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O E N

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General correspondence regarding OEN should be addressed to the Editor. Correspondence regarding Year's Work in Old English Studies and the annual Bibliography should be sent to Professor Collins and Dr. Berkhout respectively.

Scholars can assist the work of OEN by sending two offprints of articles to the Editor and two notices of books or monographs to him.

Old English Newsletter is published twice a year, Fall and Spring, for the Old English Division of the Modern Language Association by the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies at the State University of New York at Binghamton. At SUNY-Binghamton OEN receives support from CEMERS, the Department of English, and the Office of the Provost for Graduate Studies and Research. The Department of English at the University of Rochester supports the Year's Work in Old English Studies and the University libraries and the Medieval Institute at the University of Notre Dame support the Annual Bibliography.

A Guide to the Contents of This Issue

I

1978 Annual Meeting of the MLA in New York

The Modern Language Association has announced that there will be four sessions of interest to Anglo-Saxonists at the next annual meeting. They are:

Session no. 437: Friday, December 29, 2:45-4:00, Rhinelander North, Hilton

"Old English Literature"

Program Chairman: Carl T. Berkhout (University of Notre Dame)

Papers:

1. Mary P. Richards (University of Tennessee-Knoxville):
   "The Battle of Maldon in its Manuscript Context"
2. David Yerkes (Columbia University):
   "An Unpublished Texts from Aethelwold's Winchester:
   The Life of St. Machutus"
3. Linda E. Voigts (University of Missouri-Kansas City):
   "The Laeceboc and Anglo-Saxon Book Production"
4. Joseph C. Harris (Stanford University)
   "Wulf and Eadwacer: The Legendary Background"

This session, arranged by the Division of Old English language and Literature, is the main division meeting.

Session no. 524: Friday, December 29, 7:15-8:30, Sutton North, Hilton

"Old English Metrics"

Program Chairman: Jess B. Bessinger Jr. (New York University)

Participants:

Robert P. Creed (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)
Thomas Cable (University of Texas-Austin)
Constance B. Hieatt (University of Western Ontario)

Respondent: Larry D. Benson (Harvard University)

This session has been arranged by the Division of Old English Language and Literature.

Session no. 17: Wednesday, December 27, 7:00-8:15, Madison A, Hilton

"Old English Riddles"

Program Chairman: Tim D.P. Lally (Bowling Green State University)

Papers:

1. Margaret Quinn Morris (University of Cincinnati):
   "An Old English Riddle and Pearl"
2. Edith Whitehurst Williams (Eastern Kentucky University):
   "Two Elegies in Miniature: Exeter Book Riddles No. 88 and No. 93"
3. Tim D.P. Lally (Bowling Green State University):
   "Thematic Design in a Group of Riddles"

Respondent: Craig Williamson (Swarthmore College)

Abstracts of papers are available from Prof. Lally, c/o Department of English, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43403.

Session no. 563: Friday, December 29, 9:00-10:15 p.m., Gramercy B, Hilton

"New Bearings on Three Old English Elegies: Texts and Contexts"

Program Chairman: Dolores Warwick Frese

Papers:

1. Stanley B. Greenfield (University of Oregon):
   "Sylf, Seasons, Structure and Genre in The Seafarer: A Re-Cognition and an Exhortation"
2. Charlotte Ward (Harvard University):
   "Old English and Celtic Elegy: Interrelations and Reconsiderations in Light of a Hitherto Untranslated Welsh Text"
3. Alain Renoir (University of California-Berkeley):
   "The Least Elegiac of the Elegies: a Contextual Reading"

II

OEN Subsidia

The editors of OEN announce the beginning of a new series, OEN Subsidia. The series will publish various ancillary and collateral small books and pamphlets for Anglo-Saxonists that will aid and supplement work in the various disciplines of the field. The items in the series will be published in inexpensive formats and in limited numbers.

The first volume in the series is Skeat's An English-Anglo-Saxon Vocabulary. Mr. John D. Pickles brought Skeat's Vocabulary to the attention of the editors of OEN some time ago by sending them a copy of his own reprint. The Vocabulary, which does not appear in Skeat's own bibliography of his writings, seems to be an appropriate first volume in the Subsidia list. The OEN reprint has a headnote by Mr. Pickles.

The enclosed flyer gives more information about Skeat's An English-Anglo-Saxon Vocabulary.

Other volumes are being planned for the series. Please send suggestions for reprints to the editor, c/o SUNY-Binghamton.

III

Conferences in Britain

Dr. Joyce Hill announces a colloquium on "Wealth in the Early Middle Ages" to be held at the University of Leeds July 4-6, 1979. The colloquium will explore attitudes to wealth in the early Middle Ages with particular reference to Anglo-Saxon England. Papers will examine patristic, homiletic, legal and literary texts, in addition to the evidence of archaeology and the language of wealth. The majority of the papers will be brief so as to allow ample opportunity for discussion. The colloquium will be fully residential; the estimated cost will be £25, meals included. Anyone interested in attending should write to

Dr. Joyce Hill
School of English
University of Leeds
Leeds LS2 9JT
ENGLAND

A £2 registration fee should be sent before January 15.

Dr. Gloria Cigman, editor of the Medieval Sermon Studies Newsletter, will convene "A Medieval Sermon Studies Symposium" at Oxford July 17-19, 1979. For information write as soon as possible (with a Reply Coupon) to

Dr. Gloria Cigman
Dept. of English
University of Warwick
Coventry CV4 7AL
ENGLAND

IV

Thanks and Apologies

Many thanks to the readers of OEN who have convinced their libraries to become subscribers. In the last two years some 50 new institutions have begun subscriptions, but many more libraries must subscribe to keep away the Fenris wolf of an annual subscription charge for individuals once and for all. If you have not already done so, please ask your library to subscribe.

Many thanks to those who have sent offprints of articles and notices of books to the editors. The offprints and notices, especially when they give information on bibliographical items hard to acquire in the United States, make the work of the Bibliography and Year's Work easier.

Many apologies to Ray Page and the readers of the last OEN for the printing error that affected Dr. Pages's article on the Parker Library. The original pages were transposed and misnumbered, forcing readers to read in the sequence 8, 10, 9.

V

Anglo-Saxon England 7 (1978)

The contents of ASE 7 are:

Kenneth Harrison, "Easter Cycles and the Equinox in the British Isles." Suggests that Bede's attitude to the Easter controversy rested partly on direct observations to determine the day of the equinox.

Peter Kitson, "Lapidary Traditions in Anglo-Saxon England: Part I, the Background; the Old English Lapidary." Gives the most reliable account so far of lapidary knowledge in the medical and exegetic traditions of early medieval western Europe and in particular of Anglo-Saxon treatment of this knowledge, and presents an edition of the Old English Lapidary (the oldest in a western European vernacular), which for the first time explains the genesis of the work's composition and identifies its sources properly.

D.W. Rollason, "Lists of Saints' Resting-places in Anglo-Saxon England." Surveys all extant evidence for these lists and discusses their affinities and the evidence they provide for the cult of saints as part of the intellectual and social fabric of Anglo-Saxon England.

Norman E. Eliason, "Beowulf, Wiglag and the Waegmundings." Argues that for artistic reasons the poet deliberately makes it obscure that Beowulf's connection with the Waegmundings is through the marriage of a sister and that he is Wiglaf's uncle.

Claude Schneider, "Cynewulf's Devaluation of a Heroic Tradition in Juliana." Argues that Cynewulf associates traditional heroic values with his villains in order to contrast them with his heroine in her spirituality.

N.F. Blake, "The Genesis of The Battle of Maldon." Proceeding from a belief that the poem was not composed before c. 1030, regards it as a literary creation based on Byrhtferth of Ramsey's Vita Oswaldi, written by 1005, and on the poet's imagination.

Ruth Waterhouse, "Affective Language, especially Alliterating Qualifiers, in Aelfric's Life of St. Alban." By comparison with Bede's Latin (and the Old English Bede) shows how Aelfric uses his rhythmic alliterative form to emphasize this kind of language for didactic purposes.

Ronald E. Buckalew, "Leland's Transcript of Aelfric's Glossary." Identifies an item in Leland's manuscript Collectanea as a transcript of selections from a now lost, good, early copy of Aelfric's Glossary and considers it as textual evidence, as a specimen of Leland's transcription practice, and as a reflection of the interests of Leland and his fellow antiquarians.

Simon Keynes, "An Interpretation of the Pacx, Pax, and Paxs Pennies." On the analogy of some early eleventh-century charters proposes that the legend on these coins was intended to invoke Christ as well as peace.

Alan Carter, "The Anglo-Saxon Origins of Norwich: the Problems and Approaches." After summarizing previous accounts of the city's origins, from the sixteenth century to the 1960s, describes the planned steps taken in the 70s to test key hypotheses by excavation and assesses the composite picture presented so far.

Cecil A. Hewett, "Anglo-Saxon Carpentry." Opens up a hitherto completely neglected line of enquiry by examining some wooden roofs, walls, floors, window-frames, doors, and ladders--above all, the whole framing of a spire at Sompting--which are likely to be Anglo-Saxon.

P.R. Robinson, "Self-Contained Units in Composite Manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Period." Calls attention to the widespread occurrence of these units, each indpendent in content and structure from its neighbors, and discusses the likely uses of those containing vernacular homilies.

Linda L. Brownrigg, "Manuscripts Containing English Decoration 871-1066, Catalogued and Illustrated: a Review." A propos of a recent publication surveys the present state of palaeographical, codicological, art historical, and textual study of this major class of manuscripts.

Bibliography for 1977. A thirty-seven page bibliography of all books, articles, and significant reviews in the various branches of Anglo-Saxon studies.

Peter Clemoes

A Concordance of the Charter Numberings in Sweet's The Oldest English Texts and Sawyer's Anglo-Saxon Charters

Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography by P. H. Sawyer[1] is an important tool for the student of charters of the Old English period, useful as a reference to previous scholarship on each charter and promising as the preliminary volume in a project sponsored jointly by the Royal Historical Society and the British Academy to produce a complete and adequate edition of the Old English charters.[2] For scholars who are working with the various pre-1968 editions of charters, Sawyer provides a helpful concordance of the numberings in the "principal editions" with the numbering in his List. Unfortunately, however, he did not include H. Sweet's The Oldest English Texts[3] among these editions, nor does he anywhere refer to Sweet's Texts. Although the charters are only one section of Sweet's Texts and though this section is perhaps not a "principal edition" in Sawyer's definition, nonetheless The Oldest English Texts is one of the editions most frequently consulted and cited by students of early Old English language.

The standard reference grammars and many important studies[4] cite

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1 (London, 1968).

2 cf. Nicholas Brooks, "Anglo-Saxon Charters: The Work of the Last Twenty Years," Anglo-Saxon England, 3 (1974), 211-13.

3 Early English Text Society 83 (1885).

4 A. Campbell, Old English Grammar (Oxford, 1959); Sievers-Brunner, Altenglische Grammatik 3rd. ed. (Tübingen, 1965); H. Pilch, Altenglische Grammatik (Munich, 1970); Ivar Dahl, Substantival Inflection in Early Old English (Lund, 1938); K. Sisam, "Canterbury, Lichfield, and the Vespasian Psalter," Review of English Studies, n.s. 7 (1956) are sufficient and representative examples.

essential[5] linguistic evidence from the charters as numbered by Sweet. In order, therefore, to take advantage of Sawyer's List and Bibliography, essential in its turn for controlling more recent work on the charters, a student starting from such reference grammars must first trace backward to Sweet's sources and then forward, usually through Birch's Cartularium Saxonicum,[6] to Sawyer. A considerable amount of hunting, comparing and double-checking through the early editions and the various indices in Sawyer is necessary. In order to save time for some other such students like myself, I submit the following concordance of Sweet and Sawyer.[7]

Three of Sweet's charters (2, 33, 46) are not included in Sawyer's book, apparently because they do not fall within his guidelines for selection. These charters are cross-listed to Birch's Cartularium Saxonicum.

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5 Perhaps the most striking instance of the significance of charter evidence is the fact that the Vespasian Psalter gloss is considered a monument of the Mercian dialect more on the strength of general linguistic agreement with the Old English material of the Mercian charters than on the basis of the provenance of the Latin manuscript in which it is found (i.e. MS. Cotton Vespasian A.i., attributed to Canterbury). Cf. A. Campbell, "The Main Gloss: Language" in The Vespasian Psalter, ed. D. Wright, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 14 (1967), pp. 85-91. Another argument for the importance of charter evidence is the fact that such affords the only witness we have of Kentish and West Saxon dialects before c. 890.

6 ed. Walter DeGray Birch, 3 vols. (London, 1885-93).

7 Incidentally, this concordance also enables one easily to take advantage of the bibliography in the charter portion of A. Cameron's "A List of Old English Texts" in A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English, ed. Roberta Frank and Angus Cameron (Toronto, 1973), a tool in which the charters are arranged in order of their numbering in Sawyer, and without reference to Sweet.

Concordance

Sweet	Sawyer	Sweet	Sawyer	Sweet	Sawyer
1	1171	21	1438	41	1482
2	--(BCS 115; Ch.L.A.185)	22	1438	42	1510
3	264	23	1438	43	1196
4	8	24	287	44	1204
5	21	25	293	45	1508
6	23	26	296	46	--(BCS 310)
7	24	27	316	47	190
8	31	28	328	48	204
9	89	29	331	49	161
10	56	30	332	50	163
11	106	31	338	51	168
12	106	32	344	52	169
13	59	33	--(BCS 312)	53	177
14	114	34	41, 1500	54	178
15	139	35	1264	55	186
16	139	36	1268	56	187
17	90	37	1188	57	1434
18	128	38	1200	58	1436
19	153	39	1195	59	188
20	298	40	1197		

Joseph P. Crowley
Chapel Hill, N.C.

British Library, Cotton Vitellius C. iii, f. 82

Attention to OE medical texts and the MSS. in which they survive was uncommon for nearly a century after the publication by the Rolls Series in 1864-66 (Vol. 35 in 3 parts) of Thomas O. Cockayne's magisterial Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England. The past two decades, however, have seen considerable attention paid to the four major OE medical works--the Pseudo-Apuleius herbal with its companion texts; Læceboc; Lacnunga; and Peri Didaxeon--as well as to minor recipes and charms and to ancillary studies. All four of the major works are available in new editions or are being re-edited at present. Nonetheless, the body of OE medical writing remains for the most part outside the acquaintance of students of the A-S world, so a discussion of medical MSS. seems appropriate for OEN.

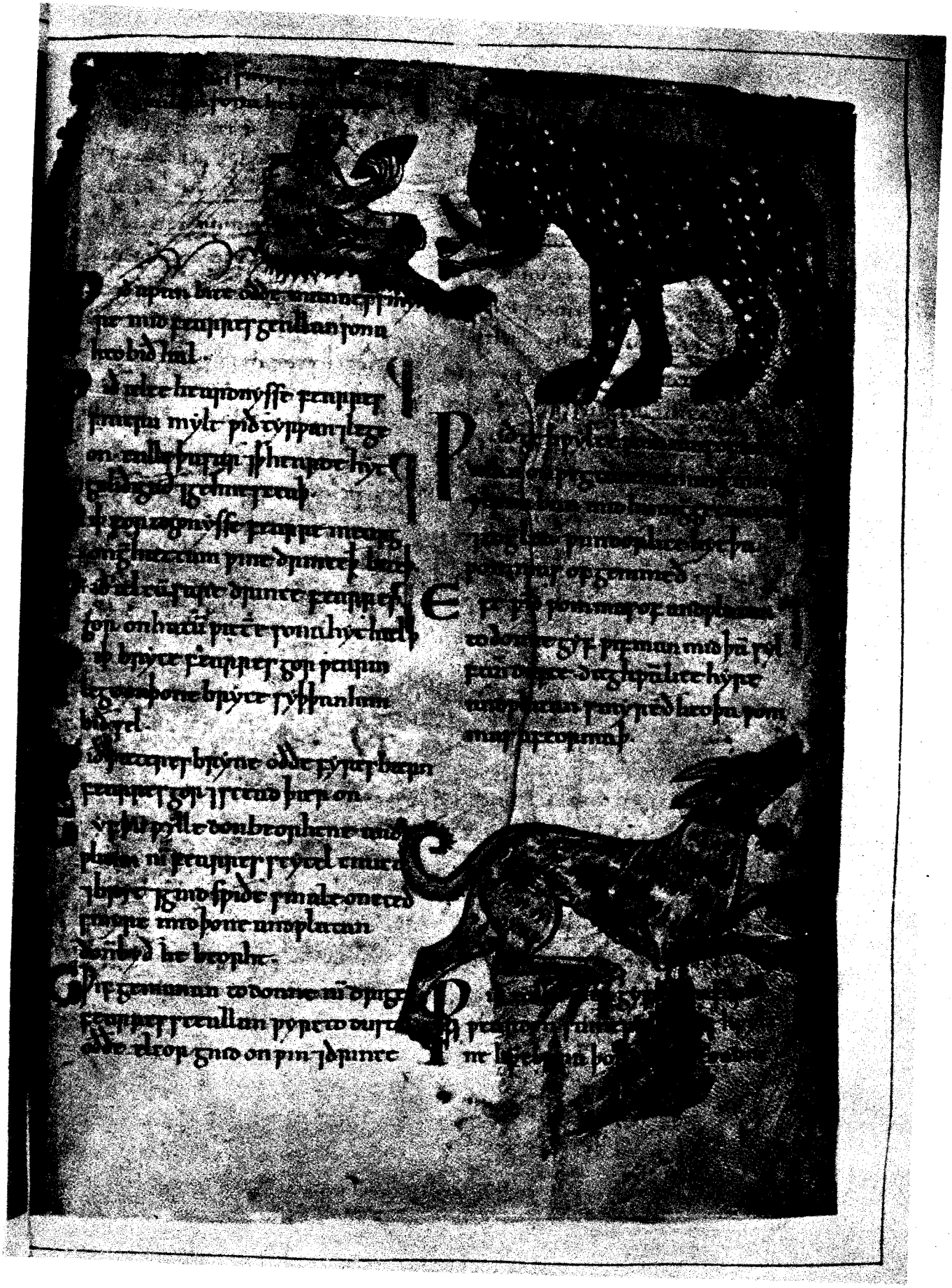
The leaf here reproduced contains part of the concluding text, the Medicina de Quadrupedibus (a portion of the late antique Medicina ex Animalibus attributed to Sextus Placitus) in the vernacular version of a compilation beginning with the Herbarium Apulei (Ker, No. 219). That the compilation was popular in A-S England is testified to by the fact that four MSS. of the OE text survive.

This particular leaf from Vit. C. iii, the only illustrated codex, measures approximately 275 x 187. It displays both the damage suffered by the codex in the 1731 fire and the s. xix rebinding of the book. This leaf contains the last remedies from the chapter on medicines derived from a bull (depicted on f. 81v); it contains two treatments using ivory (ylpenban) and the initial words of the first remedy to be obtained from a dog. Illustrated here are a seated ape holding an unexplained object (bull's gall is cited as a remedy for the bite of an ape or a man); a trunkless, toed elephant whose skin is marked with dots within a checkerboard pattern and whose tusks bear ornaments; and, by way of contrast, a readily recognizable dog.

While the text can be found in I: 366, 368 of Cockayne (the Rolls Series is to be preferred over the 1961 reprint which omits the key to the apparatus), an important recent edition which draws on a crucial Latin codex in Lucca has been prepared by H. J. DeVriend, The Old English Medicina de Quadrupedibus (Tilburg: H. Gianotten, 1972); see pp. 55, 57. The illustrations and their relation to the pictorial tradition of the illustrated MSS. of the Herbarium Apulei have been discussed at length in Heide Grape-Albers, Spätantike Bilder aus der Welt des Arztes (Wiesbaden: Pressler, 1977). I have dealt with some questions of the codex, suggesting its connection with a fenland house, perhaps after the Conquest (Manuscripta, 20 [1976], 40-60, and 21 [1977], 62), with the treatment of pagan classical gods in the MS. (Studies in Iconography, 3 [1978], 3-16), and with the textual tradition (Bulletin of the History of Medicine [1978], in press).

One curiosity of this leaf not considered in the above-mentioned studies or in those histories of A-S art (Talbot Rice, Kendrick, Temple) that deal with these illustrations is that the artist who executed the painting of the dog must have been familiar with the famous Carolingian MS. of the Aratea held at St. Augustine's Canterbury from A.D. 1000 (Harley 647) or with the A-S MSS. illustrated in this tradition such as Harley 2506 and Cotton Tiberius B. v. Particularly relevant to this miniature of a dog are the illustrations of Anticanis and Syrius in Tib. B. v, ff. 44, 39v. Close similarities include the protruding tongue, the decorated collar, and the ornament suspended from the dog's collar. There are, to be sure, other similarities between animals in Vit. C. iii illustrations and the Aratea miniatures. The hare on f. 77v resembles the illuminations of the constellation Lepus in the Aratea MSS., and the ram on f. 80 is very much like the Aries illustration on f. 32v of Tib. B. v. These affinities, linked with the connection I have noted before between the representation of Chiron in the author portrait on f. 19 and the Aratea illustrations of Centaurus, encourage us to see these medical MSS. in the larger tradition of A-S book production.

Linda E. Voigts
University of Missouri-Kansas City



THE YEAR'S WORK IN OLD ENGLISH STUDIES - 1977

Edited by Rowland L. Collins
Department of English
The University of Rochester

The Year's Work in Old English Studies has been planned, since its inception for 1967, as a useful analytical companion to the annual Old English bibliography published in OEN. Since last year, the form of YWOES is similar also to that of the annual bibliography published in Anglo-Saxon England. And, at least in the ideal, the summaries and reviews of scholarship included in YWOES are published with all due speed; they appear late in each calendar year and discuss the work of the previous year.

The placement of an article in a particular section of the bibliography does not always prove useful for individual reviewers in YWOES. Consequently, readers will find a few items classified under section 6, History and Culture, which are reviewed under section 7, Archaeology and Numismatics, and vice versa. Some similar rearrangements are also evident between the subsections of section 2.

Several contributors have expressed their special thanks for the help of other scholars. Professor Edward H. Judge of the Department of History at LeMoyne College helped with the translation of some of the Russian studies of Old English linguistics. Professor David Walsh of the Department of Fine Arts at The University of Rochester helped the reviewers of section 5 with the analysis of the vegetal elements in the iconography of the bracteate. All contributors, and especially the general editor, feel a special debt to Mrs. Helen Craven at The University of Rochester for her preparation of a long and difficult manuscript for photo-duplication.

Contributors to YWOES are, in all important ways, independent reviewers. There is no attempt to establish or maintain a consistent pattern of evaluative criteria. The general editor selects the contributors, tries to eliminate duplication of effort, and prepares the texts for publication. The author or authors of each section can be identified from the initials which appear at the end of each contribution:

C.C.	Colin Chase, University of Toronto
J.P.C.	James P. Carley, University of Rochester
J.D.C.	John David Cormican, Utica College
R.T.F.	Robert T. Farrell, Cornell University
M.McC.G.	Milton McC. Gatch, Union Theological Seminary
J.R.H.	James R. Hall, University of Mississippi
T.G.H.	Thomas G. Hahn, University of Rochester
M.M.	Matthew Marino, University of Alabama
P.L.T.	Phyllis L. Thompson, Marylhurst Education Center
J.B.T.	Joseph B. Trahern, Jr., University of Tennessee
M.C.W.	Marjorie Curry Woods, University of Rochester

Suggestions for the improvement of YWOES and review copies of articles and books should be sent to Mr. Collins.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS

Unthinking assumptions are often the undoing of the cultural historian. Two essays that call attention to crucial but sometimes neglected aspects of Anglo-Saxon intellectual and material culture should therefore be quite welcome. C. P. Wormald, in "The Uses of Literacy in Anglo-Saxon England and Its Neighbours" (Trans. Royal Hist. Soc., 5th ser., 27 [1977 for 1976], 95-114), draws upon a rich accumulation of evidence and a wide range of parallels and analogues in reexamining the sociological significance of literacy. He considers extensively the intentions and accomplishments of Alfred, and of Ælfric and his circle, and he concludes -- as have others before -- that literacy was not broadly established on any level in Anglo-Saxon England. One fresh and appealing argument that he makes in the course of his discussion is that literacy was quite likely fairly widespread among women in the earlier Middle Ages. Scholars will undoubtedly wish to pursue the evidence for this proposition. In the second essay, "The Parts of an Anglo-Saxon Mill" (ASE 6, 15-37), Philip Rahtz and Donald Bullough present a thorough analysis of the horizontal wheeled mill at Tamworth, Staffs., together with a more general discussion of the importance of various types of mills in Anglo-Saxon England. They also provide a careful consideration of OE mill terminology, with citations of the earliest appearance of each term in English and parallels from other languages. Unfortunately, the authors neglected the MED in preparing their list; the MED supplies a number of references that may reflect OE usage, and it contains many entries earlier than those cited from the OED or EDD, as well as some entries that the authors do not seem to cover at all. Moreover, the authors' citation of the OED is the less helpful because of its neglect of muniments and wills -- certainly among the chief sources where mill terminology would be found. At the same time, however, a number of definitions in all the historical dictionaries will have to be modified in the light of the authors' analysis. The article offers a sound introduction to an important subject, and it contains an extensive listing of basic bibliography.

A group of articles and one book-length study explore the history of scholarship. W. A. Ringler's note (HLQ 40, 353-56) exposes Arthur Kelton (fl. 1546-1547) as a quasi-humanist crank who knew nothing about history, and, in particular, nothing about Anglo-Saxon history. Pamela M. Black, in "Laurence Nowell's 'Disappearance' in Germany and Its Bearing on the Whereabouts of His Collectanea" (EHR 92, 345-53), adduces the same "new" evidence that Retha Warnicke discussed in 1974 (see YWOES 1976, sect. 1) -- a Court of Requests case of 1571 that shows Laurence Nowell had left England in 1567 and had disappeared in Leipzig during 1569. Though Miss Black, using some secondary evidence that differs from Dr. Warnicke's, assumes that Nowell did return, Warnicke's conclusion, that there were actually two Laurence Nowells, makes better sense. Graham Parry (Leeds Stud. in Engl. 9, 84-96) discusses John Weever's Ancient Funerall Monuments (1631), which attempted to survey all English monumental inscriptions. (He only half succeeded.) Parry declares that Weever was "an avid Saxonist," though he relied upon others like Camden and Stowe for his historical information. Apparently Weever "occasionally translates from a Saxon monastic charter," but it remains unclear whether Weever actually recorded any OE writings, or whether his renderings are merely paraphrases and educated guesses.

The most substantial of these historical studies has perhaps the least to do directly with OE -- this is K. M. Elisabeth Murray's biography of her

grandfather James ("OED" Murray), Caught in the Web of Words (New Haven: Yale University Press). Those with an attachment to the language will find this even more pleasurable reading than did the general public. Murray's crotchets and quirks, and his earnest boisterousness, seem to fulfill many a Victorian stereotype. Though OE was necessarily only one among his many studies as Editor, Murray set heroic standards for latter-day students of the language; applying for a minor post at the British Museum, he wrote:

> I have to state that Philology, both Comparative and special, has been my favourite pursuit during the whole of my life, and that I possess a general acquaintance with the languages & literature of the Aryan and Syro-Arabic classes.... With several I have a more intimate acquaintance as with the Romance tongues, Italian, French, Catalan, Spanish, Latin & in a less degree Portuguese, Vaudois, Provençal & various dialects. In the Teutonic branch, I am tolerably familiar with Dutch... Flemish, German, Danish. In Anglo-Saxon and Moeso-Gothic my studies have been much closer, I having prepared some works for publication upon these languages.... In the Persian, Archaemenian Cuneiform, & Sanscrit branches, I know for the purposes of Comparative Philology. I have sufficient knowledge of Hebrew & Syriac to read at sight the O.T. and Peshito; to a less degree I know Aramaic, Arabic, Coptic and Phenician to the point where it was left by Gesenius.

Astonishingly, Murray acquired most of this learning on his own, mainly by studying versions of the Bible in each language that interested him. Perhaps for this reason he gloried in his honorary doctorates and other awards, and he seems to have been uncomfortable around more traditionally trained academics. He jealously guarded his position as first among editors, and at times he must have been impossible to work with: he resented and fought suggestions that he cut back on the length of his entries, yet he secretly reported his co-editor Henry Bradley -- the mildest and most agreeable of men -- for going beyond the same limits. He was outspoken and even vituperative at times, and his energy -- which in large part pushed the OED towards completion -- provoked awe and admiration, but little visible affection. The biography provides refreshing glimpses of others involved in OE scholarship -- we see Skeat, for example, writing humorous doggerel to celebrate each stage of the Dictionary's progress, as well as giving intellectual, moral, and even financial support to Murray and the project. F. J. Furnivall, whom Miss Murray and her grandfather clearly find irritating, comes into the story as a remarkable impressario, sometimes unpredictable, but indispensable to the creation and completion of the Dictionary. In sum, this is a pleasurabl and even at times exciting account of Murray and his part in what is probably the single most important scholarly achievement in English language studies.

Finally, we may glance at three bibliographical studies. J. L. Mitchell (NM 78, 328-38) begins his evaluation of three recent classroom texts by surveying all the grammar-readers that have appeared in the U.S. in the last century. In the course of his review, he recommends several principles of format and organization, and he notes recurring flaws. His thorough analysis leads him to an unhesitating choice of the Cassidy-Ringler revision of Bright as the best of the introductory texts available in the U.S. In one of the first publications from the Milman Parry Collection, A Bibliography of Studies Relating to Parry's and Lord's Oral Theory, Edward R. Haymes brings together from diverse sources a large number

of studies on oral formulaic literature; roughly thirty percent deal directly with OE writings. Lastly, S. T. Bindoff and James T. Boulton offer a new and more complete report on research in progress in most of the Commonwealth (London: St. James, 1976). The entries on OE occupy pp. 15-17, and take the reader up to September 1975.

It is appropriate to conclude this section with an acknowledgement of the memorials and bibliographies that have appeared as tributes to scholars engaged in the study of OE culture. Albert Henry Marckwardt, Doris Mary Stenton, and Olof von Feilitzen are among those whose contributions have been taken into account as part of the history of OE scholarship.

Works not seen:

Beauchamp, Virginia Walcott. "Pioneer Linguist: Elizabeth Elstob (1683-1756)." Papers in Women's Stud. 1, no. 3 (1974), 9-43.

Boyer, Régis, ed. Les Vikings et leur civilisation: problèmes actuels. Paris & The Hague: Mouton, 1976.

Dillmann, François-Xavier. Culture et civilisation vikings: une bibliographie de langue française. Caen: Université, c1975.

Dixon, Philip. Barbarian Europe. Oxford: Elsevier-Phaidon, c1976.

Rubin, Stanley. "The Anglo-Saxon Physician." British Hist. Illustrated 1, no. 9 (1975), 40-47.

T.G.H.

2. LANGUAGE

a. Lexicon, Names, Other Subjects

E. R. Kintgen, in "Lif, lof, leof, lufu, and geleafa in Old English Poetry" (NM 78, 309-16), extends the current discussions on poetic cohesion, particularly lexical and phonological, by the examination of the title words as an important nexus of the concepts of faith, love, life, and praise. While acknowledging many etymological, formal, repetitive, syntactical, and phonological bases for forming collocations, he basically demonstrates the words' poetic cohesion in limited passages from Christ III, Guthlac A, and The Seafarer. F. Wenisch argues, in "Sachsische Dialektworter in 'The Battle of Maldon'" (IF 81, 181-203), that, despite the usefulness of the ideas of a pan-OE poetic vocabulary and a high preponderance of Anglian words in the poetry, a close examination of dictionaries and texts will lead to the conclusion that there are specific words which must be said to belong to a Saxon poetic dialect. OE gehende and ætforan are examined in light of both their lexical entries and their textual occurrences. J. Lindow's Comitatus, Individual and Honor: Studies in North Germanic Institutional Vocabulary, as a lexico-cultural study of the institution of the comitatus, suffers from not being either a cultural study or a hard and fast lexical study. The somewhat speculative representation of Viking societal modes and specific word usages is plausible, but both substantial argument and accurate detail seem to be lacking. ON is in the center, but both IE reconstruction and OE forms play some part in the discussion. Whether or not a comitatus terminology and structure are revealed by the work, a few OE items get their share of treatment: dryht, hīred, gesīð, liþ, rinc, and tīr(wine). M. Barnes's review (Speculum 53, 597-600) is specifically and generally disapproving. D. E. Chase, in "A Semantic Study of Old English Words for 'Warrior'" (NYU Diss.), is concerned with the simplex occurrences of words for "warrior." This limited exercise demonstrates the problem of using OE dictionaries for data. He finds minor adjustments in meanings for some words and connotative values implied by others. Although S. A. Barney's Word-Hoard: an Introduction to Old English Vocabulary is obviously not a scholar's tool, I cannot but admit that reading it begins to generate ideas for me on semantic fields. The information is judicious and often helpful for the student. Although the idea is not new, Yale's entrant has the advantage of being more interesting by having gone to school on Harvard's.

S. B. Barlau, in "An Outline of Germanic Kinship" (Jnl of Indo-European Stud. 4, 97-130), starts with the structural anthropologist's point of view that the PGmc speech community formed a unit that can fairly be expected to manifest a singular model for kinship. It is not strictly speaking a linguistic analysis, despite the fact that the three parameters that provide support for the model are inheritance, wergild, and, finally, terminology. The dictionary-like terminology is almost fully attested in ON, Got, OHG, OE, OS, and OFris, but not investigated linguistically. The kinship of Gmc society is best characterized as one based upon kindreds, i.e., it is based upon relation to a given living person and can end when that person dies as opposed to kinship figured in terms of a specific common ancestor. Variations and exceptions are explained by an earlier Omaha kinship pattern based upon descent from distant, even mythical, paternal ancestors. The linguist is presented with a simple anthropological categorization of a system which may be a starting place for some broader linguistic questions. Despite A. Sihler's problem of a limited breadth of evidence in "The PIE Origins of the Germanic Feminine Nomina Agentis in *-stri(ō)n" (Die Sprache 23, 36-48), there is

a compelling reconstruction for his *-stri(ō)n as the basis of Gmc feminine nomina agentis. The PIE *-sor- "feminine element" which eventually yields Gmc *-strī on a functional parallel with feminine present participles in -ī and then a final conversion to an on-stem like other personal nouns and adjectives of the devī-type in WGmc. While his explanations for the dearth of appropriate forms in Got, OHG, and ON are not compelling, they are at least reasonable. E. Seebold, in "Archaic Patterns in the Word Formation of Early Germanic Languages" (Trans. of the Philol. Soc. 1975, pp. 157-72), states that the historic word formation constitutes a particularly interesting type of descriptive problem. The actual satisfactory explanation may imply grammar that can never be transparent, indeed may even come from a different typological source than the language in question. Yet, such explanations appear to be an elegant means for treating relics and putative exceptions.

H. J. Solo, in "The Meaning of *motan: a Secondary Denotation of Necessity in Old English" (NM 78, 215-32), utilizes the lexical entries from Bosworth-Toller, Grein, and the OED to challenge the assumption that OE *motan had the secondary meaning of "must." Close examination of the poetic recurrences does yield to the conclusion that the primary sense of "permission" would work as well if not better than "must." The case against this meaning in OE prose seems much weaker, although the occurrences of "must" do tend to be late. His two explanations of the advent of "must" are less satisfactory because, as one eliminates the secondary meaning from poetry and early prose, one is required to account for an even more radical semantic shift. H. Stuart, in "'Spider' in Old English" (Parergon 18, 37-42), argues that the nonce emendation in the metrical charm Wið Dweorh has been hard to kill off. The "in spiderwiht" suffers from lack of other attestation, not fitting the limited patterns of -wiht compounds, and the in not being metrically and semantically feasible. Grattan's inwriden emendation is possible, but Stuart proposes unspedig wiht as being paleographically possible and having the thrust of equivalent situations in other parts of the literature. C. L. Gottzmann opens the discussion in "Sippe" (Sprachwissenschaft 2, 217-58) with a sparsely notated five pages that list some of the more important dictionary entries surrounding the word; she then compiles a five-page etymology out of the dictionaries. The bulk of the material is fairly long quotations from various sources which ultimately support her thesis that not all times or all languages will yield the same meanings for Sippe. OE sibbe receives the same discursive treatment, but there is mostly fairly direct commentary on the narrative or rhetorical context of the occurrences. L. Motz, in "Burg-Berg, burrow-barrow" (IF 81, 204-20), strongly advocates a single source for the semantics of the "protection" sense and the "height" sense of the words. Semantic fields, archeology, and literary tradition are used to affirm their common source in something like "to enclose." The *bhergh derivations apply on the whole to natural matters, and *bhrgh derivations apply to man-made habitations.

The rereading of OE continues apace in a number of notes. N. F. Barley, in "Two Emendations to Indicia monasterialia (Cotton Tiberius A III)" (NM 78, 326-27), suggests that the hapax legomenon OE wicelre be amended to OE micelre because the context implies largeness and that OE burhreste exists in a semantic context that suggests drink and thereby warrants an emendation such as OE beordræst. H. Stuart, in "The Meaning of OE ælf-sciene" (Parergon 2, 22-26), speculatively suggests that OE ælfsciene means something like "inspired" rather than the common "bright as an elf," showing some loose connection with light-elves

and light as the symbol of inspiration. B. M. Zandorozhnyy in "Ob odnom mnimom arkhaizme v drevneangliiskoi epike" (Teoriia Iazyka, Anglistika, Kel'tologiia, pp. 173-76) entertains the idea that OE gefylled, often "deprived of," might be something like OE befeallen on the basis of other occurrences and parallels in OS. D. G. Scragg, in "Old English forhtleasness, unforhtleasness" (N&Q 24, 399-400), claims the OE unforhtleasness is a ghost word predicated on a misreading of OE -leas, as attached to an adjective. Since that doesn't occur, he argues that OE leasness "fickelness" will eliminate the negation leaving only the qualifying OE forhe "fearful." E. A. Ebbinghaus, in "The Etymology of OE mælsceafa" (General Ling. 17, 92-93), argues that the etymological sources of OE mælsceafa (caterpillar) are not "meal-sharer" but are "ornamental-sharer." He also observes, in "Old English agu 'pica'" (General Ling. 16, 187-90), a wide enough range of occurrences in OHG, MHG, OS, and Got to feel that there must be a Gmc source for the OE word for magpie in something like *aƴō. D. Kartschoke, in "Selfsceaft" (ZDA 106, 73-82), responds to a tradition exemplified by Vickerey that takes the OE and OS hapax legomenon to mean "self-making," which has then been justified by some enlightened manipulation of meaning in Adam's context in the Genesis poems. He finds that the equation of OE, OS selfsceaft with Lat suus ipse creator as a learned poetic formulation solves the problem.

The careful sorting of individual forms and classifications is carried on in numerous notes. E. P. Hamp, in "Old English leod-" (ESts 58, 97-100), argues that the masculine and feminine forms of OE leod- are not necessarily related by a single gender shift. In essence he argues that because there is no evidence, we have no right to make this common assumption. A.S.C. Ross, in "OE. nap. broðro, etc." (IF 81, 180), suggests that the yet unexplained u>o in the r-stems comes from a Sanskrit analogy which would yield a PGmc *-uwiz. A. Bammesberger, in "Two Old English Glosses" (ESts 58, 1-3), first rejects Ross's opinion that OE blefla is a reduplicating preterite in favor of the older idea of scribal error because it defies linguistic analysis and then accepts that OE flycg is the ja-formation from the zero grade of the verb root OE fleog- based on his interpretation of the gloss to Lat implumes as OE unfligge, an accusative plural. In another note, "Zum Ansatz von altenglisch bedæcc(e)an" (Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft 35, 5-6), Bammesberger suggests that we must get rid of the nonce misreading of OE bedæhte for an easily explained OE betæhte and thereby rid ourselves of the useless OE bedæcc(e)an.

A number of notes on words in other languages bear partially on the clarification of semantics in OE. A. S. C. Ross and R. L. Thomson's discussion in "Gothic reiks and Congeners" (IF 81, 176-79) does little to enlighten our view of OE ric. The evidence of Celtic borrowing and common origin both seem to be strong, so we are left with a situation that is complex rather than simple. A. Bammesberger, in "Altenglisch sneowan/snowan und gotisch sniwan" (ZVS 90, 258-61), argues that the OE sneowan/snowan can be explained better if metrics shows them to be short, because then the relationship to Got sniwan PGmc *snew-a would be affirmed. Although the evidence is not hard, it remains a reasonable possibility. E. Hamp, in "The Gothic Rune Name chozma" (Ut Videam: Contributions to an Understanding of Linguistics, for Pieter Verburg, pp. 133-37), argues that Got chozma "k-rune" is related to OE cēn and OHG ch(i)en and ken "facula" instead of Norwegian and OI kaun "ulcer." He claims a source in a Gk *καΐσμα "set afire," which we might assume is related to Gk καῦμα "firebrand." J. Devleeschouwer, in "Note sur l'origine du nom germanique de la main" (Orbis 23, 130-41), finds that the only responsible explanation for the "neologism" PGmc *konts depends on two allied forms from IE having the lexical content for "stabbing" and "seizing." He views

the substratum Uralic influence and the Finno-Ugrian cognates as being clear evidence of the complex semantic and ethnic sources for the word for hand. M. D'Aronco in "Medio inglese false" (Incontri linguistici I, 83-88), argues that ME falsen does not truly come from OFr but is derived more directly from Lat. The chivalric characteristics of the OFr fausser, falser do influence the word, and one must assume that the force of OE fals is real even if ME false is a partial reborrowing. M.-L. Rotsaert, in "Vieux-haut-allem.biscof/gallo-roman *(e)bescobo, *(e)bescoba lat. episcopus" (Sprachwissenschaft 2, 181-216), warns of the dangers for linguistic research that are created by ideological new points in the examination of culturally important words like OHG biscof. After making a very thorough investigation of the etymological situation, she decides that most of the hypotheses about meaning and origins have been falsified by ideology. The linguistic facts point to the complex array that is suggested by J. Jud for the OHG biscof, and she is led to the not too surprising conclusion that Romance sources account for much of the Gmc borrowing. H. Nowicki's "Ahd. as. thiorna" (ZDA 106, 83-87) is a small matter of negative information for OE scholars. His thorough etymology finds no reflexes in OE, Got, or Fris for the word.

Some types of presentations appear to be headed toward some useful end but find themselves ending as either casual observations or conceptualizations that are already such a fundamental part of the scholarly community that they don't need statement. J.-L. Duchet, in "Considérations historiques et théoriques sur le parfait anglais" (Littérature, linguistique, civilisation, pédagogie. Actes du Congrès de Grenoble (1973), Etudes Anglaises, 65, 193-201), gives the most general of information about the formation of the perfective construction throughout the history of English. His rehearsal of the competing hypotheses is rapidly sketched, finding neither a trenchant line of commentary nor a reason for such a scant rehearsal except to tell us that the stage is now set to study the perfective in English. In something of the same fashion W. Wieden, in "Lautliche Aspekte morphologischer Strukturwandlungen im Englischen" (Wortbildung diachron-synchron, pp. 131-53), really only displays the most fundamental information that one would expect. Despite a few comments on the problems of the lack of accessible evidence in social dialects and actual speech practice, we are given only the grossest of systematic representations. The materials might be sufficient for a discussion in an introduction to the history of the English language.

This year we continue to receive further elaborations of glosses out of Italian sources: R. Solari's revision of Skeat's Lindisfarne Luke in "Studi sulle glosse di Lindisfarne al Vangelo di san Luca: revisione dell'edizione dello Skeat" (Rendiconti 108, 551-74); in Studi di filologia germanica e di letteratura tedesca in onore di Nicola Accolti Gil Vitale, D. Pezzini on the Rushworth Luke in "Le glosse anglosassoni di Rushworth al Vangelo di S. Luca" (pp. 63-83); G. Bolognesi on the Rushworth Matthew in "Le glosse anglosassoni di Rushworth al Vangelo di Matteo" (pp. 85-107); A. Drago on the Durham Ritual in "Le glosse anglosassoni del Durham Ritual" (pp. 35-62). A. S. C. Ross, in "Notes on the Accidence of Rushworth^2" (NM 78, 300-08), focuses on that accidence which is different from the Lindisfarne Gospel and Durham Ritual glosses, particularly with reference to the fully articulated gender system of Rushworth^2. Description is usually in terms of non-Aldredian forms, although some coincidence of forms is remarked upon. V. Law, in "The Latin and Old English Glosses in the Ars Tatuini" (ASE 6, 77-89), gives us the first commentaries on the five Lat and eighteen OE glosses in the de nomine section of the eighth-century Tatwine's Ars Grammatica. P. Bierbaumer's "Zu J. V. Goughs Ausgabe einiger altenglischer Glossen" (Anglia 95, 115-21) attempts to correct what he considers to be the many errors of Gough's

"Some Old English Glosses" (Anglia 92, 273-90).

J. L. Rosier, in "A New Old English Glossary: Nowell upon Huloet" (SN 49, 189-94), attempts a new chapter in the history of lexicography. He claims that Laurence Nowell's sixteenth-century glosses in Huloet's Abecedarium Anglico Latinum represent the earliest expansion of a dictionary, based on historical principles, into the topic areas of law and place-names. The etymological, semantic, and synonymic information from an earlier period represent at least a recognition of the potential for systematic historical principles in the process of glosses becoming modern dictionaries.

It would appear from the commentaries in the uses of computers in OE studies this year that we are still at a nuts and bolts stage of their use. The time saving and the physical facility in the use of a computer are obvious, but sophisticated manipulative and decision-making processes still seem to be remote. A. Dowsing, in "Some Aspects of Old English Syntax" (The Computer in Literary and Linguistic Studies, pp. 285-92), tells us nothing about OE syntax and little new about the uses of computers. It is a progress report that suggests that she has had some minor success in adapting programs to her needs. J. L. Mitchell, in "A Computer Based Analysis of an Old English Manuscript: the First Stages" (Mid-America Linguistics Conference Papers, October 13-14, 1972, pp. 85-97), indicates primarily the encoding system used and suggests the problems of determining the basic syntactic unit. His choice of the combination of a punctus and and a capital letter keying the boundary in the Peterborough Chronicle is very efficient, but it is hardly anything but a mechanical response to the original interesting question. L. A. Cummings, in "A Homily on Wulfstan's Homilies: Concordance Making and Publishing" (Assoc. for Lit. and Ling. Computing, Bulletin 5, 113-18), gives a progress report on how a KWIC concordance to the OE and Lat words in Dorothy Bethurum's edition of The Homilies of Wulfstan was made, using CURSOR and WATCON, two collections of programs developed by WATCHUM. A second phase of the concordance will involve its being recast to make use of the work of Mabel Dobyn's Wulfstan's Vocabulary: a Glossary of the "Homilies" with Commentary along the generation of appendices devoted to vocabulary data, stylistic studies, and linguistic studies.

Of the five volumes dealing with place-names in one county in this year's bibliography, A. D. Mills's The Place-Names of Dorset, I (Cambridge) is the best by far. It deals with the place-names, including field-names, of the Isle of Purbeck and the Hundreds of Rowbarrow, Hasler, Winfrith, Culliford Tree, Bere Regis, Barrow, Puddletown, and St. George. Subsequent volumes are to deal with the place-names of the eastern, northern, and western parts of the county as well as the river-names and road-names. Mills's book is complete and scholarly, both in the information presented about the earlier forms of the names and probable earliest meanings. One might wish for better maps, however, than the two in the book which do not provide the location of any places smaller than parishes. In contrast, The Place Names of Kent (London) and The Place Names of Sussex (London) by J. Glover consist of alphabetical listings of the place names of Kent and Sussex respectively, their OE or other origin and possible meaning, representative earlier spellings, other names at earlier periods, and general historical information. However, the information provided is not always complete, and she seems more fond of deriving place-names from OE personal names than recent scholarship will find acceptable. The books appear to be designed for popular rather than scholarly consumption. Northumberland Place-Names (Newcastle upon Tyne) by

S. Beckensall is a short volume, admittedly derivative of Mawer's The Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham and Ekwall's The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names. It consists of elements, other than personal names, used in English place-names, with Northumberland examples to illustrate some of the elements and an alphabetical list of Northumberland place-names with the earliest recorded spellings, dates, possible elements, and meanings. Beckensall's Northumberland Field Names (Newcastle upon Tyne) is equally derivative and follows the same pattern.

W. F. H. Nicolaisen's Scottish Place-Names: Their Study and Significance (London) begins with a two-chapter explanation of the processes of place-name study and proof of sufficient linguistic evidence in Scottish records for adequate study of Scottish place-names. Subsequent chapters follow a reverse chronology and provide well-written narratives concerning place-names from the seventeenth century to the present, English elements, Scandinavian elements, Gaelic elements, Pictish and Cumbric elements, and pre-Celtic elements. The book deals heavily with river-names, reflecting Nicolaisen's special interest, but it is certainly more interestingly written, though less complete, than a Dictionary of Scottish Place-Names which has yet to be written will be. In "The Significance of English Place-Names" (Proc. of the British Acad. 62, 135-55), K. Cameron summarizes the major findings of place-name scholars in the last twenty years, shows how older hypotheses concerning the time periods at which place-names containing particular elements were assumed to have been founded have been modified, and points out how the new place-name studies shed light on OE history, often causing previously held views to be discarded. The essay provides the best summary of place-name studies available and indicates the direction that future studies are likely to take. In "Place-Names and Settlement History: a Review, with a Select Bibliography of Works Mostly Published since 1960" (Northern Hist. 13, 1-26), G. Fellows Jensen concludes with a bibliography of about a hundred books and articles on these topics. The article itself takes local historians to task for remaining "ignorant of most work published since 1960" and provides an excellent summary of much of that work.

B. Cox's "The Place-Names of the Earliest English Records" (Eng. Place-Name Soc. Journal 8, 12-66) is a useful article. It presents all place-names in OE documents including charters up to 731 A.D. in order to isolate some of the more common place-name types. Cox provides annotated lists of topographical names, habitation names, district names, and river-names followed by lists of all of the OE elements in the names except for personal names, the OE personal names, pre-OE place-names, place-names with pre-OE bases compounded with OE elements, and the OE references to each name. His discussion of the topographical elements: ēg, feld, ford, lēah, dūn, burna, and hamm; the habitation elements hām, ceaster, burh, tūn, hām-stede, and wīc; the district element gē; and group names in -ingas and -inga- provides a chronological framework. In "Latin Loan-Words in Old English Place-Names" (ASE 6, 1-13), M. Gelling modifies some of her earlier conclusions about place-names derived from OE wīchām and discusses the significance of the place-name elements: camp, funta, port, and ecles. She now feels that Romano-British settlements in wīchām were not always of such lowly status as she had thought in 1967, were probably small towns rather than villages, and, in the western limits of the area where such names occur, the places are not necessarily situated no more than a mile from a major road nor at some distance from major Roman towns. Gelling suggests that wīchām was applied to sub-Roman sites which were not taken over by Gmc speakers and were at one time centers of land units. She says

that place-names in camp originally referred to stretches of uncultivated land with the meaning "enclosure" developing later and that place-names in funta < fontāna "spring" occur where building operations by the Romans had made the springs easier to use. She also notes the obvious loan-words port and ecles in OE place-names and suggests that they are direct borrowings from Latin. In "Topographical Settlement-Names" (Local Historian 12, 273-277), Gelling presents convincing evidence that topographical place-names may often be earlier than habitative place-names in many areas and shows that habitative names have replaced topographical names in specific instances. She also laments the fact that topographical place-names such as those with final elements from ford, ēg, and dūn have not been shown on distribution maps. "British Survival in Anglo-Saxon Northumbria" (Studies in Celtic Survival. Oxford, p. 1-55) by M. L. Faull shows, by place-name evidence from Deira, which approximates the county of Yorkshire, that a large part of the Northumbrian population was Celtic or of mixed Celtic-English ancestry. She uses place-names referring to British settlements such as those containing the elements Walh- or Bret-, those referring to individual Britons, and those transmitted to the English by the British to show that most of the Celts who survived lived just beyond the best lands which were occupied by the English or in places where the soil was less suitable for farming than that claimed by the speakers of OE.

A. R. Rumble's short article, "The Quotation of Name-Forms in Anglo-Saxon Charters" (Eng. Place-Names Soc. Journal 9, 3-5), gives the citation forms to be used henceforth in EPNS volumes when referring to particular forms appearing in OE charters. The forms recognize the definitiveness of P. H. Sawyer's Anglo-Saxon Charters, an annotated list and bibliography and its superiority to earlier bibliographies in use previously, which were sometimes erroneous. In "The Wheathampstead (Herts.) Charter-Bounds, A.D. 1060: a Corrected Text and Notes on the Boundary-Points" (Eng. Place-Name Soc. Journal 9, 6-11), Rumble corrects a charter by which Edward the Confessor gave land to Westminster Abbey on the basis of a recently discovered, eleventh-century MS which is now listed as Sawyer, No. 1031. He provides the corrected text, a translation, and notes. In "The Place-Names in a Herefordshire Charter" (SN 49, 185-87), C. Johansson calls attention to the place-name already identified by Ekwall in the charter identified as No. 1462 in Sawyer. "The Early Place-Names of Winchester" by M. Biddle, D. J. Keene, et al. (Winchester in the Early Middle Ages [Oxford]) includes fifty-seven place-names, thirty-one of which occur in the Winton Domesday. The names are divided into two categories: street names and place-names other than street names; the latter includes guild-hall names, mill-names, area-names, house-names, etc. Each entry gives all forms of the name, the etymology or possible etymology, and references to other published works citing the name.

In "Rothbury: a Note on a Northumberland Place-Name" (Eng. Place-Name Soc. Journal 8, 9-11), C. Påhlsson uses topographical evidence to support the argument that the first element derives from OWSc rauðr "red" by noting that the bed-rock in the area around Rothbury is indeed red. In "Thurrock: a Note on an Essex Place-Name" (Parergon 5, 20-21), G. Martin suggests that this place-name which occurs in the names of three parishes by the Thames comes from OE burruc "the bottom part of a ship" which was originally used to describe the nearby Mar Dyke when viewed from high elevations; however, when the nautical meaning of the word was forgotten, the name was transferred to the smaller area south of the Mar Dyke.

"The Personal Names and Bynames of the Winton Domesday" by the late O. von Feilitzen (Winchester in the Early Middle Ages [Oxford]) follows the text,

translation, and notes on the two twelfth-century surveys which followed the 1066 survey. Von Feilitzen first provides a thorough alphabetical and etymological index of all of the personal names in the surveys with all of the forms of the relevant names, etymologies, and references to other published works referring to them. Then he arranges the names by date and national provenience and provides statistical analyses of the number of different personal names and their frequency of occurrence using categories such as OE dithematic, Continental Germanic, Old French bynames, Scandinavian, etc. He follows with a section dealing with bynames broken down alphabetically into the categories: local bynames, occupational bynames, bynames of relationship, and other bynames, chiefly nicknames. Each entry includes the byname with its variant forms, the personal names with which it is associated, and the dates of occurrence. H. Voitl's "Die englischen Personennamen. Der Fortgang ihrer Erforschung in den letzten zwölf Jahren" (ASNSL 213, 47-60, 251-68) summarizes and cites the major research on English and Irish personal names, both Christian names and surnames or family names. In "The Middle English Surname atte Bewe" (SN 49, 131-34), E. Tengstrand proposes that Bewe derives from OE beow "barley" and that Agnete atte Bewe was a woman who lived near a barley field. A. Bell, in "Zu ae. Anche" (BN 12, 419), rejects M. Gross's idea that the name Anche is an accidental reading of OE and as OE anc 7. The context and the source in ON Anki suggest that the emendation is spurious.

W. B. Lockwood, in "Some British Bird Names (II)" (Trans. of the Philol. Soc. 1975 [1977], p. 173-86), discusses several bird names, but the ones of interest to students of OE are kite < OE cȳta which he says is echoic in origin since there are no true continental cognates, ree (a variant of reeve) < OE hrēoh "fierce, wild," and teal < OE *tela or *tele.

T. L. Markey's Germanic Dialect Grouping and the Position of Ingvæonic (Innsbruck) argues for the division of Gmc into Northwest Gmc and East Gmc in the second century B.C. with Northwest Gmc subsequently splitting into NGmc and WGmc. Markey supports a compromise position regarding Ingvæonic by pointing out that a few features shared by the North Sea Gmc languages provide proof of the existence of a relatively uniform Ingvæonic speech community prior to 450 A.D., but a much larger number of features shared by the North Sea Gmc languages are the result of continued linguistic contact by the speakers of these languages after their territorial expansion. In "Local Archives and Middle English Dialects" (Jnl. of the Soc. of Archivists 5, 500-14), M. Benskin is concerned with how local archives and archivists are useful in the current work on the dialect atlas of ME dialects 1350-1450. The article is of only peripheral interest to OE scholars. H. Reichert's "Thesaurus palaeogermanicus: Lexikon der altgermanischen Namen" (BN 12, 241-56) lays out the research methods, material to be examined, the format to be used, and the shape of the entries in the proposed Thesaurus Palaeogermanicus.

J. N. Hook's History of the English Language (New York) is addressed specifically to teachers and prospective teachers and contains suggested classroom activities. While adequate as an introductory text, it is of no importance to scholars. C. J. Hutterer's Die Germanischen Sprachen: ihre Geschichte in Grundzügen (Budapest and Munich) is a good history of the Gmc languages. It provides short texts illustrating all of the major stages in the development of the individual Gmc languages as well as the standard historical information. Hutterer does divide WGmc into North Sea Gmc and South Gmc for his analysis, however. Beginning Old English: Materials for a One-Year Course (Leeds) by J. Hill, A. R Taylor, and R. L. Thomson is a very bare text book without explanatory notes or an indication

of pronunciation. It provides a skeletal description of OE but has a good glossary.

H. B. Allen's Linguistics and English Linguistics 2nd ed. (Arlington Heights, Ill.) is a bibliography of linguistic publications up to early 1975. The OE section is only three pages long, so the bibliography is of no use to OE scholars.

b. Syntax, Phonology

We have a number of pieces that attempt to place historical study in some perspective. T. Bynon, in Historical Linguistics, gives us an intelligent and moderate textbook discussion of the state of the art up to the middle 70's. It comes tantalizingly close to discussions of contemporary concerns, but is satisfied with modern received opinion. She recognizes the basically similar concerns of three major models: neogrammarian, structuralist, and transformationalist. However, the exploitation of the differences in models and the less obvious connections of the models are not fully explored. Some of the data is from OE and is used to support fairly conventional modern discussions of phonology, syntactic change, language contact, and onomastics. G. L. Fullerton's Historical Germanic Verb Morphology yields a narrower, but not particularly more progressive view. Since the criteria of generalness and naturalness govern the choices in this generative-transformation description of the verb morphology in Got, OI, OHG, OS, and OE, one can expect that exceptions and surface detail will be sacrificed to an abstract description that will show the regularity of a deep model of competence. The acceptance of a theory of historical change reflected in rule addition and simplification (analogy) adds to the simplicity of description. The study is comprehensive in the sense that it purports to cover a lot of data (all types of verbs in the dialect), but it excludes aberrant details. The study is new in the sense that some of the rules needed to cover the data have not been formulated this way before (particularly the ablaut rules), but people have been writing similar rules for many years now. The work suggests the intimate relationship between synchronic rules and diachronic processes. J. Fisiak, in "Sociolinguistics and Middle English: Some Socially Motivated Changes in the History of English" (Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny 24, 247-59), gives us a non-article which mentions OE. In his own words, "The problems presented in this paper are in most cases not new. The discussion of various changes had to be simplified due to the lack of space, which may often be detrimental to a given argument." He examines the influence of multilingualism as a source of syntactic change and of the social circumstances influencing the use of second person pronouns in ME. The only part of the article of any particular interest to OE scholars is his discussion of Scandinavian influence on late OE syntax.

J. Fisiak, in "Subjectless Sentences in Middle English" (Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny 23, 263-70), argues that subjectless sentences are of two varieties: those lacking subjectivization and those having deletion of subject. One assumes that the simple observation extends even more strongly to OE. Taking Visser's An Historical Syntax of the English Language, which has the most mechanical of classifications possible, as a traditional grammar to be disputed leads to a non-existent issue. A more responsible attempt to penetrate the concepts is represented by M. C. Butler's "Reanalysis of Object as Subject in Middle English Impersonal Constructions" (Glossa 11, 155-70), which is a close reworking of "The Reanalysis of Middle English Impersonal Constructions and the Characterization of 'Subject of Sentence'" (Texas Ling. Forum 4, 1-19). The verbs disappeared by either simply

falling away, taking on a non-referential it, or by changing the preposed object construction to some type of subject construction. Butler argues that the changes were not predicated on the ambiguity of such construction, but that subjects had multi-factored definitions that included such constructions. Butler finally argues that the evidence does not support Keenan's ("Toward a Universal Definitive of 'Subject'") hierarchy of subject promotion. And Butler rejects the idea that this state of ME should be accounted for as aberrant. He does not however make a strong proposal for handling the data. On the other hand, D. Lightfoot, in the highly theoretical "Syntactic Change and the Autonomy Thesis" (Jnl of Ling. 13, 191-216), rejects many aspects of the traditional analyses of the shift from the OE impersonal construction into the later personal constructions. He attempts to demonstrate his autonomy thesis (syntactic change is independent of phonological or semantic factors) by arguing that the changes arise purely from rigidification of SVO order. Advocacy of a currently touted rule (NP preposing) follows naturally from the discussion of the loss of the impersonal construction. Such a strong change illustrates the transparency principle (formerly the opacity principle), which predicts that radical changes will result when the deep structures become so opaque that the speakers cannot use them. If diachronic studies are plagued by grammars that allow "Charlatans" to say anything, then the goal of Lightfoot's ideal theory to restrict possible descriptions might well save the discipline from considering a lot of things. V. Kohonen's "A Note on Factors Affecting the Position of Accusative Objects and Complements in Aelfric's Catholic Homilies I" (Reports on Text Linguistics: Approaches to Word Order, pp. 175-96) argues in a now well-established tradition about the relative freedom of word order. The more discrete the analysis about independent, coordinated, and subordinated situations, the less likely one is to call the occurrences free variation. The text-linguistic approach leads to the belief that both new information and heavy or long elements tend to be sentence final. The variation is, therefore, not free, but occurs on a thematic level. This use of computers yields plausible, if not startling results.

We are warned in a number of ways about problems in analysis. T. P. Dolan's "On Claims for Syntactical Modernity in Early English Prose" (MP 74, 305-10) simply takes impressionistic responses and the indiscriminate use of data in the pursuit of early examples of VO word order to task. He finds that an analysis of two parts of the Ancrene Wisse in a careful way actually tends to make the modernity theory (VO order) even more obvious. The practice of caution is not so easy as one might think; in "Structure, Change, and Typology: the Case of Germanic" (Orbis 24, 391-403) S. Wallace carries on the tone and spirit of van Coetsem and Kufner's Toward a Grammar of Proto-Germanic. Certainly his observations that the sophistication of linguistics should lead to full consideration of syntagmatic matters, particularly as manifested in typology, must be true. However, his own warnings about the abuses of the concept of simplification, both general and local, should also apply to his comparison of reconstructed data, textually attested data, and contemporary data. The procedures that yield each type of data are liable to be responsible for our characterizations of such data. Mod Gmc languages may well have a greater number of distinctive features in stressed syllables, more complex consonant clusters, new prosodic contrasts, shorter words, a shift from length to stress for rhythm, and higher morphological load for stressed vowels than PGmc; but typological conclusions about simplicity will be a reflection of the model being used. The more standard warnings for us on a particular description come from B. Mitchell, in "Old English ac as an Interrogative Participle" (NM 78, 98-100), who once again finds no compelling

evidence for a traditional position: "that ac can be used as an interrogative particle introducing non-dependent questions in prose and poetry as distinct from literal glosses." He treats the proposed evidence and generally avers that native instances are conjunctive.

Modern models seem to involve their own particular brand of pitfalls. When they create one type of description, they sometimes lose other types of information. S. H. Goldman, in "Rhetorical Transformations and the Old English Vercelli Homilies" (From Soundstream to Discourse: Papers from the 1971 Mid-America Linguistics Conference, Columbia, MO, 1972, pp. 135-41), argues that the coincidence of particular patterns, which appear rhetorically motivated, should be described by some sort of supra-sentential rule. The use of some of the vocabulary and some of the devices of vintage generative-transformation grammar leaves the reader wondering how these rules will fit into a grammar. His observations of the rhetorical situation seem valid, but the more interesting questions of their installation and utilization in a formal grammar are not considered. After P. C. Bauschatz's opening lament on the lack of close consideration of the topic in "Old English Conjuntion: Some Semantic Consideration" (In Geordagum II, pp. 18-30), one would expect a close analysis. Despite the introduction of the terminology of vertical and horizontal conjunction, we are left with a likely, if somewhat casual, expository discussion of hypotaxis and parataxis in OE. The assertions about the nature of the rhetorical flow in specific instances are to some extent a matter of judgment, and we certainly are no closer to a "concentrated analysis." J. Lassaut and X. Dekeyser, in "Aspects of Sentence Embedding in Old and Middle English" (Leuvense Bijdragen 66, 327-43), do manage to show that for their purposes the primitives in noun phrases (Det, N, PP, S) can be redistributed to alter the frequency of certain transformations in sentence embedding. In their effort to use the evidence of OE and ME to justify their choices, they seem to have come a cropper of the Universal Base Hypothesis, which says you can do anything you want with a recursive model. Whatever focus they select to measure effectiveness within such a localized situation will predetermine the most efficient representation. In fact, the theoretical framework is just not strong enough to draw the necessary generalizing conclusions sought.

V. M. Coombs has extended the Klima hypothesis on negation into a number of Gmc languages in two pieces. In her A Semantic Syntax of Grammatical Negation in Older Germanic Dialects the abstract negative element in the deep structure is utilized as the basis for the generation of surface negations in Got, OHG, OS, OE, and OI. A somewhat spurious but expositorily useful distinction between semantic and syntactic negations is used to avoid the almost unsolvable problems of judgments about synonyms that are removed from a native speaker's competence. Coombs postulates the same abstract, deep-structure negation for all the languages and essentially the same transformational processes for surfacing with enough variation to account for the differences among the languages. The grammatical categories are compared for pattern, conditions, and the effects of ⟨+positive emphasis⟩ and ⟨+tautology⟩: including negated finite verbs, reinforcing morphemes or multiple grammatical negations, negated adverbs, and negated substantives. In "Beowulf Negative Indefinites: the Klima Hypothesis Tested" (Orbis 24, 417-25) she shows that the conventional surface distinction between qualitative and quantitative negation collapses. There is no doubt that with enough apparatus one will always be able to generate an infinite variety of surface occurrences from a single deep structure. In the opposite direction, we have a

study that claims that a single surface structure has three different meanings. T. Heltveit, in "Aspects of the Syntax of Quantifiers in Old English" (Norwegian Jnl of Ling. 31, 47-94), attempts to exhaust the evidence on quantifiers in certain combinations. When OE quantifiers like sum ān manig occur with a possessive, a genitive, or a demonstrative there are three different constructions: partitive genitive, the paraphrasis of the parative, and what he calls a concatenative construction (sume his men). The concatenative construction is presented as a structure independent of partitive constructions because of its high frequency and the parallels to be found in ON. While he may be right that they are different constructions, one can only hope that the syntactic and semantic significance of the difference will eventually become apparent.

C. V. Von Schon, in "The Origin of Phrasal Verbs in English" (SUNY Diss.), argues for a change from Gmc separable-prefix verb forms to verb plus adverbial particle in the 10th century. Limited evidence points to some validity, but actual principles of categorizations are problematic. D. Nehls in Synchronic-diachrone Untersuchungen zur Expanded Form in Englischen: eine struktural-funktionale Analyse tries to define a syntactico-semantic change for the verb system of English. The formally defined progressive (expanded form) in contemporary English exists not only in a semantically contrastive way with the simplex verb (non-expanded form), but sometimes the formal opposition indicates no substantial contrast, and sometimes represents non-contrastable differences. The expanded form can represent an aspect that is a temporal deixis, which is related to the event in the predication. Whether or not the author has established a taxonomy that will deal with both OE and ModE, one must be made nervous by the attempt to place the formally related structures of OE in the same categories as ModE. The paradigm, of course, appears deficient, but that might simply suggest that the paradigms are being defined in the wrong way (cf. Traugott's A History of English Syntax). As usual, evidence for the expanded form in OE is limited. Indeed, this part of the book is more an examination of G. Nickel's Die Expanded Form im Altenglisch than anything else. He finds Nickel's "durative arguments" exaggerated. Any work that models the OE forms and functions in a ModE mode will have the tinge of revisionist historicism that this book has. A more enterprising attack on the formal and functional relationship of the expanded tenses of OE itself is still needed for our field. K. A. Tandy's "Aspect and Ælfric" (University of California Diss.), is the bare beginning of an attempt to open up the significance of the formal properties in the semantics of verb forms. It is a study of aspect with very limited scope which makes some attempt to equate categories of aspect with stylistic and thematic matters.

J. M. de la Cruz, in "Context-sensitivity in Old and Middle English" (SAP 8, 3-43), actually displays most of the evidence used in a taxonomically motivated exploration of the grammatical contexts that determine word order for verbs and the "localizers of the class of adverbial particles." Four major contexts, dependent upon main/subordinate and finite/non-finite differentiations, are subcategorized to fifteen instances based upon categorizations that the author considers basic, like transitivity, questionization, or non-finite form. Despite the abundant use of alphas, betas, and sigmas, the work remains a matching of fifteen pattern types in some OE and ME data. One is always left with the question of whether such a non-generative procedure can address low frequency occurrences, but the effort is extensive. This reader can't summarize the import; apparently neither could the author -- but we are left with a hard-to-read chart, correlating

OE and ME patterns of these types. L. E. Breivik, in "A Note on the Genesis of Existential *there*" (*ESts* 58, 334-48), argues that the existential *there* in OE and ME does not exhibit the characteristics that many descriptions attribute to it historically. It exists simultaneously with the clearly locative OE *bær* in early OE, and there seems to be no semantic evidence that the existential one has any sense of "abstract location." Because the arguments are more often based on the fact that it is hard to determine the literal content of specific occurrences, there is really only enough evidence to question the predominant analyses as they now stand. L. V. Danyliuk's "Pro strukturu pryĭmennykovoho slovospoluchennia staroanhliĭs'koĭ movy" (*Inozemna Filolohiia* 42, 51-57) is summarized as follows: "Structure of the OE Prepositional Phrase": The article is aimed at the establishment of the structural pattern of the Old English prepositional phrase in keeping with structural and systematic nature of a language. The factors causing structural variation of analysed phrases are the essence of the article.

In "Old Northumbrian æw-Spellings for Original /ēo/+ /w/: Scribal Error or Vowel Change? Some Evidence from Modern Northern Dialects" (*ESts* 58, 289-95), K. Rydland rejects the æw-spellings in tenth-century Northumbrian texts as scribal errors for *ew* on the basis of /ɛu/ diphthongs in several modern northern dialects in the preterites of originally reduplicating verbs where /iu/ would be expected. He thus posits a sound change in which /ēo/ before /w/ became /æ/ before /w/ in the Northumbrian dialect by the tenth century. T. E. Toon's "The Variationist Analysis of Early Old English Manuscript Data" (*Current Progress in Historical Linguistics* [New York]) shows that the development of WGmc **a* before nasals in OE texts from 700-1000 A.D. represented by <a> or <o> is the result of phonological change rather than orthographic uncertainty. He argues the POE**a* changed to /ɔ/ spelled <o> in Mercian, and this sound change spread with Mercian political influence. J. R. Simon's "Sur quelques problèmes de phonologie vieil-anglaise" (*Tradition et innovation: littérature et paralittérature. Actes due Congrès de Nancy [1972]*) deals with the consonant system, the short diphthongs, and the rounded palatalized vowels of West Saxon OE in the tenth century. He reviews the literature concerning the various allophones or separate phonemes represented by the graphemes <h> , <c> , and <g> , the digraphs <eo> , <ea> , <io> , and <ie> , and the relationships among <y> , <i> , and <ie> ; however, he does not present any new hypotheses or even any strong support for older hypotheses. A. Danchev, in "On the Phonemic and Phonetic Values of the Short *ea* and *eo* Digraphs in Old English" (*Godishnik* 70, 33-88), provides a thorough survey of the previous literature on these digraphs and then concludes that both the "separate phonemes" and the "allophones" arguments are incorrect. Danchev's analysis is that the short digraphs represent a number of sounds, both diphthongs and monophthongs. He concludes that *ea* and *eo* are separate but "weak" phonemes in OE which form "group" phonemes with certain adjacent consonants, these group phonemes having the features of either velarization or palatalization. G. Kristenssen, in "A Case of the Role of Functional Load" (*Anglia* 95, 450-53), argues that the merger of /ø/ and /e/ came earlier in West Midland than the disappearance of the other front rounded vowels because there was so little functional load: that is, few things were differentiated by the opposition.

In "Indo-European *i* > Germanic *e*: an Explanation by the Laryngeal Theory" (*BGDSL* 99, 194-205, 333-58), L. A. Connolly focuses primarily on OHG data to support his hypothesis that this sound change occurred in NGmc and WGmc only if

the laryngeal was adjacent to the i, with OHG smid being the only exception. R. Lühr argues, in "Germanische Resonantengemination durch Laryngal" (MSzS 35, 73-92), that Proto-Gmc *-rr-, *-ll-, *-nn-, and *-mm- derive respectively from Proto-IE *-rh-, *-lh-, *-nh-, and *-mh-, with the *h being a consonantal representation of a laryngeal.

In "The Chronology and Status of Second Fronting" (ArL 8, 70-81), R. M. Hogg supports S. M. Kuhn's position that Mercian Second Fronting occurred chronologically after i-umlaut but before back mutation and smoothing and suggests that Second Fronting did not occur before a velarized /l/ ([ɫ]). T. E. Toon's "The Actuation and Implementation of an Old English Sound Change" (The Third LACUS Forum, 1976, p. 614-22) uses eight Anglian texts from the beginning of the eighth century to the end of the tenth to show how the OE loss of /h/ before /n/, /r/, /l/, and /w/ is reflected in the orthographic practices of the various scribes of the period. He suggests that the sound changes occur in one word at a time during the period and that it "may be proceeding according to grammatical category." He also posits the following hierarchy of environments before which the /h/ is lost: "n > r > l > w."

R. M. Hogg's "Old English r- Metathesis and Generative Phonology" (JL 13, 165-75) concludes that r- metathesis is not the result of a phonological rule but of a phonetic lapse of the tongue which occurs frequently and persists by being acquired by new generations. Hogg says that generative phonology is incapable of showing this kind of abrupt sound change. In "Marginal'hye zvukovye zakony" (Voprosy Iazykoznania 1974, p. 81-86), translated by I. A. Syzova, C. E. Bazell introduces the concept of a "marginal phonetic law" as a compromise between the rigidity of Neogrammarian laws and the traditional recourse to analogy to explain otherwise inexplicable forms involving long vowels resulting from compensatory lengthening. J. M. Anderson and C. Jones's Phonological Structure and the History of English (New York) uses distinctive feature rules in a "dependency phonology" to account for the phonology of OE and subsequent periods of the language. The model is applied specifically to ablaut, i-umlaut, syllabication, and vowel and consonant epenthesis among other sound changes.

In "Morphologically Conditioned Sound Change and OE Past Participles in -en" (GL 17, 76-91), A. L. Sihler proposes a type of sound change by which one sound is replaced by another but which cannot be explained except by reference to a particular morpheme and which is not the result of the influence of analogy to other morphemes. Specifically, he suggests that the phonological loss of OE -en in past participles when the verb root contains a post-vocalic nasal is a morphologically conditioned sound change rather than an analogical one. In "Fonetiko-morfologicheskie varianty v sisteme drevnegermanskogo glagola" (VMU 1976, p. 34-38), I. M. Trofimova cites the work of A. I. Smirnitski concerning phonetical-morphological variation in Gmc verb forms, including the shifting of strong verbs from one class to another in the various Gmc languages. D. Armborst argues, in "Evidence for Phonetic Weakening in Inflectional Syllables in Beowulf" (Leeds SE 9, 1-18), that the reduction of vowels in inflectional syllables was already occurring in the late tenth century, but he reaches no conclusion about whether the final nasals in inflectional syllables had also begun to disappear by then.

In "Osnova prezensa glagolov na -jan i status udlinennykh soglasnykh v zapadnogermanskom" (Voprosy Iazykoznaniia 1977, p. 78-88), M. V. Raevskii tries to reconstruct the stages of gemination of consonants before the -jan causative

suffix in WGmc and postulates the stage at which the -j- was vocalized to /I/ and caused i-umlaut before disappearing. His focus is on the alleged shift of the final root consonant from the end of the root syllable to the beginning of the following syllable. D. L. Malsch's "Syllable, Mora, and Length in the Development of English" (Current Progress in Historical Linguistics [New York]) argues that the entire syllables lengthen or shorten, not simply vowels. Malsch says that the vocalic nuclei are to be viewed either as single segments V or sequences of geminate segments VV rather than assigning a feature [+long]. He discusses compensatory lengthening, late OE consonant gemination, and OE epenthesis to illustrate OE syllable structure adjustment in terms of a consistent framework imposed by the principle of moric stability.

In "Afrykaty v istorii anhliĭs'koi fonolohichnoï systemy" (InozF 44, 3-8), V. P. Natal'in tries to show that the OE development of /č/ and /ǰ/ and the MnE development of the same affricates from the /t/ + /j/ and /d/ + /j/ sequences are examples of the same process. E. K. Yoder's "Germanic and Old English b and p as Developed from Proto-Indo-European: a Historical Reconstruction through Diachronic Phonological Frequency Analysis" (Univ. of South Florida Lang. Quarterly 16, 21-26) argues on statistical bases that PIE did not have a *b, that, in OE, non-initial b did not derive from PIE *bh and non-initial p did not derive from PIE *b, that non-initial Gmc b and p developed independently of PIE, but that, in OE, initial b reflects PIE *bh while initial p represents borrowing from non-Gmc languages. W. Blumbach's dissertation, "Studien zur Spirantisierung und Entspirantisierung altenglischer Konsonanten" (DAI 37C [1977], 464), shows that when the graphemes usually representing spirants and stops were replaced by other graphemes, the change sometimes represented a phonetic change, but not always.

R. Tow's "Old English Prosody and Descriptive Linguistics" (The Second LACUS Forum, 1975, pp. 605-12) presents the theory of OE prosody developed by the late H. L. Smith, Jr. It consists of three rules: there are at least two primary stressed syllables per half-line; there is at least one syllable in each half-line which has at least pitch /3/ and alliterates with at least one other such syllable in the other half-line; and there may be no more than eight syllables per half-line. Tow argues that Smith's theory more accurately describes OE prosody than either Sievers's or Keyser's theories.

Selected Writings in English and General Linguistics (Prague, The Hague, and Paris) by J. Vachek consists of a number of studies in phonology which have been published elsewhere from 1936 to 1972. While Vachek's focus tends to be on later periods of English, there are frequent references to OE phonology to explain subsequent phonological developments. J. B. Voyles's The Phonology of Old High German (ZDL, 18) focuses on the phonology in four MSS representing four OHG dialects. Voyles devotes a chapter to each of these dialects in which he provides a distinctive feature matrix for each phoneme, phonological rules, and morphological rules.

J.D.C. and M.M.

3. LITERATURE

a. General and Miscellaneous

Derek Pearsall's volume in the Routledge History of English Poetry, Old English and Middle English Poetry, will certainly fulfill its publisher's hope in becoming a standard reference for anyone interested in this field. The aim of the series is to treat only poetry, and to offer a fresh and modern -- yet authoritative -- perspective. Professor Pearsall achieves this and more. His remarks are almost always thoughtful and vigorous, and his first chapter, on "Beowulf and the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Tradition," is particularly stimulating. For example, his suggestion of an expansion of meaning from the Finnsburh fragment to the Finnsburh episode within the context of Beowulf is both enlightening and convincing, and serves as a model for discussing the interplay of pagan and Christian values.

Professor Pearsall seems to have decided that, in order to maintain the vigor and straightforwardness of his account, it was necessary to make some clear pronouncement on each poem. Needless to say, in a general work like this, such a policy will inevitably produce controversial judgments. His assertions that Beowulf's desire for the treasure "is geologically intrusive in the poem's structure," that in finding fault with Beowulf for this "We may be over-sensitive," that the similarities (and differences) between the pre-Christian and Christian values in the poem "once observed, can be forgotten," or that to detect dramatic ironies in the heroic epithets of Beowulf's speeches "is a gross indecorum in modern criticism" -- all such assertions are bound to cause some perplexity, if not outright disagreement. To dismiss "the proliferating fantasy of 'oral-formulaic' theory" by saying it "has not been a complete waste of time.... But the theory is irrelevant to most of the important questions about the poetry" is, in view of the quantities of ink spilled by critics already, to court controversy.

In his introduction, Professor Pearsall declares that one of the key questions for his book is, "By whom and for whom was [the poetry] written?" Professor Pearsall's iterated reply to this question is that "The great bulk of Anglo-Saxon poetry is... monastic in its every aspect...." Though he suggests that Beowulf is something of an exception, in the end he avers that this, too, "is the product of monastic culture"; if we find we "wish to resist such a conclusion, then probably what needs revising is not our sense of the poem, but our concept of monastic culture." Professor Pearsall takes some pains to offer an intelligent and erudite exposition of the proper concept; while it is not nearly so monolithic a framework as Robertsonian allegorism, there are nevertheless too many narrow passages to allow easy access. Moreover, in a number of cases Professor Pearsall seems to indulge in special pleading: he claims that the theme of God's protection in Exodus and Daniel is especially appropriate to a monastic community in difficulties, and, even in Maldon, he directs our attention to Byrhtnoð's stature, not first of all as heroic chief, but as "great monastic benefactor, celebrated almost to the point of sanctification."

While there is much that is right in Professor Pearsall's characterization of Anglo-Saxon culture, he often overstates his case. We can admit the centrality of doctrinal influence in The Dream of the Rood without having to conclude that the "geong hæleð" "certainly... has nothing to do with Germanic heroic tradition." Similarly, Professor Pearsall emphasizes the common monastic

context of OE religious poetry so fully that he almost ends by declaring most of the writing commonplace and dull: "Cynewulf is the monastic craftsman par excellence"; "Christ II is a skillful professional piece of work"; the homiletic poems have a "routine quality" as "craftsmanlike, unspectacular productions within a well-established monastic tradition." In such descriptions, the framework seems to wag the poetry, as it were.

Professor Pearsall organizes his discussions mainly around manuscript collections. Such an approach -- favored by a number of recent critics such as Wells and Hall -- in itself produces a number of new insights about the poetry, and it offers aid in the pursuit of "By whom and for whom was it written?" The disadvantage is that this arrangement somewhat hinders discussions of genre as well as thematic and other comparative considerations. On the whole, however, the reader gains rather than loses, for he receives some sense of how the original audience took their poetry. The lateness of the four chief poetic manuscripts notwithstanding (and see N. F. Blake's arguments, below), Professor Pearsall posits that almost all the accomplished poetry was composed between 700 and 850. Moreover, he sees a cyclic pattern in the development of OE poetry that leads him to regard everything written after 850 as in process of decline. Thus, the gnomic poems and riddles -- whose meaning and appeal recent criticism has in part restored -- "can only be regarded as débris or spoil-heaps of the manastic tradition," the compost out of which ME poetry grows. Likewise, Alfred (and Ælfric after him) becomes something of a villain because his program for broader literacy "was accompanied by a steady devaluation of the native poetic tradition." One wonders whether the course of history -- even literary history -- is so clear cut.

This list of reservations and alternative viewpoints may give the impression that there is much to react against in Professor Pearsall's book -- as indeed there is, but only in the most favorable sense. The list shows how well he succeeds in conveying to the reader that OE poetry was meant to be taken seriously, that it should arouse feeling and make its readers think, and sometimes disagree. His history makes pleasurable as well as informative reading; though his comments are stimulating, each judgment reflects learning and thoughtfulness. It should also be pointed out that the volume has been handsomely produced. There is no bibliography, but the book does contain extensive notes and a full index. Professor Pearsall's book will surely earn lasting recognition.

Several essays also address larger issues and general subjects. Michael Swanton, in "Heroes, Heroism, and Heroic Literature" (Essays & Studies 30, 1-21), has written a widely allusive and provocative consideration of the heroic code. This is clearly not intended for beginners, for he offers no footnotes or other references. He emphasizes continuities in ideals and behavior across cultural boundaries and time, and he attempts to specify the particular features of the heroic: a hero without national identity, concern with the fate of an individual rather than a people, reduction of action to the level of the comitatus, an interest in "the possibilities open to the human spirit," particular attention to the hero's death, consciousness of the crushing "facts of reality," a setting within the twilight of a culture, defiance of inevitable defeat and death, and recognition of conflict between the source of strength and the source of authority. One of the more controversial parts of Swanton's argument will be his arguing for a close connection between the heroic code and Pelagianism, which he

characterizes as a form of "'protestant' free thought" and a typically British "temperamental and institutional issue."

Several articles take an approach that differs from Swanton's in emphasizing the Latin background of OE literature. Professor W. F. Bolton, in "Alcuin and Old English Poetry" (YES 7, 10-22), argues that we must appreciate the coherence of Anglo-Saxon culture, and he takes as his illustration connections between the Latin writings of Alcuin and The Wanderer, The Seafarer, The Dream of the Rood, The Husband's Message, and Genesis B. Bolton shows that through careful study a reader of OE poetry may discover -- even in so great a writer as Alcuin -- both striking parallels and more general commonplaces that have not previously been noted. Moreover, noting such connections in contemporary writers not only reinforces our sense of cultural unity, but also gives a much sounder basis for interpretation than resort to patristic or continental writers. Two notes support Professor Bolton's point, at least about the connections between OE and Latin writing. O. Arngart, in "Further Notes on the Durham Proverbs" (E St 58, 101-04), offers a supplement of sorts to his own edition of the Durham Proverbs (1956), supplying further analogues from Latin, OI, other English collections, and so on. E. R. Anderson (N&Q 24, 102-03), suggests that ch. 63 of The Benedictine Rule is the source for the injunction in Proverbs of Alfred, no. 31, to sit beside the elder and attend his wisdom. Finally, in a review article, Milton McC. Gatch evaluates the work that has already been done on the liturgy and OE writings, and along the way he points out how inadequate our perception of even the problems has been. He demonstrates the richness of the field, and invites workers, but he also warns of the tangles and pitfalls that have frustrated research on liturgics.

In another review essay, "The Dating of Old English Poetry," Professor N. F. Blake (Miscellany ... W.S. Mackie, 14-27) shows himself an exception to Professor Pearsall's assertion that "no one would seriously question... that the corpus of Old English poetry... was mostly composed in the eighth and early ninth centuries." Professor Blake begins by emphasizing the many uncertainties involved in questions of dating. He argues that the work of Ælfric and Wulfstan shows that poetry was a living force in the tenth century, and that therefore "the bulk of the extant poetry was not very old by the end of the tenth century." He regards the lack of poetical influence on Alfredian prose as evidence that the two served different ends, or as evidence that the poetry was composed later. He connects the motive for the compilation of the four poetical codices with the Alfredian program for the spread of learning. He argues that Genesis B may have been done before the composition of Genesis A, and that both may thus be dated around 900. Professor Blake concludes that, granted the many difficulties involved in dating, it is possible to connect "classic OE poetry" with the work of Alfred, and to date the poems as late ninth / early tenth centuries.

A number of articles and one book consider particular themes or separate subjects that are related to OE literature. Nicolas Kiessling, in The Incubus in English Literature, offers a brief survey, including a half dozen various illustrations, of the incubus's shady activities. Chapters tend to be brief: five pages on "The Germanic North," six pages on "Paracelsus to Pope." Much of the analysis relies upon anthologized translations, excerpts from works like Lea's History of the Inquisition, encyclopedias, and semi-popular works. As a result, treatment tends to be anecdotal, and the links between some episodes and ideas seem tenuous. Is the fairy king in Sir Orfeo a genuine incubus, or

Sir Bertilak's wife really a succubus? The scorpion-woman of Richard Rolle is not a succubus, but part of a coherent literary tradition that occurs, e.g., in the Ancrene Riwle (see H. A. Kelly, Viator 2 [1971],309 ff.). Dr. Kiessling's main argument about OE literature -- that Grendel was a transitional figure in the metamorphosis "From Monster to Sex Demon" -- rests upon reading mĕre for mēre at 11. 103 and 762 of Beowulf (see MP 65 [1968] for full presentation). He also suggests that the name Grendel (grindan) is equivalent to mĕre(<mar, to crush). In discussing these questions he makes no reference to Tolkien on Grendel and his titles (appendix to "The Monsters and the Critics"). This quick history of the nightmare nonetheless makes interesting reading.

Bernice Kliman, in "Women in Early English Literature, 'Beowulf' to the 'Ancrene Wisse'" (Nott. Med. St. 21, 32-49), sets up a contrast between admiration for women as peaceweavers in the heroic code, and "Pauline rabbinicism" that is actively hostile to sexuality in general and women in particular. This framework is then applied to Beowulf, Judith, Genesis B, and the Ancrene Wisse. There seems some question about the applicability of these polarized abstractions, and little attempt is made to explore notions about spirituality that are contemporary with the literary works. The method nonetheless yields some novel results. Loren C. Gruber, in "The Rites of Passage: Hávamál, stanzas 1-5," (Scan. St. 49, 330-40) makes passing reference to OE maxims in his discussion of birth and death, and poetical understanding, as "passages." H. E. Kylstra, in Iceland and the Medieval World: Studies... Ian Maxwell (Victoria, Aus., 1974), attempts to define the distinctions and differences in brewed beverages, particularly ale and hopped beer, and, in OE, ealu, beor, and medu. Although he traces the history of these words, he makes little allusion to their cultural significance.

Another group of studies deals mainly with matters of style and composition. In Bibeldichtung: Studien zur Bibelparaphrase (1975), Dieter Kortschoke briefly surveys Germanic scriptural poetry, including a glance at Cædmon and a section of Genesis B that precedes the discussion of the Heliand. Kortschoke offers an excellent summary of German scholarship and relates this to research in English in a volume intended as an introductory handbook. Edward R. Haymes's Das mündliche Epos provides an overview of the development of the Parry-Lord theory and of its application to national literatures of various periods (see his bibliography, section 1 above). Haymes uses OE scholarship as one model to indicate the general implications of the theory. The sheer bulk of the research covered here demonstrates that it cannot be dismissed in the way that Professor Pearsall, among others, would like. Haymes's suggestions for further research have mainly to do with the social dimensions of literacy, and with the place of formulaic composition in a literate culture. Richard C. Payne. in "Formulaic Poetry in Old English and Its Backgrounds" (Stud. Med. Cult.11, 41-49), marshalls a variety of evidence -- most of which has been discussed extensively elsewhere -- to prove that oral tradition continued to influence OE poetry in the tenth century and after. Though he works from different evidence and assumptions, his conclusion resembles Professor Pearsall's -- namely, that surviving OE poetry originated in the monasteries, with monastic singers and audiences. Joshua H. Bonner, in "Toward a Unified Critical Approach to Old English Poetical Composition" (MP 73 [1976],219-28), compares oral-formulaic against Latin rhetorical explanations of the origins of OE poetry. He points out that within the curriculum figures of speech are, strictly understood, part of grammatical and not rhetorical study. Admitting the absence of documentary support, he suggests that characteristic figures and word combinations in OE may have arisen through traditional

training in Latin grammar. Bonner thus rejects the influence of oral poetry (misquoting D. K. Fry's definition of formula as "a group of works...."), and argues for increased emphasis upon "grammar, syntax, and word placement" in the study of OE poetics. And finally, Alain Renoir, in "The Armor of the Hildebrandslied" (NM 78, 389-95), argues that the conformity of ll. 45-48 of the Hildebrandslied to the hero-on-the-beach type scene, defined by Fry and others, eliminates the need some have seen for emendation in these lines.

Another series of articles considers questions of meter. Fritz W. Schulze (in Kritische Bewahrung: Festschrift . . . Werner Schröder [Berlin, 1974]) discusses the metrical and semantic significance of repetition of sounds from verse to verse. He begins with a review of earlier scholarship, and, for OE, takes his quotations chiefly from Beowulf, though The Ruin and The Seafarer are also mentioned. He compares such repetitions with Latin verse, and takes some account of formulaic theory. Schulze's main emphasis falls upon the question of how technical artistry can contribute to meaning. Hoyt Duggan, in "Strophic Patterns in Middle English Alliterative Poetry" (MP 74, 223-47) argues that many ME alliterative poems are deliberately divided into strophic units; some,like Patience and St. Erkenwald, show quatrain division, but the norm for such strophes is twenty-four lines. Though Duggan makes clear that he assumes a continuity between OE and ME alliterative verse, he finds no parallels in OE (Seasons of Fasting and the Creed Poem notwithstanding). He speculates that the performance of Scandinavian poetry in England during the late OE and early ME periods might account for the introduction of this feature into ME verse. Richard H. Osberg, in "The Alliterative Lyric and Thirteenth-Century Devotional Prose" (JEGP 76, 40-54), also examines the continuity of OE and ME, in particular the application of OE metrical rules to later alliterative poetry, the links in prose tradition, and the similarities between poetry and prose in late OE and early ME -- the last point one that has recently been emphasized as well by Elizabeth Salter and others. Finally, Rae Ann Nager (Style 11, 136-70) offers a continuation of the bibliography she compiled in Versification: Major Language Types (1972). The listing is arranged by topic (Prose Rhythm, Verse and Music, and so on) and period (including OE).

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T.G.H.

b. Individual Poems

Marie Michelle Walsh's "The Baptismal Flood in the Old English 'Andreas': Liturgical and Typological Depths" (Traditio 33, 137-58) is an extensive and penetrating study of baptismal typology in the poem, noting that while Andreas retains in its narrative structure essentially the same sequence of events as do other recensions of the legend, "in the flood passages... the Old English poet seems to have developed scriptural and liturgical connotations far more fully than the earlier redactors had done." Walsh offers a detailed analysis of the roles of Moses, Josue, and Tobias in the baptismal framework and proceeds from there to an exploration of the causal connection between baptism and the resurrection of the "geogoðe" through "fæder fulwiht" near the end of the poem.

Robert C. Rice's "The Penitential Motif in Cynewulf's Fates of the Apostles and in his Epilogues" (ASE 6, 105-19) suggests that the basic theme of The Fates of the Apostles, "a penitential meditation in which the glory of the apostles is used as a bright background against which the darkness of the poet's--and, by extension, the reader's--spiritual condition and uncertain fate stand out in painful clarity," reappears as a motif linking Cynewulf's epilogues in the other signed poems. Rice offers both a sensitive reading of Fates in this meditational context, with ample supporting evidence from the penitential tradition, and a persuasive demonstration of the reappearance of the motif in the epilogues to Elene, Juliana, and Christ II, together with a suggestion that the runic signatures in each poem further recapitulate the theme of the epilogues. Warren Ginsberg, in "Cynewulf and his Sources: The Fates of the Apostles" (NM 78, 108-14) offers fruitful evidence for Cynewulf's use of onomastics with regard to the names of Thomas and John.

In "Exemplum and Refrain: the Meaning of Deor"(YES 7, 1-9), Jerome Mandel offers a detailed reading of the poem which explores the relations between the exempla and the refrain, with particular attention to the referents of þæs and þisses. Having attempted to identify the precise referents (conservatively, and with good results), Mandel then suggests that such precise identification tends to restrict the poem: "the refrain is the poem, the exempla merely flesh, the incarnation of idea in specific form (and therefore limiting)." This thoughtful essay reflects a thorough grasp on the extensive published criticism of the poem and provides several solid new contributions to our understanding of it. Thomas T. Tuggle, in "The Structure of Deor" (SP 74, 229-42), views the four sections of the poem as representative of four poetic modes: the heroic, the historic, the philosophical, and the elegiac. In passing he suggests, among other things, that mæð hilde means "harvest of battle." Using that metaphor and accepting Tupper's identification of the Geat as Niðhad, he translates:

> The harvest of battle we learned from many
> boundless became the passion of Geat
> so that from him sore love stole sleep entirely.

In "The Theme of Spiritual Warfare in the Old English Judith (PQ 55 [1976], 1-9), John P. Hermann views the theme of spiritual warfare as a controlling principle underlying several aspects of the characterization and selection of narrative elements in the poem. The battle scene, he argues, is not technical incompetence but rather a presentation of the conflict sub specie allegoriae.

Hermann notes that earlier patristic commentaries dealt with the story of Judith on the moral level, but those of the 7th-10th centuries emphasized the allegorical level, ecclesia against diabolus. The battle, then, shows "the conquest by members of Ecclesia of all the forces which weaken the living body of the Lord."

Brian Lee's "Spes viva: Structure and Meaning in The Seafarer" (in An English Miscellany Presented to W. S. Mackie, ed. Brian S. Lee; pp. 28-45) attempts to view the poem in its own right, apart from The Wanderer, suggesting that the "imaginative unity of The Seafarer consists in its basically metaphoric mode, viz., the juxtaposition of figurative perspective and homiletic ambiguity." Lee suggests a quadripartite organization for the poem, which develops "a central paradox between appearance and reality which has its germ in the poem's sea images." Too complex for brief summary, the essay is nonetheless logically and sensibly argued and worthy of serious attention. Neal Hultin's "The External Soul in 'The Seafarer' and 'The Wanderer'" (Folklore 88, 39-45) asserts that in Seafarer 58-64 and Wanderer 41-44 "the emphasis upon birds and movement... suggests that the poet had the actual flight of the soul in mind and not a metaphorical flight of memory," noting that movement "in the spirit" takes place in a number of saints' lives (Furseus in the Old English Martyrology and in Bede), and in Gregory's account of Benedict in book two of the Dialogues. Hultin adds several other pieces of evidence from the Christian tradition and concludes that the evidence "cannot make possible a bold declaration that the lines in these two poems refer only to a movement of the external soul and not to the psychological movement of the mind or the activity of memory... but that such a reading is possible, and even, perhaps, likely." G. Storms's "Notes on Old English Poetry" (Neophilologus 61, 439-42), deals first with ne his myne wisse of Beowulf 169b and mine wisse of Wanderer 27b, suggesting that the direct object of myne wisse is the preceding genitive his (translating "nor did he care for it"), and that the syntax is similar in The Wanderer. He explains the absence of the genitive object min with the assumption that myne had an unrounded vowel in the text copied by the scribe of the Exeter Book, as it does in the Exeter text. Storms's second note, on wyrmlicum fah, Wanderer 98b, suggests that a laudatory epithet expressing admiration for serpentine decoration is out of keeping in a poem about the transience of earthly things: "it is not the beauty of the wall, its decorative pattern, that one expects to hear about, but its crumbling, its decay...." Storms goes on to suggest that the serpentine patterns are the cracks which originate when "the gales, rains, and frosts start to have their effect even on the strongest and highest walls.... What the Old English poet is saying is: All that remains to remind us of the dear trusted retainers is a lofty but crumbling wall." A different view of the same crux is offered by Tony Millns in "The Wanderer 98: 'weal wundrum heah wyrmlicum fah'" (RES 28, 431-38). After a detailed survey of earlier opinion, Millns suggests that "the most striking serpentine shapes visible in pre-Anglo-Saxon remains in Britain are those produced by herring-bone masonry in Roman walls." Joyce M. Hill's "'þis deade lif'" a Note on The Seafarer, Lines 64-66" (ELN 15, 95-97), demonstrates that the phrase reflects the homiletic tradition, with examples from the Liber Scintillarum and several Old English homilies.

Thomas D. Hill, in "The Æcerbot Charm and Its Christian User" (ASE 6, 213-21), attempts "to take the charm at its face value as a real expression of the Volksgeist of at least the late Old English period" and to show that the attempt to make an originally pagan agricultural rite Christian had a sound theological basis. Hill offers a wide range of parallel symbols and illustrative material (far too much to summarize here) to explicate particularly difficult passages in the poem, to

interpret the symbolism in the charm, and to provide a rationale for the actions and prayers which it contains. This is a learned and stimulating article, the fullest and best yet on this particular poem. Winifred Nöth, in "Semiotics of the Old English Charm" (Semiotica 19, 59-83), deals with the charms against disease, with special attention to the semiotic and pragmatic framework. The article contains interesting observations on magic as a semiotic pathology, and magic which is inherent in language as opposed to magic reported by means of language.

In "Structure in the Cotton Gnomes" (NM 78, 244-49), Nigel F. Barley explains the structure of the maxims as a single conscious literary effort "using associated groups of ideas, switching from one group to another, either by means of an element that is a member of both groups or by simple opposition." In an essay larger in scope, Loren C. Gruber addresses "The Agnostic Anglo-Saxon Gnomes: Maxims I and II, Germania, and the Boundaries of Northern Wisdom" (Poetica [Tokyo] 6 [Autumn 1976], 22-47. Gruber contends that the two sets of Old English maxims operate from two different perspectives: "Maxims I likely contain pre-Christian, Christian, and philosophical assertions containing the operations of the universe. Maxims II, while stemming from a similar admixture of perspectives, is nevertheless an aesthetic and agnostic survey of many natural and supernatural processes whose significance is never revealed." Although a section on the gnomic statements in Tacitus's Germania is less convincing than the rest, this long but gracefully written study deserves the attention of serious students of Old English proverbial and wisdom literature. In "I cosidetti 'Versi Gnomici' del Codice Exoniense e del Ms. Cotton Tiberius B I: una ricerca bibliografica" (AION 20, sez. germanica, Filologia germanica, 281-314), Patrizia Lendinara offers a full and useful bibliography, partially annotated, for the Cotton and Exeter Maxims. The 196 items are divided into three sections: (1) manuscripts, transcriptions, reproductions and editions; (2) translations; and (3) critical studies.

Traugott Lawler's artful and informative essay, "Brunanburh; Craft and Art" (in Literary Studies: Essays in Memory of Francis A. Drumm, Worcester, Mass.: Holy Cross College, 1973, pp. 52-67), begins with a persuasive plea to avoid the usual critical comparisons between Brunanburh and Maldon since the two belong to different genres. From there he proceeds to explicate Brunanburh as a panegyric poem which successfully uses a synthetic style in which craftmanship on the battlefield finds its counterpart in the craftmanship of the poet. Lawler explores perceptively a number of associative patterns and images which lead to a conclusion that "the imagery not only operates in a patterned, artful fashion, but establishes art as a subject of the poem." In conclusion, he notes that "the poem is a notably successful example of its genre, a genre that by its nature is not capable of powerful emotion or deep human insight, but moves us rather, as this poem shows, by the pure power of art." John McKinnell's "On the Date of The Battle of Maldon" (MÆ 44 [1975], 121-36), attempts to determine the date at which eorl is first used as the usual title of an English nobleman in order to arrive at a terminus a quo for the dating of the poem. McKinnell notes that the early uses of the term refer only to Danes, and that datable written sources indicate that eorl was not used throughout England as a title until the reign of Cnut. He suggests, therefore, that a date of about or after 1020 is more reasonable than the end of the tenth century, and goes on to suggest how a late dating would make a number of other details in the poem easier to understand. Joseph Harris, in "Stemnettan: Battle of Maldon, Line 122a" (PQ 55 [1976], 113-17), offers an attractive case for translating the unique word "to stop (talking)", based on (1) its context in the

poem, (2) etymological probability, and (3) its occurrence (steuentiδ se stille) in the Middle English Life of St. Katherine.

In "Christian Inversion in The Wife's Lament" (SN 49, 19-24), Alain Renoir argues that the speaker's presumed husband's "mode of operation undergoes a radical change from a vigorously active control over the main events in the first forty-one lines to a passive acceptance of an unpleasant situation in the concluding section." This inversion, he suggests, reminds one of the New Testament assertion that the Lord "deposuit potentes de sede (Luke 1, 52)," and the inversion influences the response to the poem, regardless of the particular interpretation to which we subscribe. J. R. Hall's "Perspective and Wordplay in the Old English Rune Poem" (Neophilologus 61, 453-60) demonstrates that the poet "uses wordplay, antithesis, and ambiguity to challenge the reader to enlarge his perspective and deepen his sensitivity to the world in which he lives, moves, and has being." There are some useful insights into oferhyrned, δorn, rad, and treow. In "Solomon and Saturn (II), 339A: niehtes wunde" (ELN 14, 161-64), John P. Hermann offers the sensible suggestion that the perplexing phrase is simply a combination of the notion of the synna wunde (suggested by Menner) and the frequent Biblical association of night and darkness with sin, particularly in the Pauline epistles. Harry A. Kavros, in "A Note on Wulf and Eadwacer" (ELN 15, 83-84), suggests that the variation in the poem's refrain (ungelic, adj., in the first instance; ungelice, adv., in the second) parallels the emotional attitude of the speaker: "the progression from adjective to adverb heightens the sense of the speaker's oppression; the progression from 'we are different' to 'things go differently with respect to us' is a progression from descriptive tone to a tone which suggests a lack of control over the action." In "The Old English Resignation and the Benedictine Reform" (NM 78, 18-23), Thomas H. Bestul points to a movement toward more internalized Christianity which developed fully in the 11th and 12th centuries and suggests that the poet used the conventional themes of the elegy subjectively to give his work a satisfactory coherence.

T. E. Pickford's "An Edition of Vainglory" (Parergon 10 [1974], 1-40) is a workmanlike, conservative effort which contributes little new in the way of textual criticism or interpretation but which synthesizes effectively the earlier criticism and recent work on the poem by Regan and Huppé. The University of Exeter has issued a welcome revised reprinting of Kemp Malone's edition of Deor, with a new bibliography.

J.B.T.

The riddles continue to enjoy considerable attention. Under review this year are studies of notable diversity: a proposed methodology, new solutions and line-readings, an inquiry into riddle-grouping, a translation of some vulgar riddles, a research bibliography, and a new edition. In "A Generative Method for the Study of Anglo-Saxon Riddles" (SMC 11, 33-39), Gregory K. Jember seeks "to provide a methodology which will register alternatives to exclusively empirical thinking and which will open up fuller possibilities of interpretation." In the first part of the essay, the author, repeating much of what he had said in the introduction to The Old English Riddles: A New Translation (1976), asserts that Anglo-Saxon culture, as a society emerging from primitivism, perceived the world symbolically -- a conceptual mode that should be taken into account to insure a proper understanding of the riddles. Jember proposes a generative approach, the explanation of which is best left to his own words as he brings the method to bear on riddle 60: "... whereas the empirical solutions 'cross,' 'cup,' 'reed flute,' 'reed pen,' and 'kelp weed' are mutually exclusive and yet individually defensible, the generative solution 'Revenant or Spirit' is inclusive and defensible. This solution abstracts, incorporates, and unifies the physical, religious, and homological essence of the other solutions: briefly, the life after death signified in Christian terms by the cross, the idea of containment symbolized by the cup, the mouthless speech of both flute and pen, the magical power of runic writing, and the animism in the vegetable world. Thus the value of the generative reading is that it provides a touchstone by which to determine the general acceptability of specific empirical solutions." Some of those who understand Jember's anthropological literary criticism better than I may well find it a brilliant analytical tool. But for me -- beset by the unholy suspicion that a generative solution, whatever the author's intent, is really a subjective solution competing with and itself generated by the empirical solutions it is supposed to gauge -- Jember's approach compounds the difficulty, adding to the challenge of understanding ancient riddles the problem of understanding a modern methodology designed to help solve them. In "Riddle 57: A New Proposal" (In Geardagum II, 68-73), Jember argues, but without benefit of generative terminology, that the dark little noisy creatures that fly in swarms over country and town are demons. Although he overlooks some useful evidence (e.g., three of the fallen angels on p. 16 of Junius 11 are dark little devils) and quite overstates the "demonic resonances" of the diction, his solution is plausible, if somewhat less convincing than "swallows," the best previous solution. Perhaps Riddle 57, like the erotic riddles, was meant to have two rather different answers, each valid, depending on one's sensibilities.

The same sort of response may be true of Riddle 53, the usual solution to which is "battering ram" but which F. H. Whitman, "Significant Motifs in Riddle 53" (MÆ 46, 1-11), solves as "cross." Although lines 11b-13 receive no discussion and pose a problem (as they do for other readings), Whitman's solution seems at least as convincing as the standard one. The author's frequent use of evidence postdating the time of the poem's composition, however, needlessly undercuts the effectiveness of his argument. By coincidence, John Miles Foley, "Riddles 53, 54, and 55: An Archetypal Symphony in Three Movements" (SMC 10, 25-31), also offers "cross" as a new solution to riddle 53, though he retains "battering ram" as the answer to the second half of the poem (8b-13). Foley's answers to the other two riddles -- "butter making"/"love making" (54), and "cross-gallows" (55) -- are not new. It is not his aim to put forward new solutions, however, but to demonstrate the existence of a special genre, the

archetypally unified riddle-group: "... riddles fifty-three through fifty-five describe through three distinctly different metaphors precisely one archetypal process -- the act of entry and impregnation." As to who was responsible for the grouping, a single poet or a redactor, Foley is not prepared to decide. Although such an approach to the riddles seems promising, the present argument is questionable. Even assuming that the second part of riddle 53 should be solved as "battering ram" (instead of Whitman's "cross"), it does not appear legitimate to speak of the ram's plundering the hoard as an act of impregnation. The poet uses no such image, though he does implicitly refer to entry. Consider also the evidence Foley offers on behalf of his unifying theme in riddle 55: "The central process of the poem is once again entry and impregnation, in this case the penetration of heaven's enclosure by the redemptive emblem of the cross and the impregnation of God's kingdom with the saved souls of men: 'ond rode tacn, þæs us to roderum up / hlædre rærde' (5a-6a). The archetypal pattern here generates a spiritual fertilization in Christian metaphor." To equate raising a ladder up to heaven (cf. Gen. 28:12) with impregnating God's kingdom with human souls is, I think, to indulge in some fanciful critical algebra. The only images of fecundity in riddles 53 and 55 seem to derive from Foley's engagingly fertile imagination. Yet his article is well worth reading for its discussion of riddle 54, in which he proposes that the riddler's joint portrayal of the making of love and of butter was intended as more than a casual jest: "... it may be that the riddle, instead of expounding one level of interpretation through and at the relative expense of the other, was celebrating both levels and the sameness of the two processes.... The act of entry and impregnation and the making of butter are seen as inseparable mirror-images of each other and are represented as such by the binary nature of each 'clue.'"

It would have been happy to have had Foley's remarks appended to Kevin Crossley-Holland's most recent translation of OE poetry, "Seven Questionable Riddles" (Ambit 71, 26-34). As translated, the riddles (25, 44, 45, 54, 61, 62, 37) are questionable only in a transferred sense of the word since the answer to each is, obviously, erotic. In fact, in Crossley-Holland's version, reinforced by Ralph Stedman's illustrations of phalli in various guises, the solution is obvious to a fault; the poet translates to exclude all but the erotic dimension. (The illustrator too is preoccupied; his fifth picture misconceives the erotic referent in the text.) Not that there is any reason to be solemn about these exuberant riddles. But a translation that gives no hint that most of the poems possess another dimension -- that they have some complexity -- is to that extent a mistranslation.

Patrizia Lendinara, "Ags. wlanc: alcune annotazioni" (AION 19, sez. germanica, Filologia germanica [1976], 53-81), observes that in some of the riddles wlanc, as a simplex or in compounds, has the connotation "lustful." Although the general point has been made before, as the author acknowledges, Lendinara refines the argument, noting how poets exploit this aspect of the word to humorous or ironic effect in riddles both erotic and non-erotic. The author goes on to examine the use of wlanc in other riddles, where the term may refer to religious ardor, vainglory, courage, desire, or spiritedness. In another section of her paper, Lendinara proposes two new readings. In riddle 73, line 2a, she rejects the standard emendation heofonwolcen in favor of MS heofon wlonc. Lendinara would have the riddle-speaker, referring to its earlier life as a tree, say that it was fed by "earth and splendid heaven," instead of by "earth and heaven-cloud." Although the MS form yields a less direct image in the immediate context, the notion of "splendid heaven" helps to underline the contrast between the tree's

presumably happy natural state and its later life as a weapon. Since the trade-off in sense seems about equal, and since the MS reading claims scribal authority, Lendinara's retention of wlonc is reasonable. In her second new reading the author proposes at line 26 in Riddle 84 the emendation wolcnum getenge for MS wloncum getenge, a phrase following the description of water as wynsum wuldorgimm. Lendinara, suggesting that the poet alludes to a rainbow, would construe the line as emended: Water "is a radiant, glorious jewel near the clouds." If the MS form is kept, the line would read (as in W.S. Mackie's rendering): "She is a fair glorious jewel at hand for brave men." Lendinara's emendation improves, I think, the sense of the line. Another contribution by the same author is her "Gli enigmi del Codice Exoniense: una ricerca bibliografica" (AION 19, sez. germanica, Filologia germanica [1976], 231-329.) Lendinara lists entries chronologically under three headings: I. manuscript, transcriptions, reproductions, editions (nos. 1-38); II. translations (nos. 39-71); III. criticism (nos. 72-351). The bibliography also includes a section on work in progress (nine entries), an index listing under the number of each riddle the numbers of the several bibliographical entries pertaining to it, a brief essay on the diversity of riddles in the Exeter Book, and two appendices: one a bibliography of the Leiden Riddle, the other a bibliography (not exhaustive) of the OE prose riddle in MS Cot. Vit. E xviii, fol. 16^{v} (Ker no. 224s). Lendinara annotates most entries in regard to the riddles which are treated, and often makes pithy substantive comments as well (occasionally adding further information in a footnote). The bibliography contains citations from 1976, but the effective cut-off date is 1974, since several publications from 1975-76 are not included. Otherwise, there seem to be no obvious omissions of published works, although some entries had to be belatedly interpolated into the original numbering, and dissertations are almost wholly ignored. With a few exceptions (e.g., the confusing treatment of the Chambers-Förster-Flower facs. ed. of the Exeter Book, pp. 242, 293), the entries are edited clearly and logically; transcription and printing are accurate (but nos. 309 and 351 contain misprints or misspellings, and part of the annotation to no. 348 should read "n. 73, v. 2"). If there is a conceptual flaw in the bibliography, it lies in the cross-referencing, which, while extensive, is less useful than it could have been. For example, Moritz Trautmann's 1915 edition of the riddles appears in part I (no. 23), accompanied by a brief remark; but Lendinara makes no mention there of her more detailed annotation (an unnumbered entry) on Trautmann's solutions, which appears in part III (p. 285). Similarly, since the cross-referencing operates backward but not forward, the reader interested in reviews of Trautmann is left to compile his own list by scanning entries from 1915 onward. Such criticism is, of course, slight compared to the value of Lendinara's bibliography, whose index alone should save scholars many hours.

Easily the most distinguished contribution to riddle-study for the year -- and perhaps for many years -- is Craig Williamson's edition, The Old English Riddles of the Exeter Book (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press). In his introduction Williamson discusses (without advancing new theories) the date, dialect, and authorship of the riddles; he examines MS punctuation, displaying the data on accents, small capitals, and simple points in separate appendices; he sketches the tradition of earlier scholarship and offers an analysis of the riddle as a literary genre that embodies a particular mode of perception. On the pages containing the text of the riddles, Williamson often provides, along with the MS form of emended words, a brief paleographical note. Most emendations and paleographical notes are accorded additional attention in Notes and Commentary. In

this section (277 pages) the author discusses solutions in detail, translates various difficult lines, and comments on such matters as grammar and meter. The edition contains a complete glossary and a lengthy selected bibliography. Williamson's book is a fine example of scholarship. The prose, while frequently pedestrian, is never obscure. The criticism of earlier readings, while sometimes peremptory, is nearly always discriminating and often wry. Whether proposing a new solution -- he offers twelve -- or explaining the riddler's use of runes, Williamson operates with a sure hand, drawing upon modern works of archaeology and natural history as well as upon medieval works of literature and lore. He bestows lavish care upon the MS, as witness his meticulous study of pointing, his thorough investigation of marginalia, and his inclusion of 38 photographs of the codex or the facsimile (plus one of an early transcription). Williamson's energetic attention to the MS lends authority to his occasional departures from it. For example, he goes beyond other editors and against paleographical evidence, and convincingly reads Riddles 75 and 76 (Krapp and Dobbie) as one poem, for which he offers an irreverent solution. (This and other changes yield for Williamson a riddle-count of 91; Krapp and Dobbie count 95.) The edition is not above criticism. To mention three different kinds: the treatment of the language of the Exeter Book lacks rigor; the answer "Web and Loom" (Wulflys) to the Latin riddle (90 in Krapp and Dobie; 86 in Williamson) seems desperate; and the table of solutions, alphabetically arranged, is much less useful than W. S. Mackie's table (1934), arranged according to riddle-number. But such shortcomings are quite overshadowed by the many virtues in this intelligible and intelligent edition.

Among the recent scholarship on the poems in MS. Junius 11 are two critical editions and five shorter studies. In "Genesis A, 1698b" (Explicator 35, 16-17), J. R. Hall agrees that the earlier glosses "disunited" or "without nationality" to the uniquely occurring ungeþeode, used to describe the builders of the Tower of Babel, are defensible. He points out, however, that, since geþeode is a standard OE term for "language," ungeþeode may also be construed as "un-languaged, without a language," a meaning suited to the context. "Coupled with the other meanings of ungeþeode, this sense allows the poet to capture, in a word, both the result and cause of the people's dispersal. They are disunited, their nationality dissolved, because they have no common tongue." In the second part of his note, he contrasts the use of ungeþeode with that of anmod, applied to the builders of the tower before the division of tongues (1650b, 1662a). Ute Schwab's primary concern in "Ansätze zu einer Interpretation der altsächsischen Genesisdichtung" (AION 17, sez. germanica, Filologia germanica [1974], 111-86) is, of course, the OS Genesis, with special focus on the date, contents, and organization of the MS (Vat. Palat. Lat. 1447), and on the poem's historical matrix. Schwab often has occasion, however, to comment on such features of Genesis B as the theme of service and reward, the nature of the tacen Adam requests the devil to proffer, and (perennial favorite that it is) the site of Lucifer's throne. More interesting still is her discussion of symmetrical composition in lines 246-337, 338-55, and 765b-851. Although Schwab's arguments, while never implausible, are not always compelling, students of Genesis B will want to own a copy of her essay (especially pp. 145-66), if for no other reason than to have at hand a panoply of references to medieval, modern, and contemporary German scholarship, much of which is seldom cited in OE research but is potentially quite useful.

Finding it "hard to believe while reading the poem itself that the Exodus poet intended the Israelites to represent sailors on a mystical ship of

the Church led by Christ and the Cross," Ruth M. Ames, in "The Old Testament Christ and the Old English Exodus" (SMC 10, 33-50), contends rather that "the poem was conceived not as an allegory but as a history of the Israelites from a Christological point of view that was itself not primarily allegorical." After surveying medieval theology, liturgy, and iconography to demonstrate that pre-incarnate Christ's presence in various Old Testament episodes was a widely held belief, Ames examines epithets and scenes in Exodus in an attempt to show that the same notion informed the poet's view of sacred history. Thus, such phrases as weroda drihten, engla god, drihten heriga appear to Ames as specific references to Christ. Although I am more inclined to agree with Ames's statement that "allusions to the Deity... often seem deliberately ambiguous and even mysterious" than to accept her argument that these and other epithets and scenes specifically allude to Christ, her readings may well be correct. But Ames is clearly wrong in asserting that such a presence of Christ in Exodus renders null or negligible a typological approach, as though there can be but one significant level of meaning in the poem. After all, most of the theologians (e.g., Augustine) whom Ames cites to demonstrate belief in a pre-incarnate Christ in the biblical Exodus also considered the allegorical level crucial to a full understanding of the narrative. At once point Ames notes that the poet "calls the pillar of flame heaven's candle, 'heofoncandel' (l. 115); when this candle burned, the shadows vanished. Surely this is an allusion to the candle that led the baptismal procession on Holy Saturday, the candle that represented both the pillar of fire that guarded the Israelites, and Christ, the light of the world, who led the gentiles out of the darkness of idolatry." It seems odd that Ames should find so uncongenial a typological understanding of the pervasive (non-biblical) nautical imagery in the poem while invoking typology so convincingly herself to illuminate a single detail. In "Pauline Influence on Exodus, 523-48" (ELN 15, 84-88), J. R. Hall points out a number of parallels between the third through fifth chapters of II Corinthians (concerned inter alia with the spiritual interpretation of Scripture) and a twenty-five-line passage in the poem. The author proposes, for example, that the poet's description of the intellect as beorht in breostum alludes to Paul's statement that God "has shone in our hearts" (II Cor. 4:6). Hall believes that the poet drew upon the epistle not only for its ideas but also for the effect the borrowing, when recognized, would have on his audience: "The poet subtly underlines the importance of the passage and the authority on which it rests by speaking in a voice which, within the limits of the traditional poetic vocabulary and the narrative context, echoes Scripture itself."

Peter J. Lucas's new edition of Exodus (London: Methuen) is, by and large, a fine piece of work. His commentary on the MS is impressively thorough (35 pages) and merits the careful attention of anyone interested in OE codices. I shall limit myself here, however, to a question likely to elicit some controversy: Lucas's belief that Junius 11, usually ascribed to Canterbury or Winchester, "may be assigned with some confidence to Malmesbury." The attribution is plausible, but not all will share Lucas's confidence. For example, he bases one of his arguments on the identification of the second Junius artist with the illustrator of the Psychomachia in CCCC MS 23, evidently executed at Malmesbury. A number of art historians (e.g., D. Talbot Rice, Francis Wormald) do not accept the identification (which, although Lucas does not mention it, dates back to Otto Homburger in 1912); and even some who do (e.g., Elżbieta Temple) attribute the volume to another locale. Similar objections could be raised against Lucas's two other arguments. The discussions of language, and date and origin (chaps. II, VII) are very competent

but offer little that is new. On the other hand, the chapter on meter (III) contains a comparison of verse-types in Exodus and Beowulf that is of considerable interest. Yet the discussion, assuming detailed familiarity with A.J. Bliss's metrical system, is inconsistent with the level of exposition in the chapters on style, sources, and theme (IV, V, VI), presumably composed with beginning students foremost in mind. Even so, Lucas does not compromise on the complexity of Exodus. These three chapters, plodding as they often are, comprise a perceptive introduction to the problems and nature of the poem; most notable is the reasonably even-handed consideration of literal and figural aspects. As in other Methuen editions, both variant readings and commentary are conveniently printed below the text of the poem. Lucas's commentary is generally full and rich. Even when there is room for disagreement -- as there often is with this poem -- Lucas usually manages to illuminate the discussion in some way. He also extends the range of scholarship to be consulted; for instance, he is, to my knowledge, the first student of Exodus to use in print notes taken from lectures by J. R. R. Tolkien. Three different kinds of defects qualify the overall excellence of the commentary, however. First, Lucas is sometimes misleading or imprecise, as, for example, when he cites Ex. 14:16 for the idea that Moses stretched his rod over the sea to bring the water back upon the Egyptians (p. 76). The biblical verse concerns only the opening of the sea for the Israelites; nowhere does the biblical account actually say that Moses used the rod to punish the Egyptians at the sea. The distinction claims some importance, for it means that Lucas's new interpretation of gyrdwite band (15b) rests on inference instead of on direct scriptural authority. Second, he occasionally fails to employ to good effect or completely overlooks some useful scholarship. Lucas may not agree that Fred C. Robinson's perceptive reading of lines 485-87 solves the basic problem of the passage, but his analysis at the very least deserves citation (Anglia 80 [1962], 368-70). Third, a number of times Lucas culls phrases or findings from other scholars -- Edward B. Irving, Jr., fares worst in this respect -- without giving due credit. A case in point is the unacknowledged borrowing (p. 141; cf. p. 64) of Irving's appealing observation ("Exodus Retraced," p. 217) that the poet is punning in his reference to the Egyptians' deop lean (507b). Lucas's commentary is, to be sure, susceptible of criticism that does not fit under the three named categories. I single them out, however, because they represent inaccuracies or indiscretions that could have been avoided. As such, they needlessly undermine the authority of an editor who has confronted so capably the unavoidable difficulties of the poem itself.

Robert Emmett Finnegan's Christ and Satan: A Critical Edition (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier Univ. Press) consists of four introductory chapters, the poetic text, explanatory notes, glossary, an appendix on rhetorical figures in the poem, and a selected bibliography. Finnegan's discussion of the MS is workmanlike, but he overlooks some research that would have rendered his treatment more thorough. For instance, he refers, pp. 4 and 9, to Israel Gollancz's conviction that the folding of the inner leaves of the seventeenth quire preceded the writing; Merrel D. Clubb, however, convincingly refuted Gollancz's assertion several years ago (MLN 43 [1928], 304-6). At the end of the chapter Finnegan makes the interesting suggestion that the codex as a whole was intended as a book of salvation history, with Christ and Satan a part of the original plan. The second chapter, "The Problem of Unity," is, as the author acknowledges, a reworking of his earlier sixty-page essay, here reduced by half. (In turn, this material, as well as the appendix on classical rhetoric, is derived from Finnegan's unmentioned 1969 dissertation.) As noted in YWOES 1975, Finnegan's argument for thematic unity is strong; that

for chronological patterning, unpersuasive. The title of the chapter, however, does it little justice; the analysis -- entitled "Structure and Theme" in its earlier form -- is, in effect, a reading of the poem. In his chapter on sources, the author seeks to reconstruct "the ideational atmosphere within which the poet composed." While Finnegan advances no new significant sources, his discussion is worthwhile, containing, for example, a useful comparison between the Harrowing episode in the poem and that in the Gospel of Nicodemus. The author's main contribution in "Language and Date" is the hypothesis that the poem, with its emphasis on Christ's dual nature, may have been written as an indirect response to the Adoptionist heresy of the late eighth-early ninth centuries. Finnegan admits that the argument is highly speculative, yet it is no more tenuous, I think, than the arguments other scholars have proposed as a basis for dating the poem. On the pages containing the text of Christ and Satan, the editor limits his notes to the recording of MS forms, corrections, and marginalia. Since the readings of other scholars for disputed lines do not receive comprehensive consideration in the explanatory notes, readers who, unlike Finnegan, regard historical collation as something more than "the dead leaves of Anglo-Saxon scholarship" (p. [v]), must have recourse to Clubb's edition (1925). The same is true of the explanatory notes themselves: whereas Clubb devotes over ninety pages to his notes, the present editor's occupy just thirty. In a word, Clubb's notes are consistently more thorough and instructive than Finnegan's. Finnegan does, however, review scholarly commentary through 1974, and he offers several new and usually illuminating interpretations of his own. This new material justifies the publication of Finnegan's edition as a useful supplement to Clubb's dated masterpiece.

In "Old English Words and Patristic Exegesis -- hwyrftum scriþað: A Caveat" (MP 75, 44-48), Stanley B. Greenfield sharply attacks Thomas D. Hill's argument that the OE phrase (Beowulf 163b, Christ and Satan 629b) alludes to circular movement enforced upon the damned as a punishment. Both in criticizing Hill's analysis and in contending that hwyrftum scriþað refers rather to movement that is difficult to perceive, Greenfield is convincing. In addition to his textual point, Greenfield has a larger purpose: "to stress once again the need for the critic, whether he is using the now fashionable patristic exegetical comparison or some other approach to illuminate Old English texts, to examine the Old English words carefully in and of themselves and in their specific contexts and not to be seduced by the marvelous suggestiveness of the comparative reductio." Such an admonition is, I suppose, always in order. Yet the essay would have made for much more pleasant reading had Greenfield not chosen to deliver his teachings in an Olympian manner.

In addition to the scriptural poetry in the Junius Manuscript, Christ I has also recently claimed attention. Thomas D. Hill, in "A Source for Christ I 164-213 (Advent Lyric VII)" (MÆ 46, 12-15), proposes that an antiphon among those assembled by Alcuin is "the most probable liturgical source" for the brief Mary-and-Joseph dramatic scene in the poem. To speak of a three-and-a-half-line stanza containing no dialogue as the source of a forty-line passage containing almost all dialogue requires qualification: "The development of the dialogue no doubt owes something to the quasi-dramatic texts which A. S. Cook has cited as analogues to the poem, but the essential reason why the poet chose to develop a lyric poem on the 'doubting of Mary' in dialogue form was that he had either this antiphon or one similar to it before him." Hill's point that the presence of the motif in the OE Advent probably derives from the use of the theme in the Advent antiphons seems sound, but to assert that the antiphon influenced the poet's use of

the dialogue form is to go further than the evidence warrants. Hill's later statement that "...the antiphon in question is only the inspiration, not the vorlage, of the Old English poem" seems a more accurate formulation of the argument. Hill also uses the antiphon to strengthen the case for arranging the first part of the dialogue as Krapp and Dobbie have it; in the antiphon it is Joseph, not Mary, who is troubled. Finally, Hill compares the thematic sequence in the poem with the sequence of antiphons in the Alcuin and Gregorian systems, noting that, while the poem corresponds more closely to the Gregorian ordering in one case, in two other instances the poem more closely reflects Alcuin's arrangement. N. Lindsay McFadyen, "Architecture and Alliteration in the Old English Advent" (Univ. of South Florida Lang. Quarterly 15, nos. 3 & 4, pp. 56 and 60), concentrates on lines 7-12, concerned with Christ the cornerstone, in an effort to demonstrate an intricate fusion of form and meaning. The author points to an involved sound pattern in the passage -- something on the order of double chiasmus -- that purportedly corresponds to the thematic structure of the lines. "The effect of this alliterative linkage is to create an exact analogue to the typological image of the cornerstone. The references to the 'healle mærre', the universal Church, and the house which 'nu gebrusnad is' of man are joined to each other across the appeal to Christ as firmly as two walls might be joined across a cornerstone." Although the notion that form accords with meaning in the lines is attractive, McFadyen goes awry in seeing the thematic structure as symmetrical as the alliteration. What the reference in the middle of the passage to Christ as the cornerstone joins is not a reference to the Church on the one side and a reference to man on the other ("the opposites to be united"), but simply other references to Christ the cornerstone of the Church. Note also that lines 7-12, while they may constitute a sound pattern, possess no rhetorical or syntactic symmetry: lines 7-8a conclude a sentence begun at line 3b; lines 8b-11a constitute a complete sentence; and lines 11b-12 begin a sentence that concludes at line 14a -- each sentence a variation on the same theme. McFadyen's point that the alliterative pattern suggests an analogue to the cornerstone image is perceptive. But to posit a complexity beyond this is to place upon the poet's structure an unsustainable burden.

J.R.H.

Works not seen:

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Hamp, Eric P. "On the Importance of os in the Structure of the Runic Poem." Studia Germanica Gandensia 17 (1976), 143-51.

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Schneider, Karl. "Zu vier ae. Rätseln." Gedenkschrift für Jost Trier. Ed. Hartmut Beckers & Hans Schwarz. Cologne & Vienna, 1975. Pp. 330-54.

J.B.T. and J.R.H.

c. Beowulf

Several studies this year probed the nature of the world implied by the poem. Though Kenneth L. Schmitz ("Shapes of Evil in Medieval Epics: A Philosophical Analysis," in The Epic in Medieval Society, ed. Harald Scholler [Tübingen], pp. 37-63) deals also with Nibelungenlied and Tristan and Isolde, his application of Edmund Husserl's notion of "horizon" to all three poems is intriguing, and his analysis of Beowulf, though brief (pp. 50-51), is challenging. In Schmitz's discussion, the horizon is at once that which "functions as the fundamental presupposition for the action of the poem" and at the same time an element which "can never be made wholly explicit" (p. 42). In Beowulf this horizon is identified with "the depiction of evil in numinous form," creating monsters which are neither allegories of evil-in-general, nor mere personifications of it, whose evil is not "mere imprecision" but "rises, rather, in our throat with the sense of being overwhelmed by a presence confined within no ordinary bounds" (p. 50). In the end, the "horizon" of the poem is coterminous with the boundary between life and death. William C. Johnson, Jr. ("Beowulf and The Volsungasaga," In Geardagum II, ed. Loren C. Gruber and Dean Loganbill [Denver], pp. 42-53) reaches a remarkably similar conclusion on very different grounds. Comparing attitudes toward human knowledge implicit in each poem, Johnson finds that where the Norse work betrays a kind of "naive literalism and matter-of-factness" with a good deal of emphasis on human cunning, the Beowulf poet's approach is "to enhance his poetry with the unknown -- to magnify the significance of his narrative by locating it at the boundary of knowledge" (p. 45). In addition, Johnson notes a shift in the overall function of the unknown in the poem: In the beginning, references to the unknown heighten the sense of terror and danger. Later, "the limits of knowledge shift from outside the hero to within him" (p. 48). By poem's end, "heroic knowledge, like pagan gold, has become unnyt in a world of increasingly unknown and unknowable events" (p. 50). In brief remarks delivered at last year's Binghamton conference (summarized for publication by Mrs. Sylvia Horowitz, "Nature in Beowulf and Roland," Olifant 4, 311-12) Bernard F. Huppé compares the world of Beowulf to the Book of Kells, with the monsters and serpents crouching and threatening in the margins, held there by the power of the sacred Word which they surround. In an article missed in these pages last year and which, to judge from the references to the literature, is little-changed from the series of public lectures delivered by the author at the University of Alberta in 1971, Raymond J. S. Grant ("Beowulf and the World of Heroic Elegy," Leeds Sts E 8[1976 for 1975], 45-75) seeks to defend J.R.R. Tolkien's description of the poem as "heroic elegy," though in somewhat darker colors. The strategy of the article is, first, to examine the poem's mythic cosmology by analyzing the archetypal images of fire, water, light, and dark, and then to assess the extent to which a Christian value system is implicit in such a cosmology. The conclusion is drawn that "the world of Beowulf is... an island universe rescued from Chaos by creation but only temporarily... a portion of time wrested from eternity and thereby made miserable" (p. 61). While the poem cannot be interpreted as a Christian work since "its values are pagan," its elegiac tone derives from the fact that these pagan values, according to which Beowulf is himself judged, "are found wanting" (p. 63).

Several other articles were also concerned to identify the relation of Christian to pagan values in Beowulf. For Charles J. Donahue ("Social Function and Literary Value in Beowulf," in The Epic in Medieval Society, ed. Harald Scholler [Tübingen], pp. 382-90), a chief function of the poem was to help the

thoughtful warrior -- who in this period frequently ended his career in a monastery -- to reconcile his past with the Christian present. The article also contains a charming review of scholarship on the question, Beowulf: Christian or pagan?, ending with a response to Chadwick's opinion that the "learned, liberal churchman" is an anachronism in Beowulf's England and that the idea of a medieval churchman of that period looking with respect at his pagan ancestors is impossible. Donahue's response is that contained in his earlier publications (Traditio 7, 21) in which he unearthed evidence that the Irish tradition differed from the continental on the question of unbaptized pagans. F.H. Whitman, in "The Kingly Nature of Beowulf" (Neophilologus 61, 277-86), feels that the case for Christian intent in the poem remains unproved. In contrast to royal figures such as Oswald, Edmund, and Oswine, whose stories are narrated by both Bede and Ælfric, Beowulf "is not treated as a pious man, and the ardent Christian would, it seems, have regarded piety as the first requisite of the ideal Christian leader" (p. 285). To Whitman, the presence of sapientia and fortitudo in Beowulf is insufficient proof unless piety and faith are also evident. Joseph F. Tuso's article on "Beowulf and the Theological Virtues" (In Geardagum II, pp. 61-7) is concerned to investigate precisely the possibility that faith, hope, and charity are the thematic building blocks of the poem reflected in its tripartite structure. Unfortunately, the suggestion is not verified with reference to the poem and remains a work-in-progress note whose "total implications" the author "will not wring out here" (p. 66). Kinshiro Oshitari ("The Shift of Viewpoint in Beowulf, Poetica [Tokyo] 1 [1974], 106-13) seeks a solution to the Christian-pagan debate by denying "that all the details can be explained away by one unifying theme" (p. 107). The composition of the poem is governed by a principle of contrast which partially accounts for the coexistence of irreconcilable elements, so that "climactic scenes may be detached from the dominant Christian outlook without being contradictory to the keynote of the poem" (p. 110). Attempts to reconcile these disparate elements have given rise to charges of greed and pride against the hero and of vanity against the heroic ethos of Beowulf. Though William Helder, in "Beowulf and the Plundered Hoard" (NM 78, 317-25), would agree with Oshitari that the hero is not to be convicted of greed and pride, he arrives at this conclusion by attempting to read the end of the poem in its appropriate typological context, namely the approach of Judgment Day "like a thief" mentioned in 2 Peter 3: 10-13 and elsewhere. Thus, the thief who first snatched the cup from the dragon's hoard is the one who precipitates the final war with the devil, and Beowulf is the champion who completes it. However, Helder stops short of identifying Beowulf allegorically with Christ, though he is christlike and to the end of the poem "remains worthy of imitation by his people" (p. 325). John Miles Foley, in "Beowulf and the Psychohistory of Anglo-Saxon Culture" (American Imago 34, 133-53), suggests a very different context through which to read the poem. Without denying the pertinence of "the mythic level" with which he identifies most literary criticism, Foley's concern is to probe the "psychohistorical level." Through this analysis we are shown that Grendel and Hroþgar stand as manifestations of father figures, the Terrible and Good father respectively, and that the dissolution of this "binary father archetype" is the burden of Beowulf's micel ærende to Denmark (p. 140). The Breca incident represents the nascent ego's struggle to free itself from the mother unconscious, to assert its individuality, and enter into "encounter with the universal principle of opposites" (p. 145). The discussion is interesting but the universality of the categories being applied makes it difficult to imagine upon what sort of evidence one would base a proof, or even a conviction, that such a psychohistory is related to realities outside the eye of the beholder.

Two articles dealing with the poem as a whole are more concerned with its compositional structure than with its ideological context. Walter Scheps analyzes "The Sequential Nature of Beowulf's Three Fights" (Rendezvous [Idaho State University] 19 [1974-75], 41-50) and concludes that "as the monsters become increasingly abstract their victims become increasingly concrete" (p. 49). Thus Grendel is both more evenly matched with his opponent and more individualized than either of Beowulf's succeeding antagonists, who appear to stand for increasingly abstract qualities: Grendel's dam for "vengeance personified" (p. 45) and the dragon for the very essence of "draconitas" (p. 47). James Smith's study, originally written in 1957 and posthumously published in two parts by Martin Dodsworth ("Beowulf I," English 25, 203-29 and "Beowulf II," English 26, 3-22), is also concerned with the structure and overall purpose of the poem and, like Scheps's work, focuses on the three fights and the contexts within which they occur. The results, however, are somewhat different. Grendel is seen as more symbolic and his struggle against Beowulf as less "realistically" described than either of the other two. To Smith there is an ambiguity about Grendel's destruction, for "any Dane who avails himself of Beowulf's victory merely for the purpose of resuming an earlier oblivion -- for the purpose,that is, of forgetting the care, sorrow and danger by which human beings are inescapably surrounded, and so of neglecting duties which all of them are required to perform -- such a Dane will find the victory a curse rather than a blessing; and Beowulf will have saved him from the jaws of Grendel only that he may fall into those of a greater horror" (p. 15). An interesting progression which Smith sees in the poem is that of the hero's gradual assimilation into the world of his enemies. Against Grendel he is the outsider with much to learn. Against Grendel's dam, avenging the death of Æschere, he becomes entangled in the complex repercussions of his own marvelous deed. Finally, in his last fight, "Beowulf assimilates himself to the dragon. As matched against one who symbolizes the virtue of the warrior, and as jealous for gold which is the outward sign of the warrior's pre-eminence, Beowulf himself sinks into a warrior and nothing more. He is back at his youthful bragging, at his hankering after the 'foolhardy deed'" (pp. 20-21). Smith's way of reading Beowulf is always interesting and frequently subtle, though often sharply divergent from commonly accepted interpretations.

As a teacher of Beowulf I cannot help but greet Howell D. Chickering's Beowulf: A Dual Language Edition (Garden City, New York: Anchor-Doubleday) with mixed emotions. The section on "Backgrounds" (245-77) is a compendium of information useful to anyone interested in the poem, whether novice or expert. Particularly well-treated are "Sources and Traditions" (252-9), where Chickering provides a balanced account of pertinent material, with just enough commentary to demonstrate what sort of relevance a study of backgrounds can have. The textual commentary, too, while neither detailed nor exhaustive, is consistently illuminating. Chickering's strategy of providing comments in order on textual blocks running from two to one hundred and more lines (e.g., the note to 168-9 involving gif-stol and the comment on 925-1049) allows him to respond easily and gracefully to questions involving more than the usual five to ten lines of text. In short, the apparatus seems in general to have been carefully and imaginatively prepared. (Inevitably, there are quibbles: Why was Carl T. Berkhout's annual Bibliography in ASE and OEN not listed alongside the PMLA Bibliography on p. 380? And, those of us who use Cassidy and Ringler's revised edition of Bright's Old English Grammar and Reader might hesitate to recommend it as the best text for those wishing "to learn Old English on their own" [p. 38], however useful we may find it in the classroom.) The heterogeneous element in my mixed emotional reaction derives, then, not from any apparent lack in Chickering's scholarship

but rather from the nature of the project itself. A facing page English-Old English text, with no glossary -- and without even a dictionary listed in the Bibliography -- intended, as the editor-translator states, for "readers who have not studied Old English (Anglo-Saxon) before" as well as for "those who have only a rudimentary knowledge of it" (p. ix) seems to me to offer the student the appearance of knowledge without its substance. At the conclusion of this book such a student will be able to discourse learnedly on the various interpretations of the gif-stol crux, will be familiar with the important names in Anglo-Saxon higher criticism from Thorpe to Pope and Greenfield and Irving but will be unable to understand "Hwæt! We Gar-Dena in gear-dagum/ þeod-cyninga þrym gefrunon" without looking across the page.

Fewer papers restricted themselves to individual characters in the poem than in some previous years. S.L. Dragland's "Monster-Man in Beowulf" (Neophilologus 61, 606-18) focuses on resemblances between Grendel and Beowulf himself. Finding that many terms are common to both (rinc, wer, healðegn, hilderinc, aglæca, wonsæli, earmsceapen, etc.), Dragland concludes that the "Beowulf poet seems to say, through his association of man and monster, that there are good reasons for the kind of dissolution that occurs at the end of the poem, that they may be traced to a darkness in the human mind..." (p. 617). Lars Malmberg's brief article, "Grendel and the Devil" (NM 78, 241-43), extends the list of Latin terms for the devil with OE equivalents in Beowulf (e.g., feond mancynnes, hostis humani generis; ealdgewinna, hostis antiquus; helle hæftan, captivus inferni, etc.), concluding that traditional Christian expressions of this kind must have been very early and very widespread in Anglo-Saxon England. Patristic background for Grendel is also the subject of Judson Boyce Allen's "God's Society and Grendel's Shoulder Joint. Gregory and the Poet of the Beowulf" (NM 78, 239-40). Allen interprets Grendel's death in the light of Gregory's comment on Job 31:22, where Job speaks of his shoulder falling from its joint and his arm being pierced. To Gregory the arm meant action per se and the shoulder the bond of fraternal charity. Hence, Grendel's death expresses the meaning of his life, the descendant of Cain who broke the bond of charity in Heorot.

As always, Unferth came in for his share of comment. Geoffrey Hughes, in "Beowulf, Unferth and Hrunting: An Interpretation" (ESts 58, 385-95), juxtaposes some familiar ideas: that Unferth is a warrior not a jester, that he is to be taken seriously, that he is not necessarily part of Hrothulf's plot, that he is not a scop, and that his loan of Hrunting is a recognition of Beowulf's superiority. Carroll Y. Rich, in an article published some years ago but not reviewed here before ("Unferth and Cain's Envy", South Central Bulletin 33 [1973], 211-13), suggests that if one is to attach an abstract significance to Unferth Invidia would be more appropriate than Discordia. In Rich's argument this is clear from lines 501-05, where the poet tells us that Beowulf's appearance was "micel æfþunca" for Unferth, simply because the þyle did not want to admit that anyone could do greater things than he could. This emotion is envy, the odium felicitatis alienæ spoken of by Augustine, and it makes Unferth a part of the pattern of evil strife initiated by Grendel at the beginning of the poem.

Froda, a Beowulf figure not frequently commented on, was the subject of an extensive article by Alfred Ebenbauer, "Fróði und sein Friede," in Festgabe für Otto Höfler zum 75 Geburtstag, ed. Helmut Birkhan (Philologica Germanica 3 [Vienna and Stuttgart, 1976], pp. 128-81). To Ebenbauer, behind the often contradictory references to Froda in Beowulf, Saxo Grammaticus, Hrolfssaga, and

Skjöldungasaga stands a mythical golden era presided over by Frodi, who is identical with the Germanic god Frey. Close analysis of the genealogical trees described by Saxo reveals that Skjöld (Scyld) and Dan are later additions and that Frodi-Frey is the mythical founder of the Danish race. Beowulf has a secondary but substantive place in the argument, since the poet never makes clear who actually killed Froda in the initial encounter between Danes and Heathobards. This, in Ebenbauer's view, is because at least two different versions of the story were current at the time of Beowulf's composition, both of which show up in Saxo. In one, Froda is killed by Halfdan; in the other, by his sons. Perhaps Bruce A. Rosenberg's warning against using folklore methods on literary products ("Folklore Methodology and Medieval Literature," JFI 13 [1976], 311-25) is pertinent to Ebenbauer's treatment of Saxo. Repeating a point made in his 1975 article in reply to Daniel R. Barnes, Rosenberg points out that Unferth cannot be described as "donor" according to Vladimir Propp's morphology simply because no such figure appears in any version of "The Bear's Son Tale" or any other known folk analogue of Beowulf. We can, therefore, assume that "the Beowulf poet has created him for his own purposes" (p. 322). Adelaide Hardy, in "Some Thoughts on the Geats" (Parergon 9 [August 1974], 27-39), also emphasizes the literary, non-historical character of Beowulf. Essentially, the article is a close examination of the various references to Hygelac's raid to assess their mutual compatibility and probable historical accuracy. Especially important in the argument is the reference to Hygelac's opponent at l. 2503 as "Frescyning[e]" which to Hardy implies that "contrary to history, the poet regarded the king of the Franks as overlord of the Frisians" (p. 29). The author admits the force of the Chochilaicus spelling in one MS of the Liber Historiae Francorum in substantiating the historicity of the Beowulf tradition in one point but feels that, in the presence of a preponderance of contrary evidence, this does not oblige us "to accept other incidents in the poem as a record of Geatish history" (p. 27). Treating another important document related to Beowulf, Corrado Bologna's review of L.G. Whitbread's 1974 Medieval Studies article ("L.G. Whitbread, 'The Liber Monstrorum and Beowulf', Cultura Neolatina' 35 [1977 for 1975], 366-69) suggests caution in accepting Whitbread's conclusions, for Bologna points out that Whitbread missed one of the five extant MSS, that he failed to note that part three of the work, De serpentibus, does not have the authority of all MSS, and that if Aldhelm is responsible for the Liber, as Whitbread believes, he cannot have used Ovid at second hand since he shows knowledge of him elsewhere.

Some of the year's best work has been in the analysis of what might be called the poem's microstructures. H. Ward Tonsfeldt analyzes a limited use of "Ring Structure in Beowulf" (Neophilologus 61, 443-52), concluding that in the passages chosen for close examination (129b-149a and 1017-1168) the repetitions which comprise the "ring" have the effect of moving the poetry away from narrative flow and toward stasis. "The poet catches Hrothgar at the dramatic moment of his first response to Grendel and the structure freezes him in this attitude for the twelve years that elapse between Grendel's first raid and Beowulf's visit" (447-8). Marilyn M. Carens, in "Handscóh and Grendel: the Motif of the Hand in Beowulf" (in Aeolian Harps: Essays in Literature in Honor of Maurice Browning Cramer, ed. Donna G. Fricke and Douglas C. Fricke [Bowling Green OH, 1976], pp. 39-55), examines apparently all the references to hands in Beowulf (hand, folm, mund, fingras, grap, etc.) and concludes, not surprisingly, that such references appear in a pattern of "cluster and hiatus, with the clusters of references to hands occurring when Beowulf is fighting or telling someone else how he fought" (p. 51). More surprising is the absence of any reference to James L. Rosier's 1963 PMLA article,

"The Uses of Association: Hands and Feasts in Beowulf." André Crépin, in his contribution to the learned conference on the journey at Aix-en-Provence, March 5-7, 1976, "Les Expéditions de Beowulf" (in Voyage, quête, pèlerinage dans la littérature et la civilisation médiévales: Senefiance 2 [Aix en Provence and Paris, 1976], pp. 155-66, with discussion p. 167), reviews the poem and locates the theme of travelling within it. Crépin notes an interesting connection between the theme of travel and friendship reflected in the words gesiþ and gefera (cf. siþ and feran and contrast fr. compagnon). Charles Frey in "Lyric in Epic: Hrothgar's Depiction of the Haunted Mere (Beowulf: 1357b-76a)" (ESts 58, 296-303), examines the "sonic structure" of the passage selected and discovers "a separate lyric... in which the four C-A-C units identify or mark off four descents to the water" (p. 29). A C-A-C unit is a sequence of half-lines in which the off-verse C is followed by on-verse A and so on, according to Sievers's classification. The balance of the article considers the way in which such sonic structures reflect poetic themes and concludes by attempting to reproduce in modern English translation the sonic, syntactic, and linguistic patterns of a few lines of the original. Livia Polanyi's "Lexical Coherence Phenomena in Beowulf's Debate with Unferth" (Rackham Literary Studies 8, 25-37) examines six groups of related words, called "lexical sets" and described according to the "semantic thread which unites the words into a group" (p. 25). Such sets include terms related to "Kinship," "Home," "Land," "Boasting," "Day-Night," and "Hand-arm." The discovery is made that many of the same words occur in both Unferth's accusation and in Beowulf's response, but that the context is different. This fairly straightforward observation does not appear to justify the ponderous jargon used to express it. In striking contrast is Mariann Reinhard's book On the Semantic Relevance of the Alliterative Collocations in Beowulf (Schweizer Anglistische Arbeiten, 92 [Berne: Francke, 1976], 277 p.). Beginning with a simple opposition between "complementary" alliterative patterns, in which alliterating words reinforce one another's meaning, and "contrastive" patterns, in which alliterating words suggest opposition, hostility, solitude, etc., she goes on to relate these uses to the syntactic contexts in which they occur and, finally, to examine the larger patterns of double and triple alliteration in the poem. Because of the clarity and balance of the methodology employed, the conclusion "that the poet hardly ever let himself be guided by the purely mechanical demands of his poetic medium" (p. 268) is both convincing and important. James L. Rosier, in "Generative Composition in Beowulf" (ESts 58, 193-203), is also interested in the relation of meaning to form in the poem and employs an efficient methodology to analyze it. After closely examining lines 2200-2208a to establish the notion of "contiguous lexical recurrence" of like forms with "varied functional distribution," six lists are provided: 1. simplices alone, 2. simplex and compound (e.g., cynna 98a, fifelcynnes 104b) 3. compounds with recurring form in the same position (s[c]ynscaþa 707a, manscaða 702a), 4. compounds with recurring form in inverse position (feorhbealo 2250a, bealocwealm 2265b), 5. compositions by prefix (oferhyda 1760b, oferswyðeð 1768b), and 6. mixed form-types (healreced 68a, medœrn 69a, healærna 78a). The author then illustrates the sort of analysis to which the lists can be subjected, concluding that there is "a flexibility or fluidity -- perhaps inventiveness, fairly consistently at work, in the habit of contiguous recurrence of identical and like forms" (p. 199). The end of the article deals with the varying density of the habit in the poem and ends by suggesting that the study may be evidence for "generative composition," since "the form within a few lines is generated, and generated often in a lexical shape, in syntax and reference, different from that of the original occurrence" (p. 201). Among the works omitted previously has been Thallia Phillies Feldman's semantic study of "Terminology for 'Kingship and God' in Beowulf" (LOS 2 [1975], 100-15) which suggests that an analogy between

king and God has exerted a powerful influence on terminology for God, who is ordinarily "almighty" (alwalda, etc.) or "chief of retainers" (dryhten, cyning, etc.) and only rarely fæder, frea, or witig. I hope that one may accept the evidence without embracing the conclusion that "the poet was a monotheist, not a Christian" (p. 111), which seems not to follow. Ellen Spolsky's study of "Old English Kinship Terms and Beowulf" (NM 78, 233-38) yields further evidence of the poet's conscious control over his material. According to the argument, although kinship terms in Beowulf do not really indicate a matrilineal society (as used to be thought) they do place special emphasis on the relationship between a person and his mother's male kin, most reasonably interpreted as part of the conscious archaism of the poem. Other terms used are surprisingly vague and fail to make the kinds of distinctions one would expect.

A half dozen articles this year were essentially concerned to make textual suggestions, some serious and some not so serious. Raymond P. Tripp, Jr., in "The Archetype Enters History and Goes to Sleep: What Beowulf Does in Heorot" (In Geardagum II, pp. 74-92), takes another look at the scene of Grendel's entrance into Heorot and decides that Beowulf is sleeping until Grendel seizes him. Thus, lines 703b - 05a ("Sceotend swæfon/ . . . /ealle buton anum") mean "the warriors slept . . .everyone of them," and "wiþ earm gesæt" (749b) refers to Grendel's hold on the hero. Finally, both 665b-70 ("Hæfde Kyningwuldor/ . . . /seleweard aseted") and 736b-38 ("þryðswyð beheold/ mæg Higelaces . . .") have God as subject and need not presuppose a waking Beowulf. G. Storms, in "Notes on Old English Poetry" (Neophilologus 61, 439-42), suggests a solution for the myne wisse crux of 169b, translating "nor did he care for it" (p. 439), and interpreting the passage to mean that Grendel was not concerned with gift-giving. John F. Vickrey, in "The Narrative Structure of Hengest's Revenge in Beowulf" (ASE 6, 91-103), re-examines the passage describing Hengest's wintry stay in Finnsburh (1127b-1136a) and concludes that the Danish leader's decision for revenge was fully deliberate, suggesting several reinterpretations, as follows: unhlitme (1129a) = "voluntarily" in the sense "not by necessity"; [ne] (1130a) is an unnecessary emendation; eard (1129b) refers to Finnsburh, not to Denmark; gemunde (1129b) means "bore in mind," i.e., "where disaster had befallen his lord"; sele (1135b) = "good fortune" and is object of the verb. F.H. Whitman, in "Corrosive Blood in Beowulf" (Neophilologus 61, 276), notes that the power of Grendel's blood to melt the sword at 1605-11 is like the power of the blood of horses and he-goats which, according to Pliny, could remove rust from iron and melt the hardest stone. A less serious suggestion was made by Roy Peter Clark in "A New Kenning in Beowulf: ealuscerwen" (Scholia Satyrica 2 [1976], 35-6); he feels that the famous crux is really a kenning for urination, at once a "deprivation" and a "pouring out" of ale. Finally, E. G. Stanley argues, in "Did Beowulf Commit 'Feaxfeng' Against Grendel's Mother?" (N&Q 23, 339-40), that eaxle at line 1537 should be amended to feaxe, even if it means convicting Beowulf of the crime of feaxfeng in the form described in Frisian law as binetha an tha buke. After all, he concludes, one "cannot be sure that the ethics of the battle of Grendel's mere were those of the playingfields of Eton" (p. 340).

C.C.

d. Prose

The discovery of new texts in Old English is nowadays so uncommon that pride of place can well be given this year to Bella Schauman and Angus Cameron's report of "A Newly-Found Leaf of Old English from Louvain" (Anglia 95, 289-312). The leaf, from the collection of the late Henri Omont of the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), is now in the Bibliothèque Centrale of the Université Catholique de Louvain. It contains medical recipes from the traditions represented by both the Lacnunga and the Bald Leechbook and, if the conjectured dating between 850 and 900 and the localization in a center under Mercian influence are correct, suggests that the tradition of medical writing in English antedates the reign of Alfred the Great. The article contains facsimiles of both sides of the leaf, edited text with translation, and full consideration of physical condition of the leaf and the language of the text. This excellent paper and the texts it presents will be of great interest both for the study of the language in the ninth century, from which very little non-documentary prose survives, and for study of the history of medicine, in which area the Anglo-Saxons appear to be more and more interesting.

Several years ago Stephanie Hollis (then under the surname Dien: NM 64 [1975], 561-70) published a paper in which she argued, against the prevailing assumption of a progression from shortest to longest, that the fullest (or EI) text of Wulfstan's Sermo Lupi ad Anglos is the earliest version of the most famous OE sermon and that the versions designated BH and C are shortened revisions of the original. Hollis has now offered a reading of EI, "The Thematic Structure of the Sermo Lupi" (ASE 6, 175-95), in which she argues the sermon presents Wulfstan's "most fully developed view of the last days." In this version (in contrast to Wulfstan's other eschatological writings) "the reign of Antichrist becomes... the culmination of a process for which mankind is responsible" and Christians are urged to "stave off the terror" by repentance -- an appeal which is especially effective for the audience because Antichrist's reign is apparently associated with events of contemporary history. The argument is a very interesting and, in some ways, a compelling one. It points to a new reading of the Sermo that is historically more interesting and theologically more troublesome. Reviewing the earlier article on the priority of the EI version of the Sermo in these pages (OEN 10, 81), I suggested Hollis's thesis made imperative the testing of Alan K. Brown's still-unpublished hypothesis that Wulfstan relied heavily on the Sermo ad milites of Abbo of St-Germain-des-Prés in preparing the Sermo ad Anglos. The present paper, which stresses the supposed topicality of the ad Anglos, makes it all the more important that someone address this issue.

Two good studies treat the prose style of Ælfric and Wulfstan. Harvey Minkoff has followed his 1976 article on "Ælfric's Theory of Translation" with another in which he considerably refines his earlier comments by addressing "An Example of Latin Influence on Translation" [correcting "Lating" for "Latin" in the title and elsewhere on p. 127] (Neophilologus 61, 127-42). The example is the placement of the past participle when used with an auxiliary verb; and Minkoff shows that Ælfric tends to follow "Latin morphology, phrasing, and clause structure" very closely in the literal Hexateuch translation but has quite different habits and allows himself far greater freedom in the sermons, even when he is englishing the pericopes of exegetical pieces. An article by Ida Masters Hollowell on "Linguistic Factors Underlying Style Levels in Four Homilies of Wulfstan"

(ibid., 287-96) sensitively and accurately details distinctions between Wulfstan's "high" and "low" styles in homilies V and XX and II and IV, respectively, contrasting "clause length," "clause type," and "the relative prominence of nouns and verbs." One might wish that at the end the author had given more prominence to McIntosh's 1949 paper on "Wulfstan's Prose" and less to Einenkel's article of 1884 arguing the Sermo Lupi is poetic, but the distinctions drawn are generally both suggestive and useful.

Rhetoric, inseparably related to style, is much talked about in connection with OE prose but little studied. One welcomes, therefore, a paper on "Rhetoric in England: The Age of Ælfric, 970-1020" by Luke M. Reinsma (Communication Monographs 44, 390-403). Reinsma, arguing from internal and manuscript evidence, shows how unlikely it is that Ælfric knew Augustine's De doctrina christiana either directly or via Rabanus's De clericorum institutione. This is an observation that must be taken seriously by (and should long have been obvious to) students of Ælfric's exegetical and educational writings. Ælfric may have known something -- but not much of great usefulness -- from Isidore's Etymologiae, but his major knowledge of rhetoric was mediated not by the rhetoricians but by the grammarians. Even so, he and his contemporary Byrhtferth of Ramsey are curiously reticient about rhetoric. Whether this reticence arises from mistrust of the rhetoricians (as Reinsma suggests in his conclusion) or from some other cause seems to me open to further question. Nevertheless, Reinsma puts discussion of the position of rhetoric in the thought and writings of the late tenth-century Benedictine writers of English on a new and firmer footing.

An article by Robin Ann Aronstam, entitled "The Blickling Homilies: A Reflection of Popular Anglo-Saxon Belief" (in Law, Church, and Society: Essays in Honor of Stephan Kuttner, ed. Kenneth Pennington and Robert Somerville, pp. 271-80) suggests that for a picture of church life c. 1000 one ought to study both texts in canon law like the Excerptiones Egberti and the homilies. The difficulty of this thesis is that, without a firmer understanding of the audience intended by the writers of sermons and of the manner in which they selected sources for adaptation, we cannot be certain the sermon writers intended to address the spiritual condition of their lay charges in the same way a modern preacher does. Thus we cannot say with confidence that sermons are "a mirror of Anglo-Saxon interests" (p. 272). (Aronstam's thesis is in some ways parallel to that of Rosamond McKitterick, The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789-895 [London, 1977] -- a volume that students of the Anglo-Saxon church might well study.) Aronstam gives an interesting survey of the theological content of the Blickling collection, but the bibliography of her article is incomplete and there are too many errors (e.g., Professor Willard's Christian name is Rudolph, not "Raymond" [p. 271], and one is at a loss to know what is meant by the reference in n. 14 to "Pseudo-Gregory" as a source in the Blickling Book). Despite the shortcomings of this paper, it is a welcome phenomenon that a student of canon law is giving some attention to the sermons; one hopes for more consideration of this sort, but under more rigorous control.

There are also interesting studies of texts in the pseudo-Wulfstan materials to be considered. Joseph B. Trahern, Jr., reports the discovery of six lines of "classical" OE verse in "An Old English Verse Paraphrase of Matthew 25:41" (Medievalia 1 [1977 for 1975], 109-14). The lines occur in two of the MS versions of Napier XLIX but only partially in the Vercelli X text. This is an interesting

new example of the occurrence of verse in OE prose. Trahern, after comparing the lines with other verse adaptations of "Discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem æternum," concludes that in this instance the verse is probably quoted by the prose author and not created by him, intentionally or inadvertently. Paul Szarmach considers the relationship of all eight texts of the same OE sermon in "MS. Junius 86 F. 2r and Napier 49" (ELN 14, 241-46). The Junius fragment, he concludes, is a version of a sermon more closely related to the Napier version (from CCCC 421 and other MSS) than to the textual tradition preserved in Vercelli and CCCC 302 (art. 33). It appears unlikely the Junius text was a version of a shorter but related homiletic piece preserved in CCCC 302 (art. 12) and Cotton Faustina A.ix. It is implied in the articles of Trahern and Szarmach that Sisam was correct in feeling that the Vercelli MS must have been taken from England not very long after it was made because it had little or no textual influence on later OE texts. There is either some challenge for this thesis or there are ramifications of it that must be studied further in D. G. Scragg's essay on "Napier's 'Wulfstan' Homily XXX: Its Sources, Its Relationship to the Vercelli Book, and Its Style" (ASE 6, 197-211). It has long been recognized that Napier XXX is a compilation of Wulfstan, pseudo-Wulfstan, and other anonymous homiletic prose. Scragg is able to show that "more than half of it was drawn from a single codex similar to the Vercelli Book" by a compiler who knew Wulfstan and the earlier anonymous writers of sermons very well indeed. This is a paper that considerably advances our knowledge of eleventh-century sermon compilers and has important ramifications for the developing interest in such fabricators of late OE sermons and sermon collections.

Several source studies treat Ælfric and other homiletic writers. At the end of Sermones catholicae II in Cambridge, University Library Gg.3.28, there is a group of miscellaneous materials of use to preachers and "a series of thirteen vernacular prayers" (actually the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, and ten prayers) for those "þæt leden ne cunnon." Donald G. Bydzl examines the sources of these prayers in "The Source of Ælfric's Prayers..." (N&Q 24, 98-103). The first seven are all translations of Latin collects found in more than one Anglo-Saxon liturgical manuscript. The last three, however, are all in the singular rather than the (liturgical) plural; two are common enough pious ejaculations, and the third is a pastiche for which Bydzl can find no single extant source. He believes the whole collection was intended for use in private devotions rather than the liturgy. I agree with this conclusion on the whole, but have suggested elsewhere that Ælfric may have had in mind in the first instance the use of these prayers by the clergy in the exercise of the catechetical office -- a suggestion not ultimately incompatible with Bydzl's. Another source note, this by J. E. Cross on "Ælfric's 'Life of St. George'" (ibid., 195-96), calls attention to studies of the Latin legend and the version of it Ælfric used in preparing this piece for Lives of Saints. It may also be noted that some doubt is cast on Ælfric's knowledge of what has been taken as one of his most firmly established sources, Ratramnus's De corpore, by Jean-Paul Bouhot in his very useful monograph, Ratramne de Corbie: Histoire littéraire et controverses doctrinales (1976).

"'Legimus in Ecclesiasticis Historiis': A Sermon for All Saints and its Use in Old English Prose" is edited and discussed by Cross in Traditio (33, 101-35). The sermon, of unknown authorship and uncertain date (before the second quarter of the ninth century), was well known in Anglo-Saxon England. It was quoted or

alluded to by Ælfric three times and was also used in the Blickling sermons and the OE Martyrology. The date of the Latin sermon is especially important in helping to establish the earliest possible date for the Martyrology. Cross also adds another source note to his growing bibliography on the same important and neglected OE text: "Two Saints in the Old English Martyrology" (NM 78, 101-107). The entries discussed are those on Eusebius of Vercelli and Justus of Beauvais. The latter descends from a text known from a fragment in an Anglo-Saxon hand of the eighth century. M. Dando's "L'Apocalypse de Thomas" (Cahiers d'Etudes Cathares 28, 3-58) is a review of studies with translations into French of major texts and a bibliography (not absolutely complete). It takes into account the OE texts related to the Thomas apocalypse and their relation to the sources.

Only three studies deal with works associated with the court circle of King Alfred. David Yerkes has published "The Text of the Canterbury Fragment of Werferth's Translation of Gregory's Dialogues and Its Relation to the Other Manuscripts" (ASE 6, 121-35). The fragment, discovered some years ago by Dr. W. Urry, "consists of two adjacent bifolia." The text is related to the earlier version of the Werferth translation in MSS. CCCC 322 and Cotton Otho C.i. vol. 2, and not to the revised version in Bodleian, Hatton 76. It seems, however, to have descended from a text closer to the original than either the Corpus or the Otho manuscript. In a note too complex to be summarized adequately here (and admirably lightened by word play), E. G. Stanley suggests that, in a well-known sentence of the OE Orosius concerning the confluence of the rivers Vistula and Elbing at Estmere, the gender of Wisle has been overlooked and the passage consequently mistranslated: "How the Elbing deprives the Vistula of Its Name and Converts It to the Elbing's Own use in 'Vistula-Mouth'" (N&Q 24, 2-11). Another work that has its roots in the Alfredian circle is the Chronicle. Angelika Lutz deals with the text of a manuscript of the Chronicle badly damaged in the Ashburnham House fire: "Zur Rekonstruktion der Version G der Angelsächsischen Chronik" (Anglia 95, 1-19).

W. J. P. Boyd has published a useful study of Aldred's Marginalia: Explanatory Comments in the Lindisfarne Gospels (Exeter, 1975 [1977]). Save marginalia that are adequately treated elsewhere, he surveys all the notes in the Lindisfarne Gospels, suggesting sources. The glosses show, he believes, that Aldred was a conscientious and well-read biblical scholar. Boyd is wisely cautious about claims for the contents of the library at Chester-le-Street in Aldred's time, for many of the apparent quotations are brief and could have been gleaned from other glosses. They show, at any rate, a sound reliance on the best Western exegetes.

I have seen (but only seen and cannot comment in detail on) A. M. Luiselli Fadda's Nuove Omelie Anglosassoni della Rinascenza Benedittina, in which ten sermons from several manuscripts are edited and translated into Italian. The volume looks interesting and makes available in print more of the anonymous sermons. N.B. No attempt has been made to report here on short summaries of conference papers or dissertation abstracts.

M.McC.G.

Far and away the most important work of scholarship on OE prose in many years is Milton McC. Gatch's latest book, Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan (University of Toronto Press). As the title implies, the book says some careful new things about the OE sermons we know, and

the two greatest homilists receive special attention as exemplars of sorts. The book is, in an important way, a work of synthesis. Dean Gatch builds on all the recent contributions to our knowledge of Ælfric and Wulfstan and uses a wide range of historical, literary, and palaeographical data to construct a clear, solid, and readable account of the literary career of these two masters of prose style.

But Gatch's book is much more than a synthesis. From his basic studies of liturgy and church history Gatch provides a special sharpening and corrective to our sense of the literary audience and setting for the homilies of the Anglo-Saxon church. He rejects the model of patristic sermons as the liturgical antecedent of the OE homilies and indicates that the homilies, in all probability, were created to be used in a vernacular pedagogical office, the Prone.

The work of the great homilists is compared on several points to the anonymous homilies. The special emphasis is on a group of eschatological themes which show the theological consistencies of the masters in comparison with their inferiors but which also point up the richness and variety of English Christian thought in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.

An important appendix makes available the first complete edition of Ælfric's summary (in Latin) of Julian of Toledo's Prognosticon futuri saeculi. As Gatch demonstrates, this text was an important one for much of Ælfric's thought and work.

Gatch challenges, albeit in a thoroughly gentlemanly fashion, the convenient labels which have up to now been applied to make distinctions between Abbot Ælfric and Archbishop Wulfstan. These rubrics are modified in the face of a careful and skillful mustering of all available evidence, both insular and continental.

The book is clearly and elegantly written and attractively produced. The notes, grouped at the end of the book, are full and suggestive; the bibliography and the three indices (one each to Ælfrician and Wulfstanian references and one for general items) are admirably accurate and complete. This book represents a singular advance in our knowledge of the world and work of the great writers of vernacular prose before the Conquest; it will be an important and influential part of literary history from now on.

R.L.C.

4. ANGLO-LATIN AND ECCLESIASTICAL WORKS

Publications treating subjects usually associated with the Celtic side of matters Anglo-Saxon are perhaps the most interesting of 1977. A brilliant and complex article by Michael Winterbottom, "Aldhelm's Prose Style and its Origins" (ASE 6, 39-76), suggests that the bishop of Sherborne is not to be regarded as a Celtic stylist but as belonging to the "ancient tradition of rhetorical amplification." This tradition is traced to the adaptation of Greek notions of style in the first-century Ad Herennium. The style, ostentatious but not intended to obfuscate, is characterized by such traits as balanced periods, alliteration, interlaced word order, and the use of synonyms and consequent obscurity of vocabulary. Although Winterbottom does not make this obeservation himself, students of OE poetry may wonder from time to time at certain parallels between the style of vernacular verse and this strange and wonderful Latin. Despite the general complexity of the argument of this paper and its wide range of reference, Winterbottom's analyses of sample passages are models of incisiveness and clarity. Michael Lapidge studies a topic at the nearer end of the same topic: "L'Influence Stylistique de la Poésie de Jean Scot" in Jean Scot Erigène et l'Histoire de la Philosophie (pp. 441-52). Lapidge is particularly interested in Scotus's frequent use of Greek words and shows that this peculiarity of John's verse exerted both lexical and poetic influence. Particularly via Fleury, Scotus's example had much to do with the development of the Hisperic style; and ultimately it influenced the late Anglo-Saxon poets who wrote in Latin.

Several papers deal with more properly Celtic topics. The most interesting is probably the collection of essays edited by Martin McNamara, Biblical Studies: The Medieval Irish Contribution ("Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association," 1 [Dublin, 1976]). It contains four new essays: "The Hiberno-Latin Study of the Gospel of Luke" by Joseph F. Kelly, "The Latin Bible in Ireland" by Peter Doyle, "Eschatological Teaching of the Early Irish Church" by Brian Grogan, and Frederick X. McDonncha's "Medieval Irish Homilies." Of these, Doyle's and McDonncha's are particularly pertinent to the Anglo-Saxonist. I commend especially McDonncha's work on the sermons of the Leabhar Breac as a corrective to the widespread notion that there are very early records of preaching in Irish. To these useful papers is appended a translation by the late Colin O'Grady of Bernhard Bischoff's famous and indispensible paper on medieval Irish exegesis. In "Towards an Interpretation of Fis Adamnán" (Studia Celtica 12, 62-77 [not in Bibliography]), David N. Dumville discusses this important text of the tenth or eleventh century that survives in several copies (among them, Leabhar Breac). This work has figured in discussions of Anglo-Saxon eschatological writings, and before a new edition appears Dumville's paper will be a guide to discussion of it. He regards Fis Adamnán as a very good work, a coherent and essentially unified apocalyptic vision. There is a plea for more consideration of the possibility of Irish influence on Anglo-Saxon writers by Joseph F. Kelly in "Irish Influence in England after the Synod of Whitby: Some New Literary Evidence" (Eire-Ireland 10, no. 4 [1975], 35-47).

Among liturgical studies, first mention must go to a two-volume study of The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester by Alejandro Enrique Planchart. Tropes, amplifications of the proper chant, are of increasing interest for both the history of Latin verse-writing and the history of music; and the Anglo-Saxon evidence is unusually valuable. Planchart considers three MSS: Bodley 775, a copy of c. 1050 of a troper from the episcopate of Æthelwold; CCCC 473, which he believes was

prepared c. 996-1006, probably under Wulfstan, the cantor of Winchester; and Cotton Caligula A. xiv, probably a Canterbury troper, c. 1050. In addition to its liturgical and musicological interest, the study has much to say about the monastic reform and Latin poetry of the reform period. It joins the works of Gneuss and Korhammer on a growing shelf of substantial contributions to our knowledge of late Anglo-Saxon liturgical practice. Andreas Holschneider also studies these texts in "Instrumental Titles to the Sequentiæ of the Winchester Tropers" (Essays on Opera and English Music in Honour of Sir Jack Westrup [1975], pp. 8-18). Holschneider analyzes the titles of a small group of sequence melodies in the Winchester manuscripts and concludes they may have been performed instrumentally "by musicians who did not belong to the church (Tractus iocularis)" (p. 18). "The Liturgical Trade Route: East to West" by Joseph H. Crehan (Studies [Dublin] 65 [1976], 87-99) contains interesting reflections on the passage of liturgical customs via Ireland and England to the continent. "Le role de relais de la tradition monastique" played by Fleury is the subject of Dom Lin Donnat's examination of the newly discovered description of daily life at Fleury by Thierry, a monk of that house until 1002, in "Recherches sur l'Influence de Fleury au X^{e} Siècle" (Études Ligériennes d'Histoire et d'Archéologie Médiévales, ed. René Louis, pp. 165-74). Fleury's role is greatly enhanced, and its relations with the monasteries of Germany and the Lorraine set it apart from Cluny. The Regularis concordia is to be much more closely associated with the use of Fleury than with that of Cluny. Arnold Angenendt's "Bonifatius und das Sacramentum initiationis. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Firmung" (Römische Quartalschrift 72, 133-83) stresses the Roman bias of the great missionary's liturgical work.

There are a number of publications dealing with one or another aspect of the work of Bede. First among these may be mentioned Paul Meyvært's volume of collected essays, Benedict, Gregory, Bede, and Others, which assembles a number of excellent papers (not all, obviously, concerned with Bede) that have been difficult to obtain and, consequently, neglected. The B-part of CCL 123 has been released. It contains Mommsen's text of De temporum ratione liber with commentaries, glosses, and an introduction by C. W. Jones. Coincident with this event is the appearance of an article by T.R. Eckenrode, "The Growth of a Scientific Mind: Bede's Early and Late Scientific Writings" (Downside Rev. 94 [1976], 197-212). Eckenrode stresses both Bede's sources and his capacity for independent thought and observation. De temp. rat., he argues convincingly, is the culminating document. Antonio Isola argues that Bede's De schematibus et tropis was inspired by Augustine's De doctrina Christiana: Augustine taught that Scripture could be the basic text of Christian education, and Bede took this to heart by giving scriptural examples of rhetorical figures ("Il De schematibus et tropis di Beda in Rapporto al De doctrina Christiana di Agostino," Romanobarbarica 1, 71-82). This same aspect of Bede's work is also at the center of Armand Strubel's "'Allegoria in factis' et 'Allegoria in verbis'" (Poétique 16 [1975], 342-57), a study of medieval hermeneutic and rhetoric. "Sul Perduto 'Liber epigrammatum' di Beda" by Bruno Luiselli (Grammatici Latini, pp. 169-80) reviews the case for the existence of this work, listed by Bede in his own bibliography. More important notice of traces of this work in a tenth-century manuscript occurs in Dieter Schaller's "Bemerkungen zur Inschriften-Sylloge von Urbana" (Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch 12, 9-21). (In connection with this subject, see also the work of Lapidge in EHR 90, reviewed in OEN 10 [1976], 83). The work of John the Baptist in hell "as precursor of Christ" is discussed by Daniel Sheerin in "St. John the Baptist in the Lower World" (Vigiliæ Christianæ 30, 1-22) with reference,

inter alia, to a sermon attributed to Eusebius of Alexandria, the Gospel of Nicodemus, and Bede's hymn for the Decollation of John. Sheerin argues Bede followed the tradition of "Eusebius." The "Fragments attribués à Vigile de Thapse dans l'Expositio missae de Florus de Lyon" are identified as mostly Bedan by Jean-Paul Bouhot (Revue des Études Augustiniennes 21 [1975], 203-16). Earl R. Anderson points to De gestis Herwardi Saxonis for "a twelfth century analogue" to "Passing the Harp in Bede's Story of Cædmon" (ELN 15, 1-4). Spencer Cosmos offers a study of "Oral Tradition and Literary Convention in Bede's Life [in HE] of St. Aidan" (Classical Folia 31, 47-63) and concludes that Bede probably had a written source or sources on Aidan. The conclusion is based on observations of hagiographic conventions in the pertinent passages. Bede's doctrine of the church is surveyed by Edward P. Echlin in "Bede and the Church" (Irish Theol. Quarterly 40 [1973], 351-63).

There are several studies on Anglo-Latin hagiographical writing. Michael Lapidge traces "The Medieval Hagiography of St. Ecgwine" (Vale of Evesham Historical Society Research Papers 6, 77-93 [not in Bibliography]). Ecgwine, a bishop of Worcester at the beginning of the eighth century and founder of Evesham, was not memorialized until the beginning of the eleventh century. The first vita (in MS Cotton Nero E.i., vol. 1) was, Lapidge believes, written by Byrhtferth of Ramsey. It and the subsequent lives are interesting examples of the creation of hagiography in cases where no or few documentary facts were available. Gocelin's Libellus contra inanes s. virginis Mildrethae usurpatores, concerned with a late eleventh-century dispute over the whereabouts of the relics of the late seventh-century abbess of Minster in Thanet, is edited for the first time by Marvin L. Colker as "A Hagiographic Polemic" (MS 39, 60-108). Jane Roberts suggests what seems a reasonable solution to an apparent double reference to the date of St. Guthlac's arrival at Crowland in Felix's Vita in "St. Bartholomew's Day: A Problem Resolved?" (MÆ 46, 16-19).

Finally, we notice several miscellaneous pieces of some interest. "Neergang en opkomst van de latijnse letteren: het latijn tussen Oudheid en Middelleeuwen" (Lampas 10, 194-234) by A. Bastiaensen is a survey of the history of Latin style. The author emphasizes the contrasts between the Latin of the school tradition of classical descent and that of Gregory and the liturgy, especially in Rome, and between the Hisperic style of Celtic scholarship and the more chaste Roman style followed by Bede. "De latijnse literaire Cultuur vanaf ca. 750- tot ca. 1200" by J. W. Smit (ibid., 235-48) contains reference to Alcuin's role in the Carolingian renaissance. In "Roman Book and Carolingian Renovatio" (Studies in Church History, 14), D. A. Bullough touches on a number of aspects of English influence on the Carolingians and, at the end, alludes to the return of some of these materials to England in a rather different context in the tenth century. In G. Quispel's Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas: Studies in the History of the Western Diatessaran (1975), there is much incidental information about biblical texts in Anglo-Saxon England. The major thesis of the work is that Tatian incorporated early Jewish-Christian traditions about the life and teachings of Jesus that were carried over into the OHG, some OE texts, and the apocryphal Gospel of Thomas. Rezeption antiker und patristischer Wissenschaft bei Hrabanus Maurus: Studien zur karolingischen Geistesgeschichte by Maria Rissel (1976) is a study of the thought of a major Carolingian thinker who drew heavily on Bede and may have influenced later Anglo-Saxons.

Works not seen:

Atkinson, Charles M. "The Earliest Agnus Dei Melody and Its Tropes." Jnl of the Amer. Musicological Soc. 30, 1-19.

Devisse, Jean. Hincmar, archevêque de Rheims 845-882. Travaux d'histoire éthico-politique, 29. Geneva: Droz, 1976.

Kelly, William. Pope Gregory II on Divorce and Remarriage. Analecta Gregoriana, 203. Rome: Università Gregoriana, 1976.

O'Donnell, J. Reginald. "Alcuin's Priscian," in Latin Script and Letters, A.D. 400-900. Ed. John J. O'Meara & Bernd Naumann. Leiden, 1976. Pp. 225-35.

Thomson, Rodney M. "William of Malmesbury and the Letters of Alcuin." Medievalia et Humanistica, n.s. 8, 147-61.

Winterbottom, Michael. "A 'Celtic' Hyperbaton?" Bull. of the Board of Celtic Stud. 27, 207-12.

M.McC.G.

5. MANUSCRIPTS AND ILLUMINATION

The collection of Irish art now touring the United States should encourage general interest in all areas of Irish culture, and this interest will be admirably served by the official catalogue of the exhibit: Treasures of Early Irish Art, 1500 B.C. to 1500 A.D., from the Collections of the National Museum of Ireland, Royal Irish Museum, Trinity College, Dublin (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art). There are five essays on the different periods of Irish art covered by the exhibition. These essays focus, of course, on the items in the exhibition but include illustrations and discussions of works less portable or found in collections other than the three drawn on for the exhibition. Each chapter is followed by descriptions and bibliographies of the works in the exhibition discussed in the chapter. Because the items are already well known and the essays are intended for a general audience, the value of this catalogue for scholars lies in the magnificent, full-page color photographs of each item in the exhibit; several of the most finely worked are presented from different perspectives and in different degrees of enlargement. The exhibit was previewed in Archæology by Charles T. Little ("Art Treasures of Early Ireland," 30, 338-42).

Also useful for a general audience is Marilyn Stokstad's article on "The Art of Prehistoric and Early Christian Ireland" in Irish History and Culture: Aspects of a People's Heritage (ed. Harold Orel, Lawrence, Kansas, 1976, pp. 43-78). The illustrations are well chosen and included in the text at the point of discussion, and a selection of "Suggestions for Further Reading" is appended.

From a second collection focusing on Irish studies comes Peter Doyle's "The Latin Bible in Ireland: Its Origins and Growth," Biblical Studies: The Medieval Irish Contribution (ed. Martin McNamara, Dublin, 1976, pp. 30-45). Although well organized, the article is often either simple minded (Doyle points out that the Gospels and Bibles were all "handwritten") or obscure.

In "Monachisme colombanien et monachisme bénédictin dans l'art médiéval (Etudes Ligériennes d'histoire et d'archéologie médiévale, ed. René Louis, Auxerre, 1975, pp. 61-76), H-V. Beuer-Szlecter discusses in general terms the growth of these two types of monasticism and their remains in Northumbria and Gaul. St. Columba's success showed both in Gaul and Northumbria but was gradually superseded by Benedictine forms. In spite of the eclipse of the Colombans by the Benedictine order, however, "de l'enseignement donné par les enlumineurs des manuscrits hiberno-northumbriens, les sculpteurs bénédictins ont su tirer largement profit."

Matthew Parker's Legacy: Books and Plate (Cambridge: Corpus Christi College, 1975) was written to commemorate the quatercentenary of his death. In the introduction there is a short but adequate description of his career and of his association with Corpus Christi College, including a discussion of his ecclesiastical motives in acquiring Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. The plates from his manuscript collection are well described, those from his silver collection less so. The authors state that the former are "a characteristic selection from the manuscripts of his collection." Here, too, we would have liked a little more detail: how were the illustrations chosen, which were eliminated, etc.?

Another famous antiquarian receives notice in "John Leland and Mildred of Worcester" (Manuscripta 21, 172-180). Daniel Sheerin establishes that the

extracts which John Leland took from the antiquissimus codex epigrammaton belonging to Mildred of Worcester are from a copy of Mildred's codex and that they survive in a bifolium binding fragment now in the library of the University of Illinois at Urbana. The Urbana fragment may be listed as a surviving manuscript from Malmesbury. Sheerin also notes an epigram, possibly composed by Mildred, which is found in tenth-century additions to BL MS Cotton Vit. XIX. Although Leland noted Mildred's name in the margin beside this epigram, he did not include it in his chapter on Mildred in the Commentarii.

In Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Painting (New York: George Braziller) Carl Nordenfalk has produced a beautifully illustrated and elegant work, designed for an intelligent general audience. The introduction is an easy-to-follow and accurate discussion of the backgrounds to the great flowering of Northumbrian art. Nordenfalk feels that more emphasis should be placed on the Irish component in Insular art and skillfully uses his illustrations to support this contention. There are altogether 48 color plates arranged chronologically from the Durham Gospel to the Book of Mulling. Each illustration is accompanied by a clear description, succinct yet thorough. In the sequence of the plates and their descriptions Nordenfalk articulates the development of the Insular style.

This year there are a number of studies of the artistic influence of one work, group of works, or cultural center on another:

Robert Deshman, in "The Leofric Missal and Tenth Century Art" (ASE 6, 145-173), uses this manuscript as a means of examining English art in the second half of the tenth century. He discusses each of the three booklets which make up the Missal, establishes their historic framework, and discusses their styles. In the case of "B" in particular, which was written and illustrated at Glastonbury, he makes detailed comparisons with other works of the period and shows that Glastonbury was strongly influenced by Winchester, a conclusion which is reinforced by the evidence of the regular interchange of monks between the two monasteries. Deshman also feels that the "new style" which "B" represents is closely related to the monastic reform program initiated by St. Dunstan.

In "The Temple of Solomon in Early Christian and Byzantine Art" (The Temple of Solomon, ed. Joseph Gutman, Missoula, Montana, 1976, pp. 21-43) Stanley Ferber argues that in the Codex Amiatinus (Florence, Biblioteca Laurentiana, Amiatinus 1, fols. 2-3r) we find one of three "patterns of illustration" of Solomon's Temple which began to emerge during the early Christian period. Ferber postulates that this illustration and the illustration to Psalm 113 in the Mt. Athos Psalter (Mt. Athos, MS Patocrator 61, fol. 165) are "dependent upon and adapted from" a manuscript of Egyptian Hellenistic origin, and that the Codex Amiatinus is both chronologically and iconographically closer to the original. The pattern of illustration found in the Codex Amiatinus, Ferber concludes, "is one that loses its meaning and finds no continuation, except in a manuscript such as the Mt. Athos Psalter, where it is taken out of context and abbreviated into an image which has no textual basis."

Richard Reece, in "Mosaic and Carpet" (in Roman Life and Art in Britain, British Archaeol. Reports 41 [Oxford], II, pp. 407-413), undertakes a general survey of recent research on "bridges" between Roman Britain and later civilizations. He considers Insular manuscript carpet pages (which he does not think derive from Roman mosaic pavements), ornamented metalwork, and, finally, recent research on

material remains from Roman times. Reece argues for a strong skepticism when dealing with "bridges": there are indeed many Roman influences, but most come from the Continent rather than from fragments of earlier Roman culture in Britain.

In "Architectural Conventions on the Bayeux Tapestry" (Marsyas 17 [1974-75], 59-65), Vivian B. Mann points out similarities between architectual conventions in the Bayeux tapestry and those in several manuscripts associated with Canterbury in the eleventh century: the Ælfric Paraphrase of the Pentateuch and Joshua (London, British Library MS Cotton Claudius B. IV), the Cædmon Genesis (Oxford, Bodleian MS Junius 11), the Harley Psalter (London, British Library, MS Harley 603), and the Utrecht Psalter (Utrecht University Library, MS 32). The most striking comparisons are those of the palace at Westminster in the tapestry with the audience scenes in the eleventh-century Canterbury manuscripts; the Council of Hastings with Psalm LVII in the Utrecht and Harley Psalters and Ired in the Cædmon Genesis; the Tempietto scene of the tapestry with the Psalmist in the Utrecht Psalter; and William's castle at Rouen with the walls of Jericho in the Ælfric Paraphrase. Mann concludes that "the designer [of the tapestry] knew well the manuscripts of Canterbury and was perhaps a member of one of the Scriptoria there.... His use of these models confirms the attribution of the tapestry to Canterbury, and reaffirms what Francis Wormald has termed 'the survival of Anglo-Saxon illumination after the Norman conquest.'"

Christopher Page's article, "Biblical Instruments in Medieval Manuscript Illustration" (Early Music 5, 299-309) analyzes the effect of the illustration, in manuscripts of the De Diversis Generibus Musicorum of Pseudo-Jerome on medieval illustrations of Biblical instruments: the "artists responsible for some musical illustrations in a few medieval manuscripts turned to copies of this work for models of ancient instruments in their belief that the instruments of the past were not, by any means, the same as those of the present." (One of the illustrations of the De Diversis Generibus Musicorum which Page cites is British Library MS Cotton Tib. VI, fol. 17v, which had been interpreted as a depiction of an eleventh-century instrument. Page points out that "with the disqualification of this illustration, there is no longer evidence that zithers of any kind existed in England during the Anglo-Saxon period.")

A study of a single work, M. Q. Smith's "The Harrowing of Hell Relief in Bristol Cathedral" (Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society 94 [1977 for 1976], 101-06), suggests that this relief may be based on manuscript illustrations of the same theme and dates it to the 1050's. Smith also concludes that this relief is the sole surviving relic of the chapel of St. Jordan, on which the present cathedral was built. Smith's article, although dealing with an interesting subject, is amateurish and inadequate as a serious study of the relief.

Purdue University owns 750 slide sets from the Bodleian's collection. Illuminated Manuscripts: An Index to Selected Bodleian Library Color Reproductions, compiled and edited by Thomas H. Ohlgren (New York: Garland), "provides intellectual access to five hundred of the Bodleian slide sets [at Purdue] containing some 20,000 color transparencies from over 1,100 manuscripts and books." This first volume contains the most important medieval and Renaissance illuminations and texts. A supplement will cover the remaining 250 sets. The work functions also as both a rental catalogue for mounted slides from Purdue and a purchase catalogue for unbound slides from the Bodleian. The information in the abstract for each slide

set is divided into the following categories: library, slide set title, negative reference (Bodleian roll number), rental fee, comments ("a natural-language description of the slide set"), title of manuscript, shelfmark, provenance, date executed, language, artist/school, type of manuscript, and contents. There are indices for each of the fields of information except library, rental fee, and comments. Dr. W. O. Hassal has provided a Preface, and there is a General Introduction by Ohlgren as well as introductions by both the computer coder and programmer. The volume contains one full-page illustration and twelve plates containing four illustrations each, all reproduced in black and white and on text paper. (These have been included, one suspects, to break the visual monotony of 646 pages of computer print-out.)

In his study of the iconography of the bracteate ("Zur Ikonologie der Goldbrakteaten, XIV: die Spannung zwischen Zauber- und Erfahrungsmedizin, erhellt an Rezepten aus zei Jahrtausenden," FSt 11, 414-510), Karl Hauck discusses the significance of the figures in the illustration on fol. 19r of British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius C. III. Hauck contends that the iconographic similarity between the centaur holding vegetal elements in the manuscript and the mounted figures holding vegetal elements on the bracteates reflects not a direct relationship between them, but a similar response to the same situation in the society which produced each: a tension between magical and practical medicine.

Rowan Watson has provided a useful introductory bibliographical article on "Medieval Manuscript Fragments" (Archives 13, 61-73) for those who "find themselves responsible for them and [who must] provide some justification for spending time on them." For example, Watson notes that since many bindings contain material which was considered no longer valuable and hence discarded, this material is correspondingly rare in other forms. At the end of his article Watson lists the details which a cataloguer should note in his description. Although the article is intended for non-specialists, it will provide a useful review to those more expert in the field.

A formidable team has contributed four separate discussions of aspects of "The Manuscript of the Winton Domesday," in Appendix II to Winchester in the Early Middle Ages: An Edition and Discussion of the Winton Domesday, ed. Martin Biddle (Oxford, 1976), pp. 520-549. T. J. Brown, in "The Manuscript and the Handwriting," gives a full description of the manuscript and shows that all writing of both surveys was done by the same scribe at approximately the same time -- soon after Survey II had been completed in 1148. Biddle, in "The Corrections in the Winton Domesday," establishes that this manuscript was the product of a highly-organized scriptorium. An examination of the corrections shows that the original for Survey I must have been similar to the present text except in matters of heading. Survey II's exemplar was less complete and perhaps less legible. H. M. Nixon, in "The Binding of the Winton Domesday," examines the binding and shows that the manuscript was almost certainly bound at Winchester soon after it was written. He also points out that vellum leaves were used as the stiffening material of the covers. This latter point is examined by the late Francis Wormald, "Fragments of a Tenth-Century Sacramentary from the Binding of the Winton Domesday." Wormald describes the leaves in detail and shows that they come from a sacramentary composed in England as early as the third quarter of the tenth century. "If this can be accepted, the fragments would represent an early example of the kind of sacramentary in use in Winchester at the period of the Æthelwold reform."

A second article by Brown, his excellent "Latin Palæography since Traube" (first presented as "an Inaugural Lecture in the Chair of Palæography in the University of London on 22 November, 1967" and published in the Trans. of the Cambridge Bibliog. Soc. 3 [1959-63], 361-381), has been reprinted with some new notes in Codicologica 1 (1976), 58-74. The notes are now numbered consecutively, and the additions and small verbal changes refer to work published since the article was first printed. No substantial changes have been made. Unhappily, three of the notes record the deaths of and tributes to Francis Wormald, Paul Lehmann, and E. A. Lowe.

Malcolm Godden's paper, "Old English," published in Editing Medieval Texts: English, French, and Latin Written in England (ed. A. G. Rigg [New York], pp. 9-33) fulfills crisply and admirably the editor's request of covering "the history of editing in the area, the present state of play, specific editorial problems, and further needs and desiderata." Godden's most provocative remarks concern the responsibilities of editors now approaching Old English texts. He feels that "editors have too often humbled themselves before the manuscript.... One obvious need now is author-based collections." (He does, however, ask for closer adherence to manuscript evidence for punctuation.) He concludes that "the primary editorial contribution to Old English scholarship is likely to be a more historical one providing material for a fuller understanding of Anglo-Saxon culture as a whole.... If [this study] throws a stronger light on the meaning and quality of a particular text that is all to the good; but it needn't be the primary aim."

With the first volume of Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries, Neil Ker inaugurated his useful project of writing a supplement to existing catalogues in order to provide a complete listing of surviving manuscripts in British libraries. Volume I was devoted to London; volume II (Oxford: Clarendon Press) covers Aberdeen to Keele. Originally Ker had hoped to cover libraries up to and including "L" in this second volume, but he found it necessary to devote considerable space to Eton, since James's catalogue was far from complete. Ker's method of describing manuscripts (outlined in vol. I, pp. vii-xiii) is both clear and thorough, a model to emulate. Historians and palæographers will owe a great deal to his meticulous cataloguing.

In her dissertation, "The Emergence and Progress of Irish Script to the Year 700" (Diss. Univ. of Toronto, DAI 38A, 3646) Bella Tulla Schauman suggests a valuable new method of determining and quantifying clusters of variables in given scripts, and argues against Jean Mallon's theory that Ancient Common Writing "cannot be a linear antecedent of New Common Writing and its associated types." She hypothesizes that Rustic Capital and Ancient Common Writing "began about the middle of the first century to be written with an extreme slant to the right." Probably in the second or third centuries, the "method of writing returned once more to the vertical, and this return brought about the letters of New Common Writing, Uncial, Semi-Uncial, Quarter Uncial, and the mixed script found in the Springmont Tablets." Because the "script of the Springmont Tablets contains all the features hitherto considered peculiar to Irish script" Schauman concludes that Irish script is not an invention of the Irish but an adaption of the "mass of Roman letters that emerged as the result of the return to the vertical...."

H. O. Coxe's description of the Anselm manuscript in his catalogue of the Laud collection has been expanded and corrected in Thomas Bestul's article,

"A Note on the Contents of the Anselm Manuscript, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 508" (Manuscripta 21, 167-170). Bestul notes additional prayers (9a-h, 12a, 24a-d) and corrects Coxe's description of item 17 to Chapters I-IX of the pseudo-Augustinian Meditationes and several known pseudo-Augustinian prayers. By comparing the contents of this manuscript with those in "pre-conquest English devotional collections" Bestul demonstrates that the Anselm manuscript follows a typical twelfth-century pattern in combining "prayers from the pre-conquest devotional tradition with those of Anselm, together with the inclusion of other contemporary material."

The same volume of Manuscripta contains two other notes of interest to Old English scholars: In a summary of his conference paper, "The Scribe of the Old English Vercelli Book (p. 24), Paul E. Szarmach places the scribe of the Vercelli Book in the tradition of mechanical copying that Kenneth Sisam has described for vernacular and Anglo-Latin texts in the later Anglo-Saxon period." Szarmach warns that we "ought not to assume an active, intrusive copyist." David Yerkes explains, in "An Elementary way to Illuminate Detail of Textual History" (pp. 38-41), a mathematical method of "establishing linguistic features of lost or archetypal texts but not individual readings." To demonstrate this method he uses two collateral manuscripts of Wærferth's Old English translation of Gregory's Dialogues (C = MS Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 322; O = MS British Library Cotton Otho C. I, vol. 2, fols. 1-37). Yerkes demonstrates that

> the occurrences of in and on in manuscripts C and D are...not not completely at random. Their common ancestor or archetype apparently already had both words. This does not mean, however, that the archetype always read in or on when both manuscripts C and O so read. For any given example the argument of C and O may be coincidental.

Yerkes calls his method of analysis "too elementary to be novel"; but since, as he concedes, he has "never seen it systematically described or used," his presentation should prove useful and provocative.

In another short note, Yerkes draws attention to "An Unnoticed Omission in the Modern Critical Editions of Gregory's Dialogues" (RB 87, 178-179). The 1705 Benedictine edition of the Dialogues and the Moricca edition of 1924 omit two sentences from Book III, Chapter II, which are found in a fragment of one of the oldest surviving manuscripts of the Dialogues (Wroclaw, Bibl. Universytecka Akc. 1955/2 and 1969/430 [Formerly Fragm. R.1]) as well as several other manuscripts. The passage was included in four early printed editions of the text.

We conclude with two articles which A. R. Rumble has contributed to Volume 9 of the English Place Name Society Journal. "The Wheathampstead (Herts.) Charter-Bounds A. D. 1060: a Corrected Text and Notes on the Boundary Points" (pp. 6-11) gives an edition of the boundary recitation portion of a recently-discovered contemporary text of the charter recording a grant by Edward the Confessor to Westminster Abbey of an estate of ten hides at Wheathampstead. This text is collated with the fourteenth-century cartular copy, and is followed by a translation and notes on boundary points. In "The Quotation of Name Forms in Anglo-Saxon Charters" (pp. 3-5), Rumble argues that Sawyer's Anglo-Saxon Charters should be used as the basis for forming a new system of reference to Anglo-Saxon charters in E.P.N.S. volumes. Rumble suggests that it no longer seems practicable

to use traditional printed editions. Reference and spelling should come from the manuscript itself wherever possible with the Sawyer number included in a bracket.

Note: A correction to Linda Voigts's article, "A New Look at a Manuscript Containing the Old English Translation of the Herbarium Apulei (Manuscripta 20, 40-60), reviewed in last year's YWOES, was printed in volume 21, p. 62. Because the error was queried in last year's review, we reprint the correction here:

> The last sentence... should read as follows: "... it is necessary to date this codex as late as possible, at the very least, 1050, a century later than the date some historians of medicine would assign it."

Works not seen:

Avril, François. "Un Art lié aux grandes abbayes: la Normandie." Les Dossiers de l'Archéologie 14 (jan. - fev. 1976), 64-67, ill. [Extract from 1975 exhibit catalogue].

Dodwell, C.R. "La Miniature anglo-saxonne." Les Dossiers de l'Archéologie 14 (jan. - fev. 1976), 53-63, ill.

Oba, Keizo. ["Punctuation in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts."] Doshisha Women's College, Annual Reports of Studies 26, no. 1 (1975), 19-32. [In Japanese.]

J.P.C. and M.C.W.

6. HISTORY AND CULTURE

a. Historiography of Medieval Historians

The tone for this section is well set by Bernard Guenée's article "Y a-t-il une historiographie médiévale?" (Revue Historique 258, 261-75). He disputes the common tendency to say that "history" began to be written sometime after the Middle Ages by arguing that writers of that period did have a sense of the past and they did write history, but that their "historiographie" was medieval, not modern. In the Middle Ages, history was a study which was secondary to religion, and much of the activity of historians was oriented toward substantiating Biblical prophecies, toward illustrating the power of God. Also, all historians are limited by their sources and medieval libraries were more limited and more isolated than ours are today. But over the centuries, Guenée argues, medieval writers did produce real histories, true to their own conventions and resources, and they provided the material for the "humanistic" developments of the 14th century.

As if to illustrate the medieval connection between history and religion, F.P. Pickering discusses the historiographic method of "Widukind von Corvey" in his "Mittelalterliche Geschichtsschreibung: das Problem des Königtums" (Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung 98/99 [1975-76], 63-77), and concludes:

> Seine Sachsengeschichte ist, wenn wir von späten Revisionen absehen, 'ohne Konzessionen an die Welt der Kirche' geschrieben, und so fällt Widukind wohl aus dem Rahmen des in diesem Beitrag gezeichneten Bildes (er greift mit anderen Worten über Boethius hinaus zurück zu den Terminologien der vorchristlichen römischen Welt), und das wäre, wenn ich mir den Namen eines germanistischen 'Spielmanns' in der Rolle des Historikers nicht zuziehen soll, der Punkt, an dem ich ohne Rückschau und Zusammenfassung abbrechen muss.

In more specifically British historiography, there is D.N. Dumville's "On the North British Section of the Historia Brittonum" (Welsh Hist. Rev. 8, 345-54.) Dumville's article is a conservative reply to K.H. Jackson's 1963 hypothesis that the North British section was merely incorporated whole into the Historia after it had been fully developed over time by other, contemporary writers. Dumville objects to this, arguing that there are few reasons to see this section as written earlier and no need to do so as long as we stop thinking Nennius "was a dolt."

b. The Pagan Period and the Saxon Shore

In "Her...gefeaht wiþ Walas: Aspects of the Warfare of the Saxons and Britons" (Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies 27, III, 413-24), Leslie Alcock attempts "to establish the character of the warfare which accompanied the establishment of the kingdoms of Kent, Sussex, and Wessex, and the westward expansion of the latter realm." His survey shows that battles at river crossings and on hill tops were most frequent. There is little evidence that hill-forts were used in battles. Curiously, Alcock's research leads him to conclude further

that "there is no evidence that the forts of the Saxon shore, however garrisoned, played any part in opposing initial landings."

Dr. E. Johnson has edited a volume on The Saxon Shore (London: The Council for British Archaeology, CBA research report #18). Its clear message, from the foreword to the end, is how little we know about the Saxon Shore, about how much needs to be done and redone. This contains a few contributions to begin to fill the gap -- J. Merten's full report on his excavations at Oudenburg since 1956, and brief bits from Philip on Dover, Edwards and Green on Brancaster, Langouët on Alet, and Sanguer on Brest. But largely there are explicit discussions of how limited our present evidence is (Cunliffe) and how careful we must be in separating historical and archaeological questions (Reece in the Foreword). Several articles also illustrate the thorny problems involved when one tries to come to terms with the scanty evidence -- Hassall wrestling with the identification and development of each fort named in the Notitia, Mann tracing changes in late Roman military structure and applying it to the Saxon Shore, and Wilkes discussing the conspicuous absence in the Shore forts of identifying inscriptions.

In a more broadly-based study, E.A. Thompson makes a bold iconoclastic attempt to return as strictly as possible to the original Latin sources for information about what happened in "Britain, A.D. 406-410" (Britannia 8, 303-18). Thompson vigorously discredits C.E. Stevens's long-standing interpretation of events, and puts forward a very conservative and convincing version in his first section. In the second section, he becomes more interpretive and attempts to argue that the British revolt of 409 was an unprecedented revolt of "Bacaudae" against the Saxons. Malcolm Todd takes up once again the "Famosa Pestis and Britain in the Fifth Century" (Britannia 8, 319-25). It is Todd's notion that "the silence of reputable and well-informed authors on the incidence of disease in other parts of the western provinces in this period should provide a corrective to any inflation of the significance of epidemics in bringing an end to dignified urban life." In reaching this conclusion, Todd goes against the interesting evidence brought together by John Wacher in The Towns of Roman Britain, recently reviewed in these pages. As a Devil's advocate, Todd does well, but he chooses to discount Gildas and the archaeological evidence adduced by Wacher.

c. General Medieval History

J.M. Wallace-Hadrill provides us with a great deal in his Early Medieval History (New York: Harper and Row, 1976). The title-essay is an expanded version of his inaugural lecture as Chichele Professor at Oxford, and is a delight. He surveys the field with boldness and precision, providing both a brilliant introduction to those new to the subject, and much to ponder for the professional. He makes a case for the saint as successor to the local pagan deity, and for the shrine of the saint as the most important meeting place for people at all levels in medieval society. His insights into the nature of society are of great interest, and his commentary on the place of monasticism is particularly important. Benedict's Rule is the "perfect separative instrument," and it was a strict one. As Wallace-Hadrill points out, "the possibility of a monk's exhaustion was a matter for serious consideration." His accounts of major intellects of the period is splendid; Isidore of Seville's is a new kind of mind, interested in the why, not the how of grammar. In his account of mathematics, Isidore is not afraid of infinity, which struck fear into the minds of such late Classical thinkers as Cassiodorus. Most

important of all, Wallace-Hadrill asserts that the real beginning of the early medieval period is the birth of Christ, followed as it was by "four centuries of instability, or argument and emotion." Many of the later essays in the book have until now been hard to come by, and the account of "Bede and Plummer," Wallace-Hadrill's contribution to the Bede symposium at Durham in 1973, throws light on the nineteenth-century scholar and the subject of his editorial skill; his conclusion deserves to be quoted:

> Plummer's commentary was nobly conceived and beautifully executed. It should not surprise us that he relates Bede to William of Malmesbury and Dean Liddon, rather than to Gregory of Tours and Eusebius; that he looks to the continent to explain this or that event in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, but without any real awareness that they live one life; that he sees the miraculous in terms of beguiling stories, not in terms of the most dramatic example of God's patronage through the saints of a troubled society; that he sees paganism as immoral barbarism, not as an elaborate propitiation of the spiritual world, and that he sees ecclesiastical history as an account of an institution, not as an arrangement of past events in terms of Providence.

Space permits only a mention of two other favorite essays in this collection. "The Graves of Kings" has a Postscript which should be considered along with Dr. Bruce-Mitford's work on Sutton Hoo, and "A Background to St. Boniface's Mission," in which a case is made for the Saint's martyrdom, not by hostility, but "the complexity of the situation he faced, the varieties of Christian experience already available in the lands of his mission, and the difficulties of the men who supported him."

Boniface is also treated in a paper, unfortunately published only in abstract, by Frederick J. Cowie, "Manuscripts on the Move: The Eighth Century Postal System of Boniface" (Manuscripta 21, 10). Boniface had a veritable legion of emissaries who carried goods, gifts, and manuscripts, and who kept him in close touch with England, Rome, and Paris. Cowie holds that "Boniface created...a communication system deserving of notice as a link between Rome's Cursus Publicus and Charlemagne's missi dominici."

St. Boniface's administrative skills lead naturally to a broadly-based survey by Robert E. Rodes of Ecclesiastical Administration in Medieval England: The Anglo-Saxons to the Reformation (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press). Rodes provides a very careful review of the Celtic, Norman, and Germanic cultural bases, and makes a good case to show that the Anglo-Saxons had a greater toleration of anarchy, with popes, bishops, and kings all treated in the same egalitarian way. I wonder how much of the stance was reenforced by the Irish contribution to English Christianity; surely nothing could be more egalitarian than the missives sent by early Irish missionaries on the continent to the pontiff at Rome. Rodes sees a distinctive style developed in the Anglo-Saxon church by the eighth century, under which were combined in the bishops the "peripatetic evangelism of the Irish bishops with the peripatetic government of Anglo-Saxon kings." Rodes's conclusions provide yet another instance of the richness of Anglo-Saxon adaptation of traditional forms:

> The Anglo-Saxons built their church organization out of the materials they had available. They found ways to absorb the hierarchical orders of the church into their own hierarchical social order. They made

their devices for supporting the king's retainers into an effective economic base for a numerous ministry. They adapted their various expedients for local administration as patterns for the local development of the church.

Ann Dornier has put together an important series of essays in her Mercian Studies (Leicester: Leicester University Press). In the past quarter century much evidence has come to light to show the importance of this kingdom, and some hold that Mercia was a likely place of origin for Beowulf, since the continental Offa is mentioned in that poem, and his illustrious successor-in-name held sway as a very strong ruler indeed in England. Cyril Hart tells us, in his assessment of the "Kingdom of Mercia" that "the Mercian Bretwaldas did much to weld together their subject provinces to form a unified English state and in so doing they developed many of the features that were to characterize royal administration in England during the succeeding centuries." In "Monetary Affairs at the time of Æthilbald," D.H. Metcalf shows how "coinage was used and circulated under royal control, and in total quantities measured in hundreds of thousands, essentially in connections with trade." Though much of the actual digging remains to be done, Philip Rahtz expects that the "Archaeology of West Mercian Towns" will be "as impressive as Winchester or York by the end of the present century." Essays on the art of the area are very fine. Ann Dornier deals with "The Anglo-Saxon Monastery at Breedon-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire," dating the splendid sculptures there to the eighth or tenth centuries. Rosemary Cramp deals with these enigmatic and beautiful pieces in her "Schools of Mercian Sculpture." Her conclusion is exciting, and I believe correct: "The ultimate inspiration for the strip-friezes of Breedon must be seen in the decoration of Near Eastern churches such as those in the monastery of Apa Apollo, Bawit." Supporting evidence for breadth of inspiration is found in Hazel Wheeler's "Aspects of Mercian Art -- the Book of Cerne." She tells us, "an extremely eclectic style existed throughout the country in the eighth and ninth centuries, drawing on elements of the Classical, Byzantine, Celtic, and Germanic art traditions: trumpet-patterns in Lincolnshire, interlaced animals in the heart of Pictland."

Georges Duby's even-handed The Early Growth of the European Economy (transl. by Howard B. Clarke, reissued in paperback by Cornell Univ. Press) needs little additional comment. It is thorough and accurate on facts from the complete range of European sources. It does have some drawbacks for Anglo-Saxon scholars, mainly as a result of its broad scale. Perhaps a useful supplement for those who read Japanese is Yoshinobu Aoyama's study of Anglo-Saxon society, Angura-Sakuson shakai no kenkyū (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1974). He briefly surveys past studies of the society and then, largely using materials from the laws, pictures various aspects of society -- slaves, land ownership, development of society as a whole, and other essential social features.

Jo Ann McNamara and Suzanne Wemple provide an interesting review of "The Power of Women through the Family in Medieval Europe: 500-1100" (Feminist Studies 1, nos. 3-4 [1973], 126-41). (Please note the new address of this journal: Women's Studies Program, Univ. of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742). They trace the rise and fall of the power of women which accompanied the rise and fall of the power of "the family" in the feudal system by analyzing the various inheritance laws -- both as revealed by practice and by codes -- in the Germanic kingdoms. They note that the more land a woman could hold in her own name, to use and dispose of as she wished, the more power she could wield. A more general

survey of "Women before the Conquest: A Study of Women in Anglo-Saxon England" (Papers in Women's Studies 1 [1974], 127-49) is presented by Elizabeth Judd. She reviews many types of evidence -- laws, literature, placenames, and history -- but comes to few conclusions.

The spirit of Margaret Gallyon's The Early Church in Northumbria (Lavenham, Suffolk: Terence Dalton, Ltd.) is not so engaging as other historical accounts. This history is based largely on translations of Bede and, while not really a bad book, seems both too boring for the children it might serve well and too thin for an adult interested in the subject.

d. Towns, Villages, and Implications of Place-Names

Substantial progress is being made in our understanding of very large patterns within cultural and archaeological evidence. P.H. Sawyer has brought together twenty-six essays on Medieval Settlement: Continuity and Change (London: Edward Arnold, 1976). The book is divided into five sections, each of which has a carefully constructed introduction and commentary. As a result of research since the Second World War, and particularly in the past decade, long-cherished notions about settlement, contact, warfare, and continuity have had to give way in favor of a much more complex picture. As Sawyer points out, society developed very early indeed: "Our earliest documents show that many estates were large and well-developed with a great variety of resources that were already exploited very thoroughly in the seventh century." In his summary of Part I ("Territorial Organization -- Resources and Boundaries") G.W.S. Barrow affirms with good reason that "the pattern of settlement in Dark Age and early Medieval Europe was a good deal more complex in its structure and considerably more gradual and haphazard in its chronological development than most of the older schematic accounts were prepared to allow." This view is taken further in P.D.A. Harvey's introduction to section III ("Economic and Social Change"): "In English history we can no longer take for granted that the advent of the Anglo-Saxons peopled the land with settlers who swept away all that they found, making an essentially fresh start with new settlements, new social structure, new agrarian organization; nor that the Danish incursions brought massive immigration to eastern England to replace the existing peasantry with Scandinavian newcomers." The final essay in the book, Brian K. Roberts's excellent, heavily-illustrated "The Anatomy of a Settlement," proves this point through topographic features which have existed for thousands of years, through Celt, Roman, Saxon, and Norman times. Roberts stresses how "rural society's first concern has always been and can only be with continuity." Nynehead Hollow Way, near Wellington, Somerset, is an irrefutable example of such continuity.

This notion of continuity is supported in "Historical Geography and Our Landed Heritage" (University of Leeds Review 19 [1976], 53-78), by Glanville R.J. Jones. He argues that British settlement patterns survived the Anglo-Saxon introduction of large, nucleated villages more commonly than we often think. He uses geographic, place-name, and cultural evidence to try to recover a picture of the British pattern of decentralized open-field farming with several small hamlets and vills scattered around and sharing the services of two or more larger religious and administrative centers.

A book of great interest centers on a more limited area, Alfred's Kingdom (London: J.M. Dent, in History in the Landscape series, edited by Dennis Harding). David Hinton, intimately familiar both with Oxfordshire and the Winchester-Southampton region, provides us with a lively account of the economic and social history of the area. He stresses themes brought up in the Sawyer collection, showing clearly that the landscape was rich and well-utilized from a very early period. The importance of Hamwich, on the Southampton peninsula, is brought out by a detailed account of evidence for imports, exports, and manufacturing carried on there. For a long time it has been held that much of England was wooded until late Medieval times, and that heavy soils were avoided in the Saxon period, but archaeology along the routes of motorways gives clear proof that heavy soils were worked in Roman and even in prehistoric times.

Philip Holdsworth narrows the focus still further in "Saxon Southampton: A New Review" (MA 20 [1976], 26-61). He looks at the evidence for trade and manufacturing at Hamwich and cites bronzes, many examples of fine carpentry and shipbuilding, with some examples closely paralleled in finds from Lübeck. There is a fine international collection of pottery, and some 98 pieces of glass. Holdsworth tells us, "several fragments exhibit opaque yellow marvered decorations and filigree rods, both known from Scandinavian rather than British contents." And on a still smaller scale, R.A. Hall makes some interesting observations on "The Preconquest Burgh of Derby" (Derbyshire Archaeol. Jnl. 94 [1976 for 1974], 16-23). He sees evidence for two stages of Viking development of fortifications there, and evaluates the city in conjunction with Leicester, Lincoln, and other burhs. Also H. Sutermeister reports on excavations at "Burpham: a Settlement Site within the Saxon Defences" (Sussex Archaeol. Colls. 114 [1976], 194-206). This was one of Alfred's mid-sized burhs and the dig uncovered an interesting set of what Sutermeister calls two buildings, apparently occupied by non-military villagers.

The most exciting and richly informative book dealing with town sites is Susan Reynolds's An Introduction to the History of English Medieval Towns (Oxford: Clarendon Press). The book is particularly important because the author is careful to consider the much more highly developed state of town archaeology in Europe. The paucity of evidence is clearly stated, but a few general statements can be made. Town life was at a particularly low ebb in the early Saxon period. Though continuity did exist in some places, Reynolds holds that the best description of the continuity is that coined by German archaeologists, Kontinuität der Ruinen. That towns had a decidedly international cast is made clear by the pervasiveness of the -wic (< Lat. vicus?); town names with this suffix are known in French, German, Dutch, and English context. Written evidence tells us that there was a Frisian study group in York in the eighth century. To me, the most interesting aspect of this book is the evidence Reynolds adduces to show that the Vikings founded towns, rather than destroying them. Lincoln, Norwich, Stanford, and Thetford are direct Viking foundations, with the latter an expansive place, stretching for a mile along the river, and possessed of an "earth rampart, several cobbled flint roadways, many scattered houses and a few large halls, pottery kilns, cloth and metal works, and probably a dozen churches."

Reynolds's point on the paucity of evidence is reenforced by Martin O'Connell's survey of Historic Towns in Surrey (Research volume of the Surrey Archaeol. Soc. 5). He concludes that "nearly all of the settlements appear to have begun in the Saxon period, yet virtually nothing is known about their size or

even their exact location." London makes the case for town development curiouser and curiouser, as Brian Hobley, John Scofield, and their colleagues point out in "Excavations in the City of London First Interim Report, 1974-75" (Ant. J 57, 31-66). Though sixteen waterfront sites have yielded a great deal of information about the Roman and late medieval city, virtually nothing has come up from the early and mid-Saxon periods.

Linguistic aspects of place-name evidence are the responsibilities of another reviewer, but the implications of some studies for settlement patterns must be considered here. Kenneth Cameron examines "The Significance of English Place-Names" in an important review (Proc. Brit. Acad. 62 [1977 for 1976], 135-55). Most important are his comments on Scandinavian names, for Cameron holds that most Danish names represent new settlements, and that it may be possible to identify some Danish army leaders in some manorial names. In "Topographical Settlement-Names" (Local Historian 12, 273-77), Margaret Gelling makes a good case to show that ford, eg, and dūn names belong to an early stratum. In another study, Mrs. Gelling deals with "Latin Loan Words in Old English Place Names" (ASE 6, 1-13). She holds that such names may give us evidence of Germanic contact with Rome before the collapse, though she prefers to follow Myres's evaluation of the settlement period as one of "overlap and controlled settlement." Place name studies are clearly of great importance, but it is probably wise to heed the comments of C.J. Arnold in his "Early Anglo-Saxon Settlement Patterns in Southern England" (Jour. Hist. Geography 3, 309-15). After some comments on the field, he concludes, "a great deal more valuable information would be gained about Anglo-Saxon society by studying the structure and patterns of settlement than by searching for the date and typology of place-names."

e. General Germanic, Viking, and Celtic Material

The most broad-ranging piece in the field is Hans Kuhn's "Uns ist Fahrwind gegeben wieder den Tod. Aus einer grossen Zeit der Nordens" (ZDA 106, 147-63). Kuhn courses through Icelandic, OE, and Old High German sources, and sees the same northern perspective as dominant. He concludes that the whole period should be seen to support a central theme:

> Ich glaube daher, wir dürfen, wenn wir aufs Ganze sehn, mit vollem Recht von einer grossen Zeit des Nordens sprechen. Die ineinander verflochtenen Sagen von Sigurd und Helgi Hundingsbani, die damals in unsern Gesichtskreis treten, scheinen mir mit ihrem strahlenden Heldentum und unbeschwerten stolzen Todestrotz, aber auch dem Versagen der eigenen Kraft und dem ruhmlosen Tode ihrer Helden, gute Sinnbilder dieses Zeitraums zu sein.

In Diplomatic Studies in Latin and Greek Documents from the Carolingian Age (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press), Luitpold Wallach makes a solid case to show how "the anonymous activity of Alcuin in the service of Charlemagne was even broader than used to be assumed. It extends...to Charlemagne's capitularies and widespread correspondence." Thus, the force of the English tradition in education is even more dominant than has hitherto been supposed.

The most extensive Scandinavian Studies work is H.R. Loyn's The Vikings in Britain (London: Batesford). As a review, the book is first-rate, for Loyn sets out very clearly what is known. Perhaps his most important contributions

are these: First, the parallel he draws between Arabic and Scandinavian dealings with Europe, in which the Arabs are at least as strong a force for change, and almost certainly more terrible as aggressors. Second, the comparison between Scandinavian internal and external affairs, in which he reminds us that "the Viking age can never be seen in proper perspective until it is realized that the terrifying raids overseas were co-terminous with the first stirrings towards a national unity within Scandinavia itself."

Herbert Jankuhn offers a balanced account of "Die Anfänge des Städtwesens in Nordeuropa" (Festschrift für Richard Pittioni, II, ed. Herbert Mitscha-Markeim et al. [Wein, 1976], 298-321). Professor Jankuhn offers a survey of trade contacts between Scandinavia and the rest of the world in the early medieval period. He holds that Northern European cities grew under an impetus that was distinct from the Roman Empire or civitas. He cites the well-known instances of trade between Scandinavia and Rome, and holds that small marketplaces, "Emporien," existed in many places by the ninth century, places where people handled both raw materials and manufacture. By 800, Hamburg, Birka and Haithabu were well established, and such vici had become fully operational cities by the tenth century.

Two articles deal with the Vikings in Francia. Niels Lukman writes on "Ragnarr Loðbrók, Sigifrid, and the Saints of Flanders" (Med. Scand. 9 [1976], 7-50), and shows how Scandinavian and Flemish traditions have much in common, "including a constellation of personal names and place-names linked to a specific event." Lauren Wood Breese considers "The Persistence of Scandinavian Connections in Normandy in the Tenth and Early Eleventh Centuries" (Viator 8, 47-61). She concludes that the record "suggests strongly that Vikings were dominant militarily and politically until the middle of the tenth century; that they exploited that dominance in joint military ventures, in commerce and by immigration in substantial numbers; that their numbers were nevertheless too small to displace the native population or seriously to modify the indigenous culture."

R.A. Hall has provided a brief, up-to-date and beautifully-illustrated account of The Viking Kingdom of York (Yorkshire Museum) which was meant to accompany an exhibit held in the York Museum in the summer of 1976. Some of the objects are not presented elsewhere, and the commentary and illustrations on the Viking farmhouse at Ribblehead are particularly interesting. The building was made of a low stone wall, five to nine feet thick, probably covered with a thatched roof, the timber supports of which can be traced. The internal measurements of the house are 64 x 14 feet.

P.J. Huggins et al. report on "The Excavation of an 11th Century Village Hall... at Waltham Abby, Sussex" (MA 20 [1976], 75-133). The late Viking hall was erected for Tovi, one of Knut's ministers, and is similar in form to the halls at Jarlshof and Vallkagar in Sweden.

Kathleen Hughes, now lost to us, provided a first-rate account of The Early Celtic Idea of History and the Modern Historian in her inaugural lecture as Reader in Celtic and Fellow of Newnham College at Cambridge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). It is important to remember, Dr. Hughes tells us, that the Celtic tradition had great continuity with the Roman world, and extended far into the high Middle Ages. The royal houses of Wales and Cornwall "thought of themselves as political heirs of the Romans." When Alexander III of Scotland

came to the throne in 1250, he had his geneaology read in Celtic. Dr. Hughes holds, in the tradition of the Celts and of such esteemed scholars as Nora Chadwick, "the distinction between literature and history is meaningless." Finally, Dr. Hughes makes the point that Scotland was more influenced by continental tradition than were Wales or Ireland in the early medieval period.

David Dumville is busily at work reassessing Celtic sources and their relation to Anglo-Saxon studies, and he is at his best in "Sub-Roman Britain -- History and Legend" (History 62, 173-92). He takes exception to misuse of Welsh sources by some modern "Arthurians," and remarks how those who deal with Celtic sources in the fifth and sixth centuries "have not done the fundamental part of their homework and have therefore failed to appreciate the nature of the source-material which they have so freely employed." This is scholarship in the grand nineteenth-century style, in which bluntness and honest doubt make a shortish article as useful as a weighty and expensive volume which skirts issues and avoids conflict. The late and honored Nora Chadwick has here a staunch supporter for her long-neglected "pro-Celtic" stance, though Arthur is relegated to his proper place as a figure in mythology or at best legend who "owes his place in our history books to a 'no smoke without fire' school of thought." Anyone working on Saxon and Celtic contact without taking this accurate if acerbic essay into account does so at peril.

Dumville also provides a "Note on the Picts in Orkney" (Scottish Gaelic Studies 12 [1976], 266) in which he discusses a Bern manuscript of the second half of the ninth century, which is essentially a duplicate of Bede's summary, save for a localization of the Picts. The Orkneys are described, "Orcadas quoque insulas Pictorum romano adiecit imperio, atque inde Roman rediit." Another minor light on Pictish studies is provided by Alexander Boyle in "Matrilineal Succession in the Pictish Monarchy" (Scottish Hist. Rev. 56, 1-10). Boyle relates the Pictish line to other matrilineal groups, and sees the sea and fishing associated with all those he cites.

Robert W. Steel has completed the revision of R.H. Kinvig's The Isle of Man: A Social, Cultural, and Political History (Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle, 1975). A major accomplishment of this book is to point out how Man, along with the rest of the "highland zone" of Britain, prospered and was extremely well-frequented from the 4th to the 8th centuries. Chapters three and four, which cover Man in the periods of Celtic and Scandinavian dominance, will be of great interest to Anglo-Saxonists. Archaeological evidence makes it quite clear that centers like Tintagel traded with the Mediterranean, and Man was heavily affected by later Hiberno-Norse influence. It is interesting to note both the richness of the pagan Viking ship-burial discovered in 1945 at Baladoole and the wide differences between the burial-practice here, and that at Sutton Hoo. The grave contained not only English, Irish, and Celtic materials, but also artifacts from central and southern Europe. A wide range of livestock was buried above the boat, horse, ox, pig, sheep, cat and dog being identified.

Finally, Lloyd Laing has edited Studies in Celtic Survival (BAR 37). The volume presents, as Laing points out, "no firm conclusions...[but] the overall result of the Conference was to demonstrate a remarkable degree of conservatism in the Celtic areas during [the first millenium A.D.]" The articles in general include bibliographies of the most recent work in Celtic studies, and three articles in particular present excellent surveys of what is currently known in their areas:

A. Morrison discusses why it is so difficult to resolve "The Question of Celtic Settlement in the Scottish Highlands" (pp. 67-76); P.S. Gelling presents the various likely interpretations of possible evidence for "Celtic Continuity in the Isle of Man" (pp. 77-82); and V.B. Proudfoot gives a thorough and lucid analysis of the "Economy and Settlement in Rural Ireland" based on patterns and styles of land settlement (pp. 83-106).

f. Later History and Culture

This section begins best at the end of the Anglo-Saxon period, and also at the end of a true monument to scholarship and tenacity with H.C. Darby's Domesday England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). This is the final volume in Darby's Domesday series, and it is likely to be the most used. Previous volumes were valuable for their detailed presentation of the geography of individual counties, but this volume presents the material for England as a whole. Like all the volumes, this has a seemingly endless march of information: 111 of G.R. Versey's excellent maps showing things like "occupied vs. unoccupied settlements in the south-west," and "recorded men per ploughteam" (one raw and one adjusted for slaves); and twenty-one extremely useful appendices, charting such information as "statistical summary of mills by Domesday County," "references to markets," "the Shropshire ploughland formulae," and on and on. The geographic facts of the Domesday book have, through the work of Darby and his colleagues, probably been as thoroughly analyzed, mapped, and charted as they can be by human beings.

Moving a few years back toward the Anglo-Saxon period, we have O.K. Werckmeister's comprehensive and thought-provoking article on "The Political Ideology of the Bayeux Tapestry" (SM 3rd ser. 17 [1976], 535-95). Werckmeister tackles several of the thorniest issues which involve the tapestry and usually makes some interesting headway. He argues cautiously but positively in Section I that there is a good chance the designer of the Bayeux Tapestry had studied the Trajan column in Rome. He develops interesting support for this suggestion and also explores William the Conqueror and his relationships with Harold and with Anglo-Saxon traditions of fealty. The final section, and Werckmeister's actual statement of what he thinks the political ideology of the tapestry is, is the most disappointing, the least cautiously and completely considered.

A couple of less-essential pieces on the Conquest period are Miles W. Campbell's "Hypothèses sur les causes de l'ambassade de Harold en Normandie" (Annales de Normandie 27, 243-65) and David Howarth's 1066: The Year of the Conquest (New York: The Viking Press). Campbell's article refers frequently to Barlow's Edward the Confessor, and if one looks on p. 228 of that fine book he finds this: "The truth about Harold's embassy to Normandy in 1064 or 1065 cannot be established: the evidence is too unreliable. All we can do is to list the main possibilities." Barlow lists five possibilities and I don't think Campbell article would change his conclusion at all. Howarth's book is an accurate enough popular evocation of the events of the year 1066. A nice Christmas present for the kids.

Pierre Riché offers a very spirited account of "La 'Renaissance' intellectuelle due X^{e} siècle en Occident" (Cahiers d'Histoire 21 [1976], 27-42). Though the period is known as "siècle de fer et de plomb," this scholar offers

an account of the positive effects both of Viking incursions (spread of culture, new foundations, new centers for copying MSS) and of other influences on the century, such as the very positive forces exerted by the Arabic and oriental centers of Corduba, and the direct Byzantine influence on southern Italy and Germany. His comment on the intellectual aspect of the age is particularly telling: "En conciliant foi et sagesse antique, les lettrés du X^{e} siècle sont arrivés à une sorte d'équilibre. Au siècle suivant, la trop grande part faite aux sciences profanes dans l'école inquiétera les moines réformateurs tel Pierre Damien, d'autant plus que les abus de la dialectique commencent à faire naître des hérésies. Pour le moment, nous n'en sommes pas encore là."

Also in the tenth century, we have women, war, and law. Marc Anthony Meyer traces the role of "Women and the Tenth Century English Monastic Reform" (RB 87, 34-61). Especially after Alfred, Anglo-Saxon women had full legal rights to land tenure and disposal, and widows in particular had elevated status and special rights which might encourage them to patronize monasteries and monastic reform. Meyer shows how the continuing and powerful support of women fostered and even helped direct tenth-century reforms. Eric John discusses "War and Society in the Tenth Century: The Maldon Campaign" (Trans. of the Royal Hist. Soc. 4th ser., 27, 173-95). He feels that "the Maldon campaign was a turning point in the history of the times. Up to then, the English...expected to win." After the death of Byrhtnoth, he says, "the English acquired a new Establishment [and]...the foundations of West Saxon power, laid by a series of rulers from Ælfred to Edgar, were no longer adequate." And finally, Niels Lund analyzes the fourth code of "King Edgar and the Danelaw" (Med. Scandinavia 9 [1976], 181-95). He wants to demonstrate that "the accession of Edgar to Northern England had its background...in the particularism of the Danelaw and Mercia" and that the varying fortunes of Edgar, Æthelræd, and Cnut partly relate to their different handlings of the traditions of Northern and Mercian legal autonomy which Edgar IV recognized.

R.T.F. and P.L.T.

7. ARCHAEOLOGY AND NUMISMATICS

a. General Archaeology

Clearly the most important large-scale archaeological volume to be produced this year is J.N.L. Myres's monumental two-volume A Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Pottery of the Pagan Period (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). Most important for the general reader is the general historical survey Myres provides on pp. 114-127. To me, his vindication of Bede's account of Angles, Saxons, and Jutes through hard and copious (though fragile) evidence is of particular importance, but others will prefer different aspects of the book. The Corpus is a tribute to the results that can be obtained through a lifetime of painstaking part-time work on a body of fragmentary blackened burial urns, generally of undistinguished appearance.

One would naturally expect great things of the first volume of Winchester Studies, but since volume I, by Frank Barlow, Martin Biddle, and others, is an edition and discussion of the Winton Domesday, it is of marginal interest to Anglo-Saxonists. On the other hand, John G. Evans's An Introduction to Environmental Archaeology (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press) is a work of enormous scope. Evans covers climate, geology, soil, plants, spatial variability, time, and man. There are useful discussions of the medieval period, and the book is a good one for "self-teaching."

David Brown's Anglo-Saxon England (London: The Bodley Head) is an excellent overview of Anglo-Saxon archaeology, though it is not aimed at scholars. Brown presents a picture of how archaeology works and some of the problems and controversies which have beset Anglo-Saxonists through the years by the vivid technique of following the work of major archaeologists. But throughout the book he tends to simplify problems and gives archaeologists too much power to make final pronouncements. He seems to have been able to review the constantly evolving opinions on what a Saxon village looks like, on what typifies an Anglo-Saxon church, or on the dating of the Merovingian coin series without developing a sense of how tentative and relative archaeological information is.

An important survey of more limited scope is provided by M.C.W. Hunter. in an evaluation of "The Study of Anglo-Saxon Architecture since 1770" (Proc. Cambs. Antiq. Soc. 66 [1975-76], 129-39). The kernel of the piece is that it is more honest to be content with uncertainties, because precision is impossible. The detailed analysis of the wrong-headedness of eighteenth-century antiquarians and the predeliction of Baldwin-Brown to see Anglo-Saxon architecture in relation to Rhenish buildings is set against the modern tendency to press for exactness by pushing typological evidence too hard, or taking historical considerations as more meaningful than they are.

b. Burials, Art Objects, and the Jarrow Lectures

Cemeteries and burials have always been the staple of Anglo-Saxon archaeology, and techniques to analyze the information they offer are improving. Sonia Chadwick Hawkes masterfully demonstrates an especially intriguing technique in "Orientation at Finglesham: Sunrise Dating of Death and Burial in an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery in East Kent" (Archaeologia Cantiana 92, 33-51). She explores

the hypothesis of Wells and Green that, with the advent of Christianity in England, graves were oriented to the east (so occupants could rise facing Christ at the Second Coming) and that, in the absence of landmarks, east was determined by the rising sun. Hawkes clearly shows that orientation by the rising sun was easy to do at the seashore site of Finglesham and has copious tables and graphics which suggest that it was done. Then, since the sun rises at different points on the horizon at different times of the year, it is possible to determine at approximately what season each burial occurred. Many interesting seasonal variations emerge -- the end of winter and of summer were especially fatal times, while winter seems surprisingly safe -- and also some insights into what ages and sexes were likely affected by what sorts of disorders.

An even more technical review of burials is offered by R.A. Chambers in "The Cemetery Site at Beacon Hill, near Lewknor, Oxon. 1972 (M40 Site 12): an Inventory of the Inhumations and a Reappraisal" (Oxoniensia 41 [1977 for 1976], 77-85). He lists the orientation of the body, grave goods, sex, condition of skeleton, age, and significant pathology for each burial. Some interesting generalizations emerge (for example, few people here lived past 35 years of age), and on the basis of his reappraisal he dates the whole cemetery as "mid-late Saxon."

David H. Kennett fully publishes and discusses the "Anglo-Saxon Finds from Brooke, Norfolk, 1867-1869" (Proc. of the Camb. Antiq. Soc. 66 [1975-76], 93-118). The collection contains thirteen brooches, mostly cruciform, lots of spearheads, and two shield bosses. All the brooches are illustrated here, either in rough line drawings or with photos. The presence of so many spearheads suggests this material came from a cemetery and Kennett discusses its possible significance and dates the collection mid-500's.

The two most recently published Jarrow lectures, those for 1976 and 1977, are both extremely important contributions to our knowledge of Anglo-Saxon England. H.M.R.E. Mayr-Harting's study of "The Venerable Bede, the Rule of St. Benedict, and Social Class" (Jarrow, 1976) is a brilliant study of precisely how Bede stood with regard to the paradox of Benedictine monasticism. As Mayr-Harting points out, these monasteries lived only because they were absorbed into aristocratic society; on the other hand, "their distinctive contribution to Christianity has been to create an educational and community tradition in which all reflections of worldly structures are irrelevant." It is quite clear that though Bede respected the secular hierarchy in its place, he took a very firm line on equality within monastic houses. So pervasive was the Benedictine role in Bede's life that his commentaries in sacred texts are clearly influenced by the wording and import of certain sections of the Rule. A final snippet from Mayr-Harting's excellent study shows how Bede in one respect went further than Benedict himself: "Benedict left all the inferences from monastic to secular life to be drawn by others, whereas Bede, late in life, was to draw some of them for himself in the Ecclesiastical History."

As for the 1977 Jarrow Lecture given by Per Jonas Nordhagen, it is an understatement to say that his study of "The Codex Amiatinus and the Byzantine Element in the Northumbrian Renaissance" is important. For anyone deeply concerned with cultural transmission throughout Europe in the early Middle Ages, it is essential. The range of this piece is most impressive, and based on solid archaeological and art historical evidence. Nordhagen's summary of background is quite clear:

1. In the light of the discoveries made in Constantinople, the contribution to the artistic culture of the Early Middle Ages of this city no longer remains obscure. It can be proved to have harboured a continuity on a very high level in its monumental arts. As to its minor arts, we are less well informed, but it is unthinkable that the flowering of which we now possess evidence should not have been accompanied by a substantial output also in this field.

2. In the period under discussion, at least one of the important centres in the Mediterranean, papal Rome, shows signs of having been culturally strongly dependent on Byzantium.

3. There appears to have been no stagnation in Byzantine art in the seventh century. There can, on the contrary, be registered clear tendencies to renewal, even experimentation. Byzantine art continued to develop in this period, and did not cling to inherited forms. This is the background against which I will discuss the Ezra page of the Codex Amiatinus (fig. 1).

As for the Ezra portrait in Amiatinus, it has clear echoes of Byzantine tradition. These elements of technique which some critics have seen as clumsy may well be purposeful, an attempt at simultaneous two and three dimensional representation. The "errors" in Amiatinus are paralleled in Byzantine work, and Nordhagen's conclusion is in my mind the correct: "It is to Byzantine art that we must turn to find the closest parallels to the distortions visible in the foreground objects in the representation of Ezra. The pages in which they occur, it should be noted, more often than not bear the stamp of metropolitan manufacture and were the products of the very best scriptoria."

James T. Lang has an excellent article on "The Sculptors of the Nunburnholme Cross" (Archaeol. Jour. 133 [1977 for 1976], 75-94). Lang is part of a school of people looking at sculpture in Northern Britain, partly to prepare for the corpus to be published by the Society of Antiquaries under the general editorship of Rosemary Cramp. This article is a complex, illustrated account of all the detail of the sculpture and its mode of composition. C.D. Morris also comprehensively surveys "Pre-Conquest Sculpture of the Tees Valley" (MA 20 [1976], 140-46). He deals with thirty-seven sites and 300 fragments of sculpture, both grave monuments and memorial crosses. His account ends with a modestly-stated set of statistics with extremely important implications: "The identification of the existence of pre-Conquest sculpture has added twenty-six religious sites to the eleven already known from the area from documentary or architectural evidence." And Richard N. Bailey seeks "The Meaning of the Viking-Age Shaft at Dacre" (Trans. of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Soc. 77, 61-74). He presents a summary of this hard-to-get article in British Archaeological Abstracts: "A study of the iconography of this 10th century cross suggests that the upper scene shows the sacrifice of Isaac, and that there is a similar arrangement at Breedon. Patristic and Anglo-Saxon sources show that the Isaac sacrifice was a 'type' of Christ's Redemption and this explains its links with a Fall scene at Dacre, Breedon, and Newent."

Little was said about Sutton Hoo this year, except by reviewers reading the first volume of the definitive The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial. Martin Biddle and seven distinguished scholars present some interesting perspectives in "Sutton Hoo Published: a Review" (ASE 6, 249-65). They uniformly praise the thoroughness of the publication while adding their own learned, sometimes querulous comments on the material. Biddle, for example, reviews and recommends Sutton Hoo's use of sources to others who try to reconstruct excavations; Page fumes a bit at having to wait for further volumes to see the evidence for identifying this material with Rædwald and devilishly advocates for the non-Rædwaldian view; and Binns provides some corrections and additions to the possibilities for the Sutton Hoo ship. The Sutton Hoo volumes will now become the common starting place for further study of the ship burial, but these reviews make it clear that many of the issues are not yet decided.

c. Numismatics

This is a scant report on a few interesting items. Ian Stewart proposes a new mode of classifying coins of our period in "A Numeration of Late Anglo-Saxon Coin Types" (British Numismatic Jour. 45 [1975], 12-18). Stewart proposes to deal with major issues, arranged by type, chronologically. C.E. Blunt and H.E. Pagan deal with "Three Tenth-Century Hoards: Bath (1755), Kintbury (1761), Threadneedle Street (before 1924)" (Brit. Num. Jour. 45 [1975], 19-32). They give detailed descriptions and make a long comparison with an East Anglian find at Honedon, Suffolk. The authors conclude that the Bath and Kintbury hoards add much to our understanding of the kinds of currency circulating in the south of Mercia and in East Anglia in the mid-900's. They also find Derby emerging during this period as a major center for dies for the midlands when the Vikings took power in Northumbria.

M. Dolley and Tuukka Talvio provide a tribute to a Finnish botanist's understanding of Anglo-Irish numismatics in "A Little-Known Contribution to Hiberno-Norse Numismatics of Otto Alcenius (1838-1913)" (Proc. of R. Irish Acad., sect. C, 77, no. 5, 213-21). They suggest how thoroughly C.A. Nordman's Anglo-Saxon Coins Found in Finland was rooted in Alcenius's unpublished drafts and notes, and provide "Englishings" of some passages from the Finnish scholar's notes to give a sense of his perspective. Finally, Michael Dolley writes on "The Pattern of Viking Age Coin Hoards in the Isle of Man" (Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin, Sept. 1975, pp. 296-302, and Oct. 1975, pp. 337-340). He concludes: "The picture which emerges is that in the geographical north of the island, the half incidentally where numismatic evidence for a tenth-century Viking presence is weakest, links with Dublin, the mint of the Hiberno-Norse coinages, are abruptly evidenced about the end of the first quarter of the eleventh century and no less abruptly cut off after a period of almost exactly 50 years."

d. Site Reports and Small Points

For those interested in seeing generally what sorts of digs and small finds are turning up, Leslie E. Webster has compiled the Pre-Conquest section of "Medieval Britain in 1975" (MA 20 [1976], 158-76). The summaries include what was done, what found, and where fuller reports are published. The list is useful but not exhaustive. James Graham-Campbell reviews books and articles on "British Antiquity 1975-6: Western British, Irish and Later Anglo-Saxon" (Archaeol. Jour. 133 [1977 for 1976], 277-89), and gives us a useful supplement to YWOES. For archaeologists who want to know where in East Sussex they should dig next, there is

G.P. Burleigh's thorough catalogue, "Further Notes on Deserted and Shrunken Medieval Villages in Sussex" (Sussex. Archaeol. Collect. 114 [1976], 61-8). He lists the history of observations and whatever is presently known about medieval use for many suspected village sites.

A couple of excavation reports are quite interesting this year. E.W. Holden conducted "Excavations at Old Erringham, Shoreham, West Sussex. Part I, A Saxon Weaving Hut" (Sussex Archaeol. Collect. 114 [1976], 306-21). Just an ordinary collection of loom weights, pottery and a small "caterpillar" brooch, but Holden presents photos of a hypothetical reconstruction of an A-frame hut set over a sunken floor and of a moveable loom, set against the wall of the hut. He dates the hut anywhere between 750-950. James F. Barfoot and David Price Williams found a strong, tall, young man in "The Saxon Barrow at Gally Hills, Banstead Down, Surrey" (Research Vol. of the Surrey Archaeol. Soc. 3 [1976], 59-76). The man was accompanied by remains of a knife and spear, a "sugar loaf" shield boss, and a "hanging bowl" (without rings?) filled with crab apples. The bronze of the bowl also preserved fragments of linen, string, shoe leather, and the man's woolen garment. The escutcheons of the bowl were red enamel in a simple non-curvilinear geometric pattern not commonly seen.

In more routine or on-going digs, Rosemary Cramp presented detailed descriptions of the layout and stages of construction of both Monkwearmouth and Jarrow churches, as presently understood, to the summer meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute in 1976 (Archaeol. Jour. 133, 220-28 and 230-37). The descriptions are probably relatively sound as far as they go since digging on these sites is scheduled to finish this year. At the same meetings, Richard N. Bailey and Neil Burton presented a nice review of the many phases of the old and complex "Abbey Church of St. Andrew, Hexham (NY 935641)" (Archaeol. Jour. 133 [1977 for 1976], 197-202). Roger Miket and Michael Pocock (with contributions from J.N.L. Myres and M.J. Swanton) discuss "An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Greenbank, Darlington" (MA 20 [1976], 62-74). This late sixth or early seventh-century cemetery is notable within Bernician territory for its size and richness. Lord Fletcher and G.W. Meates report that they could not find the conclusive evidence they sought that a timber nave preceded the stone one at "The Ruined Church of Stone-by-Faversham: Second Report" (Antiq. Jour. 57, 67-72). And there are two reports on the tantalizing activities at Brixworth: Paul Everson, et al. tell about a fragment of a monastery precinct, including a wall 100 meters west of the church, plus part of an early or mid-Saxon cemetery in "Excavations in the Vicarage Garden at Brixworth, 1972" (JBAA 130, 67-72); and D.N. Hall describes some large, deep footings of unclear date found in "Excavations in Brixworth Churchyard, 1971" (JBAA 130, 123-32).

After the digging comes the discussion. The two are combined by Brian Hope-Taylor and David Hill in "The Cambridgeshire Dykes" (Proc. of the Camb. Antiq. Soc. 66 [1975-76], 123-28) where Hope-Taylor describes his excavation of The Devil's Dyke, and Hill reconsiders the Bran Ditch burials and suggests they represent an unconsecrated burial ground associated with an execution site. Richard Morris examines "Kirk Hammerton Church: the Tower and the Fabric" in detail (Archaeol. Jour. 133 [1977 for 1976], 95-103). He summarizes the stages of expansion of this church near York, and questions most of the Taylors' arguments that the tower was built separately from the nave. More on the periphery, Della Hooke presents a common-sensical model for "The Reconstruction of Ancient Routeways" (Local Historian 12, 212-20). She uses a combined study of historical documents,

archaeological evidence, and geographic resources. And A.M. Everitt uses Anglo-Saxon evidence in passing in his large-scale attempt to reconstruct "The Making of the Agrarian Landscape of Kent" (Archaeologia Cantiana 92, 1-31).

On the jewelry front, we have M.G. Welch examining a pair of brooches from the "Leibenau Inhumation Grave II/196 and the Dating of the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Mitcham" (MA 20 [1976], 134-36). He feels the brooches suggest that the Mitcham cemetery began in the mid-400's. Richard Avent includes some excellent illustrations to support his argument that "A Fragment of a Merovingian Rounded-Plaque Buckle from the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Sarre" is one of only four imports of this type of buckle, the rest being Kentish copies (Archaeologia Cantiana 92, 225-27). And G.A. Lester warns us that a garnet was added between 1797 and 1835 to "The Anglo-Saxon Pendant Cross from Winster Moor, Derbyshire" (MA 20 [1976], 136-37).

Other artifacts which have received attention lately include "Anglo-Saxon Lyre Tuning Pegs from Whitby, N. Yorkshire" (MA 20 [1976], 137-39) which Donald K. Fry examines in an attempt to understand more about possible Anglo-Saxon instruments and how they might have been assembled, tuned, and played. Also "Four Anglo-Saxon Pots from West Suffolk" (Proc. of the Cambr. Antiq. Soc. 66 [1975-76], 119-22) which D.H. Kennett thinks are probably cremation urns from Lackford rather than pots from inhumation burials at Icklingham. W. Groenman-van Waateringe discusses shoes in "Society...rests on leather" (Rotterdam Papers II: A contribution to medieval archaeology, ed. J.G.N. Renaud, Symposium "Wonig en huisraad in de Middeleeuwen," Rotterdam, 1975). Within a much longer study, he briefly notes that a common Viking shoe style found at Haithabu also shows up in York, Lund, Wolin, Staraja Ladoga, and Novgorod. And finally, that these small points can give us flashes of insight into the realities of Anglo-Saxon life comes clear in Arthur MacGregor's "Bone Skates: Review of the Evidence" (Archaeol. Jour. 133 [1977 for 1976], 57-74). These skates are common in Bronze Age finds, but also appear frequently in Scandinavia, London, and York. Says MacGregor, "a rather poignant find was made in Ipswich during rebuilding in College Street in 1899, when a pair of bone skates was found with the remains of a female skeleton embedded in the mud of the former river course." Sed omnis una manet nox, et calcanda semel via leti.

R.T.F. and P.L.T.