

Demonic Pedagogy and the Teaching Saint: Voice, Body, and Place in Cynewulf's *Juliana*

Christina M. Heckman

Introduction

Juliana is an Old English poem of just over 730 lines, included in the Exeter Book and composed by Cynewulf, known only through his elaborate runic signatures.¹ A virgin martyr, Juliana died during the reign of Maximian around the year 303 and suffered in Nicomedia, now in Turkey. In both Cynewulf's account and his Latin source, the *Passio S. Iulianae*, Juliana is sought in marriage by Eleseus, Roman governor of the region, but rejects him and refuses to worship his pagan gods, scornfully defying both him and her father, Africanus. Tormented and imprisoned by Eleseus, Juliana continues to resist and is visited in her prison cell by a fair angelic figure who, forced by the saint to confess his origins, acknowledges that he is a demon serving Satan. Cynewulf,

1. Cynewulf's poetic corpus has frequently been dated to the ninth or tenth centuries, although its date remains in dispute. See Patrick Conner, "On Dating Cynewulf," in *The Cynewulf Reader*, ed. Robert E. Bjork (New York: Routledge, 2001), 23–56, esp. 46–47; Lenore Abraham, "Cynewulf's Recharacterization of the *Vita Sanctae Iulianae* and the Tenth Century Benedictine Revival in England," *American Benedictine Review* 62, no. 1 (2011): 67–83; and R.D. Fulk, "Cynewulf: Canon, Dialect, Date," in *The Cynewulf Reader*, 3–21, esp. 16–18. While Cynewulf's direct Latin source remains unknown, Michael Lapidge provides the most closely related text of the *Passio S. Iulianae* in "Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*," in *Unlocking the Wordboard: Anglo-Saxon Studies in Memory of Edward B. Irving, Jr.*, ed. Mark C. Amodio and Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 147–71, esp. 166n. One of two female saints to whom Cynewulf devoted lengthy hagiographic poems, Juliana was included in Anglo-Saxon calendars; see Lapidge, "Cynewulf," 149.

unlike the *passio's* author, represents the demon as a persuasive teacher who reveals the deceptive pedagogical methods through which he seeks to corrupt humankind.² He is diminished by the courageous saint, who returns defiantly to her torments and is ultimately taken to the city's boundary for execution. Before her martyrdom, Cynewulf's Juliana delivers her own teachings to her followers, who triumphantly bring her body into the city for burial.

In Cynewulf's text, three central intertwined tropes emerge: first, the voice, a material manifestation of language deployed by a human agent; second, the saint's body; and third, place, especially the places of the saint's martyrdom and burial. These places materially change after the martyr's death and entombment, even as her relics retain an agency not identical to that of the saint herself or her premortem body. Cynewulf's deployment of voice, body, and place departs significantly from their treatment in his Latin source, complicating any easy separation between body and soul, the physical world and the spiritual realm. This essay argues that *Juliana's* three central tropes should be considered "phenomena," a term emerging from recent developments in gender studies and the philosophy of science. Scholars in these fields have expressed discontent with how the relationship between language and reality has been conceived. This dispute has been engaged by Susan Bordo and Judith Butler, supported by other theorists such as Susan Hekman, Claire Colebrook, and Karen Barad.³ Barad follows Niels Bohr in viewing "matter" as "*phenomena*," considering material entities "not [as] independent objects with inherent boundaries and properties, but rather . . . [as] relations without preexisting relata." In other words, objects are not discrete and separate but take on material form and meaning through their relationships with one another, "specific agential intra-actions" in which "the boundaries and properties of the

2. On the motif of the devil as a teacher in patristic literature, see Eric Jager, *The Tempter's Voice: Language and the Fall in Medieval Literature* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), 23–29.

3. Susan Hekman, "Constructing the Ballast: An Ontology for Feminism," in *Material Feminisms*, ed. Stacy Alaimo and Susan Hekman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), 85–119, esp. 90–91. See also the essays by Claire Colebrook and Karen Barad in the same volume.

‘components’ of phenomena become determinate and . . . particular embodied concepts become meaningful.”⁴ The form of such objects is not fixed, but rather takes shape through the interaction of material, discursive, and linguistic forces.

Viewed as phenomena, or matter produced through relations that make them intelligible, Juliana’s voice, body, and associated places contribute to a comprehensive understanding of agency that destabilizes the straightforward separation of the material from the immaterial. I am concerned particularly with how the phenomena of the voice and the saint’s body, both living body and relic, interact with spaces and thereby transform them into significant “places” in Cynewulf’s poem.⁵ Viewing voice, body, and place as dynamic and interlinking phenomena provides a compelling and comprehensive way to understand agency in the poem. When human agents make their identities newly intelligible by deploying their voices and bodies, they simultaneously transform the places in which they dwell. By the conclusion of Cynewulf’s narrative, the world has been fundamentally remade through this interweaving of agential forces.

The constant shifting of identity and place is especially evident in the poem’s many pedagogical scenes. Cynewulf, unlike the author of the *Passio S. Iulianae*, characterizes *Juliana*’s demon as a persuasive and deceptive teacher, later establishing Juliana herself as the most authoritative teacher in the poem. Her final speech, which includes a Gospel reference, has sometimes been classified as female “preaching,” disturbing some critics.⁶ Cynewulf, however, represents her speech as unproblematic and praiseworthy, evidence of her courageous witness. When viewed as teaching that resists and displaces the sophistic pedagogy of her adversaries, Juliana’s words demonstrate the power of her voice,

4. Karen Barad, “Posthumanist Performativity: Toward an Understanding of How Matter Comes to Matter,” *Signs* 28, no. 3 (2003): 801–31, repr. in Alaimo and Hekman, *Material Feminisms*, 120–54, esp. 132–33.

5. On the multiplicity of the saint’s body and the Eucharist, see Karmen MacKendrick, “The Multipliable Body,” *postmedieval* 1, no. 1–2 (2010): 108–14.

6. Joseph Wittig claims that such preaching is not worrisome as long as one considers Juliana a figure for “the primitive church.” See “Figural Narrative in Cynewulf’s *Juliana*,” in *The Cynewulf Reader*, 147–69, esp. 160–61.

emerging through the interplay of her indomitable spirit, her body, and the places in which she engages in pedagogical disputes.⁷

In Cynewulf's text, Juliana's authoritative voice, inseparable from her body and the places she inhabits, interferes with her adversaries' attempts to make her intelligible as daughter, potential wife and mother, and imperial subject. In resisting these definitions from her father, her suitor, and her demonic visitor, Juliana deploys her voice, the material manifestation of language and her own agency, to transform herself and her followers into students addressed by sophistic and deceptive pedagogues.⁸ As a student-disciple and later a teacher in her own right, an aspect of her identity not emphasized in the Latin source, Cynewulf's Juliana interacts with other human and nonhuman agents, as well as with the poem's places, to establish sites of pedagogical resistance. This move makes her a target for violence in a triple sense, as recalcitrant student, disobedient daughter, and rebellious subject. Those who aim to become her teachers, especially her father and her demonic visitor, find her unwilling to learn until she physically restrains the demon, forcing him to reveal his sophistic methods, the deceptions through which he "teaches" vulnerable souls into committing sin. This revelation allows

7. In contrast, Allen J. Frantzen, who comments on the pedagogical language used by the demon and Juliana, views "Juliana's participation in the theme of teaching" as "limited." I refer to his unpublished paper, "History and Conversion in Cynewulf's *Juliana*" (2013), 17 (cited with permission).

8. While sound, according to some definitions, is not "matter"—i.e., it is a wave that affects particles but is not itself composed of particles—its material source (the body) and effects on the listener have led to its widespread association with materiality, in part due to the influence of Roland Barthes's "The Grain of the Voice": he emphasizes "the body in the voice as it sings," "[germinating] 'from within language and in its very materiality.'" *Image Music Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 179–89, esp. 188, 182. For commentary on the "material attributes of the voice," see Gina Bloom, *Voices in Motion: Staging Gender, Shaping Sound in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 3; and Leslie C. Dunn, "Ophelia's Songs in *Hamlet*: Music, Madness, and the Feminine," in *Embodied Voices: Representing Female Vocality in Western Culture*, ed. Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 50–64, esp. 53. On medieval theories of the voice, including those of Alcuin, Isidore, and Boethius, see William Layher, *Queenship and Voice in Medieval Northern Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 44–46.

the saint, before her death, to deploy her voice again to teach her followers, transforming her place of execution into her own “school” of resistant sanctity. Her followers ultimately bring her relics, the material remnants of her body, into the city or *burh* controlled by Eleseus. Thus the saint’s body, redefined through her own voice and action, is recognized as sacred and emplaced by her followers who, as agents in their own right, make the city newly intelligible as a Christian place in defiance of Eleseus’s authority. Juliana’s relics, which bear agency of their own after death, testify to her ongoing life and to the persistence of her defiant teaching in a city formerly dominated by the Empire.

In *Juliana*, Cynewulf foregrounds pedagogical acts by repeatedly using terms such as *læran*, *lar*, and *tæcan* in the extended disputes between the saint and her opponents, particularly Africanus and the demon. While the Old English word *tæcan* is associated with teaching by showing or demonstrating, *læran* indicates teaching through persuasion and can also refer to preaching.⁹ *Lar* is often translated as “lore” or learning. To refer to teaching, Cynewulf consistently uses *læran* rather than *tæcan*, emphasizing the persuasive nature of pedagogy and, conversely, the possibility of resisting it. In contrast, the author of the *Passio S. Iulianae* rarely uses such pedagogical language, preferring forms of the more general verbs “to be” (*esse*) or “to say” (*dico*).¹⁰ By foregrounding the practice of teaching, Cynewulf places Juliana’s story within a tradition of pedagogy as an embodied art thoroughly engaged with place. Indeed, the term “pedagogue,” whose literal meaning pertains to “leading a child” (*paĩdagōgia* or *παĩδαγωγία*), originally referred to the servant or slave who walked boys from their homes to school, emphasizing the movement of bodies from one place to another rather than teaching itself.¹¹ In Anglo-Saxon

9. “læran, v.,” *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, ed. Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), <http://ebeowulf.uky.edu/BT/bosworth.htm>. For words beginning with A-H, the preferred dictionary is *The Dictionary of Old English A-H*, ed. Angus Cameron, Ashley Crandell Amos, and Antonette diPaolo Healey (Dictionary of Old English Project, 2007), <http://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doe/>.

10. Lapidge, “Cynewulf,” 160, 162.

11. “pedagogue, n.” *OED Online*, 3rd ed. (Oxford University Press, 2005), <http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.gru.edu/view/Entry/139517#eid31427776>.

England, the term's meaning was similar: Ælfric translates *paedagogus* as “shepherd of children” (*cildra byrde*), suggesting mobility as well as guidance and protection.¹² In Anglo-Saxon schools, such guidance included disciplining the body to train the mind, as the *Colloquies* of Ælfric and Ælfric Bata demonstrate.¹³ In antiquity and the early Middle Ages, violence enacted on the body of the student was fundamental to theories of learning.¹⁴ But the power of the *magister* to perpetrate violence against the student's body, thereby inscribing the lesson on the memory, as the theory went, never guaranteed that the student would learn beyond the level of basic memorization.¹⁵ Indeed, referring to a teacher as a “master” is somewhat ironic, considering the dependence of learning on the tractability and willingness of the student. Pedagogical authority and methods are easily undermined, subject at all times to the compliance of students who wish to learn, as Ælfric's exemplary schoolboys emphasize in his *Colloquy*. By framing her confrontations with her adversaries in pedagogical terms, Cynewulf's Juliana, unlike the saint of the Latin *Passio*, establishes the foundations of her own resistance. Her defiance of deceptive lessons and her growing knowledge of the methods underlying them enable her to defeat her enemies. To

12. *Ælfric's Grammatik und Glossar*, ed. Julius Zupitza (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1880), 304.12.

13. For the texts, see *Ælfric's Colloquy*, ed. G. N. Garmonsway (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1991) and *Anglo-Saxon Conversations: The Colloquies of Ælfric Bata*, ed. Scott Gwara and David W. Porter (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), 80–197.

14. See Marjorie Curry Woods, “Rape and the Pedagogical Rhetoric of Sexual Violence,” in *Criticism and Dissent in the Middle Ages*, ed. Rita Copland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 56–86; and Irina Dumitrescu, “Violence, Performance and Pedagogy in Ælfric Bata's *Colloquies*,” *Exemplaria* 23, no. 1 (2011): 67–91, doi:10.1179/104125711X12864610741783 and “The Grammar of Pain in Ælfric Bata's *Colloquies*,” *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 45, no. 3 (2009): 239–53, doi:10.1093/fmls/cqp043.

15. On the association of violence with “inventional memory” in medieval schools, see Jodi Enders, *The Medieval Theater of Cruelty: Rhetoric, Memory, Violence* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), 5. On the relationship between violence, fear, and memory in the Anglo-Saxon school, see Irina Dumitrescu, *The Experience of Education in Anglo-Saxon Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 83.

counter their sophistry, she expounds an alternative teaching, enacting it through her resolute will; her voice; her suffering yet defiant body; and the sustained agency of both her relics and the place they inhabit after her death.

Voice, the Saint's Body, and Place as Phenomena

I have argued that in Cynewulf's *Juliana*, voice, body, and place, rather than existing discretely and separately, emerge in relationship to one another as phenomena. In recent work on material feminism, especially Barad's, the phenomenon counters the "linguistic turn" in discussions of matter: Susan Hekman, for example, qualifies the claim that matter is constituted through discourse by recognizing additional constitutive forces and reasserting the "reality" of matter.¹⁶ To bring matter back into the discussion, as Hekman notes, is to consider both the material reality of bodies and "the agency of the material world," the possibility of both human and non-human agency—for example, the agency of natural forces, which, while perhaps not sentient, enact change on the world independent of human agency or control. Within this understanding, human beings are part of nature, not independent of it, participating in nature's endless becoming rather than standing apart from nature and reflecting on it. Human agents also "require an identity," a "core sense of self" that helps one "function in the social world" and resist "society's script," rearticulating identity and making it intelligible in new ways.¹⁷ Such redefinitions by the "acting human subject," however, according to Claire Colebrook, do not originate with that subject but rather take shape "in the dynamic life of which that subject is an effect."¹⁸ Agency emerges, as Jeffrey J. Cohen has noted, within a "phenomenal world . . . across which human identity is spread."¹⁹ Culture and nature intertwine,

16. Susan Hekman, "Constructing the Ballast: An Ontology for Feminism," 98–99.

17. Hekman, 93, 113, 115. On intelligibility, see Barad, "Posthumanist Performativity," 135.

18. Claire Colebrook, "On Not Becoming Man: The Materialist Politics of Unactualized Potential," in Alaimo and Hekman, *Material Feminisms*, 52–84, esp. 69.

19. Jeffrey J. Cohen, *Medieval Identity Machines* (Minneapolis: University of

and human agents interact with nonhuman agents as matter dynamically comes into being.

While agency in *Juliana* is complex and constantly shifting, extending beyond the human, the saint's voice and body, united with soul, spirit, and will, are foregrounded early in the poem. The challenge of Juliana's voice, as a phenomenon, helps to transform the places in which it resonates, but these places also condition and reinforce her voice, especially in combative pedagogical encounters that both subvert authority and interact with space to resist familial and Roman imperial hierarchies. Juliana thus participates in the well-established Christian practice of "parrhesia ... 'bold speech,' 'risky speech' and 'speech for the common good.'"²⁰ Through these encounters, the saint articulates a new identity for herself and her followers, participating in an "ever-evolving web of belief" in the late Roman Empire,²¹ where Cynewulf's Latin source was produced, and in Anglo-Saxon England. Such belief includes constantly evolving Christian traditions that were questioned during ongoing conversion to Christianity, as Helen Foxhall Forbes has noted.²² In *Juliana*, therefore, voice, body, and place must be understood within a complex and shifting structure of material and spiritual forces.

Considering medieval traditions and texts within modern theories of materialism has its dangers, as Caroline Walker Bynum and Jacqueline Stodnick and Renée R. Trilling have shown. Bynum has cautioned against conflating "body" with "person" since, for medieval theorists, debates about the body incorporate discourse, spirituality, and matter. In these discussions, which drew heavily on Aristotle and Isidore of Seville, bodies, both human and nonhuman, were viewed as "changeable." Sacred objects in particular pointed to the "paradox of creation itself: the presence of the eternal and immutable in the transient and

Minnesota Press, 2013), xii.

20. Michael R. Simone, "A Life of Boldness," *America*, June 12, 2017, 60.

21. On the "web of belief," see Hekman, "Constructing the Ballast," 97.

22. According to Forbes, in regards to most theological matters, "it is [often] impossible for the modern scholar . . . to identify one official line which represents the beliefs of 'the Church.'" Helen Foxhall Forbes, *Heaven and Earth in Anglo-Saxon England: Theology and Society in an Age of Faith* (London: Ashgate, 2015), 17.

corruptible.”²³ Stodnick and Trilling likewise emphasize that in medieval thought, “the spiritual self and the material self are inseparable . . . but the precise nature of the relationship between body and soul is difficult to determine. . . . [confounding] conventional models of subjectivity that rely on Cartesian dualism; body and soul may be distinct elements, but they are far from separate or separable.”²⁴ Debates about the relationship of body, flesh, soul, and the broader concept of spirit were ongoing and complex. Bodies were of many kinds and forms, animate and inanimate, terrestrial and celestial.

In the shifting theological landscape of Anglo-Saxon England, such was also the case, as Forbes and Ananya Jahanara Kabir demonstrate. Forbes, citing Sarah Tarlow, emphasizes the complexity of Anglo-Saxon theological debates, recognizing a network of “belief discourses” rather than one definitive thread of theological authority in the period. In practice, Forbes claims, “people [accepted] a variety of beliefs, some of which may be inconsistent or contradictory, and almost all of which are context-specific.” For example, conventional theology stated that, after dying, a human being separated into “two distinct entities,” an “immortal . . . soul” and a “body [that] is inanimate, and lifeless.” While Augustine insisted on the separation of body and soul, other commentators, such as Gregory the Great, emphasized “the continuing connection between body and soul” postmortem, even to the extent of souls revisiting their bodies in the grave.²⁵ Kabir likewise examines Anglo-Saxon debates about the soul’s journey, emphasizing “the interim paradise” as a place distinct from heaven where righteous souls must reside until Doomsday. In the vision literature Kabir analyzes, the interim paradise and other postmortem destinations are places with shifting boundaries and vivid physical characteristics.²⁶

23. Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York: Zone Books, 2011), 32, 219.

24. Jacqueline A. Stodnik and Renée R. Trilling, “Before and After Theory: Seeing Through the Body in Early Medieval England,” *postmedieval: a journal of medieval cultural studies* 1, no. 3 (2010): 347–53, esp. 351.

25. See Forbes, *Heaven and Earth*, 30, 265, 269, 321. In particular, she cites Gregory’s *Dialogues* 4.52–54.

26. Ananya Jahanara Kabir, *Paradise, Death and Doomsday in Anglo-Saxon*

Saints' relics likewise dwelled on the shifting border between materiality and spirituality. Such relics, though frequently comprised of physical remains, were nevertheless distinct in many ways from the bodies of living saints, especially martyrs. In late antiquity, according to Jill Harries, Roman law and practice kept "the common dead" in cemeteries outside town walls, resulting in an "absolute" division between living and dead. Given this prohibition, early Christians represented the martyrs as "not dead at all; like Christ they were historical people who had died as witnesses to their faith and were now alive. Their relics therefore could not be classified among the remains of dead people." Against the objections of non-Christians, the bodies of the saints were kept close by and honored, "[changing] the religious landscape" and leading to the construction of churches and chapels to provide homes for these living saints and thereby reorienting communal life. Martyrs especially lived on, their tombs eventually opened to retrieve relics, violating another Roman taboo against disturbing the bodies of the dead.²⁷ The body of a saint like Juliana, therefore, while alive in the usual sense before her martyrdom, would have been considered living in a different form after her earthly death, along with objects associated with her. Bynum supports this point, noting that "medieval cult objects . . . were not like life; they . . . lived . . . [and] their life or agency lay not in their naturalism or similitude [to human agents] but in their materiality."²⁸ Thus the body of the martyr shifts at the material level following the martyrdom itself, as Trilling has noted: a relic with its own agency, the martyr's body is acted upon by other agents and acquires potential as a "site of resistance." This is the case in both world and text, since, "although hagiographic texts . . . deal in representation rather than material reality, they depend upon the presumed existence of a body or bodies that serve to ground both sanctity and meaning."²⁹ Through voice, I would argue, stories

Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 127, 3, 8.

27. Jill Harries, "Death and the Dead in the Late Roman West," in *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100–1600*, ed. Steven Bassett (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), 56–67, esp. 56–57, 59–60, 62.

28. Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, 282.

29. Renée R. Trilling, "Heavenly Bodies: Paradoxes of Female Martyrdom in Ælfric's Lives of Saints," in *Writing Women Saints in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Paul

about the saints and their bodies, told and retold in diverse versions distinct from written texts, take on additional material forms.

In the Middle Ages, the agency of matter was accepted but nonetheless problematic. As Bynum puts it, matter spoke too much for some theorists, who saw the need to control the agency of objects while also “preserving access to the truly transcendent . . . when the only stuff available to humans was matter. . . . to a modern theorist, the problem is to explain how things ‘talk’; to a medieval theorist, it was to get them to shut up.” As Bynum, like Forbes, has noted, medieval matter was considered neither divided nor radically separated from spirit or mind. The human body, in mystical union with the soul, could die, according to Augustine, and was by no means immutable.³⁰ Although the body will die and become dust, it will nevertheless reunite with the soul at the Judgment. As Alison Gulley has noted, such ambiguities date back to Paul, who distinguished between an “earthly body [that] is physical” and a “heavenly body [that] is spiritual.” The constant emphasis of early medieval commentators, including Ælfric, on “subordinating the body to the soul” speaks clearly enough to the difficulty of separating these two interlinked aspects of the human person.³¹ To view body, soul, and spirit as phenomena united in mutual becoming, a process that was continually debated throughout the Middle Ages, is to acknowledge the complexity of early medieval debates about both spirituality and matter.

Juliana’s ensouled body, as a phenomenon, emerges in its materiality within particular places imbued with meaning by the human and non-human agents who move and dwell within them. This view of place is informed by recent scholarship in sociology and anthropology, which emphasizes how human subjects dynamically transform places. Following earlier scholars such as Michel de Certeau and Edward Soja, Setha Low bases her recent study on the premise that “space is socially constructed as well as material and embodied.”³² Allan Pred likewise

Szarmach (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 249–73, esp. 250–52.

30. Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, 283. Augustine addresses this several times in *De Trinitate*, notably in books 4–5.

31. Alison Gulley, *The Displacement of the Body in Ælfric’s Virgin Martyr Lives* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 21, 66, 128.

32. Setha Low, *Spatializing Culture: The Ethnography of Space and Place* (New

emphasizes that place is always in a state of “becoming,” as is the language used to define it.³³ Cynewulf’s Juliana interacts with places by deploying her voice in its threatening materiality, making her body intelligible in ways of her own choosing and rejecting those imposed by authority figures who limit her intelligibility to traditional roles in marriage and lineage. After her death, her followers then bring her relics into the city, imbuing both her remains and the place in which they rest with new significance. The city which houses her relics and burial place, then, as a phenomenon, or sets of relations with shifting “boundaries and properties,”³⁴ is transformed in Cynewulf’s narrative from a pagan Roman city into a place belonging to Juliana’s cult, imbued with new identity by the deployment of her body and voice.

Significant places in *Juliana* participate in, transform, and are transformed by the saint’s resistant pedagogy. In Cynewulf’s poem, *where* teaching is done, and *how* that place is made intelligible by the teacher, is as important as both *who* is doing the teaching and the lesson itself. By the poem’s end, Cynewulf positions Juliana as the most authoritative teacher in the poem, one who dynamically interacts with the places in which she teaches to transform her own identity and that of her followers. In Anglo-Saxon England, the theory and practice of teaching were highly disputed and are still not clearly understood. Pedagogical space was fundamentally unstable, at all times containing the potential for students to defy their teachers, refusing to learn and undermining their masters’ authority; school texts such as Ælfric Bata’s *Colloquies* and Athelwold’s Latin school poems vividly testify to such possibilities.³⁵ Juliana’s saintly defiance and truthfulness transform this potential into

York: Routledge, 2016), 4. See also Edward Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Malden: Blackwell, 1996), cited in Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Malden: Blackwell, 2004), 38–39.

33. Allan Pred, “Place as Historically Contingent Process: Structuration and the Time-Geography of Becoming Places,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 74, no. 2 (1984): 279–97, esp. 280, 282, 285.

34. Barad, “Posthumanist Performativity,” 133.

35. See Gwara and Porter, *Anglo-Saxon Conversations* and Michael Lapidge, “Three Latin Poems from Æthelwold’s School at Winchester,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 1 (1972): 85–137.

reality, opposing demonic sophistry and protecting the minds of those who might be deceived by it. Juliana conveys this defiance through her voice and body which, like the places she occupies, dynamically enact and are shaped through the pedagogical encounter.

The saint's body in *Juliana* has been investigated before by Shari Horner, who emphasized the narrative emphasis on "intactness and enclosure" in Old English representations of women. The "discourses of enclosure" addressed by Horner seek to contain women's bodies behind monastery walls and discipline those bodies through monastic rules. According to Horner, nuns' reading practices helped to promote "chastity" and to "regulate the corporeal." Horner's focus on the "saint's body" and the "enclosures of cloister and body," as well as Juliana's resistance to the "loss of virginity," perhaps obscures the fact that Juliana is thoroughly willing to lose her virginity to Eleseus in marriage as long as he becomes a Christian.³⁶ In other words, preserving her virginity is demonstrably not her only goal; there is more at stake in her resistance. While her tormentors repeatedly demand that she worship pagan gods, they do not overtly threaten her virginity beyond initially urging her to marry Eleseus. Furthermore, the saint's body, in its materiality, takes shape in diverse ways throughout the course of the poem. In resisting deceptive pedagogies, the saint also resists the ways in which her opponents seek to make her body and the places she inhabits intelligible, using her formidable and undeniable voice to replace the opponents' definitions with her own, an example later emulated by her followers as they claim the city through her relics.

Pedagogy and Phenomena in *Juliana*: Voice, Body, and Place

Although Juliana's body, as a phenomenon rather than a fixed entity, is made intelligible repeatedly and diversely by a number of agents in the poem, the saint herself becomes the most authoritative voice in their debate. Her father, Africanus, and her suitor, Eleseus, understand her body not as a phenomenon animated by spirit, voice, and power but

36. Shari Horner, *The Discourse of Enclosure: Representing Women in Old English Literature* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), 5, 102–5.

rather as a static thing of beauty and status for her male associates, as well as an instrument for wifehood, motherhood, lineage, and the Roman religion underlying those roles. Juliana herself, while devoted to preserving her virginity or *mægðhad* “clæne” from men (30a–31b),³⁷ is nevertheless willing to yield somewhat to their definition of her body’s intelligibility if Eleseus becomes a Christian. “If you love and believe in the true God,” she says, “I will immediately and steadfastly be ready [to do] your will” (47b–48a, 49b–50; *Gif þu soðne god / lufast ond gelyfest . . . / . . . ic beo gearo sona / unwaclice willan þines*), a declaration also included in the *Passio S. Iulianae* with the added condition of belief in the Trinity (“si credideris Deo meo et adoraueris patrem et filium et sanctum spiritum, accipiam te maritum”).³⁸ But Juliana’s powerful and resistant voice, emanating from her particular body, is unintelligible in Eleseus’s worldview. Neither are her objections and demands comprehensible to her father, Africanus, who views her only as “my daughter, the dearest and the sweetest . . . light of my eyes” (93a–94a, 95b; *dohtor min seo dyreste / ond seo sweteste . . . / . . . minra eagna leoht*), a phrase Cynewulf takes from his source (“Filia mea dulcissima . . . meorum oculorum”).³⁹ Africanus also views Juliana as a potential mate for the wealthy and powerful Eleseus, with whom Africanus shares a bond as “heathens . . . sick with sin” (64b–65a; *Hæðne . . . synnum seoce*). Seeing her as a virginal body to be exchanged, they are unable to perceive the phenomenon of Juliana’s spirit or cope with the power of her voice.⁴⁰

Because Juliana speaks in ways that are unintelligible to both Africanus and Eleseus, her voice is clearly threatening. In publicly articulating the terms of her potential marriage to Eleseus, Juliana deploys her voice to define her own body and its significance in defiance of his expectations and those of her father. Furthermore, she challenges Eleseus publicly in his own hall, issuing the ultimatum mentioned above, her vow to accept

37. All references to *Juliana* are taken from *The Exeter Book*, Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, vol. 3, ed. George Philip Krapp and Elliot Van Kirk Dobbie (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), cited parenthetically by line number. All translations are my own.

38. Lapidge, “Cynewulf,” 157.

39. Lapidge, 157.

40. Trilling, “Heavenly Bodies,” 268–69.

Eleseus's proposal only if he converts to Christianity, as she "spoke in the assembly of men" (45; acwæð on wera mengu), expressing contempt for Eleseus's status and wealth: "she despised all that" (44b; heo þæt eal forseah). Consequently, Eleseus complains to Africanus that Juliana has shamed him "before this people" (74a; fore þissum folce). Her voice endangers Eleseus's dominion within that particular place and therefore within his city as well. And this voicing of Juliana's resistance is only the beginning. Juliana spends over four hundred lines debating her oppressors: Africanus, Eleseus, and finally the demon in her prison.⁴¹ In these verbal confrontations, Juliana's voice, emanating from the body she insists on defining for herself within a place transformed through her embodied speech, enacts her steadfastness and her determination to defy both kin and empire. During Eleseus's initial proposal of marriage, Cynewulf celebrates Juliana's contempt for worldly status in favor of service and spiritual strength. She is also willing to sacrifice her physical beauty for the sake of her resistance, stating publicly that even the harshest suffering and punishment will not cause her to retract her statements (55–57).⁴² To redress the shame of Eleseus, Africanus promises to accept her death at Eleseus's judgment if she does not yield (85–87). Both men thus assume that they control Juliana's static body, the death of which will, they think, silence her threatening voice. As a phenomenon, Juliana's body, in its shifting materiality, belies their assumptions and continues its transformation.

Having refused her status as wife of Eleseus, Juliana uses her voice to define herself as a resistant student, an emphasis unique to Cynewulf's version.⁴³ In disputing with her father, Juliana quickly adjusts her

41. These four hundred lines do not include a passage lost from the manuscript in the middle of this dispute. See Allen J. Frantzen, "Drama and Dialogue in Old English Poetry: The Scene of Cynewulf's *Juliana*," *Theatre Survey* 48, no. 1 (2007): 99–119, esp. 110, doi: 10.1017/S0040557407000385.

42. On *Juliana*'s "confrontational" verbal structure," see Alexandra Hennessey Olsen, "Cynewulf's Autonomous Women: A Reconsideration of *Elene* and *Juliana*," in *New Readings on Women in Old English Literature*, ed. Helen Damico and Alexandra Hennessey Olsen (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 222–32, esp. 227.

43. In the *Passio S. Iulianae*, Juliana refuses to worship the pagan gods of Africanus but uses the verb *dico* without including pedagogical language. See

identity to frame the encounter as pedagogical rather than familial. When Africanus encourages her to accept Eleseus's proposal, she scorns it and refuses the fear that Africanus hopes to inspire in her (132–37). Because her defiant words render her unintelligible to her father, he has her beaten, seeking to “change her mind” (144a; onwend þec in gewitte) and thus make her comprehensible again as an obedient, compliant daughter. But Juliana, “the fearless one” (147a; seo unforhte,), refuses to retract her utterance of the truth, stating that her father will never “teach” her to honor the pagan gods (149a; gelærest). This pedagogical language is not included in the Latin source, in which Juliana says only “I will not believe, nor adore, nor sacrifice to silent and mute idols” (Non credo, non adoro, non sacrifico idolis surdis et mutis).⁴⁴ In Cynewulf's version, rather than submitting obediently to the authority of the *paterfamilias*, Juliana makes herself a student who refuses his attempt to teach her idolatry and error. She becomes a resistant learner, beaten for rejecting his lesson with contempt (142–43) as he sends her to Eleseus in helplessness and disgust. By voicing her identity as a defiant student and exposing her father as a corrupting and violent teacher, Cynewulf's Juliana diverges significantly from the saint of the *Passio S. Iulianae*.

As a phenomenon operating within particular places, Juliana's voice shifts and changes in response to each adversary, with transformative implications for her body and the places it occupies. Having established herself in private as the unwilling student of her father, Juliana turns again to public protest in her second encounter with Eleseus. Her resolution and boldness increase as she again deploys her voice to mock both Eleseus's proposals and any torments to which he might subject her: “never will you force [me] with your boasts, / or the many cruel torments you prepare [for me], unless you forsake lies and idol-worship” (176–77, 179–80a; næfre þu geþreatast þinum beotum, / ne wita þæs fela wraðra gegearwast / . . . / buton þu forlæte þa leasinga, / weohweorðinga). When Eleseus, shamed and enraged, has her beaten and seeks to change her mind, offering to spare her if she worships the pagan gods (lines 190–93), she defies him again: “I fix my mind on the Lord” (221b–22a; Ic to

Lapidge, “Cynewulf,” 157.

44. Lapidge, 157.

dryhtne min / mod stapelige). By ordering her torment, Eleseus, like Africanus, resorts to violence that fails to accomplish his ends, ultimately demonstrating that Juliana's resolve has defeated him. In making herself a martyr rather than a wife, Juliana also makes her body intelligible as that of a rebel, one who accepts violence willingly to refuse at the material level, in her flesh, blood, and bone, the authority of Eleseus as both potential husband and imperial authority figure.

Juliana's torment, commanded by Eleseus in an attempt to assert his power over her and define her as a helpless subject of the empire, instead foregrounds her resistance and insistence on defining her own body as well as the places she inhabits. Eleseus and Africanus, in assuming that harming Juliana's body will break her will, fail to recognize the world-changing potential of her voice and ensouled body, in fact granting her words and actions legitimacy by doing violence against her. Because Eleseus "cannot change her mind" (226; he ne meahte mod oncyrran) when she should obediently accept his proposals, Juliana is hung by the hair "on a high beam" (228b; on heanne beam) and beaten for six hours a day. Her sufferings at this point are described briefly, in one line, as Juliana's body defies Eleseus's attempt to define her material being. In torment, she remains "the radiant one" (229a; seo sunsciene). Indeed, Eleseus's assumption that he controls the material implements of her torture is later shown to be illusory.

Cynewulf foregrounds the impact of Juliana's voiced resistance by remarking on the extent of Eleseus's rule and that of the emperor whom he serves, an emphasis not included in the Latin source.⁴⁵ By defying Eleseus openly and repeatedly within his own place, before his people, inside the city he rules, Juliana has made herself intelligible as an increasingly threatening force. Cynewulf notes the broad extent of the evil emperor Maximianus's kingdom and his control of the *burg* within it (9–11), where he persecutes the saints and destroys learning (7b–8a, 15b–16a). In his turn, Eleseus is described as the ruler of both "fortified town" (19b; rondburg) and "homeland" (20a; eard), the dominion that supports his "idol-worship" (22b; hæþengield). The Latin source,

45. Lapidge, 156.

in comparison, refers to Nicomedia only as a “ciuitate.”⁴⁶ When Eleseus attempts to take Juliana into his “castle” or “bold” (41a), Africanus supports the ruler’s claims by emphasizing his status as master of the “wine-city” (83a; winburg), where he provides his followers with feasts. But Juliana, in publicly rejecting both his domination of such places and his great wealth (44), instead emphasizes God’s power as the maker of all lands (110b–13a) and the lord of the earth (153b–54a). Her punishment for such speech is torment within Eleseus’s “judgment-seat” or “domsetl” (162a), “tribunal” in the Latin source,⁴⁷ as he seeks to make her body intelligible through violence, to silence her voice, and to reassert the “lordship” or “authority” (190a; ealdordom) that she has threatened.

As phenomena, Juliana’s voice and the body from which it emanates further transform other places ostensibly controlled by the empire, notably her prison, assumed to be an impregnable stronghold of imperial might in which Eleseus can control her. But the prison too is a phenomenon with shifting significance, central to Juliana’s redefinition of her identity as she transforms her cell, like her father’s house, into a place of resistant pedagogy. While Juliana is in prison, her other adversaries and tormentors are locked out, assuming that she is contained. Unlike the Latin source, which includes Juliana’s lengthy prayer to God (“Domine”) not to desert her in her fear and torment,⁴⁸ Cynewulf’s account moves quickly to Juliana’s pedagogical confrontation with a demon who enters and seeks to teach her. Although Eleseus and Africanus consider Juliana a captive, she is freer than the demon, who is called “a prisoner in hell” (246a; helle hæftling), released only to do another’s will. He arrives in the form of an angel, fair in appearance, described as “expert, skillful” (244a; ondwis), and “sharp-sighted” or “shrewd” (245a; gleaw), usually positive terms associated with wisdom, prudence, and eloquent speech. These descriptions of the demon are not included in the Latin source.⁴⁹ While the demon possesses the appearance and the

46. Lapidge, 156.

47. “domsetl, n.” and “ealdordom, n.,” *The Dictionary of Old English A-H*. See also Lapidge, 158.

48. Lapidge, 159.

49. “andwis, adj.” and “gleaw, adj.,” *Dictionary of Old English A-H*. See also Lapidge, 159

skills of a knowledgeable disputant, he turns them to evil ends. Both his malicious intention and the level of his skill in deceptive disputation are apparent from the beginning.⁵⁰ When Juliana “boldly inquire[s]” (258a; frægn . . . fromlice) about the messenger’s origins, he replies with “evil news” (267b; færspell), claiming to come from heaven and pleading with her to abandon her resolve (260–66). These lines are not included in the *Passio S. Iulianae*. In fear and distress, but nevertheless beginning “to stabilize [her] mind” (270b; ferð stapelian), Juliana calls out, asking God to provide proof of her visitor’s identity: “make known to me . . . what this thane may be . . . who teaches me away from you” (279a, 280b, 281b; þu me gecyðe . . . / . . . hwæt þes þegn sy, / . . . who mec læreð from þe; my emphasis).⁵¹ The Latin source’s Juliana uses the verb *persuadeo*.⁵² While Cynewulf’s Juliana here acknowledges the messenger’s actions as instructing or persuading, she also recognizes that what he teaches is malicious and deceptive.⁵³

As Juliana deploys her voice to dispute with the demon, the phenomenon of the imperial prison, where the demon aims to “teach” Juliana into submission, is quickly transformed by the saint herself into a place where the demon instead lays bare his sophistic and deceptive pedagogy, telling Juliana how to oppose and defeat him. In reply to

50. Robert Bjork notes that “one of the poem’s great ironies is that its most overtly educative discourse comes from the demon.” *The Old English Verse Saints’ Lives: A Study in Direct Discourse and the Iconography of Style* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 58. Bjork claims that the demon is Juliana’s “linguistic equal” (55), but indeed the demon seems far her superior in eloquence throughout most of their debate. Frantzen mentions the demon’s dominance as a teaching figure in comparison to Juliana in “History and Conversion,” 16–17.

51. Peter Dendle describes Juliana’s recognition of the demon’s evil intention as “reflecting the virtue of discernment [*discretio*] so important to patristic commentators.” Dendle recognizes, however, that “Cynewulf’s account . . . places far more emphasis on firmness or steadfastness than on discernment.” *Satan Unbound: The Devil in Old English Narrative Literature* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 29.

52. Lapidge, “Cynewulf,” 159.

53. “læran, v.” *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. Cynewulf deliberately emphasizes the demon’s deceptive pedagogy here; such references are far less numerous in his Latin source. See Lapidge, “Cynewulf,” 159–61.

Juliana's request to know the identity of her teacher, a voice from heaven instructs Juliana to seize and constrain the false angel until he reveals the truth of his mission:

“Seize the foul one and hold him fast until he explains his journey rightfully, entirely from the beginning, [and] what his nature may be.” Then the mind of the woman, the mighty one, was blessed. She seized the devil.

“Forfoh þone frætgan ond fæste geheald,
oþþæt he his siðfæt secge mid ryhte,
ealne from orde, hwæt his æþelu syn.”
ða wæs þære fæmnan ferð geblissad,
domeadigre. Heo þæt deofol genom ...
(284–88)

In this passage, Cynewulf departs significantly from his Latin source, in which Juliana is instructed only to hold the demon who speaks to her “so that you may know who that [one] is” (*ut scias quis est iste*). Belial, the demon in the Latin *passio*, responds with a lengthy series of *ego sum qui* declarations: “I am he who made Adam and Eve transgress in Paradise. I am he who made Cain kill his brother Abel” (*Ego sum qui feci Adam et Euam in Paradiso praeuaricare. Ego sum qui feci Abel interficere fratre sua Cain*).⁵⁴ In Cynewulf's account, however, the divine voice instructs Juliana to demand an explanation of the demon's quest, which is pedagogical in nature: he “teaches” humankind to sin.

Throughout his long confession, Cynewulf's demon elucidates a pedagogical methodology that he would wish to keep hidden. Juliana, by holding him down and forcing him to confess, compels him to tell the truth in apparent violation of his deceitful nature. But in fact the saint's constraint obliges him to act in accordance with his original created state, before his fall into evil. He explains his nature or lineage, his *æþelu*, to Juliana “mid ryhte” (285b), suggesting a legalistic context in which the demon must provide “an account, a reckoning” for himself. Since he betrayed his own inherently noble nature in following Satan, the demon has debased himself and is now subject to Juliana's command,

54. Lapidge, 159–60.

forced by her voice to confess his iniquities against his will.⁵⁵ In contrast, Juliana, though in prison, is liberated by her awareness of his deceptive methods, free to refuse and oppose them, and free to teach others how to defend against them. It is notable that, in Cynewulf's surviving text, the demon is not forced to confess by any easily discernible means besides Juliana's voice, his own physical immobility, and the voice of heaven. Juliana uses no violence against the demon beyond "seizing" him and holding him fast (288b; "heo þæt deofol genom").⁵⁶

By representing the demon as a teacher, Cynewulf departs from his Latin source and emphasizes the transformative power of Juliana's voice, which demands truth from the demon, and her body as she physically restrains him. Juliana forces the demon to reveal the methods he would prefer to conceal, preparing for her own future teaching. Indeed here, the demon is the prisoner, subject to the wills of Juliana and her divine guardian through his rejection of the nobility inherent in his creation; Juliana constrains his material being as he has already yielded control of his spiritual being. In this newly pedagogical place of the prison, Juliana, through her voice and body, literally has the upper hand. Thus the demon reveals his pedagogical methods, exposing the truth about the many ways in which he has mis-taught humankind, leading them astray through his persuasion.⁵⁷ He confesses that he used his skill to influence

55. *Æþelu* usually carries the meaning of "nobility," "excellence," "noble nature." See "æþelu, n." Dictionary of Old English A-H. For the meaning of "riht, n.," see *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. On the juridical associations of Juliana's trial and torment, see Abraham, "Cynewulf's Juliana: A Case at Law," in Bjork, *Cynewulf Reader*, 171–92, esp. 181. *Rihtæþelu* is so rare a term that, throughout the Old English corpus, it appears only in the *Old English Boethius*, once in Meter 17.19–29 and once in its source, the prose B-text (30.49–52). See *The Old English Boethius: An Edition of the Old English Versions of Boethius's De Consolatione Philosophiae*, ed. Malcolm Godden and Susan Irvine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). Bjork comments on the ironic truthfulness of the demon, claiming that a "partial explanation resides in the dignity accorded the devil in the early Middle Ages." Like Frantzen, he associates the devil's speaking of the truth with hypocritical deception; see Bjork, *The Old English Verse Saints' Lives*, 58 and Frantzen, "Drama and Dialogue," 113.

56. At this point, a leaf is missing from the manuscript, so the saint's subsequent actions are unknown.

57. On the parodic enactment of the confessional and penitential mode deployed

the centurion at the Crucifixion to thrust his spear into Christ's side (290–91b), further claiming that he persuaded Herod to behead John the Baptist (293b–94a). He even taught (*gelærde*) methods of deceptive disputation to Christ's enemies, as noted in a reference to Acts 8:9–25 (297b). This pedagogical language is not included in the Latin source.⁵⁸ The demon further takes responsibility for the martyrdoms of Christ's chief disciples, saying that he deceived Nero into executing Peter and Paul (302–4a). Finally, the demon claims to have instigated the death of Christ himself as well as several of his apostles:

“Pilate earlier raised on the cross the Ruler of the heavens,
mighty Creator, through my teaching. Likewise I also taught
Hegias so that he foolishly commanded to hang holy Andrew
on a high beam.”

Pilatus ær

on rode aheng rodera waldend,
meotud meahtigne *minum larum*.
Swylce ic Egias eac *gelærde*
þæt he unsnytrum Andreas het
ahon haligne on heanne beam.
(304b–09; my emphasis)

These references to the deeds resulting from the demon's teaching are Cynewulf's own additions.⁵⁹ The demon presents his foul deeds as lessons he “taught” to their perpetrators, representing himself as a persuasive instructor who uses his craft to school his victims in committing their crimes. He has done this so many times, he says, he cannot even describe them all to Juliana (313b–15a). Throughout this dispute between Juliana and the demon, Cynewulf never uses pedagogical language—*læran*, *tæcan*, *lar*—to refer to the saint's actions: only the demon is a teacher here. When Juliana further demands to know “who sent you to me” (318b; *hwa þec sende to me*), the demon moves from his “teaching” of crimes in sacred history to his efforts to bring individual souls to hell.

by the demon in these passages, see Frantzen, “History and Conversion,” 13–16 and “Drama and Dialogue,” 110–11, 113.

58. Lapidge, “Cynewulf,” 160.

59. On the crucifixion references in these passages, see Lapidge, “Cynewulf,” 153.

In this exchange, Cynewulf represents Juliana as a potential student who, through the dynamism of her voice and body within the transformed place of the prison, rejects the demon's deceptive lessons and forces him to confess the truth behind his methods.

As Juliana is freed by her knowledge of the demon's pedagogy, transformed from a prisoner of empire into a defiant force of resistance, the demon is her opposite. In teaching evil, the demon says, he is not free: the place to which he has been condemned keeps him prisoner except for errands at his lord's will (323a, 324a). His mis-teaching is forced upon him by Satan, who terrifies his minions into invading human minds, manipulating them toward sin and away from salvation. The demon speaks the truth to Juliana, he repeatedly insists, though he does so against his will (341b–42, 355b–56b). With diminished agency himself, he focuses on turning the wills of human agents. When he comes upon a man with “a mind established in God's will” (364b–65a; *ferð staðelian / to godes willan*), he appeals to the heart's or mind's affection, (370a; “*modlufan*”), until the man “hears [my] teaching” (371b; *larum hyreð*). Burning with desire, the man abandons his prayers and can no longer remain stable or fixed to his foundations (374b; “*staþolfæst*”). The demon leads the man away from the “light of faith, and he wishes to hear [my] teaching through purpose of mind to commit sin” (378–80a; *leohtes geleafan, ond he larum wile / þurh modes myne minum hyran / synne fremman*). The stirrings of the mind, the *mod*, draw the man into sin through the deceitful lessons taught by the demon. These references to teaching are not in the Latin source.⁶⁰ Forced by Juliana's use of her voice and body to work God's will and her own, the demon, against his wishes, arms her with the knowledge of pedagogical methods she requires to oppose his and his master's lessons.

Juliana is not a novice in this prison school: in resisting her father's teaching, she has already demonstrated her skill in discerning and rejecting deceptive pedagogy. The saint's voice and body, within the place of her prison, are inseparable from her perceptive and steadfast mind. Cynewulf juxtaposes her mental and spiritual strength with the demon's assumption that he could deceive her as he deceives others. By attempting

60. Lapidge, 161.

to enter Juliana's mind, he instead becomes imprisoned himself. Here the demon uses a spatial metaphor to represent the human mind as a place, a fortress to be conquered whose defenses can be breached through malice, deception, and the exploitation of weakness.⁶¹ In his efforts to deceive human beings, the demon says, his greatest obstacle is a steadfast mind, like that of Juliana. If the demon encounters someone "fast in spirit" (389a; *fæste on feðan*), he can do no evil; he prefers to assail weaker souls. But he remains aware of any opportunity: "I will be ready immediately, so that I examine the mind completely, how steadfast the inward mind may be, the defense made" (398b–401a; *ic beo gearo sona, / þæt ic ingehygd eal geondwlite / hu gefæstnad sy ferð innanweard, / wiðsteall geworht*). If he spots any vulnerability, "I open the gate of the wall through malice; the tower is pierced, an entrance opened" (401b–3a; *Ic þæs wealles geat / ontyne þurh teonan; bið se torr þyrel, / ingong geopenad*). This emphasis on the mind as a place is not included in the Latin source.⁶² The demon delights in this work, which allows him to assail the mutable and malleable soul by invading the mind: "I will be an eager teacher, so that he lives according to my habits, certainly turned away from Christ's law" (409b–11; *Ic beo lareow georn / þæt he*

61. Although the demon describes himself as a "teacher" (*lareow*) in this passage (409b), Dendle views him as a preacher delivering an "improvised sermon" which "has nothing to do with the actual instances of demonic temptation which appear in Old English poetry, or in hagiography in general"; see *Satan Unbound*, 31. The temptation of Adam and Eve in *Genesis B*, however, directly contradicts this statement, since the demon assails them specifically as a deceitful teacher, deluding them with language: "Many speeches were known to him, crooked words. . . . He wished secretly to deceive the disciples of the Lord, men, with evil deeds, to mislead and to teach with deceit, so that they would become hateful to God" (445b–46a, 450–52a; *wiste him spræca fela, / wora worda . . . wolde dearnunga drihtnes geongran, / mid mandædum men beswican, / forlædan and forlæran*). In reference to the serpent's temptation of Eve, the *Genesis* poet says, "[the demon] taught her nothing at all to her advantage" (610b; *nalles he hie fremelærde*). See George Philip Krapp's edition of *The Junius Manuscript*, Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931). Eric Jager comments on the demon's pedagogy in "Tempter as Rhetoric Teacher: The Fall of Language in the Old English *Genesis B*," in *The Poems of MS Junius 11: Basic Readings*, ed. R. M. Liuzza (New York: Routledge, 2002), 99–118 and *The Tempter's Voice*, 146–50.

62. Lapidge, "Cynewulf," 161.

monþeawum minum lifge / acyrred cuðlice from Cristes æ). Again, this pedagogical emphasis is deliberate on Cynewulf's part; in the Latin *Passio*, the demon merely repeats the verb *facio*, describing the deeds he compelled or caused people to commit, rather than emphasizing his deceitful teaching.⁶³

Cynewulf's demon assumes that the human mind is predictable and malleable, responsive to the deceptive pedagogy that appeals to human emotions and other weaknesses. Juliana, however, in constructing the "place" of her own mind in its integration with her body and voice, has developed the ability to thwart the demon's lying lessons. In refusing them, she shows herself to be more courageous and steadfast than the demon expected. Ironically, her new identity as student-disciple becomes intelligible, though unwelcome, to him as it was not to Africanus and Eleseus. Her strength of will receives special attention from the demon as she berates him for his offenses against the "truth-fast" (426a; soðfæst), asking him how he convinces them to turn to evil. Before he answers her inquiry, he laments that her courage surpasses that of all other women: "you, daring, through [your] stern spirit, thus became bold in battle over all womankind, so that you bound me fast in fetters" (431–33; þu gedyrstig þurh deop gehygd / wurde þus wigþrist ofer eall wifa cyn, / þæt þu mec þus fæste fetrum gebunde). The demon further envies the trust between Juliana and God (437b), while his own lord forces him to commit crimes. Her resistance exceeds that of Adam and Eve, who learned how to sin through his deceptions, lacking the discretion to recognize or to construct their minds to resist his lies. When God created the earth and Adam and Eve to dwell in it, "I deprived [them] of life, and I taught them so that they surrendered the love of the Lord, the eternal gift of prosperity, bright paradise, so that misery came to them forever" (500b–504a; ic ealdor oðþrong, / ond hy gelærde þæt hi lufan dryhtnes, / ece eadgiefe anforleton, / beorhtne boldwelan, þæt him bæm gewearð / yrmþu to ealdre), along with their descendants. The Fall was caused by the demon's deceitful teachings, and he continues to prey on the weak in spirit to maintain his master's power. But Juliana's actions as student-disciple within this phenomenon of the prison, forcing the

63. Lapidge, 160.

revelation of the demon's pedagogy through her body and voice, ultimately transform it into a place of shame and defeat for both him and those who serve him, especially Eleseus. As a result, the demon wishes to remain in the refuge of the prison, resisting when Juliana attempts to take him outside with her. She "[dared] to grasp [him], holy with [her] hands" (512; halig mid hondum, hrinan dorste), "seized him fast" (522a; fæste forfenge) as the patriarchs and prophets never could. The weeping demon's private shame within the prison walls becomes an even worse public humiliation when Juliana drags him outside as she is taken from her cell (534b). Once a prisoner, Juliana has made herself intelligible as a student with sophisticated discernment and a masterful opponent of demonic sophistry, one who can use her knowledge, articulated through her embodied voice, to teach others what she has learned.

Juliana's transformation is unrecognized by her tormentors, who assume that they can control her body, and thus her mind and her voice, through violence. In Cynewulf's account, though he downplays Juliana's suffering throughout the poem, there is no doubt that the saint's body is a tormented body.⁶⁴ Due to damage to the Exeter Book, Cynewulf's account is incomplete, but the Latin *passio* and other sources say that Juliana was tortured on the wheel and boiled in a pot in addition to the torments Cynewulf mentions. His incomplete text downplays her bodily suffering, which may, as Trilling has noted, cause her body "to retreat from view," "mitigating the power of [her] self-transformation and . . . saintly example." But the authority and threatening potential of Juliana's voice, as well as the places in which it is deployed, I would argue, bring her body back to the forefront in ways that go beyond what

64. While Cynewulf based his poem on Juliana's Latin *Passio* in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Juliana is also included in Bede's eighth-century *Martyrology*. He associates Juliana's feast with Cumae, noting her marriage to Eleseus and listing her diverse sufferings: she was flogged, hung by the hair, scalded with molten lead, confronted by a demon in her prison cell, tortured on a wheel, burnt in a fire, boiled in a pot, and ultimately beheaded. *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head (New York: Routledge, 2001), 181–82. Juliana is not included in some of the best-known Anglo-Saxon martyrologies and hagiographical collections, including the *Old English Martyrology*. Outside of Cynewulf's text, it is difficult to find vernacular references to Juliana's cult.

Trilling describes as the eroticized and voyeuristic spectacle typical in female saints' lives.⁶⁵ Juliana's body is also dynamic and changeable in unexpected ways, interpreted by her tormentors as weak but by her followers and Cynewulf as miraculous. Neither are the material means of her torture passive or easily manipulated by her adversaries. These means must be considered phenomena as well, dynamic objects and substances with agency of their own. A missing leaf from the manuscript obscures Cynewulf's surviving account of the second cycle of her torment, which begins as an angel extinguishes a fire that threatens to engulf Juliana.⁶⁶ She is the "master of virgins" (568a; *mægþa bealdor*) while Eleseus suffers, shamed "before the world" (570a; *for worulde*) in the place he claims to control. Having been "taught" by the "enemy" (574a, 573b; *gelærde, feond*), Eleseus is deluded into thinking that he also controls the material conditions of Juliana's torment. He orders a clay pot filled with molten lead to be placed on the fire, commanding that Juliana be cast into it (582–84). But his materials rebel against his will: the fire dies, and the lead bursts out of the pot to kill many of Eleseus's men. Juliana stands in the fire, once again unscathed. While she thanks God for her survival, her own agency is recognized by her enemies: Eleseus becomes enraged with his own gods because they "could not with might withstand the will of the woman" (599–600a; *meahtun mægne wiþstondan / wifes willan*). He then ends her torment and orders to have her killed with the sword, to her delight, as the demon reappears to gloat at her suffering (614b–27a). But the demon is "full of sorrowful songs" (618b; *ceargealda*

65. Trilling, "Heavenly Bodies," 250, 254, 249.

66. Lacunae in the Exeter Book manuscript can make it difficult to draw conclusions about Cynewulf's divergence from his Latin source here. In the Old English text, Juliana's torture on the wheel and her immersion in boiling lead are missing, as is the people's appeal to Eleseus to abandon his heathen gods, ending in their mass martyrdom at Emperor Maximian's order. The Latin text's Juliana scourges the devil, an incident which Cynewulf's surviving text does not include; Cynewulf further adds the demon's commentary on Juliana's notable strength and steadfastness, unexpected in a woman. In contrast to the Latin *Passio*, Cynewulf's saint is strong, defiant, and bold, especially in her speech, a contrast to the demon's shame and Eleseus's uncontrollable rage. "Juliana, Virgo Nicomediensis et Martyr," *Acta Sanctorum: The Full-Text Database* (Chadwyck Healey, 1999–2015), 2.10, 6, <http://acta.chadwyck.co.uk/>. See also Lapidge, "Cynewulf," 162–65.

full), lamenting his shameful ordeal. Though he should be triumphant at her impending death, he bemoans his treatment at her hands: “she . . . diminished me most fiercely, so that I became an informer” (619b, 620b–2; *heo . . . / . . . mec swiþast / geminsade, þæt ic to meldan wearð*). She has made him smaller, lessened his power. An almost comical scene follows as Juliana’s look causes the demon to tremble and flee (627b–30). When she forces him to betray the secrets of his teaching, she diminishes his effectiveness as a false teacher. His methods laid bare, he is left with nothing but shame and grief.

In their mysterious unity and plenitude, Juliana’s voice, body, and the places she inhabits contradict the assumptions of her adversaries. Although the demon, Eleseus, and Africanus believe they control places, material substances, and bodies, Juliana’s resistance exposes their authority as illusory. In the demon’s case, he is controlled by the wills of others—Satan, God, Juliana—and indeed by his place of exile itself, to which he is forced to return (555–56), though he initially believes that he can control events within Juliana’s prison. Juliana, in contrast, makes the authority of the demon, Eleseus, and Africanus over places and bodies of no account, as the demon acknowledges: “you overcame the wisest [one] under the darkness of confinement, the king of hell-dwellers, in the city of enemies” (543–45a ; *þu oferswiþdest þone snotrestan / under hlinscuan helwarena cyning / in feonda byrig*). The scene of Juliana’s torment foregrounds the complex agency of the saint, her God, and indeed matter itself. The wood will not burn. The fire will not stay lit. The boiling lead “acts” against the intentions of Eleseus and his men. Matter itself seems to resist Juliana’s torment, just as she resists the teaching of her tormentors, who fail to recognize the phenomena around them.

Juliana as Teacher: Houses and Places

In Cynewulf’s text, Juliana herself is in a constant process of becoming, as are the people, objects, and places around her. By rejecting her adversaries’ lessons within places they claim to control, Juliana both recasts her own identity and transforms the places themselves. Having made the prison into a place of resistant pedagogy, Juliana likewise remakes the place of her execution through her self-identification as a teacher. The

demon's voluminous recitation of his mis-teaching provides a perverse foundation for her brief but fundamental instruction, delivered to those who witness her martyrdom. In the scene, her enemies are pushed to the side as if to foreground her transformation. Her execution occurs at the city's edge, a place at the limits of Eleseus's illusory authority. The evil intent of her enemies is clear as Juliana is "led near the land-boundary and to the place where they, through warlike hate, thought to kill the stern-minded one" (635–37; *gelæded londmearce neah / ond to þære stowe þær hi stearcferþe / þurh cumbolhete cwelland þohtun*). Before she goes, however, she makes herself newly intelligible once again, this time as a teacher in her own right.

Juliana's lesson, while brief, is the culmination of her education throughout the poem, the dynamic and continuous emergence of the mind, spirit, and body through which she transforms herself and the people, objects, and places around her. Through her teaching, she converts her place of execution into her own school, surrounded by the followers who will later transmit her lesson. To counter the deceptions of the demon, the methods he uses to "teach" people into death and destruction, Juliana herself describes the human mind and spirit in spatial terms, as the "house on the rock" of Matthew 7. She instructs the people to preserve stability of mind and to protect the spirit against storms from outside, the attacks of Satan and his demons upon the human soul: "she began to teach them and to exhort with love the people from sins and commanded them with consolation, the way to glory" (638–40a; *ongon heo þa læran ond to lofe trymman / folc of firenum ond him frofre gehet, / weg to wuldre*).⁶⁷ Juliana further encourages the people, witnesses to her martyrdom, to fortify their houses and keep guard against the onslaughts of the enemy:

"Therefore I, beloved people, wish to teach [you], perfect in the law, that you make your house fast, lest it break into pieces from a sudden blast of wind. Your strong wall of security must withstand a tempest of storms, thoughts of sin. With the peace of love, with the light of faith, fasten your foundation, resolute, to the living

67. This specific emphasis on *fröfor* or *consolatio* does not appear in the Latin source. Lapidge, "Cynewulf," 164–65.

rock, to the true tree, and hold peace among you in [your] hearts, the holy mystery through purpose of mind. Then the almighty father will give mercy to you. There you will possess consolation from mighty God, in greatest need after afflictions.”

Forþon ic, leof weorud, læran wille,
æfremmende, þæt ge eower hus
gefæstnige, þy læs hit ferblædum
windas towearpan. Weal sceal þy trumra
strong wiþstandan storma scurum,
leahtra gehygdum. Ge mid lufan sibbe,
leohte geleafan, to þam lifgendan
stane stiðhydge stapol fæstniad,
soðe treowe ond sibbe mid eow
healdað æt heortan, halge rune
þurh modes myne. Þonne eow miltse giefeð
fæder ælmihtig, þær ge frofre agun
æt mæгна gode, mæste þearfe
æfter sorgstafum
(647–60a)

Although Juliana’s lesson in this passage is similar to that in the Latin source, the *Passio S. Iulianae* does not describe her as a teacher, using only the verb *dicere* in comparison to Cynewulf’s use of *læran* (638, 647).⁶⁸ Juliana’s lesson here opposes the demon’s spatial metaphors, his reference to the human mind as a fortress, with her scriptural metaphor of a house on strong foundations. Her “place” in this metaphor is not a castle but rather a sturdy home filled with life, strength, and peace. While Horner claims that Juliana exhorts the audience to shield their bodies from sin,⁶⁹ Juliana does not mention the body specifically in this passage, although her body does channel her voice. She focuses rather on the places of the mind, the houses, walls, and foundations that provide concrete and material models for understanding spiritual resistance to

68. Lapidge, 164.

69. Shari Horner, “Spiritual Truth and Sexual Violence: The Old English *Juliana*, Anglo-Saxon Nuns, and the Discourse of Female Monastic Enclosure,” *Signs* 19, no. 3 (1994): 658–75, esp. 673, <https://www-jstor-org/stable/3174773>.

temptation.⁷⁰ Juliana's Gospel story, a parable about steadfast interaction with one's spiritual place, builds on the newly revealed weakness of familial and imperial authority over the material places of the world. In Juliana's lesson, people construct their own houses and minds, dynamically responding to both teachings and shifting needs.

Such a representation of agency belies the assumptions of Juliana's tormentors. When Juliana is finally martyred, her executioners' agency diminishes as the sword is instead presented as the agent of the deed: "her soul was led from the body to lasting joy through the sword" (669b–71a; *hyre sawl wearð / alæded of lice to þam langan gefean / þurh sweordsleges*). Simultaneously, Juliana's strong house of peace and security is directly juxtaposed to Eleseus's miserable "home" in hell after his demise. Immediately after Juliana's death by the sword, literally in the same line, Cynewulf begins to describe Eleseus's departure to his ship, which is promptly wrecked in a storm (671b–82). He and his men are lost at sea, condemned to "the dark home . . . the dark cave" of hell (683b, 684b; *þam þystram ham, þam neolan scræfe*), far from Eleseus's former glorious place, his golden hall full of gifts and beer-benches for his thanes (683–88a). While Eleseus's body lies forgotten at the bottom of the sea, Juliana's fate is "different" (688b; *ungelice*), as her remains are brought into the city Eleseus had considered his own. These places of empire, like all places, constantly change, never static, never controllable except by those who recognize their dynamism in continual becoming.

Conclusion: *Burb* as Phenomenon

The shifting, mutually transforming materiality of voice, body, and place in *Juliana* provides a model for understanding Cynewulf's poem in its own home place, Anglo-Saxon England. Cynewulf constantly emphasizes space and architectural structures, especially in the demon's description of the fortress of the human mind (399–403) and Juliana's teaching about the "house" of the mind (647–660). The walls of Juliana's

70. The house on the rock motif is included in Cynewulf's Latin source; the *passio*'s Juliana encourages the people to repent, pray for mercy, and love one another. See Lapidge, "Cynewulf," 164–65.

prison, where the demon's deception is revealed, give way to the walls of the city in which she is buried, the *burh* whose defenses surround her after she teaches the people the importance of protecting oneself and building strong shelters with stable walls. While Eleseus lies unburied under the sea, a host of people carry "the body of the saint . . . with songs of praise, in great power to the grave" (689–90; *lofsongum lice haligre / micle mægne to moldgræfe*). Her tomb, however, unlike that of the "common dead,"⁷¹ resides in the fortified city (*burgum in innan*) with its protective walls, a contrast to the prison in which her enemies sought to contain her. As Juliana's voice and courageous spirit protected her in life, the walls of the *burh* protect her remains in their future as dynamic matter infused with new significance. Juliana was brutally tortured in diverse ways and killed without mercy, a material result which no amount of rationalization can justify. But the confidence in Juliana's continuing life-beyond-bodily-death is thoroughly in keeping with medieval ontological commitments related to belief in the soul and the mutable, multiple nature of the human body.⁷²

The re-made *burh*, infused with new significance through the presence of Juliana's transformed and transformative remains, connects her story with the ordinary lives of people in Anglo-Saxon England, many of whom benefited from the construction of *burhs* to protect them from Viking attacks and other threats. The suffering of the saints, whose tormented bodies are celebrated and miraculously preserved in hagiographical accounts as well as in churches, can sometimes obscure the real suffering of actual bodies damaged by crime, war, punishment, illness, childbirth, or accident. As Horner has shown, protective monastic walls had enormous significance for Anglo-Saxon women, but most women did not live in monasteries. If women were fortunate, the *burhs* protected them, even as these fortifications fundamentally altered the landscape of Anglo-Saxon England and changed the identities of those towns where they were built.

Accounts of Juliana's life and death, in all their shifting and dynamic

71. Harries, "Death and the Dead," 59.

72. See "Ontological Commitment," in *The Blackwell Dictionary of Western Philosophy*, ed. Nicholas Bunnin and Jiyuan Yu (Malden: Blackwell, 2004). On "social ontology" in feminist materialism, see Hekman, "Constructing the Ballast," 113.

materiality of voice and text, brought her story into diverse times and places, where it had meaning for the real people who read or heard it, especially women. It is known that Juliana's Latin *Passio* did so: her remains were initially moved from Nicomedia, her home city, at the request of Januaria, a pious female devotee, who sought to honor Juliana with a church and tomb in Rome.⁷³ In England, Juliana's story was also widely known through calendars, Bede's *Martyrology*, and her Latin *passio* as well as Cynewulf's poem. Though Rosemary Woolf has argued that Juliana was not associated with England,⁷⁴ her story materially changed the life of one English town in particular. In the valley of the Severn, in Shrewsbury in the county of Shropshire, stood the lone Anglo-Saxon church dedicated to Juliana, a monastic foundation adjacent to the men's monastery of St. Alkmund.⁷⁵ According to the Domesday Book, St. Juliana's property included about fifteen acres, a plow, and the labor of two townsmen.⁷⁶ Other Anglo-Saxon churches in Shrewsbury, notably St. Alkmund's, were associated with Æthelflæd, the Lady of Mercia, daughter of King Alfred of Wessex.⁷⁷ But little is known of

73. A storm prevented the arrival of Juliana's relics in Rome, and she was buried instead at Cuma, near Naples. See Lapidge, "Cynewulf," 148.

74. Rosemary Woolf, "Saints' Lives," *Continuations and Beginnings*, ed. Eric Gerald Stanley (London: Nelson, 1966), 37–66, esp. 43, cited in Frantzen, "History and Conversion," 2.

75. Steven Bassett, "Anglo-Saxon Shrewsbury and Its Churches," *Midland History* 16 (1991): 1–12, esp. 11, 21n46. Juliana of Nicomedia is further associated with other sites in the area, including St. Julian's Well in Ludlow, further south in Shropshire. See Robert Charles Hope, *The Legendary Lore of the Holy Wells of England* (London: Elliot Stock, 1893), 143.

76. V. A. Saunders, "Shropshire," *The Domesday Geography of Midland England*, 2nd ed., ed. H. C. Darby and I. B. Terrett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 115–62, esp. 153. In 1887, the parish's vicar, Thomas Auden, noted the church's inclusion in Domesday: see "The Church and Parish of St Juliana in Salop," *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, vol. 10 (Shrewsbury: Adnitt and Naunton, 1887), 157–348, esp. 158.

77. The registry of Lilleshall Abbey, dated to the early ninth century, listed the founder of St. Alkmund's as Ethelfleda, "Queen of Mercia." See the proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society in Shrewsbury, published in *Bye-Gones, Relating to Wales and the Border Counties*, vol. 2 (Oswestry: Woodall, Minshall, and Co., 1891–1892), 205–6.

why or how St. Juliana's was established.⁷⁸ By the late ninth century, the *burh* at Shrewsbury was under the control of Æthelred and Æthelflæd, renowned for ruling alongside her husband and then on her own after his death, building fortifications throughout Mercia and serving as a military tactician during battle.⁷⁹ Æthelred and Æthelflæd's authority and interest in Shrewsbury, home of St. Juliana's, established it as a "royal centre" where they spent significant time in 901. Steven Bassett further postulates that Æthelred and Æthelflæd fortified the town and patronized its unusually numerous churches.⁸⁰ Of these, St. Mary's and St. Chad's were highest in prestige, followed by St. Alkmund's; St. Juliana's was less so, which might explain the silence surrounding its foundation. According to Bassett, the geographical proximity of St. Juliana's to St. Alkmund's indicates that one may have been subsidiary to the other, especially since they also share graveyards. While St. Juliana's did possess a land endowment separate from that of St. Alkmund's and was recorded separately in Domesday, their close association suggests that St. Juliana's may have been a sister house to St. Alkmund's, home to a women's convent or perhaps part of a "double monastery."⁸¹ But it is not known for sure who lived there. Sarah Foot does not list St. Juliana's

78. Auden and others associated St. Juliana's with the Welsh, unsurprising since Shrewsbury sits just east of Offa's dike, on the dividing line between Mercia and Powys. See Auden, "The Church and Parish," 221 and James Campbell, Eric John, and Patrick Wormald, *The Anglo-Saxons* (New York: Penguin, 1991), 120. However, such an origin has not been proven, as Auden acknowledges: "the Church of St. Juliana, Virgin and Martyr, is of very early foundation, but no tradition remains as to when or by whom it was first built, nor why it received its unusual dedication;" see "The Church and Parish," 158. This point was reiterated by Bassett more recently in "Anglo-Saxon Shrewsbury," 11.

79. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* refers to Æthelflæd's building of ten different *burhs* between 909 and 915, most established after Æthelred's death in 911. These references occur in the *Mercian Register* annals, inserted into MS B of the Chronicle (London, British Library, MSS. Cotton Tiberius A.vi, folios 1-35, and Tiberius A.iii, folio 178; see *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, vol. 4: MS B, ed. Simon Taylor (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1983), xi. The *MR* annals appear on 49-51. On the strategic purpose of the *burhs* in Mercia, see Sarah Foot, *Athelstan: The First King of England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 13.

80. Bassett, "Anglo-Saxon Shrewsbury," 1, 9, 18-19.

81. Bassett, 1, 12

among the nunneries inhabited in Anglo-Saxon England between 871–1066, although she acknowledges that women’s monastic communities received only negligible attention in sources of this period.⁸² Even if St. Juliana’s was inhabited by male ecclesiastics rather than women, it appears that Juliana’s story might have meant quite a lot to the English, at least in one particular region, and especially to those unknown persons who inhabited her community at Shrewsbury. Although what Juliana’s life and martyrdom meant to them is also unknown, her story was on the ground in that particular *burh*, so to speak, a phenomenon anchoring the spiritual and material lives of those who dwelled in that place and sought the blessings about which she taught, even without the physical presence of her relics.

In Juliana’s story, Cynewulf elucidates the lasting potential of her voice, embodied and emplaced, as a phenomenon, the material manifestation of the saint’s resistance to others’ definitions of her intelligibility and to the false teachings of her father and the demon. As “open materiality,”⁸³ the saint’s body, manifested not only through her beauty and torment but also through her voice and pedagogical strategy, alters the path for her life upon which Eleseus and Africanus insist. As a body within a social group, Juliana asserts a new identity, assigning herself a new place within the world, establishing a new “viable identity” where none existed before and “resist[ing] the identity in society’s script.”⁸⁴ Although Juliana initially seeks to rewrite the script as a Christian wife and mother to Eleseus, the unintelligibility of her voice to him makes that impossible. By deploying the phenomenon of her voice strategically, Juliana refuses her identity as daughter, potential wife, and imperial subject and instead insists on her new identity as disciple, resistant student, and ultimately teacher-martyr. In doing so, she reveals that

82. Sarah Foot, *Veiled Women I: The Disappearance of Nuns from Anglo-Saxon England* (London: Ashgate, 2000), 18–19, 78–79, 176–77. Foot notes Horner’s attempts to associate the poem with Anglo-Saxon nunneries which vanished after the Viking attacks (79).

83. Hekman, “Constructing the Ballast,” 106. She cites Elizabeth Grosz, *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 191.

84. Hekman, 113, 115.

power cannot be possessed by father or empire; rather, it emerges in the “*intra-action*” of participating persons, objects, and places.⁸⁵ By refusing to participate in the dominant “script” and voicing her own identity, Juliana rejects the type of interaction demanded by Africanus, Eleseus, and the demon. Instead, she proposes a new path for both her life and the world as a whole. Her teaching further fosters agency in her followers and in the places associated with her, opening up new paths for future action. After her martyrdom, her physical remains are still animated or “alive” through the phenomenon of her defiant voice, her rejection of false teaching, and her own instruction of her followers. In Cynewulf’s poem, the Roman city, the *burh* in which Juliana is imprisoned and executed under imperial authority, is ultimately transformed into a new phenomenon through the mutual emergence of voice, body, and place.

Augusta University

85. On such “*intra-action*” as a source of agency, see Barad, “Posthumanist Performativity,” 133.