wound, priest or God as physician, etc.—provided a new lexicon for Frankish scholars to conceive of and express penitential concerns.⁴⁶ Alcuin wrote extensively on the subject of confession in response to the spiritual anxieties of his secular Carolingian patrons, detailing its function in both a theological and juridical context.⁴⁷ A delicate theory of confession emerges from these collected works that stresses remorse and earnest contrition as essential to the purgative act⁴⁸ and enunciates the interdependence of personal-devotional and sacerdotal confession, with the former as an auxiliary exercise to both prepare for and fulfill the penance prescribed following sacerdotal confession.⁴⁹

DIM is comprised of four sections. The prayer opens with an appeal to God's clemency in which the speaker expresses sorrow for all the sins "de quibus mea me accusat conscientia" [of

⁴⁵ Black locates the prayer in 32 continental and Insular manuscripts. He provides a helpful comparison of the attestations (19-24, 26-28).

⁴⁶ Driscoll and Frantzen each observe the Insular influence, by way of his education at York. See Driscoll, "Penance in Transition," 139; Driscoll, *Alcuin Et La Pénitence À L'Époque Carolingienne* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1999), esp. 10-44 and 54-97; and Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, 114. The text regarded as the clearest delineation of Alcuin's confessional doctrine is his letter to the pupils at St. Martin; this also provides numerous examples of his proclivity to use Insular penitential, medical metaphors. See Driscoll, ed. and trans., "Ad Pueros Sancti Martini: A Critical edition, English translation, and Study of the Manuscript Tradition," *Traditio* 53 (1998): 37-61.

⁴⁷ Abigail Firey, "Blushing before the Judge and Physician: Moral Arbitration in the Carolingian Empire," in *A New History of Penance*, ed. Abigail Firey (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 173-200.

⁴⁸ Driscoll, "Penance in Transition," 133; Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, 115.

⁴⁹ Driscoll, "Penance in Transition," 133-34. Indeed Alcuin differed from some of his contemporaries in that personal confession to God did not suffice to purge one's guilt, even for minor sins, and that penance (including sacerdotal confession) must be performed. This sentiment is later echoed in the writings of both Ælfric and Wulfstan. I expand on Ælfric in Chapter 4, "Translating the Senses."

which my conscience accuses me] (lines 1-6).⁵⁰ A truncated confession follows, wherein the speaker declares the general ways he has sinned (lines 7-23). Next is a more detailed confessional enumeration that pairs sins with specific body parts (lines 24-56). Lastly, the prayer closes with a reiteration of the sorrow felt by the speaker as he begs for God's forgiveness and renewal (lines 57-72). A number of Insular tropes appear through these sections: the speaker pleads to be loosed from the chains of sin (line 4),⁵¹ confesses for the triad of thought, word, and deed (lines 67-8)⁵², and alludes to Christ's roles as *medicus* (line 58) and *scrutator* (line 63).⁵³ Although the explicit characterization of "sin as wound" is absent *DIM* takes care to frame pollution in physical terms. Indeed ample evidence conflating spiritual purification and physical restoration demonstrates that Anglo-Saxon authors understood the motif of binding and loosing

⁵⁰ My citations refer to Black's edition (see note 44 above). This new edition improves upon M. H. Julien, ed., *Clavis des auteurs latins du moyen age: Territoire française, 737-987, Alcuin* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 119-20, item 16; Wilmart, ed., *Precum libelli quattuor aevi karolini* (Rome: Ephemerides Liturgicae, 1940); and J. P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia Latina* (Paris, 1863), 101:1404-1405. Hereafter PL. My excerpt shortens the anatomical section while trying to maintain its character. An Old English gloss accompanies this prayer in MS Arundel 155 (see note 42 above). The excerpts below (page 87-88) shorten the anatomical catalogue while trying to maintain its character. To reiterate, see Black (note 44 above) for the full text.

⁵¹ "Et accusantes se ante conspectum divinae clementiae tuae ab omni vinculo iniquitatis absolves" [and you free the accused in view of your divine clemency from all the chains of iniquities]. For the trope in Anglo-Saxon literary culture see Helen Foxhall Forbes, "The Power of Binding and Loosing: the Chains of Sin in Anglo-Saxon Literature and Liturgy," *Quaestio Insularis: Selected Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium in Saxon, Norse and Celtic* 8 (2007): 51-65. While the motif is generally related to the power granted the holy to act as intercessor and themselves forgive sin, it likewise appears in an eschatological context.

⁵² Albeit in reverse order: "Quiduid actione, quod verbo, quod ipsa denique cogitatione diabolica fraude vitiam est" [whatever deed, whatever word, and lastly whatever thought that has been injured by devilish deceit]. See Patrick Sims-Williams, "Thought, Word and Deed: an Irish Triad," *Ériu* 29 (1978): 78-111; Charles D. Wright, *The Irish Tradition in Old English Literature*, CSASE 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 76.

⁵³ As physician: "a te...exposco medicinam" [I beg medicine from you]; as scrutator: "occulorum cognitor... tibi omnia cordis mei revelabo arcana" [knower of hidden things... I will reveal all the secrets of my heart to you]. For the motifs of Christ *medicus* see R. Arbesmann, "The Concept of 'Christus Medicus' in St. Augustine," *Traditio* 10 (1954): 1-28. For some early Insular references to medicine in relation to Christ, see H. Williams, ed., *Gildas*, 2 vols. (London, 1899-1901) I:178, item 1; G. S. M. Walker, ed., *Sancti Columbani Opera*, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* 2 (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1957), 120, 172; L. Bieler, ed., *The Irish Penitentials*, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* 5 (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1963), 46-47; R. Ehwald, ed., *Aldhelmi Opera*, MGH, *Auctores antiquissimi*, vol. 15 (Berlin, 1919), 235, 484; and Bertram Colgrave, ed., *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great by an Anonymous Monk of Whitby* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 114, 154, item 92. For the motif in Anglo-Saxon prayer see Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, 30-31, 65, 84-85, 87, 89. I note the relation of these tropes to the lorica genre in Chapter 1, "Enacting Protection."

in a somatic sense.⁵⁴ *DIM* similarly describes sin in terms of physical misuse, the literal misapplication of the body:

[peccavi]... in visu, auditu, gustu, odoratu et tactu. Tu enim, misericors deus, ad operandum mihi animae meae salute membra singula humanis usibus apta dedisti, sed ego miserrimus et peccator te aeternae salutis auctorem contempsi. (*DIM*, lines 13-16)

[(I have sinned)... in sight, hearing, taste, smell, and touch. For you, merciful God, have given me each member/limb to perform fitting practices for the salvation of my soul, but I am most wretched and a sinner who has scorned you, the author of eternal health.]⁵⁵

The image appears twice more: “in membris singulis naturae modum excessi” [I have exceeded the measure of nature with each limb] (line 21), and “exposco medicinam, qui etiam in omnibus membris meis me reum intelligo super mensuram” [I beg medicine for whom I perceive even still a sinner in all my members beyond measure] (lines 58-59). Each of these latter images treats sin in terms of bodily excess that—taken with the verb *intelligare*—is immediately present and discernable. Moreover as these images bookend *DIM*'s anatomical catalogue, they provide an important thematic context for interpreting its confessional enumeration.

Studies that take note of Alcuin's use of anatomical enumeration typically focus on the formal differences between his catalogue and the *loricae*:

Pedes mei ad currendum in malum sequendo libidinem supra modum veloces fuerunt et in oboedientia mandatorum tuorum inbecilles, crura mea ad me sustinendum in malum fortes... Latera enim mea luxuriam malitiae non formidant perpetrare... Manus meae plenae sunt sanguine omnibusque sordibus sunt pollutae, Promptae ad omne opus pravum, pigrae ad aliquid operandum bonum. Os meum nefario pollutum est osculo et iniqua est concupiscentia maculatum... Guttur meum insatiabili semper ardet ingluvie... Quid igitur dicam de oculis, qui omnibus me criminibus fecerunt obnoxium, Omnemque

⁵⁴ They can appear in context of an intercessor – an apostle or saint – given the power to forgive or as direct to God. God's ultimate ability to bind and loose sin underlies a related motif of Christ *as* key, appearing in the Exeter Book poem *Christ I*, see Stanley B. Greenfield, “Of Locks and Keys – Line 19a of the Old English Christ,” *Modern Language Notes* 67 (1952): 238-240.

⁵⁵ This passage recalls the language of the Soul and Body *topos* popular within Anglo-Saxon literary culture. See note 92 below.

sensum cordis mei averterunt, quibus in omni consensi libidine... omnemque motum corporis mei ad inmunda pertraxerunt desideria. (DIM, lines 24-51)

[My feet were swift to hasten toward evil, following lust beyond measure and weak toward obedience of your commands, my legs sustained me, steadfast in evil... Indeed my flanks do not fear to accomplish excess with malice... My hands are full of blood and are polluted with all filth, eager to all perverse works and lazy toward any good labors. My mouth is polluted with foul kisses and spotted with unjust desire... My gullet always burns with insatiable gluttony... What, therefore, might I say concerning my eyes? Which make me guilty by each sin and divert each sense of my heart... Which have lured all motion/emotion of my body to filthy desire?]

Alcuin's modifications are immediately evident: the catalogue is inverted (moving foot to head) and somewhat abridged while sins are incorporated alongside and linked with specific body parts. While it cannot be confirmed, the common presumption is that Alcuin has inverted the order of the catalogue to reflect the disorder of the sinful body. Both *loricae* and Anglo-Saxon medical texts – as well as their Latin source material – display the healthy body in a head to toe manner as the head was understood to be the principal limb;⁵⁶ *DIM* states this explicitly: “Caput vero meum omnibus supereminens membris” [Truly my head surmounts all the members] (line 52). While these formal alterations have received a great deal of attention both the signification and rhetorical effect of such anatomical enumeration within a confessional context have passed unobserved. Broadly speaking, the anatomical catalogue provides a valuable method for Alcuin's audience—Charlemagne—to negotiate the fraught equilibrium of bodily purity and pollution previously absent from the Carolingian penitential milieu; for example, the popular *Mirror for Princes* genre broaches these concerns as texts bind domestic security, meteorological harmony,

⁵⁶ Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, 89; Driscoll, “Penance in Transition,” 138-39; and Black, 9-11.

and ecological bounty to kingly virtue but offer no practical solution beyond admonishments to *be holy*.⁵⁷

In the context of *DIM*, the anatomical catalogue provides a necessary thematic response to the prayer's interest in bodily limits—an impulse that similarly appears in the *loricae*⁵⁸—and dilates the generic category of “*membra singula*” noted at the outset of the prayer.⁵⁹ Indeed this enumerative impulse resembles what Patricia Cox Miller identifies as an “aesthetics of the fragment” across all modes of antique Christian art that “emphasized the visual and tactile immediacy of the part” and thereby imbued these fragments with a “force as presences both sensuous and metaphysical.”⁶⁰ Anatomical catalogues in both *loricae* and confessional prayers exert the linguistic power of the fragment through the contemporaneous presence of the speaker's flesh, orienting the supplicant toward the immediacy of their limbs. But the Assembled Body formed through confessional enumeration bears a different metaphysical weight from that found in the protective *loricae*; binding offense with limb, the confessing body is simultaneously measured and excessive, both the sum of its members and the sum of its sins. Here the

⁵⁷ A letter composed by Cathulf early in Charlemagne's reign typifies this conceptual link: “Et tunc erit aeris et tempestatum tranquillitas, terre maris cum omnibus in eis nascentibus fecunditas E contra, sicut dixit sanctus Patricius: ‘Pro regis iniustitia sui ipsius infelicitas erit, uxoris filiorum quoque dissensio, populorum fames, pestilentia, infecunditas terre, maris quoque tempestatibus fructus terrarum diversis percussis, et ab inimicis suis superatus et expulsus de regno’” [And then there will be clear sky and tranquility of weather, of land, of sea, with fruitfulness springing forth in all of them... On the other hand, just as St. Patrick has said: “Misfortune will exist for the unjust king, himself and his people, the quarrel of his sons and his wife, famine of the people, pestilence, barrenness of land, of sea and the fruits of the earth will be pierced by diverse storms, and having been overcome by enemies he will be expelled from the kingdom”] (Ernst Dümmler, ed., *Epistolae Karolini aevi: II*, MGH *Epistolae*, vol. 4 [Berlin: Weidmann, 1895] item 7). Alcuin expresses a similar view in item 177.

⁵⁸ See also *DIM*, lines 21, 58-59. I develop this general point throughout Chapter 1.

⁵⁹ See also *DIM*, lines 13-16.

⁶⁰ Cox Miller, *The Corporeal Imagination: Signifying the Holy in Late Ancient Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 42. For Cox Miller, the aesthetics of fragmentation are part of a larger shift she calls the *Material Turn*, a revaluation of the material world's religious significance “in the late ancient Christian sensibility regarding the signifying potential of the material world (including especially the human body), a shift that reconfigured the relation between materiality and meaning in a positive direction” (3).

confessant no longer inhabits the role of topographer—as in the *loricae*—to chart the relation of his flesh with bodies celestial and divine but functions in concert with Christ *scrutator* as he methodically lays bare each member of his body to reveal the marks polluting it.⁶¹

Within a confessional context the anatomical catalogue complicates any notion of inert coherence assumed in “*corporis mei*,” presenting instead a disjointed image of the material body in line with the accepted Christian view of the disobedient, animated flesh.⁶² Thus the enumerated “sins of the body” mark points of discord where faults materialize as fault-lines between limbs. It is within this rhetorical disjunction that the Thingness of the supplicant’s corporeal members comes into full relief, in the words of Brown, “as what is excessive in objects, as what exceeds their mere materialization as objects or their mere utilization as objects... Temporalized as the before and after of the object, thingness amounts to a latency (the not yet formed or the not yet formable) and to an excess (what remains physically or metaphysically irreducible to objects).”⁶³ The immediate presence of sin frames the supplicant’s limbs as *loci* of surplus value, signaling a new subject-object relation that simultaneously estranges the supplicant from his flesh—one that effaces the notion of the confessant as subject controlling the body-object—while highlighting the agency and immanent potential of his fleshly members.

Yet this potential is fluid as it speaks to the capacity for the body to function equally as an agent for sin or salvation. The confessional body acts a site of religious contact. While the

⁶¹ As in *DIM*, lines 63-64: “Sed tu, domine, occultorum cognitor, qui dixisti poenitentiam te malle peccatorum quam mortem, tibi omnia cordis mei revelabo arcana” [But you, Lord, the knower of all hidden things, who said prefer thyself penance for sin than death, I will reveal all the secrets of my heart to you].

⁶² I discuss the Biblical and patristic background of this understanding of the body and its intersection with Anglo-Saxon medical theories in my Introduction, 12-14.

⁶³ Brown, *Thing Theory*, 5.

points of excess revealed by the supplicant—as *scrutator*—mark dislocation they likewise act as moments of attraction that draw the confessant closer to God:

Renova in me, piissime pater, quidquid actione, quod verbo, quod ipsa denique cogitatione diabolica fraude vitiatum est, et unitati corporis ecclesiae membrum tuae redemptionis adnecte, et non habentem fiduciam nisi in tua misericordia ad sacramentum tuae reconciliationis admitte. (DIM, lines 66-70)

[Renew in me, most pious Father, whatever deed, whatever word, lastly whatever thought that has been corrupted by devilish deceit, and bind me in unity with the members of the body of the Church, and not holding faith unless by your mercy you admit me to the sacrament of your reconciliation/renewal.]

In this way the confessant’s Assembled Body allows him to envision his own reintegration as a member of Christ’s mystical body, the incorporated Church. Michael Driscoll suggests the enumerative form of the prayer “is less of a confession of real sins than an examination of conscience.”⁶⁴ Driscoll’s characterization responds to the critique leveled by Frantzen against the formulaic nature of the confessional *loricae* by asserting the utility of the anatomical formula.⁶⁵ While I am unconvinced by Driscoll’s position that confession and examination might be so easily separated in the prayer, his claim to functionality helps us reconsider the catalogue in terms of a series of general mnemonic triggers aiding the recollection of personal acts that have wounded the supplicant.⁶⁶ If we consider Driscoll’s observation in terms of the body at confession—the confessional Thing—then this “examination of conscience” becomes grounded in a thoroughly embodied perspective, one in which the wounds of the conscience are catalogued in the flesh. Such a reading further clarifies the embodied terms in which *DIM* roots the

⁶⁴ Driscoll, “Penance in Transition,” 138.

⁶⁵ See note 47 above.

⁶⁶ Indeed this conception of memory technique would be familiar to the Anglo-Saxons. See Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2009).

supplicant's emotional experience—sorrow, contrition—and hope of expiation: “Respice in me et miserere mei, fontemque lacrimarum et remissionem omnium peccatorum intima mihi cordis confessione tribue poscenti” [Look on me and have pity on me, and grant a font of tears and remission of all sins by begging confession for the innermost of my heart] (lines 65-66). The verbs *respice* and *poscenti* link both the gift of tears and remission with the confessant's ability to lay his members bare before God's scrutiny.⁶⁷

II. Feeling the pain: embodiment, rumination, and compunction

Te Adoro provides further insight into how notions of embodiment, contrition/compunction, and memory crystalize in the enumerated confessional body. Its earliest attestation appears in *The Book of Cerne*⁶⁸ and although the prayer is not as widely disseminated in continental manuscripts—as *DIM*⁶⁹—it appears across a variety of insular collections: the *Galba Prayer Book*, *The Bury Psalter*, and a breviary associated with St. Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester.⁷⁰ Indeed this anonymous Latin prayer appears alongside *DIM* in two collections,⁷¹

⁶⁷ Alcuin makes this relationship more explicit in his letter to the Boys of St. Martin. See footnote 47 above for Driscoll's recent edition.

⁶⁸ *Cerne* dates to the first half of the ninth century, the same period to which the earliest extant copies of *DIM* date. This contributes to the difficulty faced by those who would designate *DIM* as the model for this prayer type. See notes 42 and 45 above. For in-depth codicological and paleographical information regarding the *Book of Cerne* see Michelle P. Brown, *The Book of Cerne: Prayer, Patronage and Power in Ninth-Century England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

⁶⁹ *Te Adoro* is extant in a single continental manuscript: MS Basle Universitätsbibliothek A.vii.3, fol. 2r. For MS description and list of editions see Martin McNamara, *The Psalms in the Early Irish Church* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 58-61.

⁷⁰ The breviary is commonly called *Wulfstan's Portiforium* (CCCC 391). It has been suggested a portion of this MS is, in fact, the small devotional collection Wulfstan would carry with him while traveling and described in the *Vita Wulfstani*. See Nicholas Brooks, “Introduction: How do we know about St. Wulfstan?” in *St. Wulfstan and his World*, ed. Julia S. Barrow and N. P. Brooks (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 14. We should not confuse this Wulfstan (d. 1095) with the earlier Archbishop of York and homilist (d. 1023) who composed *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*

but the two texts differ greatly in both their substance and presentation of the anatomical catalogue; unlike Alcuin's prayer *Te Adoro* orders the enumerative catalogue from head to toe, employs a narrower anatomical lexicon, and enumerates sins and body parts in separate catalogues. Yet its vocabulary demonstrates a similar interest in both the external and internal aspects of the supplicant:⁷²

peccauī in oculis meis et in auribus meis, peccauī in naribus et in auribus,⁷³ peccauī in manibus et in pedibus peccauī in lingua et guttore peccauī in collo et in pectore, peccauī in corde et in cogitationibus peccauī in ossibus et in carne, peccauī in medullis et renis, peccauī in anima mea et in omni corpore meo. (*Cerne*, item 10, lines 38-43)

[I have sinned in my eyes and in my ears, I have sinned in my nose and in my ears, I have sinned in hands and in feet, I have sinned in tongue and in gullet, I have sinned in neck and in chest, I have sinned in heart and in thoughts, I have sinned in bones and in flesh, I have sinned in marrow and kidneys, I have sinned in my soul and in all of my body.]

(discussed below at page 121); see both entries in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Michael Lapidge et al. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 493-95.

⁷¹ For manuscripts see notes 41-43 above. Very little fact is known about the prayer's origins. What scholarship exists on the subject involves speculation on the text's relationship to *DIM* and whether *Te adoro* might be influenced by or an adaptation of Alcuin's prayer.

⁷² Compared to *DIM*, *Te Adoro* omits *caput, os, brachia, humera, dorsum, latera, lumbis, viscera, venter, genitalibus, femoribus, genua, and crura* while including *pectore, ossibus, carne, medulis*. While *Te Adoro* fails to cover as much external surface area, the addition of bones, flesh, and marrow provides a more fully developed image of the body. Indeed, the vocabulary and laconic nature of *Te adoro*'s catalogue recalls the few extant prayers of exorcism spoken during baptismal rites; see F. E. Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1881), 207. For example I provide an excerpt from Warren's edition of the *Stowe Missal*'s baptismal rite: "Domine, sancte pater, omnipotens aeternae deus, expelle diabulum et gentilitatera ab homine isto, de capite, de cappillis, de uertice, de cerebro, de fronte, de oculis, de auribus, de naribus, de ore, de lingua, de sublingua, de guttore, de faucibus, de collo, de pectore, de corde, de corpore toto, intus, de foris, de manibus, de pedibus, de omnibus membris, de compaginibus membrorum eius, et de cogitationibus, de uerbis, de operibus" [Lord, holy Father, almighty eternal God, drive out the devil and paganism from this man: from the head, from the hair, from the crown of the head, from the brain, from the forehead, from the eyes, from the ears, from the nose, from the mouth, from the tongue, from below the tongue, from the gullet, from the throat, from the neck, from the breast, from the heart, from the whole body, within, from the entryways (lit. "doors," likely a euphemism for the senses), from the hands, from the feet, from all members, from the joints of his members, and thoughts, words, and deeds.].

⁷³ The repetition of *auribus* is apparently scribal error and noted by Kuypers (13) The other versions of this prayer have *lingua* following *naribus*; this would be logical as a representative of mouth/speech and tongue complete the progression of eyes, ears, and nose.

While *Te Adoro* eschews the dramatic narrative of *DIM*, its use of repetition—evident in the verb *peccare*—and the pattern of doublets contributes to a rhythmic character, illuminating a performative quality in both the anatomical catalogue and confessional moment. As with *DIM*, the enumeration of bodily members presents a striking image of fragmentation, a fissure from whence the body’s emergent Thingness impinges upon the supplicant. Here, however, the mechanism spurring the individual to dwell upon this rupture differs from *DIM*. *Te Adoro*’s structure privileges concision; its enumerative catalogue is woven into a rhythmic repetition of verb, prepositions, conjunctions, and pronouns linking patterned doublets.⁷⁴ The rhythmic character of the prayer aids in its memorization and repetition but also illuminates a vitalism emerging from the body through both reflection and performance in a way that charges rhetorical formulae with mimetic value. To conceive of the effect this droning repetition has on the supplicant, we might consider it in terms of the monastic technique of meditative murmur. Typically discussed in the context of memory exercises like *ruminatio*,⁷⁵ the murmur is a subvocal mouthing of words that both embeds and recalls the holy text studied by the individual stirring their creative abilities. The effect of such ruminative murmuring within the *lectio divina* is bifurcated, carrying “both physiological and psychological aspects”;⁷⁶ the physical repetition focuses the supplicant in reflection upon the text and affects internal change within him.⁷⁷ This conjunction of rhythmic droning and affective meditation recalls Stephen Glosecki’s description

⁷⁴ This is evident, as well, in the appositional descriptions of God opening the prayer.

⁷⁵ For a useful introduction to the practice in its patristic and monastic context see Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1988), 16. For a discussion focusing more specifically on the technique in the medieval period see Carruthers, 205-211. I should note that in his discussion, Leclercq emphasizes the embodied roots of *ruminatio*.

⁷⁶ Carruthers, 205.

⁷⁷ Indeed such repetition would resonate with those learned readers familiar with the concept of *ruminatio* that is central to the practice of the *lectio divina*. See footnote 75 above.

of the techniques employed in shamanic rites to produce a dissociative break, allowing the devotee to access a deeper realm of meditative reflection.⁷⁸ The rhetoric of fragmentation at work in the anatomical catalogue spurs the supplicant to dwell upon the vitality of his disjointed flesh and the ruminative impulse of the prayers affects a dissociative break in which the individual is impelled to reflect on the wounds of his or her limbs. As a result the body itself becomes a confessional text, both the site and matter of a confessional *lectio*.

Foregrounding the ruminative—that is *embodied*—mode of confession further helps to elucidate the ways in which *DIM* and *Te Adoro* characterize spiritual unction. Mary Carruthers elucidates how the body is treated as a sort of book, “as a support for cognitive memory work,” in an exploration of medieval writing on *memoria*.⁷⁹ Unpacking a parallel metaphor for memory creation as the “wounding” of a page through punctuation, Carruthers notes the accepted role of trauma in both the creation of memory (*pungo, punctus*) and recall of the same memory-image (*compunctio*).⁸⁰ The theory of *compunctio* typifies the symbiosis of memory and suffering. In early Christian habit the practice found purchase as a means to spur beneficial emotional turmoil through meditation on a particular image “to induce strong emotions of grief and/or fear.”⁸¹ *DIM* and *Te Adoro* bind both the image and matter of the assembled body—structurally and thematically—to the supplicant’s appeal for *fontem lacrimarum*,⁸² as well as: “Suscita in me

⁷⁸ Stephen O. Glosecki, *Shamanism and Old English Poetry* (New York: Garland, 1989), 10, 17, 46. While it is not my intention to suggest any line of influence between this monastic technique and shamanic practice, these two methods highlight the affective power implicit in the formulaic structure of confessional enumeration.

⁷⁹ Mary Carruthers, “Reading with Attitude, Remembering the Book,” in *The Book and The Body*, ed. Dolores Warwick Frese and Katherine O’Brien O’Keeffe (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), 1-33.

⁸⁰ The embodied perception of compunction is evident in the term’s root, “*pungo, punctus*, literally meaning to pierce, puncture, and thus wound some surface” (Carruthers, “Reading with Attitude,” 2). See also Leclercq, 26-31, on compunction.

⁸¹ Carruthers, “Reading with Attitude,” 21.

⁸² *DIM*, 65.

paenitentiam peccatorum meorum et fletum pro nomine tuo” [Stir in me contrition for my sins and tears/weeping before your name] (*Te Adoro*, lines 57-58). Alcuin provides a more detailed image of this correlation in his letter for the oblates at St. Martin:

Confessio tua medicina est vulnerum tuorum, et salutis tuae certissimum subsidium...
Deus vero sine labore sanat, sine tarditate medicamenta veniae praestat, si devota lacrimis
scripta in auribus pietatis suae legatur paenitentia.

[Your confession is the remedy for your wounds and the most certain help for your salvation... God heals without effort, giving the remedy of pardon without delay, if the sincere penance, written in tears, is read/gathered into the ears of His compassion.]⁸³

Here tears emerge from the pain/shame one feels as old wounds inscribed upon the body are enumerated in confession; that is, as they are re-opened and laid bare. The confessional body thus functions as both site and substance of grief for the supplicant, an assemblage that draws together disparate traumas to affect the *pricks* of shame.⁸⁴ In line with Insular tradition,⁸⁵ Alcuin understands tears as a penitential gesture—central to the confessional act—that prick the ears of

⁸³ Driscoll, “Ad Pueros,” 53, section III.

⁸⁴ See note 83 above.

⁸⁵ Indeed the maxim found in what was formerly known as the *Confessionale Pseudo-Egberti* (see note 23 above)—frequently cited in studies of Anglo-Saxon penitential practice to separate what is understood as the physical nature of penance from the emotional space of confession—lists *halsung* (prayer), *onbryrdnesse* (compunction), and *teara agotenesse* (outpouring of tears) alongside other ‘bodily’ acts (Spindler, 174). I print the passage below at pages 99-100. *Halsung* is particularly interesting as Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller suggest it can denote both entreaty/supplication and exorcism or hallowing in *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1882), 506. Hereafter B&T. Such bivalence invites the question if the noun in this context of atonement may carry a sense of purification. For notes on the notion of tears as a penitential act in the Insular tradition see T. O’Loughlin and H. Conrad-O’Briain, “The ‘Baptism of Tears’ in early Anglo-Saxon Sources,” *ASE* 22 (1993): 78. Their focus is to demonstrate how the motif came to be misunderstood in Insular circles as part of the typology of baptism rather than its original significance as a singular cleansing act, but the authors also observe how the act of tears was enfolded in the Insular ethos of penance as “not only repeatable but habitual” (80). Sandra McEntire provides a helpful account of the relationship between tears and compunction in Patristic and Anglo-Saxon thought in *The Doctrine of Compunction in Early Medieval England: Holy Tears* (New York: Edward Mellen Press, 1990), 1-31, 81-108. I go into great depth on compunction below at pages 100-103.

God, attracting the *auribus pietatis* toward the supplicant.⁸⁶ Tears are a material sign of contrition but as a gesture of “sincere penance” they are not inert; instead, they bear an inherent agency as Tracey-Anne Cooper observes: “[pious tears] could transcend the boundaries of heavenly and earthly realms, acting as a conduit between man and the divine.”⁸⁷ Understanding tears in the context of embodied confession provides further insight into their perception as a confessional Thing; tears—like sins—are themselves a type of surplus value. Emerging from the constellation of supplicant, bodily members, sins, and grief, tears are an excess *in bono* that marks the redemptive quality of the confessional assemblage, reorienting the supplicant-flesh relationship toward the aspect of God. Tears are expiation beyond the supplicant’s words; they display the body’s latent potential to speak for itself.

The way in which the anatomical catalogues of *DIM* and *Te Adoro* somatize both the act of confession and the source of tears is in line with the broader Insular perception of *poenitentia* as an embodied process. A maxim found in an eighth-century Latin penitential, formerly ascribed to Archbishop Egbert of York, highlights the perceived role of the body within Anglo-Saxon penitential practice: “Qui per corpus peccat, per corpus emendet, hoc est in ieiuniis, in vigiliis, et orationibus ad Dominum” [He who sins through the body, atones through the body, that is by fasting, vigils, and prayers to God].⁸⁸ Such a characterization of the body as penitential tool underwrites a great portion of the Anglo-Saxon literature of penance yet it has almost

⁸⁶ It is significant that these prayers likewise frame God’s attention in embodied terms. For example *Te Adoro* notes: “ad iuua me deus Dele iniquitatem meam a conspectus et ne auertas faciem tuam ab oratione mea” [help me to lose my iniquity from your sight; and do no turn your face from my prayer].

⁸⁷ Cooper, “The Shedding of Tears,” 180.

⁸⁸ The first modern edition of Egbert’s Penitential is F. W. H. Wasserschleben, ed. *Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche* (Halle, 1851; repr. Graz: Akademische Druck Verlagsanstalt, 1958). The excerpt printed here was taken from Arthur West Haddan and Williams Stubbs, ed., *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1871), 430. For the spurious attribution of the penitential to Egbert see Frantzen, “The Penitentials Attributed to Bede,” *Speculum* 58 (1983): 573-97.

exclusively been understood to indicate the mortification of the flesh while performing assigned acts of penance.⁸⁹ Despite Pseudo-Egbert's clear reference to *orationibus*, studies of early medieval penitential practice are reticent to include confession within the ambit of penitential action or remuneration, disregarding the somatic experience involved during prayer while choosing instead to view it as a wholly psychological event. Confession has been approached in terms of a psychic struggle, characterized equally as "story telling" or a "meeting of the minds" that Michael Matto describes as a desire "to locate the self with the spiritual through exposure and denial of the physical" central to the construction of the shriven self.⁹⁰ As a result the performative aspects inherent to this talking cure (the body bows, words are spoken, *etc.*) have been generally viewed with an uncritical eye, overlooking the ways in which physical and psychic anguish intersect in Insular and Anglo-Saxon penitential thought on confession.

Evidence from the early Irish penitentials suggests the prevailing critical distinction between confession and physical affliction has been overstated.⁹¹ The body is not simply libidinous matter to be denied or detritus to be shed but rather a potential tool, a fulcrum to help

⁸⁹ Frantzen, "The Body in 'Soul and Body I,'" *The Chaucer Review* 17 (1982): 76-88. While this is ostensibly a defense of the poem, Frantzen provides a thorough encapsulation of the role of the body in penitential practice and pastoral theology. See also Glenn Davis, "Corporal Anxiety in *Soul and Body II*," *Philological Quarterly* 87 (2008): 33-50.

⁹⁰ Matto, 166. A similar understanding animates Murray's description of confession; see note 23 above.

⁹¹ Indeed Matto's terse notion of 'denying' the flesh typifies the prevailing assumption among scholars of early medieval literature that a deep disdain for the flesh pervaded Anglo-Saxon thought. In turn, this assumption underlies the premise that the body would not be viewed as important to spiritual activities such as prayer or confession. The chief source of support for this view is the accepted preeminence of the Soul/Body dichotomy most thoroughly articulated by Augustine, in which the soul is privileged to the utter disregard or hatred of the flesh. Leslie Lockett warns against accepting this dualism as monolithic or central to all Anglo-Saxon thought in her refutation of the "Medievalist Bias:" arguing that because of his profound influence on the intellectual landscape of the medieval West, most scholars are inclined to view Anglo-Saxon literature "through the lens of Augustine's psychology, which emphasizes the oppositional relationship between the body and the incorporeal soul" (*Anglo-Saxon Psychologies in the Vernacular and Latin Traditions* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011], 9). Lockett's premise finds support through myriad genres, from broad homiletic warnings against excessive fasting (because the body is needed to perform penance for the soul) to the Exeter Soul-Body riddle that characterizes their association as a mutual partnership. I discuss this point with greater detail in my Introduction, 7-11.

leverage the weight of expiation. The seventh-century *Penitential of Cummean* opens with a list of twelve spiritual *remedia uulnerum* [remedies of wounds]: “Quatra profusio lacrimarum... Quinta criminum confessio... Sexta adfliccio cordis et corporis” [The fourth is shedding of tears... The fifth is confession of crimes... The sixth is the affliction of heart and body]⁹². *Cummean*’s catalogic form—as with the anatomical catalogue itself or other types of enumerative catalogues—intimates both the independence and interdependence of each entry: that each might be used separately as a distinct technique for the remission of sin while implicitly linking the remedies that suggests an innate facility for these remedies to work in concert as a comprehensive program. Citing the eminent Benedict, the eighth-century *Bigotian Penitential* links confession and somatic experience in a manner similar to *Cummean*: “mala sua praeterita cum lacrimis uel gemitu cotidie in oratione deo confiteri” [confess to God one’s past sins in daily prayer with tears and sighing].⁹³ This same dyad of confession and tears is not uncommon to Anglo-Saxon religious prose.⁹⁴ Remarkable among these attestations is a tenth century vernacular translation of Pseudo-Egbert’s famous axiom, located in the *Old English Confessional*: “Se þe ðurh his lichaman gesýngige, he eac þurh his lichaman bete’: þæt is on fæstene and on wæccan and on gebedum and on halsungum to Gode mid heortan onbryrdnyse and mid teara agotenesse” [He who sins through his body, also atones through his body’: that is in fasting and in vigils and prayers and in supplication to God by compunction of heart and

⁹² Bieler, 108, lines 1, 9-16. For background on the text see Bieler, 6-7; John McNeil and Helena Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance: A Translation of the Principal “libri Poenitentiales” and Selections from Related Documents* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), 98-99.

⁹³ Bieler, 212, lines 20-21. For background see Bieler, 10; McNeil and Gamer, 148.

⁹⁴ A proximity search of the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus* for the terms of confession and tears (*ander** and *tear**)—while taking in to account spelling variations and the Latin *confess** and *lacr**—returns fourteen results for the pair in homilies, personal prayers, the Capitula of Theodore, and the Old English translations of the Benedictine Rule that mark tears as a sign of true confession. A similar link between weeping (variations in the verbs *wepan*, *gretan*, *flere*, *lacrimare*, etc.) and penance (*gebet**, *dædbot**, etc.) appears in roughly 15 more results in a similar array of genres. See *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus* (University of Toronto, 2016), accessed April 12, 2017, <http://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doecorpus/>, hereafter DOE Corpus.

shedding of tears].⁹⁵ While this translation is witness to the enduring reputation of the penitential maxim, the addition of *onbryrdnesse*, *teara agotenesse*, and a second type of prayer (*halsung*) speaks to a more varied notion of repayment rooted in the material body. The noun *halsung* is particularly telling as it can denote both entreaty/supplication and exorcism or hallowing, which invites the question whether the noun in this context of atonement may carry a sense of purification or confession.⁹⁶

Indeed the doctrine of compunction—eagerly received and extensively transmitted by Anglo-Saxon theologians—provided a complex frame for interpreting the effect of contrition as an internal state and its attendant physiological movements and manifestation, tears.⁹⁷ Gregory the Great, more so than any other writer, influenced Christian notions of *compunctio* and played a formative role in shaping the doctrine received by Anglo-Saxon theologians.⁹⁸ In his *Moralia*, Gregory sets out four modes by which one stirs compunction; the first is linked to memory.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Spindler, 174. See also notes 85 and 23 above. A more recent electronic edition of the *Confessional* is available at Frantzen's website (see note 1 above). A transcription of the maxim appears in an eleventh century letter attributed to Ælfric: "Uerumtamen qui per corpus peccat per corpus et peniteat, hoc est in uigiliis, in ieiuniis, in flectibus, in orationibus assiduis et elemosinis multis" [Nevertheless, whoever sins through the body does penance through the body, this is in vigils (sleeplessness), in fasting (thirst), in genuflexion, in constant prayers and great acts of charity/mercy] See Bernhard Fehr, ed., *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics in altenglischer und lateinischer Fassung*, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 9 (Hamburg: H. Grand, 1914), 243. Peter Clemoes rejects this attribution to Ælfric; see Fehr, ed. *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, with a supplement to the introduction by Peter Clemoes (repr. Darmstadt, 1966), cxlvi-cxlvii.

⁹⁶ DOE, s. v. "halsung."

⁹⁷ McEntire provides a thorough survey of this previously neglected topic. Her monograph is a productive study of patristic notions of *compunctio* and how they were transmitted in Anglo-Saxon theology, with special focus on the works of Ælfric. See note 85 above.

⁹⁸ McEntire, 40-80

⁹⁹ PL, 76:276: "Quatuor quippe sunt qualitates quibus iusti viri anima in compunctione vehementer afficitur, cum aut malorum suorum reminiscitur. considerans ubi fuit; aut iudiciorum Dei sententiam metuens, et secum quaerens, cogitat ubi erit; aut cum mala vitae praesentis solerter auendens, moerens considerat ubi est, aut cum bona supernae patriae contemplatur, quae quia necdum adipiscitur, lugens conspicit ubi non est" [There are four modes in which the mind of a righteous man is strongly affected by compunction: when it either calls to mind his own sins, and considers where he hath been; or when fearing the sentence of God's judgments, and examining his own self, he thinks where he shall be; or when, carefully observing the evils of this present life, he reflects with sorrow where he is; or when he contemplates the blessing of his heavenly country, and, because he does not as yet

Reproduced in the *Bigotian Penitential*, the first mode of compunction speaks to the affective power ascribed to memory during the confessional moment.¹⁰⁰ In as much as anatomical catalogues frame the formalized body as a confessional text, the en fleshed text acts as both site and catalyst for compunction. While the psycho-somatic nature of compunction has been noted, it has yet to be considered from the perspective of an affective or embodied process.¹⁰¹ The etymology of the term speaks to the way in which the concept presents a difficult, fluid relationship between the material and metaphysical: originating within medical discourse, *compunctio* derives from *compungere* [to prick, puncture, goad] and is a cognate to *punctum* [a prick, sting, poke].¹⁰² *Compunctio* was adopted within a theological context to convey/approximate the somatic experience—the pricks, the stings—of the contrite Christian as his soul/conscience goaded him to a desire for purgation and reconciliation with God.¹⁰³ This porous notion of metaphysical motion and material stimulation is situated in a confessional context within a provocative passage from the sixth-century *Penitential of Finnian*:

Si quis in corde suo per cogitationem peccauerit et confestim penituerit, percutiat pectus suum et petat a Deo ueniam et satis faciat et sanus sit (Beiler, 74, lines 2-4)

[If anyone has sinned in the thoughts of his heart and repents without delay, he shall beat his breast and beg pardon from God and make satisfaction, so that he may be whole.]

enjoy them beholds with regret where he is not].

¹⁰⁰ The passage appears to be a direct quote from the *Moralia*, citing “Gregorius.” See Bieler, 212-13. McEntire provides an abundance of excerpts from primary sources which attest to the popularity of Gregory’s fourfold model among medieval thinkers and the sources from which they drew (40-80).

¹⁰¹ McEntire frequently observes this paradoxical understanding of compunction.

¹⁰² For a thorough discussion of the term’s etymology and the Old English lexis of compunction, see McEntire, 81-84.

¹⁰³ Leclercq, 29-30.

The confessional moment is one in which psychic mood and somatic stimuli collapse: the supplicant ruminates on his previous sin and feels the sting of both conscience and fist. Here the repentant mood, the sorrow and desire for forgiveness, urges and is intensified by the supplicant as he remembers his faults and strikes his chest. This predilection to render an ostensibly spiritual motion in terms of embodied stimuli likewise guides Alcuin's writing on *compunctio cordis* from his *Liber de Virtutibus et Vitiis*:¹⁰⁴

Cor meum et caro mea exultaverunt in Deum vivium [Psalms 83:3]. Quatuor sunt qualitates affectionum [Ms., afflictionum]¹⁰⁵, quibus cogitatio iusti taedio salubri compungitur, hoc est, memoria praeteritorum facinorum, recordation futurarum poenarum, consideratio peregrinationis suae in huius vitae miseria, desiderium supernae patriae, quatenus ad eam quantocius valeat pervenire.

[My heart and my flesh have rejoiced in the living God (Psalms 83.3). There are four states of mind (*MS.*, afflictions) by which thought of the just is pricked by healthful loathing, that is, the memory of past deeds, the recollection of future punishments, the consideration of our pilgrimage in the misery of this life; the desire of the heavenly country, so that he may be able to reach there as soon as possible.]

Alcuin leaves his source material relatively unchanged.¹⁰⁶ It appears that his choice to include *cogitatio* and *compungitur* (in place of *mens* and *impungitur*) was intended to better set his

¹⁰⁴ PL, 101:620-21.

¹⁰⁵ Migne bases his edition on Frobinus Forster, ed., *Beati Flacci Albini seu Alcuini Opera* (Ratisbona 1777), book 2:128–145. Frobinus' edition is taken from a seventeenth-century edition by André du Chesne, who used a manuscript belonging to Jacques-Auguste de Thou. Frobinus corrected errors in this edition and also collated the text with other manuscripts. He specifically mentions (5) that among the manuscripts used are two from his own monastery of St. Emmeram in Regensburg, as well as one from the "Scots Abbey" (St. Jakob's monastery in Regensburg). In most cases, however, he refers simply to variants found in "another manuscript" or "some manuscripts," while references to "the manuscript" seem to be used by Frobinus to indicate errors in du Chesne's edition. Despite its appearance in more than 140 manuscripts, there is no modern edition of Alcuin's treatise. It is unclear then if *afflictionum* (pain) is actual scribal error or Frobinus' perception of it. Whether an error by the scribe or Frobinus, it is telling that such distressing states of mind are associated with "pain."

¹⁰⁶ While the ultimate source is Gregory's *Moralia*, Alcuin draws from Isidore's description of the *quattuor qualitates affectionum* (where in Gregory these are simply "quatuor qualitates") in his *Sententiae*: "Quattuor esse qualitates affectionum. quibus mens iusti taedio salubri impungitur: hoc est memoria praeteritorum facinorum. recordatio futurarum poenarum. consideratio peregrinationis suae in huius vitae longinquitate, desiderium supernae patriae, quatenus ad eam quantocius valeat pervenire" [There are four properties of the affections with which the mind of a just man is disturbed with healthy weariness: this is the memory of bygone deeds, the remembrance of

passage in line with the doctrine of compunction. Here memory is the impetus of compunction and thus fundamental to confession, or in Alcuin's words: "Compunctio cordis ex humilitatis virtute nascitur; de compunction confession peccatorum... Compunctio cordis est humilitas mentis, cum lacrymis, et recordatione peccatorum, et timore iudicii" [Compunction of heart is born from the virtue of humility, from compunction is confession of sin... Compunction of heart is humility of the mind, with tears, and recollection of sins, and fear of judgment].¹⁰⁷ The most obvious and compelling alteration is the Biblical passage Alcuin employs to frame his excursus.¹⁰⁸ A vitality is evident in the verb *exsultare*; Lewis and Short give the primary definition as "to spring vigorously, leap up, jump up" with a second tropological sense in Patristic writing that attempts to convey this physical vivacity as "to exult, rejoice."¹⁰⁹ Allied with his description of *compunctio* the verse highlights a liveliness in Alcuin's understanding of compunction: in as much as the flesh rejoices in—or rises toward—God, it holds an equal capacity for shame over its faults. Alcuin's nuanced reading of compunction helps to elucidate the anatomical catalogue as a formal aspect of *Te Adoro* and *DIM*—itself supposedly authored by Alcuin. If compunction is in part related to the body's inclination to seek a way back to its creator then anatomical catalogues would provide Anglo-Saxon scribes with an established rhetorical scheme by which to convey the confessional disposition of the flesh.

future penalties, the consideration of one's own travel in the duration of life, and the longing for the celestial country, inasmuch as he may succeed in arriving at it as soon as possible] (PL, 83:613-14).

¹⁰⁷ PL. 101:620.

¹⁰⁸ Psalm 83.3 appears in conjunction with *compunctio* in neither the *Moralia* or *Sententiae*.

¹⁰⁹ Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, eds., *A Latin Dictionary Online*, accessed January 25, 2017, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.04.0059>. Hereafter Lewis and Short. Old English glosses of Psalm 83:3—returned from a fragmentary search of the verbs *exult** and *exsult** in the DOE Corpus—reflect similar play between literal (or rather material) and metaphorical connotations.

III. Fearing the end

Familiarity with the doctrine of *compunctio* likewise animates the way in which the eleventh century Old English confessional *Ic andette eall* joins the body and *memoria*.¹¹⁰ Most evident in the anatomical catalogue, the vernacular prayer displays technical parallels with each of its Latin counterparts. Like *Te Adoro* the anatomical catalogue pairs bodily members in rhythmic doublets but links specific sins to limbs in a fashion that recalls *DIM*. A clear example appears in MS *Vespasian D. xx*:

Ic ondette eall þæt Ic æfre to unnytte mid minum eagum gesawe oððe mid minum earum gehyrde oððe muðe gecwæde oððe hondum gefenge oððe fotum geeode to unare oððe mid ænige dæle mines lichoman gefremede wið mines dryhtnes willan. Ic ondette mine synna for ealne mine lichoman; for fell 7 flæsc, fet 7 sconcan, breost 7 ban...

(Logeman, 98)

[I confess all that I ever saw to ill use with my eyes, or heard with my ears, or spoke with my mouth, or grasped with my hands, or approached with my feet, or accomplished with any portion of my body against the will of my lord; I confess my sins for my entire body, for skin and flesh, feet and shins, breast and bone...] ¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ See note 43 above for manuscript distribution. It is puzzling that no instance of vernacular confessional enumeration appears before the eleventh century.

¹¹¹ Three attestations are the same but *Vespasian D. xx* is an outlier whose catalogue is on par with *DIM*. Despite its length, the *Vespasian* catalogue demonstrates a clear connection to the other manuscript witnesses. The excerpt is from *Vespasian* and I provide its earlier Latin antecedent *Cerne* no. 8 (Kuypers, 94) below for comparison. The whole section from *Vespasian* reads: “Ic ondette eall þæt Ic æfre to unnytte mid minum eagum gesawe oððe mid minum earum gehyrde oððe muðe gecwæde oððe hondum gefenge oððe fotum geeode to unare oððe mid ænige dæle mines lichoman gefremede wið mines dryhtnes willan. Ic ondette mine synna for ealne mine lichoman; for fell 7 flæsc, fet 7 sconcan, breost 7 ban 7 bahonda, ædra 7 ingehygd tearas 7 teð 7 feax 7 tungan 7 gristlan 7 goman 7 gurgullione, muð 7 mearh 7 modgeþonc, sionwe 7 sidan 7 swyran mid Eagan 7 earan 7 ealle omo welere 7 word 7 gewitlocan, for weres sædes gewilnunga 7 wifmanna gemanan 7 for gehwæt heardes oððe hnesces wætes oððe driges, þæs ðe ne innan oððe utan gebyrede 7 foræghwæt, þæs ðe ic æfre on me selfum gefremede mines gewealdes oððe ungewealdes” [I confess all that I ever saw to ill use with my eyes, or heard with my ears, or spoke with my mouth, or grasped with my hands, or approached with my feet, or accomplished with any portion of my body against the will of my lord; I confess my sins for my entire body, for skin and flesh, feet and shins, breast and bone and both hands, veins and mind, tears and teeth and hair and tongue and gristles and palate and throat, mouth and marrow and mind, sines and sides and the neck, with eyes and ears and all limbs, lips and words and mind, for the desires of a man’s seed and the fellowship of men and women, and for anything hard or soft, wet or dry, with which I am furnished on the inside or the outside, that which I ever accomplished myself by my power or outside of my control] (Logeman, *Minora I*, pages 98-99); *Cerne* no. 8: Iracundiam inanem pacem potestatis mei uel inpotestatis Cum mea uoluntate uel extra meam uoluntatem quos oculis meis uidi uel auribus audiui uel manibus tetigi uel pedibus ambulau. Confiteor tibi cordis mei cogitations et uerba oris mei uel pro natura carnis mei pro pelle

Ic andette eall similarly integrates the thought, word, and deed motif.¹¹² The vernacular anatomical catalogue departs from the Latin prayers through a series of oppositional doublets that close the enumeration: “for gehwæt heardes oððe hnesces wætes oððe driges, þæs ðe me innan oððe utan gebyrede 7 foræghwæt, þæs ðe ic æfre on me selfum gefremede mines gewealdes oððe ungewealdes” [for everything hard or soft, wet or dry, with which it ever came into contact, on the inside or the outside and for everything I ever accomplished myself through my power or involuntarily] (lines 51-54). These doublets enable the vernacular catalogue to efficiently chart more of the body while remaining concise, lending it a three-dimensionality that would highlight the presence of the supplicant’s own flesh. The pairing of opposites within the doublets moreover functions as a helpful mnemonic device that, along with the catalogue’s brevity, aids in the repetition of the prayer. While the rhetorical effect of *Ic andette eall*’s enumerative catalogue is consistent with its Latin analogues in the way its speaker must explicitly confront the agential quality of his flesh, the structural aspects allow for ease of recollection that grants this Thingness a potent imminence.

pro renibus pro ore pro lingua pro labiis pro faucibus pro dentes pro capillis pro ungules pro lacrimas pro sputo pro medullas pro cerebro pro semine uiri uel mulieris pro omni durum uel molli, umido uel arido, quodcumque umquam contigisset intus uel foras” [(I confess) vain disturbance of the peace in my control or not in my control, with my will or outside my will, which my eyes have seen, or heard with my ears, or touched with my hands, or walked to with my feet. I confess to you the thoughts of my heart and the words of my mouth, indeed for the substance of my body [lit. *flesh*], for skin, for kidneys, for mouth, for tongue, for lips, for gullet, for teeth, or hair, for limbs, for tears, for spit, for bones, for brain, for the seed of men or of a woman, for all that is hard or soft, wet or dry, whatsoever affects the inside or out] (Kuypers, pages 92-95). Max Forster provides a side by side comparison of the prayer in Vespasian D. xx to that in the *Handbook* to demonstrate the prayers are from the same archetype. See Förster, “Zur Liturgik der angelsächsischen Kirche,” 25 and 30. Frantzen echoes this connection but implies Vespasian is closer to, if not, the original in “The Tradition of the Penitentials in Anglo-Saxon England,” *ASE* 11 (1982): 23-56, at 46. Frantzen’s position is supported by the tenth-century date of Vespasian D. xx but *Cerne* 8, dating to the eighth-century, complicates matters. Thijs Porck has more recently proven the common Latin origin of the prayers (see note 44 above). The following excerpts cited in text are from Vespasian D. xx unless noted.

¹¹² “...on geðohtum oððe on wordum oððe on dædum” (line 16) [cf., *DIM*, lines 67-68]). Both *Cerne* 8 and Cotton Tiberius C. i employ the triad but earlier in their texts.

In a manner that interestingly recalls the late Anglo-Saxon maledictions,¹¹³ *Ic andette eall* further departs from its Latin counterparts in the way it conceives of time through the space of the body.¹¹⁴ Just as the prayer impels the supplicant to reckon with the immediate vitality of his flesh, the body becomes not simply a record of sin but a legend by which to trace where and when misdeeds were inscribed: “Ic eom ondetta ealra gesewenlicra lusta 7 ungesewenra þara þe ic æfre gefremede on ciricean oððe butan ciricean” [I confess all invisible desire and unseen things that I ever accomplished in church or outside church] (lines 33-35). In this fluid temporality the enumerated body revives past misdeeds and simultaneously becomes a guarantee of future pain:

Ic eom andetta þara þe ic of cildhade oð þas ieldo þe
 Ic æfter fulwihte agylte...
 Bidde mine dryhten forgifnesse þæt me ne motan
 Þa dreorgan deofla æt minum ende ne on domdæge mine
 Synna onstælan. (lines 83-92)

[I confess those (sins) I committed from childhood to old age, after baptism... I beg forgiveness, my lord, so that I may not endure at my death (lit. my end) nor on judgement day the devil accuse me of my sin]¹¹⁵

¹¹³ For a discussion of the strategy locating the enumerative body in space and time see Chapter 1, 53-59.

¹¹⁴ Seeta Chaganti observes a similar function in the “vestigial signs” inscribed in vellum, stone, metal, and flesh: “The temporal concept of the vestigial has emerged to illustrate how inscription and performance contain each other in the poetics of the *Dream of the Rood*... the vestige becomes a spatial means of negotiating temporal passage and operates at the levels of inscription and performance,” in “Vestigial Signs: Inscription, Performance, and the *Dream of the Rood*,” *PMLA* 125 (2010): 68.

¹¹⁵ The form in *Vespasian* is less detailed than *Cerne* 8: “Ego sum confitens tibi atque angelis tuis et omnibus sanctis tuis Quod diabolus numquam conuincat Nec in die exitus mei Nec in die iudicii quod sine confessione peccatorum e saeculo migrassem pro hoc confiteor uobis quaecumque feci in puerili aetate uel in iuuentute uel in senectute et sepe peccaui in multis rebus multum deum irritaui Confiteor tibi quod feci in diebus dominicis uel noctibus quando debuisssem spiritalia opera facere Et Ego confiteor deo omnipotenti et animae meae medico. Ad emendationem omnium scelerum quos cumque contraxi Ab infantia mea usque in praesentem diem. Amen.” [I am confessing to you, your angels, and all your saints, because the devil will never conquer me, neither in my last days nor in the day of judgement, because with a confession of sins I will depart from this world... For this I confess to you whatsoever I have done in the beginning of boyhood, in youth, or in old age. Often I sinned in many things. I have irritated God a great deal. I confess to you because of the evil I have done in the days or the nights or the Lord when I ought to have performed spiritual works. I confess to the omnipotent God and the Healer or my soul that he cleanse me of all the evils which I have committed from my infancy until the present day. Amen].

This eschatological turn offers the text thematic resolution. As the confessant confronts the inevitability of death, the immediacy of past sin and consequent fear of future judgment evokes the doctrine of *compunctio cordis*—pervading Anglo-Saxon penitential philosophy¹¹⁶—in a manner that answers the prayer’s opening appeal for true confession: “Ic... bidde þæt ðu onsende In me heortan me agol mod gemynd 7 gedefe hreowe 7 soðe ondetnesse ealra minra synna” [I ... beg that you send into my heart an earnest mind and fitting penitence and the true confession of all my sins] (lines 2-3). The significance of this scene goes beyond structural coherence. A judgment theme embedded within the speaker’s appeal lends nuance to the role of the supplicant during confession; the phrase “synna onstælan” evokes a compelling image of divine justice, the frightening prospect of facing indictment by Christ or Satan on Doomsday.¹¹⁷ Yet as moments of confession and judgement collapse in *Ic andette eal*, the speaker’s role as *scrutator* likewise encompasses that of *accusator* in an attempt to preclude any claim by Satan. That a supplicant should act as his own accuser is not peculiar to this vernacular prayer, appearing likewise in the chapter “De Compunctione” of Defensor’s seventh century *Liber Scintillarum*. A faithful Old English gloss added in the eleventh century reads:

synd þa þe na of soþre heortan onbryrdnyse hyra wregendras gewyrþað ac swa þeah þænne gyt beon hi synfulle toamearcyað þæt of gehiwudre eadmodnyse andetnyse stowe he gemetan halignyse.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ See note 85.

¹¹⁷ According to the DOE Corpus, the words for *syn** and *stæl** frame the image in *Genesis A* (George Phillip Krapp, ed., *The Junius Manuscript*, ASPR, vol. 1 [New York: Columbia University Press, 1931], 15, line 391. Hereafter ASPR), *Guthlac A* (Krapp and Elliott van Kirk Dobbie, eds., *The Exeter Book*, ASPR, vol. 3 [New York: Columbia University Press, 1936], 79, line 1065), *Maxims II* (Dobbie, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, ASPR, vol. 6 [New York: Columbia University Press, 1942], 57, line 50), two homilies edited by Napier, and two iterations of *Ic andette eal* (in Vespasian and the *Old English Handbook*).

¹¹⁸ Ernest Wood Rhodes, ed., *Defensor’s Liber Scintillarum*, EETS, o.s., 93 (London, 1889), 29. The Latin reads: “Sunt qui non ex uera cordis compunctione sui accusatores fiunt sed tamen ad huc esse se peccatores adsignant ut ex ficta humilitate confessionis locum inueniant sanctitatis.” The passage is drawn from Isidore’s writing *De Compunctio Cordis* in his *Sententiae*, PL, 83:615. On the place of the work among Anglo-Saxon theologians, see Rolf H. Bremmer Jr, “The Reception of Defensor’s *Liber Scintillarum* in Anglo-Saxon England,” in

[Those that do not become their own accusers through true compunction of heart, but nevertheless thereafter mark themselves sinful by pretend humility at that place of confession, they may not find holiness.]

In this sense penitential examination takes on an adversarial tone that foregrounds ambivalence toward the agential flesh; inasmuch as there exists a confessional disposition within its limbs, the body may also blush to uncover its wounds. The assembled body—articulated through such anatomical catalogues—becomes an image around which this constellation of confessional anxieties crystalizes. Such an explicit link between memory, psycho-physical stimulation, and purgation—or recalcitrance—within confession, appears in the late vernacular poem *Judgement Day II*.¹¹⁹

...un tuo serto di fiori in man recando. *Scritti in onori di Maria Amalia D'Aronco*, ed. Patrizia Lendinara, vol. 2 (Udine: Forum, 2008), 75-89.

¹¹⁹ Krapp and Dobbie's edition of the poem in ASPR 6 (58-66) has been superseded by Graham D. Caie's more recent work in *The Old English Poem Judgement Day II: A Critical Edition with Editions of De die iudicii and the Hatton 113 Homily Be domes dæge* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2000), 83-107. All excerpts from the poem will be taken from Caie's edition. From here on the poem will be referred to as *JDII*. A Latin rubric frames the poem, designating it unequivocally as a translation of Bede's *De die iudicii*. Although there is some critical debate regarding whether *JDII* is a rote translation or imaginative expansion of Bede's work, there is no doubt that the two poems are related. Caie appears to embrace both positions but notes such faithfulness to source material is "rather unusual" in Old English poetry (40). Patrizia Lendinara has recently produced a pair of studies based on *De die iudicii* wherein she thoroughly reassess the faithfulness of the Old English translation and then explores the transmission of the Latin text as a guide on proper conduct and penitence. See Lendinara, "Translating Doomsday: *De die iudicii* and its Old English translation," in *Beowulf and Beyond*, ed. Hans Sauer and Renate Bauer (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006), 17-67; and Lendinara, "The *Versus de die iudicii*: Its Circulation and Use as a School Text in Late Anglo-Saxon England," in *Foundations of Learning: the Transfer of Encyclopedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Rolf H. Bremmer Jr. and Kees Dekker (New York: Peeters Publishing, 2007), 175-212. Frantzen places the work confidently within the "literature of penance" through meticulous elucidation of its imagery. He notes the use of medical metaphors and its depiction of confession but is careful to specify the confessional scene references an earlier understanding of "devotional confession" in which one could confess to God directly and did not require a priest (*Literature of Penance*, 115, 185). See also McNeill, "Medicine for Sin" for an early but still useful consideration of the motifs appearing in the poem (see note 21 above). The outline of the metaphor is cursory, however, as the greater portion of his study is dedicated to a delineation of the intellectual history of the notion of spiritual 'health' as literally manifest on the body. Byron Grigsby, drawing from newer evidence within the field of the history of medicine, has corrected McNeill's assertion that Methodist theory (drawn mainly from the texts of Soranus) influenced the penitentials, noting the current consensus is that the humoral theory developed by Hippocrates and Galen exerted a greater authority. Grigsby also provides a brief explication of the medical background for the metaphor of priest as physician in *Pestilence in Medieval and Early Modern English Literature* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 25-29.

JDII affords special insight into late Anglo-Saxon conceptions of confession—as a locus wherein the embodied function of memory stirs compunctive pricks within the supplicant—through both its dramatic representation of the confessional moment and its manuscript context. The single extant copy of the poem exists in CCCC 201, the same codex that contains the *Handbook's* vernacular enumerative prayer, offering a foil against which to read the *Handbook's* constellation of fragmentation, reflection, and memory.¹²⁰ The entirety of the poem deals with a dramatic expansion of the confessional moment.¹²¹ At the outset it presents a speaker, sitting amidst a wind-blown grove, and provides a detailed image of his internal conflict; sorrow (line 10) arising from dread and fear of God's anger during the final judgment (lines 15-18). What follows is a powerful account in which the speaker's burgeoning dread reaches its apex, spurring him to confess his sins.¹²² However, a shift occurs. As the speaker begins to confess his focus aligns internal conflict with the literal matter of his body:

and ic murcnigende cwæð, mode gedrefed
 ‘Nu ic eow, æddran, ealle bidde
 þæt ge wylspringas wel ontynnan,
 hate of hleorum, recene to tearum;
 þænne ic synful slea swiðe mid fyste
 breost mine beate on gebedstowe,
 and minne lichaman lecge on eorðan
 and geearnade sar ealle ic gecige. (lines 25-32)

¹²⁰ The disputes over *JDII* appear more related to the composition of its manuscript, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 201 (Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 49). Caie presents a clear delineation of the debate over the separate hands within the manuscript and whether it is composed of two or three books of distinct provenance (17-24).

¹²¹ The front matter accompanying Caie's edition provides helpful insight into the cultural and literary milieu of the poem and the significance of its manuscript location (1-82). Among this analysis, Caie observes a logic informing the texts collected in the codex, suggesting the order of texts reflects a thematic progression through the penitential process (15-21).

¹²² Caie suggests the rhetorical goal of this drama as an internalization of the speaker's turmoil that stirs the reader to join in or undertake the initial act of the penitential process, noting this is common in the rhetoric of poetry dealing with confession (66). The motif of fear over one's final judgement—as impetus for immediate confession—is first explored by Malcolm Godden in “An Old English Penitential Motif,” *ASE* 2 (1973): 221-39.

[and, troubled in mind, I spoke murmuring: ‘Now I beg you all, well-springs (tear ducts), quickly open your springs completely for tears, hot down the cheeks. Then I, sinful, strike severely with my fist and beat my breast in the place of prayer and lay my body down on the earth, I invoke all my deserved pains.]

What emerges from this versified account is a fuller image of the plaintive moment, one that—like the *Handbook*’s Latin *ordo*—enunciates the generative role of the body during confession. In line with the prayers *DIM*, *Te Adoro*, and *Ic andette eall* this generative capacity inheres not simply to the generic *lichaman* but the body as a sum of discrete members: *mode*, *wylspringas*, *hleorum*, *fyst*, *breost*. Witnessed in the supplicant’s attempt to beg (*bidde*) and cajole by striking (*slea*) these agents, this rhetorical disarticulation creates an enigmatic distance, a delay from which the body re-emerges as a Thing, whose presence impinges upon the supplicant. The internal-emotional aspects of sorrow and contrition are cast in physiological terms, tears; indeed, the descriptor *hate* (hot) grounds “tears” in sensual and concrete terms. The verb *murcnian* evokes this notion of substantiation. Defined as “to murmur, complain, repine, grieve,” *murcnian* shares a root with the adjectival *murcen*, *sad*.¹²³ Here the speaker enacts the sadness he experiences, ostensibly in his “troubled mind” (line 25); the confessional act is grief embodied. This active murmuring allows a better understanding of how the structural aspects of the enumerative catalogues, found in *Te Adoro* and *Ic andette eall*, function during the performance of confession. Within *JDII*, the droning repetition characterizes a dissociative break in which the supplicant focuses on his Thingly *Body* that exposes the fluidity between metaphysical and

¹²³ B&T, 701-2. A scenario, mirroring movement from troubled mind to spoken grief, is detailed by Ælfric in CH.I.9: “On twa wisan byð se mann onbryrd ærest he him ondræt hellewite & bewepð his synna syððan he nimð eft lufe to gode: þonne onginð he to murcnienne” [In two ways is the man stirred: first he fears hell-torment and weeps for his sins, afterward he again feels love for God. The he begins to murmur]. Peter Clemoes, ed., *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies: The First Series*, EETS s.s. 17 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 252, lines 89-91.

material motion and stimuli. The speaker’s fist strikes his breast (lines 29-30) while the body, figured as a whole, lies prostrate to “invoke deserved pains” (*geearnade sar... gecige*, line 32). This turn to the body, to render the emotional in physiological terms, is not a matter of simple signification. The body is employed as a vehicle to stir further emotion, evident in the use of *sar* as a zeugma.¹²⁴ Physical motion is rendered as provocative rather than punishing; the strikes and genuflection are cast as techniques that function in accord with, and goad, the contrite mind—characterizing the relationship as a type of proleptic cycle. Although the more dramatic actions of the speaker (*slea/beate* and *lecge*) draw our attention, we should not overlook his act of speech. Here *gecigan* (32) is both a confession of his individual sins and an invocation of their pains.¹²⁵ The verb evokes a sense of reflection and introspection in which the pain of the uncovered, internal, wounds of sin is felt more keenly than the beating of a fist.

A second address follows in which the speaker continues his attempt to draw out the tears of contrition. The detail is stunning in the way its emphasis on somatic experience shapes the passage as an entreaty to the bodily source of tears:

Ic bidde eow benum nu ða
 þæt ge ne wandian with for tearum,
 ac dreorige hleor dreccað mid wope
 and sealtum dropum sona ofergeotaþ,
 and geopeniað man ecum drihtne.
 Ne þær owiht inne ne belife
 on heortscræfe heanra gylta,
 þæt hit ne sy dægcuð, þæt þæt dihle wæs,
 openum wordum eall abæred,
 breostes and tungan and flæscas swa some. (lines 33-42)

¹²⁴ B&T note the dual senses of *sar*, providing discrete categories “referring to the body” (pain, soreness) and “of the mind” (grief, sorrow) (816-17).

¹²⁵ Defined as: “To call, name, call upon, invoke, call forth, provoke, incite” (B&T, 380).

[I beg you with prayers in no way to turn aside now from crying but rather afflict the downcast face by weeping, drench it at once with salty droplets, and reveal shameful deeds to the eternal Lord. Let no trace of abject sins survive inside in the recesses of the heart, so that that which was secret be not clear as day, but all things—of the breast and tongue and also the flesh—be laid bare with open words.]

The opening formula, *ic bidde eow* (line 33), echoes the speaker's initial call to his tear-ducts (line 26). Yet as a refrain, this formula lends a tenor to the speaker's address that is more akin to a negotiation than a command. Here tears are agents of purgation. They remain a sign of purification, as evident in the above example,¹²⁶ but also play a role in emitting sin's poison from the confessional body. Writing on the function of tears in twelfth-century doctrine, Carruthers suggests that tears function as more than simple signs.¹²⁷ Tears act as an "agent or instrument rather than a symptom or representation."¹²⁸ Carruthers's observation provides insight to the characterization of tears as active, the purgation of the sins themselves. This characterization of tears as vital agents, and thus the Thing producing, raises a host of concerns; the supplicant is set apart from his body, leaving him not fully in control of the outcome of his own confession.¹²⁹ The speaker's growing alienation from his flesh is reiterated through the reappearance of anatomical enumeration: *breostes and tungan and flæsces*. Allen Frantzen links this type of enumeration in *JDII* to a penitential trope he labels the "anatomical motif" common among

¹²⁶ The poem as a whole exposes a preoccupation with tears. A cursory search of *JDII* reveals some 12 references to tears, crying, or weeping in the first 90 lines.

¹²⁷ Mary Carruthers, "On Affliction and Reading, Weeping and Argument: Chaucer's Lachrymose Troilus in Context," *Representations* 93 (2006): 1-21.

¹²⁸ Carruthers, 9. Keeping with the medical interests of her paper, Carruthers sets 'tears' within an inspired analogy, comparing them to a "successful enema"; which functions as an agent but also produces a "sign." She notes that this "product" would be thoroughly inspected by a priest/confessor to assess its genuineness. While the genuineness of tears was of great concern in the later Middle Ages, Anglo-Saxon writing on contrition and tears does not appear to make this distinction.

¹²⁹ I believe this is implicit in the passage as the phrase appears to equate the purgative nature of tears with the power of "open words" (*openum wordum*) to *abarian* (to manifest, disclose) sin. See B&T, 2.

devotional/confessional prayers.¹³⁰ While Frantzen correctly places this anatomical enumeration within a wider penitential milieu, we might understand this specific triptych of breast, tongue, and flesh as a reflex of a second, discrete, motif: a variant of the “thought, word, deed” triad apparent in the confessional prayers discussed above.¹³¹ Disseminated in Insular literary culture through Irish influence from the seventh century, the triad functions as an analytical tool allowing the supplicant to distinguish between and confess different types of sin during devotional confession.¹³² The triad is deployed at three points during the poem¹³³ but in each instance it appears to deviate in character from its original formula. *JDII* renders the motif in a way that aligns the actions of thought, word, and deed with material parts of the body or uses these organs to stand in for the actions of the trope, for example: “eal þæt seo heorte hearms gepohte/ oððe seo tunge to teonan geclypede / oþþe mannes hand manes gefremede” [all hurt that the heart conceived (thought) or the tongue called out injuriously or every evil on earth that human hands committed] (lines 137-39).¹³⁴ This adaptation is in keeping with the poem’s general interest in the material body but it speaks to a greater significance surrounding the supplicant’s

¹³⁰ Frantzen suggests the motif echoes the first *Capitula* of Theodulf: “what man once remembered, God would forget” (*Literature of Penance*, 186). Frantzen understands this anatomical motif as a figural stand-in for the supplicant’s confession of specific sins. His wording implies that he reads *JDII* as a dramatization of a devotional prayer.

¹³¹ See page 86 above as well as Chapter 1, 25.

¹³² Sims-Williams, 110. Wright confirms Sims-Williams’ claim that the motif was so popular in Anglo-Saxon writing that its Irish associations were forgotten (Wright, 79). Sims-Williams implies that the popularity of this motif was due in part to its sleek, categorical, nature that allowed for a thorough confession without the memorization of more cumbersome formulae.

¹³³ lines 41, 65-77, 137-39.

¹³⁴ Thought is adapted as *breostes*, *geþanc*, *heorte* (lines 41, 65, 137); Word is consistently *tungan* or *tunge* (lines 41, 67, 138); and Deed is *flæsces* and *hand* (lines 41, 77, 139). Lockett presents a convincing argument for a prevailing understanding of the embodied mind/thought in *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies*, 3-53.

desire to “invoke” (*gecigan*) a full confession.¹³⁵ Functioning as a type of partitive genitive at line 42, the adapted triad frames the discrete parts of the body as both owners and avatars of past sin.¹³⁶ Thus, confession becomes reflective and reflexive: the supplicant must reflect on the fragmented matter of his body to invoke a tearful confession, a reflexive response emanating from the body. What results is a fraught negotiation in which the speaker must let the body, an agent composed of numerous agents, speak for itself. This is no small source of anxiety as although sins are located in the body they directly impact the salvation of the supplicant.¹³⁷

The speaker adopts more explicit eschatological rhetoric as he makes a final attempt to effect tears and confession.¹³⁸ But this tactic seems to be met with silence:

Ic acsige þe, la, earme geþanc,
hwi latast þu swa lange, þæt þu ðe læce ne cyþst,
oððe hwi swigast þu, synnigu tunge,
nu þu forgifnesse hæfst gearugne timan?
... þu ana scealt
gyldan scad wordum wið scyppend god
and þam rican frean riht agyldan
...
Hwat ligst þu on horwe leahtrum afylled,
flæsc, mid synnum? Hwi ne feormast þu
mid teara gyte torne synne? (lines 65-79)

[I ask you, then, wretched mind: why do you delay so long and not reveal yourself to the Physician, or why are you now silent, sinful tongue, when you have time available for forgiveness... You alone must render a verbal account to God the Creator and make a

¹³⁵ This notion of embodiment is reinforced in the later statement that confession of sin/wounds to God (the heavenly physician) will both heal and quickly unbind the prisoners (“gehælen... and ræplingas recene onbindan” [lines 43-48]). Forbes notes in her study of the chains of sin motif that physical illness was viewed as a sign of sin and that “the health of the soul is intimately connected with the health of the body” (55).

¹³⁶ The sins of “breast,” of “tongue,” and of “flesh” are each part of larger sum charged to the speaker/body.

¹³⁷ Lines 43-46a state this notion emphatically: “Ðis is an hæl earmre sawle and þam sorgiendum selest hihta, þæt he wunda her wope gecyðe uplicum læce” [This is the only salvation for the miserable soul and the best of hopes for those who sorrow, that he here by weeping makes known his wounds to the heavenly Physician].

¹³⁸ Godden emphasizes the compunctive powers ascribed to the imagery of Doomsday and prospect of eternal suffering (see “An Old English Penitential Motif,” 235-39).

true reckoning to the mighty Lord... Why, flesh, do you lie in filth, filled with vices and sins? Why do you not cleanse distressing sins by pouring out tears?]¹³⁹

Many of the same notions of embodied confession, noted above, re-appear in this passage. I want to draw attention to the novel way in which the Irish triad is applied. It maintains the same formal aspects (replacing thought/word/deed with body parts) but associates distinct aspects of the confessional act with specific body parts.¹⁴⁰ Here the enumerative motif equates confession with physical purgation. The connotive range of the verb *afyllan* (to fill up, be full, replenish, satisfy)¹⁴¹—used adjectivally—and noun *gyte* (a pouring, shedding, inundation, flood)¹⁴² liken confession to a hydraulic process in which equilibrium is restored as confession/tears literally

¹³⁹ The wording of this address to the body has led critics to link it to the Soul-Body dialogue tradition, popular within the Anglo-Saxon literary corpus. Caie reads these appeals to the body as a reflex of the “soul and body tradition in which the perfect soul addresses the sinful body;” his language characterizes his claim instead as an implicit fact (64). He cites Douglas Moffat’s work on the sources and analogues for the soul and body genre in *The Old English Soul and Body* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 1990), 29-36, as evidence for his claim. However, Moffat’s own delineation of the broader “first-person address” form within Old English poetry, a category to which he notes the *Soul and Body* poems and *Judgement Day II* all belong, complicates Caie’s assertion that the soul is inherently the speaker: “It probably cannot be proven that the *Soul and Body* poet possessed some ready made framework over which to stretch the body-and-soul content he already knew. But we can be confident, because of the structure of the shorter extant Old English poems, that he had numerous first person addresses from which to draw for particulars as well as a general understanding of, a feeling for, the address form, all of which would have stood him good stead while trying to expand the material he possessed into a fullfledged poetic address” (Moffat, 37). Caie points to similarities beyond these formal aspects, noting comparable anxious or condemnatory language and the use of eschatological images to spur sorrow, but his assumption that the soul acts as speaker overlooks Moffat’s observation that the use of framing material within the first-person address is distinct to each poem: “The framing material provides a context without which the nature of the address might be obscure” (Moffat, 37). The lines framing *JDII* and *S&B* present drastically different scenes. Of the many dissimilarities, the foremost is that the *ic* in *S&B* is clearly rendered as *sawle* while the *ic* in *JDII* is characterized as a supplicant kneeling in a grove. There are more reasons to doubt the veracity of these comparisons; I would point to the difference concerning time (in that *JDII* is set before the death and interment of the body) which lends a vital potential to the body as Thing (whereas the body in the grave of *S&B* has squandered its opportunities, and thus condemned the soul, the body present during the moment of confession still has time and thus potential). This notion of opportunity and time is linked to the Irish triad in lines 65-79. Pertinent as well is the verb tense associated with the body in *JDII* and the soul and body poems. *JDII* addresses the body in the present tense (Caie, 69).

¹⁴⁰ The mind reveals, the tongue yields an account with words, the flesh obtains tears. The use of the verb *gitan* in association with tears is particularly interesting as the poem contains a profusion of verbs/terms for weeping and crying. *Gitan* carries a sense of work or striving associated with tears, they must be struggled for, see Angus Cameron et al., ed., *Dictionary of Old English: A to H online* (Toronto, 2016), accessed April 12, 2017, <http://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doi/>; hereafter DOE.

¹⁴¹ DOE, s. v. “afyllan.”

¹⁴² DOE, s. v. “gyte.”

pour out of the body. Reminiscent of *Ic andette eall*, the speaker in *JDII* adopts an accusatorial posture, hectoring his flesh to “tearas geotan” (pour out tears) and “dædbote do” (do penance) at once; the repetition of *her* (here) and *nu* (now) evokes the immediacy of the body’s sins in both time and place while foregrounding the fleeting prospect for mercy.¹⁴³ A later scene depicting the terror of the final judgement reinforces the rhetorical impact of the speaker’s admonition to confess *here* and *now*. Brought before the throne all will be “heortleas and earh / amasod and amarod, mihtleas, afæred” [heartless and weak from fear, stupefied and confounded, powerless, afraid] (lines 125-26), too terrified to confess and finding only involuntary revelation of “eal þæt seo *heorte* hearmes *geþohte* / oððe seo *tunge* to teonan *geclypede* / oþþe mannes hand manes gefremede” [all maliciousness that the *heart thought* or the *tongue invoked* to hurt or every evil that human *hands accomplished*] (lines 137-39, my emphasis). This scene derives its rhetorical power from the way in which it situates the thought / word / deed triad within two related judgement motifs: the general understanding that confession and tears will warrant no mercy if withheld until Judgement and that the sinful will be unable to offer a sufficient pledge in response to Christ’s accusations.¹⁴⁴ Counterpoised with the speaker’s admonition to confess, the silence of those during Judgement—their inability to offer a pledge of soul or body—both reinforces the urgency of immediate confession and—as the speaker and Christ are juxtaposed in

¹⁴³ The entire admonition reads: “Nu þu scealt grotan, tearas geotan, / þa hwile tima sy and tid wopes; / nu is halwende þæt man her wepe / and dædbote do drihtne to willan. / Glæd bið se Godes sunu, gif þu gnorn þrowast / and þe sylfum demst for synnum on eorðan” [Now you should cry, pour out tears, while there is time and opportunity for weeping; it is healing here and now for a person to weep and do penance as the Lord wills. The Son of God will be pleased if you endure sorrow and examine/judge yourself for sins while on earth] (lines 82-87).

¹⁴⁴ The motif in which man is too ashamed, too afraid, or simply incapable of speaking before Christ is widespread in Anglo-Saxon verse and prose, as in the *Dream of the Rood*: “Ac hie þonne forhtiað ond fea þencap / hwæt hie to Criste cweðan onginnen” [But they then tremble in fear and will think of what they should begin to say to Christ] (Krapp, ed., *The Vercelli Book*, ASPR, 2 [New York: Columbia University Press, 1932], 64, lines 115-16). Wright observes how the Irish triad relates to the pledge of the soul motif in which man offers his soul (or sometimes body) as *wedd* (“pledge, what is given as security,” B&T, 1180) for the sins of thought, word, and deed; see “The Pledge of the Soul: A Judgment Theme in Old English Homiletic Literature and Cynewulf’s *Elene*,” *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 91 (1990): 23-30.

their accusations—the tears urged from the body themselves become a type of pledge so that the mind, tongue, and flesh genuinely regret their thoughts, words, and deeds. Moreover, the juxtaposition of tongue and flesh adds nuance to the innate correlation of confession, compunction, and tears that pervade Anglo-Saxon penitential doctrine, framing both as a type of somatic overflow in a nuanced image that is the poetic culmination of the excessive body outlined by Alcuin in *DIM*. Confession emerges as the Body reaches a critical mass, the nexus where an overabundance of sin and compunctive stimuli intersect. *JDII* speaks to an innate sense of potential associated with the members of the material body during confession, rendering it as a vital Thing that the supplicant must work with and through to continually affirm a sanitized state in anticipation of Judgement.

The previous analysis demonstrates that the anatomical catalogue proved a salient confessional motif in which scribes might align numerous concerns orbiting the related spheres of eschatological and penitential thought. The durability of this anatomical motif advances from not only its formal resemblance to the ingrained urge within tariffed penance to list sin and recompense but in how it allows its audience to approach such anxieties through their own flesh. As such, we might appreciate the significance of confessional enumeration within the literature of penance as distinct from—albeit related to—the protective enumeration of the *loricae*,¹⁴⁵ a means to address the embodied aspects of confession in a way that reclaims the body’s natural vitality. In what follows I consider the transmission of the anatomical catalogue within late Anglo-Saxon liturgical texts—handbooks for the performance of sacerdotal confession—to explore how this motif provides arbiters of spiritual and social order a way to address the

¹⁴⁵ I give greater detail on “protective enumeration” in Chapter 1.

individual as a member not only of Christ's mystical body—the Church—but as part of the body politic.

Of the thirteen extant manuscript witnesses to confessional prayers incorporating an anatomical catalogue only two date before the tenth century.¹⁴⁶ Moreover, the genre distribution of the majority of these tenth/eleventh-century prayers is quite homogenous. The Latin versions, *DIM* and *Te Adoro*, appear almost solely in psalters and prayerbooks, genres deeply tied to clerical and lay devotional practice.¹⁴⁷ The lone deviation is a copy of *Te Adoro* within a breviary known as *Wulfstan's Portiforium*.¹⁴⁸ This attestation is of great importance as it is direct evidence of the transposition of a devotional prayer into a liturgical document and context by a figure with immense authority within the Anglo-Saxon church.

The vernacular prayer *Ic andette eal* enjoys a manuscript distribution whose trajectory distinguishes the prayer from its analogues. Witnessed in four manuscripts dating to the tenth and eleventh centuries, each gathering exhibits a pointed interest in sacerdotal confession and the performance of penance: a pontifical (Cotton Tiberius C. i), a collection to be used by a bishop or priest for the administration of penance (Cotton Vespasian D. xx¹⁴⁹), a collection focused on the parochial cultivation of penance (Cotton Tiberius Tiberius A. iii), and a commonplace book linked to Wulfstan that is likewise concentrated on penance (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College

¹⁴⁶ *Cerne* nos. 8, 10 (8th century); Vespasian D. xx (10th century). See notes 41-43 above for manuscript distribution.

¹⁴⁷ Black demonstrates in "Psalm Uses in Carolingian Prayerbooks" how *DIM* functions in accord with the recitation of the penitential psalms within the Carolingian church. His work provides a helpful frame for considering the affinities between psalters and prayerbooks in an Anglo-Saxon context.

¹⁴⁸ See note 42 above.

¹⁴⁹ Sarah Hamilton provides a helpful description of the manuscript's content and function in "Remedies for 'Great Transgressions,'" 91-92.

201); *Id andette eal* appears as part of the *Handbook* in the final two manuscripts.¹⁵⁰ While the psalter and prayerbook were used by the ecclesiastical class or educated elite laity who would be proficient in Latin and likely have some familiarity with rituals private devotion, the pontificals suggest an instructive space in which an official of the Church would be directing the ritual orally,¹⁵¹ a conclusion suggested by the extensive apparatus provided for the priest within the *Handbook*.¹⁵² I suggest this newfound, albeit tacit, credence derives from the salience of the motif of the enumerated confessional body within official ritual. For instance, Vespasian D. xx places the anatomical motif firmly within the cycle of public penance.¹⁵³ As the confession would be recited before the Christian's entry into penance and expulsion from the body of believers, the image of fragmentation emerging from the enumerative catalogue would be particularly resonant.¹⁵⁴ Here I should draw attention to the two manuscripts containing the *Handbook* as they offer helpful examples of the anatomical prayer within a broader pastoral effort to deliver sacerdotal, or supervised confession. Cambridge, Corpus Christ College 201 has long been counted among the commonplace books of Archbishop Wulfstan¹⁵⁵ but his direct

¹⁵⁰ See note 43 above.

¹⁵¹ Hamilton, "Remedies for 'Great Transgressions,'" 87-89.

¹⁵² Fowler, 16-17.

¹⁵³ Hamilton demonstrates similarities between documents in Vespasian D. xx and more clearly defined pontifical service to convincingly argue that codex is evidence for the performance of public communal penance in late Anglo-Saxon England. She bases her claim on rites such as the expulsion of sinners on Ash Wednesday and their reconciliation on Maundy Thursday to reason the codex "was intended primarily as a liturgical text for the administration of penance, probably by a bishop given the reference to the absolution of both penitents and excommunicants" (92).

¹⁵⁴ For a more thorough consideration of evidence for public penance in Anglo-Saxon England see 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 (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 2005), 63-105.

¹⁵⁵ Mary Bateson was the first to define the form in "A Worcester Cathedral Book of Ecclesiastical Collections, Made c. 1000 A. D.," *English Historical Review* 10 (1895): 712-31. See also Dorothy Bethurum, "Archbishop Wulfstan's Commonplace Book," *PMLA* 57 (1942): 916-29; Dorothy Whitelock, "Wulfstan, Homilist and Statesman," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 22 (1942): 25-45; Roger Fowler, "Archbishop

association with the codex has only recently become clear.¹⁵⁶ Commonplace books distinguish themselves primarily through their utility as convenient multi-tools for pastoral administration. But Renée R. Trilling observes a political dimension to these guides, locating them within Wulfstan's dual aim to expand ecclesiastical and juridical influence of the archbishop and advance the "larger project of the revitalization of Christian Society."¹⁵⁷ This project spurred an innovative drive to develop new administrative and textual forms to disseminate knowledge of penitential practice.¹⁵⁸ Tracey-Anne Cooper relates the *Handbook* of Tiberius A. iii to new compilation techniques wherein collectors would draw from a common pool of extracts to create a text that best met the specific needs and concerns within their pastoral context.¹⁵⁹ Indeed

Wulfstan's Commonplace Book' and the Canons of Edgar," *Medium Ævum* 32 (1963): 1–10; Patrick Wormald, "Archbishop Wulfstan: Eleventh-Century State Builder," in *Wulfstan: Archbishop of York*, ed. Matthew Townend (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 10. Hans Sauer considers the use of commonplace book techniques within Wulfstan's own compositions in "The Transmission and Structure of Archbishop Wulfstan's Commonplace Book," in *Old English Prose: Basic Readings*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (New York: Garland, 2000), 339-93.

¹⁵⁶ First speculated by Fowler (*Handbook*, 6-12). Forty years of research in various areas of Wulfstaniana have validated Fowler's claim. In a helpful summary of these findings Melanie Heyworth concludes that the *Handbook* is "undeniably associated with Wulfstan and it should be considered more than simply a text accessible to him, or compiled under his direction," in "The 'Late Old English Handbook for the Use of a Confessor': Authorship and Connections," *Notes and Queries* 54 (2007): 218-22. The MSS that Heyworth concludes relate to the commonplace book tradition, whose compilation is attributed to Wulfstan, or whose provenance is within his bishopric are: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 8558; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 201; Cambridge Corpus Christi College, 265; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 482. Tiberius A.iii remains an outlier; see Cooper, "Lay Piety, Confessional Directives and the Compiler's Method in Late Anglo-Saxon England," *The Haskins Society Journal* 16 (2005): 47-61.

¹⁵⁷ Trilling, "Sovereignty and Social Order: Archbishop Wulfstan and the *Institutes of Polity*," in *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. John S. Ott and Anna Trumbore Jones (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 64. Trilling's analysis develops from an observation of the frequency of Wulfstan's *Institutes of Polity* among many of these commonplace books, including CCCC 201. See also, Patrick Wormald, "Archbishop Wulfstan and the Holiness of Society," in *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West: Law as Text, Image and Experience* (London, 1999), 225-51. For a consideration of bishops in this movement to develop penitential practice, see Catherine Cubitt, "Bishops, Priests and Penance in Late Saxon England," *Early Medieval Europe* 14 (2006): 41-63.

¹⁵⁸ Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, 173-74: "The eleventh century reformers attacked the problems of penitential discipline from many directions. It appears that they were headed toward the creation of some new forms." Such a premise likewise underwrites Cooper's codicological analysis in "Lay Piety."

¹⁵⁹ Cooper eschews the typical methodology that analyzes texts as discrete and isolated and approaches each text from both its manuscript context and within the broader tradition of compilation. This delineation of a more fluid notion of form validates Frantzen's speculation regarding the emergence of types of penitential manuals

the materials gathered in CCCC 201 and Tiberius A. iii indicate a broad ecclesiastical milieu stressing the pastoral cultivation of penitential practice, indicating a deeply felt need not only to revitalize but sanitize Christian society. The impulse to depict political resolutions in moral terms is apparent in Wulfstan’s most famous exhortation to penance, *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*.¹⁶⁰ Collected alongside the *Handbook* in CCCC 201,¹⁶¹ *Sermo Lupi* structures a call to atonement through tropes common within the literature of penance; the wounds of sin—evoked through a striking variety of synonyms meaning “injury” set in parallel with *synna*¹⁶²—from thought, word, and deed¹⁶³ demand *bote* [penance, remedy, repayment] to God.¹⁶⁴ Wulfstan’s language of injury elides the bounds separating personal and public, incorporating sinful individuals as members to figure the wounded body of the nation as a whole.¹⁶⁵ This rhetorical convergence likewise aligns divine judgement with social, political, and ecological upheaval¹⁶⁶ in a manner that echoes the

during the eleventh century but also significantly undermines his dismissal of the anatomical catalogue. Cooper’s study also destabilizes Fowler’s argument for the existence of a complete now-lost prototype for the *Handbook* (Fowler, 4-6), arguing instead that the six variations then do not “indicate scribal corruption of a set text or lost leaves, but the deliberate adaptation of a body of known texts to fit specific requirements” (53).

¹⁶⁰ Bethurum, ed., *The Homilies of Wulfstan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 267-75.

¹⁶¹ Helmut Gneuss and Michael Lapidge, eds., *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), no. 65.5.

¹⁶² Such as *byrsta*, *bysmara*, and *bryce* (Defect/injury, reproach, violation/breach) (lines 18, 24).

¹⁶³ “And utan word 7 weorc rihtlice fadian 7 ure ingeþanc clænsian georne” [let us rightly direct our words and deeds and carefully cleanse our thoughts] (lines 195-96). I should also note that Wulfstan frames this recuperation of thought, word, and deed in terms of keeping a *wed* (pledge), which may be an indirect reference to the soul’s pledge motif. On this motif see note 144 above.

¹⁶⁴ Frantzen makes this observation in *Literature of Penance*, 176-78.

¹⁶⁵ Alice Cowen expands this observation to encompass the imagery of shame and judgement at work in the homily; see “*Byrstas* and *bysmeras*: The Wounds of Sin in the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*,” in *Wulfstan: Archbishop of York*, ed. Matthew Townend (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 397-411. Cowen emphasizes the embodied roots of the metaphor. This image of the wounded national body is reminiscent of the trope of Christians as the limbs of Christ conventional to the homilies of Wulfstan and Ælfric (see the entry for “the Body” in Robert DiNapoli, *An Index of Theme and Image to the Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church* [Norfolk: Anglo-Saxon Books, 2003], 16).

¹⁶⁶ “Forþam hit is on us eallum swutol 7 gesene þæt we ær þysan oftor bræcan þonne we bettan, 7 þy is þyssa þeode fela onsæge. Ne dohte hit nu lange inne ne ute, as wæs here 7 hunger... And us stalu 7 cwalu, stric 7

admonition to *justitia* at the heart of the Carolingian mirror for princes¹⁶⁷ and similarly presents penitential cleansing as the sole remedy.¹⁶⁸ The enumerated confessional body takes on new dimensions when read against such a broadened notion of social assemblage; individual bodies become vehicles for personal expiation and national coherence. It is from this perspective that I wish to reappraise not only the *Handbook's* enumerative catalogue but the ordinal apparatus surrounding the *Handbook's* anatomical catalogue to explore what reappraising confession from the perspective of the enumerated body reveals about the process in late Anglo-Saxon culture.

The product of a redoubled vigor in acquiring and compiling penitential manuals which arose from an expanded access to continental centers during the flowering of the tenth-century English Benedictine Reform,¹⁶⁹ the *Handbook* provides a critical vantage from which to consider how late Anglo-Saxon churchmen conceived of their place within the broader Insular penitential milieu by means of their approach to the penitential manual as a form.¹⁷⁰ Interestingly the

steorfa, orfwealm 7 uncoþu, hol 7 hete 7 rypera reaflac derede swyþe þearle; 7 us ungylda swyþe gedrehtan, 7 us unwedera for oft weoldan unwæstma” [For it is clear and visible in us all that until now we have more often transgressed than made remedy, and therefore many things have fallen upon this nation. For a long while, nothing has prospered at home or abroad and there has been plunder and famine... and stealing and slaughter, plague and pestilence, murrain and disease, slander and hatred, and the thievery of robbers has greatly harmed us. And excessive taxes have greatly afflicted us, and bad weather has often caused crop failures] (lines 53-59).

¹⁶⁷ See note 57 above.

¹⁶⁸ “And smeage huru georne gehwa hine sylfne 7 þæs na ne latige ealles to lange” [And let each person studiously examine himself, and not delay it all too long] (lines 172-73). B&T note that *smeagan* is used as the gloss for *scrutor* (887).

¹⁶⁹ Frantzen relates the production of vernacular Anglo-Saxon Penitentials to a “revival” of penitential practice, *Literature of Penance*, 122-32. Although he does not dispute the import of the increased commerce during the reform movement, Frantzen observes evidence of this renewed interest in penance and penitentials during the reign of Alfred the Great; for a helpful orientation to England and the continent during the Reform see Catherine Cubitt, “The Tenth-century Benedictine Reform in England,” *Early Medieval Europe* 6 (1997): 77-94. Mechthild Gretsch provides more focused remarks on the debt owed to continental centers in *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). For a concise history of the English Benedictine Reform see Joyce Hill, “The Benedictine Reform and Beyond,” in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine Treharne (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 151-69.

¹⁷⁰ Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, 133. A comparison of the *Handbook* to its Irish, Frankish, and Anglo-Saxon source materials reveals a number of significant formal modifications unfolding from the manual’s composite nature (see, Fowler, *Handbook*, 4-6, 12-15; Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, 139- 141). For example, the

instructional apparatus directing the priest during administration of confession, penance, and reception of the penitent occupies a greater amount of space relative to the other sections of the work. Such passages include the long vernacular prayer—containing the anatomical catalogue—set after the Latin *ordo* and meant to be recited by the priest and repeated by the confessant.¹⁷¹ Some skepticism has been expressed with regard to how such a formulaic prayer would be germane to a process understood to rely on earnest improvisation, but recent work from Stephanie Clark demonstrates how sacred and standard formulas play a central role in constructing individual Anglo-Saxon identity.¹⁷² Moreover an analogue for set formulas in a confessional context is found in a genre of later medieval literature known as the Form of Confession provides a helpful point of comparison.¹⁷³ These texts serve as aids for the recitation of sins during auricular confession allowing the supplicant to find “a voice that was to become their own,” a “mirror for self-examination.”¹⁷⁴ Whether read or heard and repeated, the formulaic

Handbook's tariff section presents a conventional catalogue of sins, but this catalogue exhibits a much-narrowed scope (Fowler, *Handbook*, IV:20-26). The emphasis of the catalogue falls upon sins associated with the laity – dwelling on murder, various modes of fornication, and superstitious acts—while completely omitting penalties due for faults committed by those in higher orders of the church.

¹⁷¹ The prayer is composed of initial directions to guide the penitent during his approach to the priest and recitation of the articles of faith (lines 25-34), a disclosure of general wrongs through thought and deed, both natural and unnatural (lines 35-47), the anatomical catalogue (lines 48-55), confession for breaking the baptismal oath (lines 55-61), a petition for protection from the devil's accusations at judgment day through the intercession of the priest (lines 62-81). The anatomical catalogue is faithful to the older iterations found in the prayer *Ic andette eal*, see footnotes 10 and 111 above.

¹⁷² Despite a growing chorus to the contrary, Frantzen is the most vocal doubter: “It is difficult to connect the confessional prayers to confession and private penance as governed by the handbooks, but easy to see them in another context, that of devotional confession” (*Literature of Penance*, 87). For her pivotal study on the importance of formulas, see Clark, “Theorizing Prayer in Anglo-Saxon England: Bede and Ælfric” (PhD diss.: The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2011). A helpful portion of Clark's Introduction is dedicated to a demonstration of how studies of Anglo-Saxon prayer unintentionally reinforce the modern bias that both privileges and links creativity and individuality at pages 6-14.

¹⁷³ Michael E. Cornett, “The Form of Confession: A Later Medieval Genre for Examining Conscience,” (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2011). Cornett provides a helpful introduction to the scholarship, explaining why the genre has thus far been overlooked (7-10).

¹⁷⁴ Cornett, 5.

Form of Confession provides a vocabulary and scheme for the penitent to adapt, to search out and articulate his own personal sins to the priest. In this way, the Form of Confession is instructional, intended as an exemplar to be expanded and personalized to fit the supplicant's needs.¹⁷⁵

This instructional material of the *Handbook* foregrounds notions of confession left largely implicit in the earlier devotional prayers and *JDII*, discussed above. Confession is explicitly described as a process emerging from a fractured, recalcitrant body; purgation is the breaking point—the eruption of excess—effected from somatic stimuli. This reflexive notion of confession coincides with the *Handbook's* characterization of the act as an emetic drink. Considered against this notion of confession as a purgative response, the role of the *Handbook's* enumerative catalogue becomes clearer. The anatomical motif embedded within the formalized prayer is descriptive and instructive:

Ðurh gode lare man sceal ærest hi lacnian, and mid þam gedon þæt man aspiwe þæt attor þæt him oninnan bið: þæt is þæt he geclænsige hine silfne ærost þurh andetnesse. Eal man sceal aspiwan sinna þurh gode lare mid andetnesse ealswa man unlibban deð ðurh godne drenc. Ne mæg æni læce wel lacnian ær ðæt attor ute sy, ne æni man eac dædbote wel tæcan þam ðe andettan nele. (Handbook, lines 322-27)

[One must first heal them through good teaching and with it do so that he vomits the poison that is within him, that is, that he should cleanse himself first through confession. All men must vomit sins through good teaching with confession just as a man vomits poison through a good drink. No physician can cure well before that poison is cast out, nor can any man likewise prescribe penance well to him who does not desire to confess.]

¹⁷⁵ Indeed, the topos of the enumerated body enjoyed a lengthy tenure as a confessional tool. Analyzing a rare fourteenth-century motif of anatomized confession, Cornett asserts the enumerative catalogues found in early Insular confessional prayers are the direct progenitors of the formalized late medieval Form of Confession (189-91). Cornett also provides a very helpful catalogue of the early confessional prayers in his appendix and index.

Confession as an instructive process has been well documented and this passage points to the multivalence of the priest.¹⁷⁶ Presented as both teacher and physician the priest inhabits a role of both *scrutator* and healer but in a manner that compresses what modern readers would expect as a steep power dynamic into symbiosis; the healer cannot heal without the cooperation of the patient. As an exchange between physician and patient, confession is a sounding expedition rendered as emetic drink, a purgative process in which conscious action and reflexive impulse converge. The verb *nyllan*, here as “nele” (to be unwilling, refuse, prevent),¹⁷⁷ speaks to a troubling recalcitrance and uncertainty within the process whose efficacy is apparent only through the product of an involuntary physiological response. As the priest instructs the supplicant in the formalized prayer, the enumerative catalogue echoes these medical metaphors. Yet, the actual presence of the supplicant’s Body filters this metaphorical examination of conscience through a material lens. The enumerative structure of the *Handbook*’s confessional prayer functions not only as a mnemonic, making the supplicant aware of his body’s presence, but also as a heuristic device through which he might uncover the wounds of sin, in the presence of the priest and on his own. The Thingness of the body provides a more nuanced image of the self as it highlights the embodied mechanisms the penitent must access and stir to purify himself. This perspective might act in concert with contemporary studies of emotion, a prelude illuminating the intersection of the affective and material.

As an emetic drink, confession places weight on the individual, his body, and the priest who must properly administer the expectorant. Recalling the act of invoking/naming one’s sin

¹⁷⁶ Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, 6-7.

¹⁷⁷ DOE, s. v. “nyllan.”

found in *JDII*,¹⁷⁸ the onus falls on the ability of the partnership of penitent and priest to recognize and accurately recall misdeeds. Yet the efficacy of this procedure is not guaranteed:

Gif he ne cunne his dæda andettan and his giltas asmeagan, acsa hine his wisena and atred him þa giltas ut and asec his dæda. (Handbook, lines 89-91)

[If he is unable to confess his deeds and unable to recognize his sins, ask him his condition and wrest the offences out from him.]

The passage gestures to an adversarial undercurrent that recalls the refusal of *nyllan*. Confession is an exploratory dialogue in which the penitent, aided by the confessor, must work to formulate an effective remedy to instigate the body's purgation. The use of *asmeagan* affirms this concern. Meaning "to meditate on, judge, elicit," *asmeagan* exposes an innate association between reflection and purgation during the confessional moment.¹⁷⁹ Considered within the conceptual framework of the enumerative anatomical catalogue, this recognition and drawing out of sin is rooted in reflection on the body. I should also note the conspicuous use of the verb *atredan*: "to twist out, extort, wrest from."¹⁸⁰ *Atredan* implies a physical struggle, in the sense that confession and affect must be animated or stirred. There is reason to assume that this "struggle" applies to the embodied experience of both parties involved. The priest must coax the penitent while the penitent must overcome his own hesitancy to confess. But as is evident in *JDII* and the broader context of Anglo-Saxon penitential theology, confession—as an embodied reaction—is tied intimately to compunction.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ Conveyed in the use of *gecigan*. See page 114 above.

¹⁷⁹ DOE, s. v. "asmeagan."

¹⁸⁰ DOE, s. v. "atredan."

¹⁸¹ McEntire, 46-47.

IV. Conclusions

We are left to question this link between embodied reflection and incipient change. How does this reflection on and negotiation with the body function as a means to incite affect, healing contrition, within the individual? I suggest we consider reflection in terms of physical performance. Karen Wagner notes how *ordines* from ninth-century Carolingian penitentials as well as an earlier penitential ascribed to Bede characterize the priest's role in eliciting confession as a physical exercise.¹⁸² The priest is instructed to prostrate himself before the penitent and pray with groans and tears. Wagner describes this performance as "a physical example of contrition and thus an invocation to the penitent's own sorrow."¹⁸³ The confessor's body functions both as guide and goad; his gestures, observed and duplicated by the penitent, are meant to trigger a mimetic response in the observer. This performative aspect of confession highlights the importance ascribed to the material body, through physical action, in stirring compunction as it relates also to the underlying Christian objective of bringing the fragmented body and individual will into accord. As the penitent repeats the prayer of the confessor he engages his body in explicit objective motion, feeling the words on his lips and in his ears. Recalling the medical practice of probing, the penitent engenders an inward motion as this penetrative dialogue seeks out the wounds of sin inscribed in his body. Within the rhetorical frame of the anatomical catalogue, these sins are not part of a static past. Rather, tied to his various limbs and dimensions, sins are vivified and felt through the immediate presence of his

¹⁸² Karen Wagner, "*Cum aliquis venerit ad sacerdotem*: Penitential Experience in the Central Middle Ages," in Firey, *A New History of Penance*, 208-10.

¹⁸³ Wagner, 212.

flesh. The anatomical catalogue presents the penitent with a rubric through which he might map out and reform his fractured body and in doing so incite a full purgation of sin.

This process links purgation to the performance of meditation and memory, recalling both the notion of invoking *compunctio* by naming sin (*gecigan*) in *JDII* and cognition/extraction (*asmeagan/atredan*) of sin in the *Handbook*.¹⁸⁴ In each text the catalyst for purgation is characterized as an influx of intensities or a somatized struggle, figuring the memorial act as an embodied process. Thus, we might conceive of the meditative reading of the body—carried out by the supplicant during the confessional act—implicit to the *Handbook*'s enumerative catalogue as a token of the body's role in stirring compunction. As the penitent directs his focus to the body, and in effect within himself, the confessional process becomes reflexive in two senses. First is the explicit reflection upon the body, in which the penitent is estranged from his or her own flesh. Second, however, is the notion that this awareness might effect an unconscious purgation. As the penitent reflects on his wounded state, the apparent Thingness of his body, he recognizes and names the sins inscribed in his flesh. But *Handbook* portrays a situation in which language [the naming of sins] is not sufficient or complete. The stings of sorrow, the pains invoked through the memory of sin, are felt more acutely and will ideally stir the pricks of compunction assuring a more effusive and full confession. This recalls the characterization of confession as an emetic drink. I would suggest that the enigmatic way in which the anatomical catalogue concludes points to this notion of the emetic, reflexive nature of confession. The confession itself ends with no sins. Rather it is a general catalogue of parts constituting the inner/outer, hard/soft, wet/dry parts of the body. This situates the penitent in an awkward position. He is given no sins to articulate. Rather the onus appears to be on the affective potential

¹⁸⁴ See pages 109-118 above for *JDII*.

of the body as Thing. Here the body occupies a dual role as object and agent. It is simultaneously the item being studied and the subject that might articulate what the Individual cannot name. The exploratory dialectic involving the priest and penitent, then, is transposed onto the penitent as he maps out the remote terrain of his body. We might conceive of the relationship between these agents as a type of closed system: a proleptic cycle, or feedback loop, in which the Individual must work through and with the body to affect the desired reaction. The self, then, takes shape from the contours of this continual negotiation. It is the enduring subject of fracture and reformation.

Such a notion of cleansed selfhood—pictured in the *Handbook*'s form of confession along with the devotional confessional prayers and *JDII*—is one both performed and felt but this feeling of reconciliation resonates beyond the limits of the individual Confessant-body relationship. More recently Brown elaborates his concept of the Thing beyond the enlivened object to explore Thingness *as* this re-calibrated subject/object relationship.¹⁸⁵ Writing on the Homeric ekphrasis of Achilles' shield, Brown observes: "given how etymologies of Thing (*chose, ding, causa, res*) retrieve the notion of a gathering or an assembly: the shield is a Thing insofar as it gathers singers, and soldiers, earth and sky."¹⁸⁶ A sense of gathering is likewise apparent in the descriptions of confession analyzed above, in both the rhetorical scheme applied to enliven the material body—the anatomical catalogue—and the way the vitality of this assemblage allows the supplicant to envision their re-incorporation into Christ's mystical body, for example as a "member" of the church and the hope to join the body of those saved during

¹⁸⁵ Bill Brown, *Other Things* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016). Brown's new perspective emerges from a desire to reincorporate the Subject: "getting over the subject does not mean getting rid of it" (292).

¹⁸⁶ Brown, 6.

Doomsday.¹⁸⁷ The *Handbook* highlights a similar notion of attraction but as the verbs *atredan* and *asmeagan* apply to the priest (lines 89-91), it is the Confessant-body Thing that functions as the locus of attraction. An interesting expansion appears toward the end of the formal confession:

Swa ic todæg ealle andette min scylda toforan Drihtene, hælendum Criste, se wealdeð heofonas and eorðan, and beforan þissum halgan weofode and þisum reliquium, and beforan minum scrifte and Drihtenes mæsspreoste... Nu ic bidde þe eadmodlice, Drihtenes sacerd, þæt þu sy me to gewitnesse on domes dæge, þæt þe deofol ne mage on me anweald agan, and þæt þu to Drihtene beo min þingere þæt ic mote myne sinna and mine giltas gebetan, and oðfres swilces geswican. (lines 64-80)

[So today I confess all my sins before the Lord, Holy Christ, who wields/controls heaven and earth, and before this holy altar, and before this reliquary, and before my confessor, and the Lord's priest... Now I humbly bid you, Lord's priest, that you be a witness to me on Doomsday so that the Devil may not hold/posses authority over me, and that you be my intercessor to the Lord so that I might remedy my sins and abandon other such things.]

The repetition of *toforan* and *beforan* situates the confessional body among other agents with the vibrancy of the confessional moment resonating through each, drawing them together. Yet this resonance abides. As the passage takes a conventional eschatological turn we find the priest bound to the confessional body as *gewitnesse* and *þingere* to undercut the Devil's claims and act as ligature tying the confessant to God. Insofar as multiple vibrant bodies align, Confession is the relationship, the Thing, in which these contours congeal. As we have seen with the anatomical catalogue in confessional prayer, the Assembled Body affords Anglo-Saxon writers a means to envision their place within the communal body of Christ by recuperating the natural vitality of the flesh. But as touched on in Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi* the trope likewise functions as a way to approach concerns with the effect of the individual body—or rather a discrete limb—on this communal body. The following two chapters explore how Byrhtferth and Ælfric of Eynsham

¹⁸⁷ See my analysis of *DIM* and *JDII* above at pages 85-95.

employ the Assembled Body trope to address such anxieties by demonstrating how discrete limbs may affirm corporate harmony.

CHAPTER 3

RULING THE WORLD: THE ASSEMBLED BODY AS MICROCOSM IN BENEDICTINE TEXT AND DIAGRAM

Omnia mensura et numero et pondere disposuisti.

[You have ordered all things in measure, and number, and weight].

The Book of Wisdom 11:21

Calculatores non habent nisi quod dividant.

[Those who reckon time do not consider anything they cannot divide].

Bede, *De temporum ratione*

In a postscript under the rubric *Ammonitio Amici* that accompanies his eleventh century *Enchiridion*,¹ the Benedictine monk Byrhtferth of Ramsey exhorts his readers to turn their thoughts to the practical application of the moral-scientific concepts with which he has

Portions of this chapter were presented as a conference paper at the 2015 International Congress on Medieval Studies at Western Michigan University.

¹ Peter S. Baker and Michael Lapidge, ed., *Byrhtferth's Enchiridion*, EETS s.s. 15 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 242-50 for postscript. Hereafter *Ammonitio*. The *Enchiridion* exists nearly whole in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 328 (see Neil R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), no. 288; hereafter Ker, *Catalogue*) and in short excerpts in Cambridge, University Library, Kk. 5. 32, fols. 49-60 (Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 26) and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 421 (Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 69). The *Ammonitio* is attested in Ashmole 328 and CCC 421. Karl Jost expresses doubts that the *Ammonitio* belongs with the remainder of the *Enchiridion* based on its shift to a hortatory tone and that a compiler—presumably based on this tonal quality—included the exhortation in CCC 421, a collection of homilies from Wulfstan in *Wulfstanstudien*, Schweizer Anglistische Arbeiten 23 (Bern: A. Francke, 1950), 246-50. However Baker and Lapidge caution that this apparent break in tone should not be read as a sign of incongruity but rather as a shift in objective. They convincingly demonstrate how thematic elements of the *Ammonitio* relate to specific numerological points expounded in the *Enchiridion* (369). Hereafter to distinguish between sections from the body of the *Enchiridion* and lines from the *Ammonitio* in Baker and Lapidge's edition, I cite the name of the text rather than editors.

previously dealt, such as the four cardinal virtues and three theological virtues.² One discerns a remarkable effort to emphasize the discrete members of the material body embedded within this exhortation; the reader is urged to “geclænsa þe” (cleanse yourself) as he prays to “ahwyrf mine eagan þæt hig idelnysse ne gymon and mine earan awend fram fulre spræce” (turn my eyes so that they do not perceive idleness and ears from impure speech), “awend þine nosu fram unalyfedum stencum” (turn your nose from illicit smells), “geheald þine tungan fram awyrgednyssum” (hold your tongue from cursing), and “gescylde þine handa fram blodgyte... þine fet gescylde wið unþeawas” (shield your hands from bloodshed... shield your feet from vice).³ Byrhtferth’s interest in the body *qua* “body” is not extraordinary to Anglo-Saxon devotional writing or Benedictine pedagogical texts but his application of the assembled body trope stands out.⁴ In line with my two previous chapters, which explore protective and

² Byrhtferth presents the four cardinal virtues [*iustitia, temperantia, fortitudine, prudentia*] as “ealra þinga behest” [most necessary of all things] for men to protect against the Devil’s machinations in *Ammonitio*, lines 26-35. Elsewhere he links the four cardinal virtues and three theological virtues [*fidei, spei, caritas*] through numerological consonance to aspects of the natural world and man’s physiological condition at *Enchiridion*, 198. As a field, numerology endeavors to articulate aspects of cosmic harmony through numerical congruence. Numerology and computus are distinct fields but each is often applied to clarify or demonstrate concepts in the other. For a concise introduction to Byrhtferth’s place in medieval numerology, see *Enchiridion*, lxi-lxxiv. I provide a more thorough discussion on the significance of numerology within the medieval world-view along with a more focused discussion of computus below at pages 152-153 and footnote 9.

³ *Ammonitio*, lines 2-21. All translations are mine unless noted. I print the entire passage below with analysis at pages 185-90.

⁴ What scholars label the Benedictine reform in Anglo-Saxon England was a movement acutely interested in the regulation of bodily habit, with luminaries in the first and second wave who adapted Benedict’s original regula to more accurately address the idiosyncrasies of English monastic life. These regula are attributed to Æthelwold and Ælfric in Thomas Symons, ed., *The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation* (New York: Thomas Nelson, 1953); Christopher A. Jones, ed., *Ælfric’s Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, CSASE 24 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). For the most part the body is tacit in these regula, referenced implicitly through prescribed action. The fact that the body is generally taken for granted as an object/vehicle to enact right action is what makes the specific embodied language of Byrhtferth’s *Ammonitio* so striking. For a helpful but dated history of the English reform movement, see David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: From the Times of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council 940-1216*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976). Knowles posits the reform begun by Æthelwold, Dunstan, and Oswald developed an intimate, idiosyncratic, relationship with national life infusing Anglo-Saxon monasticism; he cites the King as *ex officio* and the predominance of monks (as bishops) in the *witan* (the highest advisory and legislative body in spiritual and temporal affairs). More recent scholarship has reconsidered both the teleology and homogeneity of Knowles’s view such as Catherine Cubitt in “The Tenth-Century Benedictine Reform in England,” *Early Medieval*

confessional prayers, the present chapter endeavors to contribute to a burgeoning critical interest in how notions of materiality and embodiment can deepen our understanding of Anglo-Saxon spiritual habit and conceptions of Christian selfhood.⁵ Indeed as the *Ammonitio* exhorts readers to guide their bodily limbs away from various sins, the postscript likewise invites its audience to reflect on the physical dimension of the virtues by framing moral concepts as physical performance.⁶ The postscript's image of the assembled body—coming into focus through its brief anatomical enumeration—lends nuance to generic conceptions of the body, characterizing it as an incorporation of members that finds order through adherence to *Godes wege* [God's way].⁷ Byrhtferth's inclination to disarticulate the body as a collection of constituent limbs is uncommon to other reformed pedagogical writings and regula, which typically take for granted the wholeness of the monastic body. Rather his focus on the constituent elements that compose the human body finds a remarkable correlative in the formal and methodological recourse to

Europe 6 (1997): 77-94; Joyce Hill, "The Benedictine Reform and Beyond," in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine Treharne (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 151-69; Christopher A. Jones, "Ælfric and the Limits of the Benedictine Reform," in *A Companion to Ælfric*, ed. Hugh Magennis and Mary Swan (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 67-109. A more specific delineation of Athelwold's literary and lexical output—as a means to interrogate the cultural and intellectual groundwork for the initial stages of English reform—is presented by Mechthild Gretsch in *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform*, CSASE 25 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). I define the assembled body as a *visio* of the body that accompanies the common rhetorical trope of the anatomical catalog, one wherein the assembled list of limbs speak to a deeply embedded, embodied metaphor recognizing the fundamental vitality of the incorporated members and their disposition to fragmentation but equally to reformation. I present this definition in greater detail in my Introduction, 11-13.

⁵ Pioneering work on "the hydraulic model of the mind" from Leslie Lockett employs aspects of cognitive linguistics to demonstrate how Old English prose and verse depict the human mind as a corporeal entity in *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies in the Vernacular and Latin Tradition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011). Antonina Harbus similarly engages conceptual metaphor to trace the embodied dimension of Anglo-Saxon textual imagery in *Cognitive Approaches to Old English Poetry* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2012). Regarding devotional practice, Kate Thomas has reassessed *ordines* accompanying private prayers in English manuscripts to emphasize the bodily experience of prayer in late Anglo-Saxon England in "The Meaning, Practice and Context of Private Prayer in Late Anglo-Saxon England," (PhD diss., University of York, 2011). That Thomas's focus on the awareness of the physical presence of the body during what has traditionally been understood as spiritual activity is groundbreaking speaks to the relative paucity of scholarship on embodiment in late English devotional practice.

⁶ See note 4 above.

⁷ *Ammonitio*, 19.

subdivision that informs lines of cosmology, numerology, and computistical theory that interweave in late Anglo-Saxon scientific discourse.⁸ Drawing on long accepted principles of natural philosophy, the *Enchiridion* sees the assembled body as a microcosm of creation, composed of the same four vital elements and subject to the same flux evident in the natural world.⁹ Here I explore how this vision of the elemental body – signified by the generic, divisible figure of the protoplast ADAM – allows for a reappraisal of Byrhtferth’s approach to the physical bodies of his monastic brothers. I set the *Ammonitio*’s rhetorical enumeration of anatomical parts in conversation with the analogous scientific practice of numerical subdivision animating late Anglo-Saxon methodologies for ordering the cosmic and terrestrial realms. I show how such an understanding of the assembled body as a fluid accumulation would be easily integrated into the conceptual and practical scheme of division, regulation, and re-ordering that underwrites Benedictine habit. My analysis will make use of aspects of the Assemblage theory as a lexicon to articulate Byrhtferth’s conception of the assembled body not as a static totality but as

⁸ As these fields are esoteric even to many Anglo-Saxonists, I should provide brief definitions. Cosmology, numerology, and computus are intimately linked in medieval scientific writing. As the study of the universe, cosmology was a broad field that required skill in astronomy—to identify and locate celestial bodies, including the constellations composing the zodiac—and mathematics to measure and chart the movements of these celestial bodies. Numerology (called “arithmology” by Baker and Lapidge) is a field of calculation that not only seeks to uncover the mathematic proportions which underlie the structure of the universe—as well as its motions—but also to ascribe meaning to these numbers. Founded on the Pythagorean equation of material things with numbers, numerology laid bare the substructure of universal order and was quickly adopted by Christian authors such as St. Augustine as a tool for interpreting numerical significance in the Bible; for an introduction to the origin and use of numerology in the medieval west see Baker and Lapidge, lxi-lxxiv. Computus is a specialized field of arithmetic calculation wholly concerned with setting the events of the liturgical calendar. Referring to both the practice of time-reckoning and the body of texts in which these calendars and formulae are collected, computus was primarily concerned with calculating the proper date for moveable feasts within the liturgical year as the feasts were determined by the phases of the moon, the most important of these being Easter. The Easter controversy wherein Bede broke from the Irish calendar is a testament to the gravity of such calculation. For useful introductions see Stephanie Hollis, “Scientific and Medical Writing,” in Pulsiano and Treharne, *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, 188-208; Peter Baker’s entry for “Computus,” in *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Michael Lapidge et al. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1999), 119-20; Baker and Lapidge, xxxiv-lx. I explore how these lines of monastic scientific thought underwrite Byrhtferth’s conception of the body in greater detail below at pages 137-63.

⁹ For the *Enchiridion*’s sources see Baker and Lapidge, lxxiv-xciv. Baker and Lapidge likewise outline the breadth of Byrhtferth’s study under Abbo of Fleury and profound learning in a number of scientific fields in *Enchiridion*, xxv-xxxiv and lxxiv. I give more detail on the Man as Microcosm trope below at page 150-51.

an *assemblage*, an accumulation whose qualities emerge from the “co-functioning” of its parts and whose potential highlights an equal disposition toward both fragmentation and re-formation.¹⁰ The present analysis departs in terms of scope from my preceding chapters, which approach the assembled body in the context of individual piety; here—as well as in the following chapter—I consider the material body in its capacity to both represent and affect the broader social network of which it is a part. From this view I suggest Byrhtferth’s enumerated formulation of the material body allows his monastic audience a new avenue by which to confront innate concerns of disruption and impurity as the individual Christian must reconcile his unsettled physiological nature with the regulated social body of the Benedictine community. I demonstrate how the rhetorical dissection of the body aligns scientific discourse with monastic praxis and in doing so I explore the ways in which Byrhtferth’s formulation of the elemental body reflects the interplay between microcosm/macrocosm, but also the ways in which this specific paradigm speaks to broader notions wherein the strictly controlled monastic schedule restores bodily cohesion and how this reformed body is understood to reflect and affirm order within the assembled body of the greater monastic community.

I. The Elemental Body

¹⁰ Much of the collaborative work between Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari devotes itself to (re)defining, expanding, and enlivening this concept to connect it with separate aspects of their philosophy, which complicates any effort to put forward a single definition. A useful attempt comes from a latter collaboration between Deleuze and Claire Parnet: “What is an assemblage? It is a multiplicity which is made up of many heterogeneous terms and which established liaisons, relations between them, across ages, sexes and reigns – different natures. Thus, the assemblage’s only unity is that of a co-functioning: it is a symbiosis, a ‘sympathy.’ It is never filiations which are important, but alliances, alloys; these are not successions, lines of descent, but contagions, epidemics, the wind” (Deleuze and Parnet, *Dialogues II* [New York: Columbia University Press, 2002], 69). I provide a more detailed reading of assemblage in my Introduction, 5-7.

Byrhtferth was a prolific author—even in comparison to his contemporary and fellow reformed monastic, Ælfric of Eynsham—and the breadth of his writing demonstrates prodigious learning in a number of subjects, ranging from history and hagiography to computus.¹¹ This diversity has greatly influenced the field of Byrhtferthian studies as the greater portion of scholarship still endeavors to define his canon,¹² locate his sources,¹³ and measure his sphere of influence by tracing the transmission of his work.¹⁴ Yet beyond the commentary provided by Baker and Lapidge in their edition, the *Enchiridion*—as well as the *Ammonitio*—has received little attention as a literary text.¹⁵ The following analysis of Byrhtferth’s vision of the assembled

¹¹ A brief survey appears in Michael Lapidge’s entry on Byrhtferth in Michael Lapidge et al, *The Blackwell Encyclopedia*, 78-79.

¹² Peter Baker has produced definitive work on the general canon as well as Byrhtferth’s computistic texts in “The Old English Canon of Byrhtferth of Ramsey,” *Speculum* 55 (1980): 22-37; “Byrhtferth’s Enchiridion and the Computus in Oxford, St. John’s College 17,” *ASE* 10 (1981): 123-42. Baker expands on previous efforts from Heinrich Henel in “Studien zum Altenglischen computus,” *Beiträge zur englischen Philologie* 26 (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1934), 5-35; Henel, “Ein Bruchstück aus Byrhtferths Handbuch,” *Anglia* 49 (1937): 122-25; Henel “Notes on Byrhtferth’s Manual,” *JEGP* 41 (1942): 427-43; Cyril Hart, “The Ramsey Computus,” *English Historical Review* 85 (1970): 29-44; Hart, “Byrhtferth and his Manual,” *Medium Ævum* 41 (1972): 95-109. For Byrhtferth’s *historia*, see Michael Lapidge, “Byrhtferth of Ramsey and the early sections of the *Historia Regnum* ascribed to Symeon of Durham,” *ASE* 10 (1981): 97-122; Hart, “Byrhtferth’s Northumbrian Chronicle,” *English Historical Review* 97 (1982): 558-82. Lapidge similarly demonstrates Byrhtferth’s authorship of life of St. Ecgwine in “Byrhtferth and the Vita S. Ecgwini,” *Medieval Studies* 41 (1979): 331-53.

¹³ The critical apparatus in Baker and Lapidge’s *Enchiridion* expands the previous edition from Samuel J. Crawford in *Byrhtferth’s Manual*, EETS o.s. 177 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929). Likewise, Lapidge provides extensive resources in *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of Oswald and Ecgwine*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). Faith Wallis includes a detailed consideration of the source material contributing to the computistical works and schemata compiled in Oxford, St. John’s College 17 along with a digital edition of the manuscript on her site *The Calendar and Cloister*, accessed October 13, 2016, <http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/ms-17/index.htm>.

¹⁴ Michael Gorman, “The Glosses on Bede’s *De temporum ratione* attributed to Byrhtferth of Ramsey,” *ASE* 25 (1996): 209-32. Lapidge notes the frustration and hope present in this line of inquiry in “Byrhtferth at Work,” in *Words and Works: Studies in Medieval English Language and Literature in Honor of Fred C. Robinson*, ed. Nicholas Howe and Peter S. Baker, Toronto Old English Series 10 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 25-43; Lapidge, “Byrhtferth of Ramsey and the *Glossae Byrhtferthi in Bedam*,” *Journal of Medieval Latin* 17 (2007): 384-400.

¹⁵ A notable exception is Rebecca Stephenson’s sustained exploration of the oscillation between rarified Latin (what Michael Lapidge has defined as the “hermeneutic style”) and plain vernacular in the *Enchiridion* and how Byrhtferth’s use of these linguistic modes in relation to one another speaks to the parallel roles of language and literacy in monastic identity formation during the English reform movement, in *The Politics of Language*:

body aims both to help the manual—and its postscript—find greater purchase in its own right as a literary text while locating its author within a growing field of scholarship that investigates notions of embodiment in Benedictine texts. Work from scholars like Isabella Cochelin and Katherine O’Brien O’Keeffe focuses on Benedictine educational texts, pedagogical routine, and daily regula to call attention to the fundamental place of the physical body at the intersection of reformed *habitus* and conceptions of monastic identity formation.¹⁶ Studies such as these typically take the harmony of the physical body for granted, but to characterize this tacit acceptance of uncomplicated unity as an oversight or analytical flaw overlooks that much of Benedictine *regula* and pedagogical writing are prescriptive rather than theoretical; that is to say, these texts necessarily characterize the body as an abstract whole or straightforward vehicle—what Deleuze and Guattari would call an “organic” unit—in order to foreground the salvific potential of the prescribed *acts*.¹⁷ For example, the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* notes: “Ergo preparanda sunt/ corda et corpora nostra sancte preceptorum obedientie/ militanda et quod minus habet in nobis natura possibile” [Therefore our hearts and bodies must be prepared to fight for

Byrhtferth, Ælfric, and the Multilingual Identity of the Benedictine Reform (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015).

¹⁶ Cochelin draws attention to the explicit attention given to the physical body in the Cluniac methodology for training oblates, summarizing “the flesh was... used as an avenue to reach and form the inner self” in “Besides the Book: Using the Body to Mold the Mind—Cluny in the tenth and eleventh centuries,” in *Medieval Monastic Education*, ed. George Ferzoco and Carolyn Muessig (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), 29. Exploring aspects of agency in Benedictine discourses of obedience, O’Brien O’Keeffe demonstrates how the body was used to inscribe what she calls “textual identities” through education and monastic habit in *Stealing Obedience: Narratives of Agency and Identity in Later Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012). Earlier work from Michal Kobialka highlights the role of Benedictine ritual performance—what he terms representational practice—in signifying the physical presence of Christ’s body in *This is My Body: Representational Practices in the Early Middle Ages* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999), 35-100. Lynda L. Coon similarly explores the presentation—that is regulated appearance—of the monastic body prescribed in Benedictine habit and the production of gendered identities within Carolingian communities in *Dark Age Bodies: Gender and Monastic Practice in the Early Medieval West* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

¹⁷ For a definition of the organicist model see footnote 30 below.

holy obedience to his instructions and what is not possible in us by nature].¹⁸ Here bodily matter, or rather a rumination on its nature, is secondary to the physical acts which might reform its current state. Byrhtferth's theoretical survey of the physical body offers a complementary line of inquiry to the prevailing focus on prescriptive texts. This section develops on such scholarship to demonstrate how the elemental vision of the body—laid out in Byrhtferth's manual—resonates with broader Benedictine anxieties over corporate unity by providing a salient figure for individual monks to conceive of their place within the larger social body of the reformed monastic community.

As I have noted above, the *Enchiridion* is foremost a compusticial work: designed to provide its audience with the theoretical models and techniques to chart the flow of time—via the movement of celestial bodies—and determine the proper arrangement of events within the liturgical calendar. The skill most essential to this discipline is subdivision. A brief digression on the nature of the “atom” in the manual's second book reveals the way mathematical division inflects Byrhtferth's notion of how “rimcræftige men” [computistical men] should view all subjects:¹⁹ “Fif untodælednyssa hiw synt. An bið on lichaman, oðer on þære sunnan, þridde on þæm gebede, þæt ys on boclicum cræfte” [There are five forms/species of atoms. One is in the body, the second in the sun (time), the third in speech—that is in the discipline of writing] while a fourth “byð on þam getele” [is in arithmetic].²⁰ As a quantity incapable of division this basic unit—or rather one's facility to quantify it—in writing (as the letter) or time (as the moment or

¹⁸ Henri Logeman, ed., *The Rule of St. Benet: Latin and Anglo-Saxon Interlinear Version*, EETS o.s. 90 (London, 1888), 5. Hereafter *RSB*. I engage these notions of physical praxis – as well as O'Brien O'Keefe's analysis of the material aspects of obedience—with greater detail in the following Chapter, *Translating the Body*, 199.

¹⁹ *Enchiridion*, 108-09. Byrhtferth uses “untodælednyssa” [indivisible] to translate the Latin *indivisio* and Greek *atomos*.

²⁰ *Enchiridion*, 110.

point) is fundamental to the respective fields of grammar or time reckoning.²¹ Set within a detailed demonstration of “de anno et die et nocte et horis et eius partibus” [the year, the day, the night, the hours and their parts],²² Byrhtferth employs the atom to demonstrate how the part—or here the smallest portion of time, “momentum” (a moment)²³—provides an invaluable lens for viewing the whole. Both as a *modus operandi* and conceptual framework, this impulse to subdivision collapses any perceived difference between micrological and macrological levels. As Byrhtferth precisely demonstrates how moments emerge from atoms and minutes from moments that congeal into seasons, years, cycles and ages,²⁴ the whole is characterized as an accretion of its smallest parts in a way that foregrounds an open resonance between all points of scale.

Manuel DeLanda offers an important critical dilation of both the theoretical significance and material processes underwriting such slippage between scale. Elaborating Deleuze and Guattari’s concept of assemblage, DeLanda develops a multi-scaled, or what he terms a “realist,” paradigm of social ontology that delineates the objective processes of assembly.²⁵ In their initial

²¹ “Se stæf ne mæg beon todæled... Atomus ys þæt læste getæl; þæt rimcræftige men oðerhwile hatað for his gehwædnysse momentum oððe punctum forþan hyt ys swa lytel þæt man hyt ne mæg todælan” [The letter cannot be divided... The atom is the smallest quantity; computistical men sometimes call it a moment or a point on account of its tininess, because it is so small that one cannot divide it] (*Enchiridion*, 110).

²² *Enchiridion*, 104-11.

²³ Byrhtferth attempts to clarify this concept through analogy: “Sway s seo brachwil on þæs mannes eagan, heo ys soðes atomus on þissum cræfte” (Truly, the atom in this science is like the time it takes a man to blink his eye) (*Enchiridion*, 110).

²⁴ *Enchiridion*, 112.

²⁵ DeLanda, *A New Philosophy of Society: Assemblage Theory and Social Complexity* (New York: Continuum, 2006), 3. To accomplish his goal, he says “a wide range of social entities, from persons to nation-states, will be treated as assemblages constructed through very specific historical processes, processes in which language plays an important but not a constitutive role” (3). I consider DeLanda’s innovative move to explore the role of historical processes in assemblage below at page 180. I should highlight the incongruence of DeLanda’s reduction of the “constitutive role” of language with that of the medieval worldview. As I have noted in my Introduction (at pages 8-11), the assemblage theory of Deleuze and Guattari, and as it has been taken up in subfields of New Materialisms, such as Actor Network Theories or Object-Oriented Ontologies, turns away from language (*logos*) in an attempt *not* to project—or reproduce what these approaches critique as the flawed dichotomy of—the primacy of the human-Subject onto the object in a way that recalls post-structuralist attempts to deconstruct language and thus

sketches of the concept,²⁶ Deleuze and Guattari primarily deploy “assemblage” as a means to resist and counter the “organic” approaches to conceptualizing social structures.²⁷ Such readings, they contend, are problematic in how the models overlook the complexity of social entities. These models are reductionist in that they reduce the inherent potential of constituent parts—signified by Deleuze and Guattari in the open ended capacities of images of the “rhizome” and the “Body without Organs”—to a seamless totality wherein elements are entirely defined by their place within the larger whole and thus lose all such definition or viability if removed from the network.²⁸ Keeping with Deleuze and Guattari, DeLanda views the relation of an assemblage’s elements in terms of “exteriority” to emphasize the certain autonomy of the component and its

challenge the central/unifying place of the *logos*. While the latter methodology has proven exceedingly useful to peer into fissures that appear in the peculiar lexical and grammatical slippages in medieval texts the critic must eventually contend with the—admittedly not monolithic but—widely accepted orthodox position in medieval Christian thought that “there is *something* outside the text,” to turn a phrase. Andrew Cole has recently braced medievalists for similar discrepancies as they attempt to apply materialist readings to early texts in “The Call of Things: A Critique of Object-Oriented Ontologies,” *Minnesota Review* 80 (2013): 106-18. This is to say my use of DeLanda—as is also apparent in my application of Deleuze and Guattari in Chapters 1 and 2—allows greater latitude for the efficacy and vitality of language, both written and spoken, and attends to its key role in reformed monastic identity formation—demonstrated by Stephenson and O’Brien O’Keeffe (see footnotes 15 and 16, above)—and thus the assembly of Christ’s body.

²⁶ DeLanda discusses the difficulties in presenting a unified or singular definition of the construct, observing that Deleuze and Guattari provide no less than twelve iterations as they connect the concept to different aspects of their philosophy, in *Assemblage Theory* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), 1. The book is an admirable attempt by DeLanda to, as he puts it, “bring these different definitions together” (1). The primary works in which Deleuze and Guattari explore assemblage are *Anti-Oedipus* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983); *A Thousand Plateaus* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987).

²⁷ The organicist model, or a similar notion Deleuze and Guattari term the “arboreal,” is a philosophical notion born from analogy to the way medical science traditionally treats the human body; the physical body exists as a static, prearranged, organic whole ordered and controlled by the brain/mind. Each organ is pre-defined by its function and thus loses meaning/functionality if removed. Deleuze and Guattari rightly observe the tendency for this model to create hierarchies and simple dichotomies: medically the brain commands the other organs, whereas the philosophical view understands the body as a seamless object controlled by a master consciousness. For more on Deleuze and Guattari’s critique of Cartesian dualism see my Introduction, 4-11.

²⁸ The rhizome represents sheer multiplicity, an image of thought for assemblages that organize themselves in non-hierarchical lateral networks that experiment with new and heterogeneous connections. It is defined in opposition to the vertical hierarchy of the arboreal. “The Body without Organs is not a concept like the rhizome, rather it is praxis” (*Thousand Plateaus*, 149-50). Brian Massumi suggests we “think of the body without organs as the body outside any determinate state, poised for any action in its repertory; this is the body from the point of view of its potential, or virtuality,” in *A User’s Guide to Capitalism and Schizophrenia: Deviations from Deleuze and Guattari* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1992), 70.

capacity to remain viable if disjoined from its network, embed within another, and continue to affect and be affected through its series of new interactions.²⁹ DeLanda's attention to such modes of relation shapes his theory of assemblage in a number of ways that offer helpful avenues for re-seeing the social Benedictine body through narratives of the individual member. Attending to the extrinsic relations between individual elements allows DeLanda to complicate the accepted *micro-macro* binary, instead arguing there is not a split between the individual and society and that such distinctions are relative as various assemblages are "macro" in relation to some but "micro" in relation to others: "the terms... should not be associated with two fixed levels of scale but used to denote the concrete parts and the resulting emergent whole at any given spatial scale."³⁰ What DeLanda's construct of multi-scalar social ontology offers the present interrogation of Benedictine discourses on communal identity is—at the most basic level—a ready frame and accessible lexicon to carry out a "bottom up" reading of the corporate Christian body, one that allows for a fuller exploration of the nascent tension in narratives attempting to reconcile the dual position of the individual body as incorporate member and autonomous actant.

That Byrhtferth places the *lichaman* first in his taxonomy of atoms indicates that he and his peers likewise viewed the material body—and by extension the communal body—as a figure

²⁹ In contrast to the organicist view—which relies on relations of interiority—DeLanda understands relationships of parts as conditional and not necessary: "These relations imply, first of all, that a component part of an assemblage may be detached from it and plugged into a different assemblage in which its interactions are different. In other words, the exteriority of relations implies a certain autonomy for the terms they relate" (*New Philosophy of Society*, 11). More recently DeLanda suggests a clearer choice of terms "would be intrinsic and extrinsic, but the intent is clear; if a relation constitutes the very identity of what it relates it cannot respect the heterogeneity of the components, but rather it tends to fuse them together into a homogenous whole... When the behavior of an organism is not learned but is rigidly coded by its genes, and when there exist alternative behavioral patterns that could have performed the same function, its identity can be considered to be determined by relations of interiority. Hence Deleuze's attraction to the ecological relation of symbiosis, as in the relation between insects and the plants they pollinate, because it involves heterogeneous species interacting in exteriority, and their relation is not necessary but only contingently obligatory, a relation that does not define the very identity of the symbionts." (*Assemblage Theory*, 3).

³⁰ *New Philosophy of Society*, 32.

best understood through division. The atom for corporeal bodies is defined at the outset of the *Enchiridion* during an excursus on the four elements and the qualities that bind them. Following a rudimentary demonstration of how the year divides into seasons, months (with zodiac figures), days, and hours Byrhtferth notes:³¹

Butan þissum þingum þe we sprecende synt, synt geswutelunga and gehwylcnyssa and twelf winda nanam, and synt a feower timan amearcode, lengten, sumor, hærfest and winter, and eac þa gelicnyssa, þæt is cildhad and cnihtiugoðand gepungen yld and swyðe eald yld. Lengtentima and cildiugoð gepwærlæcað, and cnihtiugoð and sumor beoð gelice, and hærfest and gepungen yld gefeolæcað, and winter and ateoriað. Lengtentima ys wæt and wearm; þæt lyft ys wæt and wearm; cildyld byð wæt and wearm, and hyra blod byð wæt and wearm. Æstas ys sumor; he byð wearm and drigge. Fyr byð wearm and drigge; cnihtiugoð byð wearm and drigge. Colera rubea (þæt synt reade incoða) beoð on sumera; hig beoð wearme and drigge. Autumnus (þæt byð hærfest) his gecynd ys þæt he beoceald and drigge. Eorðe ys ceald and drigge; gepungen yld byð drigge and ceald. On hærfeste beoð colera nigra (þæt synt swearte incoðan) þa beoð drige and cealde. Hiemps ys winter; he byð ceald wæt. Wæter ys ceald and wæt; swa byð se ealda man ceald and snoflig. Flegmata (þæt byð hraca oððe geposu) deriað þam ealdan and þam unhalan.

(*Enchiridion*, 12)

[Apart from these things we are discussing, there are significations, and qualities, and the names of the twelve winds, and the four seasons are written down—spring, summer, autumn, and winter—and also the similitudes—childhood, adolescence, manhood, and very old age. Spring and childhood correspond, and adolescence and summer are alike, and autumn and manhood keep each other company, and winter and age decline together. Spring is wet and warm; the air is wet and warm; childhood is wet and warm, and their blood is wet and warm. Aestas is summer; it is warm and dry. Fire is warm and dry; adolescence is warm and dry. Cholera rubea (red bile) comes in summer; it is warm and dry. Earth is cold and dry; manhood is dry and cold. In autumn there is cholera nigra (black bile), which is dry and cold. Heims is winter; it is cold and wet. Water is cold and wet; likewise, an old man is cold and rheumy. Phlegm (mucus or a head cold) harms the old and infirm]

Based largely on a discussion from Bede's *De Temporum Ratione*, the passage—appearing first in Latin and then in the vernacular—employs the natural analogies of the four stages of the human lifecycle and four seasons for the audience to grasp the character of the elements: that is

³¹ *Enchiridion*, 2-6.

although distinct each holds an inherent disposition to comingle with the others.³² Aligning the four elements/atoms (air, fire, earth, and water) seasons with the four seasons, the four stages of the lifecycle and both ultimately with elemental qualities and the four humors, Byrhtferth naturalizes the computistical division of time through the lived physiological experience of the monastic reader. In its recourse to lived experience as a hermeneutic device, the passage presents the material body as the interpretive lens through which the reader might conceive of the motions of nature through time. But as analogy affects how one sees both items brought in to comparison, this series of correspondences likewise presents a way of viewing the material body through natural law; composed of the same elements as the rest of creation, the physical body is likewise an accumulation of atoms—as each of the four elements are distinct but inextricably bound—

³² *Enchiridion*, 255. Bede's text reads: "Tempora sunt anni quattuor, quibus sol per diuersa caeli spatia discurrendo subiectum temperat orbem diuina utique procurante sapientia, ut non semper eisdem commoratus in locis feruoris auaritia mundanum depopuletur ornatum, sed paulatim per diuersa commigrans terrenis fructibus nascendis maturandisque temperamenta custodiat. A quo temperament uidetur temporibus inditum nomen; uel certe quia quadam suae similitudine qualitatis ad inuicem contemperata uoluuntur, tempora recte uocantur. Hiems enim, utpote longius sole remote, frigidus est et humidus; uer, illo super terras redeunte, humidum et calidum; aestas, illo superferuente, calida et sicca; autumnus, illo ad inferiora decedente, siccus et frigidus. Sicque fit ut, amplexantibus singulis medio moderamine quae circa se sunt, orbis instar ad inuicem cuncta concludantur; quibus aequae qualitibus disparibus quidem per se sed alterutra ad inuicem societate connexis, ipsa quoque mundi elementa constat esse distincta. Terra namque sicca et frigida, aqua frigida et humida, aer humidus et calidus, ignis est calidus et siccus; ideoque haec autumn, illa hiemi, ista ueri, ille comparator aestati" [There are four seasons in the year, in which the Sun, by taking its course through the different regions of the sky, tempers the globe which lies beneath it, according to the universal solicitude of Divine Wisdom, so that by not always remaining in the same place, it does not devastate Earth's lovely vesture by its devouring heat. Rather, traveling through diverse regions by gradual stages, it preserves temperate conditions for sprouting and ripening the fruits of the Earth. The seasons take their name from this temperateness; or else they are rightly called tempora because they turn one into the other, being tempered one to another by some qualitative likeness. For winter is cold and wet, inasmuch as the Sun is quite far off; spring, when [the Sun] comes back above the Earth, is wet and warm; summer, when it waxes very hot, is warm and dry; autumn, when it falls to the lower region, dry and cold. And so it happens that with each one embracing what is on either side of it, through the moderating mean, the whole is linked up to itself like a sphere. It is also said that the very elements of the universe are distinguished by these divergent qualities, and that they are knit into a company with each other, but each to each. For earth is dry and cold, water cold and wet, air wet and warm, fire warm and dry, and therefore the first is likened to autumn, the next to winter, the next to spring, and the last to summer], see *Beda Opera Didascalica*, ed. C. W. Jones, CCSL 123B (Leiden: Brepols, 1977), 391-92, lines 1-21. Jones' notation locates source material in Isidore's *De Natura Rerum, Etymologiae*, and Ambrose's *Hexameron* (391). Stephenson reads these moments of repetition in Latin then Old English, and more specifically Byrhtferth's derogatory remarks about unlearned upcountry monastics, as epideictic literature that played an important role in the self-definition of reformed monastics, in "Scapegoating the Secular Clergy: the Hermeneutic Style as a Form of Monastic Self-Definition," *ASE* 38 (2009): 101-35. Stephenson develops her argument further in her monograph, *The Politics of Language*.

inherently tied to the natural world through this shared composition and thus subject to similar motions and flux.

Despite its complex subject matter, the passage offers little rumination on the significance of the play between individuation and disposition toward accumulation animating the elements. This absence may be due in part to the ubiquity of the four elements both as a scientific tenet and literary topos in the medieval imagination; simply put, Byrhtferth may assume his audience already possesses at least a passing familiarity with the principle. A cornerstone of classical natural philosophy, it is difficult to overstate the influence enjoyed by this conceptual model on early medieval ways of understanding the natural world.³³ *Meter 20* of the Old English *Meters of Boethius*—a verse translation of the sixth-century Latin *De Consolatio Philosophiae*—offers a helpful insight into the way learned Anglo-Saxons perceived the elements and elemental theory:³⁴

Forðæm þu, soða God, selfa dælest
gooda æghwilec. Forðæm þu geara ær
ealla gesceafta ærest gesceope
swiðe gelice, sumes hwæðre þeah
ungelice, *nemdest* eall swa ðeah

³³ Baker and Lapidge discuss the Platonic and Aristotelian roots of this concept in *Enchiridion*, 255.

³⁴ George Phillip Krapp, ed., *The Paris Psalter and Boethius*, Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, 5 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), 177-85. Hereafter ASPR V. Boethius's *De Consolatio Philosophiae* (hereafter *DCP*) was an important work to the Middle Ages in general and the Alfredian program of intellectual revival in particular. Despite its popularity, the Old English *DCP* is extant in only two English manuscripts, each with a distinct version: a metrical translation in the tenth-century British Library MS Cotton Otho A. vi (Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 167) and a prose iteration in the later twelfth-century Oxford Bodleian, Bodley 180 (Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 305). But the dates of these manuscripts belie the actual order in which the two versions were produced. It is generally accepted that a prose translation—typically associated with Alfred's court—was first made from the original Latin. The metrical version in Otho is based not on the Latin but on this now lost prose exemplar; the Bodley MS derives from the original prose translation. For a fuller account of the manuscripts and transmission history see Walter Sedgefield, ed., *King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius De Consolatione Philosophiae* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899), xi-xxi; ASPR V, xxxv-xlvi; Susan Irvine and Malcolm Godden, ed., *The Old English Boethius*, *Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library* 19 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), vii-xxl. On matters of translation and reception see Diane K. Bolton, "The Study of the Consolation of Philosophy in Anglo-Saxon England," *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age* 44 (1978): 33-78; Joseph S. Wittig "King Alfred's Boethius and Its Latin Sources: a Reconsideration," *ASE* 11 (1983): 157-98; Nicole Guenther Discenza, *The King's English: Strategies of Translation in the Old English Boethius* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005); Discenza, "Alfred the Great's *Boethius*," *Literature Compass* 3 (2006): 736-49.

mid ane *noman* ealle togædre
woruld under wolcnum. Hwæt, þu, wuldres god,
þone anne *naman* eft todædes,
fæder, on feower; wæs þara folde an
and wæter oðer worulde dæles,
and fyr is þridde and feowerðe lyft;
þæt is eall weoruld eft togædere.
Habbað þeah þa feower frumstol hiora,
æghwilt hiora agene stede,
þeah anra hwilt wið oðer sie
miclum gemenged, and mid mægne eac
fæder ælmihtiges fæste gebunden
gesiblice softe togædre
mid bebode þine, bilewit fæder,
þætte heora ænig oðres ne dorste
mearce ofergangan for metodes ege;
ac geþweorod sint ðegnas togædre,
cyninges ceman, cele wið hæto,
wæt wið drygum, winnað hwæðre. (lines 51-74)³⁵

[Because you, True God, you yourself divide/distribute every good. Long ago you first shaped all created things very alike, yet to a certain degree not alike, however you *named* them all together by one *name*, the world under the clouds. Oh, you, God of glory, afterward divided that one *name*, Father, into four elements; one of those was earth, and the second water—portions of the world—and fire is the third, and the fourth is air; again together that is all the world. Nevertheless each of the four have their own original seat, their own appointed station, yet each one is greatly—in quantity—comingled/mixed with the other, and each is securely bound by the power of the almighty father, peacefully, together without discord by your command, merciful father, so that none dare overstep any other’s boundary for fear of the Creator/Measurer. But these servants are in agreement together, champions of the King, cold with heat, wet with dry, even though they still compete (with one another).]

A significant expansion on nine lines from *DCP* III, meter 9, here the Old English verse departs from its ultimate source material by characterizing the act of creation as more than the production of matter *ex nihilo*.³⁶ In the succession of the verb *dælan* (to divide, separate,

³⁵ My emphasis.

³⁶ The parallel section from the Latin prose version (see footnote 34 above) reads: “O qui perpetua mundum ratione gubernas, / terrarum caelique sator... tu cuncta superno / ducis ab exemplo, pulchrum pulcherrimus ipse / mundum mente gerens similique in imagine formans / perfectasque iubens perfectum absoluere partes. / Tu numeris elementa ligas, ut frigora flammis, / arida conueniant liquidis, ne purior ignis / euolet aut mersas deducant pondera terras” [Oh Sower of earth and sky, who steers the world by perpetual reason... You draw the whole (of creation)

distribute) with the oppositional *gelice* (alike) and *unlice* (unlike),³⁷ the passage works to align a sense of division with unification, apparent in the phrase “nemdest eall swa ðeah / mid ane noman ealle togædre / woruld under wolcnum” [however you named them all together by one name, the world under the clouds]. The world itself is an assemblage, emerging as an accumulation of all creatures “alike” and “unlike.” This notion likewise finds expression with the scribal interest in “naming.” The complex of *nemdest* (*nemnan*: to name) and *noman/naman* (*nama*: a name) finds no correlative in the Latin *DCP* and appears to be an invention of the scribe who produced the original Old English prose translation.³⁸ While Stanley Greenfield and Daniel Calder ascribe little artistic merit in the Otho’s poetic paraphrase, Paul Szarmach more recently eschews subjective value judgments to read *Meter 20* with the Anglo-Saxon

from celestial patterns, yourself—most beautiful—bear in mind a world of beauty and shape a similar one in likeness, and order the perfect parts to complete in perfection. You bind the elements in number so that dry cold assembles with fluid flame, and pure fire may not fly up nor earth dragged by weight be drawn down] (lines 1-2, 6-12). *Meter 20* is a more faithful versification of the Old English prose passage: “Swa swa þu self geþohtest þu geworhtest þisne middangeard, 7 his weltst swa swa þu wilt, 7 þu self dælst eall god swa swa þu wilt, 7 ealle gesceafta þu gesceope him gelice, 7 eac on sumum þingum ungelice. ðeah þu þa ealle gesceafta ane naman genede, elle þu nemdst togedere 7 hete woruld; 7 þeah þone anne noman þu todælde on feower gesceafta; an þæra is eorðe, oðer wæter, ðridde lyft, feorþe fyr. Ælcum þara þu gesettest his agene sunderstowe, 7 þeah ælc is wið oðre genemed 7 sibsulice gebunden mid þinum bebode, swa þæt heora man oðres mearce ne ofereode, 7 se cile geþrowode wið ða hæto, 7 þæt wét wið þam drygum” [You fashioned this world just as you yourself devised, and controlled it just as you will, and you yourself divided/distributed all good just as you desired, and all creation you shaped it alike, and also in one respect not alike. Yet, you named all that creation by one name. You named everything together and called it world; and nevertheless you divided that one name into four creatures/nature: first of these is earth, the second is water, third is air, fourth is fire. You established for each of those its own separate place, but still each is named with the other and bound peacefully by your command, so that none of these will cross over the boundary of another, and so the cold struggles against the heat, and the wet against the dry] (Sedgefield, 79-80).

³⁷ The *Dictionary of Old English* notes how the broad connotive spectrum of *dælan* is not easily distinguished in the verb’s usage: “for this word the senses of division, separation, distribution, and sharing out are not always easily distinguished; many of the citations which follow could be taken under more than one sense” (see Angus Cameron et al., eds., *Dictionary of Old English: A to H online* (University of Toronto, 2016), accessed October 12, 2016, <http://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doi/>. Hereafter DOE).

³⁸ Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller, ed., *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1882), s. v. “nemnan” and “nama;” hereafter B&T. A similar complex of *Nemnan* and *nama* appears in Bodley 180, see footnote 34.

commentary tradition, “where text and gloss co-operate over various registers.”³⁹ Szarmach convincingly argues such metrical expansion reframes ideas from the original *Timaeus* within a Christian context, allowing the poet to draw from a wide range of “explanatory material he thinks he needs to effect the *translatio studii* for his vernacular audience.”⁴⁰ With a tertiary sense of calling by name as “to invoke,” it is possible the scribe’s use of *nemnan* Christianizes the *demiurge* by alluding to God speaking the world into existence.⁴¹ Whether or not this is the case, I suggest this puzzling use of *nemnan/nama* may be best understood within the more specific Anglo-Saxon scholastic context of grammar. That God “þone anne *naman* eft todældes... on feower” [afterward divided that one *name*... into four elements] suggests a much more substantive sense than the modern English “name” as title denotes. A more likely connotive range appears in Anglo-Saxon grammatical theory where *nama* translates the Latin *nomen*, noun. Most famously witnessed in Ælfric’s treatise on grammar, *nama* as noun represents the matter of “ealle þing” [all things] specifically or generally.⁴² Here the division of elements is refigured as an act of parsing: just as many letters form a single word, so the individual elements “is eall weoruld eft togædere” [all together is all the world]. This analogy would resonate with Anglo-Saxon grammarians and computists in particular, who in turn would intuit that just as one may

³⁹ Greenfield and Calder, eds., *A New Critical History of Old English Literature* (New York: New York University Press, 1986), 245: “As poetry they are not especially noteworthy, employing many fillers or tag verses; but comparisons with their prose originals, analyses of their formularity and originality, suggest that at times, at least, they tighten the conceptuality of the piece and reveal an unexpectedly subtle use of connotations or play on sound patterns.” Szarmach’s reassessment appears in “The *Timaeus* in Old English,” in *Lexis and Texts in Early English: Studies Presented to Jane Roberts*, ed. Christian Kay and Louise Sylvester (Atlanta: Rodopi, 2001), 255.

⁴⁰ Szarmach, *Timaeus*, 263.

⁴¹ B&T, s. v. “nemnan.”

⁴² “Nomen is nama, mid ðam we nemnað ealle ðing ægðer ge synderlice ge gemænelice, sinderlice be agenum naman: Eadgarus, Æðelwoldus; gemænelice: rex cyning, episcopus bisceop” [*nomen* is *nama*, with it we name/invoke everything, both specifically or individually and commonly or generally. Specifically with one’s own name: Edgar, Æðelwold; generally: *rex*, king, *episcopus*, bishop], Julius Zupitza, ed., *Ælfric’s Grammatik und Glossar* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1880), 8.

best understand a word through its letters so one may better understand the world through its elements. Byrhtferth articulates this correspondence in his taxonomy of atoms, discussed above.⁴³

In another scribal flourish, the kenning *cyninges cempa* (champions/warriors of the king) frames the four elements as a vibrant band of agents. Linked to the appellation *metod* (Creator/Measurer), this conjunction not only foregrounds God’s might but likewise characterizes the glory of creation as his capacity to recognize and bind discrete—even warring—creatures peacefully in the proper measure. Following a lengthy description of the qualities and relationship between the four elements (lines 75-141) in meter 20, the scribe attempts to again summarize the complex admixture from which all creatures materialize:

Æghwīlc gesceaft þe we ymb sprecað
Hæfð his agenne eard onsundran,
bið þeah wið þæm oðrum eac gemenged.
Ne mæg hira ænig butan oðrum bion.
þeah hi unsweotole somod eardien,
swa nu eorðe and wæter, earfoð-tæcne
unwisra gehwæm, wuniað on fyre,
þeah hi sindan sweotole þæm wisum (lines 142-49)

[Each element that we speak about has its own separate home/dwelling/native place, yet it is also comingled with the others. Nor may any of them exist without the others. As such they dwell together entirely in an indistinguishable manner, just as now earth and water exist in fire, although it is difficult for the unwise to see this evidence. Yet they are clear/distinct to the wise.]

This reiteration is significant in that it offers an explicit description of elemental comingling (*gemengan*: to comingle, mix, blend) not only as an inherent impulse but a necessity for

⁴³ See page 139 above. This is no coincidence. While it is unclear if he was familiar with either of the Old English versions, Byrhtferth certainly knew the Latin *DGP*. The opening lines of book III, meter 9 (“O qui perpetua mundum ratione gubernas, terrarum caelique sator, qui tempus ab aeuo” [O, you who govern the world with eternal reason, creator of heaven and earth, who makes time pass from its origin]) appear as a sort of rubric for his figure illustrating the solstices, equinoxes, months, elements, ages of man, etc. at *Enchiridion* 85-86, fig. 15. For helpful notation see Baker and Lapidge’s commentary at 295.

existence. Such a characterization lends *gravitas* to the composite nature which underlines of all creation—that the whole cannot exist without the part nor the part without the whole. On the heels of such a sweeping image, the formulaic praise for the *wisum* (wise men) who perceive this complexity that concludes the passage may seem at odds with the stakes ascribed to this vision of the pulsing interdependence of creation. Yet if we return to Szarmach’s understanding of the Old English versification as *translatio*, the call for wise men to recognize the mix of elements animating fire speaks to the essential reconfiguration of the Platonic architect into a Christianized Measurer who binds all creatures—at all scales—through his command. For the computist, to identify the ratios within creation is likewise to glimpse the sheer power of the Measurer and better understand his will.

Byrhtferth adopts the popular literary topos of Man as Microcosm to elucidate both this constellation of ideas and man’s privileged position within the order of creation.⁴⁴ Writing on the

⁴⁴ The trope enjoyed great popularity among Patristic, Insular, and Anglo-Saxon authors, who employ the motif across a variety of genres. Because of this popularity, the task of locating a *locus classicus* has proven difficult for scholars. Gregory the Great nicely summarizes this paradigm in his *Moralium Libri*, liber VI, c. xvi: “Universitatis autem nomine homo signatur, quia in ipso vera species, et magna communio universitatis ostenditur. Omne namque quod est, aut est, et non vivit; aut est, et vivit sed nequaquam sentit; aut est, et vivit, et sentit, sed non intellegit, nec discernit; aut est, aut vivit, et sentit et intellegit, discernit... Homo itaque, quia habet commune esse cum lapidibus, vivere cum arboribus, sentire cum animalibus, discernere cum angelis, recte nomine universitas exprimitur, in quo juxta aliquid ipsa universitas tenetur” [Man is signified by the name “universe,” because in him is displayed a true likeness and great communion with the universe. For everything that exists and does not live; or exists and lives but by no means feels; or exists and lives and feels but does not understand nor discern; or exists, or lives and feels, and understands, and discerns... Man, then, because he has it in common with stones to exist, with trees to live, with animals to feel, with angels to discern, he is properly expressed by the name of “universe,” in whom after some sort the “universe” itself is contained] (PL, 85: 740). Isidore of Seville provides a more pithy reading in his *Etymologiae*: “Homo dictus, quia ex humo est factus, sicut et in Genesi dicitur: ‘Et creavit Deus hominem de humo terrae.’... homo ab humo” [Human beings are so named because they were made from the soil, just as is said in Genesis: “And God created man of the soil of the earth.”... human being is from soil] (Wallace Martin Lindsay, ed., *Isidori Hispalensis Etymologiarum sive Originum* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911], liber xi, “De Homine et Portentis,” 4-5). Both sources were available to Insular writers. Complicating matters is that the motif appears in various strains throughout the Anglo-Saxon literary imagination: Adam Plasmatione (Octipartite/Septipartite), Adam’s Name (and the cardinal points of the globe), the Four elements and Four Humors, and the Ages of Man. Adam’s creation has received the greatest portion of attention in works from Max Förster, “Adams Erschaffung und Namengebung: Ein lateinisches Fragment des s.g. slawischen Henoch,” *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 2 (1908): 477-529; J. M. Creed, “The Heavenly Man,” *The Journal of Theological Studies* 26 (1925): 113-36; James E. Cross, “Aspects of Microcosm and Macrocosm in Old English Literature,” *Comparative Literature* 14 (1962): 1-22; J. M. Evans, “Microcosmic Adam,” *Medium Ævum* 35 (1966): 38-42; Marie Thérèse D’Alverny, “L’homme comme symbole. Le microcosme,” *Settimane* 23 (1975): 123-83; Martin McNamara, *The*

numerological significance of the number four, Byrhtferth presents the motif through the generic figure of Adam:

[Quaternarius]. . . ipse redimitus quattuor anni temporibus quorum onomata sunt uer, aestas, autumnus, hiemps. . . iste quaternarius quattuor literis nominis Christi, id est D.E.V.S., pariterque et onomate protoplasti, hoc est A.D.A.M. . . . Sunt enim quattuor principales uenti, quorum hec sunt nomina: subsolanus, zephirus, septentrio, auster. Sunt quattuor aelementa: aer, ignis, aqua, terra. Sunt quattuor climata cosmi, id est oriens, oddicens, aquilo, merities. . . Hae partes si considerentur, in nomine Ade inueniuntur secundum numerum Grecorum. Ipsi quoque orientem appellant anatholen, et occidentem

Apocrypha in the Irish Church (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1975), 21-22; Hildegard Tristram, "Der 'homo octipartitus' in der irischen und altenglischen Literatur," *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 34 (1975): 119-53; L. Whitbread, "Adam's Pound of Flesh: A Note on the Old English Verse *Solomon and Saturn II*, 336-339," *Neophilologus* 59 (1975): 622-26; James E. Cross and Thomas D. Hill, eds., *The Prose Solomon and Saturn and Adrian and Ritheus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 26 and 68-70; Christfried Böttlich, *Adam Als Mikrokosmos: Eine Untersuchung zum slavischen Henochbuch*, *Judentum Und Umwelt Realms* 59 (Berlin: Peter Lang, 1995); Karen Louise Jolly provides a helpful image of the trope through Anglo-Saxon folk belief in *Popular Religion In Late Saxon England: Elf Charms in Context* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 103-5, 110-13, 122-28, 136-38, 158, 171; Charles D. Wright locates the motif of creation in "Why Sight Holds Flowers: An Apocryphal Source for the Iconography of the Alfred Jewel and Fuller Brooch," in *Text, Image, and Interpretation: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature and Its Insular Context in Honour of Éamonn Ó Carragáin*, ed. Alastair J. Minnis and Jane Annette Roberts (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 169-86; Frederick M. Biggs provides the most comprehensive index for the trope in Insular and Anglo-Saxon texts under the entry for "Adam Plasmatione" in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: The Apocrypha* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2007), 4-5. These studies accept the motif finds its oldest traceable source in the apocryphal II Enoch 8: "On the sixth day I commanded my wisdom to create man from seven consistencies: one, his flesh from the earth; two, his blood from the dew; three, his eyes from the sun; four, his bones from stone; five, his intelligence from the swiftness of the angels and from cloud; six, his veins and his hair from the grass of the earth; seven, his soul from my breath and from the wind" (R. H. Charles, trans., *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, 2 vols [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1913], II:448-49). Grant Macaskill offers a newer translation with helpful commentary in "Adam Octipartite/Septipartite: A New Translation and Introduction," in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Noncanonical Scriptures*, ed. Richard Bauckham, et. al., vol. 1 (Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans, 2013). Useful analysis on the apocryphal text has recently come from Johannes Magliano-Tromp in "Adamic Traditions in 2 Enoch and in the Books of Adam and Eve," in *New Perspectives on 2 Enoch: No Longer Slavonic Only*, ed. Andrei A. Orlov and Gabriele Boccaccini, *Studia Judaeoslavica* 4 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 283-304; Florentina Badalanova Geller, "Creation Encrypted: Ontology through Metaphor (the Books of the Holy Secrets of Enoch the Just)," in *The Metaphorical Use of Language in Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature*, ed. Markus Witte and Sven Behnke (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015), 381-410. On Adam's name and the points of the globe, see Marina Smyth, "The Seventh-Century Hiberno-Latin Treatise *Liber de Ordine Creaturarum*: a Translation," *Journal of Medieval Latin* 21 (2011): 195; Thomas D. Hill suggests this notion informs some Old English charms in "The *acerbot* charm and its Christian user," *ASE* 6 (1977): 213-21. Exploration of the Four Humors motif has provided necessary insight into English medical theory. Charles Singer offers a dated but fundamental survey in "A Review of the Medical Literature of the Dark Ages, with a New Text of about 1110," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 10 (1917): 107-60; Malcolm Laurence Cameron is less dismissive of humoral theory but still reads early English medical theories through the modern understandings of effectiveness in *Anglo-Saxon Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 159-68; Lois Ayoub carries out the only investigation whose sole focus is the humors, but her lexical approach leads her to question English familiarity with this cornerstone of ancient medicine in "Old English *wæta* and the Medical Theory of the humours," *JEGP* 94 (1995): 332-46. On the Ages of Man, see J. A. Burrow, *The Ages of Man: A Study in Medieval Writing and Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986); Elizabeth Sears, *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

disyn, et aquilonem arcton, et meridiem misymbrion; oriens apud eos habet in exordio .A. literam, et occidens .D., et septentrio iterum .A., et meridies .M.

(*Enchiridion*, 198-200)

[Four... the same number is garlanded by the four seasons of the year, whose names are spring, summer, autumn and winter... This number is reverently sustained by the four letters of the name of Christ, that is, D.E.V.S., and likewise by the name of first-born that is, A.D.A.M... There are four principles winds, whose names are these: *subsolanus* (east wind), *zephyrus* (west wind), *septentrio* (north wind), and *auster* (south wind). There are four elements: air, fire, water, earth. There are four regions of the world, that is, the east, west, north and south... If these regions are carefully considered, they may be discovered in the name of Adam, using their Greek names. The Greeks also call the east *Anatole* and the west *Dysis* and the north *Arcton* and the south *Mesembrion*. For the Greeks the east begins with A, the west with D, the north with another A, and the south with M.]

Reginald Berry suggests this excursus on the microcosm functions structurally as an interpretive counterpoint to his “gerimcræft” [computus, time reckoning].⁴⁵ If computus provides the technical tools for the monastic to reveal the substructure of creation—and properly set the liturgical calendar—through “mensura et in numero et in pondere” [number, weight, and measure], Byrhtferth’s excursus on the assembled elemental body simultaneously presents the flesh as tangible proof of a theoretical paradigm and conceptual anchor, the medium whereby monastics may claim their place in creation.⁴⁶ Adam’s typical signification as father of humankind takes on particular nuance in this explication. Divided as an acronym, A.D.A.M is both progenitor and protoplast; inheriting his tetradic nature, the human body reflects the world from which the first man was created. Moreover, the numerical consonance in the names of mankind’s physical and spiritual fathers foregrounds the prized place of humanity as first among God’s creation. Faith Wallis explains the presence of a book focused on numerology in the midst

⁴⁵ Berry, “‘Ealle þing wundorlice gesceapen:’ The Structure of the Computus in Byrhtferth’s Manual,” *Revue de L’Universite d’Ottawa* 52 (1982): 137-38.

⁴⁶ *Enchiridion*, 6.

of Byrhtferth's computistical manual through what she defines as the "number mystique" associated with computation and *numerus* in his insular sources; this divine power associated with numbers transformed core ideas of Christianized Pythagorean-Platonic numerology in which "the creation ordered by measure, number and weight becomes specifically the order of time, and the hierarchy of its divisions."⁴⁷ Within this context of number mystique the tetradic body exists as a computistical link, a figure that locates the human within the flow of time. The tetradic body likewise functions in a symbolic mode, as a site of correlation between humanity and divine order.

Yet this recourse to our progenitor is problematic in that it concurrently affirms and undercuts the harmonious image crafted in both sections. The former passage delineates man, or his body, not as an abstract whole but as an incorporation of distinct elements and humors that interact within the order of nature and time, as a microcosm. In these motions we find an implicit vitalism as blood, red bile, black bile, and phlegm themselves are not under the will of the individual but still affect him. This flux, the intersection of humoral equilibrium and time, however, frames the assembled elemental matter of the body as an event space from which the states of this man emerges: childhood, adolescence, maturity, old-age are all characterized by the ascendancy of a particular humor, that in turn effects the other humors with which it intermingles. Most significant, though, is Byrhtferth's oblique note on the *unhalan* [ill, unwhole] which appears in his initial description of the elements and humors.⁴⁸ Absent in his source, this

⁴⁷ Wallis, "'Number Mystique' in Early Medieval Computus Texts," in *Mathematics and the Divine: A Historical Study*, ed. T. Koetsier and L. Bergmans (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2005), 190. She defines the term as: "a rhetorical claim to profound significance, lofty philosophical pedigree, and even religious mystery, based on the identification of time-reckoning with *numerus*" (183).

⁴⁸ See page 143 above.

reference to a state of illness is a tacit acknowledgement of the inclination of this collection of agents not simply toward flux but toxic disarray.

This potential link between the four elements and disruption appears in Blickling Homily, *Dominica Prima In Quadragesima*, where the homilist employs the motif not to signal physiological but spiritual disorder:

forðon þe ure lichoma wæs gesceapan of feower gesceaftum, of eorþan, 7 of fyre, 7 of wætere, 7 of lyfte; swa we eac agyltaþ þurh feower þing, þurh geþoht, 7 þurh word, 7 weorc, 7 þurh willan; swylce eac feower tida syndan on þæm geare, on þæm we oft agyltað

[therefore as our body was created from four elements: of earth, and of fire, and of water, and of air; just as we also sin through four things, through thought, and through word, and through work, and through desire (*will*); likewise there are also four times in the year in which we often sin.]⁴⁹

As in the *Enchiridion*, numerological consonance draws together the four elements composing the human body, four seasons through which the body moves, and four modes of sin.⁵⁰ Structural elements likewise buttress this connection as the passage locates the four modes of sin between the elements and seasons, figuring the types of sin as the natural mode of action for the elemental body throughout the year. Included in a homily marking the outset of Lent, this naturalization of sin underscores the admonition that Christians should follow the example set by Christ and reaffirm their status within his spiritual body. To underscore the urgency of his warning, the homilist draws out his theme to describe how such disorder marks not only spiritual disruption but effectively dislocates the individual from Christ's body: "Cuþ is þæt se awyrgda gast is

⁴⁹ R. Morris, ed., *The Blickling Homilies*, EETS o.s. 58, 63, 73, reprinted in 1 vol. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 35. Hereafter *Blickling 3*.

⁵⁰ The four modes of sin [thought, word, work, and will] may well be an expansion on the more common "thought, word, deed" motif by the homilist to connect sin with the elements and seasons. Patrick Sims-Williams presents a foundational account of the motif in Insular literature in "Thought, word and deed: an Irish triad," *Eriu* 29 (1978): 78-111. The motif appears across numerous personal confessional prayers; I consider how it interacts with the assembled body motif in Chapter 2, pages 85, 104, and 112.

heafod ealra unrihtwisra dæda, swylce unrihtwise syndon deofles leomo” [It is certain that the accursed spirit is the head of all unrighteous deeds, just as unrighteous men are the devil’s limbs].⁵¹ Ælfric applies a remarkably similar image in his homily for the same occasion, *Dominica I in Quadragesima*: “Deoful is ealra unrihtwisra manna heafod; 7 þa yfelan men sint his lyma” [The Devil is the head of all unrighteous men, and evil men are his limbs].⁵² As with *Blickling 3*, CH I.11 aligns spiritual and cosmological order. Ælfric explains the place of mankind with some caution:

Ealle gesceafta: sunne 7 mona 7 ealle tunglan, land 7 sæ 7 nytenu, ealle hi þeowiað hyra scyppende forðon þe hi farað æfter godes dihte. Se lypra man ana þonne he forsihð godes beboda 7 fulgæð deofles willan... þonne bið he deofles þeowa; þonne he deofle gecwemð 7 þone forsihð þe hine geworhte. (lines 102-106)

[All creatures: sun and moon and all stars, land and sea and all beasts, all serve their Creator; because they follow after God’s command. Wicked man alone, when he despises the commandments of God, and fulfills the devil’s will... then he is the devil’s servant, then he is acceptable to the devil and despises him who created him]

In Ælfric’s truncated cosmography, creation aligns through mutual “service” [þeowan] with humanity likewise finding its place inside that order through adherence to the Creator’s *dihte* [command, direction]. Indeed the passage links notions of service with command through the conjunction *forðon* [from *forðæm*: because, owing to the fact that]. This confluence of service with order takes on special nuance in context of the passage’s cosmological theme; owing largely to these thematics and the spectrum of meaning borne by *dihte*, *farað*—witnessed in the phrase

⁵¹ Morris, 33. The Devil’s limbs trope drew its significance as an *in malo* turn on the popular Christ’s limbs topos. Robert DiNapoli charts instances of each trope in *An Index of Theme and Image to the Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church* (Norfolk: Anglo-Saxon Books, 2003), 16. Both tropes appear separately under the heading “The Body.”

⁵² Peter Clemoes, ed., *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies: The First Series* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 267. Hereafter CH I.11; homilies are cited by series, number, and line number. Malcolm Godden observes that description of the temptation is based on Matthew 4.1-11 in *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary, and Glossary*, EETS s.s. 18 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 84.

farað æfter godes dihte—reveal a dual signification. While the moral is direct, for humanity to serve is to follow God’s command, the sense of this “direction” is rather more complex when considering the exempla of the sun, moon, etc. *Dihte* can mean command but Bosworth and Toller observe the primary sense of the noun reflects directional understanding in which the command guides by “setting in order”; an equivalent, albeit more explicit, meaning is found in the verbal form *dihtan* [I. to set in order, arrange; II. to order].⁵³ Read along with the directional sense of *dihte*, one may understand *faran*, which literally means “to go, proceed” and also “sail,” in the sense of travelling a charted course.⁵⁴ Service is not simply the act of carrying out commands, rather this adherence to direction becomes the means by which one maintains his or her place within the order of God’s creation. Ælfric speaks to this interpretation with the *in malo* example of the wicked man, one who unnaturally despises his creator and becomes a member of the Devil’s body. An intricate cosmological scheme emerges from so few lines: man’s position within this order is essentially fluid, he is part of creation but can easily depart from his natural course through sin and find himself shunted to some adjacent, unnatural, place. A similar concern appears as Byrhtferth cautions his audience to vigilantly attend their duties:

Swa gedafenað esnum þam orpedan, þonne he god weorc ongynð, þæt he þæt geornlice beswynce, þeah hine deofol mid his *lymum* wylle gedreccan and mid barspere beotige to ofsticianne. (*Enchiridion*, 128)

[So it befits the bold young man, when he begins a good work, that he labor at it diligently, though the devil with his *limbs* desires to afflict him and threatens to stab him with his boar-spear]⁵⁵

Byrhtferth marks out the individual in no uncertain terms as the target upon which the Devil’s

⁵³ B&T, 204; cf. DOE, s. v. “dihtan.”

⁵⁴ B&T, 270; cf. DOE, s. v. “faran.”

⁵⁵ My emphasis.

limbs focus. The passage provides a useful example in the way the individual occupies a tenuous state as both combatant and contested terrain. Set at the juncture between his effort to labor at *god weorc* [good work] and the evil ones' *wylle gedreccan* [desire to afflict], this passage views the *orpedan* [young man] with the equal potential to maintain his place in Christ's body or join his tormentors.⁵⁶ Here the individual as limb/member is the material site across which the flow between territorialization and deterritorialization occurs and the point through which stability is affirmed or disruption spreads through the assembled social body.

There is little doubt the generic figure of ADAM would evoke such a symbolic register for Byrhtferth's audience. An eleventh century exposition on the six days of creation, attributed to Ælfric of Eynsham, frames such a constellation of anxieties in cosmological terms.⁵⁷

Describing the sixth day, Ælfric outlines Adam's composition from "feower ðing" [four things] before providing a brief account of the fall.⁵⁸ While the microcosm initially demonstrates prototypical order in both the sense of the body's harmonious composition and its accord with the rest of creation, Ælfric likewise understands this order in terms of an accord between man and the prelapsarian body, that is to say prelapsarian man's ability to control his body: "hi wundon ðær swa / hale on lichaman and hæfdon ealles geweald, / ge heora hagenes sylfes on

⁵⁶ My interpretive leap, that "affliction" in effect aligns with temptation, is based in part on how Byrhtferth's martial imagery resonates broadly with the psychomachiac tradition in Anglo-Saxon literature and more specifically with various scenes in poetic and homiletic works that make this link explicit, see for example my reading of Wulfstan's *De Temporibus Anticristi* in the Introduction, 15-17.

⁵⁷ Samuel J. Crawford, ed., *Exameron Anglice or the Old English Hexameron*, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 10 (Hamburg: H. Grand, 1921). Crawford's introduction provides significant evidence toward Ælfric's authorship and how the work fits in to the tradition of hexameral literature (5-32).

⁵⁸ "On ælcum lichamlicum gesceafte syndon feower ðing, / eorðe and wæter, fyr and lyft. / Fyr is behyd on heardum stanum; / se stan cymð of eorðan and he swæt swa ðeah, / and of stancludum cumað wyllspringas. / Ure lichama is eorðe and he oft ðeah swæt, / and of ðam fyre haetað, ðe him on wunað, / and on ðam lyft we lybbað ealle" [In every corporeal creature there are four things: earth and water; fire and air. Fire is hidden in hard stones. The stone comes out of the earth, and yet it, sweats and from the rocks come the springs. Our body is earth and nevertheless it often sweats and gets hot from the fire that dwells in it, and by the air we all live] (Crawford, lines 405-412).

eallum ðingum, / butan eallum ðam gedrecednyssum ðe us deriað nu” [They dwelt there accordingly, whole in body, and had in every way control over their own self in all things, without all the afflictions which now injure us].⁵⁹ The author’s recourse to current embodied experience draws the reader in line with the historic moment that invokes the “infinitely iterable” nature of the fall, which Renée Trilling describes as a seminal event to be “restaged, again and again, throughout the Old Testament and, in fact, throughout human history.”⁶⁰ This implicit link between wholeness/health and obedience is striking but not surprising when one considers Ælfric’s Benedictine background.⁶¹ The remainder of the passage expands on the thematic link between disorder and discord:

God hi ða adræfde	ut of ðære wununge
fram ðære myrhðe	mid micclum geswincum
and hi on yrmðe leofodon	heora lif syððan.
Hi mihton ða syððan	seocnyse ðrowian,
and hine byton lys	and lyftene gnættas
and eac swylce flean	and oðre gehwylce wyrmas,
and him wæron deregendlice	dracan and næddran
and ða reðan deor	mihton derian his cinne,
ðe hine ealle ær	arwurðodon swyðe.
Heora gecynd eac ða	wæs eall on costnungum
and him ungewylde	to rihtre wissunge
and seo galnyss weohs	unwilles on him
and oðre unðeawas,	ðe he ær ne cuðe,
wunnon him ða on	and on his cynne syððan
swa ðæt moston	mid micclum geswince
ða godan ðeawas,	ðe God hi on gesceop,
healdan æfre syððan	gif hi hi habban woldon
ðæt ðæt hi ær heoldon	butan eafodnyssum

(lines 456-72)

[God then drove them out of that dwelling place, from happiness to great toils, and they spent their life then in wretchedness. Then afterward they could suffer sickness, and lice

⁵⁹ Crawford, lines 429b-32.

⁶⁰ Trilling, *The Aesthetics of Nostalgia: Historical Representation in Old English Verse* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 90.

⁶¹ See pages 138-39 above.

and gnats of the air bit them, and likewise fleas and all other kinds of reptiles. And serpents and adders were injurious to them, and the fierce beasts, all of which revered him greatly before, could injure his descendants. Their whole nature then became subject to temptations, and was unsubjected to them for right rule/direction. And lustfulness grew involuntarily in them, and other vices which formerly he knew not then attacked them and his kin afterwards, so that they had ever afterwards with great labor to retain the virtues with which God created them, if they desired to have those virtues which they formerly retained without difficulty.]

The moment of expulsion marks a type of macrocosmic disruption wherein mankind is displaced from their place of rule in the natural hierarchy, as they must toil the earth and previously docile animals now turn on their former masters; this newly tenuous position within creation would also be proven true in our literal dislocation from paradise, the perfect homeland.⁶² Sickness (*seocnysse*) and misery/illness (*yrmdæ*) are more acute materializations of this broader disorder.⁶³ Moreover, this physical dislocation/disorder finds a spiritual counterpart as the capacity for sickness and sinful desire are framed as synchronous. Both result not simply from elemental disorder—or an *unhalan* body as Byrhtferth notes above—but what Ælfric characterizes as an irrecoverable loss of “geweald” [power over anything, rule, dominion]⁶⁴ that echoes Paul’s seminal rumination on mankind’s fallen nature in Romans 7:13: “Video autem aliam legem in membris meis, repugnantem legi mentis meae, et cativantem me in lege peccati, quae est in membris meis” [But I see another law in my members, fighting against the law of my mind, and

⁶² Scott T. Smith notes how this former conception of the fall was adopted in legal texts to add an aspect of spiritual authority to the language of land forfeiture in, “Faith and Forfeiture in the Old English Genesis A,” *Modern Philology* 111 (2014): 593-615.

⁶³ *Yrmdæ*, a variant of *irmð*, carries a broad spectrum of meaning: poverty, misery, wretchedness, distress, disorder (as in physical illness); see B&T, s. v. “irmð.” Connoting illness, *irmð* is used to signify disorder in the Leechbooks. Here Ælfric appears to collapse the sense of wretchedness and illness.

⁶⁴ B&T, s. v. *geweald*.

captivating me in the law of sin, that is in my members].⁶⁵ While Ælfric espouses an Augustinian inflected theology that privileges the soul over the body, his characterization of lost control appears to cover both a physical and spiritual sense as temptation and lust are linked with *ungewylde* and *unwilles*.⁶⁶ Moreover, the passage figures lust as congenital, the organic product of a disrupted system, whose emergence speaks to its own will, a vitalism recalling Byrhtferth's description of the humors. Ælfric infuses this agency throughout the entire *lichama*. Yet this notion of agency is complicated through the dual qualities Ælfric ascribes to "labor:" the "micclum geswincum" [great labor] to which man is now subject as a means for survival outside paradise corresponds to the "micclum geswince" [great labor] man must endure to regain his original state of virtue in salvation. Byrhtferth similarly characterizes the daily spiritual habit of the bold young monk as *beswynce* [toil, labor]⁶⁷ and Benedict describes his own regula as salvific labor with the express goal of reforming the disorder (and disobedience) inherited from the father and mother of mankind.⁶⁸ Indeed Ælfric defines labor in a comparable manner. While the term *ðeaw* can be understood as a singular good or virtuous deed, it likewise connotes a series of actions that become customary, habitual.⁶⁹ In this sense *godan ðeawas* is less a fixed

⁶⁵ *Douay-Rheims Bible Online*, accessed December 12, 2016, <http://www.drbo.org/index.htm>. Hereafter DRBO.

⁶⁶ A discussion of the soul/body dichotomy in his theology is beyond the scope of this chapter but I touch on the its foundational aspects as I explore how Ælfric's relationship with the material body is more complex than typically accepted by scholars throughout Chapter 4, "Translating the Body."

⁶⁷ See page 154 above.

⁶⁸ The Old English gloss to Benedict writes: "hlyst eala bearn beboda lareowes 7 ahyld eare heortan þinre 7 mynegunþe arfæstes fæderes lustlice underfoh 7 fremfi gefyll þæt þu to him þurh gehyrsumnesse geswince gehwyrfe forþam þurh ungehrsumnesse asolcenesse þe þu aweiggewite" [Listen carefully, my son, to the teachings of a master and incline the ear of your heart. Gladly accept and effectively fulfill the admonition of a loving father so that through the work of obedience you may return to him from whom you had withdrawn through the sloth of disobedience] (Logeman, 1, lines 2-7).

⁶⁹ B&T, s. v. "ðeaw."

state of being and more a habit that reasserts *geweald* over the body through the labor of “riht wissunge” [right rule].

While Ælfric points to the disorder of the assembled elemental body as a means to verify the need for virtuous labor, Byrhtferth frames the trope in more hopeful terms. Embedded within the computistical formulae of his manual, Byrhtferth presents the assembled body as a practical means to conceive of one’s place within the daily habit of monastic life and thus its role in affirming both individual and corporate Christian identity. Computus allows for a metaphysical consideration of humanity’s place within the universe, but we must keep in mind that this theoretical field of time reckoning took on a material dimension. The daily practice of computus shaped the physical routine of monastics, as Roy Liuzza explains: “Monastic discipline is first and foremost a temporal discipline of punctuality and accurate timekeeping. The spiritual life was shaped by the cycles of the calendar—fasts and feasts, psalms and prayers, repentance and celebration were all performed according to calendrical calculations, and their observance was an outward sign of the universal unity of the Church.”⁷⁰ An array of scholarship observes how computus “self-consciously imposes order upon time” in a way that allows its practitioners to project a sense of control upon natural world;⁷¹ the calculation of time fixes a perspective from which to make sense of temporal flux that enlightens and ennobles mankind through the naturalization of monastic habit. Read against the concerns of material disorder and dislocation

⁷⁰ Liuzza, “Anglo-Saxon Prognostics in Context: A Survey and Handlist of Manuscripts,” *ASE* 30 (2001): 207.

⁷¹ Faith Wallis, “Images of Order in the Medieval Computus,” in *Acta XV: Ideas of Order in the Middle Ages*, ed. Warren Ginsberg (Binghamton: State University of New York Press, 1988), 47. This understanding informs much of Wallis’s work on the field and is affirmed by Liuzza as he observes a similar conception as work in the field of prognostics: “Like computus, prognostics explicate the patterns hidden under the apparent randomness of the passage of time; like computus, they generally take the form of calendars or lists of days” (“In Measure, and Number, and Weight: Writing Science,” in *The Cambridge History of Early Medieval English Literature*, ed. Clare Lees [Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2013], 491).

that animate the Benedictine ethos of operative identity formation—discussed above—a more subtle motivation for the popularity of computus among reformed English monastics emerges: the articulation of time offers a practical means not simply to apprehend one’s place within the temporal flow of God’s creation but the possibility to initiate a return to his original place in divine order. Byrhtferth figures this return through the atomic composition of the flesh. As his manual employs the microcosmic motif alongside computistical paradigms to demonstrate the correlation of universal order with the naturalization of monastic-time through the material body, Byrhtferth trades in a narrative that inscribes a “natural” affinity between the assembled elements of the physical body and the monastic year precisely through the former’s elemental composition and disposition toward disorder. This lens of computistical division allows Byrhtferth and his readers to project order onto the troubling flux of the material body. Just as computus allows *gerimcræftige men* to find order in the unremitting flow of time by naturalizing the monastic calendar, Byrhtferth’s narrative of the elemental body naturalizes the flesh as a site of both disarticulation and re-formation. As such, the *Enchiridion* offers a *visio* of the assembled body as eminently reorderable that aligns the individual flesh with notions of practical identity formation through the cycle of reformed habit.

So far my analysis has focused only on the textual representation of the assembled body—as an accumulation of elements—and since these passages are terse—no doubt because such rudimentary concepts would be taken for granted by a learned audience—my claims may seem thin. The *Enchiridion* incorporates numerous diagrams and graphic exempla alongside particularly dense formulae, which “que ore sanximus cunctis puro lumine prodit scire uolentibus” [sets out in clear view, for all those wishing to learn, the things which we have

established verbally].⁷² In the next section, I analyze the diagrams that correspond with passages on the microcosm to flesh out how Byrhtferth's rhetorical formulation of a vital (dis)ordered body may be reformed through monastic habit.

II. The Diagrammed Body

A number of manuscripts attest Byrhtferth's affinity for scientific schemata.⁷³ Indeed, Byrhtferth's approach to diagrams can be viewed as the culmination of—at least in Anglo-Saxon circles—and response to reformed English monastic fondness for the field of computus. Computus is the medieval science of time reckoning.⁷⁴ The discipline developed in response to an overwhelming desire to accurately calculate the date for Easter. As a defined branch of learning computus appears to be strictly medieval.⁷⁵ While an overview of the field is beyond the scope of this chapter, I should cite influential contributions from three figures—Isidore of Seville, Bede, and Abbo of Fleury—to contextualize Byrhtferth's particular blend of computus, numerology, and schemata.

Although the works of Isidore of Seville cannot be considered computistical (as they contain no calendars or tables for practical computation), he is viewed as a type of ideological

⁷² *Enchiridion*, 12.

⁷³ Ashmole 328, St. John's 17, Cotton Tiberius C. i, etc. See Peter Baker, "More Diagrams by Byrhtferth of Ramsey," in *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, eds. Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe and Andy Orchard, vol. 2 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 53–73.

⁷⁴ There have been early attempts at a comprehensive history, see Henel, "Studien zum altenglischen Computus"; C. W. Jones, *Bedae Pseudepigrapha* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1939); *Bedae Opera de Temporibus*, ed. C. W. Jones, Medieval Academy of America Publication xli (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1943), esp. the introduction; Lynn Thorndike, "Computus," *Speculum* 29 (1954): 223–38. Baker and Lapidge note the impediments to such an endeavor emerge largely from the source material itself, the bulk of which is too unwieldy and idiosyncratic to provide a reliable picture.

⁷⁵ "It has no direct ancestors in the ancient canon of the sciences, and has no lineal modern descendant" (Wallis, "Images of Order in the Medieval Computus," 45).

forerunner of the field. Medieval computists cited Isidore as an influence, often invoking his mandate to numerical calculation from *Etymologiae* III.4:

Sic et alii in scripturis sacris numeri existunt, quorum figuras nonnisi noti huius artis scientiae solvere possunt. Datum est etiam nobis ex aliqua parte sub numerorum consistere disciplina, quando horas per eam dicimus, quando de mensuum curriculo disputamus, quando spatium anni redeuntis agnoscimus. Per numerum siquidem ne confundamur instrui. Tolle numerum in rebus omnibus, et omnia pereunt. Adime saeculo conputum, et cuncta ignorantia caeca complectitur, nec differri potest a ceteris animalibus, qui calculi nesciunt rationem.

[So also there are other numbers in the sacred scriptures whose figurative meaning cannot be resolved except by those skilled in the knowledge of mathematical art. It is even our lot to depend on the discipline of numbers to some extent when through it we name the hours, when we dispute about the course of the months, and when we recognize the duration of the turning year. Indeed, through numbers, we are provided with the means to avoid confusion. Remove numbers from all things, and everything perishes. Take computation from the world and blind ignorance embraces all things; those who are ignorant of the method of calculation cannot be differentiated from the other animals]⁷⁶

Here Isidore moves beyond stock praise for scriptural numerology to describe numerical computation in striking moral terms. The correspondence between Isidore's valuation and that of medieval computists is undeniable: numerical calculation ennobles the computist through insight into the natural motions of time and the world that offers a way for man to re-establish his place within divine order. Although rather thin on actual calculation, Isidore's writing on the signification of numbers in scriptural exegesis was hugely influential for Insular scholars. The transcription and circulation of his texts likewise acted as a point of transmission for numerous classical principles of cosmography and cosmology. His articulation of such theories, particularly in the encyclopedic *De natura rerum*, provided a conceptual frame for early computists to conceive of their relationship to natural phenomena they sought to forecast and

⁷⁶ Lindsay, ed., *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), 137.

situate themselves within via the church calendar.⁷⁷ In this regard, perhaps no aspect of Isidorian scholarship was more influential than his usage of *rotae*, circular diagrams that function as visual aids for the comprehension of abstract numerological concepts.⁷⁸

The circle/sphere was a standard structural form for graphic diagram well before *DNR*. Wesley Stevens observes the ancient genealogy of the *rota terrarum* and how its Hellenistic presentation of the world influences Isidore's own maps.⁷⁹ Liuzza traces the transmission of the Greek *Spera Apulei* through continental and Anglo-Saxon manuscripts while noting how its prognostic calculation appeals to the reformed monastic practice of *computus*.⁸⁰ Isidore's particular innovation is his use of the circle as a structural frame to elucidate the *syzygia elementorum* (a connection of the elements through their paired qualities), apparent in a *mundus-annus-homo* diagram from a manuscript produced at St. Gallen during the ninth century (Fig. 1). Although numerous manuscript witnesses predate our diagram, the St. Gallen example is excellent in clarity, absence of error, and use of color while the presence of Anglo-Saxon in the later portion of the manuscript places the image within the early ambit of English contact.⁸¹

⁷⁷ Calvin B. Kendall and Wallis offer a concise but thorough survey of the work's context and influence—with attention to Insular literature—in *On the Nature of Things*, ed. and trans. Kendall and Wallis (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016), 1-102. Hereafter *DNR*.

⁷⁸ *Rotae* are ubiquitous in early medieval scientific handbooks. John E. Murdoch links the popularity of the diagrams to the influence of Isidore's *De Natura Rerum*, a work so full of *rotae* that pre-Carolingian manuscripts refer to it as "liber rotarum;" see *Album of Science: Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1984), 52. Murdoch assesses: "What is more, these particular circular diagrams were in no sense the invention of some scribe who deemed them to be useful aids for understanding the text; Isidore himself explicitly called for their presence, a request that was of influence well beyond the boundaries of his own work" (52). For a more specific view of Isidore's influence on Carolingian cosmology, see Bruce Eastwood, *Ordering the Heavens: Roman Astronomy and Cosmology in the Carolingian Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 3-4.

⁷⁹ Stevens, "The Figure of the Earth in Isidore's 'De natura rerum,'" *Isis* 71 (1980): 268-77.

⁸⁰ Liuzza, "The Sphere of Life and Death: Time, Medicine, and the Visual Imagination," in O'Brien O'Keefe and Orchard eds., *Latin Learning and English Lore*, 28-52.

⁸¹ Michael Gorman locates the earliest examples of the diagram in "The Diagram of the Four Elements in the Oldest Manuscripts of Isidore's 'De natura rerum,'" *Studi medievali*, ser. 3, 42 (2001): 547-64. For the diagram as part of Isidore's influence on Carolingian thought see Eastwood, *Ordering the Heavens*, 373-426.

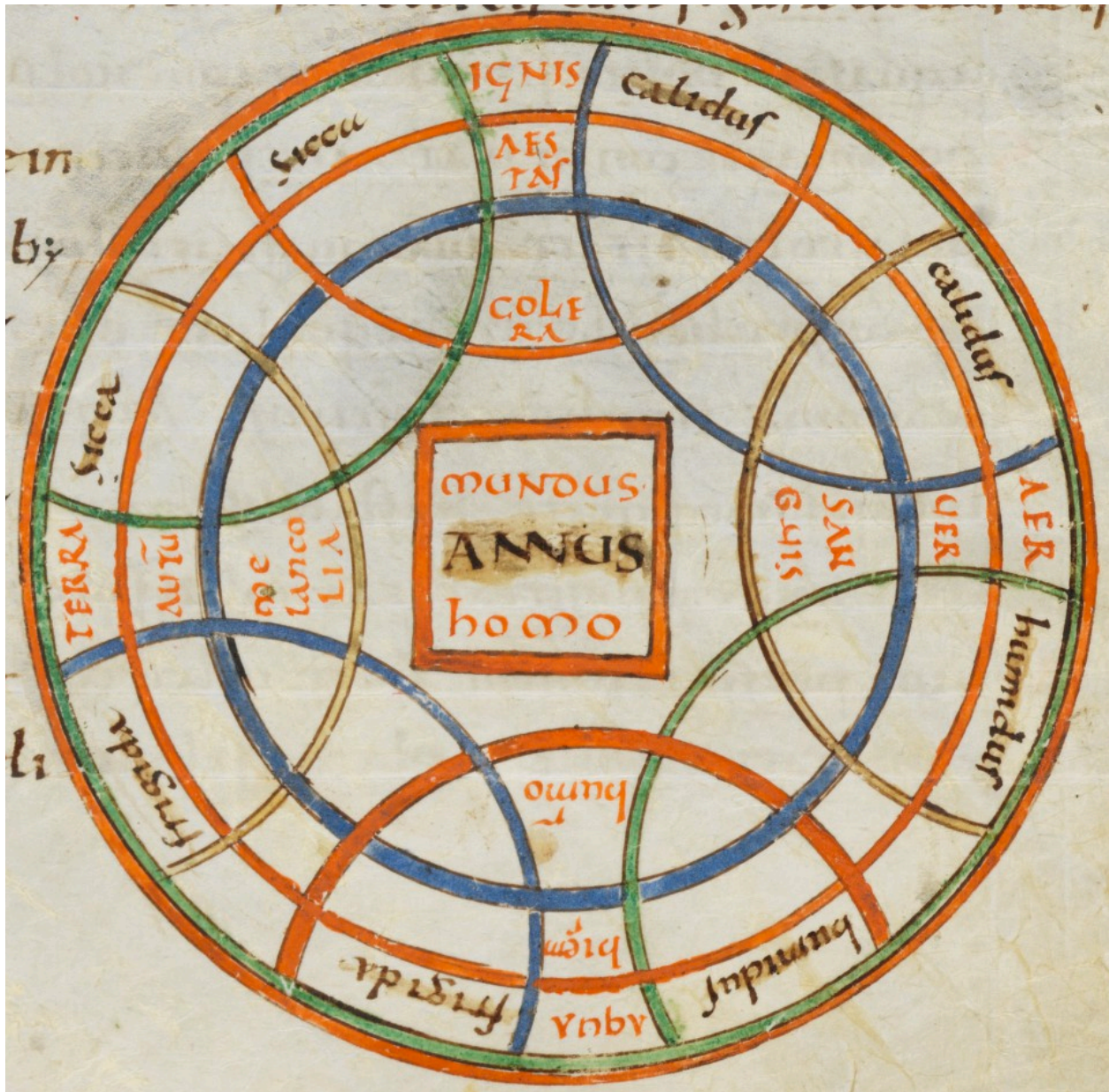


Fig. 1. Isidore's Rota on the microcosm-macrocosm, *mundus-annus-homo*.
Zofingen, Stiftsbibliothek ms. Pa. 32, fol. 62r.

Here Isidore employs the geometrical form beyond framing a two dimensional representation of the world or universe; the circle appears through the diagram to signify points of interrelation through a network of concentrical and radial divisions. Bianca Kühnel observes how Isidore overlays the four elements and the four qualities on the *rota anni* that appears in the seventh chapter of *DNR*, on the year and its seasons.⁸² In the microcosm-macrocosm scheme, the elements occupy the outermost ring, occupied in the *rota anni* by the cardinal directions, in a way that divides the diagram into quadrants. Flanking the elements, the position of the four *qualitates* visualize the Aristotelian conception of their role in binding the elements through consonant character. Further set within a half circle, each element—and attendant qualities—is linked with its corresponding season and humor. This series of divisions and interrelation marks out a central space through the graphic intersection of radii that signifies the correlation of world-year-man. Located at the center of the *rota* generic *homo* not only signifies the correlation of the human body with the larger world and motions of time; rather the material body is marked out as a field through which mankind discovers the experiential truth of this correlation. Excurses on the physical and physiological fours from Bede and Byrhtferth echo this notion of centrality.⁸³

Early computists seized upon both Isidore's appeal to calculation and his elucidatory *rota*, developing intricate systems of computation through ever more specific numerical divisions

⁸² Kühnel, *The End of Time in the Order of Things* (Regensburg: Schnell and Steiner, 2003), 131-33. Beyond her incisive analysis, Kühnel provides an astounding 174 plates covering a broad range of diagrams and analogues.

⁸³ Jennifer Neville argues Anglo-Saxon depictions of nature are fundamentally anthropocentric: "They represented the natural world, their immediate context, in response to observations about themselves" and "Old English representations of the natural world reveal something more complex and valuable: who and what the Anglo-Saxons thought they were" in *Representations of the Natural World in Old English Poetry*, CSASE 27 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 23 and 206. Although Neville focuses solely on Old English verse, her observation is productive for our discussion in that it foregrounds the essential literary quality of the microcosm trope and invites analysis beyond strict genealogy.

with an aim toward more accurate measurements of time. Bede pithily articulates this drive: “Calculatores non habent nisi quod dividant” [Those who reckon time do not consider anything they cannot divide].⁸⁴ In this recourse to more thoroughly parse and order time, computists must deal in ever abstract terms as natural time recognizes no distinction between year, month, day, nor do its patterns seamlessly align as witnessed in the incommensurate cycles of the sun and moon. If at the heart of computus is the impulse to project the artifice of order onto natural time, what animates this drive to quantify is ultimately a desire to make sense of natural time through the system of the ecclesiastical calendar; the medieval computist must be capable of distinguishing between the sometimes immoderate flux of natural motion and the artificial order of the computistical calendar.⁸⁵ Bede’s success and influence as a computist emerges from his capacity to operate within this distinction. By drawing on the mathematical/scientific foundations of the discipline, computists create relationships that appear natural or stable and thus extend an artificial model—a predictable future—that stands in for the turbulent experience of natural/present time, as Rebecca Stephenson convincingly argues: “Although computus would seem to be accomplished by observing the heavens, the many collections of Easter tables and computistical material in fact encourage the study of written texts that replace the natural world.”⁸⁶

⁸⁴ PL, 90:305D. For Bede’s authorship see C. W. Jones, “The Byrhtferth Glosses,” *Medium Ævum* 7 (1938): 81-97.

⁸⁵ Wallis observes that “axiomatic to this idea of order is the distinction, very clearly perceived by medieval computists, between natural time and computus time. Computus time was an artifice, the deliberate imposition of a regulatory diagram (“Images of Order,” 50-51).

⁸⁶ Stephenson, “Saint Who? Building Monastic Identity through Computistical Inquiry in Byrhtferth’s *Vita S. Ecgwini*,” in *Latinity and Identity in Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. Rebecca Stephenson and Emily V. Thornbury (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 121.

In this way Bede transformed the theoretical dynamics of computus into a synthetic field wherein points of ecclesiastical duty chart, and ultimately supplant, the theoretical correlation of chronology and cosmology in the mind of the dedicated monastic. Two of his earliest works, the paired *De Natura Rerum* (DNR(B)) and *De Temporibus* (DT), exemplify this ambition.⁸⁷ *DNR(B)* is a thorough reworking of Isidore’s text of the same name while *DT* appears to be the first computistical manual produced by Bede;⁸⁸ the conjunction of these didactic manuals (*didascalica*) is significant in that the computistical theorems of *DT* underwrite and explain the natural order present in *DNR(B)*.⁸⁹ A salient example comes in the text that would supplant *DT*, *De temproum ratione* XXXV: “On the Four Seasons, Elements, and Humors.”⁹⁰ What is striking about this explication is the context in which Bede deploys it. As *DTR* moves incrementally from analysis of the smallest measurements of time to the largest, the excursus comes during a discussion of the months, or rather how to accurately calculate the beginning of each month. Here Bede invokes the trope of the microcosm to discuss the numerical consonance of months, elements, and humors but frames their intersection within the ambit of celestial motion; a faithful transcription of this passage appears in the *Enchiridion*.⁹¹ The oldest extant copies of *DNR(B)*

⁸⁷ In *Beda Opera Didascalica*, ed. C. W. Jones et. al., CCSL 123A and C (Leiden: Brepols, 1977), 123a: 189-234 and 123c: 585-611. Bede, *On the Nature of Things and On Time*, eds. and trans. Calvin B. Kendall and Faith Wallis, Translated Texts for Historians, 56 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010). Kendall and Wallis provide exceptionally thorough front matter. Moreover, the inventory of MSS included in the edition provides concrete evidence of Bede’s influence through the overwhelming number of extant attestations (43-68).

⁸⁸ *DNR(B)* and *DT* were each so comprehensive that Carolingian scholars often separated and circulated the work frequently as separate texts. It is generally accepted this separation is due to the shrinking popularity of *DT* in comparison to Bede’s later—and massively influential—*De Temporum Ratione* (Kendall and Wallis, 4).

⁸⁹ Attempting to tease out his motivations for such an undertaking, Kendall and Wallis suggest in the front matter to *DNR(B)*: “Bede’s deepest interest was undoubtedly in the temporal order of nature, because natural time plays an essential role in the correct celebration of Easter” (3).

⁹⁰ Hereafter *DTR*. Excerpts are drawn from Jones, ed., *Beda Opera Didascalica*, 123B: 263-544. Helpful introductory material is also provided by Wallis ed. and trans., in *Bede: The Reckoning of Time* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), 157-237.

⁹¹ For the passage and Byrhtferth’s adaptation see footnote 32 above.

contain no graphic diagrams, a peculiarity which might be attributed to the faith Bede had in his own mathematical and verbal acuity.⁹² As the critical apparatus became increasingly theoretical pedagogical schemata in the form of numerical tables and diagrams appear frequently throughout the earliest extant copies of *DT* and *DTR*—fragments dating to the mid-eighth century—as both computational and comprehensive aids; among these aids is the Isidorian rota of the microcosm.⁹³ Whether included by Bede or inserted by anonymous scribes and compilers, the association of the world-year-man *rota* with computistical texts suggests the diagram was understood as a necessary instructional device within the field akin to its counterparts in computational tables. The *rota* provided its audience with a means to visualize Bede’s complex excursus on the physical and physiological fours and conceive of their assembled elemental body within the flux of natural time.

A concern with instructional clarity is more apparent in the works ascribed to Abbo of Fleury. A luminary from the leading computistical institution of its day, Abbo’s Insular tenure greatly elevated the reputation of Ramsey and left a discernable imprint on Byrhtferth’s desire to elucidate his point through both writing and figures,⁹⁴ while it has been noted that Byrhtferth—in his acumen and natural confidence—did not slavishly follow his master, many aspects of Abbonian *computi* appear in compendia associated with him.⁹⁵ Abbo’s genius as a computist is not in particularly inventive theorems or re-calculation of dates but rather in the structure and presentation of material; his manuals demonstrate an efficient and coherent design as outdated or

⁹² Kühnel, 99;

⁹³ For manuscript witnesses see Wallis, *The Reckoning of Time*, lxxxv-xcvi; Kühnel, 100.

⁹⁴ For a close examination of his reputation, see Elizabeth Dachowski, *First Among Abbots: The Career of Abbo of Fleury* (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2008).

⁹⁵ Baker and Lapidge, ed., *Enchiridion*, xlii-xlv.

inaccurate material is replaced with simple explanations accompanying tables, argumenta and diagrams, either of his own composition or borrowed from older sources.⁹⁶ Isidore's *rota* remains unchanged in texts or miscellanies drawing from Abbo's work, as seen in the twelfth-century Anglo-Saxon manuscript which compiles text and figures from both Abbo and Byrhtferth: Oxford, St. John's College MS. 17 (Fig. 2).⁹⁷ That this diagram appears unaltered in the midst of texts representing the apex of contemporary scientific learning speaks not only to its influence as an archetypal figuration of universal correlation but also to its lasting currency within computistic discourse. Abbonian influence marks the *Enchiridion*'s frequent recourse to applying text and image in concert as well as the latitude taken by Byrhtferth in adapting graphic forms to more clearly convey the abstract content of his manual.

The best known of Byrhtferthian diagrams is a microcosm-macrocosm figure appearing in St. John's 17 (Fig. 3); the image precedes Isidore's *rota* in the manuscript and is the most famous and widely reproduced image from the codex if not the entire corpus of English scientific diagrams.⁹⁸ As its rubric announces, the understood goal of the diagram is to visualize the harmony of the twelve months and the four elements: "Hanc figuram edidit bryhtferð monachus ramesiensis coenobii de concordia mensium atque elementorum" [Byrhtferth, monk of Ramsey monastery, put forth this figure on the harmony of the months and elements].⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Dachowski, 49-50. On the Carolingian fondness for diagramata, see Kühnel, 116-48; Eastwood, 373-432.

⁹⁷ Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 360.

⁹⁸ An analogue appears, albeit with scribal errors, in what is known as the twelfth-century Peterborough Computus, London, British Library, Harley MS. 3667, fol. 8r. Baker and Lapidge suggest a similar image may have originally appeared in the sole extant copy of the *Enchiridion* but is now missing (*Enchiridion*, 2 and commentary, 256-57). Charles and Deborah Singer originally make this argument—along with a proposed reconstruction—in "A Restoration: Byrhtferth of Ramsey's Diagram of the Physical and Physiological Fours," *Bodleian Quarterly Record* 2 (1919): 47-51.

⁹⁹ *Enchiridion*, Appendix A, 374.



Fig. 2. *Mundus-Annus-Homo* rota.
Oxford, St. John's College MS. 17, fol. 39v.

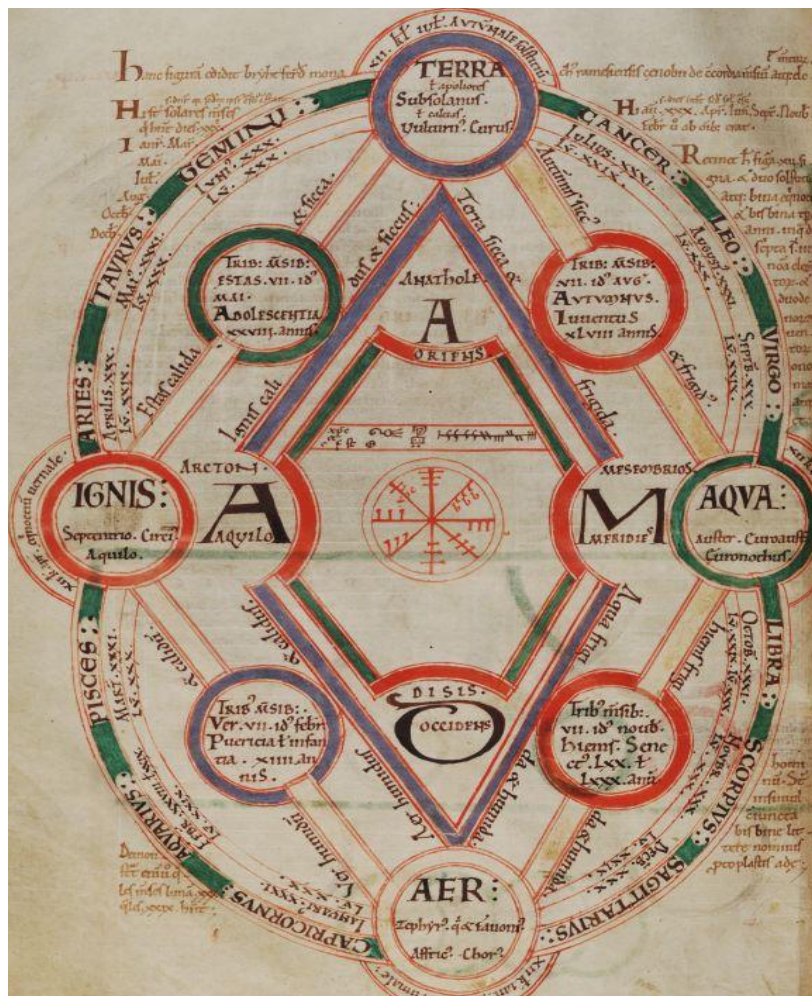


Fig. 3. Byrhtferth's diagram of the physical and physiological fours.
Oxford, St. John's College MS. 17, fol. 7v.

Beneath the zodiac, correlating roughly to their attendant signs, are the twelve months along with the number of solar days in the month and the length of the lunation that terminates in that solar month. Set within the figural cycle of the year are two concentric rhombi. The outer diamond attaches to the zodiac band by four rosettes labeled with the names of the four elements—earth, air, water and fire—at the equinoctial and solstitial points, dividing the year into quadrants which mark the seasons. An arc with the date of the solstice or equinox passes over each element-rosette, so preserving the continuous flow of celestial time despite the interception of the static quadrilateral of the sublunary elements. An interior blue diamond, set within the continuous flow of time, figures the stationary world. The Greek and Latin names of the cardinal directions are inscribed in the divots in the corners of the diamond. These letters are linked by the ages of man (*puericia, adolescentia, iuuentus, senectus*), visualizing the microcosm trope through the name of the protoplast. In this way ADAM functions as a visual metonym for generic *homo* and the material body in a manner that recalls written excursus on the physical and physiological fours discussed above. This notion is further signified as the letters are linked to the four elements through the twelve winds, whose names lie inside the element rosettes.

None of the components of the diagram are novel when taken separately. The exceptional quality of Byrhtferth's diagram lies in the innovative way it synthesizes common textual and visual schemata. Indeed the diagram is so thorough that it is capable of standing alone as a pedagogical text itself, or what Wallis calls a *symbolic diagram*: not an illustration of a parent text, rather a completely independent text or one that functions in concert with it.¹⁰⁰ Beyond the groundbreaking fusion of motifs offered by the diagram, the distinctive graphic frame infuses the image with a potent symbolic meaning. Wallis convincingly argues the elongated diamond set

¹⁰⁰ Wallis, *The Calendar and the Cloister*, accessed December 12, 2016, http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/ms-17/folio.php?p=7v&showitem=7r_2ComputusRelated_20ByrhtferthsDiagram

within an eight-shaped frame would evoke the *maiestas Domini*, a visual motif representing—typically in an eschatological context—of Christ manifested in glory. As such, “unlike most symbolic diagrams, Byrhtferth's diagram does not take a pedagogical schema and fill it with religious content, but takes a religious schema and fills it with computistical content.”¹⁰¹ But it is more than content; this computistic disposition to quantify number, weight, and measure shapes the structural aspects that give the diagram meaning. Byrhtferth's attempt to visualize principles of division is not surprising. Related to Bede's admonition that one should consider only those things he can divide, critics have variously observed how the computistic method of finding order through division demonstrates an uncanny congruity with the physio-temporal regulation of the Benedictine Rule itself; for the reformed monk, computus offered not only a precise scientific way to structure the ecclesiastical year—around Easter—but also a means to meticulously order lived experience through various divisions of time and weight.¹⁰² This principle of division and order likewise underwrites the visual depiction of Adam. Like its antecedent Isidorian image, Byrhtferth's generic man-body occupies a middle position but is divided into its constituent letters to fit within the *maiestas Domini* framework, as A.D.A.M. As such the generic man signifies the ascendant glory of Christ. Within the structural frame of the *maiestas Domini*, the letters A.D.A.M represent both the natural state of the generic man—through the assembled elements of his body—and his capacity to find order and thus salvation.

¹⁰¹ Wallis, *The Calendar and the Cloister*.

¹⁰² Noting that Abbo continued his research in computus after becoming abbot of Fleury in 988, Wallis posits: “A not implausible hypothesis is that Abbo saw a connection between his commitment to the *computus* and his involvement in monastic reform, and its implications for the ordering of Christian society” (*Images of Order*, 57). Liuzza makes a similar point regarding the monastic attraction to prognostics (itself deeply rooted in *computus*): “We may note its congruity with so many other monastic practices—the observation of times and seasons for prayer, fasting, bloodletting, and the interpretation of dreams, the regulation of daily life according to a minutely parsed schedule of unprecedented precision and complexity. A monastic life was conducted in a space in which the divine order of number, weight, and measure are made explicit, and the course of the heavens impinges upon the body immediately and intimately” (*Sphere of Life and Death*, 37).

The assembled ADAM appears in two other Byrhtferthian diagrams that have received much less attention. I should start with the figure appearing in the sole extant copy of the *Enchiridion* (Fig. 4). Located in the second book of his manual the diagram appears within a thorough excursus *De duodecim mensibus* [The twelve months]. A *rota* overlaid with a cross, both the structure and content of the figure recalls two earlier—and less complex—diagrams from Byrhtferth’s introductory remarks on the year and its parts; the first is a modest *rota* demonstrating the circuit of the zodiac with attendant months while the second is a *rota* overlaid with a cross that shows the harmony among seasons, elements, solstices and equinoxes.¹⁰³ Our diagram combines these aspects: the months have been transposed to the outermost circle with the corresponding zodiac figures now in the next ring, and the seasons are inset from the orbit of the months and paired with their symbolic stage in man’s life cycle (Summer/Adolescence, Autumn/Maturity, Winter/Old Age, Spring/Childhood). The penultimate circle signifies the ambit of the globe as the characters of Adam’s name are offset by the cardinal points of the earth, which in turn evoke the microcosm motif. The solstices and equinoxes have been relocated to the axial lines of the cross while the four elements align with the assembled letters A.D.A.M, the microcosm. D.E.U.S occupies the hub of the *rota*. In the lone study dedicated to the diagram, Philippa Semper attends to the interaction between graphic form and content as a means to “control knowledge within specified boundaries” that guarantee the preeminence of Christian values.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ *Enchiridion*, 6 (Fig. 1), 10 (Fig. 2).

¹⁰⁴ Semper, 126.

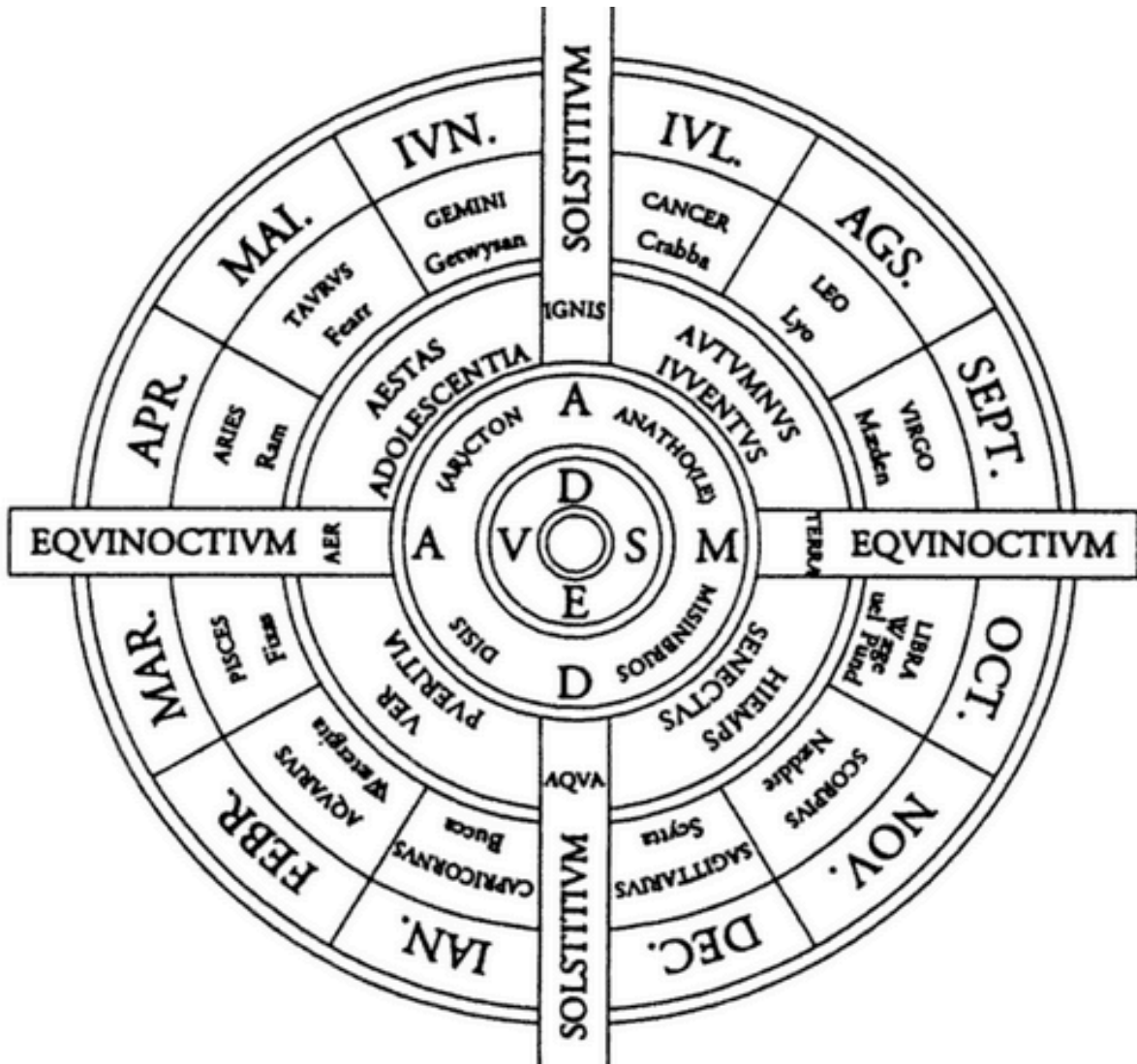


Fig. 4. A transcription of the months, signs of the zodiac, etc. from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 328, fol., provided by Phillipa Semper.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ Semper, “Doctrine and diagrams: Maintaining the Order of the World in *Byrhtferth’s Enchiridion*,” in *The Christian Tradition in Anglo-Saxon England: Approaches to Current Scholarship and Teaching*, ed. Paul Cavill (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 128, fig. 8.1.

Although her concern is primarily iconographic, a passage on *Maiio et Ivnio* (May and June) immediately preceding the diagram offers support for Semper's reading:

Uton nu heræfter sceortlice sprecaþ ymbe Maium. þeah he wynsumlice blowe and blædnyssa fægere geyppe, seo Easterlice tid hine wynsumlicor gefrætwað... Twegen sunstedas synd and twa emniht on þam twelf monðum, and twelf tacna and feower timan, and feower ylða on mankyne and feower stafas on Adames naman and feower gesceaft. Ealle þas þing we wyllað her amearkian þæt se iunga preost mæge beon þe wisra þe he þas þing gesihð. Eac her ys geswutelod Godes nama, þæt ys Deus.¹⁰⁶

[Let us now speak briefly about May. Thought it joyfully blooms and reveals its fruitfulness beautifully, the Easter festival adorns it more joyfully... There are two solstices, two equinoxes, twelve signs and four seasons in the twelve months, and there are four ages of man, four letters in Adam's name and four elements. We will set down all these things so that the young priest may be the wiser for looking at these things. God's name is also revealed here, that is Deus.]

These preceding remarks function loosely as a rubric that allows Byrhtferth to guide the viewer's interpretation. Such guidance is warranted as the concluding passage playfully presents the diagram as a puzzle in which the "wise" viewer may come in line with God just as they take part in Christ's historical sacrifice during the Easter celebration. Similarly, just as Easter orders the remainder of the ecclesiastical year God's name allows the reader to find more than natural order in the diagram. Attending so closely to the way in which Easter adorns the month "wynsumlicor" (more joyfully), Byrhtferth's characterization implicitly recalls the computistic urge to supplant natural occurrences with ecclesiastical events. The structural elements of the diagram echo this impulse as the overlay of cross on *rota* visually achieves this goal; branching from the form of D.E.U.S, the cross organizes the months/zodiac/seasons, the figural ages of man, and connects the elements with A.D.A.M in a way that effectively projects divine order over natural time. Semper observes "the symbolism of the cross is reinforced by the necessity of reading the letters

¹⁰⁶ *Enchiridion*, 74. The passage appears after a longer explanation of how to properly calculate Easter in April.

of both *Adam* and *Deus* in the shape of the cross, as if performing an ocular blessing upon the diagram.”¹⁰⁷ Rendered as an acrostic, A.D.A.M finds no order from the cycle of months, seasons, ages, etc.; rather this order emerges only in his capacity to maintain accord with D.E.U.S. This symbolic consonance would not be lost on the monastic viewer with the Easter celebration at the fore of his mind; while the motions of time and celestial bodies impinge upon man—in age, humoral flux, etc.—his facility to adhere to ecclesiastical ritual and monastic regula offers stability in the form of naturalized spiritual order.

While Semper correctly discerns the cross as the primary structural element in the Ashmole diagram, she overlooks a potent chain of association evoked by the symbol.¹⁰⁸ Transcribed upon the cross the harmonious A.D.A.M/D.E.U.S evokes the *imago Christi* motif, whose roots lie in Genesis 1:27.¹⁰⁹ Man was created in the likeness of God and this similitude, lost through sin, is restored in the Incarnation of Christ. In the same way the *maiestas Domini* structure figures A.D.A.M as a representation Christ’s triumphal glory, correctly following the sign of the cross reforms A.D.A.M as a symbol of the Incarnated Christ. Byrhtferth achieves this consonance by rendering the spiritual content through a computistic mode. Viewing the generic *homo* in terms of assemblage Byrhtferth renders A.D.A.M not as a sinful mass but rather a lively accumulation of elements equally with the disposition toward disorder and the capacity re-order. How Byrhtferth characterizes this vibrant assembled body is in itself fundamentally hopeful.

¹⁰⁷ Semper, 131.

¹⁰⁸ On the cross as preeminent symbol see Jolly, “Tapping the Power of the Cross: Who and for Whom?,” in *The Place of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Catherine E. Karkov, Sarah Larratt Keefer, and Karen Louise Jolly (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), 58-79; Coon, *Dark Age Bodies*, 216-53 (“Foursquare Power”). See also my notes on the performative aspects associated with the symbol in Chapter 1, 49-51.

¹⁰⁹ “Et creavit Deus hominem ad imaginem suam: ad imaginem Dei creavit illum, masculum et feminam creavit eos” [And God created man to his own image: to the image of God he created him: male and female he created them]. Text and translation from DRBO.

Rather than focusing on the natural disorder of the postlapsarian flesh—as witnessed above in Ælfric’s excursus on the fall and Byrhtferth’s own aside to the *unhalan ealdan*¹¹⁰—these visual schemata speak to the immanent potential of the body not simply to fracture but likewise to reform in the image of God. In this sense Byrhtferth’s graphic assemblage constructs what DeLanda calls a *virtual* body. Writing on diagrams of assemblage DeLanda notes that while assemblages are concrete historical accumulations (of atoms, individuals, office-buildings, states, etc.) whose qualities actualize through various forms of material application, diagrams capture the virtual: that is the dispositions or capacities within these accumulations that remain latent or not currently manifest.¹¹¹ The virtual is the structure of possibility, a space associated with an assemblage’s potential, or as Deleuze writes, the “virtual is not opposed to the *real* but to the *actual*... Indeed, the virtual must be defined as strictly a part of the real object—as though the object had one part of itself in the virtual into which it is plunged as though into an objective dimension.”¹¹² What this notion of the virtual offers Byrhtferthian *rotae* is a perspective that extends beyond an appreciation of the figures to signify the potential of the assembled monastic body. Enmeshed in the computistical milieu, these diagrams function as visual counterparts to the goal underwriting scientific writing and monastic regula, to project a veneer of order over the unwieldy flux of natural time and material body. Liuzza similarly locates this tension in the older text-image cooperation of prognostics: “prognostics bring a sense of order and rationality to the

¹¹⁰ See pages 142-43 above.

¹¹¹ DeLanda, *Assemblage Theory*, 108. As for his choice of terminology, DeLanda does and does not mean “diagram” in the sense of a physical schematic: “the term ‘diagram’ as it is being used here is synonymous with ‘multiplicity’ or ‘idea.’ All three can be defined as the structure of a possibility space, a structure given by topological invariants like dimensionality, connectivity, and distribution of singularities. On the other hand, the concept of a diagram adds a properly metaphysical component to the scientific concept of state space: all its components (variables, parameters, invariants, structure, differential relations) must be given the ontological status of a virtuality, that is, they must be considered real but not actual” (122).

¹¹² Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 208. My emphasis.

chaotic uncertainty of life; they offer a *regula* for Fortuna herself, a method of understanding, foreseeing and accepting the operation of time and chance.”¹¹³ Yet computus does not trade in chance. In the order signified through A.D.A.M, the rota presents a virtual body not simply in counterpoint the natural disarray/afflictions which “us deriað nu” [injures us now],¹¹⁴ but an ordered text whose *real* potential, as Stephenson puts it, “replaces” the *actual* disorder experienced by the monastic viewer.¹¹⁵

A.D.A.M as generic body similarly functions as the locus of this tension between the real and actual in another Byrhtferthian *rota* that appears in the early to mid twelfth-century manuscript known as the Peterborough Computus (Fig. 5).¹¹⁶ Beyond demonstrating authorship of the image, Peter Baker offers useful remarks on the diagram’s construction and antecedents but stops short of symbolic analysis.¹¹⁷ Structurally, the Peterborough diagram overlays the cross on a *rota* like Ashmole and employs similar subject matter, but there are significant differences in both form and content between the two images. The outer circle is composed of three concentric rings wherein twelve large rosettes are set at equidistant points to mark the course of the zodiac. In the same outermost ring, but outside of the rosettes, the seasons mark their three attendant constellations, dividing the ring into quadrants. Within the roundels but beneath the zodiac appear the patriarchs, although the scribe appears to have confused the traditional “twelve

¹¹³ Liuzza, “In Measure, and Number, and Weight,” 491.

¹¹⁴ For this link is Ælfric see pages 157-59 above.

¹¹⁵ Stephenson, “Saint Who?” 121. See also page 169 above.

¹¹⁶ Ker, no. 196. An analogue of Byrhtferth’s famous diagram of the physical and physiological fours also appears in this codex.

¹¹⁷ Baker, “More Diagrams,” 61-65.

sons of Jacob” with the vaguer notion of major Biblical figures.¹¹⁸ The twelve prophets occupy the innermost circle of the rosettes while the months are set between the roundels in a way that demonstrates their correlation to both the zodiac and seasons. It is unclear if any logic informs the pairings of patriarchs and prophets within the rosettes.¹¹⁹ The position of the zodiac and months in Peterborough recalls the basic form of the zodiac/month *rota* but Kühnel notes how such an arrangement of roundels, as with our diagram, also finds an analogue with a different line of *rota* that illustrate the course of the twelve winds.¹²⁰ An empty ring separates the outer celestial bodies with the ambit of the terrestrial globe, signified through capitalized letters of the cardinal points A.D.A.M that are connected through brief explication translating the Greek names into Latin. Interior to the letters are the four elements, transposing the order found in Ashmole. Finally, “*Ecclesiastica Rota*” replaces DEUS at the hub of the *rota*.

As with the Ashmole *rota* the cross functions primarily as the organizing component that gives shape to the Peterborough diagram’s meaning. Inscribed on a distinct axial limb of the cross, each letter of A.D.A.M clearly marks out the four points of the globe. The letters likewise find their order through the knowledgeable reader’s capacity to properly follow the sign of the cross. Here A.D.A.M inscribed upon the cross—as opposed to set interior to its limbs as with Ashmole—signifies the *imago Christi* but also evokes an eschatological tradition linked to the protoplast’s collection from the four cardinal points. St. Augustine confirms an association between A.D.A.M and the apocalyptic *visio* of Christ gathering his elect from the four ends of the world, in *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 95. Citing Mark 13:27 Augustine explains that the elect

¹¹⁸ Baker, “More Diagrams,” 63.

¹¹⁹ Although beyond the scope of the current analysis, a brief consideration of the grouping within the roundels may prove enlightening. For example, Adam as the historical progenitor of mankind is linked with David, from whose line Jesus arose. Likewise, the belief that Jesus overturns Adam’s original act of sin would link David to Adam as a type of teleological midpoint. But I am at a loss to explain their link to the figure Cancer.

¹²⁰ Kühnel, 158-59.

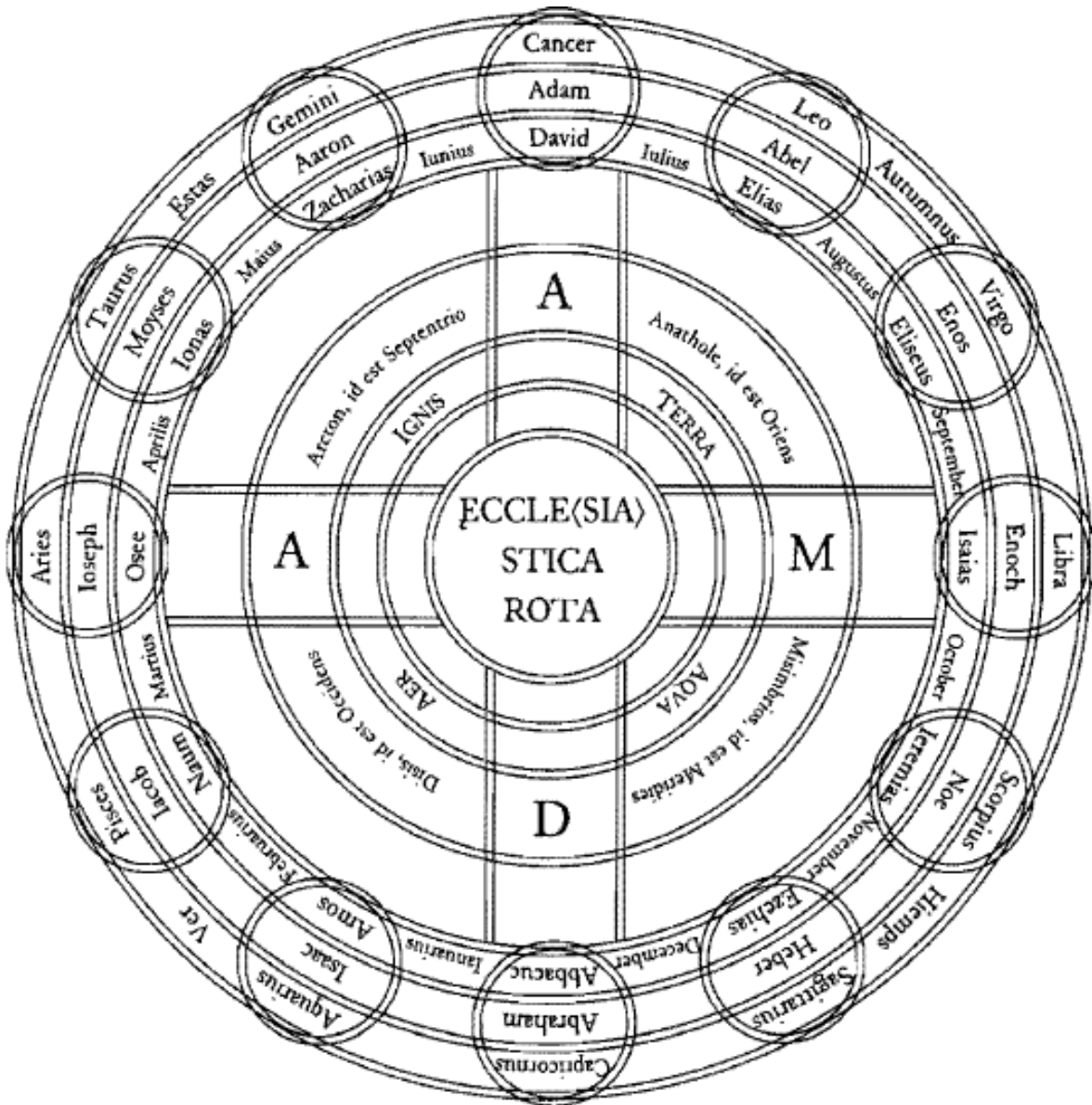


Fig. 5. Transcription of the zodiac, months, prophets, elements, and cardinal direction from London British Library, Cotton Tiberius C. i, fol. 5r, provided by Peter Baker.¹²¹

¹²¹ Baker, "More Diagrams," 66, fig. 2.

will arrive from the “four winds” while Christ sits in judgment of “toto orbe terrarum” (the whole ambit of the earth), just as ADAM signifies the entire earth.¹²² Attending to this consonance, Augustine reasons:

Ipse ergo Adam toto orbe terrarum sparsus est. In uno loco fuit, et *cecidit*, et quodam modo comminutus implevit orbem terrarum: sed misericordia Dei undique collegit fracturas, et conflavit igne charitatis, et fecit unum quod fractum erat. Novit illud facere artifex ille; nemo desperet: multum quidem est, sed qui sit artifex, cogitate. Ille refecit, qui fecit; ille reformativus, qui formavit.

[Adam therefore has been scattered over the whole ambit of the earth. He was in one place, and *fell*, and in a certain manner broken into pieces, he filled the whole world: but the mercy of God gathered together the fragments from every side, and forged them by the fire of love, and made one what was fractured. That Artist knew how to do this; let no one despair: it is indeed a great thing, but reflect who that Artist was. He who made, restored: He who formed, reformed.]¹²³

Ostensibly concerned with unification, the grammatical link between *cecidit* and *comminutus*— from the position of each in concurrent subordinate clauses—highlights the parallel theme of fragmentation animating Augustine’s exegesis. While the connotations of “comminuere” [to break into pieces, shatter] are more explicit, *cecidit* bears more nuance.¹²⁴ As third person singular indicative active, the form may derive from “cadere” [to fall, fall down] or “caedere” [to cut, hew, fell, cut into pieces] but its relation to *comminutus* suggests the latter.¹²⁵ As such *the Fall* is characterized as a moment of dislocation and disarray that recalls the excursus in Ælfric’s

¹²² PL 37:1236: quia non partem emit. Totum iudicare habet, quia pro toto pretium dedit... Congregat electos omnes a quatuor ventis: ergo de toto orbe terrarum. Quia et ipse Adam [aliquando hoc dixeram] orbem terrarum significant secundum graecam linguam. Quatuor enim litterae sunt, A.D.A et M. Sicut autem Graeci loquuntur, quatuor orbis partes has in capite litteras habent [he bought not a part: he will judge the whole, for it was the whole of which he paid the price... he gathers all his elect from the four winds (Mark 13:27): therefore from the whole world. For Adam himself (this I had said before) signifies in Greek the whole world; for there are four letters, A, D, A, and M. But as the Greeks speak, the four quarters of the world have these initial letters].

¹²³ PL 37:1236. My emphasis.

¹²⁴ *comminutus* in Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, eds., *A Latin Dictionary Online*, accessed January 25, 2017, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.04.0059>. Hereafter Lewis and Short.

¹²⁵ Lewis and Short, s. v. “cecidit.”

hexameral verse. The vivid image of Adam's disarticulation functions in antithetical tension with the primary interest in re-unification that allows Augustine to rhetorically craft a sense of resolution: "et fecit unum quod fractum erat" [and made one what was fractured]. Augustine aligns a seminal moment at the outset of Christian history with the glorious event that marks the end time to emphasize the typological fulfillment embedded in Mark 13:27. This notion of fulfillment likewise lends a sense of subtle optimism to the Christian currently dealing with his or her disordered nature. The turn of phrase concluding the passage foregrounds this optimism: "Ille refecit, qui fecit; ille reformativit, qui formavit" [He who made, restored: He who formed, reformed]. *Reformativit* speaks to this potential as it denotes not only re-assembly but an implicit sense that this re-incorporation is a moment of change, transformation.¹²⁶ Adam functions as both historical figure and metonym in Augustine's exegesis in a way that recalls his significance as progenitor and generic man in the literary and visual excursus discussed above: just as Adam was scattered so have Christians been spread across the globe, and as Adam is reformed through God's mercy so the elect will be transformed in God's countenance.

The Ashmole A.D.A.M presents its viewer with a correlative sense of reformation and transformation. To de-cypher Adam's name one must reorganize the acrostic according to the shape of the cross yet in performing this symbol the reader himself is briefly transformed; as the puzzle invites the viewer to enact the symbol of the cross he is brought in line with A.D.A.M as *imago Christi* in a manner that makes *actual* his potential to reflect the image of God. Other structural aspects affirm the notion of operative identity formation underwriting Byrhtferthian *rota*. I have noted how by overlaying *rotae* with crosses both Ashmole and Peterborough associate the cycle of natural time with the structure of Christian order; this is most explicit in

¹²⁶ Lewis and Short, s. v. "reformare."

the location of DEUS at Ashmole's hub. Locating God at the crux of space and time signifies his position as creator and animator, as the one who establishes order, but in exchanging "DEUS" for "Ecclesiastica Rota" at its hub the Peterborough diagram links the same organizing power with daily habitus and the liturgical cycle of the Church year typically associated with God. As the center around which the layers of concentric rings organize, the organizational motion of the Church *rota* exerts a centripetal force that draws both the continual rotation of celestial bodies and teleological line of Christian history (through the figures of patriarchs and prophets) in line with the assembled body of ADAM. In this way, the body reformed through monastic habit acts as the symbolic culmination of Christian history, a material link between the individual and the community of the elect. Whether carried out by Byrhtferth or an anonymous scribe, this alteration illustrates ethos at the heart of computistical theory and Benedictine regula, that natural bodies find meaning through their capacity to follow the church calendar. Just as the flow of celestial bodies finds meaning through the arrangement of holy feasts, so the individual and communal monastic body finds order through its place within the constant cycle of daily habit and makes manifest its potential to reflect the image of God.

III. Conclusions

It is with this visual and textual excursus in mind that we may return to the rhetorical formation of the body in the *Ammonitio*:

Eala þu wynsuma man, þu Godes anlicnys, ic bidde þe, ic lære þe, ic bebeode þe: geclænsa þe, afeorma þe ærest þine eagan fram lyðre gesihðe and cweð to [þinum] Drihtne: 'ahwyrf mine eagan þæt hig idelnyse ne gymon and mine earan awend fram fulre spræce and murcnunge'. Geþenc þæt þa beoð eadige þe gehyrað Godes word and þæt gehealdað. Gehega þine earan mid þornigum hege, þæt us ys Godes ege, þæt þu ne ghyre lustum mode þæra twyspræcena word, swa se witega þe lærð, þus cweðende: 'Sepi

aures tuas spinis'. Awend þine nosu fram unalyfedum stencum, þæt þu mæge wynsumlice cweðan: 'Syn we æðele stencas beforan Godes gesihðe'. Geheald þine tungan fram awyrgeðnyssum and manapum and idelre spræce, forþan on hyre ys deað and lif. Se ðe gehealt his tungan wið unþeawas, he gehealt his sawle fram angsumnyssse. Gescyld þine handa fram blodgyte, þæt hig forðringon 'mirram probatissimam', þæt synt gode dæda. Hwæt, ic þa bidde and beode þæt þu þine fet gescylde wið unþeawas. Lufa sibsumnyssse and geþwærnyssse and geriht þine stapas to Godes wege, and geheald þine heortan cafllice wið unþeawas, þæt þu mæge þæne geseon þe þisne cwide gecwæð: 'Beati mundo corde quoniam ipsi Deum uidebunt.' (Enchiridion, 242)

[Lo! you, joyful man, you image of God. I bid you, I instruct you, I enjoin you: cleanse yourself, first purge your eyes of corrupt sights and say to your Lord: 'turn away my eyes so they will not see vanity and turn my ears way from impure speech and complaining. Consider that those who hear God's word and obey it are blessed. Fence in your ears with a thorny hedge, that is, with the fear of God, so that you will not hear with willing mind the words of the deceitful, as the prophet instructs you, saying, 'fence in your ears with thorns.' Turn your nose away from forbidden odors so that you can delightfully say, 'let us be noble odors in the sight of God'. Keep your tongue from cursing and false oaths and idle speech, for in the tongue is death and life. Whoever keeps his tongue from sin keeps his soul from pain. Shield your hands from bloodshed so that they can bring forth 'most excellent myrrh', that is, good deeds. Lo, I pray and exhort you that you shield your feet from sin. Love peace and concord and direct your steps into God's path, and boldly keep your heart from sin, so that you can see him who said these words: 'Blessed are the pure in spirit, for they will see God.'].]

The passage displays considerable lexical and thematic overlap with a brief section of the introduction to the *RSB*: "dicit tibi deus: Si vis habere veram et per petuam vitam 'prohibe linguam tuam a malo et labia tua ne loquantur dolum; deverte a malo et fac bonum. inquire pacem et sequere eam.' Et cum haec feceritis. oculi mei super vos et aures mee ad preces vestras" [God says to you, if you want to have true eternal life, "keep your tongue from evil and let our lips speak no deceit. Turn from evil and do good, seek peace and pursue it." And when you have done these things, my eyes will be on you and my ears open to your prayers].¹²⁷ Both

¹²⁷ Logeman, 3. The partially damaged Old English gloss to this passage reads: "gif þu wilt habban þæt soðe lif 7 þæt ece lif ...eond tundgan þine fram yfele 7 þine weleras 7 þæt hi na sprecaþ ...n gecyr fram yfele 7 god smeas oððe sec sibbe ...ylik hyre 7 þonne þas þineg gedoð eagan mine ofor 7 mine earan to eowrum benum" (Logeman, 3).

the *Ammonitio* and *RSB* present monastic habit in embodied terms as they associate both the “cottidiae” (daily) practice of good deeds, spiritual experience, and even God’s impending response with discrete members of the material body.¹²⁸ By expanding his anatomical catalogue to consider nose, hands, and feet in addition to eyes, ears and mouth (tongue/lips), Byrhtferth’s admonition dilates the exhortation “*deverte a malo et fac bonum*” in a way that thematically extends the command to “turn from evil” over the entire body.¹²⁹ This brief enumeration obviously differs in scope from the exhaustive catalogues found in *loricae* and confessional prayers but what is of particular interest is how Byrhtferth develops upon the motif. Rather than a plain list, Byrhtferth frames the members in a paradigm that binds body part, negative physiological potential, and verb connoting restraint or conversion. The scheme can be summarized as follows: *eagan—gesihð—afeorma/awyrf*; *earan—gehyre—gehega/awend*; *tungan—spræce—geheald*; *handa—blotgyte—gescyld*; *fet—unþeawas—gescyld*.¹³⁰ Here each item functions as a synecdoche, presenting an image of the ‘whole body’ as an incorporation of its various parts. I have demonstrated in the two preceding chapters how this rhetorical disarticulation effects a drastic reconceptualization of the body from a generic or glossed *lichama* to a complex of interconnected parts, an assembled body, whose vibrant nature equally

¹²⁸ The qualification of this praxis as “daily” comes earlier in the Introduction to the *RSB*: “*Haec complens Dominus exspectat nos cottidiae is suis sanctis monitis factis nos respondere debere*” [Fulfilling these words, the Lord expects that we should daily answer these his sacred admonitions with deeds] (Logeman, 5). It is likely Byrhtferth felt this understanding of monastic routine would be taken for granted by his audience.

¹²⁹ The command finds its source in Psalms 33:15: “*Diverte a malo, et fac bonum; inquire pacem, et persequere eam*” [Turn away from evil and do good: seek after peace and pursue it] (text and translation from DRBO). Indeed, the bulk of this section from the Introduction to the *RSB* seems to correlate with Ps. 33:13-16.

¹³⁰ Ælfric employs an almost identical paradigm in three of his homilies: CH I.6, CH II. 23, CH II. 39. While his application is more concise than the *Ammonitio*, it maintains the same sense of bodily restraint and circumscription. Ælfric’s use of this scheme is the core focus of Chapter 4, “Translating the Body.”

signifies a disposition to fragmentation and reintegration.¹³¹ Such an understanding of the body would take on particular resonance for Byrhtferth's audience, who in their acquaintance with a computistic scheme of the elemental flesh would view the reintegration of limbs in terms of transformative re-formation.

The *Ammonitio*'s enumerative catalog employs two verbs that denote circumscription of the member through verbs that denote turning way from: "ahwyrfan" [to turn away (someone/something), avert] is associated with the eyes while "awendan" [to turn, move] is used with ears.¹³² Although the range of meaning for ahwyrfan is limited, as the *Dictionary of Old English* gives "to turn away" as its sole sense, awendan can convey a broad range of connotations;¹³³ in addition to the primary meaning of turning away, further attestations imbue this motion with a sense of change, translation. In such a way Byrhtferth fashions the assembled body not simply as a point of re-integration – as in the loricae or confessional prayers – but a locus of persistent translation. In a similar manner to the visual excursus of the generic ADAM who finds order in his capacity to mirror DEUS, the *Ammonitio* associates this notion of (re)order with the facility of the monastic brother to physically follow a divine course: "þine fet gescylde wið unþeawas... and geriht þine stapas to Godes wege" [shield your feet from sin... and direct your steps into God's *path*] (my emphasis). The multivalence of *wege* lends the closing phrase a level of lexical play that shapes how one interprets the thematics of circumscription and transformation that permeate the larger passage. In both a practical and

¹³¹ This notion of fragmentation and resultant disruption in the subject-object relationship is based in Bill Brown's concept of "thingness;" see "Thing Theory," *Critical Inquiry* 28, no. 1 (2001): 1-22.

¹³² DOE, s. v. "ahwyrfan" and "awendan."

¹³³ A spelling variant of ahwyrfan – *ahwerfan* – does bear a phonological resemblance to the verb *ahweorfan* [to turn away, convert] it is unclear if the reader would make this connection and thus imbue *ahwyrf* with a sense of conversion (DOE, s. v. "ahweorfan").

moral/figurative sense *weg* broadly signifies following God’s path, but the directional value of the term likewise denotes both a sense of prescribed pattern of behavior [IV. conduct, manner, method, mode, plan] and is employed earlier in the manual by Byrhtferth to describes the moon’s course.¹³⁴ Here the monastic body is circumscribed by “Godes weg” in its adherence to daily practice of monastic habit, which like the path of celestial bodies are continuous in their daily, monthly, and yearly cycles. In its potential for each member to coalesce through this order, the *Ammonitio* presents the assembled body as a site of transformation wherein the unremitting cycles of monastic habit and ecclesiastical calendar translate and replace the natural disordered flux of the elemental flesh. As such Byrhtferth employs the assembled body as a means to represent the virtual made actual, a sign of the order offered through Benedictine habit that allows man to materialize their potential to reflect “Godes anlicnys” [God’s image] on a daily basis.

An eschatological turn infuses the exhortation with an imperative quality. After directing his reader correctly observe Lent and the Ember days, Byrhtferth warns:

Ðonne þu, la leofa freond, byst gefullod, þu byst Godes sawle and lichama, and God þe betæcð his englum oð þinne endedæg. Swa oft swa þu agyltst, hig gewendað fram þe, and hig dæghwamlice cyðað þine dæda beforan Godes gesihðe, and deofol awrit þærongen ealle þine misdæda, þæt þin sawl and þin lichama todælað heora gemænscepe.
(*Enchiridion*, 246)

[O beloved friend, when you are baptized you become God's soul and body, and God entrusts you to his angels until your last day. As often as you sin they turn away from you, and every day they reveal your deeds in God’s sight, and the devil writes down your misdeeds next to them so that your soul and your body may part company.]

This turn makes explicit the implications arising from the virtuous being met with God’s countenance earlier in the postscript, and like the opening passage on the assembled body Byrhtferth’s *visio* of judgment centers on embodied practice of *dæda/misdæda*. The warning is

¹³⁴ B&T, s. v. “weg;” *Enchiridion*, 206.

reiterated in a shorter form as the author cautions the reader to avoid misdeeds so that he should not “gewyrce his lichaman and his sawle to deofles eardungstowe” [make his body and soul into a dwelling–place for the devil] (*Enchiridion*, 246). This image recalls the broader motif of the Devil’s limbs and similarly marks out the individual body as both a symbol of the larger social community and contested terrain which may affirm or destabilize the corporate body. In the following chapter I trace this tension between individual action and communal stability through a series of homilies written by Ælfric of Eynsham. My analysis considers how the primarily secular and lay audience for which Ælfric writes shapes his much less optimistic view of the material body, and its natural inclination toward sinful disorder. Yet in his use of the assembled body trope I demonstrate that contrary to prevailing readings of his theology, Ælfric’s focus on the disordered nature of the human body speaks not to a disdain for the flesh but to a view of the body as an agent both for sin and grace.

CHAPTER 4

TRANSLATING THE BODY:

THE ASSEMBLED BODY AND LAY PIETY IN ÆLFRIC'S HOMILIES

A passage near the conclusion of Ælfric's homily *Feria III: De Dominica Oratione* offers a protracted meditation on a trope common to Anglo-Saxon religious writing, the Christian community as limbs of Christ's body:¹

On þam is geswultelod hu swiðe god lufað annysse. 7 geþwærnyse on his folce; Æfter godes gesetnyse ealle cristene men sceoldon beon swa geþwære. swilce hit an man wære. for þi wa þam men þe ða annysse tobrecð; Swa swa we habbað on anum lichaman manega lima 7 hi ealle anum heafde gehyrsumiað. swa eac we sceolon manega cristene menn criste on annysse gehyrsumian. for þan ðe he is ure heafod. 7 we sind his lima, we magon geseon on urum agenum lichaman hu ælc lim oþrum ðenað; ða fet berað ealne þone lichaman, and ða Eagan lædað ða fet, and þa handa gearciað ðone bigleofan. (CH I.19.218-27)

[In [the Lord's Prayer] is manifest how greatly God loves unity and concord among his people. According to God's decree, all Christian men should be so united as if they were a single man. Therefore woe to those men who break that unity. Just as we have many limbs in one body and they all obey one head so also we many Christians should obey Christ in unity, because he is our head and we are his limbs. We may see in our own

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¹ Peter Clemons, ed., *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 325-34. Hereafter CH I; all homilies are cited by series, homily number, and line number. All translations in this chapter are my own unless noted. For a helpful, although incomplete, list of sources see Robert DiNapoli, *An Index of Theme and Image to the Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church: Comprising the Homilies of Ælfric, Wulfstan, and the Blickling and Vercelli Codices* (Norfolk: Anglo-Saxon Books, 2003), 16; as a sub-listing under "the Body," DiNapoli locates the motif across 13 homilies (9 from Ælfric and 4 from Wulfstan). The *locus classicus* for the analogy is 1 Corinthians 12:12-14: "Sicut enim corpus unum est, et membra habet multa, omnie autem membra corporis sum sint multa, unum tamen corpus: ita et Christus... Nam et corpus non est unum membrum, sed multa" [For as the body is one, and has many members; and all the members of the body, whereas they are many, yet are one body, so also is Christ... for the body also is not one member, but many] (*Douay-Rheims Bible Online*, accessed December 20, 2016, <http://www.drbo.org/index.htm>. Hereafter DRBO). Text and translation of 1 Cor. are taken from DRBO.

bodies how each limb serves the other. The feet bear the whole body, and the eyes lead the feet, and the hands prepare sustenance.]

Ælfric offers a level of detail uncommon to other iterations of the image within Anglo-Saxon literature, while the motif itself is absent from his source material for the homily.² Stanley B. Greenfield and Daniel G. Calder suggest this explication affords Ælfric an opportunity to clearly reconcile “paradoxical notions of community” at the core of his excursus of the Lord’s Prayer;³ the image provides an intelligible metaphor by which lay members of his audience may grasp how the unity of one (the Lord’s Prayer) emerges from many (its seven discrete petitions) while its tropological significance illustrates how the individual Christian may join the corporate body of Christ through knowledge and practice of the prayer, as the Lord’s Prayer was one of the two texts which every Christian was expected to know.⁴ Although their analysis of Ælfric’s style reveals great insight into the technical and stylistic proficiency of the homilist, a problematic notion of permanence appears to inflect Greenfield and Calder’s view on the nature of individual and corporate Christian identity: “God is unity, the *æne Fæder*; we are manifold, but we can be brought into a collective body, transformed into a oneness before God.”⁵ Instead Ælfric explicitly describes unity in terms of obedience (*on annysse gehyrsumian*) and mutual service (*ðenað*) that frame the individual’s place within this oneness as performative and thus contingent upon his or her capacity to serve within the communal body. Here one’s state as a good Christian is fluid not fixed. Just as the feet bear the limbs or the eyes direct the feet, Ælfric further

² Malcolm Godden states that “the final discussion of the unity and interdependence of the whole community” owes nothing to Augustine or any of Ælfric’s other sources, in *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary, and Glossary*, ed. Godden (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 158.

³ Greenfield and Calder, *A New Critical History of English Literature: With a survey of the Anglo-Latin background by Michael Lapidge* (New York: New York University Press, 1986), 80.

⁴ Godden, 154.

⁵ Greenfield and Calder, 82.

develops this conditional understanding of Christian selfhood to foreground the potential of the individual member to affect the “health” of Christ’s body:

“Hraðe lið þæt heafod þæradune, gif þa fet hit ne feriað; and hraðe ealle ða lima togædere forweorðað, gif þa handa ne doð þone bigleofan þam muðe... Ealswa wel behofað þæt heafod þæra oðera lima, swa swa ða lima behofiað þæs heafdes. Gif an lim bið untrum, ealle ða oðre þrowiað mid þam anum.” (CH I.19.227-29, 235-38)

[Soon the head will lie downwards if the feet do not bear it, and soon all the limbs will perish together if the hands do not put sustenance to the mouth... As the head needs the other members, so these members need the head. If one limb is diseased, all the others suffer with that one]

Read during Rogationtide,⁶ the complex of *licgan*, *forweorðan*, *untrum*, and *þrowian* echoes the vocabulary of sickness and wounds common to what Allen Frantzen defines as the Anglo-Saxon literature of penance and evokes a mood that would deeply resonate with those Christians gathered to participate in personal or communal acts of ritual purification.⁷ Such emphasis on the responsibility of each member and the reliance of the whole upon individual limbs offers a ready conceptual frame for congregants to better comprehend their specific role in producing a pure social, Christian body. Indeed, in a striking attempt to fully illustrate this negotiation between individuation and unity, Ælfric eschews abstraction to apply clearer, concrete terms. His note

⁶ Also known as the *Gang-dægas* (literally the Walking Days), Rogationtide is the three days preceding the Ascension on the Anglo-Saxon liturgical calendar. The corpus of sermons for these days demonstrates a penitential tone. A helpful collection of these sermons appear in *Eleven Old English Rogationtide Homilies*, ed. Joyce Bazire and James E. Cross (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982). What has been of great interest to scholars are implications that the celebration of these days involved a ritual walking of parish boundaries. See Gordon Sellers, “The Old English Rogationtide Corpus: A Literary History” (PhD diss., Loyola University, 1996), 126-51; Joyce Hill, “The *Litaniae maiores* and *minores* in Rome, Francia and Anglo-Saxon England: Terminology, Texts and Traditions,” *Early Medieval Europe* 9 (2000): 211-46; M. Bradford Bedingfield, *The Dramatic Liturgy of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002), 191; Stephen J. Harris, “The Liturgical Context of Ælfric’s Homilies for Rogation,” in *The Old English Homily: Precedent, Practice and Appropriation*, ed. Aaron Kleist (Turnout: Brepols, 2007), 143-69; Michael Fox, “Vercelli Homilies XIX-XXI, the Ascension Day Homily in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 162, and the Catechetical Tradition from Augustine to Wulfstan,” in *New Readings in the Vercelli Book*, ed. Samantha Zacher and Andy Orchard (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 254-79; and Helen Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 134-36.

⁷ Frantzen defines the “literature of penance” as an inter-generic group of texts “which makes use of the motif or images and themes specifically associated with confession and penance” in *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1983), 179.

that “we magon geseon on urum agenum lichaman hu ælc lim oþrum ðenað” [we may see in our own bodies how each limb serves the other] reifies the allegorical body, demonstrating the model’s veracity through the embodied experience of each congregant (CH I.19.225-26). Yet, this recourse to materialism is problematic as the metaphysical concerns of social unity and spiritual purity are dependent upon all participants. Here the body of Christ is manifest through an assemblage of individuated members, but its unity is contingent upon the purity of each limb. The grim characterization of the individual limb’s potential to disrupt communal accord—or the body’s health—recalls the text’s emphasis on obedience and communal service in a manner that re-frames not simply the physical body but its motions as a matter for social concern.

What emerges in this example is a nuanced understanding of the discrete material body that allows Ælfric to work through concerns over lay piety and the uniformity of secular Christian identity. The present chapter explores how Ælfric employs the material body through his homilies as a vehicle to enact Christian selfhood and a literary image by which to negotiate the inherent tension between individual and corporate identity. As in the previous chapters, I will focus on the assembled body motif as it supplies Ælfric a specialized vocabulary with which to articulate questions relating to themes of disease and health, fragmentation and unity. My analysis will make use of aspects of Assemblage Theory to approach this formulation of Christ’s body. Here, the social body is not viewed as an abstract or set totality that exists *a priori*. Instead, an assemblage is an accumulation whose properties emerge in the interactions among its parts. This frame allows for an expanded consideration of the component-limb as agent who can affirm or destabilize the whole and as a result offers a *visio* of the self—both discrete and corporate—that is under constant negotiation. From this perspective, I will examine how the presentation of Christ’s body as an assemblage of member-actants allows Ælfric to broach issues of individual

agency and Christian selfhood as they intersect with concerns of communal purity. I explore the transformative potential ascribed to the material body, through the assembled body trope, in Ælfric's homiletics and its effect on how modes of individual secular selfhood are rendered in relation to the corporate body of believers. I argue that Ælfric disseminates a conceptual model of the material body with roots in Benedictine ideology, rendering it as an instrument capable of inscribing Christian identity discretely while affirming the secular community of believers as the unified the body of Christ.

I. Christ's Body and (un)Ruled Limbs

Recent scholarship has done much to articulate Ælfric's complex interaction with lay piety characterizing the abbot as an instructor deeply involved with both the ordered and secular worlds. Ubiquitous among these studies is an emphasis on Ælfric's fundamental ties to the Benedictine Reform and the indelible influence reformist notions of social union, emergent from meticulous regulation, and education have upon Ælfric's writing for secular clergy and their lay congregations.⁸ Indeed, his introduction to these ideals would have coincided with his confirmation as a neophyte. Ælfric received his monastic training at the Winchester school under Æthelwold, a preeminent figure in the English reform movement and a driving force behind the

⁸ Indeed Ælfric's role in propagating Benedictine doctrine amongst the secular community was noted early on by scholars of the Reform movement in England. See David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: From the times of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council 940-1216* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 58-64. Although the monolithic effect and telos of political influence projected onto the reform by Knowles have been contested in recent scholarship, the text provides a foundational historical account of the development of the English Benedictine Reform. For a synthesis of more recent research see Catherine Cubitt, "The tenth-century Benedictine Reform in England," *Early Medieval Europe* 6 (1997): 77-94. Cubitt illustrates the Reform movement as more narrow in effect, diverse in application, and concerned with secular and lay piety than even the reformers themselves present. Joyce Hill provides a succinct introduction to both the Reform movement and Ælfric's place within it in "The Benedictine Reform and Beyond," in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine Treharne (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), 151-69.

translation and circulation of the *Rule of St. Benedict* in Old English and the architect of the *Regularis Concordia*, a supplemental customary intended to more specifically address the needs of Anglo-Saxon monastics.⁹ Æthelwold's efforts to reform English monasticism around a standard set of *regula* emerged from an aspiration to develop a uniformity in observance and doctrine. This reflex is apparent in Ælfric's writing for the monastic community but likewise emerges in the "definite educative program" he develops for his secular audience.¹⁰ As Ælfric adopts the reformist imperative to cultivate spiritual growth through correction and instruction in texts intended for secular consumption, his goal is to effect social cohesion and stability within the secular community mirroring that within the monasteries.¹¹

⁹ Æthelwold was bishop of Winchester from 964 to his death in 984. For a clearer view of Æthelwold's role in the Reform see Hill, "Reform and Beyond." Ælfric refers to himself as: *alumnus Adelwoldi beneuoli et uenerabilis presulis* (student of the benevolent and venerable bishop Æthelwold) in his Latin Preface to CH. I, in Jonathan Wilcox, *Ælfric's Prefaces* (Durham: Durham Medieval Texts, 1994), 107. In her exacting philological survey, Mechthild Gretsch has demonstrated Æthelwold's central role in translating the *Rule*; see *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 226-60; Gretsch, "The Benedictine Rule in Old English: A Document of Bishop Aethelwold's Reform Politics," in *Words, Texts and Manuscripts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Helmut Gneuss on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Korhammer (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 1992), 131-58. For Æthelwold's role in compiling the *Regularis Concordia* see Lucia Kornexl, ed., *Die 'Regularis concordia' und ihre altenglische Interlinearversion*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur englischen Philologie 17 (Munich: W. Fink, 1993), xxxi-l. On the esteem with which Ælfric held Æthelwold, Gretsch emphasizes a passage from the Old English Preface to CH. I wherein Ælfric acknowledges Ælfheah, who succeeded Æthelwold as Bishop of Winchester (984), simply as *adelwoldes æftergenge* [Æthelwold's successor] in "Ælfric, Language and Winchester," in *A Companion to Ælfric*, ed. Hugh Magennis and Mary Swan (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 110.

¹⁰ Clemoes, "The Chronology of Ælfric's Works," in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of their History and Culture presented to Bruce Dickens*, ed. Peter Clemoes (London: Bowes and Bowes, 1959), 212-47. Ælfric's writing for a monastic audience which best attests this ideal is his own production of a customary for the monks of Eynsham Abbey; see Christopher A. Jones, *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

¹¹ Pauline A. Stafford emphasizes the impact of renewed Viking raids during the late tenth century and the way they affected a notion of correcting belief within secular piety in "Church and Society in the Age of Ælfric" in *The Old English Homily*, ed. Paul Szarmach and Bernard Huppé (New York: State University of New York Press, 1978), 1-3. Hill does not discount the political turbulence experienced by Ælfric but highlights his material surroundings upon his transfer to Cerne Abbas in 987. Cerne would have been a much humbler setting in comparison to Winchester and provided closer personal contact with the laity allowing Ælfric to recognize the poor state of learning amongst secular clergy and validating "exegetical teaching that he had come to take for granted in the exceptional environment of Winchester." See Hill, "Ælfric: His Life and Works," in Magennis and Swan, *A Companion to Ælfric*, 33-66.

Attending to the frequency with which Ælfric traverses the supposed bounds between monastic and secular, Christopher Jones expresses apprehension regarding the common categorical application of “Reform” as it essentially subsumes aspects of Ælfric’s work which expose the porous boundaries between Benedictine theory and practical pastoral application.¹² The Ælfric emerging from Jones’s analysis is a monastic aware of the travails faced by the secular community and keen to adapt Benedictine doctrine as a remedy for the particular ills of an un-regulated secular life. Joyce Hill emphasizes the central role of the *Catholic Homilies* within Ælfric’s program of secular *correctio*: “Their purpose was to makes accessible to secular clergy and thus to their congregations the biblical and doctrinal teaching that has come into England with the reform.”¹³ Although it has been established that Ælfric intended each series of his homilies for slightly different audiences, Hill’s conclusion is a reminder that even if Ælfric is writing explicitly for secular clergy it is with the understanding that this correction will ultimately touch the lay Christian.¹⁴ While such perspectives deepen our understanding of Ælfric

¹² Christopher A. Jones, “Ælfric and the Limits of the Benedictine Reform,” in Magennis and Swan, *A Companion to Ælfric*, 67-109. Jones problematizes the dichotomy of Reformed/Secular. Pointing to the frequency with which Ælfric eschews use of the term *reformatio* in favor of *correctio*, he suggests that Ælfric “and others in his circle” viewed themselves not as not part of the teleology of the Reform but rather as correctors of monasticism *en masse* (69). Jones locates Ælfric’s penchant for innovation within his exercise of more purely monastic duties as well noting how Ælfric’s adaptation of customs from the *Regularis Concordia* into a new customary for the monks of Eynsham foregrounds a similar pattern of “honouring... while ultimately subsuming” source material found in Æthelwold’s production of the *Regularis Concordia* (77).

¹³ Hill, “Reform and Beyond,” 158. Clemoes places the *Catholic Homilies* at the front of Ælfric’s line of textual production corresponding to his transfer to Cerne Abbey (see Clemoes, “Chronology”). Cubitt takes a similar perspective but notes how Ælfric explicitly expands his scope to the national scale, viewing secular instruction as a means to produce social cohesion and national protection. See Cubitt, “Ælfric’s Lay Patrons,” in Magennis and Swan, *Companion to Ælfric*, 165-92. Cubitt articulates Ælfric’s willingness to elevate Old English as a language of authority while dealing with secular clergy and lay audiences. Cubitt posits that what is ostensibly a maverick departure from the learned Benedictine emphasis on Latinity is in fact informed by the Benedictine drive to regulate instruction. The result is that Ælfric presents the vernacular as a means of disseminating proper knowledge. See also Cubitt “The tenth-century Reform in England,” 89-90.

¹⁴ In a seminal study, Godden observes the distinction that while in his First Series of homilies Ælfric is using the secular priest only as his mouthpiece, the Second Series provides secular clergy more room to tailor his material “for their own listeners, and probably to study for their own benefit too;” see Godden, “The Development of Ælfric’s Second Series of Catholic Homilies,” *English Studies* 54 (1973): 88.

as an exceptional pedagogue—one taking pains to tailor Benedictine notions of regulation and orthodoxy for secular correction—there is a dearth of scholarship that delineates specific conceptual models employed by Ælfric to promulgate such doctrine amongst his lay audience.¹⁵ The present chapter addresses this need by outlining the way in which Ælfric deploys the assembled body trope within three of his homilies.¹⁶

Although Ælfric’s interest in the material-assembled body as a model to disseminate Benedictine notions of physical performance and social concord has yet to be a source of inquiry, studies of the English Reform movement have long recognized the conceptual association between instructive texts and bodily regulation.¹⁷ More recent work examines the materiality of *habitus* in Benedictine ideology; these studies reappraise *habitus* not simply as strict physical regulation but as a central method for inscribing reformed ideology presented in instructive texts. Analyzing the image of an enthroned St. Benedict in the *Eadui Psalter*, Adam Cohen demonstrates a principal focus on the body in reform iconography.¹⁸ Citing similarities between the depiction of St. Benedict and the popular *imago Christi* motif, Cohen argues that the image

¹⁵ This tension is evident in Tom Hall’s “Ælfric as Pedagogue,” in Magennis and Swan, *A Companion to Ælfric*, 193-216. While cataloging studies in affirmation of Ælfric’s reputation as a master educator, Hall notes that Ælfric’s project of secular instruction is beyond the scope of his study and focuses solely on the monastic classroom. This reaction is unsurprising as the bulk of explicitly pedagogical texts in Ælfric’s catalogue assumes a monastic audience. The texts intended for a secular audience present the difficulty of articulating how this drive to educate the laity manifests itself by connecting conceptual threads or delineating a methodology by which standardized lay education or action might be instituted.

¹⁶ CH I.16 and homilies 23 and 39 from Ælfric’s second series of homilies; the latter are collected in Godden ed., *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies Second Series* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 213-20 and 327-34. Hereafter CH II.23 and CH II.39, cited by homily and line number.

¹⁷ Knowles emphasizes the constancy of daily routine and the degree to which activity and motion were guided and scheduled (4). Further, Jean Leclercq’s delineation of how the *lectio divina* was perceived to function in this routine illuminates the physicality of what modern readers would consider strictly mental or spiritual pursuits in *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1988), 15-17.

¹⁸ Adam Cohen, “The Reforming Body in Anglo-Saxon Art” (paper presented at the International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, MI, May 2012). The image in question is located in London, British Library MS Arundel 155, fol. 133r.

re-figures Benedict as an *imitatio* of Christ.¹⁹ Placing his reading within monastic notions of routine and regulation he argues that the body (and its motions) came to be understood in a dual perspective: that the body functioned as a tool to spur individual compunction, affecting spiritual growth, and as a public object that equally signified the individual's spiritual condition which could in turn function as an exemplar for imitation. Isabella Cochelin focuses on Benedictine educational texts, pedagogical theory, and *regula* to call attention to the fundamental place of the physical body at the intersection of reformed *habitus* and conceptions of monastic identity formation.²⁰ Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe similarly observes the importance of physical imitation and performance in the construction of the monastic self through the virtue of obedience.²¹ O'Brien O'Keeffe views monastic identity as habitual, budding from the internalization of textual structures disseminated in manuals of practice and naturalized through the strictures of

¹⁹ Cohen reveals faint inscriptions hidden in the rose appliques adorning St. Benedict's body, unnoticed by all former inspection. The inscriptions locate *castus*, *oboediens*, *humilis* on Benedict's groin, right knee, left knee (respectively) and echo a similar technique used in the *imago Christi* motif. However, the inscriptions adorning St. Benedict are adjectival forms whereas those on the *imago Christi* are nouns. Christ, literally, *is* the embodiment of 'chastity,' 'obedience,' and 'humility' while St. Benedict is sanctified through his imitation of Christ's substance. St. Benedict, then, becomes an exemplar through his faithful *imitatio*. Cohen more recently incorporates this reading within a broader study of the iconography associated with Edgar in "King Edgar Leaping and Dancing before the Lord," in *Imagining the Jew in Anglo-Saxon Literature and Culture*, ed. Samantha Zacher (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 219-36. Here Cohen convincingly argues the famous image of King Edgar from the New Minster Charter (London, British Library MS Cotton Vespasian A. viii, fol. 2v) is best read in the context of early medieval notions of Davidic kingship, where in the "dancing" Edgar embodies the humility of David dancing before the ark of the covenant from 2 Samuel 6.

²⁰ Cochelin draws attention to the explicit attention given to the physical body in the Cluniac methodology for training oblates, summarizing "the flesh was... used as an avenue to reach and form the inner self" in "Besides the Book: Using the Body to Mold the Mind—Cluny in the tenth and eleventh centuries," in *Medieval Monastic Education*, eds. George Ferzoco and Carolyn Muessig (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), 29. Earlier work from Michal Kobialka highlights the role of Benedictine ritual performance—what he terms representational practice—in signifying the physical presence of Christ's body in *This is My Body: Representational Practices in the Early Middle Ages* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 35-100. Lynda L. Coon likewise explores the presentation—that is regulated appearance—of the monastic body prescribed in Benedictine habit and the production of gendered identities within Carolingian communities in *Dark Age Bodies: Gender and Monastic Practice in the Early Medieval West* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

²¹ Exploring aspects of agency in Benedictine discourses of obedience, O'Brien O'Keeffe demonstrates how the body was used to inscribe what she calls "textual identities" through education and monastic habit in *Stealing Obedience: Narratives of Agency and Identity in Later Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012).

daily routine.²² Thus the monastic self is not fixed; rather, it is subject to the continual negotiation between individual will and action along the continuum of obedience. While these studies provide a critical foundation upon which to consider Ælfric’s presentation of the body, each overlooks the thematic play of bodily fragmentation and unity at work in monastic thought to broach concerns of individual reconciliation and communal cohesion. This section develops on such scholarship to demonstrate how the material body of the individual functions not only as a means to cultivate Christian identity but likewise provides a salient figure for these individual members to conceive of their place within the larger corporate body of the Christian community.

The elevation of obedience to a principal virtue in Benedictine thought offers a helpful entry point into the reformed monastic *visio* of the regulated material body.²³ Descriptions in the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* frame obedience in terms of physical performance, lending it a somatic quality that recalls Ælfric’s appeal to mutual service in CH I.19:²⁴

... sin to gereccanne
 ... Ergo preparanda sunt
 7 lichaman haligre beboda gehirsumnesse
 corda et corpora nostra sancte preceptorum obedientie
 to campiede 7 þæt hwonlic þæt þe on us gekynd acumenlic

²² O’Brien O’Keeffe, 7, 30. She argues an outgrowth of this concern is the elevation of Obedience to a cardinal Virtue in Benedictine thought, in which the constellation of sacrifice-freedom-choice aligns. Her definition provides helpful clarification of a conception of obedience thoroughly foreign to modern readers and shows how although “obedience” is an important tenet of all Christian teaching for those living a coenobitic life the virtue becomes fundamental to the definition of selfhood.

²³ Reading an episode from Wulfstan’s *Vita Æthelwoldi* within the broader context of monastic relationships, O’Brien O’Keeffe observes, “And the key to the relation between them in the narrative is obedience, the pre-eminent virtue of Benedictine monasticism” (5). Moreover, “it is the central virtue (along with humility) of monasticism designed as a corrective to the central failing of humankind through Adam and Eve in the primal disobedience that produced its fallen, sinful nature” (7-8).

²⁴ As O’Brien O’Keeffe convincingly demonstrates: “Obedience is thus the performative through which monastic identity is installed, tested, and ensured, an identity in which self-will is left behind and agent action is conceived to lie in the cheerful, immediate, and complete accession to the will of another” (93). For Byrhtferth’s call to perform virtue see pages 192-193 above.

militanda et quod minus habet in nobis natura possibile.²⁵

[Therefore our hearts and bodies must be prepared to fight for holy obedience to his instructions and what is not possible in us by nature.]

The grammatical conjunction between the future passive participial forms of “praepare” [glossed as *reccan*: to instruct, prepare]²⁶ and “militare” [glossed as *campian*: to fight]²⁷ characterizes the flesh not simply as the field upon which this *psychomachia*²⁸ is fought but a crucial weapon within it. Reformed English monasticism defines this performed—or what we could more accurately label *embodied*—obedience as the curative for mankind’s sinful and disordered nature, which is understood to result from Adam and Eve’s original act of disobedience:²⁹

hlyst eala bearn beboda lareowes 7 ahyld eare
Ausculata fili praecepta magistri et inclina aurem
heortan þinre 7 myneguncge arfæstes fæderes lustlice
cordis tui et ammonitionem pii patris libenter
underfoh 7 fremfi gefyll þæt þu to him þurh gehyrsum-
excipe et efficaciter comple ut ad eum per obedi-
nesse geswince gehwyrfe forþam þurh ungehyrsumnesse asolcenesse

²⁵ Henri Logeman, ed., *The Rule of St. Benet: Latin and Anglo-Saxon Interlinear Version*, EETS o.s. 90 (London, 1888), 5. Hereafter *RSB*.

²⁶ s. v. “praepare” in Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, eds., *A Latin Dictionary Online*, accessed January 25, 2017, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.04.0059>. Hereafter Lewis and Short; Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1882), s. v. “reccan.” Hereafter B&T.

²⁷ Lewis and Short, s. v. “militare”; B&T, s. v. “campian.”

²⁸ The Christian poet Prudentius formalized the concept and attendant imagery in the fifth century. Tropes drawn directly or obliquely from his work were exceptionally popular in the Anglo-Saxon literary imagination and would have been familiar to an educated English monastic. For knowledge of Prudentius in Anglo-Saxon England see Gernot Wieland, “Prudentius,” in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: A Trial Version*, eds. Frederick M. Biggs, Thomas D. Hill, and Paul E. Szarmach (Binghamton: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1990), 150-56. John P. Hermann further traces the adaptation of *Psychomachian* motif in “The Recurrent Motifs of Spiritual Warfare in Old English Poetry,” *Annuaire Mediaevale* 22 (1982): 7-35, and *Allegories of War* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1989).

²⁹ O’Brien O’Keefe, 7-8, 36. This notion of “disorder” was understood in terms of congenital—spiritual and biological—disruption and physical dislocation, that is mankind’s expulsion from paradise. I expand on the latter sense in Chapter 1.

entie laborem redeas a quo per inobedientie desidiam
þe þu aweiggewite.
recesseras.³⁰

[Listen carefully, my son, to the teachings of a master and incline the ear of your heart. Gladly accept and effectively fulfill the admonition of a loving father so that through the work of obedience you may return to him from whom you had withdrawn through the sloth of disobedience.]

Here the body's facility to correct the spiritual fallout from primal disobedience through the physical labor of obedience is bound to its role in affirming the order of the Benedictine community. Other passages in the *regula* likewise attest to this dual role of the body in the performance of obedience.³¹ Although current scholarship facilitates this reading of the monastic body as the performative *locus* for obedience, and by extrapolation a nucleus of communal order, little sustained attention has been given to the ways in which bodily imagery allowed brothers to conceive of not only their place within but also their effect within the broader community in which they were enmeshed.

Portions of the proem to the *Regularis Concordia* bring this conception of the English Benedictine community as a living body into clearer relief.³² Partly an encomium to King Edgar,

³⁰ *RSB*, 1.

³¹ While the performance of obedience is understood as a reparative *imitatio Christi*, what O'Brien O'Keefe describes as the "vertical chain of relation" is solemnized by likening the abbot to Christ: "Christi enim agere vices in monasterio creditor quando ipsius vocantur pronomine, dicente apostolo: 'Accepistis spiritum adoptionis filiorum, in quo clamamus: abba, pater'" [For he is believed to act in the place of Christ in the monastery when he is called by Christ's title, as the apostle says: "You have received the spirit of the adoption of sons, in which we cry out "Abba, Father" (Rom. 8:15)] (34). In this sense obedience to one's superiors like that given to Christ in chapter five, verse fifteen of *RSB*: "Quia oboedientia que majoribus prebetur: deo exhibetur. Ipse enim dixit: 'Qui vos audit me audit'" [For the obedience shown to superiors is offered to God, as he said, "He who listens to you listens to me" (Luke 10:16)].

³² The *Regularis Concordia* is the customary approved by the Council of Winchester (c. 973). The standard edition is Thomas Symons, ed. and trans., *Regularis Concordia: The Monastic Agreement of the Monks Nuns of the English Nation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953). Because the document was the product of the incipient English reform, helpful introductory material can often be found in work on the larger Benedictine movement in Anglo-Saxon England. See note 9 above.

the foreword provides a stylized account of the council charged to reform the pitiful state of the English church.³³ After Edgar drives out the “neglentium clericorum” [negligent clerks] from the holy centers and installs monks and abbots in their stead, he observes these devout leaders were unified in: “una fide, non tamen uno consuetudinis usu” [one faith, nevertheless not by singular custom of habit].³⁴ The godly King “monuit ut *concordes* aequali consuetudini usu” [urged them to be *united* by a uniform custom of habit].³⁵ Etymologically, *concordes* is composed of the elements *cum* [with, together] and *cor* [the heart].³⁶ Lewis and Short determine that in such compounds the prefix *cum-* designates both “a being or bringing together of several objects” and “completeness, perfecting of any act, and thus gives intensity to the signif. of the simple word.”³⁷ As such the modern English “unity” fails to capture the complete and perfect sense of harmony denoted by *concordes*; at the King’s urging, the monastic community should be as one body with one heart. The assembly’s response is described as *unamines* [*lit.* “of one mind”] in their oath to uphold a single habit. This description of the council as assembled body would likely be read as prescient within the dramatic scene set by the proem; the assembly acts with the unanimous concord urged by Edgar, speaking to how the actions of the council prefigure the harmony that the reform sought to install and embody. The notion appears more clearly in an expansion on Psalms 67:7 that concludes the proem, imploring that each individual member of the monastic

³³ Edgar’s favor to monastic reformers is recorded by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for 964, which states that he replaced the secular clergy from a number of monasteries (most notably Winchester) with monks. The charter for the re-foundation of the New Minster, Winchester—issued in 966—provides official testimony to Edgar’s endorsement of English reformers. The most famous account of the supposedly decrepit state of the Anglo-Saxon clergy prior to the reform movement comes in Ælfric’s Old English Preface to the Translation of *Genesis* (Wilcox, 116-19).

³⁴ Symons, 2.

³⁵ Symons, 2. My emphasis.

³⁶ Lewis and Short, s. v. “cum” and “cor.”

³⁷ Recorded as the tertiary meaning s. v. “cum.”

body who observe the customs adopted by the council receive eternal life from God: “qui facit unanimes, id est unius moris, habitare in domo” [who makes those of one mind, that is, of one way of life, to dwell in that house].³⁸ In such an equation the incorporated monastic community is not only given shape by but also sanctified through the concordant habit of its members.

A similar notion appears, rather ironically, in Chapter twenty-eight of the *RSB* that instructs the abbot how to administer the expulsion of members “Qui Saepius Correpti Emendare Noluerint” [Who refuse to amend after frequent correction].³⁹

þonne... swa swa
tunc abba faciet quod
wis læce: gif he gegaercaðswoðunga smyrunga oððe
sapiens medicus: si exhibuit fomenta, si unguenta ad-
lara læcedomas gewrita godcundra æt nextan
hortationum, si medicamina scripturarum divinarum si ad ultimum
berned amansumunge oððe wita girda
ustionem excommunicationis, vel plaga virgarum: etiam si
his foran nahtswyrian glæwnesse he gearcie soðlice
viderit nihil suam prevalere industriam, adhibeat etiam
þæt mare is his gebed 7 ealra gebroðra for him
quod majus est suam et omnium fratrum pro eo
se ðe ealle þinc mæg þæt wyrce
orationem: ut dominus qui omnia potest, operetur salutem
embe þone untruman breðer þæt gif he na forðam mid þisum
circa infirmum fratrem; Quod si nec isto modo
gemete bið gehæled þonne eallunga se abbod bruce isene
sanatus fuerit tunc iam abba utatur ferro
ofcyrfes eal swa sæde *afyrsiað þone yfelan fram*
abscisionis ut ait apostolus; *Auferte malum ex*
eow 7 eft swa ungeleafulla gif he aweig aweg gewite
vobis; et iterum, Infidelis si discedit discedat.
þæt na anadli sceap ealle heorde besmite.
Ne una ovis morbida omnem gregem contaminet.

[the abbot must proceed like a wise physician: if he has provided poultices, the salve

³⁸ Symons, 9. His emphasis. Psalms 67.7 reads: “Deus qui inhabitare facit unius moris in domo; qui educit vinctos in fortitudine, similiter eos qui exasperant, qui habitant in sepulchris” [God who maketh men of one manner to dwell in a house: Who bringeth out them that were bound in strength; in like manner them that provoke, that dwell in sepulchers] (DRBO). Translation from DRBO.

³⁹ Logeman, 59-60. My emphasis.

of exhortation, the medicine of divine scripture, if as a last resort he has used the cauterization (*lit.* a burning) of excommunication and whipping with rods and still sees that his efforts have no effect, let him offer something more powerful, his own prayer and that of all the brothers on his behalf, so that the Lord, who can do everything, may save this infirm brother. But if he is not healed (*lit.* sound, whole) in this way, then the abbot must use the knife (*lit.* iron) of amputation, as the apostle says: “If a faithless man is leaving, let him leave,” lest one diseased sheep infect the whole flock.]

Benedict’s characterization of abbot as *læce* would evoke the traditional Christian figure of *Christus medicus* for his learned audience.⁴⁰ But as a commonplace within the Insular and English literature of penance, it would offer a particular resonance for both the late Anglo-Saxon monastic and the lay reader;⁴¹ the image of priest as physician is ubiquitous in confessional and homiletic texts, but this spiritual physician healing the corporate body through the *isene* [iron/sword] of excommunication was likewise a metaphor common to both descriptions of the ritual and extant excommunication formulae.⁴² As the agent of contamination shifts from body—or bodily limb—to sheep, it is likely Benedict intends to recall the earlier metaphor of congregation as flock.⁴³ Yet the emphasis on the corporate nature of the ritual remains evident

⁴⁰ It would not be a far interpretive leap as the abbot was understood to act in place of Christ in the *RSB*; see footnote 33 above. R. Arbesmann provides a helpful background for the motif in “The Concept of ‘Christus Medicus’ in St. Augustine,” *Traditio* 10 (1954): 1-28.

⁴¹ The chief category for such motifs is the “Medical Metaphor” which encompasses a variety of medical images—such as priest as *medicus*, the wounds of sin, etc.—within spiritual discourse (Frantzen, 179). John McNeil first defines this category in “Medicine for Sin as Prescribed in the Penitentials,” *Church History* 1 (1932): 14-26. Both Frantzen and McNeil observe the particular fervor with which Anglo-Saxon authors adopted and developed these medical metaphors.

⁴² For priest as *læce* in Anglo-Saxon thought, see Frantzen, 30-31, 65, 84-85, 87, 89. The motif likewise appears in texts for protective and confessional prayers. I consider how the motif functions in each particular genre in Chapter 1, 29; Chapter 2, 81-83. Wulfstan devotes significant portions of two homilies to an explication of the liturgical act of excommunication at W. xiv and W. xv in Dorothy Bethurum, ed., *The Homilies of Wulfstan* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1998), 233-238. The fullest expression of the this image in a liturgical formula appears in Cotton Tiberius C. i (Neil R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957], no. 197).

⁴³ It is likely this turn intends to recall the characterization of the abbot as shepherd found earlier: “Sciatque abbas culpae pastoris incumbere quidquid in obibus paterfamilias utilitatis minus potuerit invenire. Tantundem iterum erit ut si inquieto vel inoboedienti gregi pastoris fuerit omnis diligentia adtributa et morbidis earum actibus

despite his mixed metaphor. As the abbot must undertake increasingly severe prescriptions, he gathers “ealra gebroðra” [all brothers] to pray for and thus heal the ailing brother as a penultimate measure. The play between “infirmum” [weak, feeble] and “sanatus” [to make sound, heal, restore to health] marks this moment as a type of symbolic watershed wherein the wellbeing of the whole communal monastic body is at stake, fixed to the health of an unwell individual member.⁴⁴ The juxtaposition of images, which concludes the passage, solidifies this notion. Setting the verb “abscidere” [to cut off, amputate] against “contaminet” [to corrupt, pollute], the passage constructs a context in which the “faithless man” is marked out clearly as a source of group contamination rather than discrete failure.⁴⁵ Ultimately drawing from the same analogy as the *RSB*, CH I.19 delivers a more fully pronounced explanation of this image to warn against corruption. Ælfric’s pairing of *untrum* [weak, ill, infirm] and *þrowiað* [to suffer what is painful]⁴⁶—in comparison to *RSB*’s use of *morbida* [sickly, diseased] and *contaminet* [to contaminate, pollute]⁴⁷—appears to push the metaphor to its conclusion; here the body suffers because it is already contaminated. Framing the image *post facto* speaks to Ælfric’s skill as a rhetorician. Such a move infuses the passage with an urgency that impels the audience to move beyond the simple recognition of their place within the Church and consider their obligation to the corporate body. This notion of communal responsibility is apparent in *þrowian*. Listed as a tertiary meaning, Bosworth and Toller observe the verb denotes a sense of suffering “for

universa fuerit cura exhibita...” [And an abbot should know that whatever use the father of the household finds lacking in the sheep will be blamed on the shepherd. It will be equally the case that if all assiduous diligence is applied to a shepherd’s unsettled and disobedient flock and every effort to cure its unhealthiness is applied...] (Logeman, 12).

⁴⁴ Lewis and Short, s. v. “infirmus” and “sano.”

⁴⁵ Lewis and Short, s. v. “abscidere” and “contaminare.”

⁴⁶ B&T, s. v. “untrum” and “þrowian.”

⁴⁷ Lewis and Short, s. v. “morbidus” and “contaminare.”

something, to pay for, atone for.”⁴⁸ Here *all* limbs suffer for either their role in contaminating the body or failure to help heal, or excise, the members who are ill.

An innate understanding that the individual both affects and reflects the community to which he or she belongs gives this image its rhetorical power. Nascent in the biological root of this analogy, the sense that a discrete member signifies its larger (social) body is still familiar to a modern audience but Ælfric foregrounds the naturalism of this metaphor in a way that suggests the image would be particularly potent to an Anglo-Saxon congregation. For Ælfric and his audience the confluence of individual limb with communal body is no abstraction; rather it is immediately apparent and embodied in that “we magon geseon on urum agenum lichaman hu ælc lim oþrum ðenað” [we may see in our own bodies how each limb serves the other].⁴⁹ Yet the language of illness and expulsion or suffering undercuts Ælfric’s image of service and implicit stability. Within these images of the *untrum* body, or more accurately the *morbida* limb as contaminant, one finds a fundamental anxiety crystallizing around the inherent agency of the individual member as part of the communal body. Ælfric’s emphasis on service, in his use of *ðegnian* [to serve, attend to, supply, provide],⁵⁰ offers a nuanced image of order and association within the corporate body; despite overt gestures toward a natural hierarchy in Christ’s position as “head,” a structure echoed by the abbot’s primacy in the *RSB*, the communal Christian body materializes through not only obligation but a “need” (*behofian*), the reliance of one limb upon the other.⁵¹ The idea of reciprocity that underwrites this central metaphor opens a space in which it is possible to approach the assembled Christian body—I mean this in a dual sense of the

⁴⁸ B&T, s. v. “þrowian.”

⁴⁹ CH I.19.225-26.

⁵⁰ B&T, s. v. “ðegnian.”

⁵¹ See page 191 above.

communal materialization of Christ's spiritual presence and the individual's flesh through which they perform and affirm their Christian identity—as an *assemblage*, an accumulation of member-actants whose state of health or corruption emerges from and is contingent upon the interaction among its parts. Approaching the social body from the bottom up, so to speak, allows for a consideration of the material body that extends beyond its accepted role in Benedictine thought as the vehicle that inscribes personal identity—as I have noted above in O'Brien O'Keeffe's attention to the performative, embodied nature of obedience—to consider how reformed narratives of order likewise reckon with the body's capacity to affirm or destabilize the assembled body of believers.

Manuel DeLanda's model of assemblage offers a useful lens through which to explore the ways Benedictine thought figures corporate concerns through narratives of the individual member.⁵² DeLanda dilates Deleuze and Guattari's paradigm of accumulation in a way that eschews the micrological-macrological binary to remove any distinction between the individual and society. Yet this expansion moves beyond symbolic representation to afford greater consideration to the materiality of components at all levels of assemblage. DeLanda calls attention to material expressions of language or embodied behavior that function to stabilize or disrupt their networks: "The identity of any assemblage at any level of scale is always the product of a process (territorialization and, in some cases coding) and it is always precarious, since other processes (deterritorialization and decoding) can destabilize it."⁵³ By calling attention to the series of intermediary states/contingencies at work in assemblages, the goal is to more

⁵² I likewise engage DeLanda in Chapter 3, 139-141.

⁵³ DeLanda, *A New Philosophy of Society: Assemblage Theory and Social Complexity* (New York: Continuum, 2009), 32. When introducing the concepts, DeLanda emphasizes the material basis of both territorialization and deterritorialization: "The concept of territorialization must be first of all understood literally. Face-to-face conversations always occur in a particular place (a street-corner, a pub, a church), and once the participants have ratified one another a conversation acquires well-defined spatial boundaries" (28).

clearly articulate vibrant moments of multi-directional fragmentation and reformation, their emergent—contingent—qualities, and the spectrum of potential that flows through social bodies at all scales: “Important philosophical insights can be grasped only during the process of morphogenesis, that is, before the final form is actualized, before the difference disappears.”⁵⁴ Here the representative qualities of the vibrant assemblage, what we might conceive of as its identity, are likewise not fixed *a priori* states, but rather under constant negotiation between the same centripetal and centrifugal forces. What DeLanda’s construct of multi-scalar social ontology offers the present interrogation of Ælfrician discourses of communal identity, at the most basic level, is both a ready frame and accessible lexicon to carry out a “bottom up” reading of the corporate Christian body, one that allows for a fuller exploration of the nascent tension in narratives attempting to reconcile the dual position of the individual body as both incorporated member and autonomous actant. More specifically, as this approach admits the material dimensions of social entities, we may reconceptualize the physical body in terms that understand the member not simply as expressive of communal identity but as an operational *locus* capable of affecting this identity.

Just as the motif of Christ’s limbs demonstrates the imminent potential of the individual body-as-member to affirm or disrupt social cohesion, the same notions find more elaboration in a comparable image that held similar currency with both reformed and secular writers: the Devil’s limbs. Yet characterizations of the Devil’s motif delivers variation that suggest the image was understood as more than a tedious reworking of Christ’s limbs *in malo*. Ælfric applies the image

⁵⁴ DeLanda, “Deleuze, Diagrams, and the Open-Ended Becoming of the World,” in *Becomings: Explorations in Time, Memory, and Futures*, ed. Elizabeth A. Grosz (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 32. In his groundbreaking application of Deleuze and Guattari’s concept of *desiring machines* to late medieval literature, Jeffery Jerome Cohen employs the evocative term “dynamic middles” to describe these intermediary states of bodies in *Medieval Identity Machines* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 147.

in his homily for the same occasion: “Deoful is ealra unrihtwisra manna heafod; 7 þa yfelan men sint his lyma; nu gepafode god þæt þæt heafod hine costnod; 7 þæt ða lymu hine ahengon” [The Devil is the head of all unrighteous men, and evil men are his limbs; now God permitted the head to tempt him, and the limbs to crucify (*lit.* to hang) him] (CH I.11.34-36).⁵⁵ The message to the congregation is that, by following Christ’s *exempla* and resisting sin, each member may likewise triumph over Satan and achieve salvation. This tropological sense likewise allows the reader to see the Christian body from a fresh angle. While the images employed by Benedict and Ælfric, discussed above, take cohesion for granted in the unanimous way the corporate body moves to excise a discrete contaminant, this image draws focus to the individual’s capacity to imitate the moral lesson. Such a subtle re-configuration of the part-whole relationship likewise highlights a bivalence in Christ’s body; it is understood as a personal model – for the discrete member to emulate through his or her own resistance to temptation – and a historical entity made manifest through the bodies of each virtuous congregant.⁵⁶

Ælfric further draws a correlation between physical praxis and identity that resonates with the operative conception of obedience and the practical conception of identity formation underpinning Benedictine thought.⁵⁷ Such a relationship between appears in Ælfric’s homily *Dominica V in Quadragesima* as he applies a distinct motif that resonates with the Devil’s limbs:

⁵⁵ Godden observes that description of the temptation is based on Matthew 4.1-11 (*Ælfric’s CH: Commentary*, 84).

⁵⁶ The best example appears in Ælfric’s homily *Sermo De Sacrificio In Die Pascae*: “Æne ðrowade Crist ðurh hine sylfne, ac swa ðeah dæghwomlice bið his þrowung geedniwod þurh gerynu þæs halgan husles, æt ðære halgan mæssan; For ði fremað seo halige mæsse micclum, ge þam lybbendum ge ðam forðfarenum swa swa hit foroft geswutelod is. Us is eac to smeagenne þæt þæt halige husel is ægðer ge cristes lichama ge ealles geleaffulles folces æfter gstlicere gerynu” [Christ suffered once by himself, but yet his suffering is renewed daily through the mystery of the holy Eucharist at the holy mass; therefore the holy mass greatly benefits both the living and the dead/departed, just as it is often revealed. We should also consider that the holy Eucharist is both the body of Christ and of all believing people] (CH II.15.220-227). Ælfric goes on to cite St. Augustine quoting Paul’s excursus on Christ’s body, from 1 Corinthians 12:12-14 (see footnote 1 above).

⁵⁷ See footnotes 24, 29, and 31 above.

the Devil's children:⁵⁸

Hit is gewunlic on halgum gewritum þæt gehwam bið fæder genamod be his
geeuenlæcunge. Gif he geeuenlæcð gode on godum weorcum he bið þonne godes bearn
geciged. Gif he geeuenlæcð deofle on manlicum dædum he bið ðonne deofles bearn þurh
his yfelan geeuenlæcunga na gecyndelic. (CH II.13. 70-74)

[It is typical in the holy scriptures that a father is named for each according to his
imitation. If he imitates God in good works, he is then called/named a child of God. If
he imitates the Devil in wicked deeds he is then a child of the Devil through his evil
imitation not naturally (by virtue of one's nature).]

Alternating between the noun and verb forms of *geefenlæcung* and *geefenlæcan*, Ælfric
highlights both the kinetic nature and transformative power of “deeds” [*weorc*] and “labor”
[*beswynce*] left undeveloped by Byrhtferth. Indeed, the Modern English term “imitate” struggles
to fully convey this multifaceted notion of physical performance denoted by the Old English.
Comprised of the adjectival *efen* [even, equal] and the substantive *lác*, Bosworth and Toller note
that although the latter can bear an impressive variety of meaning—ranging from ‘battle’ to
‘gift’—“the idea which lies at the root of the various meanings of this and of the next word
seems to be that of motion”⁵⁹ which is manifest in the verbal *lacan* [to swing, wave about].⁶⁰ The
prefix *ge-* indicates a notion of association in the noun *geefenlæcung* and acts as an intensifier of
the verb *geefenlæcan*. Both forms suggest a sense of movement beyond imitation (literally

⁵⁸ The same image appears alongside the Christ's limbs motif at CH I.19. 25-38: “Witodlice se man þe
deofle geefenlæcð, se bið deofles bearn, na þurh gecynd oððe þurh gesceapenyse, ac ðurh þa geefenlæcunge and
yfele geearnunga. And se man ðe Gode gecwemð, he bið Godes bearn, na gecyndelice, ac þurh gesceapenyse and
ðurh gode geearnunga” [Truly the man who imitates the devil is a child of the devil, not through (his) nature or
through creation, but through imitation and evil merits. And the man who pleases God, he is a child of God, not
naturally (by parentage or birth), but through creation and through good merits].

⁵⁹ Angus Cameron et al., ed., *Dictionary of Old English: A to H online* (Toronto, 2016), s. v. “efen.”
Accessed April 12, 2017, <http://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doi/; hereafter DOE>; B&T, s. v. “lác.” By “the next word”
B&T mean the verb *lacan*.

⁶⁰ B&T, s. v. “lacan.” The full definition reads: “to swing, wave about, move as a ship does on the waves,
as a bird does in flight, as flames do.” The spelling variant *læcan* likewise connotes motion: “To move quickly,
spring, leap as a flame” (606).

“equal-motion”) to something that connotes a joining or congealment through comparison or similarity, apparent in the Latin *assimulo*, stressing the text’s larger thematic point that individuals join their spiritual father through deeds, not birth.⁶¹ Ælfric characterizes identity not as a fixed state but where one locates oneself along a continuum between the rhetorical antipodes of *godum weorcum* [good deeds] and *manlicum dædum* [wicked deeds].

My analysis of the ways in which the related Chrit’s limbs/ Devil’s limbs/ Devil’s children motifs align action with character/identity has intended to locate aspects of the fundamental paradigm of monastic identity formation – most thoroughly described by O’Brien O’Keeffe – in texts intended for a mixed audience. The anxiety nascent in this juncture of identity and deed speaks to the perceived ease with which a limb might detach from one body and join another; such attention to the individual member deprivileges the presumed solidity of the corporate entity by focusing on the discrete member as base unit of social cohesion and thus individual and corporate identity construction. Attending to this perspective highlights the complexity informing monastic notions of adherence in that to give oneself over to a habit is likewise to adhere to a spiritual body. Moreover, such a reading projects this operative conception of identity upon the corporate assembled body in a way that highlights its continual negotiation between its physical members. Here the individual as limb/member is the material site across which the flow between territorialization and deterritorialization occurs and the point where stability is affirmed or disruption spreads through the assembled social body. By reading the corporate body as what DeLanda describes as a “set of sets,” a chain linked through complex intersections where each member/component has relative autonomy and affectivity where assemblages are defined by (and in turn define) their contingent relationships, the next sections

⁶¹ Lewis & Short, s. v. “assimulare.” B&T observe how *geefenlæcan* is used to translate *assimulari* as well as *æquare*, and *imitari* (388).

explore how the Anglo-Saxon impulse to recurrent disarticulation allows reformed monastic writers to approach the anxieties innate to this bottom-up conception of corporate cohesion/identity formation.⁶² Surveying Ælfric's homilies that employ the assembled body trope, I suggest the image of the assembled body affords the homilist a salient means to re-form the individual secular body, itself emerging from a collection of unregulated members, as an affirmative limb in Christ's body.

II. The Individual Body

Ælfric dedicates portions of three homilies to the rhetorical enumeration of anatomical limbs that forms the basis of the assembled body trope. Yet his formulation of the trope departs from the pure catalogue of members found in *loricae* or confessional prayers;⁶³ the homilist approaches the transformative potential of the material body by focusing on the senses associated with each organ. The instructive design of these homilies renders the material body in both the conceptual realm of spiritual significance and the physical space of material praxis. This instructive goal is most apparent in Ælfric's attempts to meticulously translate a taxonomy of the Five Senses for a secular audience likely unfamiliar with the erudite Latin convention.⁶⁴ His attention to the senses defines the physical body as an assemblage comprised not only of

⁶² *A New Philosophy of Society*, 118.

⁶³ I discuss these structural differences and their significance in Chapters 1 and 2, respectively.

⁶⁴ Earl R. Anderson provides a thorough study of the taxonomy in Old English literature, concluding the convention is a non-native Latin import, in *Folk-Taxonomies in Early English* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2003), 309-26. For our knowledge of Ælfric's intended audience for each series of homilies refer above to notes 8 and 14. Hill notes the intent for a more learned audience with the *Lives of Saints*, most likely a monastic audience as the *vitae* focus on saints celebrated mainly by monastics. She also notes that as Æthelmar and Æthelweard commissioned the work the pair may have intended to learn more about Benedictine practice ("Life and Works," 55-56).

multiple agents but multiple points of contact with the material world. As the paradigm equates spiritual purity with the regulation of somatic experience it presents the audience with the image of the circumscribed body that resonates with the Benedictine vision of personal and communal purification.⁶⁵ My reading of Ælfric's homiletics recognizes this influence from reformed conceptions of regulatory habitus on his writings and invites us to consider a more nuanced view of the body within Ælfrician theology and to further question what Leslie Lockett has termed the "Medievalist Bias:" the presumption that Anglo-Saxons—regardless of education—held to the dualist Augustinian model of body and soul/rational mind, which has led to the tacit assumption that Anglo-Saxon thought disregarded or despised the body as a matter of course.⁶⁶ The current section provides an introduction to Ælfric's particular formulation of the assembled body trope and how the homilist employs the image to broach a number of anxieties that crystallize around the discrete lay body.

A helpful entry point comes in the homily for *Dominica III Post Pentecosten* (CH II.23).

While explicating the parable of the feast from Luke 14:16-24, Ælfric interprets the five teams of

⁶⁵ Indeed, as I note below at page 244, Ælfric's rhetorical scheme echoes that used by Byrhtferth for a strictly Benedictine audience in the postscript to his *Enchiridion*. I dedicate the preceding chapter ("Ruling the Microcosm") to an analysis of the latter.

⁶⁶ Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies in the Vernacular and Latin Traditions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 13-14. For example, this view underwrites Bernard Felix Huppé, *Doctrine and Poetry: Augustine's Influence on Old English Poetry* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1959). Malcolm Godden offers a more even-handed approach in "Anglo-Saxons on the Mind," *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 271-98. Lockett persuasively demonstrates that the majority of Anglo-Saxons, learned and unlearned, accepted a view of the embodied mind, in which the soul was subject to the desires and motions of the flesh. Related to this, Lockett establishes that Ælfric's familiarity with Augustine's dualist notion of the body/soul relationship, and Ælfric's subsequent rejection of the notion of an embodied mind, was extraordinary among even learned scholars in late Anglo-Saxon England (374-422). Recent studies from O'Brien O'Keefe and Cohen, discussed above (at pages 199-201), work toward recuperating the body's reputation in Benedictine thought. Frantzen offers an earlier fundamental study which calls into question the scholarly assumption of the Anglo-Saxon rejection of the body *en masse* in "The Body in *Soul and Body I*," *Chaucer Review* 17 (1982): 76-88.

newly purchased oxen—the reason one guest declines his invitation—as an allegory for the five senses.

Ða fif getyma getacniað ða adgitu ures lichaman þæt sind: Gesihð, Hlyst, Swæcc, Stenc, Hrepung. Ðas fif andgitu hæfð se ðe hal bið. We geseoð þurh ure Eagan, and ealle ðing tocnawað; ðurh ða earan we gehyrað; on ðam muðe we habbað swæcc, and tocnawað hwæðer hit bið þe wered ðe biter þæt we ðicgað; ðurh þa nosu we tostincað hwæt clæne bið; hwæt ful; on handum and on eallum lichaman we habbað hrepunge, þæt we magon gefredan hwæt bið heard, hwæt hnesce, hwæt smeðe, hwæt unsmeðe, and swa gehwæt.... Se færð and fandað þissera fif andgita se ðe þurh fyrwitnysse and unstillnysse hi aspent on unnyt. Hefigtyme leahter is *ungefoh fyrwitnys*; ac we sceolon awendan urne lec fram yfelre gesiðe, urne hlyst fram yfelre spræce, urne swæce fram unalyfedum ðigenum, ured nosa fram derigendlicum stencum, ure handa and ealne lichaman fom fullicum and leahterlicum hrepungum, gif we willað becuman to ðam estum þæs ecan gereordnes. (CH II.23.44-62)

[The five teams signify the five senses of our body: Sight, Hearing, Taste, Smell, Touch. He who is whole has these five senses. We see through our eyes, and understand all things we hear through the ears; we have taste in the mouth, and distinguish whether what we eat is bitter or sweet, through the nose we smell what is clean; what is foul; we have touch in the hands and in all the body, so that we may feel what is hard, what is soft, what is smooth, what is rough (unsmooth), and so of everything.... He who goes and tests these five senses through curiosity and restlessness, squanders them in emptiness. *Immoderate curiosity* is a grave sin; for we should turn our look from evil sight, our hearing from evil speech, our taste from illicit foods, our noses from harmful smells, our hands and all of our bodies from foul and sinful touches, if we desire to come to the grace of the eternal feast.]⁶⁷

This passage employs a severely truncated anatomical catalogue in comparison with the conventional expanse of *loricae*, but the way in which the formulation links each organ with its attendant function—eyes see, etc.—recalls the shorter enumerative catalogues found in Anglo-Saxon confessional prayers.⁶⁸ Although some items in confessional lists may puzzle a modern audience—gristle and bone for example—a clear logic informs Ælfric’s choice of anatomical parts: the list takes shape as a brief excursus on the five senses. Drawing from both Gregory the

⁶⁷ My emphasis.

⁶⁸ I analyze these catalogues in Chapter 2.

Great's *Homiliae* 36 and Augustine's *Sermones* 112, this stylistic variation presents a vision of the body unlike those found in *loricae* of confessional texts.⁶⁹ Earl R. Anderson views Ælfric's technique of combining sense organ and faculty as a means by which educated writers could introduce a non-native Latin taxonomy to their audience.⁷⁰ While convincing, Anderson's view of this scheme as a simple heuristic overlooks its rhetorical function. Ælfric's note that the *hal* (whole) body has all Five Senses characterizes the material body in practical terms, that is fundamentally enmeshed and active within its environment. This statement likewise marks each of the enumerated organs/senses as a synecdochical representation of a *whole* body and in turn presents an image of the whole body by sketching its points of contact with the natural world. But as we have seen with the topos of Christ's limbs in CH I.19, this vision of the assembled body is problematic. Taking shape through its points of contact with the temporal world, Ælfric foregrounds the inherent porousness of the material body. The complex of *forwitnysse*, *unstillnysse*, and *unnyt* [curiosity, restlessness, and emptiness] reveals an anxiety similar to that which underwrites Patristic ruminations on the senses. As the interface between body and world,

⁶⁹ Godden, *Ælfric's CH: Commentary*, 549-51. He notes that Ælfric relies on Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Evangelia* 36 for the bulk of his exegesis but combines Gregory with Augustine, *Sermones* 112 for his reading of the oxen. Augustine writes: "Sensus ergo carnis hujus quinque inveniuntur. In oculis visus est, auditus in auribus, odoratus in naribus, gustatus in faucibus, tactus in omnibus membris. Alba et nigra et quoquo modo colorata, lucida et obscura videndo sentimus. Rauca et canora, audiendo sentimus. Suave olentia et grave olentia, odorando sentimus. Dulcia et amara, gustando sentimus. Dura et mollia, lenia et aspera, calida et frigida, gravia et levia, tangendo sentimus" [So we find five senses of the body: sight in the eyes, hearing in the ears, the sense of smell in the nostrils, taste in the gullet, touch in all parts. White and black and any kind of color, light and shade, we perceive by seeing. Harsh noises and melodious ones we sense by hearing. Pleasant smells and nasty ones we sense by smelling; sweet and bitter we sense by tasting. Hard and soft, smooth and rough, hot and cold, heavy and light, we sense by touching] (J. P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia Latina* [Paris, 1855-66], 38:644-45. Hereafter PL). Gregory's interpretation provides the note on curiosity as a grave sin and the doubling in sexes: "Qui recte quoque juga vocati sunt, quia in utroque sexu geminantur.... Grave namque curiositatis est vitium, quae dum cujuslibet mentem ad investigandam vitam proximi exterius ducit, semper ei sua intima abscondit, ut aliena sciens, se nesciat, et curiosi animus quanto peritus fuerit alieni meriti, tanto fiat ignarus sui" [They are properly called five 'yoke' because they are paired in the two sexes... The vice of inquisitiveness is a serious one. When it leads anyone to an outward search into his neighbor's life, it always hides from him his own inward disposition. The more an inquisitive person's mind is acquainted with the deserts of another, the more it is unaware of its own] (PL 76:1268b-c).

⁷⁰ Anderson, 314.

senses are the pathways by which external information (via sensation) reaches the flesh and how the flesh might reach out to the world; the inherent danger is that temptation may penetrate the body if the flow is not regulated.⁷¹ Indeed, Ælfric's excursus acts as a warning against such unmediated experience. Just as the man foregoes the feast to test his oxen, so one should not be overcome by *ungefoh fyrwitnys* [immoderate curiosity], a concern inflecting the Benedictine interest in regulation and the virtue of *temperantia*.⁷²

In an analysis of sense metaphor in Old English prose, Rosa Maria Fera observes a hierarchy that echoes classical writing on the senses, with sight held in highest esteem because of its close association with internal rational faculties, the eyes of the mind.⁷³ The oxen are associated with physical touch in all of Ælfric's source material, leading Fera to project this negative association onto Ælfric's exegesis. Fera posits the anxiety inflecting Ælfric's reading of the oxen is a manifestation of the innate hierarchy of the Senses and further confirmation of the supremacy of internal spiritual sense over the exterior corporal senses. Fera's reading of the senses in Ælfrician prose overstates a dichotomy between "positive" and "negative" representations in a manner that tacitly reaffirms the presumption that Anglo-Saxons—chief among them Ælfric—accepted a dualist Augustinian theology that sought to castigate the inherently sinful flesh.⁷⁴ Work from Margret M. Miles and David G. Hunter pushes back against

⁷¹ Carole Straw observes this caution in Gregory's view of the senses: "In large measure, the carnal senses account for the mutability that defines earthly life. Not only do they carry knowledge of the changeable exterior world to the soul, but contact with the body and change in one's mortal state affect the soul's varying emotions and dispositions, making rational control all the more precarious" (*Gregory the Great: Perfection in Imperfection* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988], 131).

⁷² See Mary Clayton, "Temperance as Mother of all Virtues in Ælfric," *Notes and Queries* 55 (2008): 1-2.

⁷³ Fera, "Metaphors for the Five Senses in Old English Prose," *Review of English Studies* 63 (2012): 709-32.

⁷⁴ Fera, 723.

this reductionist view of Augustine’s complicated relationship with the body, arguing he characterizes his soul/body model in terms of an equilibrium or partnership that emphasizes will, choice, and use.⁷⁵ Indeed Ælfric compares the soul/body relationship to that of a mistress and her maiden, an image that echoes the ennobling partnership of Host and Guest appearing in Exeter *Riddle 43* (Soul and Body).⁷⁶ Although the dynamics of the relationship described by Ælfric are not wholly equitable, the two actants are certainly interdependent. Lockett and O’Brien O’Keeffe have also drawn attention to the homilist’s emphasis on *wylle* and *cyre* as it informs his view of the body/rational mind relationship.⁷⁷ Recourse to choice and misuse similarly animates the excursus of the five teams of oxen, complicating the wholly negative view taken by Fera. While Ælfric certainly presents the reading as a warning, its structure suggests a more nuanced understanding of the material body/senses. If we consider the passage as a complete textual unit a type of symmetry becomes apparent. When Ælfric first addresses the taxonomy he presents each sense in objective terms: the eyes see, etc. The conclusion balances this neutral exposition by lending a negative moral weight to each sense act: *evil* sight, *illicit* tastes, or *harmful* smells, etc. This turn hinges both thematically and rhetorically on the image of testing [*fandian*] the senses. Yet the complex of *fyrwitnysse*, *unstilnysse*, *unnyt* [curiosity, restlessness, emptiness] characterizes this particular test in terms of a *hefigtyme leahter* [grave sin], *ungefoh fyrwitnys* [immoderate curiosity]. What Ælfric presents is not an invective against the nature of the senses;

⁷⁵ Miles, *Augustine on the Body* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2009); Hunter, “Augustine on the Body,” in *A Companion to Augustine*, ed. Mark Vessey with the assistance of Shelley Reid (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2012), 353-64.

⁷⁶ George Phillip Krapp and Elliott van Kirk Dobbie, ed., *The Exeter Book*, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, vol. 3 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), 204.

⁷⁷ Lockett provides an essential analysis of Ælfric’s conception of the body/soul relationship (374-422). She takes pains to clarify that, contrary to the medievalist bias, Ælfric does not reject the material body or materialism *en masse*, rather the homilist rejects a particular vision of the corporeal rational mind (15-26).

rather the passage reads as a warning on the potential for misuse. Just as the audience may *awendan* [turn] their eyes from evil sight, so immoderate curiosity has *turned* or perverted the senses. Although this reading of the senses considers the assembled body of the individual Christian largely apart from a communal context,⁷⁸ the porous nature of the flesh becomes a focal point of texts where Ælfric characterizes the individual Christian foremost as a member of the Church. Attending to the individual body in its role as a social object—that is as a member of Christ’s body—the porousness associated with the physical body of individuated lay Christians represents both a capacity for individuals to more fully align themselves with Christ or a troubling aperture whereby disruptive impulses may enter the communal body.

III. The Social Body

Just as Ælfric ascribes a disruptive potential to each sense organ, so he characterizes the material body as a public object capable of sowing discord through the greater Christian community. Writing for *Dominica XVII Post Pentecosten* (CH I.33), the homilist explicates Christ’s miracle at the city of Nain in which Jesus raises the widow’s son from the dead. Although the excursus is more brief than that in CH II.23, CH I.33 provides a constellation of images, a framework, to which Ælfric returns when reading the senses: the assembled body as a structure, the Senses as thresholds, and sinfulness manifest through public action.

seo burh naim is gereht *ypung* oððe *styrung*; Se deada cniht þe on manegra manna

⁷⁸ I qualify my statement because this idea of individuation is not definitive in CH II.23 as those who refuse to join the feast—and set in opposition to the poor or ill who eagerly attend—figure those groups of people who reject Christ. This implicit focus on community is in line with Ælfric’s effort to develop the theme of the call to the Gentiles: highlighting the difference between the community of Jews who rejected Christ and the Gentiles who embrace him as Lord (Godden, *Ælfric’s CH: Commentary*, 549).

gesihðe wæs gefeod getacnað gehwylcne synfulne mannan þe bið mid healicum leahtrum on þam inran man adyd and bið his yfelness mannum cuð... þæt portgeat getacnað sum lichamlic andgitu. Þe men þurh syngiað; Se man þe tosæwð ungeþwærness betwux cristenum mannum. Oððe se ðe sprecð unrihtwiness on heannesse. þurh his mupes geat he bið dead gefeod; Se þe behylt wimman mide galre gesihðe 7 fulum luste. þurh his eagen geat he geswutelað his sawle deað; Se þe ydele spellunge. oððe talice word lustlice gehyrð; þonne macað he his eare him sylfum to deaðes geate; Swa is eac be þam oþrum andgyttum to understanne.

(CH I.33.16-35; my emphasis)

[The city Nain is interpreted *movement as of waves* or *violent movement*; the dead boy who was carried in the sight of many men signifies each sinful man who destroys the inner man with major sins, and his evilness is known to men... The gate signifies a bodily sense through which men sin. The man who sows discord among Christian men or he who speaks unrighteousness in high places, through the gate of his mouth he is carried as dead. He who beholds women with lustful sight and foul desire, through the gate of his eyes he reveals the death of his soul. He who with pleasure hears idle/empty speech or reprehensible words then he makes his ear a gate of death to himself. So it is to be understood as well with the other senses.]⁷⁹

Keeping with his source material, the homily figures the dead boy—or more accurately his corpse—as a social object, to be seen and interpreted by his peers in the way a person’s sinful actions demonstrate his wicked state to fellow Christians. Yet the excursus departs from its authorities by acknowledging the potential socio-spiritual implications of individual action at work in the parable, like sowing discord or making manifest his own damnation in a way that may potentially corrupt the corporate Christian body. Ælfric further develops this sense through a more explicit scene of community from Matthew 8:22 where Christ instructs an apostle to forgo burying his father: “Geðafa þæt ða deadan bebyrion heora deadan: far ðu, and boda Godes rice.” Witodlice ða deadan gebyriað oðre deadan, þonne gehwilce synfulle men oðre heora gelican mid derigendlicere herunge geolæcað, and mid gegaderodum hefe þære wyrstan lyffetunge ofðriccað” [“Allow the dead to bury their dead: go you, and preach God’s kingdom.”

⁷⁹ I have been purposefully literal while translating *þung* and *styrung* to emphasize their conceptual basis in physical motion.

Truly the dead bury other dead, when sinful men flatter others like them with more harmful praise and crush them with the gathered weight of their worst flattery] (lines 47-50).⁸⁰ As the image urges Christians to turn both from sin as well as those who practice it, the tropological core of the verse draws a distinction between groups of the holy and sinful in a way that recalls the Christ's limbs motif. Such nuance reframes his exegesis as an exhortation to renounce sin through regulatory physical experience rather than an invective damning the senses.⁸¹ Ælfric focuses on the senses of *gesihðe* and *gehyrð* to illuminate the varied modes through which one might sin.⁸² *Sprecð*, although not typically recognized as a sense is, like sight and hearing, tied to a corporeal seat.⁸³ Citing Bede's *Commentary on Luke*, Ælfric's exegesis on the city's name crystallizes the embedded concerns of bodily coherence and social disorder.⁸⁴ Translating the name into the vernacular, he explains *Nain* means *yþung* or *styrung*. Bosworth and Toller give a significant lexical range for the terms, yet each evokes an image of clamorous undulation.⁸⁵ Listing a principle definition of "motion" for *styrung*, Bosworth and Toller qualify this stirring as

⁸⁰ Ælfric draws this connection between the scenes in Luke 7:11-16—the basis for his homily—and Matthew 8:22 from his source in Bede's commentary on Luke (Godden, *Ælfric's CH: Commentary*, 278).

⁸¹ Godden, *Ælfric's CH: Commentary*, 275.

⁸² Godden, *Commentary*, 277. Ælfric's passage on the senses appears to be a faithful translation of Bede, *In evangelium Lucae*, 2:2274-8 (David Hurst, ed., CCSL 120 [Brepols: Turnhout, 1960]) or Hericus, *Hom. II.37*, 100-4 (PL 95:1415-22).

⁸³ Anderson, 314, notes that the Anglo-Saxons clearly recognized the senses of smell [*smecce/swæc/stænc*] and taste [*swecce/swæc*] but that sometimes their distinction (or location) is not fully lexicalized.

⁸⁴ Godden, *Ælfric's CH: Commentary*, 275-277, notes that sources for this homily present a complication. Ælfric certainly draws on Bede's commentary on Luke 7 but erroneously attributes the explication of the name, *Nain*, to Bede. Godden suggests that the most likely source is a homily for the same occasion written by Hericus of Auxerre, *Hom. II.37*, 15-16: "*Interpretatur Naim fluctus vel commotio*" [*Naim* is interpreted as *flood/surge or agitation*] (my emphasis). Godden notes the same wording appears in Smaragdus, *Collectiones* (Godden, 277; PL 102:464D).

⁸⁵ B&T, s. v. "yþung" and "styrung."

motus corporis, with the secondary definition ascribing implications of “violent movement.”⁸⁶ Further, the etymology for *Nain* is particularly striking when we recall the common medieval convention that links name and essence.⁸⁷ Here Ælfric presents the assembled social body *as* the material body, by nature subject to flux and disorder, which might further erode its tenuous grasp on coherence. As his focus on the senses makes clear, tempting sensation—upon its entrance/diffusion—exacerbates the flux inherent to the material body. The choice of *geat* (gate) not only accentuates the porous bounds of the individual body but also implies a dual directionality associated with the body and its senses in Patristic thought; that the body might be affected through the reception of sensory stimuli and that the body might also affect its environment through action. Stimulation to sin might enter the body through the senses and destroy the *inran man*⁸⁸ but sin manifest through bodily action might disrupt the community of Christians, the body of Christ.⁸⁹ Again, Ælfric ties sinful action to desire, side-stepping any notion that the senses are themselves sinful while placing full responsibility on the individual will.

Interestingly, Ælfric appears to assume a familiarity with the taxonomy of the Five Senses as a conceptual unit among his audience. Addressing his audience directly, he notes that we are to understand the *other senses* in the same way. We are left to question Ælfric’s omission of smell, taste, and touch. We might speculate that these three senses are associated with lower

⁸⁶ B&T, s. v. “styrung.”

⁸⁷ The notion appears Ælfric’s *Grammar* or Isidore’s *Etymologia*. See Julius Zupitza, ed., *Ælfric’s Grammatik und Glossar*, *Englischer Denkmaler in Kritischen Ausgaben*, 1 (Berlin, 1880); and Stephen A Barney, et al., trans., *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

⁸⁸ Ælfric’s metaphor of the *inran man* is used to represent “soul.”

⁸⁹ An interesting consequence of this dual directionality is that Anglo-Saxon writers, from a variety of writing situations, re-focus on the senses as a means by which the body might participate in its own re-ordering. This notion is dealt with more fully above in Chapter 2, 92.

perception that fails to rise above concerns of the transitory world.⁹⁰ This solution proves insufficient if we take a broader view of touch in Ælfric's thought. In a homily for *Dominica I post Pasca* (CH I.16), Ælfric presents the Apostle Thomas as a figure whose lack of faith instructs contemporary Christians. The act of Thomas doubting Christ's resurrection is presented through the sense of *grapunge* [touching; (CH I.16.95)]. Ælfric emphasizes the didactic import of this moment through his expansion on the Biblical source material: "Mare us fremode his tweonung þonne ðæra oðra apostola geleaffulnys; forðan he wæs gebroht to geleafan mid ðære grapunge, þa wearð seo twynung þurh þæt us ætbroden" [His doubt was a greater benefit to us than the belief of the other apostles; for when he was brought to belief by that touching, doubt was taken from us; (CH I.16.95-98)]. Here the act of touch restores Thomas's shaken faith while his historical example strengthens belief within the contemporary Christian community. As Ælfric develops his excursus on the city of Nain, a series of images unfolds from senses and implied sensation: the porous body, its relation to the *inner man*, and the senses as agents in socially corrosive behavior. In Ælfric's characterization, the fluid boundaries of the individual body provide an entry point for temptation/sin to enter and diffuse through the limbs of Christ's body. The image highlights the pure potential at the core of assemblage, what Jane Bennett calls its potential "to affect and be affected" at all levels.⁹¹ Nain functions as a warning about how both bodies, individual and social, might be fractured. Although Ælfric does not explicitly note *turning* the sense organs as in CH II.23, CH I.33 similarly aligns assembled bodies at the discrete and corporate levels and in doing so presents the lay audience with a model that foregrounds the

⁹⁰ Both M. C. Hoeck and Fera are proponents of this view. See Hoeck, "The Use of the Senses in the Physiologus Poems," *Sudica Neophilologica* 69 (1997): 1-10. For Fera see the discussion of CH II.23 above at pages 218-221.

⁹¹ Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 32 and 101.

social aftereffects of individual action. He frames the consequences of discrete action within the social sphere but characterizes the individual body as a potential disruption to established Christian unity, the body of Christ.

It should not be overlooked that Ælfric recalls the dead boy, late in his homily, as a symbol of the individuated sinner expelled from the Church who must earn reconciliation:

Se geeduceda sit þonne se synfulla mid incundre onbryrdnyse cucað; he sprecð. Þonne he mid godes herungum his muð gebysgað 7 mid soþre andetnyse godes mildheortnyse secþ; he bið his meder betæht þonne he bið þurh sacerda ealdordome gemænscipe þære halgan gelapunge geferlæht; ðæt folc wearð mid micclum ege ablicged. For þan. Swa swa man fram marum synnum gecyrð to godes mildheortnyse 7 his þeawas æfter godes bedodum gerihtlæcð; swa ma manna beoð gecyrde þurh his gebysnunge to godes herunge. (CH I.33.60-7)

[The revived sits, as when divine compunction/stimulation quickens the sinful; he speaks when he occupies his mouth with God's praises and with true confession seeks God's mercy; he is delivered to his mother when he is associated in communion of the holy church through the priest's authority; the people with great awe were astonished; because just as a man turns himself from great sins to God's mercy and afterward rights his customs to God's commands; so more men are turned/converted to the praise of God through his example.]⁹²

The passage illuminates the innate relationship between compunction, repentance, social cohesion, and instruction. The pricks of compunction spur the sinner to repent and thus be reconciled with the community of the Church. Compunction acts as an internal stimulus making the sinner cognizant of his position and directing his will to desire reconciliation. This correction appears crucial not simply for the salvation of the individual sinner but for others as well. Ælfric ends the passage by setting the correction of the individual and others as correlative: "Swa ma manna beoð gecyrde þurh his gebysnunge to godes herunge" [so more men are turned to the praise of God through his example]. Here, the play of individual reconciliation is central to the

⁹² Ælfric demonstrates knowledge of this tenet in CH I.19, noting the unrepentant sinner must not partake in the holy reconciliation of the Eucharist, Christ's Body (lines 106-26). The notion is common in Anglo-Saxon penitential texts (see Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*) but also appears in Ælfric's homily on the Eucharist, CH I.15.

notion of purity and order within the community of believers. CH II.23 and CH I.33 provide a scheme of the role played by the senses and material action in personal correction and the signification of that discrete body in communal instruction and purification.

Whereas the homilies discussed above dwell on the potential for the individual to misuse his body via sin linked to the assembled senses, the homily *In Natale Unius Confessoris* (CH II.38) presents a clear correlation between physical habit and spiritual profit. Explicating the parable of the five talents in *Matthew 25.14-30*, Ælfric reads the talents given by the master to his servants as an allegory of the Five Senses.⁹³ The homily, written in praise of an anonymous teacher-saint, lauds good living and good teaching but as he explicates the parable of the talents, good action and teaching converge into a single point; good living and teaching are one and the same.⁹⁴ Ælfric bases his exegesis primarily on Gregory the Great's *Homily 9* but augments his source, making the reading more genial to his audience.⁹⁵ The servants remain anonymous in Gregory's reading but Ælfric links each servant to a position within the secular social order. In this projection of social order, the three servants stand for the laity (*læwed*, unlearned), the clergy (*læred*, learned), and an unspecified wicked one (*lyðra*, base or mean).⁹⁶ Here social station correlates with the depth of one's spiritual understanding. Thus, the three portions of talents [*punda*] are interpreted as five *punda* for the Five Senses (outer senses) given to the laity and two talents for the outer senses and inner sense (learning) granted to the clergy, while the single talent, whose quality is not immediately specified, is granted to the wicked servant. Ælfric's

⁹³ Godden, *Ælfric's CH: Commentary*, 647.

⁹⁴ Godden, *Ælfric's CH: Commentary*, 647.

⁹⁵ Godden, *Ælfric's CH: Commentary*, 647.

⁹⁶ CH II.38, 55, 77. Although Ælfric does not specify the second servant as *læred*, Godden finds enough evidence from context and the social framework in which the reading is set to find a strong enough implication (*Ælfric's CH: Commentary*, 647).

exposition of the layman and his Five Senses develops along two strata. He reasons that while the laity lack the innate ability to access the spiritual meaning of God’s teaching, the individual might earn it through righteous habit. This righteous habit has the outcome of guiding others to salvation thus reaping a greater profit for their Master. The scene in which the Master rewards the good servant with the single talent, forfeited by the wicked servant, provides insight toward the relationship between physical deed and lay spiritual growth as understood by Ælfric:

And se ðe ða fif pund hæfde wæs wiðutan geglenged mid ðam fif andgitum. Þæt is gesihð and hlyst, swæc and stence and Hrepung and wæs ða gyt æmtig fram ðam incundan andgite. Ða het se hlaford for ði syllan þæt an pund. Þæt þæt andgit getacnode þam holdum ðeowan þe him gestrynde mid ðam fif yttrum andgitum oðre fif pund... þæt gehwilce geleaffulle ðe gode gecwemað mid ðam yttrum andgitum ðe hi underfengon beoð gebrohte ðurh maran godes gife to ðam incundum andgite. And ðonne geðeoð on ðam gastlicum andgit. For ðan ðe hi ær ða yttran andgitu getreowlice aspendon.
(CH II.38.139-49)⁹⁷

[And he who had the five pounds was adorned outwardly with those five senses, that is sight and hearing, taste and smell and touch and was yet barren of that inward sense. Therefore the lord commanded that one pound, which signifies that inward sense, be given to the faithful servant, who gained/obtained with the five outer senses another five pounds... and that all faithful who satisfy God through the outer senses, which they received, are brought through the greater grace of God to the inner sense. And then they prosper in the spiritual sense because, before, they faithfully spent the outer senses.]

Defined by Gregory the Great as *intellectum* [perception, discernment], the servant receives this *incundan andgite* [inner sense] through proper use of his *yttrum andgitum* [outer senses].⁹⁸

Ælfric establishes a line of causality in this passage; spiritual understanding among the laity is not simply related to proper action but unfolds from it. This passage affords a unique moment in

⁹⁷ Ælfric follows Gregory’s exegesis for this passage but he inserts the notion of using the Senses, absent in Gregory’s writing. Also of note is that the wicked servant forfeits his single talent because he: *awendað eal to heora flæsclicum lustum* [turned all of it to fleshly desire] (lines 77-8).

⁹⁸ Lewis & Short, s. v. “intellcutus.” Lewis and Short note its relation to the verb *intellegare*: to come to know, see into, perceive, understand, discern, comprehend. Godden, *Ælfric’s CH: Commentary*, 650. Puzzlingly, Ælfric is unclear as to what the single talent signifies but later notes “an andgitu is incundan andgite” [the single sense is the inward/internal sense] (lines 137-8).

which the relationship between the regulation of the material body and spiritual dispositions are laid bare. Echoing Benedictine doctrine, Ælfric privileges physical habituation as a process by which spiritual enlightenment might both grow within the believer and link the individual to the Christian community. However the details of Ælfric's specific program remain nebulous, providing no set *regula* for his audience.

Ælfric's exegesis offers a complex image of the individual body's active role in reaffirming the limits of "proper action" through the secular community of believers. Figuring instruction in material terms, Ælfric reasons the good servant will stir holy compunction within those who witness his holy habit. Through holy "stirring" [*onbryrdnysse*] the layman might uplift others through good works and become a holy example from which they might learn and come to spiritual understanding:

þæt hi mid onbryrdnysse þæs upplican eðles syllað gode bysne oðrum geleaffullum and symle tæcað riht þæs ðe hi magon tocnawan be ðam yttrum andgitum, þeah ðe hi ne cunnon ða incundan deopnysse Godes lare asmeagan; and ðonne hi on heora flæsclicum lustum *gemetegode* beoð, and on woruldlicum gewilnungum ne beoð to grædige, and eac wið oðrum undeawum, þurh Godes ege, hi sylfe healdað, þonne styrað hi eac oðrum mannum þurh heora lifes rihtwisnysse. (CH II.38.56-63)⁹⁹

[That they, with/through compunction of the holy realm, provide good example to the other faithful and ever teach rightly what they may know by the outer senses, though they cannot comprehend the inward deepness of God's doctrine; and when in their fleshly lusts they are temperate, and in worldly desires not too greedy, and also, through awe of God, preserve themselves from other vices, then also will they direct other men by the righteousness of their lives.]

One's mode of living is itself instructive: embodied, witnessed, and thus transmitted to other members of the community. Further, as this *habitus* diffuses through the social body the process of performance and transmission repeats; good servants access/gain an internal sense

⁹⁹ Sandra J. McEntire has noted how Ælfric's notion of compunction is influenced by Gregory the Great in *The Doctrine of Compunction in Medieval England: Holy Tears* (New York: Edward Mellen Press, 1990), 83 and 88-92.

(*intellectum*) through proper use of their corporal senses. This line of causality presents a cooperative model in which the assembled body represents a tool to acquire deeper understanding for the individual and community, ultimately developing on Ælfric's conception of instruction as obligation. In his *Grammar*, Ælfric cites the parable of the five pounds to illustrate the duty one has to share the "profit" God has gifted him: "Ælcum men gebyrað, þe ænigne godne cræft hæfð, þæt he ðone do nytne oðrum mannum and befæste þæt pund, þe him god befæste, sumum oðrum men, þæt godes feoh ne ætlicge and he beo lyðre þeowa gehaten and beo gebunden and geworpen into ðeostrum, swa swa þæt halige godspel segð... And ælc man ðe wisdom lufað, byð gesælig, and se ðe naðor nele ne leornian ne tæcan, gif he mæg, þonne acolað his andgyt fram ðære halgan lare and he gewit swa lytlum an lytlm fram gode" [It befits all men, anyone who has good skill/knowledge, that he give that profit to other men and entrust that pound/measure, which God entrusts to him, to another man, so that God's property/wealth does not lie idle and he is not called wicked servant and is not bound and cast out/expelled into darkness, just as the holy gospel says... And each man who loves wisdom is prosperous and he who desires neither to learn nor to teach, if he is capable, then his sense/understanding of holy teaching grows cold and he departs little by little from God].¹⁰⁰ Here Ælfric draws an explicit connection between a Christian's personal relationship with God and his work to aid the community of believers. A similar reading of the Senses appears as Ælfric expounds on the signification of the shillings in his homily for *III Nones Februarii in Purificatione Sanctae Mariae* (CH I.9):

God bebead, on þære ealdan æ, his folce þæt hi sceoldon him ofrian ælc frumcenned hysecild, oððe alysan hit ut mid fif scyllum.... Ure yfelan gþohtas, oððe weorc we sceolon alysan mid fif scyllum, þæt is, we scylon ure yfelnyse behreowsian mid urum

¹⁰⁰ Zupitza, 2-3.

fif andgitum, þæt synt: gesyhð, and hlyst, and swæc, and stenc and hrepung.
(CH I.9.49-50, 67-69)¹⁰¹

[God commanded, according to the old law, that his people must offer him every firstborn child or redeem it with five shillings.... Our evil thoughts or deeds we shall redeem with five shillings, that is, we shall redeem our evilness with our five senses, that are sight, and hearing, and taste, and smell, and touch.]

The Senses—and thus the material body—become figures of redemptive action, a logical progression from their potential to enact salutary habit. Again, Ælfric lexicalizes the entire taxonomy, here qualifying the ways in which the individual body interacts with the world and explaining that these interactions might be turned to redemptive practice.

Ælfric provides a more detailed image of the relationship between the body as locus for material practice and spiritual condition in the homily *Nativitas Domini Nostri Iesu Christi*, which delineates the relationship between soul and body.¹⁰²

Seo sawul is þæs lichoman hlæfdige, and heo gewissað þa fif andgitu þæs lichaman swa swa of cynesætle. þa andgitu sint gehatene þus: Uisus, þæt is gesihð; auditus, hlyst; Gustus, swæc on þam muðe, Odoratus, stænc on þæra nosa; tactus, hrepung oððe grapung on eallum limum ac þeah gewunelicost on þam handum. ðas fif andgitu gewisseð seo sawul to hire *wyllan*, and hyre gedafnað þæt heo swa swa hlæfdige geornlice foresceawige hwæt heo gehwylcum lime bebeode to donne, oððe hwæt heo gehwylcum lime gefafige on gewylnunge his gecyndes þæt þær nan þing unþæslice ne gelympe on nanes limes þenunge

(LS 1.195-205, my emphasis)

[The soul is the mistress of the body, and governs the five senses of the body, as out of a royal throne. These senses are thus named: Visus, that is, sight; Auditus, hearing; Gustus, taste with the mouth; Odoratus, smelling with the nose; Tactus, touching or feeling with all the limbs, but most usually with the hands. The soul directs these five senses according to its *will*, and it is fitting that, as a mistress, it should carefully consider what it

¹⁰¹ Ælfric is expounding on Luke 2.22-40, see Godden, *Commentary*, 68.

¹⁰² William W. Skeat, ed., *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, 2 vols, EETS o.s. 76, 82, 94, 118 (London, 1885); hereafter LS, cited by homily and line number. Here we must revisit the question of audience. The LS are intended for an audience more familiar with the complexities of theological doctrine; see note 64 above. This would help explain the detailed discussion Ælfric offers on the Soul-Body relationship and the nature of the soul as well as his use of Latin when introducing the taxonomy of the Five Senses.

will command each limb to do, or what it permits to each limb as regards its natural desire, that nothing unseemly should befall by means of any limb's service.]

Ælfric's hierarchy is representative of the Platonic anthropology to which he and his sources ascribe; Lockett views Ælfric's adoption of the Platonic paradigm of the unitary, incorporeal, soul as a "remarkable novelty" cutting against the grain of the overwhelming late Anglo-Saxon vernacular presentation of the soul as an embodied being.¹⁰³ Delineating the effect of this paradigm on Ælfric's characterization of the Soul and its relation to the body, Lockett notes that accepting the unitary soul inverted the line of cause and effect regarding desire/will and action.¹⁰⁴ Whereas the vernacular tradition of the embodied soul characterizes the soul as impotent, subject to the body's desires and actions, the model of the unitary soul places rational faculties (*mod*) under the purview of the soul, affording it both will and dominion over the body.¹⁰⁵ Taken in the context of LS.1, this anthropology, placing will strictly under the purview of the unitary soul, appears to offer little explanation as to how will becomes good or bad, moves toward salvation or perversity. O'Brien O'Keeffe offers a thorough delineation of the relationship between will and choice in Ælfrician thought.¹⁰⁶ O'Brien O'Keeffe notes that Ælfric constructs line of mutual influence between will and action, figuring the state of will as a culmination of actions. While the soul holds ultimate responsibility as the seat of will, habitual

¹⁰³ Lockett, 418.

¹⁰⁴ This formulation appears at LS 1.112-22.

¹⁰⁵ Lockett, 415-17.

¹⁰⁶ O'Brien O'Keeffe, 20-23. Delineating the relationship between *willa* [will] and *cyre* [choice] in Ælfric's Colloquy, she writes: "*Willa*... is more specific than the modern English word 'will' and refers less to the act of choice than to a disposition of behavior... it is the act, *cyre*, rather than the faculty or disposition, *willa*, that occupies Ælfric's interest in the operation of agent action" (94-150).

actions carry the capacity to further degrade or quicken the soul itself.¹⁰⁷ Perversion or salvation of the soul, and thus of the individual, becomes figured as the organic product of a continual negotiation between *will* and habitual action. Further, as I have noted with Ælfric's characterization of the body as a communal/instructive object in CH I.33, the degradation of the soul is played out publically, where the individual might compel/stimulate others to similar perversion.¹⁰⁸

A similar image linking the Senses, action, and will appears in a piece prepared specifically for a lay audience, Ælfric's Old English Preface to his translation of *Genesis*.¹⁰⁹ After dwelling on the dangers of unlearned secular clergy, improper instruction, and the importance of understanding the spiritual significance of the Old Testament,¹¹⁰ Ælfric addresses those who question the relevance of the Old Testament.

...ac Crist sylf and his apostolas us tæhton ægþer to healdenne þa ealdan gastlice and þa niwan soþlice mid weorcum. God gesceop us twa Eagan and twa earan, twa nosþirlu and twegen weleras, twa handa and twegen fet, and he wolde eac habban twa gecyðnissa on þissere worulde geset, þa ealdan and þa niwan, forþan þe he deð swa swa hine silfne gewyrð, and he nænne rædboran næfð, ne nan man ne þearf him cweþan to, 'Hwi dest þu swa?' We sceolon *awendan* urne *willan* to his gesetnissum and we ne magon *gebigean* his gesetnissa to urum lustum. (*Preface to Genesis*, lines 102-10)

[... but Christ himself and his apostles taught us to observe both the Old (law) spiritually and the New truly by means of works. God made us with two eyes and two ears, two nostrils and two lips, two hands and two feet, and he desired also to have two testaments established in this world, the Old and the New, because he does that so as [it] pleases himself, and he has no advisors, nor no one who has occasion to say to him 'Why do you

¹⁰⁷ LS 1.96-175. This section provides a discussion of the triune nature of the soul, its qualities, its four powers, and its corruption through misguided will.

¹⁰⁸ See pages 223-226 above.

¹⁰⁹ Wilcox, 116-19. Hereafter *Preface to Genesis*. Ælfric is writing for his noble patron Æthelweard. It should be noted that as nobility Æthelweard would have had much greater access to education than the common layman.

¹¹⁰ See *Preface to Genesis*, lines 1-16 (for the *dysig* priest) and 36-40 (for proper spiritual instruction).

do it so? We must *translate/turn* our *will* to his decree and we may not *bow* his decree to our desires] ¹¹¹

In the analogy, Ælfric invokes the synecdochical presentation of the body (through its Senses) to represent the unity of the scripture. The body is rendered as a heuristic, an object through which to understand and enact holy unity through public *weorcum*. This model gives way to an exhortation common in Christian writing: “*translate* our will to God’s decree and not *bow* his decree to our desires.” Ælfric associates the verb *awendan* with will, evoking a sense of mutability, while *gebigan* evokes stark physicality: to bow, bend, decline (grammatically), to humble, subdue, crush.¹¹² Here will appears linked with a notion of embodiment implying that while God’s will might not be *understood* by any man, it might be *felt*. Read together with LS.1 and O’Brien O’Keeffe’s characterization of the mutual relationship between will and action, Ælfric’s synecdochical presentation of the body becomes a lens through which to consider the intersection of will, action, and unity. During a complex discussion of the Nature and Virtues of the Soul, Ælfric singles out *temperantia/gemetgung* [temperance, moderation] as the prime virtue protecting the Soul. The desire innate to the Soul will compel/stir (*onbryrdan*) the individual to enact righteous habit and thus bring the will of the Soul and God into accord.¹¹³ But if moderation is forgone, the triune nature of the soul will turn (*awend*) to vice. The expanded importance given to *temperantia* in the context of the cyclical relationship between desire, will,

¹¹¹ My emphasis. The use of the verb *awendan* is complex here. DOE notes that it carries the sense of “to translate” as the broad context of the *Preface to Genesis* deals with Ælfric’s concern of translating a Latin text into the vernacular. But, its specific context also denotes the sense of “turning” carried by *awendan*; as Ælfric translates the physical letter, his concern centers on Æthelweard’s ability to understand God’s will (the spiritual meaning of the text) and turn his desire in accordance with holy ordinance rather than perverting the meaning to fit his own will. Below I discuss how Ælfric applies this dual sense of translation/turning to the motions of the physical body, [PAGE #s](#)

¹¹² DOE, s. v. “gebigan.”

¹¹³ LS 1.96-106 and 155-167. Ælfric names temperance the “Mother of All Virtues.” See note 72 above.

and action points to an implicit scheme of mediating will through bodily action thus internalizing the structural limits of accepted action in response to desire. This concept of moderated, or circumscribed, action in LS 1 helps to clarify the implications of materiality embedded in the notion of accessing God's will in *Preface to Genesis*. The rhetorical framework of LS 1 collapses the sense organ and faculty rhetorically translating disarticulated limbs to an assembled body through a turn to God's will. This play of unity and fragmentation, however, finds multiple resonances through the emphasis on action: the body and will are unified and the individual cultivates communal coherence through public works/instruction, while performance of good works bring the individual will in line with the will of God, ultimately stirring both individual and community to salvation. In this sense, Gog is capable of making individuals as well as their community whole.

The function of the material body/Senses as an object for instruction and vehicle to enact social coherence is presented more clearly in *In Natale Sanctarum Virginum* (CH II.39).

Although the rhetorical structure in which the Senses are framed is slightly altered from that in CH II.23, the senses are imbued with a notion of active potential. These adaptations result from the particular body to which the Five Senses are related.

Ðeos andwerde gelaðung, þe underfehð yfele and gode, is wiðmeten ðam tyn mædnum, ðæra wæron fif stunte and fif snotere. On fif andgitum, swa swa we eow oft sædon, gehwiltc man leofað þe his hæle hæfð; þætis, gesihð and hlyst, swæcc and stenc and hrepung.... Ælc ðæra manna ðe hine forhæfð fram unalyfedlicere gesihðe, fram unalyfedlicere heorcununge, fram unalyfedlicum swæcce, fram unalyfedlicum stence, fram unalyfedlicere hrepunge, se hæfð mædenes naman for ðære anwalhnysse. Gif god is and halwendlic to forhæbbenne fram unalyfedlicum *styrungum*, and forði hæf ælc christen sawul mædenes naman, hwi sind þonne þa fif underfangene, and ða fif aworpene?
(CH II.39.32-47)

[This present congregation/Church, which receives the evil and the good, is compared to the ten virgins, of which there were five foolish and five wise. With five senses, just as we have often said to you, every man lives who has his health; that is, sight and hearing, taste and smell and touch.... Each of those people who abstains from unlawful/illicit

sight, from illicit hearing, from illicit taste, from illicit smell, from illicit touch, he has the name of virgin for that wholeness/soundness. If it is good and salutary to abstain from illicit *motions* and therefore each Christian soul has the name of virgin, why then are five received and five rejected?]¹¹⁴

Again, Ælfric adopts the image of an assembled-*hal* body as the base for this exegetical expansion. Here the community of the Church is manifest in the individual body while the wholeness of the Five Senses signify and contribute to health of the body. This interconnection allows Ælfric to present his focus on spiritual purity in a physiological frame, from which spiritual meaning is extrapolated. Recalling CH II.23, health and wholeness of the body is predicated on the totality of the Senses. Ælfric expands this notion of wholeness from the individual to the communal body of the Church. The interest on the place of the Senses within the communal body may account for Ælfric's failure to conflate sense faculty and organ. However, he still associates the faculties with a verb of motion/cleansing (*forhabban*). The effect of this allegory presents an embodied notion of the community of the believers wherein each individual and their deeds signify and affect the body of the Church. In this frame, the Senses are rendered with an explicit polyvalence; they can be used to purify the socialized body (the individual), but the purification of the individual is with the ultimate intent of communal coherence. This emphasis on the individual body as a member of the Church might account for Ælfric's verb choice, shifting from *awendan* to *forhæfð*; moreover, we might consider the association between the subject matter, the ten virgins, and abstinence. However, his interest in turning/translating the individual remains apparent in their adoption of *mædenes nama*. As the individual enacts purification the believer is more fully habituated, inscribing and perpetuating

¹¹⁴ My emphasis. Godden notes the notion of abstaining from illicit sensory experience is taken from Augustine *Sermones* 93, §§2-3, PL 38:574 (*Ælfric's CH: Commentary*, 656). Although Augustine deals with sensation (sight, hearing, etc.), Ælfric adds the passage outlining the taxonomy and tying it to bodily health.

the instructive structures of the Christian community. Here the body experiences a type of transubstantiation; the individual is both subsumed into and reconciled with the communal.

Further, the homily maintains Ælfric's concern with spiritual development unfolding from physical action; the lamps of the wise virgins function as a beacon of good to others (CH II.39.57-64).¹¹⁵ These good works are linked closely to inner sense (*ingehygd*) and true faith (CH II.39.64-67). Taking an eschatological turn, the homily ends picturing the final judgment in which Ælfric outlines how the wise virgins are saved. Emphasizing the need to remain watchful (*wacian*), he creates a complex wherein faith is not only manifest but strengthened through works and constancy. The pure faith of the wise virgins recalls the centrality of the Senses to the purification of the individual and the Church, presenting the Senses as a tool through which the individual is made whole and purified as a fully socialized member of the Church. The dissemination of the taxonomy of the Senses into secular Anglo-Saxon cultural consciousness allows Ælfric to present his lay audience with a model for reconceiving of bodily unity and the community of which they are part. This notion of the fragmented, yet whole, body has the concurrent effect of reframing the individual as a portion of the body of believers. As such the individual body is objectified as a symbol of the Church and a mechanism of its renewal.

IV. Conclusion

Ælfric confronts the disruptive potential of the individual in his homily on Christ's circumcision, *Octabas et Circumcisio Domini* (CH I.16). The homily embeds the Anglo-Saxon Christian in an unbroken line of history, enacting the rituals of their forefathers, the patriarchs.

¹¹⁵ Godden observes the passage is taken, unchanged, from Augustine, *Sermones* 93 (*Ælfric's CH: Commentary*, 657).

Dealing with the subject of circumcision, the homily sketches an interpretive landscape in which the labor of faith is manifest as a *tacn* [sign] of one's devotion, clearly marked on their bodies. While Christ's circumcision effects the typological fulfillment of this mark, Ælfric explains that Christian men, under Christ's Law, are no longer required to alter the matter of the body; rather, they might guide the body and perform this mark if they "gastlicum ðeawum gehealde" [observe spiritual habits/customs; CH I.6.81-2].¹¹⁶ Samantha Zacher outlines the complex typological scheme of Christian inheritance employed in the homily to redefine spiritual circumcision [*gæstlicum ymbsnidennysse*] as a renewal of the original covenant between God and Abraham through spiritual habits [*gæstlicum ðeawas*].¹¹⁷ No longer an indelible, physical sign, the notion of spiritual circumcision pushes Ælfric to clarify how communal Christian identity is signified and maintained.¹¹⁸ This notion of "spiritual habit," however, pushes Ælfric to consider how regulatory Christian mores are to be materialized and transmitted in the secular sphere. The effect is that he is forced to turn his attention to the material body. This has been a common reaction in the homilies considered thus far, highlighting the instructive potential Ælfric found in the body and employed to introduce Benedictine notions of social regulation into secular piety. For secular people, lacking the accoutrements of the monastic classroom or standardized *regula*, the body is an ever-present tool to mediate and structure both individual and communal relationships with God. The homily builds toward this notion of performing spiritual habits of mind by providing a general catalog of virtues and vices: what many modern readers might conceive of as psychological or ethereal qualities. From general *gastlicum ðeawum* emerges a

¹¹⁶ CH I.6.81-2. "Hold the spiritual conduct."

¹¹⁷ Zacher, "Circumscribing the Text: Views of Circumcision in Old English Literature," in *Old English Literature and the Old Testament*, ed. Michael Fox and Manish Sharma (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 89-118.

¹¹⁸ The act of circumcision is taken to signify a decrease in lust. See CH I.6.82-3.

focus centered on enacting these virtues through the matter of the body, embodying either virtues or vices through material performance. Here we find a more complex notion of virtues/vices than the modern reader might be inclined to assume. These virtues are certainly aspects/principles associated with an individual character but it is the physical signification, or performance, which associates or allows the individual to access such a quality:

Ne sceole we forðy sinderlice on anum lime beon ymbsnidene, ac we sceolon ða fulan galnysse symle wanian, and ure Eagan fram yfelre gesihðe *awendan*, and earan fram yfelre heorcunge; urne muð fram leasum spræcum, handa fram mandædum; ure fotwylmas fram dædbærum siðfæste, ure heorta fram facne. Gif we swa fram leahtrum ymbsnidene beoð, þonne bið us geset niwe nama.... Se niwa nama is Christianus, þæt is Cristen.

(CH I.6.102-110; my emphasis)

[We should not, therefore, separately be circumcised in one member, but must always diminish that foul gluttony and *turn* our eyes from evil sight, and ears from evil hearing, our mouth from speaking lies, hands from evil deeds, the soles of our feet from the deadly path, our hearts from guile. If we are circumcised from sins in such a way, then a new name is confirmed in us.... The new name is Christianus, that is Christian.]

Maintaining a reading of the Senses congruous with the homilies presented above, Ælfric develops images of performed bodily coherence emerging from a conceptual model founded on and transmitting the taxonomy of the Five Senses. Ironically, the emphasis on spiritual fulfillment of the old physical mark is realized through material performance of spiritual ideals. Ælfric's vocabulary appears problematic at first glance, employing both *ymbsnidene* (literally, to cut around) and *awendan* (to turn, to translate) to render his source's use of the Latin *circumcidere*.¹¹⁹ Ælfric applies *ymbsnidene* in the opening and closing lines of the passage. At the

¹¹⁹ Godden, *Ælfric's CH: Commentary*, 50: Ælfric's source is Haymo of Auxerre, *Homilia de Tempore* 14, PL 118:95C-97A. Godden provides an excerpt from Haymo: "Hoc summopere considerandum est, quia *circumcisio* spiritualis nun unius membri sed omnium membrorum vitia amputare docet... *Circumcidendi* sunt oculi ab illicito visu ... *Circumcidendae* aures sunt, ne libenter audiant verba detractionis... *Circumcidenda* est lingua... *Circumcidamus* manus... *Circumcidamus* pedes... *Circumcidere* cor" [[This is to be examined in the highest, (he teaches) that spiritual circumcision is not of one limb but to cut away the faults of all limbs... the eyes are to be circumcised from illicit visions... the ears are to be circumcised, lest they should hear the words of detractors... the tongue is to be circumcised... the hands are to be circumcised... the feet are to be circumcised... to circumcise the

outset, the term is used to represent the literal cutting away of flesh from the body, whereas in closing *ymsnidene* appears to be more abstract, cutting out or separating the individual body from vice (*leahtrum*). Ælfric’s use of *awendan* illuminates the logic behind this apparent dual sense of *ymsnidene*. The application of *awendan* is consistent with his focus on moving/turning the senses, here fulfilling the physical mark through material performance of spiritual habit. Ælfric is able to exploit and apply both the figural and literal implications of *awendan*, collapsing the figural and literal meaning of the verb in the motion of the body. This physical turning reifies spiritual habit, “cutting away” sin from the body in both a figural and literal sense: as the circumscribed limbs—here as both the literal limbs of the individual material body and the figural role of the individual Christian as limb in Christ’s body—no longer practice sinful acts and pollute their body. The Christian body is circumcised through circumscribed action. Ælfric’s use of the formulaic synecdoche, unifying the body through its Five Senses, thus carries a dual significance. It impels the audience to re-consider the individual body as a union of moving parts, with each motion carrying its own signification. Further, the broader themes of Christian history and community position the individual to conceive of himself as a slight portion of a much greater whole. This play of fragmentation and reconciliation frames the opening of the passage. The use of *sinderlice* renders the limb, the body, and the individual as what Pierre Bourdieu calls *pars totalis*, signifying and affecting the larger network to which he belongs.¹²⁰ On the literal level, those in Ælfric’s audience familiar with the mechanics of circumcision

heart]. Bosworth and Toller translate *ymsniþan* as “to circumcise” which fits the spirit of the passage but this veils the fact that both the Anglo-Saxon (*ymb + sniðan*) and the Latin are composed of elements which mean to literally “cut around” (B&T, s. v. “ymsniþan”).

¹²⁰ Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 94. Although his analysis cannot be categorized as part of Object-Oriented Ontologies movement and does not consider notions of assemblage as articulated by Deleuze and Guattari, Bourdieu’s emphasis on the material nature of praxis and the material body as an object fundamental to the transmission and renewal of social structures dovetails nicely with the former theories.

would recognize this implication; only a single limb is altered. The act of circumcision, under the Old Law, is a literalized synecdoche, with the trimmed flesh distinguishing a single limb from the rest of the body while signifying the identity of the individual as a whole. This single physical act simultaneously renders the sum of bodily members, the whole individual, unified and obedient to God's covenant. In her assessment of Ælfric's view of circumcision, however, Zacher makes the astute observation that the enduring mark on the body would be otherwise left hidden and private, veiled by clothing. Zacher reasons that this mark and its secrecy "fuelled the impression that the Jew represented both the spiritual and the physical other. Moreover, such impressions may have been deepened by the repeated Biblical emphasis upon the rite as a sign of difference."¹²¹ The hidden mark undergoes a perverse metamorphosis in the Anglo-Saxon imagination refigured as aberrant, individuating, a mark of separation undermining coherent Christian polity and its claims to the historical inheritance of the biblical patriarchs. Set within a Christian frame and practiced by openly Christian bodies, spiritual circumcision becomes a continual public performance creating social cohesion through acts in which the individual proves his citizenship. The complex linking the verb *awendan* with perpetual performance highlights the perpetual nature of this praxis and presents it as transformative; as Ælfric implies, only the fully habituated individual becomes fully Christian.

The verb *awendan* is typically defined as "to change, turn."¹²² However, most notably in Ælfric's writing, *awendan* can also be defined in terms of literal translation.¹²³ Some may be

¹²¹ Zacher, "Circumscribing the text," 90.

¹²² DOE, s. v. "awendan."

¹²³ A cursory search of the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus* shows the impressive frequency with which Ælfric employed this term. Of the 630 total attestations of *awend* (in its various forms), Ælfric accounts for just under half with roughly 302 uses. See *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus* (Toronto, 2016), accessed March 12, 2017, <http://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doecorpus/>.

inclined to read Ælfric's use of the verb literally, as in the case of his *Grammar*, where the literal/physical form of the word is changed in the process of translation. Scott DeGregorio, however, cautions that this reading offers a reductive interpretation if applied unconditionally throughout the entire Old English corpus. Writing on the affective aspects of Anglo-Saxon spirituality, DeGregorio notes the link between *awendan* (to translate) and *wendan* (to turn or move), arguing that it "may also denote a decidedly 'spiritual' movement or alteration."¹²⁴ In Ælfric's paradigm this spiritual motion is achieved through literal motion; turning the eye from evil sights, etc., has the effect of purifying the spiritual component of the individual and translating him from a discrete body to a member of the body corporate, the Church. This thematic focus on translation is concretized in the homily's notion of "renaming." Ælfric notes that through their adherence to the Old Law the patriarchs received new names from God, symbolic of their commitment to his covenant. This renaming is available to Christians as well but it is reconstructed by Ælfric in terms of a spiritual translation. Although Ælfric emphasizes the figural aspect of this translation (most clearly in his warning against Christians marking their flesh by literal circumcision) the material body is emphasized as the vehicle through which this process is enacted and signified, translating the individual into the Christian body. Though Ælfric's overtures toward spiritual import ostensibly shift away from materiality, the homily's implicit paradigm leaves little choice but for him to continually return to the body as habits of body and mind dovetail in the negotiation of selfhood and salvation. In this frame, circumcision is refigured metaphorically as a means to signify and purify the soul. Whereas the Old Covenant required that the believer literally mark a single member of the body, the New Law requires a figural mark. This figural marking, however, brings with it a central complication: constancy.

¹²⁴ DeGregorio, "Affective Spirituality: Theory and Practice in Bede and Alfred the Great," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 22 (2005): 136.

While Ælfric stresses that the New Covenant eschews the literal mark on the corpus, this figural circumcision is literalized through continual public performance. The habit must be enacted constantly to both purify and signify the individual's spiritual state. Implicit in this assumption of Christian habit is its transformative effect on the individual. As the individual becomes fully habituated he receives not only a new name but a new lineage: "þonne sind we Abrahames cynne, æfter soðum geleafan" [then we are of Abraham's kin, in true faith; CH I.6.114]. The material body, then, signifies one's spiritual state but also, thoroughly habituated, reconciles the individual not only to the local community but to the unbroken line of Christian history.

Read within this dialectic of will and selfhood, the habituated individual who achieves the name "Christian" is one whose body is circumscribed and whose individuation is under constant erasure. This structure recalls O'Brien O'Keeffe's elucidation of the worth given to performance and internalization in the construction of monastic "textualized identities."¹²⁵ Yet this similarity belies a fundamental difference between how Ælfric's homiletics approach the regulation of lay piety and the production Christian identity in Benedictine pedagogical writing. Whereas O'Brien O'Keeffe notes that the monastic "textualized identity" is predicated upon the internalization, practice, and re-affirmation of textual structures, Ælfric relies on physiological images to adapt the body's role in the negotiation of Christian identity within a secular audience. Priority is given to the delineation of a conceptual model of the body established through a taxonomy rather than a catalogue of ordinances. In effect, the synecdochical formula adopted in Ælfric's homilies frames Christian identity not as the naturalization of textual structures but as the enactment of natural order. Evoking the language of Microcosm/Macrocosm, witnessed in Byrhtferth's *Ammonitio*, the secular Christian is rendered as a portion of Christ's body through

¹²⁵ O'Brien O'Keeffe, 7-14.

his own physical matter. Urging the audience to witness it “in our own bodies” the reconceptualization of the material body as a corporation of limbs/Senses is naturalized, recasting the secular Christian as both *pars totalis* and *pars pro toto*. The consequence is that action is no longer discrete or innocuous; rather, it is the affirmation or erosion of social concord. Yet why does this formulation provide no detailed set of *regula* as to *how* the individual might “turn” his body from evil deeds in any of the homilies considered above? Within this reconceptualization of the body, the primacy of somatic experience intersects with notions of will and compunction presenting both in physiological terms.¹²⁶ Rendered in terms of physical stimuli (*onbryrdan*), God’s will is somatized as something to be felt and transmitted by the secular Christian.¹²⁷ Framing the body in sensual terms affects a notion of introspection, wherein the individual evaluates the minutiae of both somatic experience and his physical motion in a desire to feel and be directed by the will of God. In such a way the secular individual might experience a “temporal oneness of command and act... a unity of will and intention” longed for by monastics.¹²⁸ Embedded in this conceptual model of the body is a naturalized system of regulation more fluid than any catalogue of *regula* and more adaptable to the unforeseen and unavoidable complications of life. In effect the individual is turned inward to surveil his senses, estranged from his own desire, in an effort to re-affirm the bounds of the Christian body.

¹²⁶ For the notion of compunction see my analysis of CH I.33, CH II.38, LS 1 above at 220-231. For God’s will rendered in physical terms see my analysis of *Preface to Genesis* and CH I.6 above at 225-26.

¹²⁷ Here I should recall Cohen’s reading of the monastic body as an instructive object at pages 198-200 above. In the context of my delineation of the physiological terms in which Ælfric frames the body, instruction, and God’s will, the body becomes a device whose motions stimulate others toward God’s will. See my analysis of CH II.38 above at 220-22.

¹²⁸ O’Brien O’Keeffe, 35.

CONCLUSION

What unites the disparate medieval bodies... is an insistence that subjectivity is always enfolded; that human identity is—despite the best efforts of those who possess it to assert otherwise—unstable, contingent, hybrid, discontinuous; that the work of creating a human body is never finished; that gender, race, sexuality, and nation are essential but not sufficiently definitive components of this production; that sometimes the most fruitful approach to a body or a text is to stop asking "What is it?" and to start following Deleuze and Guattari's injunction to map what a body *does*.

Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Medieval Identity Machines*¹

In his groundbreaking survey of medieval bodies, Jeffrey Cohen attempts to refigure our understanding of pre-modern forms of identity by highlighting the ways in which selfhood is “unstable, contingent, hybrid, discontinuous.” Cohen offers a diverse collection of case-studies that interrogate the contexts wherein such fractious agents act, resist, and create meaning within their contemporary cultures. His approach to the body hinges on an important methodological distinction at the core of the Deleuzoguattarian understanding of the embodied subject: that attempts to define the body must necessarily view it as complete, either in the sense of being finished or at least stable, and thus obscure our view of the body’s innate fluidity and potential to reach beyond its limits, physical or otherwise.²

The present study has endeavored to situate this important distinction more firmly within early medieval literary analysis through a focused interrogation of Anglo-Saxon

¹ Cohen, xxiii. His emphasis.

² The etymology of the verb “define” warrants this theoretical turn as both its earlier Anglo-Norman form *definer* and Latin parallel *definire* connote a sense of completion, termination, or boundary, see *The Oxford English Dictionary*, accessed December 23, 2017, <http://www.oed.com>.

devotional texts. Attending to a rhetorical formula that ostensibly seeks to delimit the flesh through a list of its members, my intent is not to define, or re-define, the Anglo-Saxon body but to reconsider it as a site of spiritual production. Taking shape through a process of accumulation, these anatomical catalogues create a vision of a polysemic body, one emerging through relations of exteriority and contingent upon its capacity to align with other bodies, such as those heavenly figures gathered by the *loricae*, or to recall embodied memories of sin, as witnessed in confessional prayers. Yet what unites the bodies that this investigation of Anglo-Saxon devotional literature collects is more than, as Cohen puts it, “an insistence that subjectivity is always enfleshed.” Rather these bodies reveal a particular hope associated with such contingent subjectivity: the implicit notion that this continual re-alignment might bring with it spiritual restoration.

That this contingency is unstable and thus temporary fits neatly with the ethic of perpetual renewal and conversion that animates Christian ideology.³ This process of disarticulating and reassembling the body through acts of devotion and penitence is an ongoing one throughout the life of the individual and throughout the history of Christian communities. Indeed, absolution is not an end in itself; rather it is the moment that most closely draws the Christian in line with his aspiration. In absolution the supplicant experiences a temporary affirmation of his potential for complete salvation, a foreshadowing of the ultimate integration with the heavenly community after his final resurrection and perfection. Even those bodies moldering in the grave—which we find in the *Soul and Body* poems as well as *Judgment Day I*—are not actually finished: they continue to decompose, writhe with new voracious guests, and listen as their souls anxiously await Christ’s return. The only bodies we may understand as truly

³ See Chapter 2, “Confessing Things,” page 8.

finished, in the grammatical sense to which Deleuze and Guattari refer, are those that have experienced their final judgment, as the poetic *Christ III* describes:⁴

... Beoð þa syngan flæsc
scandum þurhwaden swa þæt scire glæs,
þæt mon yþæst mæg eall þurhwlitan. (lines 1281b-1283)

[Then those sinful bodies, pierced with shames, will be just as clear glass which all people may most easily penetrate with sight.]

The trope of the body as glass urges readers to persevere in the grueling process of spiritual renewal through dual propositions.⁵ First is the image's explicit emphasis on shame; just as an illuminated pane of glass may not hope to hide its imperfections, so too must the sinful body reveal all guilts it formerly concealed from its brethren. Yet this analogy offers a more basic reminder to its audience: that Judgment Day truly is the end of time. The translucent body is not only a striking evocation of a transparency none can resist; its comparison to glass denotes a final solidification that marks one's incapacity to change further. This crystallized body encases sin in a way that both showcases one's shame and preserves it for eternity. Here the body restored at judgment is the only body we may consider truly finished: the sinful can never erase their indelible stain while the elect of Heaven will remain forever perfected. My attention to devotional texts, ranging from protective prayers and confessional formulae to monastic regula and homiletic admonitions, draws attention to bodies in process to foreground the vibrancy of the living body and the particular modes of subjectivity to which it gives rise: its discontinuity, its

⁴ George Phillip Krapp and Elliott van Kirk Dobbie, ed., *The Exeter Book*, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, vol. 3 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), 27-49.

⁵ A similar formulation appears in the homily *Blickling 10*: 7 þa deadan upastandaþ, biþ þonne se flæschomma ascyred swa glæs, ne mæg þæs unrihtes beon awiht bedigled [And the dead will rise, then the flesh-covering will be made clear as glass, not any of those evils may be hidden] (R. Morris, ed., *The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century*, EETS o.s. 73 [London, 1880], 106-15, at 109-111).

recalcitrance, but also its cooperation and capacity for reintegration. Here the assembled body is more than flesh; it is a model of the body *in potentia*.

For example, the Anglo-Latin and Old English *loricae* ostensibly present the assembled body simply as a collection of physical limbs. The fullest expression of this urge appears in the *Lorica of Laidcenn* as the prayer employs the phrase *compaginum innumeros ordines* [innumerable rows of connecting structures] in an attempt to articulate the staggering number of parts and joints from which the body itself emerges.⁶ But as a series of litanies join limb to limb, these same formal invocations likewise draw the supplicant in line, grammatically, with a network of innumerable heavenly figures. The assembled body emerging from the *loricae* thus functions as a connecting structure that aligns both physical and spiritual bodies. Here the material body itself functions as a potent amulet, a charm the exiled Christian works with and through to potentially relocate himself within the aegis of God's universal order.

A similar sense of promise appears in confessional texts. Ranging from the confessional prayer Aldhelm purportedly composed for the Emperor Charlemagne to formulae in late Anglo-Saxon confessional manuals, these works picture the assembled body not only as an accumulation of vital individual actants but also as a catalog of their sins. Yet the confessant is not instructed to deride his body but rather to speak with it. Absolution hinges on the Christian's knowledge of his own flesh and his capacity to enjoin it in a frank discussion that affords each limb the opportunity to recognize how the weight of past evils will translate to future woes on the day of judgment, if recompense is never paid. In these prayers, confession becomes a moment in which the penitent engages his body in a negotiation, a dialogue wherein the enlivened pricks of past sins might stir compunction and evoke a state of purification in the present.

⁶ Appendix 1, line 78.

The vibrant nature of the material body is likewise of interest to monastic authors like Byrhtferth and the homilist Ælfric, who view it as the nexus of communal purity and possible reform. Engaging the body from a scientific perspective, Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion* frames the assembled body as a microcosm of creation. By the time Byrhtferth completed his treatise, however, the Macrocosm-Microcosm trope had become deeply ingrained in both Christian and scientific thought as the preeminent conceptual model for understanding the natural order and humanity's place within it. The particular innovation Byrhtferth contributes to this oeuvre is his approach to the body; this is to say that instead of conceiving of the body as a generic whole, he views the flesh through the lens of computus. As such, Byrhtferth demonstrates not that the body is an assemblage of atoms, humors, qualities, etc. but rather the capacity for this assembled body to find its place within the increasingly parsed and ordered *regula* of daily monastic life. By applying the computistical tenets of division to the body, Byrhtferth's writing and diagrams naturalize Benedictine habit as the mode by which the individual brother may reform himself in Christ's image and affirm the harmony within the communal monastic body.

Ælfric views the body in similar terms, yet his recourse to the explicit language of circumcision belies an anxiety associated with the bodies composing his unordered lay audience. Ælfric's focus on the disordered nature of the human body speaks not to a disdain for the flesh but to a view of the body as an agent both for sin and grace. This nuanced view of the assembled body allows Ælfric to articulate tensions between individuation and communal identity, discord and unity, creating a sacred space for secular piety as the Christian layperson is integrated into the communal body of Christ.

While each of these works provides its own perspective on the nature of the assembled body, they all acknowledge the capacity of the material Anglo-Saxon body to function as a locus

of positive spiritual transformation. As such, the assembled body obliges us to consider the body beyond its physical boundaries. As a site of accumulation these bounds do not mark its limits, its end or completion; rather they map the points of contact where the human body joins a larger structure of alliance and emergence. To define the members of the body does not *finish* our work on the Anglo-Saxon body; instead it opens us to the ways in which the flesh draws itself into new and enlivening incorporations that give rise to new modes of subjectivity.

Although my attention to anatomical catalogues, as the formulaic basis for the assembled body trope, restricts my focus to a small number of texts, I have tried to demonstrate how the manner in which the trope functions within these works resonates more broadly with the concerns of subjectivity, materiality, and spiritual identity that appear throughout a range of vernacular, Latin, prose, and verse works. Reading the body *as a possibility* thus likewise invites a methodological approach that extends beyond the local application of critical theory within a particular text. Forming around the central notion of assemblage, such an approach to literary analysis is necessarily comparative. For example, the Latin and English *loricae* are formal anomalies: litanies of litanies traditionally defined as vestiges of the Irish enumerative style, which lose meaning if dislodged from this cultural context. Yet in the same way that these prayers treat the exiled body as a point of suture, their thematic interest in re-locating the supplicant draws together other works that deal with problems of dislocation and protection, such as the poetic *Genesis A* and Ælfric's vernacular *Hexameron*—which similarly lament the consequences of mankind's expulsion from paradise—along with the *Journey Charm*, Cynewulf's *Christ II*, and formal aspects of Anglo-Saxon land grants that seek to mark out variously the Christian and his land as a domain under the auspices of a divine Lord. The result is both a better understanding of the significance late Anglo-Saxon practitioners may have found

in the *loricae*, long after the genre's connection to an Irish grammatical tradition would have any real meaning, and new insight into the thematics of Old English texts more closely studied by scholars of Anglo-Saxon literature. To be sure, this approach does not intend to challenge philology and source study. Rather it bids us to use new theoretical approaches, judiciously, in concert with these esteemed methodologies in order to help trace connective tissue that more traditional approaches may fail to fully flesh out.

Reading the body as possibility reveals resonances across what may initially appear to be incongruous narratives, creating fresh intergeneric groupings that open our capacity to more fully apprehend the potential pulsing through the Anglo-Saxon body while enlivening often overlooked texts as they enter a new structure of alliance with better considered works. Such an accumulation challenges us to think differently about formal or generic classification; it invites us to reconsider these texts not as finished bodies but members of a broader corpus that might align in new and enlightening ways.

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APPENDIX A:

*LORICA OF LAIDCENN: LATIN WITH OLD ENGLISH GLOSS AND TRANSLATION*¹

	Suffragare trinitatis unitas	Gefultimige seo þrinis seo annis
	Unitatis miserere trinitas,	Ðære annisse gemildsa me seo þrinnis
	Suffragare quaeso mihi posito	Gefultimige ic bidde me gesettum
	Maris magni uelut in periculo	Saes micles swa swa in fræcennisse
5	Ut non secum trahat me mortalitas	Þætte nales mid heo teo mec seo deaðlicnes
	Huius anni neque mundi uanitas	Ðeoses geares ne ðyses middengeardes idelnes
	Et hocidem peto a sublimibus	7 ðæþ ilce ic bidde from þæm hyhstum
	Celestis militia uirtutibus	Þæs heofonlican compwerodes mægenum
	Ne me linquant lacerandum hostibus	Ðylæs mec forlæten to slitenne feondum
10	Sed defendant me iam armis fortibus	Ac gescilden soðlice wæpnum strongum
	Ut me illi precedent in acie	Þætte heo mec foregongen in feðan
	Celestis exercitus militie	Ðæs heofonlican weorudes wigþreatas
	Cheruphin at seraphin cum milibus	Wisdomes gefylnes 7 godes lufu onbernes mid
	Michael et Gabriel similibus	cæmppum

Protect me unity of the Trinity, pity me Trinity of unity. I pray you protect me, who is placed in danger as if of a great sea (5) so that neither the mortality of this time of life nor the vanity of the world might draw me away. And I beg this also of the high powers of the heavenly host, that they not abandon me to be torn apart by my enemies, (10) but defend me with strong weapons. Let them go before me in a battle line, the army of the heavenly host; Cherubim and Seraphim with their thousands, Michael and Gabriel and the like.

Protect me, the trinity, the unity the trinity of unity show mercy to me I pray you protect me, who is set just as in the dangers of a great sea (5) that neither the mortality of this year nor the vanity of this world will draw [entice] me and I also pray that from the highest might of the heavenly army lest they permit me to be rent to pieces by fiends, (10) I pray you truly shield me with strong weapons/ that they go before me as a troop/ as a battle throng of the heavenly host/ the fullness of God's wisdom and burning of God's love, in conjunction with soldiers/ just God and God's strength alike.

¹ The Latin is taken from Michael W. Herren, *The Hisperica Famina: II. Related Poems, A Critical Edition with English Translation and Philological Commentary* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1989), 76-89; the Old English from J.H.G. Grattan and Charles Singer, eds., *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952). For Manuscript information, see Chapter 1, note 8.

15	Opto thronos uirtutes archangelos Principatus, potestates, angelos Ut me denso defendentes agmine Inimicos ualeam prosternere. Tum deinde ceteros agonithetas,	Ic wisce þrymseld þa lyfiendan heahenglas Aldordomas 7 duguþmehte ænglas Þætte mec þicce gescyðende weorode Feond ic mæge gefyllan Syþþan æfter þan oðre cæmpan
20	Patriachas, quattour quarter prophetas, Et apostolos nauis Christi proretas Et martyres omnes peto athletas [atque adiuro et uirgines omnes Uiduas fideles et confessors] Ut me per illos salus sepiat Atque omne malum a me pereat;	Heahfæderas feower siðan feower witegan Ond apostolas christes scipes steoran Proweras alle ic bidde godes cæmpan Þætte mec þurh heo þære eccēan hælo ymbsylle 7 æghwylc yfel from me gewite
25	Christus mecum pactum firmum ferat, Timor tremor tetras turbas terreat. Deus impenetrabili tutela Undique n me defende potentia; Mee gibre pernas omnes libera	Crist mid me were fæste trume gefæstnige Ege fyrhto ða sweartan weorud abrege God unþurhsceotendlicre gescyldnesse Æghwonan me gescild ðinre mæhte Mines lichoman lewera alle alæs

(15) I pray for the thrones, virtues, and Archangels, principalities, powers, and angels that while they are guarding me in a dense battle procession, I might be strong enough to strike down the enemies. Next, then, I beg the other champions: (20) the patriarchs, the four by four prophets, and the Apostles – pilots of the ship of Christ – and all the martyrs and athletes of God, and I adjure all the virgins, faithful widows, and confessors that by them health/safety may encompass me and every evil may perish before me. (25) May Christ set a firm covenant with me, may fear and trembling deter the foul mob (of enemies). God defend me in all respects; with your impenetrable power and protection deliver all solid portions of my person.

(15) I wish(?) the thrones, the living ones, the Archangels [high angels] the eldermen and powers and angels that shielding me in a deep army, I may destroy the fiend. Then after I pray those other warriors, (20) the four Patriarchs [highfathers], the four Prophets [wisemen] and the Apostles, pilots of the ship of Christ, I pray the martyrs and all of God's warriors that by them, their eternal health enclose me and each evil from me depart [die], (25) that Christ would make a firm, fixed, commitment with me that terror and dread terrify the dark legion/ that God with impenetrable protection from all parts protect me with your might protect all the solid parts [hams] of my body.

50	<p>Erga membra erga mea uiscera Ut retrudas a me inuisibilis Sudum clabos quos fingunt odibiles. Tege ergo deus fortis lurica Cum scapulis humeros et brachia;</p>	<p>Ymb min leomu ymb mine innoðas Þætte ðu ascufe from me ða ungesewenlican Slega næglas ða fæstniað ða laðwendan Gescyld soðlice god stronger byrnan Mid gescyldrum eaxle ond earmas</p>
55	<p>Tege ulnas cum cubis et minibus Pugnos, palmas, digitos cum ungibus Tege spinam et costas cum artibus, Terga dorsum nerusque cum ossibus; Tege cutem, sanguinem cum renibus,</p>	<p>Gemundbyrd elne mid þan elnbogan 7 hondum¹ Fyste folme fingras mid þæm næglum Gescyld þone hringc 7 ða rib mid ðæm liðum Bæc hringc 7 ða sionwe me ðæm banum Gescyld ða hyd blod mid ðæm ædrum</p>
60	<p>Catacrines, nates, cum femoribus; Tege cambas, surras, femoralia Cum genuclis, poplites et genua; Tege ramos concrecentes decies Cum mentagris ungues binos quinquies;</p>	<p>Ða hypban ða earsenda mid ðæm þeohsconcum Gescyld home scotliran ða þeogeweald Mid þæm þeohweorfan þa hweorfan 7 ða cneo Gemundbyrd telgan efenwexende tyne Mid þæm taum næglas twiga fife</p>
65	<p>Tege talos cum tibiis sporum calcibus, et Crura, pedes, plantarum cum bassibus; Tege pectus, iugulam, pectusculum Mamillas stomachum et umbilicum Tege uentrem, lumbos, genetalia,</p>	<p>Gescyld ða hælan mid þæm sceonum uel sconcum 7 Sceoncan fet þara ila mid þæm stepum uel gongum Gescyld breost ðearmwind breostban Tittas oððon sponan magan 7 þone neabulan Gescyld ða wombe þa lendenu þa acnendlican lyomu</p>

(50) to my limbs, to my inner-parts, so that you drive back from me the invisible nails that the hateful ones shape. Cover, oh God, with your strong breast-plate, my shoulders with their shoulder blades and arms. (55) Cover my forearms with elbows and hands, fists, palms, fingers with their fingernails. Cover my spine and ribs with their joints, my back, ridge of the back, and sinews with their bones. Cover my skin, blood with kidneys, (60) haunches, buttocks with thighs. Cover my hams, calves, femurs with hocks, knees, and knee-joints. Cover my ten branches [toes] growing together with toe-tips and twice five toenails. (65) Cover my ankles with shins and heels, shanks, feet with their soles. Cover my breast, collar-bone, small-breast, nipples, stomach, and navel. Cover my belly, loins, genitals

(50) around my members, around my inner-parts so that you drive out [*ascufan*] from me those invisible nails of blows which bind me to the hateful ones. God truly protect with a stronger lorica my shoulders, shoulder-blades, and arms. Protect my forearms with elbows and hands, fists, palms, fingers with nails. Protect my spine and ribs with their joints, my back and sinews with bones. Protect my skin, blood with kidneys, (60) hipbones, buttocks [ass-end] with thigh-shanks. Protect my hams [legs], calves, the inner thighs with the knee joints, joints, and the knees. Defend my ten branches [toes] growing together with the toes and twice five nails. Protect my heels with shoes [feet], shins, ankles and shanks, feet with the base of the soles. Protect my chest, collarbone, breastbone, teats [breasts] or nipples, maw, and my navel. Protect my belly, loins, and the betting limbs [genitals].

70 Et aluum, et cordis uitalia;
 Tege trifidum iecor et ilia,
 Marsem, reniculos, fithrem, cum obligio;
 Tege toliam, toracem cum pulmone
 uenas fibras fel cum bucliamine;
 75 Tege carnem inginam cum medullis,
 splenem turtuosus cum intestinis.
 Tege uessicam adipem et pantes
 compaginum innumeros ordines;
 Tege pilos adque membra reliqua
 80 Quorum forte præteribi nomina;
 Tege totum me cum quique sensibus
 Et cum X fabrefactis foribus
 Ut a plantis usque ad uerticem
 Nullo membro foris intus egrotem;

(70) and bowels and vital parts of my heart. Cover my three-cornered liver and groin, pouch [scrotum], kidneys [loin?], intestines with its folds. Cover my tonsils, abdomen with lungs, veins, entrails, bile with its eruption. (75) Cover my flesh, loin with marrow [inner-most parts], and spleen with twisting intestines. Cover my bladder, fat, and all the innumerable rows of connecting structures. Cover my hairs and remaining members (80) whose names I have perhaps overlooked. Cover all of me with my fives senses, along with my ten skillfully made doors [orifices] so that from the soles of my feet to the top of my head I might not be afflicted in any member, within or without,

7 hrif 7 ðære heortan þe liflican
 Gescyld þa þrio fealdan libre 7 rysele
 Sweotan 7 burse lundlagan snædelþearm mid þære
 nettan
 Gescyld readan feleferð mid ðære lungene
 Eadre smælþearmas geallan mid þy hyorthoman;
 Gescyld þæt flæsc uel lichoman ða scare mid þæm
 mergum
 þone milte mid þæ gebægdum eosenum 7 roppum;
 Gescyld blædran gelynd ond ealle
 þara gefoga þa unarimdan ændebyrdnesse;
 Gescyld hær 7 þa oþre leomu
 Þæra swæ wen is ic biferde uel forleort noman
 Gescyld alne mec mid fif ondgeotum
 7 mid ten smicre geworhtum durum
 Þætte from þæm hælum oð ðæs heafdes heannesse
 Nængum lime minum utan innan ic geuntrumige

(70) and womb [belly] and the vital portions of my heart. Protect my threefold liver and fat, scrotum, kidneys, my great gut with the net-like membrane. Protect my tonsils, thorax with lungs, vessels, small guts, bile with midsection. (75) Protect my flesh [or body], my groin with marrows, spleen with twisting intestines and colon. Protect my bladder, fat and all the innumerable joints of structures. Protect my hair and other members (80) any names of which I have by chance left out. Protect me all, with my five senses/ and with the ten elegantly fashioned doors/ so that from my heels to the height of my head/ in no member of mine, inner or outer, may I be ill.

85	<p>Ne de meo possit uitam trudere Pestis febris languor dolor corpore, Donec iam deo dante seneam Et peccata mea bonis deleam, Ut de carne iens imis</p>	<p>Þylæs of minum mæge lif ascufan Wolnes fefor ece adl sar lichoman Ærðon soðlice gode syllendum ic gealdige 7 mine synne mid godum ic adilgie Þætte of lichoman ut geongende ðeosum neolum</p>
90	<p>Et ad alta euolare ualeam Et miserto deo ad etheria Letus uehar regni refrigeria. Amen</p>	<p>(Ic ðolige uel, ic mæge geþolian, caream) 7 to þæm hean gefligan uel geferan ic mæge 7 gemilsigendum gode to þæm readorlicum Bliðe ic sy gewegen ^{riccs} cælnesse soðlice.</p>

(85) so that plague, fever, feebleness, or pain may not be able to thrust the life from my body until, God willing, I may reach old age and erase my sins with good deeds; so that, departing from my flesh, I may avoid the depths (90) and be able to fly to the heights, and by the mercy of God, be joyfully carried to the heavenly consolations of his kingdom. Amen.

(85) that disease, nor fever, nor perpetual sickness, nor pain may drive out the life from my body before truly, by grace of God, I grow old/ and destroy [*andilegian*] my sin with good works; so that going out of my body I may avoid the depths (90) and may be worthy to fly on high, and joyful, with God's mercy be carried to the heavenly consolations of his kingdom. Truly.