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New OEN Subscription Rates

For the first fifteen years of its existence the editors of the Old English Newsletter have tried to offer it as a "free good." Through Volume 9 OEN was free to any Anglo-Saxonist who asked for it, but with Volume 10 a nominal one-time sign-up charge came into effect. Institutions have always paid $3.00 per year; it is a common practice in the pricing of periodicals to expect libraries and other corporate readers to pay a higher rate. Until recently the sign-up charge, the sale of back volumes, and the solid growth of new institutional subscriptions combined to help OEN meet its expenses. Within the last year the growth of institutional subscriptions has come to an apparent end, while postage rates have skyrocketed and the cost of paper and plates has risen. Postal rates have in fact gone up so fast that it now costs twice as much to mail OEN outside of the U.S. per copy than it does to print it. No one is unaware of the effects of inflation; indeed the U.S. Government's Consumer Price Index shows that goods and services costing $10.00 in 1967 cost $28.50 in 1982. At the same time Anglo-Saxon studies have also experienced a tremendous growth with the result that the Year's Work and the Annual Bibliography have had to expand, and articles and reports about developments in the field have been more numerous.

In order to insure the continuing financial health of OEN it will be necessary to increase the annual subscription charge for institutions, to initiate a biennial subscription charge for individuals, and to increase slightly the cost of back volumes. Since the imposition of the biennial charge will have to wait for the development of a billing system, it is expected that the new rate for individuals will take effect in Fall, 1983 for Volumes 17-18. The new schedule is:

New Rates effective August 1, 1982:

Institutions: $6.00 US per volume

Individuals: Volume 16: $3.00 US New Subscribers only; old subscribers pay nothing
Volume 17 and ff.: $3.00 US per volume for all subscribers to be billed biennially

Back Volumes: Volumes 1 and 2 (sold as one): $4.00
Volumes 3 and ff.: $4.00 each

The Executive Council of the Old English Division of the Modern Language Association, which serves as a board of trustees for OEN, discussed the financial state of OEN at its December 29, 1981 meeting and confirmed what its 1978 meeting had decided, viz., that the editors of OEN may charge what is necessary for the production and continuation of OEN.

The subscription rates for OEN are as low as they have been because of continuing local support from the universities of the editors. OEN does not now receive, has never received, and will never receive financial support from the Modern Language Association. CEMERS at SUNY-Binghamton, with the endorsement of the Provost for Graduate Studies and Research, has access to the Campus Print Shop where printing costs for OEN have ranged from nearly three to six times cheaper than commercial presses would charge. CEMERS also supports some mailing charges for OEN and all clerical and secretarial charges for the administration of OEN and for the editing of news and feature articles. The home departments of the associate editors support the administrative and secretarial charges for the Year's Work and the Annual Bibliography.
II

1982 Annual Meeting of the MLA

The Executive Committee of the Old English Division of the Modern Language Association will sponsor at least two, possibly three sessions at the annual meeting scheduled for Los Angeles, December 27-30. Stanley B. Greenfield, who will chair the main Division meeting, has issued a call for papers, open topic. If the response is sufficient, there will be two sessions for open topics. The Executive Committee will also sponsor a special session on Anglo-Latin Literature in the Old English period. Paul E. Szarmach will organize this session.

The MLA Program Committee is currently considering other proposals submitted from the membership.

III

New Address

Carl T. Berkhout, Bibliographer of the MLA's Old English Division, has recently accepted a position at the University of Arizona, where he will continue to compile the Old English bibliographies and research-in-progress reports. His new address, effective July 1, 1982, is:

Prof. Carl T. Berkhout
Dept. of English
University of Arizona
Tucson, Arizona 85721

IV

History of Science Award

Linda E. Voigts (Dept. of English, Univ. of Missouri-Kansas City) has received the Zeitlin-Verbrugge prize from the History of Science Society for her article, "Anglo-Saxon Plant Remedies and the Anglo-Saxons," Isis, 70 (1979), 250-68. The History of Science Society Council established the prize to honor the best article to have appeared in Isis during the preceding three years. The prize has been made possible through the financial generosity of Jacob Zeitlin and Josephine Verbrugge.

V

M and M in ME

Readers who have followed the exploits of Maccus and Mauris in Subsidia 3 will be happy to learn that Manfred Görlich has "discovered" a Middle English version of the "gestes," which he has very critically edited from the only surviving manuscript. Published by Carl Winter (Heidelberg, 1981), the 64-page opus sells for DM 12.00. The volume, which also has an essay by Derek Pearsall, was presented to Hans Kurath on the occasion of his ninetieth birthday, December 13, 1981.
Phototypesetting in Old and Middle English

Eva Nyqvist and Company (3468 Cowper Court, Palo Alto, California 94306) announces that it can offer to scholars and publishers its services in typesetting modern and archaic languages. The company has a phototypesetter with a video display screen for editing and a magnetic disc for the storage of the recorded text. The company can set Old English and Middle English with its special fonts as well as other languages. Old English can be set in roman, italic, bold, and bold italic, and there are twelve type sizes available for all fonts. The company has had experience in setting books for the University of Oklahoma Press, the Modern Language Association, the University of Texas Press, and the Hoover Institution, among others. A partial sample of OE typefaces and sizes follows:

\[ \text{\textit{æ}} \text{æt wē } \text{\textit{þ}onne hātað wyrd, } \text{\textit{þ}onne sē gescēadwīsa God, ùæ ælces mōn-} \text{\textit{nnes ðearfe wāt, hwæt wurcō oðde ðeðað } \text{æs } \text{æ } \text{wē } \text{ne wēnað. } \text{Ond gīt ic } \text{þē } \text{mæg sūme } \text{bīsne } \text{fēaum wordum sēcgan be } \text{þēm } \text{dēle } \text{þē sīo mēn-} \text{nisse } \text{gescēadwīsnes mēg } \text{ongıtan } \text{pā } \text{godcundnesse. } \text{Pēt is } \text{þonne, } \text{pēt wē } \text{ongıtað hwilum mōn on } \text{ōdrē wisan, on } \text{ōdrē hīne } \text{God } \text{ongit.} \]

\[ \text{\textit{æ}} \text{æt wē } \text{\textit{þ}onne hātað wyrd, } \text{\textit{þ}onne sē gescēadwīsa God, ùæ ælces mōnnes ðearfe wāt, hwæt wurcō oðde ðeðað } \text{æs } \text{æ } \text{wē } \text{ne wēnað. } \text{Ond gīt ic } \text{þē } \text{mæg sūme } \text{bīsne } \text{fēaum wordum sēcgan be } \text{þēm } \text{dēle } \text{þē sīo mēnisse } \text{gescēadwīsnes mēg } \text{ongıtan } \text{pā } \text{godcundnesse. } \text{Pēt is } \text{þonne, } \text{pēt wē } \text{ongıtað hwilum mōn on } \text{ōdrē wisan, on } \text{ōdrē hīne } \text{God } \text{ongit.} \]

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Medieval Sermon Studies Symposium

The Medieval Sermon Studies Newsletter has announced the Third Medieval Sermon Studies Symposium, 7-9 July, 1982, Linacre College, Oxford. Restricted to about 50-60 participants in order to facilitate scholarly exchange, the Third Symposium will feature some ten 30-minute papers with questions and open discussion following each. Participants will visit Iffley Church (late twelfth century), where they will hear a Latin sermon and a Middle English sermon and then have a strawberry tea and an amble along the river. For further information on the Symposium and the activities of MSSN write to:

Dr. Gloria Cigman
41 Carlton Road
Oxford, England
OX2 7SA

Although this year's symposium does not focus on any Anglo-Saxon topics, readers should know that MSSN regularly surveys developments in Old English Sermon Studies. Jane Roberts (King's College) and Jerome Getgen (Seton Hill College) co-ordinate the regular report on OE studies. The latest survey, for example, gives notices of two Leeds MA dissertations, a proposal for a new edition of Aelfric's Lives of the Saints, and several other relevant items.

The Mediaeval Academy of Ireland

The Mediaeval Academy of Ireland is a newly-founded organization of medievalists devoted to advancing Medieval Studies in the broadest sense of the term, including history, literature, languages, law, archaeology, and the ancillary disciplines. The Academy will publish a journal under the title Peritia, hold conferences, compile a repertory of Irish medievalists, and in due course issue works of reference and other publications. Fellows of the Academy receive Peritia and get substantial discounts on other publications with which the Academy is associated. Fellows' subscriptions are IR£12,50 (Republic of Ireland) and IR£14,50 (other). For further information write to:

A.D.S. Macdonald
Treasurer M.A.I.
Department of Archaeology
University College, Cork
Ireland

Carolonias Symposium of British Studies

The ninth Carolinias Symposium on British Studies will be held at Appalachian State University on 9 and 10 October, 1982. The Symposium seeks to promote research, dialogue, and scholarship in an interdisciplinary forum for scholars in the United States. For further information write to:

Warren W. Woodsen, Vice-President
Carolonias Symposium on British Studies
Dept. of English
Marshall University
Huntington, WV 25701
Subsidia 7

The editors of the Old English Newsletter announce the publication of Volume 7 in the Subsidia series, Raedellan, a collection of 87 newly composed riddles by Constance B. Hieatt with Sharon Butler, Scribe. The 36-page book has a brief introduction wherein Prof. Hieatt explains the pedagogical usefulness of the new collection. Subsidia 7 may be used with Subsidia 1, Skeat's Anglo-Saxon Vocabulary, to encourage students to learn more about OE poetry by composing their own riddles. The volume is available for $3.00 from OEN.

Short Notices on Publications

The Manchester University Press has published Donald G. Scragg's edition of The Battle of Maldon. The first separate edition of the poem to be published for over forty years, Scragg's edition features a comprehensive introduction discussing text, historical background, language, and literary characteristics, the text itself, commentary, bibliography, and glossary, all in the familiar Old and Middle English Texts series format. The work is available in hard and soft covers, the former quoted at £12.50, the latter at £4.50.

The University of Toronto Press has published three books of interest to Anglo-Saxonists. The Dating of Beowulf, ed. Colin Chase, Toronto Old English Studies 6, is a collection of fourteen papers by various scholars including Kevin Kiernan, Leonard Boyle, R.I. Page, Roberta Frank, Peter Clemoes, John C. Pope, and E.G. Stanley, to name but a few. The papers are the result of a nearly three-year scholarly dialogue on Beowulf that included the April, 1980 symposium on the topic sponsored by the University of Toronto. Vercelli Homilies IX-XXIII, ed. Paul E. Szarmach, Toronto Old English Studies 5, in effect completes the work of Max Förster on the prose in the Vercelli Book. The edition presents a conservative treatment of the text with brief introduction and notes, mainly textual. These TOES volumes sell for $27.50. Richard W. Pfaff's Medieval Latin Liturgy: A Select Bibliography, which will have general relevance for all medievalists, includes much of interest for students of Early England. The bibliography is the ninth in the Toronto Medieval Bibliographies series. The softbound version is $12.50, the hardbound $25.00.

Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, which is the scholarly publishing program of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies at SUNY-Binghamton, has issued its first book in OE studies, David Yerkes' Syntax and Style in Old English. Yerkes compares the two versions of the OE translation of Gregory's Dialogues to show how OE developed in grammar and style. The book is priced at $11.00. For ordering information see the last two pages of this issue.

Maria Amalia D'Aronco's La designazione del tempo nella traduzione in inglese antico della "Regola" benedettina is the first volume of Glossari, a series of short monographs on philological and linguistic subjects. D'Aronco's 75-page study focuses on Aethelwold's consistent, normative use of terms for the canonical hours, the monastic schedule, and the liturgical calendar in his OE translation of the Benedictine Rule. The book is priced at 4000 lire and is available from the publisher: Gianfranco Angelico Benvenuto, Via Marco Volpe 85, Udine, Italy.

an introduction especially focussed on key words, the text itself, a translation into Italian, and a glossary. Patrizia Lendinara furnishes an appendix on special lexical items.

André Crépin has translated into French Beowulf, Judith, the Battle of Maldon, the Wife's Lament, and the Dream of the Rood in his Poèmes Héroïques vieil-anglais (Paris, 1981). Crépin also gives a general introduction to the poems. The book is part of the series Bibliothèque médiévale.

W.T.H. Jackson examines the conflict between the unstable ruler and the challenging hero in his The Hero and the King. Jackson looks at a number of epics including Beowulf. He shows how this essential conflict becomes such a strong structural determinant in the genre that the epic is inconceivable without it. Columbia University Press is the publisher, selling the book at $20.00.

Angelika Lutz' dissertation has appeared as Die Version G der Anglesächsischen Chronik, Münchener Universitäts-Schriften, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Englischen Philologie 11 (1981). In an introduction of over 200 pages Lutz covers in detail textual and philological issues and matters before giving the text. There are many notes and a bibliography. The volume is available through Wilhelm Fink Verlag, Munich.

The friends, colleagues, and admirers of Albert Bates Lord have published a Festschrift in his honor, Oral Tradional Literature. John Miles Foley is the editor for the twenty essays written by, among others, David E. Bynum, Robert P. Creed, Donald K. Fry, Joseph Harris, John D. Miles, Alain Renoir, and Bruce Rosenberg. Prof. Lord himself has a closing essay. Fifteen of these essays were presented at the Thirteenth Congress of the Medieval Institute at Western Michigan University, as part of a series of sections on oral literature. Copies are available from: Slavica Publishers Inc., P.O. Box 14368, Columbus Ohio 43214.

G. Ellis Burcaw has written a study of The Saxon House (1979) for the University Press of Idaho. The 126-page book is not a definitive treatment of the Anglo-Saxon house but rather a statement of the hypothesis that the existence of the substantial evidence of a distinctive house form or its derivatives is strong indication of the past existence in that region of the culture or ethnic group associated with that type of house.

The New University of Ulster's Occasional Papers in Linguistics and Language Learning has issued a volume (no. 8) of Studies in English Language and Literature in Honour of Paul Christophersen. P.M. Tilling has edited eleven essays including several on OE topics, e.g., E.O. Carrauign on the Vercelli Collector and the Dream of the Rood, R.I. Page on OE scratched glosses, A.O. Sandved on the syntax of prepositions in Aelfric's homilies, and the editor's own study of William Morris' translation of Beowulf.

Alexandra Henegro Olsen's study of Guthlac of Croyland (1982) analyzes the OE poems about Guthlac, contending that modern critics have failed to do them complete justice because they have considered only the Patristic literary and theological backgrounds of the poems or the heroic Germanic vocabulary, formulas, and themes. Olsen argues that a sympathetic understanding of both traditions is necessary. The book is available in hardcover ($19.50) or soft ($9.50) from: University Press of America, 4720 Boston Way, Lanham, MD 20881.

The University of Delaware Press has published the late George K. Anderson's The Saga of the Volsungs (1982). Anderson provides a new translation of the Volsungsaga, with a full introduction and notes explaining difficult points in the text. Other versions of the story are also included. The relevant portions
of the Nornagestáttir and the Skaldskaparmál are translated word for word, with separate introduction and notes, while the Thidrekssage and the Nibelungenlied are presented in synopsis with an accompanying discussion. There is a selective bibliography on the Volsung legend too. The hardcover price is $29.50.

Ingegerd Lohmander has published Old and Middle English Words for 'Disgrace' and 'Dishonour' as Gothenburg Studies in English 49 (1981). The study investigates structural changes in the English lexic on over the earlier period of Old English prose writing, the "classical" period, and the later Middle English period. The semantic field has been delimited by means of the Old English word bispens and its derivatives and compounds. The results of the investigation lend support to the theory that the thorough restructuring of English vocabulary, often initiated by translators, which took place in the Middle English period, produced a somewhat less varied vocabulary of largely French origin. Humanities Press (Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey), which distributes the 228-page book in the United States, offers it for $22.50.

And OEN has just received a fourth book from the University of Toronto Press: Andrew Hughes' Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology (1982). Hughes intends to introduce students of the later Middle Ages to the manuscripts of the liturgy: "My purpose is to show the reader how liturgical books are organized and how they may be used for research: it is not to write yet another elementary introduction to the liturgy." The nine main chapters consider such topics as "The Liturgical Time," "The Offices," "Mass Books," and "Office Books." There are nine appendices, a bibliography, and several indices as well in the 470-page book. The hardbound price is $47.50.

XII

Berkeley Symposium


XIII

Closing of Salisbury Cathedral Library

Anglo-Saxonists who might be interested in consulting the holdings of the Salisbury Cathedral Library should know that it is now under repair. It is not known when the Library will be opened again, but the repairs will go on for well over another year. When re-opened, the Library will welcome accredited scholars only, who must apply to use the Library in writing well in advance of the date of the proposed visit.
OE Symposium at Kalamazoo (1983)

The Medieval Institute at Western Michigan University and the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies at SUNY-Binghamton, working with an informal group of international scholars, are planning a symposium on the "Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture" to be held in conjunction with the Eighteenth Congress at Western Michigan University (at Kalamazoo, MI), May 5-8, 1983. The symposium, which will be the first large-scale research conference in Anglo-Saxon studies in the United States, will focus on issues, problems, methodologies, and tools in the study of Anglo-Saxon England. The planners envision three main areas of concern: literary culture, archaeology, and art history. The participants in the symposium will consider the intellectual relationships of these various areas and suggest future possible research projects within or across these areas. At this writing plans are contingent and subject to change because of funding, but it is expected that some eight two-hour sessions will give senior and younger scholars an opportunity to present papers, while several opportunities for informal contacts will assist interchange and communication. A formal business session will allow for plenary consideration of the major points raised throughout the symposium. It is expected that such topics as the Latin context of vernacular literature, manuscript sources, and an index of Anglo-Saxon art will be among these major points. The papers will appear as a Proceedings volume published by the Medieval Institute.

Several scholars have accepted preliminary invitations. These include: James E. Cross, Helmut Gneuss, E.G. Stanley, Michael Lapidge, Thomas Hill, and Joseph Kelly. The symposium planners hope to receive proposals for papers from others interested in the symposium topic. Address inquiries and proposals, after August 30, to

Prof. Paul E. Szarmach
CEMERS
SUNY-Binghamton
Binghamton, NY 13901
USA
The Governments of Belgium and Canada
under a cultural agreement
and
the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, UCLA
announce
the Formation and First Conference
of an
INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY OF ANGLO-SAXONISTS
(ISAS)

"an organization formed to provide all scholars interested
in the literature, languages, history, and cultures of
Anglo-Saxon England with support in their research and to
facilitate an exchange of ideas and materials within the
disciplines."

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CALL FOR PAPERS

The First Conference of the Society will be held in Brussels August 22-23, 1983.

All members of the Society are invited to submit abstracts (maximum of three pages) of
dr. papers to the Executive Director by October 1, 1982. Submissions in all fields are
encouraged.

MEMBERSHIP

Annual dues will be $10.00 (or equivalent), payable on July 1 of each year. Membership will
carry the right to buy direct from Cambridge University Press, England, at a discount of 25%
the next volume of Anglo-Saxon England and any volume already published (postage included).

All correspondence regarding membership and papers should be sent to:

Daniel G. Calder, Executive Director
ISAS
Department of English
University of California
Los Angeles, Calif. 90024 USA
During 1981 we have concentrated on finishing projects preliminary to actual entry-writing for the Dictionary, and we have drafted our first entries.

We have been working off and on since 1976 on lists of headwords based on the existing dictionaries; in the process of drawing up these lists we have learned a great deal about the way previous lexicographers have worked, and the sorts of decisions they have typically made in handling compounds, derivatives, variants in spellings, etc. The headword lists have guided us in the filing of slips, insuring that all the many spellings of a word like aetwyran will be filed in the same place; we hope that they will insure that we do not overlook any material in the existing dictionaries when we write our entries. We now have headword lists for all letters: A-F, I, L, P, and Y have been prepared exhaustively, and G, H, M-O, and R-W by incorporating the additions and corrections of the supplements of Meritt and Campbell into the headwords of Clark Hall. All the lists have been prepared using a computer-editing system so that later additions and alterations will be easy to incorporate. Actual headword spellings used in the Dictionary will be determined as the entries are written, but in the meantime the present headword lists serve as guides.

Almost 3000 articles and books are catalogued in the list of Old English word studies prepared by Angus Cameron and Allison Kingsmill, which is now in press. We have indexed the words treated in these studies, and a first version of the merged index is now available. We are willing to answer inquiries about individual Old English words. Even in its present rough state the index has proved invaluable for entry-writing.

The Microfiche Concordance to Old English, prepared by Richard L. Venezky and Antionette di Paolo Healey, has been available since the early spring of 1981. It has become central to our work in so many ways that we cannot imagine writing the Dictionary without it. One hundred twenty-five (125) copies have already been distributed. Distribution is being handled by the Dictionary staff in order to keep the cost as low as possible; but because we are selling the concordance at cost, if the price of microfiche duplication increases we will have to raise the price of the concordance. Concordances may be ordered at $100 Canadian for individuals, $120 Canadian for institutions, from the Dictionary of Old English, Centre for Medieval Studies, 39 Queen's Park Crescent East, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5S 1A5. Please include payment with your order. The process of having the fiches duplicated and shipped to us, checking them, and mailing them out can take several months; we ask your indulgence in waiting for the delivery of your concordance.

Two lists of Old English spellings and their frequencies have been distributed with the Microfiche Concordance from the start, one in order of frequency, the other in alphabetical order. A third list, alphabetically by reverse spelling (beginning with words ending in -a, then in -ae, etc.), is now available and will be distributed with future copies of the concordance, and, in the course of time, mailed to those who have already received concordances. This reverse spelling list has already proved extremely useful to us in identifying compounds with a given word as second element.
A concordance to the 197 spellings excluded from the Microfiche Concordance to Old English is currently being prepared by Richard L. Venezky and Sharon Butler, and should be available late in 1982. This "stopword" concordance is being prepared for the use of the Dictionary editors and any syntacticians (or others) hardy enough to want access, for example, to the 83,905 instances of on in the corpus, or the handful of "oak trees" among the "buts" in 9,358 instances of ac. When this second concordance is completed, scholars will have access to every instance of every spelling in Old English (except for manuscript variants with a full-sentence context. A number of errors in the text corpus used for the Microfiche Concordance have already been found and will be corrected in the stopword concordance, but because the text corpus is the one which will be used for Citation in the Dictionary itself, we would greatly appreciate hearing of any errors, typographical or substantive (i.e., omissions), which you discover in working with the concordance.

Antonette di Paolo Healey and Patricia Eberle are preparing lists of lexical variants for Old English texts with manuscripts which were not entered separately into the Old English text corpus. The lists are organized by text and manuscript, and we are catching words and longer passages which occur only in variant manuscripts. The lists will provide interesting information about words perceived as synonyms and near synonyms and about lexical preference and variation in the use of prepositions and prefixes in dialects and scriptoria and over time. Lexical variants have been recorded for many of the Aelfrician texts, several of the Alfredian translations, and the Martyrology, and variants for the rest of the corpus will be recorded during the next year.

Four of our student assistants, Kristina Bedford, Lynn Jakes, Andrea Knight, and Blake Leyerle, filed slips with energy and enthusiasm throughout the summer. Thanks to their dedication, all of the automatically-matched slips (approximately half the corpus) and all of the slips for words beginning in c- and d- are now filed. A little over a third of our slips, perhaps 800,000, remain to be filed. The work of filing continues slowly, but because the files for c- and d- are virtually complete we have been able to begin drafting entries for words beginning with these letters.

Two new volumes in the Toronto Old English Series appeared in November: no. 5, Vercelli Homilies IX-XXIII edited by Paul E. Szarmach, and no. 6, The Dating of Beowulf edited by Colin Chase. They are available from the University of Toronto Press, at the price of $27.50 per volume. No. 7 in the series will be an edition of eleven Rogationtide homilies, prepared by Joyce Bazire and J.E. Cross; it is now at the typesetting stage and will be published in 1982.

Barrie Cox, who has been advising us on the handling of place-name evidence, visited the project in May. He is augmenting our headword lists with elements attested in Old English in place-names only and also with records of place-name evidence for attested Old English words. T.F. Hoad visited us in July and worked with us on the y headword list, on our handling of the runic records, on the Old High German gloss material, and on our methods of filing. Bruce Mitchell paid a short visit in September. He will guide our preparation of entries for the syntax words.

The five-year review of the Dictionary was completed last year, and the reports of the site-visit committee were very encouraging. Both the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the University of Toronto have confirmed their support of the project through 1986.
The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a Collaborative Edition

David Dumville and Simon Keynes are general editors for a collaborative edition of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to be published by Boydell and Brewer Ltd. The editors have issued a brochure describing the project, which includes the following statement:

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle—in the sense of a collective term for all the texts listed on this prospectus—is the backbone of Anglo-Saxon history, an invaluable source for the historian today because it is "an almost contemporary record of events for about five hundred years." It also constitutes a remarkable literary monument and offers a great deal of important philological material to the language-specialist. But what does the Chronicle actually say? Because of the way it was compiled and has come down to us, it is at present impossible to establish reliably the reading of any given version save by returning directly to the manuscripts themselves. This is a preposterous and intolerable situation. A is a complex and much altered manuscript, and so a clear text is most desirable; B has never been published separately; the previous editions of C and D are long out of print and in any case of poor quality; E is only available in an expensive facsimile; the bilingual F is exceedingly difficult to read in the manuscript and not available in print as a connected text; the sole edition of G is that published in 1643! Thorpe's Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (1861) and Plummer's Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel (1892 and 1899) attempt to convey the evidence of several manuscripts, but the one is very unreliable in detail and the other is confusing in its presentation. The first need, therefore, is for straightforward texts of each of the versions; these will form vols. 3-9 of the new edition.

However, matters cannot be left there. The Chronicle is built up from a series of separate annal-collections, or bursts of chronicling activity. It is, in fact, a witness to two groups of texts, of which no critical editions have ever been published; the base-chronicles which are therefore vols. 1-2 of the new edition; and the late ninth- to twelfth-century continuations which are vols. 10-14. Since one purpose of making all these texts available is to allow ready comparison, each needs to be in a separate volume. Also, every volume will be self-contained to the extent that it will carry a full introduction, a textual apparatus, and thorough indices of personal, people-and place-names.

In short, then, the Chronicle may be looked at in two different, but complementary, ways: first, as a series of related but separate chronicles, kept at different centres, each of which may be seen as an historical record in its own right (hence the necessity for the semi-diplomatic texts of each version); secondly, as a group of witnesses to a series of chronicles which have not survived in pristine form and which therefore need to be reconstructed. The Latin and Anglo-Norman texts attest to lost Old English versions, or are compilations built up from lost sources or derivatives of the Chronicle, and are therefore invaluable not merely in their own right but as witnesses to the history of chronicle-writing in the Anglo-Saxon tradition.
The new edition accordingly makes available in a usable form all the materials relating to this tradition of historical writing in Anglo-Saxon England (excepting only the Anglo-Norman historians, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon and John of Worcester, who drew on it). These materials also constitute a vital part of the corpus of Old English prose. It will be needed by those carrying out research in language, literature, history and even archaeology and indeed by every major university and college which includes Old English language and literature or English history up to the twelfth century among its course-offerings.

In addition to a series of Miscellaneous Volumes the general editors plan to issue the following:

**Main Chronicles in Critical Editions**

1. The Common Stock (MSS. ABCG, with ref. to DEF), to A.D. 892:
   David Dumville
2. The "Northern" Chronicle (MSS. DE [ F ]), to A.D. 1030:
   David Dumville, John Pickles

**Semi-Diplomatic Editions of the Individual Manuscripts**

3. MS.A: Janet Bately
4. MS.B: Simon Taylor
5. MS.C: Antonette Healey
6. MS.D: Geoffrey Cubbin
7. MS.E: Cecily Clark
8. MS.F: René Derolez
9. MS.G: Angelika Lutz

"Continuations" of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Associated Self-Contained Chronicles

10. Continuations of the Common Stock, A.D. 893-975:
    David Dumville, Simon Keynes
11. The Chronicle of Æthelred and Cnut, A.D. 983-1022 (MSS. CDE [ F ]):
    Simon Keynes
12. The Abingdon Chronicle, A.D. 956-1066 (MS. C, with ref. to BDE):
    Pádraig ÓNéill
13. A South English Chronicle, A.D. 1023-1121 (MS. E [ F ]):
    Cecily Clark
14. A North English Chronicle of the eleventh century (MS. D [ E ]):
    Paul Bibire
Latin Texts of Substantial Value for the Text-History of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

15. Asser, de Rebus Gestis Ælfredi Regis: David Dumville, Michael Winterbottom

16. Historia Regum, Part I (to A.D. 957): David Dumville, Michael Lapidge

17. The Annals of St Neot's: David Dumville, Michael Lapidge

18. The Christ Church (Canterbury) Cronica Imperfecta; the Chronicle-section of Lambert of Saint-Omer's encyclopedia (Liber Floridus): David Dumville, Molly Miller

19. John of Worcester's breviare chronicle (Trinity College, Dublin, MS. 503, fols. 37-113): Elisabeth McIntyre

20. The Annals of Waverley, to A.D. 1121: Martin Brett

Miscellaneous Volumes

21. Selections from Gaimar's Anglo-Norman "English History" (where it draws on a lost copy of the "Northern" Chronicle): Ian Short

22. Miscellaneous: The Mercian Register; MS.H (fragment); Easter-table annals; a handlist of obits from kalendar; texts derivative of Bede's summary chronicle; Ramsey texts from Oxford, St. John's College, MS. 17; Liber de primo adventu Saxonum; Liber de regali prosapia Anglorum: David Dumville, Simon Keynes, Michael Lapidge

23. General Introduction, Notes, Comprehensive Index: David Dumville, Simon Keynes

For further information write to:

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England
Norma J. Engberg's useful piece on her approach toward both Beowulf and certain key language elements of Old English seems a fitting way to close this feature of the OEN. Alas, not many submissions have come my way and my hope is that most of us are too busy teaching Old English to write about how we do it, so unlike Bryhtnoth, I think it time to cross the ford. And yet a number of excellent articles on OE and Beowulf pedagogy are appearing in various journals, and the Fall issues of the OEN will highlight those for us. My thanks to all of the contributors who have shared their approaches with us over the past several years. And be on the lookout for Jess Bessinger's Approaches to the Teaching of Beowulf, forthcoming from the MLA.

Norma J. Engberg (University of Nevada at Las Vegas)

"Exposing Readers of Beowulf—in-Translation to the Original Poem's Phonology, Morphology, and Syntax"

In 1974 I wrote and published in mimeographed form for use on my own campus a 76-page booklet, "Beowulf Brought Up To Date," containing ten excerpts (19-44 lines each) from Klaeber's Beowulf. Each passage was chosen for its intrinsic interest and for its relevance according to standard critical overviews of the poem. Thus, the three monsters were delineated and done battle with; Beowulf was lectured on the dangers of pride; Hygelac was given Hrothgar's gifts by his faithful retainer; and the Geats were doomed by their faithlessness during Beowulf's last battle.

For each Old English excerpt, I supplied a literal, modern English, interlinear translation. Short prose summaries linked the excerpts together so that one might, if desired, use my booklet independent of the standard translations and still understand what is going on.

Each of the ten excerpts became the raw material around which chapters containing deliberately simple descriptions of Old English phonology, morphology, and syntax were built. In the first chapter, I explained the metrical principles—caesura, alliteration, and stress (Sievers' five types)—undergirding the poem. The next two chapters were given over to illustrating Old English consonants and vowels, using IPA and supplying charts of the current English phonemes for comparison. Old English content words and pronouns were characterized in the next five chapters, always using the closest excerpt to illustrate the particular part of speech in action. The ninth chapter covered word formation, while the last chapter dealt with sentence structure. An appendix of linguistic terms useful for the study of Old English ended the volume.

This booklet is aimed at students who have never studied Old English and probably never will, at students who have taken History of the English Language or introductory descriptive linguistics and have forgotten the experience as quickly as possible. It does not teach them to pronounce, to analyze, or to translate Old English; rather it gently encourages them to watch while someone else performs these tasks.
I use this booklet in both undergraduate and graduate classes where Old English literature must, of necessity, be read in translation. It supplements the assigned text, R. K. Gordon's *Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (Everyman's Library). We go over the metrics, scanning several lines; I read a bit of the original to them. I encourage them to probe the intricacies of the grammar to the extent that they understand something about what is involved in making the modern English translation upon which they so heavily rely.

Student response to this booklet has been gratifying. I can tell they like it because they beg to keep it; indeed, the last time I lent them copies I had to threaten the students' course grades to get my copies back.

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**TWO LATE NOTICES**

**Price Rise for A Microfiche Concordance to Old English**

Because of a 33% increase in the cost of microfiche production from the supplier, the price for *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English* has gone up to $150 Canadian for private individuals and $125 Canadian for institutions. See *OEN* 14 no. 2, pp. 5-6, for a full description of this concordance.

**Special Issue of Studies in Medievalism**

*Studies in Medievalism* is preparing an issue on Medievalism in the Twentieth Century. Original essays (no length limit) are invited on any aspect of the influence of medievalism in this century—literature, art, philosophy, etc. "Medievalism" is defined as any aspect of the post-medieval idea and study of the Middle Ages and the influence, both scholarly and popular, of this study on Western society after 1500. Manuscripts should be received no later than 1 December 1982. Address inquiries and manuscripts to Jane Chance Nitzsche, Twentieth Century Editor, *Studies in Medievalism*, Department of English, Rice University, Houston, Texas 77251.
A Chronology of Old English Vowel Changes

Torben Kisbye
University of Aarhus

Vowel changes and their chronology are a sweated must for most students of Anglo-Saxon. In presenting this tabulatory chronology, however, it is hoped that the questing student will be relieved of at least part of the drudgery. The numbers in the survey have correspondences in the illustrative material immediately following. The last section provides evidence for the chronological stratification adopted. The survey does not do justice to recent attempts to problematize the relative chronology of breaking, i-umlaut and palatal influence, but plods the beaten track as propounded by Sievers-Brunner and Campbell.

The diagram is a condensed and slightly simplified version of my An Historical Survey of English Vowel Changes (Akademisk Boghandel, Aarhus, Denmark, 1969)--which provides similar surveys also of Middle English and early Modern English vocalic changes.
Diagram

Germ. W.Germ. 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 OE  

\[ \text{important non-W.Sax. variants} \]

| (1) ai — ai | (2) \( \bar{a} (\bar{e}^2) \) | (3) \( \bar{e} \) |
| (4) \( \text{NaNK} \ \bar{e} \) |
| (5) eu — eu | (6) \( \bar{e} \) |
| (7) \( \text{NaNK} \ \bar{e} \) |
| (8) I — I | (9) \( \bar{e} \) |
| (10) \( \text{NaNK} \ \bar{e} \) |
| (11) \( K \ \bar{e} ! \) |
| (12) \( \bar{u} — \bar{u} \) | (13) \( \bar{y} \) |
| (14) \( \text{NaNK} \ \bar{e} \) |
| (15) \( \bar{a} \) | (16) \( \text{NaNK} \ \bar{e} ! \) |
| (17) \( \text{NaNK} \ \bar{e} \) |
| (18) \( \text{NaNK} \ \bar{e} \) |
| (19) \( \text{NaNK} \ \bar{e} \) |
| (20) \( \text{NaNK} \ \bar{e} \) |
| (21) \( \text{NaNK} \ \bar{e} \) |
| (22) \( \text{NaNK} \ \bar{e} \) |
| (23) \( \text{NaNK} \ \bar{e} \) |
| (24) \( \text{NaNK} \ \bar{e} \) |
| (25) \( \text{NaNK} \ \bar{e} \) |
| (26) \( \text{NaNK} \ \bar{e} \) |
| (27) \( \text{NaNK} \ \bar{e} \) |
| (28) \( \text{NaNK} \ \bar{e} \) |
| (29) \( \text{NaNK} \ \bar{e} \) |
| (30) \( \text{NaNK} \ \bar{e} \) |
| (31) \( \text{NaNK} \ \bar{e} \) |
| (32) \( \text{NaNK} \ \bar{e} \) |
| (33) \( \text{NaNK} \ \bar{e} \) |
| (34) \( \text{NaNK} \ \bar{e} \) |
| (35) \( \text{NaNK} \ \bar{e} \) |
| (36) \( \text{NaNK} \ \bar{e} \) |
| (37) \( \text{NaNK} \ \bar{e} \) |
| (38) \( \text{NaNK} \ \bar{e} \) |
| (39) \( \text{NaNK} \ \bar{e} \) |
| (40) \( \text{NaNK} \ \bar{e} \) |

Continental period ——— Insular period

\[ \text{denotes a combinative soundchange} \]
\[ \text{denotes an isolative soundchange} \]

\[ + + \] = immediately preceding (e.g., palatal cons. + + ), or followed by (e.g., + + nasal)

\[ + \] = in the next syllable

\[ + \] = lost in the process

\[ \text{approximate date of soundchange (to be taken with relative rather than absolute value).} \]

\( N(\text{orthumbrian}), M(\text{ercian}), K(\text{entish}) \)

\[ ! = \text{important dialect criterion.} \]
1) OE hāl 'whole' (OHG heil, Goth hails, OE heil)
2) OE hālan 'heal' (Goth hailjan); OE hæp 'heath' (Goth hai̯p); OE hwǣte 'wheat'
   Note ME ȝ, PE /i:/ <ee> as the current reflex of OE ǣ.
3) OE ðæge 'eye' (OHG ouga, Goth augo, ON auga); OE læaf 'leaf' (OHG loub, Goth
   laufs, ON lauf)
4) OE hīeran 'hear' (Goth hausjan)
5) OE þeod 'people' (Goth þiuda, OHG diut(isc); OE dēop 'deep' (WG*deupa, Goth
   diups)
6) OE lēhtan 'lighten' (cp.lēoht; Goth liuhtjan)
7) OE lēon 'lend' (OS ḋīhan)
11) OE mōs 'mice' (PrOE*mūsi-); OE ontoynan 'open' (cp. tuun 'enclosure')
13) OE bēc 'books' (PrOE*bōkī-); OE dēman 'deem' (Goth dōmjan)
14) OE mōnæ 'month' (OHG mānod); OE cōmon 'they came' (OHG quāmun).
15) OE slēpan 'to sleep' (OHG slēfan) showing WG ǣ (<Germ ǣ) to undergo no change
   through iumlaut.
   Note ME ȝ, PE /i:/ <ee> as the current reflex of OE ǣ.
16) OE slæp 'sleep' (OHG slēf)
17) OE sceæp 'sheep' (non-WS sce isp); OE gēafon 'they gave' (non-WS gēfon)
18) OE nēh 'nigh' (OHG nān)
19) OE nēah – niest
20) OE meox 'manure' (OHG mist); OE Peothas 'Picts'.
22) OE meolc 'milk' (PrOE*miluc, OHG miluh)
23) OE rif 'five' (OHG fimf); OE hrīðer 'ox' (OHG rind)
24) OE sweostor 'sister' (PrOE swestor, OHG swester)
26) OE gieldan 'yield' (non-WS geldan)
27) OE stœorra 'star' (OHG sterno), OE weorðan 'become' (OHG werdan)
28) OE weorðan – he wierp
29) OE fyllan 'fill' (Goth fuljan); OE gyden 'goddess' (OHG gutin)
31) OE ūs 'us' (OHG uns); OE mūþ 'mouth' (OHG mund)
32) OE man/mon 'man'; land/land 'land'; hand/hond 'hand'.
33) OE gōs 'goose' (OHG gans); OE ǭer 'other' (OHG ander)
34) OE settan 'set' (PrOE*sættjan, Goth satjan); OE here 'army' (Goth harjis)
35) Since WS restored æ > a according to (38), a few examples like bealu 'battle',
   bealu 'evil', ealu 'ale' are most plausibly explained as loans from the Anglian
   dialects. The æ > ea could also be derived from *æleþe (dat. sing.) where æ
   is regular.
36) OE dæg 'day' (OHG tag); OE wæs 'was' (OHG war)
37) OE ceaster 'town' (non-WS caester, Latin castra); OE geat 'gate' (non-WS get, OHG gaza)


39) OE eald 'old' < *æld (OHG alt); OE earm 'arm' (OHG arm)

40) OE eald – ielðra; OE ierfe 'inheritance' (Goth arbi)
The chronology of the diagram has been established on the basis of the following sound changes:

WG ắ > OE ǣ́ (16)

This is the earliest of the fronting processes and also precedes ai > ā́ (1). OE shares this feature with OFris (cp. OE slēpan, OFris slēpa).

WG a, u, i ++ nasal ++ s, f, p (23) (31) (33)

resulting in OE loss of nasal and compensatory lengthening, takes place in the Continental period. OE shares this development with OFris (cp. OE gös Oris gös; OE fīf OFris fīf; OE cūp OFris kuth).

WG ā́ + + nasal (14) (32)

resulting in OE ṓ, a/o also takes place in the Continental period. OE mōnā OFris mōnā; OE man/mon OFris mon.

WG ai > ā́ (1)

is a Continental change which must be later than ǣ́ > ǣ́ (16); otherwise the resultant ā would have undergone that change.

WG a > OE ǣ́ (36)

This fronting probably follows (1). Otherwise we should have had ā́i, which is an unlikely source of ā́. The change is Continental, and shared with OFris (cp. OE fēt OFris fet).

WG au > OE ā́ea (3)

takes place via a recorded ā́ea-stage (Bede has Ēanheri, Ēata, Ēanbaldo, see Sievers-Brunner § 75 Anm.1) suggesting the first element of the diphthong to have been affected by (36).

Breaking (ē) (18) (20) (27) (39)

must have taken place after the isolative changes of WG ā́ (16) and WG a (36), but before the influence of palatalized initial consonants and of i-umlaut. WG ā́ and a must have passed into the ā́ and ā́ stage respectively, before they could be affected by breaking which involves the diphthongization of front vowels.

Restoration of a before a back vowel (38)

must follow after breaking, since breaking affects front vowels. OE slēan presupposes a stage *slēahan < *slahan (cp. Goth slahan).
There is little consensus as to the relative chronology of breaking, palatal influence and i-umlaut (Daunt, Girvan, Samuels, Campbell). The traditional precedence of breaking to i-umlaut rests on the slender basis of the broken diphthongs becoming ie in WS through the latter sound change (6) (19) (28) (40). Some scholars, however, have tried to show that this WS ie could be due to other and later causes than i-umlaut, thus problematizing the traditional dating of breaking to late in the Continental period. Also the presence of a number of unbroken forms in some early MSS (see Campbell § 140) may suggest a later date of breaking than hitherto assumed.

The diagram here presented, however, follows the traditional sequence (Sievers-Brunner, Campbell), placing palatal influence between breaking and i-umlaut.

**Palatal influence (17) (26) (37)**

must follow after breaking, as may appear from OE ceorl < cerl, where all dialects have eo as a result of breaking. If *cerl had been exposed to palatal influence without an intermediate stage of fracture, the result would have been WS *cierl(26). Palatal influence should probably be dated to the beginning of the Insular period as indicated by OE ceaster < castra, a Latin loan adopted after the Anglo-Saxon conquest of Britain.

This again places breaking late in the Continental period.


follows palatal influence. Otherwise we cannot explain WS ċīeše from Latin (acc.) caseum, which presupposes the stages WG * kāsjo > * ċasī (16) > ċēsī (17), the last stage ċīeše being the result of i-umlaut. An inverse order of the two sound changes would have given * ċasī > WS ċēsī, since according to (15), ċēsī suffers no change through i-umlaut.

Similarly WS giest < * geasti < * ĝesti < WG * gasti, cp. Goth gasts, ON gastiR.

I-umlaut is completed before the earliest OE records, that is, before the end of the 7th century. It must have been operative in England, since it affects Latin loan-words adopted after the Anglo-Saxon conquest of Britain (e.g. pygan < Lat. pungere; tyrnan < Lat. tornare). It is usually dated to the 7th century.

**Back umlaut (22) (24) (35)**

takes place round about 700, following after i-umlaut and affecting in some cases the results thereof, e.g. Mercian siollan < sellan < * sæljan < WG * saljan (cp. Goth saljan).

Further eosol < * esol < * āsil < * asilus (Lat. asinus).
Scholars at Play:

A Short History of Composing in Old English

Michael Murphy

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In recent years there has been a very noticeable outpouring of composition in Old English, mostly of the facetious kind. The most elaborate examples are probably the small separate booklets published by CEMERS in Binghamton. The first of these was Manfred Görlach's *Jeu d'esprit Maccus and Mauris*, an "Old English" version of the German children's classic *Max und Moritz* by Wilhelm Busch, complete with scholarly apparatus and nineteenth-century illustrations. Görlach may have got his inspiration from an earlier German composition of 1940, though his piece is much more extensive.1 Published more recently by CEMERS was an engaging book of modern and traditional riddles "awende on englisc geþeode be Constance B. Hieatt" with some twentieth-century illustrations by Sharon Butler.2 This little volume has the avowed intention of mixing pedagogy and pleasure. Similar, though less extensive games and compositions have appeared with some regularity in OEJ. There is even a society in England—The English Companions—with a whole magazine, *Withowinde*, devoted to such things. Here in America we have the Society for Creative Anachronism, which sometimes breaks into OE at the annual meetings at Kalamazoo. And there are others.

But my intention here is not so much to catalog the new as to chronicle the old, to sketch, briefly, the earlier manifestations of what may appear to be a recent academic pastime; hence this short and, no doubt, incomplete account of a scholarly diversion as it was practiced in England from the sixteenth century to the early nineteenth.

The record begins with Laurence Nowell, the first real student of Old English. He was a sixteenth-century scholar who lived in London, and cultivated an interest in cartography, the literature of exploration, and Anglo-Saxon. The voluminous output of Hakluyt and Purchas testifies to the fact that many people shared Nowell's first two interests; not so many shared the third. On at least one occasion, however, Nowell was able to combine rather nicely the more popular pastime with the more arcane study: he made an accurate and pleasant translation of the accounts of King Alfred's friends, Othere and Wulfstan, which was printed in the second edition of Hakluyt's *Voyages* (1598-1600). Though not quite the first,3 this was one of the earliest published translations from Old to Modern English.

If Nowell was not the first to publish a translation from OE, he was certainly the first modern scholar known to have *composed* it, and thereby he became the first in a fairly long and still-active line of people who have felt the attraction of OE composition. In one important respect, however, Nowell was in a very different position from that of most of his successors: he had no printed material with which to begin his studies but had to pursue his interest by reading only manuscripts. This dearth provided the impetus for his need to compose OE. One of Nowell's MSS was defective: some of the material in the old vernacular was missing from his MS of Anglo-Saxon laws, a fact made clear to Nowell by the existence of the *Quadripartitus*, an early Latin version of the same laws. But the document that showed up the lacuna also provided the inspiration for filling it: Nowell would "translate" the missing laws from Latin into OE.

A remarkably good job he made of it too. His "forgery" appeared as part of the collection of genuine Anglo-Saxon laws published by his friend William Lemberde in 1568, and went undetected until Kenneth Sisam's 1923 review of
F. L. Attenborough's *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings* (Cambridge, 1922). Attenborough, to be sure, had noticed that there was something unusual about the language of that part of Lambard's text, as had Liebermann, the eminent editor of the standard work on Anglo-Saxon law. But neither of them suspected that it was sixteenth-century pastiche; in fact Liebermann took issue with Sisam's conclusions, but there seems little doubt that the latter was right.

Sisam suggested, quite generously, that Nowell's effort had had no intention to deceive; that it was not a forgery, but merely a sort of school exercise of the kind to which he and all his contemporaries were accustomed with Latin and Greek. Novell had merely forgotten that he had included his "exercise" in the papers he gave to Lambard for translation and publication. And Lambard, of course, did not notice anything amiss, any more than anyone else seems to have done for the next three centuries. I confess that I find this explanation more charitable than convincing; it is easier to admire both the skill and the audacity of the man who was probably the first real scholar of OE, and who had had to acquire his knowledge of the dead past of his own language in the hardest way possible: by reading the original manuscripts, and without the aid of grammar or dictionary. Here is the Prologue to the "Laws of Æthelstan" as printed in Lambard's *Archaionomia*, followed by the Latin of the *Quadrupartitus*:

Ic Ægelstane cyning, mid geœæhte Wulfhelmes mines hebbiscopes 7 obræ minra bisceopa, bebeode eallum minum gereafum 7urh exle mine rice on Ææes Drintænes nama 7 ealra halgena 7 for mine lufu, Ææet hi aerost mines agenes aestes Æam teœæ gesylææ, ge Ææes libbendes yrfeæ ge Ææes gearlices westmes: 7 Ææet ilce gedo eac Æa bisceopas heora gehwylcora 7 eac mine ealdormanna 7 gereafa.

Ego Ægelstanus rex, consilio Wulfhelmes archiepiscopi mei et aliorum episcoporum meorum, mando prepositis meis omnibus in toto regno et precipio in nomine Domini et sanctorum omnium et super amicitiam meam ut in primis de meo proprio reddant Deo decimas utriusque in vivente capitali et in ornotinis frugi-bus terre; et episcopi (mei) similiter faciant de suo proprio et aldermanni mei et prepositi mei. (Liebermann, 146-47).

The next OE composers that I have noticed after Nowell come together as a pair: Abraham Wheelock, Professor of Arabic and Lecturer in Anglo-Saxon at the University of Cambridge towards the end of the first half of the seventeenth century, and John Retchford, presumably one of his students. Wheelock had become professor of Arabic in 1632, but by 1637 he had realized that he was not going to have much of a following, so, without totally abandoning the East he adopted the North, and got himself thereby, if not a great increase in the number of his students, at least a welcome increment in his salary. A mere four years later he felt enough confidence in his control of Old English to attempt to write something in it. The occasion was the return of King Charles I from an expedition to Scotland. The University felt obliged to welcome the return of the sovereign with literary effusions in various tongues by members of different disciplines. Wheelock and Retchford (or Richford) had the courage or nerve to make their contributions not only in OE but in OE verse, no doubt relying on the certainty that any readers of such a book would know even less about the rules of OE poetry than they did.

At this point in his study of OE Wheelock was fairly well acquainted with OE prose, a great deal less so with poetry. He was in the process of editing the
OE Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which he was to publish together two years later, but the amount of verse to be found in these two works is minimal. When he came to translate the poetic entry for the year 937 (938) in the Chronicle—The Battle of Brunanburh—his failures only showed how shaky indeed was his knowledge of the vocabulary and versification of OE poetry. But that is something he shares with every other published editor of the Chronicle until about the middle of the nineteenth century.

His own verses and those of Retchford have been published by Francis Utley, with a full commentary. It should be enough to reproduce here a few lines of each with Utley's translation:

Wheelock:

Scotland buton feochte
Ongel lond geswip' ðe.
Jacobus gryp'd hire ho's
Ond aether his Carlos.

Scotland without battle
Conquered England
James gripped their heels (its heel)
And after (that came) his Charles

Retchford:

Eala êu garsecges lond
Gelic sum lafe on þam strond
For hwi swa lang on sar gesetst?
Forþam þin Ceorl Cyninga betst
Na ofer Breton lond's gemaer
Ac to þam Orcadas gan ðæer

Alas thou land of ocean
Like some remnant on the shore
Why hast thou so long sat in affliction
Because thy Ceorl best of Kings
Not merely over Britain's border
But to the Orcades has gone

The rhymes and attempted puns are there, but any alliteration seems accidental. And, as Utley remarked, Wheelock's Anglo-Saxon "only makes a kind of sense" (p. 247).

After Wheelock's death in 1653 interest in OE seems to have largely disappeared in Cambridge, but it cropped up with renewed vigor in Oxford. Not surprisingly, therefore, the next effort at composing OE (verse again) came from a member of Oxford University, Joseph Williamson of Queen's College. Again it was a contribution to a commemorative volume similar to that in which Wheelock and Retchford had written, but this time to celebrate the treaty that Cromwell made to end the Anglo-Dutch war in 1654. Like the earlier attempts, Williamson's verse was in rhyming couplets, but it made one advance on its predecessors: it demonstrated some attempt at alliteration.

Williamson moved on from Oxford to the larger world of diplomacy, but the study of OE caught on strongly at the university thereafter. One of the minor figures among the Oxford Saxonyists was William Elstob, brother and teacher of the now better-known Elizabeth, "the Saxon nymph." William produced two Anglo-Saxon compositions for state occasions, though neither, it seems, was ever published. The first effort was double-barreled, with verses in both OE and runic. The occasion was the death of William, Duke of Gloucester, at the age of eleven in
1700. Since he was the only one of Queen Anne's sons to live so long, his death was an especially hard blow to her hopes and those of the country for a direct successor to the throne. Once more some members of the university felt obliged to produce an anthology, this time of elegies. Elstob was on time with his double contribution, as he tells his friend Arthur Charlett, the Master of University College and the would-be patron of nearly everything in Oxford:

Univ. Coll. Oxon.

Aug. 26, 1700

I am glad to hear Mr. Wanley is like to bear his part with us in our mourning. And that his Saxon muse will come so opportunely to give authority to that of his friend: I have made bold to trouble you with a transcript of what mine has very meanly perform'd in two languages: And should be glad to have them made more compleat either by Mr Deans approbation, or amendment; to expect the first were too great a præsumption, and to request the other would give too much trouble. such as you see them they have been deliver'd to the Vicechancellor. And can upon no other terms hope to shelter their defects than the scarcity of criticks especialy (in the former Runick) will afford: But if there happen to be more intelligent's than I expect, I have this to plead for my error's, that they are the effect of a [first?] attempt, such as have not always the fortune of an entire success. What I subjoined in Latin either in prose as a translation of the Runick Epitaph, or in verse as an Apology for both Languages, is not design'd for any more than private view, and the Latin verses are of a streni so very low, as that nothing but your candour can excuse me for giving you the trouble of such impertinence. I am just now come from the Press, where I found Mr Heath's and Mr. Fowles verses and the Runick and Saxon whereof you have here the copies, to be in readiness, for composure. So that Mr. Wanley must make hast....7

The project clearly got as far as the press but apparently no farther, possibly because Humfrey Wanley, the great paleographer and cataloguer of Anglo-Saxon MSS, did not get his contribution in on time. Wanley had a way of holding things up by his tardiness, though his work, when it did arrive, was always incomparable. Or maybe he could not get his "Saxon muse" to produce anything because he was busy trying to leave a university that did not appreciate his talents and was attempting to find a job in London. Elstob's verses, however, are still extant, and since they have not, I think, been published before, I reproduce them here with my own translation:

Carmen Anglosaxonicum8

Ealle learning cnihtas
Ælc snoather gevertere
Ælc bocera & scop
De Oxnaford on bugap
Ealle þæt on þam scole
De Ælfrid mæra cyning

All students,
Every wise writer,
Each scholar and poet
Who lives in Oxford,
All who, in that school
Which Alfred the famous king
Hæfde geo getimbred
& ær gestapelode
Sind gelæređ & afedd:
Nu magon ge tosomne
Singan liope fela
Fæpon þe Engla leofast
Bearn hæfþ nu lif forlet:
Nu sceal ic geomriende
Giornful liopwyrtta
Mie sofigende
Wope secgan sarcwidas:–
Gleawceastres æthel Beorn
Se mera heretoga
Hæfþ sorban dreamas
Nu sone geendode
& ceas him other leocht:–
Eala cyld unwexen
To swipe forpwewiten
Eorla tyrfest ealdor
Dam Willhelm was nama:–
Nu is us micel gnornung
Wide & wel hwær
Sobum Cristen mannum
Swa micel on þam lande
Swa Ic ne secgan mag
Durh gedrefednesse:–

Long ago built
And established,
Are taught and nourished
Now may you all
Sing many songs
Because of the English the dearest
Child (prince) has now left this life.
Now must I, a lamenting
Zealous poet,
With sighing
Lamentation give vent to mourning.
The noble prince of Gloucester
The famous duke
Has just now reached the end
Of earthly joys
And has chosen for himself another world.
Alas, the young boy
Too early (?) gone,
The glorious prince of men
Whose name was William.
Now there is great sadness for us
Far and wide everywhere
Among true Christian men
So much in this land
That I cannot express (it)
Because of (my) distress

Since he was composing an elegy, Elstob chose as a model an Anglo-Saxon poem of the same kind, "The Death of Edgar," which appears in the Chronicle for the year 975. (I have underlined the rather formulaic phrases that he has borrowed or adapted). Like its model, Elstob's poem is hardly distinguished, but at least it makes a good deal more sense than Wheelock's.
Elstob's next effort in the same vein was made about fourteen years later and was, once more, a show of loyalty to royalty, this time for the arrival of the Hanoverian George I from Germany. An Act of 1701 had settled the succession of the English crown on Sophia, Electress of Hanover, and her children, should William III and Mary, or Anne die childless. Sophia's chief and perhaps only attraction for the British kingmakers lay in her Protestantism; and when indeed William and Mary and then Anne died without living issue, Sophia's son George arrived to ensure the Protestant succession. For the occasion Elstob, loyal churchman that he was, composed his poem, once more in the old academic tradition (though he was no longer a member of Academe).

In Optatissimum Adventum Georgii Domini Regis Serenissimi

Nu is hit me to recanne It is for me to tell now
Ymt þære tocyme About the arrival
Georgiuses cyninges Of King George
Giu on Brunes vice Once of Brunswick
Dæs meran heretogan The glorious duke
Done Anna seo cwen Whom Queen Anne
Mid witen geþeahhte With the advice of her council
Genumen þæt to sunu Has chosen for her son
And to yrce numan And heir
Englisca folces rices Of the kingdom of the English people
Dæt he se of Sæxna blode So that he who of Saxon blood (is)
Dūrhte manigfeald gecynd Through many generations
Ofer Englca Sæxna Leode Over the Anglo-Saxon people
Ah nu geweald. Has now the rule.
Beo he us to fæder May he be a father to us
Mild & lufingend Mild and loving
Beop we him to bearn May we be to him children
Eadmode & blipe:- Obedient and willing.
Utan hine to genealacanne Let us approach him
De sigefætelice Who victoriously
To ure fultume became Has come to our help
Frip bærend cynging A peace-bearing king
Wis & word snotor:- Wise and prudent in words.
Eala Engla waru
To swipe asyncrode
Mode on ungerade
To anum gepsane
Durfh his wisiome
& his mildhecrtnesse
Rape eow he deþ:
Hyrsumiap ge nu þæ
Eowra cyninge
Engla þeode
Blissigendum mode:–
He eowra æ & domas
Healdan sceal mid Ryhte
& eow of eowra feondan
Beverian mid mihte:–
Halige bispocas
Preóstas & diacones
De on cristes cirican
Ærfestlice þeniap
For eowra cyninge
and his yrfinuman
Cynelicum æþelingum
Badmodlice biddap
Se þe gode þeowas
& ciriclican þeowas
Fripiaþ cynelic:e–
Eala ge læreowas
De on boc cræftum
Sind swipæ gewelegode
Eowra cyninge sillaþ

O, ye inhabitants of England
Too much separated
In mind by discord,
Of a single mind
Through his wisdom
And his gentleness
Quickly now he will make you.
Obey you then
Your king
People of England
With willing (rejoicing) heart.
He your law and customs
Will maintain righteously
And you from your enemies
Defend with strength.
Holy bishops
Priests and deacons
Who in the church of Christ
Piously minister,
For your king
And his heirs
The royal princes
Humbly pray
Who the servants of God
And the customs of the Church
Will royally protect.
O, ye teachers
Who in learning
Are very rich
To your king give
Almost a hundred years passed before the next known Old English composition. By this time a full-fledged professorship of Anglo-Saxon had been established at Oxford. The third holder of the chair, James Ingram, tried his hand at Old English, but in a different fashion this time, and for a different purpose. In his inaugural lecture Ingram wanted to impress on his audience the relationship of Old English to Modern English, and he tried a mildly interesting experiment. John Milton had, and still has, a reputation for writing a very latinate English verse; but Ingram strove to show that even Milton's verse is essentially English:

In order to prove how much even Milton himself is indebted for the majestic simplicity of his verse to the Saxon materials therein, I have ventured to give a translation of the first fifteen lines of the Paradise Lost into that language; a kind of exercise which, together with that of modernizing ancient documents, might be recommended to all Saxon students as both amusing and instructive.

The few words which it was necessary to substitute in the room of those of Latin etymology are marked with inverted commas.

The point about the essentially native quality of Milton's English may be the only original idea in Ingram's lecture. I leave it to the reader to decide whether he was making a worthwhile point for History of the Language lessons. Here is Ingram's experiment:

*Milton's Paradise Lost, Book I.*

Of mannes fyrst "unhyrsumnesse," and þæs
"Westmes" of ðat forbiddene treowe, hwa's tæst
Broht deað in to þe world, and sall ure wa,
Wip lose of Eden, til an greater man
An-steoær us, and an-g'ahne þe blissful sæt,
Sing, heofenan Muse, þe on þam "diglod" top
Of ðreþ, opþe of Sinai, "onbeblæw'st"
Done sceaphyrð, hwa yrst þæ'hte the ceosan sæd,
On þe beginning hu þe heofen and eorþ
Ras ut of Chaos; opþe, gif Sion hill
De "lystath" mare, and Siloa's broc þat flow'd
Faste bi þe "stefne" of God; þanon ic nu
Call on þine side to min "gedyrstig" song,
Dat wiþ na middel flith "upgangan" wolde
Begœond þe' Aonisc munt, hwile hit "ehte" thing
Unwritten get on "forth-rihte" opþe on rime!

Ingram's successor, John Josias Conybeare, was even more ambitious in pursuit of a similar aim: this time to show the similarity between Old English and Old Norse. For this purpose he took the "Lay of Gudrun" and "translated" it into OE in order to show the likenesses in the vocabulary and alliterative systems. Each section is then followed by a literal modern English version of the whole poem in nineteenth-century Romantic ballad style, a rendering to which he modestly refers as "a very feeble copy of a very spirited original" (xlvi). But let the reader judge from the different versions of the final stanza:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original Icelandic</th>
<th>Saxon Version</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Da Hne Gudrun,</td>
<td>Da Hnah Gudrun,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hauill wiþ bolstri,</td>
<td>Holen wiþ bolstras,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haddr losnaði,</td>
<td>Heafod-beah lysnade,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hlýr roþnaði,</td>
<td>Hleor readode,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en Regns dropi</td>
<td>And Rægnas dropan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rann níþr um knæ</td>
<td>níþer Arn ymþ cneowæ.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Version</th>
<th>&quot;Metrical Imitation&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Then Gudrun bowed down</td>
<td>She saw, and sank, and low reclined,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concealing herself among the cushions</td>
<td>Hid in the couch her throbbing head.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Her head-gear loosened,</td>
<td>Her loose veil floated unconfined,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Her cheek reddened,</td>
<td>Her burning cheek was crimson red:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And the rain-drops [tears]</td>
<td>Then, her bursting heart's relief,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ran beneath to her knee.</td>
<td>Copious fell the shower of grief.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The urge to compose or "translate" into Old English appears to have subsided after Conybeare's time until the revival in recent years. Once more, scholars young and seasoned seem to agree with Ingram's opinion, that the exercise is both "amusing and instructive."
1 Manfred Görlach, Maccus and Mauris, Largiedd on Seofn Fyttum, OEN Subsidia, 3 (Binghamton, 1979). The earlier German piece in OE was written for Laurence Morris and printed in a festschrift for his ninetieth birthday, Anglia, 64 n.f. 52 (1940), 1-2. Görlach has recently "discovered" a Middle English version of Maccus and Mauris, to be found in his "very critical" edition The Geistes of Mak and Morris (Heidelberg, 1981).

2 Constance B. Hieatt, Raedellen Of Heartwordhorde Mid Da "Raedellen In Heolstre" Of Se Holtytle, OEN Subsidia, 7 (Binghamton, 1981).

3 Ælfric's sermon for Easter Day, together with two of his pastoral letters, and the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and the Commandments had been printed in OE with a translation by Archbishop Parker and his secretary John Joscelyn in A Testimonie of Antiquitie (London, 1566-67).

For more biographical information on Nowell see Robin Flower, "Laurence Nowell and the Discovery of England in Tudor Times," Proceedings of the British Academy, 21 (1935), 45-73; Albert H. Marckwardt, Laurence Novell's "Vocabulary Saxonicum" (Ann Arbor, 1952; rpt. New York, 1971); Retha Warnicke, William Lambarde, Elizabethan Antiquary (Chichester, 1973), and "Note On a Court of Requests Case of 1571," English Language Notes, 11 (1974), 250-56. Warnicke concludes that Nowell the Saxonist was almost certainly not Dean of Lichfield.


For evidence that Nowell did similar though not so extensive translations of bits of the Latin Bede, see Flower, pp. 72-73, n. 16. Marckwardt (pp. 9-10 & n.) remarks that in compiling his OE dictionary "it would appear that Nowell was capable upon occasions of composing his own illustrative quotations when nothing convenient happened to be at hand." See also Dorothy Whitelock, "Wulfstan and the So-Called Laws of Edward and Guthrum," English Historical Review, 56 (1941), 19, Appendix.

5 The verses of Wheelock and Retchford appeared in Irenodia (Cambridge, 1641). Utley's article is "Two Seventeenth-Century Anglo-Saxon Poems," Modern Language Quarterly, 3 (1942), 243-61. Note that "yogh" has been rendered by "g."


7 Bodleian Lib. MS Ballard 13, p. 50 (fol. 29v) and John Nichols, Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century (London, 1812-1815; rpt N.Y., 1965), IV, 113.
Bodleian MS Eng. hist. c.6, ff. 23-24 I should like to thank the authorities of the Bodleian Library for permission to publish Elstob's letter and both poems. Sarah Collins points out the existence in MS Ballard 67, ff. 23-24, of an Elstob poem in OE which I have not seen. See "Elizabeth Elstob: A Biography," Diss. Indiana Univ. 1970, p. 78, n. 23.


Abstracts of Papers in Anglo-Saxon Studies

At its 1979 meeting the Executive Committee of the Old English Division of the MLA passed a unanimous resolution that OEN should publish abstracts of papers in Anglo-Saxon studies given at various conferences and meetings. The success or value of this annual Spring feature will depend on the cooperation of conference organizers and session chairmen, from whom the editors of OEN hope to receive conference information, abstracts, and confirmation that papers were given as announced.

I. The Sixth International Conference on Patristic, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies, the Augustinian Institute, Villanova University, September 25-27, 1981:

Carol L. Neuman de Vegvar (University of Pennsylvania)

"Ecclesiastical History and the Development of Art in Early Northumbria"

Between 650 and 750, the northern Anglian kingdom of Northumbria was the center of a florescence of the arts surprising in its complexity and sudden maturity, which has been called the "Northumbrian Renaissance." The rapid development of architecture, relief sculpture, and manuscript illumination in this otherwise remote and relatively isolated area followed immediately the conversion of the Northumbrians to Christianity. The new faith opened the floodgates to mainstream Mediterranean and Continental culture onto the Anglians and thus transformed their art. However, the conversion of the Northumbrians was not the result of a single mission from Rome, as had been the case in Kent and elsewhere in southern England. Due to internal dynastic struggles in the establishment of the kingdom, the conversion of the Northumbrians was initiated from two radically different sources: the Church of Rome and the Celtic Church in Ireland. The Celtic Church was at this time heterodox not only in the dating of Easter and the tonsure, but also in its fundamentally monastic rather than diocesan authority structure. Thus confrontation between the two Churches became inevitable, resulting in the Synod of Whitby in 664. This division is also evident in the art of the period. Centers premised at their foundation on a profound loyalty to Rome, such as Benedict Biscop's Jarrow and St. Wilfrid's Hexham, produced art which closely emulated available foreign models, resulting in a true renascence of Late Antique style. Centers with politically more ambiguous positions, such as Lindisfarne, tended to be more assimilative, adapting the model to indigenous aesthetic standards. This was in part the artistic legacy of the Celtic Church, which had been assimilative from its origins as a result of long-standing patterns of pre-conversion trade with the Mediterranean basin. Thus, in Northumbrian centers not dedicated entirely to the transplantation of the Roman Church and her art, a novel synthesis of Mediterranean, Continental, Celtic and Anglian art emerges, more accessible and durable than the transplanted emulative style of the totally Romanized Centers.

Old and Middle English Poetry

Mary Eva Blockley (Yale University)

"The Source and Context of the Old English Poem Bede's Death-Song"

The Epistola Cuthberti De Obitu Bedae relates the individual circumstances of the saint's death to the universal truths of Scripture proclaimed in the liturgy. The brief old English poem known as Bede's Death-Song occupies a more important place in this account than has hitherto been recognized. The poem is a subtle but direct allusion to a biblical verse, as can be demonstrated through comparison with Old English prose translations of the same verse. This aspect of the poem has been overlooked because neither the verse itself nor the style
of its translation represents an obvious choice. Antecedents for the choice of matter and style can, however, be found both in the Latin tradition of monastic exegesis (as generally described by Leclercq, and admirably illustrated by the Epistola itself) and in the stylistic traditions of Old English verse. When considered in these contexts, the poem can be seen as more worthy of its traditional association with the venerable monk and student of English culture. The particular significance of the Biblical verse thus translated, as can be determined by its use in the liturgy and in patristic writings, adds another dimension to our understanding of the place of this poem in Cuthbert's account.

II. The Annual Meeting of the Modern Language Association, New York City, December 27-30, 1981:

Session 88, "Image and Message in Medieval British Poetry"

John Miles Foley (University of Missouri-Columbia)

"Literary Art and Oral Tradition: A Matter of Genre"

Both adherents and proponents of the oral-formulaic theory in Old English poetry have consistently turned to the example of the Moslem oral epic collected in the 1930's and afterward in their search for a possible analog to poems such as Beowulf, The Seafarer, and others. In this paper I describe another possible analog from Serbo-Croatian oral tradition, the shorter songs gathered and published in the nineteenth century by Vuk St. Karadžić, one which is more suited for comparison to the brief lyric poems in Old English. I do not argue that the elegies, for instance, are in fact oral, but rather that this second Serbo-Croatian analog provides an example of oral poems that reveal conscious artistry in the handling of traditional phraseology and motifs, and that we therefore need no longer consider oral tradition and aesthetic design mutually exclusive.

Sarah Higley (University of California-Berkeley)

"The Vanishing Point in Early Welsh and Old-English Imagery"

This study attempts to show the dissimilar ways that imagery is employed in both Old English and Welsh elegy of the ninth century. The Welsh eye in the Canu Llywarch Hen sees details of a landscape separately, whereas the English eye in The Seafarer sees details in hierarchic relationships; the Welsh tends to rely on disjunction and contrast to express connections, and the Old English tends to favor expressions of deixis and causality to maintain semantic coherence. For this reason, it is difficult for modern readers to regard Old English imagery as figurative when it might be operating figuratively, and it may explain why we insist on wringing logical sense out of loose connectives such as for bon (Seafarer 33b) which may be little more than placeholders in an alliterative half-line.

Alain Renoir (University of California-Berkeley)

"Image and Message: Some Contextual Cues For Interpreters of Medieval Poetry"

Anthropological investigation tells us that so-called "high-context cultures" (i.e., communities in which nearly everyone supposedly shares a common background and concomitant assumptions) tend to produce literature in which the relationship between image and message remains relatively unspecified, while so-called "low-context cultures" (i.e., communities in which only
few people supposedly share a common background and concomitant assumptions) tend to produce literature in which the relationship between image and message is specified. Examination of imagery in poems composed in England during the Middle Ages suggests that, regardless of the actual mode of composition, Old English poetry produced within the "framework of the oral-formulaic tradition exhibits features associated with "high-context cultures" but that later Middle English poetry, as well as Anglo-French and Anglo-Latin poetry, exhibits features associated with "low-context cultures." The implication of this tentative observation is that the same techniques of interpretation which have proved satisfactory with the latter kind of poetry may well prove quite misleading with the former. If such be the case, medievalists should perhaps think twice before endorsing the increasingly fashionable view that the contexts of history and tradition are irrelevant to the interpretation of literature.

Stanley B. Greenfield (University of Oregon)

"Ambiguous Images in Beowulf"

Although the classroom teacher of Beowulf can encourage students to view textual cruces primitively, a translator of the poem must deal with such cruces with a more singular vision. A few ambiguous images allow for equally ambiguous re-creations; most, however, force the translator to choose from a multiplicity, sometimes a contrariety, of interpretations, to take a stand as to the proper image and meaning that will convey his or her sense of the original. This talk offers several examples of my coping with such ambiguities in my forthcoming poetic translation of Beowulf.

Session 115, "Old English Bibliography: Past Present, and Future"

E.G. Stanley (Pembroke College, Oxford)

"The Past"

I define "Bibliography" as the formal study of books (and other objects displaying words in print) considered with regard to their manufacture, distribution, and history of ownership rather than with regard to their content.

There is little formal bibliography of Old English. For the earlier periods John Strype's The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker (1711), John Petheram's An Historical Sketch of the Progress and Present State of Anglo-Saxon Literature in England, and Eleanor N. Adams's Old English Scholarship in England 1566-1800 (1917) have laid the foundations.

Details are, however, hard to come by. Well known and common books like Wheelock's Bede (1643 and 1644) are nowhere described bibliographically, in spite of the fact that it is a Cambridge book printed by Roger Daniel with variant title pages and perhaps other differences. Even books using Saxon type are not fully listed or described bibliographically; the appendix in Adams is the best there is on the subject. Junius's Saxon type, first used in the bibliographically and lexicographically highly important Observationes in Willermum (1655), has received more attention than any other continental Saxon type; but not letter by letter, not in sufficient detail; that is (for example), to give an account of where square upper case C (as opposed to round upper case C) is used, and if anyone used it before him other than Richard Badger for Spelman's Concilia, I, of 1639. A history of Saxon type is an obvious desideratum.

Anglo-Saxon scholarship, till it spread quite recently, had so few practitioners relatively that a catalogue of association copies say up to 1880 would not be an impossibly large, collaborate undertaking. Every library would provide examples of interest, some with notes, many with only signatures.
Among such copies the following should find a place: William Morris's copy of Benjamin Thorpe's *Codex Exoniensis* (1842); Hudson Gurney's copy—he was the brother of Anna Gurney, the translator of the Saxon Chronicle (1819)—of Conybeare's *Illustrations* (1826); Thorkelin's copy of Lye and Manning's *Dictionarium* (1772); among early stages in dictionary making, recently discussed by M. Sue Hetherington in *The Beginnings of Old English Lexicography* (1880), Francis Tate's copy of the 1566 Louvain edition of Bede's *Historia*, with interesting annotations of Saxon equivalents for Latin words; and most splendid of all, the British Library copy of Aelfric's *Testimonia*, with its grand episcopal attestation and perhaps evidence for the date 1567 rather than Strype's 1566.

Donald K. Fry (SUNY-Stony Brook)

"The Present"

Several factors contribute to the inevitable failure of Old English bibliographies. First, we do not write down most of what we know about the material, and we have little or no information on large areas of the field. Second, bibliographers assume an audience of specialists rather than multiple users and uses. All access designs have strengths and weaknesses. Authors' imprecise titling and keyword indexing confuse matters. And finally, annotation, no matter how good, can never capture the complexities of an argument. We might alleviate some of these problems by designing bibliographies with many users in mind.

Carl T. Berkhout (University of Dallas)

"The Future"

Old English, like almost all other fields in the humanities, will be both blessed and vexed by the rapid technological changes occurring in our libraries and publishing centers. The labor of the Old English bibliographer will be further affected by the steady expansion of Old English teaching and research far beyond the familiar precincts of Northern Europe and North America. Otherwise, the future of Old English bibliography will remain tied to the future course of Old English study itself, witnessing a more refined pursuit of those approaches which, by some consensus, have proved to be the most discerning and most productive during the past generation or so, whether their emphasis be belletristic, philological, historical, or whatever. With that trend will come a widespread reexamination of many long-held textual, linguistic, codicological, and editorial assumptions—as prefigured by several recent challenges to our learned ignorance about the dating and authorial circumstances of Old English texts.

With the availability of the Greenfield-Robinson Bibliography and other recent or imminent bibliographic tools, Anglo-Saxonists now enjoy a reasonably complete, current record of all that has been published. The new bibliographic desiderata are not so much bibliographies that more or less refine or rearrange present information, but topical listings, subject and thematic indices, guides to applied methodologies—tools that might complement or key themselves to the standard presentations by title and genre in existing bibliographies. Other areas that merit some fresh bibliographic enterprise are early Anglo-Latin literature, early Anglo-Saxon scholarship, Anglo-Saxon manuscript studies, and current techniques or materials available for the teaching of Old English.
Session 491, "Old English Language and Culture"

Stephen Glosecki (University of California-Davis)

"The Strength of Iron: Wið Færsticœ"

Although the scribe who recorded Wið Færsticœ in the "Lacnunga" lived in a society long Christian, this metrical charm nonetheless preserves certain reflexes of preliterary Germanic tribalism. Among these are disease-shooting and sympathetic magic, each of which has its counterparts in discrete tribal cultures widely separated in space and time.

"Elfshot," the obsolete malady that Wið Færsticœ was supposed to cure, is patently the Germanic version of disease-shooting. Apparently, the Old English saw the elfshot itself as a sharp piece of iron that could be hurled into a man by any one of several evil agents. In Wið Færsticœ, a counter-charm aimed against any and all disease-shooters, we find an herbal concoction, an epic, an exorcism, and an enigmatic sexœ, which is to be plunged into the concoction prescribed in the opening lines. In the mind of the Old English doctor who used this ancient remedy, the iron-bladed knife had sympathetic power over the elf-shot lodged within the patient.

The sympathetic power of the sexœ—crucial to a full understanding of Wið Færsticœ—has been overlooked by the main authorities, Felix Grendon (The Journal of American Folk-Lore 22, 215) and A. R. Skemp (Modern Language Review, 6, 291). Whereas Grendon believes that "the knife is to be used on some dummy representing the evil spirits," Skemp suggests that "salve is stroked onto the painful region with the 'sexœ.'" Grendon's notion is too lurid, and Skemp's is too ethnocentric. Since the knife and the elfshot are both made of iron—a magical metal, intrinsically potent during the Iron Age—we need not look beyond the text itself to find the purpose of the sexœ. But we do need to place these reflexes of early Germanic culture in the context of tribal society at large.

Martin Irvine (Harvard University)

"Cynewulf's Use of Psychomachia Allegory"

Recent studies on Cynewulf have emphasized his indebtedness to Latin literary traditions. An additional stylistic feature distinctive of Cynewulfian poetry is the use of psychomachia allegory, the topos of spiritual or psychological warfare established in Latin poetry by Prudentius in the Hamartigenia and Psychomachia. In Christ II 756-82a, Juliana 382-409a, and The Phoenix 447-73, the poet departs from his immediate Latin source and amplifies his theme with psychomachia allegory. The widespread knowledge of Prudentius' works in Anglo-Saxon England is confirmed by what we know about the predominance of artes grammaticae in Anglo-Latin culture, evidence from library catalogues, and citations in literary works, and the ten surviving MSS of Prudentius' poems of Anglo-Saxon provenance, chief of which are Bodleian F.3.6 (originally part of Leofric's bequest to Exeter Cathedral accompanying The Exeter Book) and CCC 223 (at Malmesbury in the later Anglo-Saxon period), which have copious (and similar) marginal and interlinear glosses.

Thomas D. Hill (Cornell University)

"Woden and the Pattern of Nine: Numerical Symbolism in Some Old English Royal Genealogies"

Old English royal genealogies have always attracted a good deal of attention. One formal feature of the organization of these genealogies which has not
been discussed is that some of the genealogies seem to be organized in part in specific numerical patterns. The divine ancestor Woden is consistently placed at nine removes from the founder of a dynasty. There are six unrelated examples of this pattern in the various genealogies and William of Malmsbury refers to three other founders of dynasties as "tenth, as they say, from Woden," which suggests that he recognized the motif as a traditional one.

Some, though not all of these patterns, were noticed by Stefan Einarsson in an unpublished paper in the archives of the Fiske Icelandic Collection (Cornell), in which he discusses patterns of nine in Old Norse-Icelandic and Continental Germanic genealogies. The motif is not specifically Germanic, however, since Welsh, Irish and biblical genealogies are similarly patterned, but it is none-theless important in that it shows that the earlier stages of these genealogies were, and were understood to be, symbolic rather than historically true.

John Niles (University of California-Berkeley)

"Time and the Barbaric Style in Beowulf"

More than almost any other feature of the art of Beowulf—an art so distinct from classical or naturalistic norms as to warrant the name "barbaric"—the poet's depiction of time sets his work apart from its raw materials of folktale and heroic lay. Time starts and stops in Beowulf. The dating is left vague. In general the poet handles time with an indifference to straightforward chronology so as to show clearly the connection of theme and theme, of cause and effect.

The narration shifts rapidly between five fields of temporal reference: the mythic past of Genesis, when God manifested His power openly; the legendary past of Weland, Sigemund, and other exemplary Germanic heroes; the historical past of the poem's main action, which does not tend to include exemplary characters except for one tragic hero; the present of the poem's performance, whether real or imagined; and the mythic future of Doomsday, which helps define the nature of human tragedy by setting its limits. Any given moment is thus not simply a narrative event, for nothing much may happen in it to advance the plot. It is rather a kind of narrative crossroads for the intersection of lines drawn from significant points in time.

Also entering into the texture of the poem is the present tense of our reading it now. While the narrator's gnomic asides tend to validate the values of heroic society as ones by which people can still live, the enormous gulf between the Anglo-Saxon age and our own has introduced an element of irony, of suspicion, into many recent appreciations of the poem. The poem has thus become a more complex document than it may have been for its original audience, who may have accepted without raised eyebrows the propositions that dragons inhabit barrows, that God rules over human affairs, and that leaders should risk their lives for their people.

Session 120
Scandinavian Languages and Literature

Helen Damico (University of New Mexico)

"Sigríðr and the Hama Episode in Beowulf"

The Hama episode in Beowulf (1197-1201), long classified among the poem's historical-legendary referential narratives, is one of its more obscure passages. The unit not only contains textual difficulties, but also is associated with a Germanic legend whose elements are incompatible with its three main features: the theft of the Brōsinga mene (associated with the ON Brisinga men), the thief
Hama (linked with Heimr of þidrekssaga), and the ruler whose enmity Hama fled (identified as the Gothic king Eormanric). In the OE passage, for example, Hama quite clearly steals the necklace. In the Continental tradition, although Heimir is a marauder, there is no hint whatever of his ever having stolen any necklace, let alone one as famed as the Brisinga men. Discrepancies in character relationships and behavior also arise. In contrast to Heimir's destructive acts against Eormanric in the Continental tradition, where he is explicitly the Gothic king's adversary, the Beowulfian Hama's actions are ambiguous. The poem is unclear (as Müllenhoff and Jiriczek have noted) as to whether Hama carried the necklace to or stole it from the mighty battle-chieftain. But most importantly, nowhere in the legendary materials is either Hama or Eormanric connected with the Brisinga men. Müllenhoff's efforts to associate the jewel with the Harlungs being unacceptable. The legendary data, then, instead of elucidating the passage, tend to obfuscate it.

Conceivably, the obfuscation may be a result of a faulty critical approach, an attempt to connect narrative components that are derived from two different kinds of sources, the mythological and legendary. The focal point of the passage is mythological, centering as it does on the theft of the Brisinga men. In Scandinavian myth, the owner of the Brisinga men is Freyja, the master thief, Loki, and the recipient of the jewel, his lord and master, Óðinn. The story of its theft and recovery appears in Sprolapátrr, with a variant version of the recovery related in Húsdrapa. In neither document is Hama or Eormanric included in the dramatis personae, even though the Gothic king is a well-known figure in Eddic poetry. This paper proposes to set aside the legendary figures, which it finds extraneous to the unit's chief mythological reference, the theft of the Brisinga men, and to examine the Hama episode exclusively in light of this event, particularly as it appears in Sprolapátrr.

As a type of prelude to the tale of the everlasting battle between Heimir and Hogni, chapters one through three of Sprolapátrr tell the story of how Freyja first obtained, lost, and regained the Brisinga men. In order to possess the jewel, the goddess strikes a bargain with its makers, the dwarves: Freyja receives the jewel; the dwarves, Freyja's embraces. Óðinn's trusted retainer, Loki, discovers how Freyja came to own the Brisinga men and informs the war-god, who immediately commands him to fetch the necklace. When Loki complains about the difficulty of the task, Óðinn becomes enraged and dismisses his retainer from his presence until the deed is accomplished. Exiled from Óðinn's good graces and faced with the seemingly impossible task of penetrating Freyja's bower, Loki takes on the form of a fly and crawls into the bower through a hole. Once inside, he assumes the shape of a flea, so that he might bite the goddess and more easily snatch the necklace from about her neck. When he has hold of the necklace, he sheds the floar haminn "flea shape," slips out of the bower, carries back the Brisinga men to Asgarðr, chief stronghold of the Æsir and the site of Óðinn's court, presents it to the mighty ruler, and regains his good favor.

The framework of the theft as depicted in Sprolapátrr is reminiscent of the narrative outline of the Hama reference. In the OE passage, there is an agent, Hama, who carries off a priceless treasure that generally has been identified as the Brisinga men. He transports the necklace to a bright city or stronghold that reasonably could be associated with Ásgarðr, avoids the battle-wrath of a mighty war-chieftain (a description equally suited to Eormanric and Óðinn), and chooses or receives eternal reward, a phrase more suggestive of myth than legend. The narrative structure of the Hama episode thus parallels that of its mythological analogue.

The apparent obstacles to a mythological interpretation of the passage are the identities of Hama and Eormanric. This difficulty can be overcome, however,
if one renders hāma and eormenric as common terms rather than as personal names. OE hāma "cricket, house cricket" is—like Loki's fly-personality—an insect small enough to slip into a bower through a hole. Moreover, OE hāma (ON hāmr) "covering, slough," carries a connotative force that is related to Loki's shape-changing. Translating eormenric as "universal power" likewise accords with a mythological interpretation. The word evokes the cosmic authority of Olninn and is an appropriate epithet for the war-god. Thus the terms that identify the thief and the ruler in the Hama episode are compatible with the descriptions of Loki and Olninn in Selubáttr.

In light of the above, it appears that when considered in the context of its mythological associations, the Hama passage is to a large degree demystified. The unit's narrative features that jar when placed against the legendary materials are in harmony with those presented in its mythological analogue. It would be fitting to reclassify the episode as a mythological, rather than a legendary-historical referential narrative.

III. The Third Medieval Forum, Plymouth State College, Plymouth, New Hampshire, April 16-17, 1982:

Winnifred J. Geissler (Kansas State University)

"Interdisciplinary Perspectives of the Dream of the Rood"

Theological practices, military and political events, and derivative artifacts are non-literary factors relevant to the Dream of the Rood which enrich its connotations. Fusion of artifact with speaking surrogate in the poem combines pagan animism with theological requirements that the vicarious suffering of Christ be transferred to the cross in itself in order to evoke penitential suffering in the reader which will insure his salvation. Weeping and kissing the cross during the single annual emphasis on Christ's suffering during Holy Week during the first millennium encouraged emotionalism through verse, hymn, and ritual to intensify the penitential impact.

Poetic leaps of thought may be aided by awareness of the "sacralization of space," the exile motif, and iconography. The apology of the cross and Christ's role as a warrior reflect the code of the comitatus in the poet's milieu. The implications of voluntary martyrdom derive from early monasticism, and fluctuations in imagery provide insight about the nature of the sinner's evolving spiritual perception.

Historically, military victory, architecture, and imperial insignia confirmed the powers of the cross. Penitential motives and liturgical practices may explain the red-tinged stone and garnet surfaces of relevant artifacts. The expansion of Byzantine cultural influence and events causing periodic revival of veneration of the cross contribute to comprehension of the poem. Claims of originality within the Dream of the Rood need reconsideration in view of the wider spectrum of contributory non-literary influences on the poem.
Session 2: Early Medieval Historiography

Roger D. Ray (University of Toledo)

"Bede and Early Medieval Historiography"

In the 1940's Charles Jones published an article entitled "Bede as Early Medieval Historian." It was a forerunner of his now twice printed book called Saints' Lives and Chronicles in Early England, which appeared shortly later in the same decade. In both connections Jones proposed a sharp departure from the interpretive tradition of Mommsen, Plummer, Poole, Levison, and others. He offered a reassessment of the Ecclesiastical History in terms of the intellectual and literary resources of the Early Middle Ages, no matter what the cost to scholars hunting facts about Anglo-Saxon England. Some of the views he developed in support of this revisionist program remain controversial, especially in England. But the program itself is now taken for granted among Bede scholars everywhere.

I have chosen the title for my paper partly out of gratitude for Jones' wartime article of a similar name, but mainly to suggest a further way to look at Bede as an early medieval historian. In the attempt to be true to Bede's own purposes and tools, Jones and scholars after him have proceeded as if the Ecclesiastical History is evidence of the discontinuity of ancient and medieval historiography. Of course in many formative ways it is. Nonetheless I believe it also attests to the survival of the rhetorical tradition of western historiography in the Early Middle Ages. Some of the crucial features of the text are newly comprehensible once one assumes that Bede had imbibed the same invention theory that sustained his pagan forerunners. Thus I argue, first, that he must have read one of the full accounts of rhetorical inventio, probably Cicero's De inventione, which Alcuin studied at York within a generation after Bede's death. Then I propose that this invention thought sheds light on (1) what he reckoned to be a "true" narrative and (2) how he was able to write so fully from fragmentary and scattered sources.

Session 18: The Female Temperament in Old English Literature

Jane Chance Nitzsche (Rice University)

"'Uncer giedd geador:' Anglo-Saxon Woman as Scoop in the Wife's Lament and Wulf and Eadwacer"

Previously, critics have ignored the fact that the speakers of the Wife's Lament and Wulf and Eadwacer are not merely exiled and lamenting wives but also women poets, or women functioning as poets at the moment, which is clearly revealed through the use of the word giedd. Normally this word refers to the songs or lays of the professional scoop or gleoman, or it is used by speakers of a sermon or proverb, often based on experience (Precepts 41b), or of a formal address relating heroic adventures (Beowulf 2154). In the Wife's Lament she begins with "Ic pis giedd wrecce bi me geomorre,/minre sylfre si5," fantasizing in her isolation that she is a scoop in an earth-hall (erðbysēle, also used of Grendel's Mother) and that the hills and forest-tops are parts of her fortress. In Wulf and Eadwacer the word in the last line refers probably to her relationship with her outlaw lover Wulf, from whom she is separated, woven here into an orderly, metrical, and harmonious symbol of the relationship with him she cannot have but imagines. As scope these women reflect in their diction, imagery, and verbal structures aspects of the conventional role of women as freoþwebbe (peace-weaver) which they have abandoned (intentionally or unintentionally) in their estrangement from husband
and/or lover. A comparison with the two Anglo-Saxon poems narrated by professional minstrels, Widsith and Deor, reveals the similarities between the two pairs of poems and the contrasts between the two pairs of poets.

Patricia Belanoff (New York University)

"Female Aggression in Old English Poetry"

The only women in Beowulf who are aggressive direct their aggression against men. One, Crendel's Mother, is slain by a hero; the second, Modthrytho, is tamed by one. As aggressors, neither of these women is favorably portrayed. A number of women in the riddles are sexually aggressive. Although the riddlers tend to view this aggression without comment, the authors of gnomic poetry—presenting female aggression much less graphically than the riddlers—uniformly condemn women who actively seek sexual activity. Two of the charms imply female aggression, but the women so described are not human: they are bees and poisonous darts. At least two riddles link females to power, but the females so pictured are natural forces. Only in the riddles, charms, and gnomic poems do females initiate aggressive activity; in all other OE poetry, female aggression is a reaction to prior male action.

Wealhtheow, Hyldegyth, the Sarah of Genesis A, and the Eve of Genesis B are only verbally aggressive. The seemingly powerful Cynwulfian women have only limited power. Elene's order to imprison Judas is implemented by her agents; Juliana's "physical" aggression is directed against a non-human male. None of these women are successful solely because of their verbal weapons, powerful though they may be. The only woman of OE poetry whose aggression against a male is a direct result of her own physical action is Judith. Like a number of other women of OE poetry, however, Judith's power over a male is associated with both sex and alcohol.

We conclude, therefore, that in the world of OE poetry, women who are physically aggressive against human males must be eliminated or cured. Consequently, women's aggression takes verbal form, a form in which it is rarely successful on its own. In fact, the women of OE poetry are physically successful against their male adversaries only in an environment in which sex, and possibly alcohol, are factors—a curious state indeed for a poetry which some critics have labeled as "prudish!"

Dolores Warwick Frese (University of Notre Dame)

"Wulf and Eadwacer: The Adulterous Female Reconsidered"

Traditional critical assumptions about Wulf and Eadwacer have typically posited a text-world occupied by an amorous woman psychosexually torn between two men—one a husband, one a lover—one present, one banished. Even where the ménage à trois has been abolished, it has been replaced by an absent man, be he husband or lover, whose bad luck or bad behavior has caused the speaker's essential suffering.

This revisionist reading suggests that the underlying crisis which energizes the utterance of Wulf and Eadwacer is entirely other, and that the affair may be a maternal rather than a marital or extra-marital erotic predicament. An attentive reading that allows the poem to speak for itself, yields up the intriguing possibility that the experience of expressed anxiety, grief, separation and consummate anguish derives, not from a captive woman lamenting some lost lover, but rather from the predicament of a mother lamenting her lost child.

Both text and context support such a reading. By attending closely to structural, syntactic, lexical, metrical, and thematic choices of the poet, I will argue for my reading as a critically sufficient and even enhanced interpretation of the Old English text. Furthermore, by briefly reviewing contemporaneous and precedent poetic tradition presumably familiar to the poet, I will try to demonstrate by context that the more typical lamentatory situation for the canon of women in Old English
poetry involves the emotional and cultural problematic of anguishing over the present, past or future fate of young sons, not lamenting the romantic entanglements of adult liaisons.

Session 48: Old English, I

John Mahony (Clinch Valley College of the University of Virginia)

"The Structure of Beowulf: Some Insights"

The intent of this paper is to examine the structure of Beowulf in the light of certain Peircean signs—icon, index, symbol, and myth—and to suggest that the structure of the poem is composed of the following highly integrated and tightly organized elements:

1) A poem which uses icon as a base from which to generate universal mythic law;

2) Three Prologue-Act Division, interrupted mid-way by an Interlude, which by way of a combination of signs, reenacts the folk law proposed in the Proem;

3) An Epilogue which brings myth into contact with time.

The focus of the paper will center on the examination of the Proem and the first Prologue-Act Division. The discussion will show that, in the opening lines of the poem, the Beowulf-poet establishes the controlling voice of his drama by fusing the common consciousness of the folk with the voice of the narrator. By means of this fusion the author is able to generate mythic law from the memories of the folk past and demonstrate their applicability to the present and future.

The opening Prologue-Act division enacts the first of the mythic laws—the establishment of royal order and harmony by way of royal might and power. In this act Beowulf personifies the perennial law in the court of Hrothgar and then, acting as the agent of Hrothgar, vanquishes primal disorder by defeating Grendel. The dramatic movement of the first act is composed of inverse mirror images: Beowulf succeeds in Hrothgar's court because he follows the demands of folk law and Grendel is defeated there because he refuses to live by that law. The act closes with the communal celebration of folk law in the victory feast in Heorot.

C. Russell Barquist (Washington, D.C.)

"Phonological Patterning in Beowulf"

This study examines patterning of sounds in Beowulf. I have made a distinctive feature analysis of eighth-century vowel and consonant sounds based on Alastair Campbell's authoritative reconstruction of Old English pronunciation, and I have identified and transcribed all the stressed morphemes in Beowulf using the normalized spelling of Francis P. Magoun's text. The transcription has been examined in terms of distinctive feature theory based on Naom Chomsky's and Halle's analysis, as modified by Hyman and others.

Description of the data allows precise definitions of aesthetic values such as alliteration, assonance, consonance, and vowel and consonant harmony (repetition of morpheme internal vowel or pre-vocalic or post-vocalic consonant sounds which share a majority of distinctive features but which are not identical). Alliteration is required by the metrical form and it has already been studied extensively. This study concentrates on the other phono-aesthetic values plotting
per cent of shared distinctive features of each pre-vocalic non-initial consonant or consonant cluster, each morpheme internal vowel or diphthong, and each post-vocalic consonant or consonant cluster in stressed morphemes with every other sound in the same position within its morpheme in the same verse and in a variable range of preceding and succeeding verses; these plots are shown on a large computer graph. The graph also shows deviations from expected values if the distribution of each sound were random. Other information indicates where certain types of sounds tend to cluster and where they occur least, which sounds occur together, the frequencies of different sounds, and the subject matter of the hemistichs in which specific sounds occur.

My examination indicates the presence of phono-aesthetic patterning far beyond what one would expect if the distribution were random. The study shows that such patterning is decorative and acoustically appealing and also that it serves some communicative and rhetorical functions. This paper describes and evaluates the poetic relationship function between phonological patterning and the subject matter of the poem. Because of the interrelatedness of phonological phenomena in general and the intricacy of Beowulf, further more comprehensive analyses of these relationships will be required in order to give specific characterization of some important aspects of the poet's mastery of his craft.

Thomas Goodman (Indiana University)

"Sceaf in Old English Poetry"

One of the principal tasks remaining to scholars of Anglo-Saxon literature is to reach an understanding of the semantic field of the language. This paper offers a close study-in-context of one word group in order to indicate the range of meaning available to the poet.

The first part of the paper is based on the Indo-European roots of sceaf as treated in Pokorny's Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch. In positing a possible semantic development among these roots and reflexes, I am attempting to show some connections among the separate developments of sceaf in OE as meaning "spear," "creation," "fate," etc.

The second part of the paper is an examination in poetic contexts of various uses of sceaf and its compounds. This work is based on the examination of every use of the word in the poetry. Several conclusions emerge. From the study of all the contexts of the word feasceaf, for instance, we learn that it almost always involves a separation from human society; no dictionary indicates such connotation. Also, sceaf is one of the most important words in the expression of the Anglo-Saxon conception of fate. The study of these sceaf words produces a sense of human life as a set of created possibilities to be variously endured or exploited by the individual. Much of the way human life is imaged in the poetry involves a linear conception of time. This discovery encourages a speculative comparison with the Greek myth of the thread of life. Central to both understandings of man is a sense of limitation in creation itself.

As far as I have been able to discover, no one has done such work with sceaf. And few of the people writing on semantic fields bring together philology, close reading, and interpretation in order to further our knowledge not only of individual words in OE, but also of the understanding of the world inherent in the poetry. This study of the sceaf word group is drawing me on to a re-examination of the Anglo-Saxon conception of fate as expressed in all such words as forgesceaf, wyrd, etc.
Eric Dahl (University of Washington)

"A Peterborough Monk and The Battle of Maldon"

Some scholars have argued that The Battle of Maldon was preserved for a century by a mixture of oral and written transmission before it was recorded in the West Saxon version we know today. The first part of my paper summarizes the weaknesses of the latter position and argues that Maldon is not "a western copy of an eastern original...preserved orally for a time." West Saxon was the dialect of the Benedictines who came to rebuild the ten monasteries in the decades before the battle. It is at least possible that they were responsible for producing our text soon after the events it describes.

Next I summarize activities at Ely, Peterborough, and Ramsey and focus on Aldulf, Abbot of Peterborough. He is a good model—if not an actual candidate—for the author of Maldon. He had a secular background at the court of King Edgar as a noble and a writer; he was Edgar's "chancellor." He became a monk in the early 970's and was sent by Æthelwold to supervise the restoration of Peterborough. He acquired property, "discovered" early charters, and was presumably familiar with Byrhtnoth, who gave land to the monastery. His dialect was West Saxon but without certain Benedictine features. The text also lacks, for example, the synonym preferences of monks trained at Æthelwold's Winchester scriptorium. I also review the text's early association with the library at Worcester. In 992, one year after the battle, Aldulf left Peterborough to become bishop there. I conclude by suggesting further tests for Aldulf's authorship of the poem, such as comparing Maldon to the books given by Æthelwold to the Peterborough library during Aldulf's abbacy. A list of these is extant.

Dwight Conquergood (Northwestern University)

"The Boasts in Beowulf and Maldon: Texts, Contexts, and Functions"

Recently there has been some sustained and systematic analysis of Anglo-Saxon boasting, which is remarkable when one considers the scant critical attention this complex form of discourse has received for so long. It is no longer necessary to argue for the positive social connotations of "beot" and "gip" or the generally important function of boasting within Anglo-Saxon society. Now it is possible for scholars to deepen our understanding of this ancient genre of utterance by exploring the rich diversity within the form. Like any healthy genre of discourse, the boast is an elastic, adaptable, and useful verbal strategy for sizing up and coping with a variety of contextual exigencies.

This study examines the performances of seven boasts uttered by the hero and dramatized in Beowulf (405-55, 530-606, 631-38, 675-87, 1303-96, 1473-91, 2510-37). The texts of these boasts are compared and contrasted according to the varying contextual constraints of their performance. Further, the specific situational function of each boast is assessed against the background of the broader socio-cultural functions shared by all boasting. For example, the boast Beowulf utters in response to Æscher's death shares fundamental generic characteristics with the boast he utters in rebuttal to Unferth, but is at the same time distinctly shaped by the unique performance situation and fulfills social functions specific to the occasion.

The study concludes with an analysis of the "boasting session" in the second half of The Battle of Maldon, six boasts uttered by different men in the same performance context. This analysis of boasting in Old English literature draws freely upon recent research in oral traditions, folkloristics, and the ethnography of speaking.
"Old English Bird Riddles: Examples of Oral or Literary Tradition"

Although we have become increasingly aware of the theoretical distinctions between orality and literacy, we need more illustrative examples of these distinctions if we are to appreciate fully the contrast between an oral and written culture. Scholars such as Eric A. Havelock and Walter J. Ong have reminded us that the marks of oral tradition are rhyme and narrative form, that phenomena are treated in terms of act or event, and that we can expect proverbs, commonplaces, and epithets. Literacy, on the other hand, is characterized by analytic, sequential thought, and can be abstract rather than concrete.

Using a new method of analysis, this study will "test" these principles against a group of Old English riddles from the Exeter Book. Old English riddles form an especially good test case because we cannot know with certainty whether or not they are the products of oral tradition. Therefore there can be no pre-conceived notion of the tradition from which they came. Although there is a considerable body of scholarship devoted to Old English riddles, their orality and/or literacy has not previously been analyzed by the method I use here. Moreover, the group selected for study—the bird riddles (Krapp-Dobbie 7,8,9,10,24,42,57,74)—have not been extensively discussed in terms of their thematic content. The bird riddles have been selected for analysis because they treat natural history, the medieval sources for which are available to us. The tradition of literacy is exemplified by these sources, that is, by the natural history studies of Isidore, Pliny, Ambrose, and later encyclopedists such as Vincent of Beauvais and Bartholomeus Anglicus. The method of organization of bird lore in the Old English riddles is examined against the method of organization of similar material in the Latin prose works. These findings are then evaluated in terms of the theoretical distinctions between the oral and literary tradition.

Deborah C. Rogers (Des Moines, Iowa)

"Pibroch for a Divorced Riddle"

John Pope has shown that the Exeter Book riddle numbered 70 in Krapp and Dobbie's edition is probably parts of two separate riddles. This paper deals with the first four lines, riddle number 67 in Craig Williamson's post-Pope edition. It is usually solved as Lyre; I propose the solution Bagpipe.

That the object is "a marvel to people who do not understand it" and "fashioned with skill" would apply to so many things that the lines may be regarded as filler.

That "it sings through its sides; its neck is bent" suggests an anatomy which, in my view, already makes Bagpipe the solution of choice.

The problematical line concerns its having "two shoulders sharp on its shoulders." Pope emends the line. But a bagpipe has a pair of features between "sides" and "neck": its drones (the "brothers" of riddle 29 [Krapp and Dobbie ]). I believe the writer was punning with "axle" to mean that between sides and neck; where one expects axillae, on a bagpipe one finds axles (stick-shaped things).

Session 172: Monarchs, Monks, and Prelates in Saxon and Norman England

Marc A. Meyer (University of Rochester)

"King Eadwig (955-59) Rehabilitated"

Eadwig, king of England south of the Humber from November 955 through the summer of 957 and ruler of the country south of the Thames until his death in October 959, has received unfavorable treatment from both medieval and modern historians. The notable twelfth-century historian, William of Malmesbury, perhaps
reflecting his opinion that Eadwig had made his abbey a sty for secular canons, wrote that the king was a wanton youth who abused the "beauty" of his person in illicit intercourse, and recalled for his audience a few more despicable incidents of the king's reign. Modern scholars have either adopted Malmesbury's tone or else have chosen to dismiss casually a reign that witnessed important events and the beginnings of significant new movements in the royal and ecclesiastical polity. That England was a newly consolidated land, the result of the efforts of Alfred the Great (d. 899) and his immediate successors, makes Eadwig's reign crucial for understanding later Anglo-Saxon history. E.A. Freeman, the noted nineteenth-century English historian, remarked that Eadwig's reign is shrouded in mystery, but through the analysis of royal land charters and saints' lives Eadwig's achievements and failures become clearer. It will be demonstrated that the young king attempted the difficult task of holding a kingdom together by entering into new political alliances with the Anglo-Saxon nobility while continuing to support the new religious reform movement through episcopal and monastic endowments.

Eadwig's efforts were not always successful, and ultimately he failed. It is not the aim of this paper to assign "greatness" to the king but, more simply, to move his reign out of the misty realm of monastic chronicles and into the light of history.

Sally N. Vaughn (University of Houston)

"An Alternate View of Archbishop Lanfranc"

Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury has long remained a puzzle to historians, as to his contemporaries. He has been variously portrayed as a calculating politician, a royalist lawyer opposed to the Reform Papacy, an efficient organizer of the English church dedicated to reform, and a simple and high-minded monk dedicated only to monasticism and God. It is the thesis of this paper that none of these descriptions exclusively fits Lanfranc. He was a complex man of varied and remarkable talents living in a complex age when social, political and religious traditions were in a state of flux. Because he was living in a "gray" era, when all the rules were changing, Lanfranc is a "gray" figure, who followed the "rules" neither of the Carolingian era which preceded him, nor of the more clearly defined Anglo-Norman era of Henry I which followed him. Indeed, Lanfranc helped forge the new "rules" expressed in Henry I's reign and thereafter. Lanfranc stood with one foot in the Carolingian past and the other stepping into the "modern" high medieval world. He portrayed himself publicly, as did his monks of Bec, Caen, and Canterbury, as a pious and learned monk in the Carolingian tradition, even including highly theatrical public refusals of high office unfit for professed monks. Yet he was trained in youth as a lawyer destined for secular administration. In a leap of creativity, he put these skills to work both in service to the church and to his adopted state, which he saw as united. His vision of reform was different from that of Gregory VII, and he succeeded where Gregory failed. He was a pious monk, but piety included action to protect monastic principles. Dedicated to God, he did not withdraw but endeavored to make the world more to God's liking, using his skills as a lawyer and politician. Thus Lanfranc embodied all the qualities attributed to him, not contradictory when seen as a novel concept of service to God.

David S. Spear (University of California-Santa Barbara)

"Cross-Channel Monastic Ties between England and Normandy, 911-1204"

In 1976 John Le Patourel's The Norman Empire appeared, and it substantially altered medievalists' understandings of the links which joined England and Normandy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Reviewers noted, however, that those sections of the politically oriented book which treated ecclesiastical matters were
the weakest and most derivative. This paper, then—as part of a larger study which examines the notion of an Ecolesia Anglo-Normannorum—traces cross-Channel inter-change among the monastic clergy.

Other historians have written on Norman monasticism in England, most notably David Knowles and Frank Barlow. But their insular stance ultimately fails to integrate the cross-Channel connections into a single, coherent configuration. Thus, my paper is unique on several points. First, it examines links between England and Normandy for the entire ducal period, rather than only at the Conquest and the decades immediately after. Second, in addition to looking at institutional links within orders and confraternities, it focuses on the abbots and monks themselves. Monastic clergy were often drawn from families which held land on both sides of the Channel, and family connections were maintained even after the monks entered the cloister. Third, previous historians have analyzed almost exclusively the Norman impact upon England rather than the influences which moved in both directions across the Channel. Finally, the materials on which this paper is based (in addition to the well-known Anglo-Norman chroniclers) are predominantly edited and unedited cartularies which were studied by the author in France and England during the 1979/80 academic year.

Session 197: Late Saxon and Anglo-Norman England

Mary P. Richards (University of Tennessee-Knoxville)

"Norman Collections of the Old English Laws: Purposes and Implications"

Historians generally agree that the first Norman rulers of England adapted rather than overturned the legal system of the conquered nation. The extent of Norman efforts to use the Old English laws for new purposes has not, however, been documented in detail. By analyzing the two great post-Conquest manuscript collections of the laws, I will show how these materials were selected, organized, and adapted to fit Norman purposes.

A late eleventh-century compilation probably made for St. Paul's, London, Corpus Christi College Cambridge, 383 can be associated with the episcopate of Bishop Maurice. The bishop was a royal chancellor and chaplain to William I, a relationship which may well have led to his interest in legal matters. The laws in the codex center on two themes: rules for governing hostile peoples forced to live together, and social codes illustrating the legal foundations of English society. Thus the codex includes, for instance, copies of all agreements made between the English and Danes from the time of Alfred, and laws concerning such matters as marriage procedures and the preparation of wills.

The Textus Roffensis, an early twelfth-century codex from Rochester, was compiled under the Norman Bishop Ernulf, whose own work demonstrates an interest in canon law. This codex preserves the Latin codes made in the reigns of William I and Henry I along with the early English laws from which they were drawn. It demonstrates that the Normans collected English laws not from antiquarian motives, but as sources for new legislation.

Together the two codices provide fresh insight into Norman attempts to develop a legal foundation for ruling the conquered people. In the area of legal tradition, the Normans were far more respectful of English institutions than they were, for example, in religious practice. They used English law as a guide for governing people of disparate nationalities during the transition to a legal system formed on the Norman model.
"The Conflict between Harold and Tostig Godwinson"

The conflict between the brothers, Harold and Tostig Godwinson, in 1065 and 1066, is of great importance to the study of the last years of Anglo-Saxon England. Yet, this conflict has been largely misunderstood by medieval historians who wish to downplay the significance of this fraternal rivalry. What part did Harold play in the banishment of Tostig from England in 1065, and what were the consequences of this action to the reign of Harold the following year?

An analysis of the major historical sources of this period reveals the relationship between these two oldest sons of Godwin before the Northumbrian rebellion, the parts each played in that rebellion, and finally how Tostig's banishment effected the stability of Harold's reign as king in 1066.

Session 221: Sermons and Society

Eugene Hill (Stonehill College)

"Æfric and the Marriage of Methods"

Distinctions between catechetical and exegetical preaching are hard won. The achievement of Æfric as an exegetical preacher has, from several critical perspectives, received considerable attention, on the basis of which the catechetical and exegetical works seem distinguishable. Still, the extent to which Æfric often interlaces exegesis and catechesis warrants further attention.

As Æfric himself gladly noted, his preaching was tutored by Augustine, Bede, and others whose writings he translated "nec ubique verbum ex verbo, sed sensum ex sensu." More than to the rest, of course, Æfric owed the formation of an exegetical method to Gregory. Yet, all influences accounted for, Æfric's originality emerges in large part from the agile interplay of exegetical and catechetical strategies. Æfric, in effect, uses the very method whereby he reads the scriptures as a device for catechesis. Behind his exposition of biblical narrative, a catechetical intent consistently bends toward instructing his audience in "a god-spellcian sōfasteðnesse." "Gospel truth," however, is more than merely a way of reading the scriptures. It becomes a method for reading the entire liturgy and, more importantly, a method for reading human history and individual human experience.

Session 227: Oral Literature, IV

Stanley B. Greenfield (University of Oregon)

"The Formula hwyrftum scripæþ Once Again: Which Context Besopian?"

The paper is a rejoinder to Hill's reply ("The Return of the Broken Butterfly") to my attack on his 1971 essay on the formula. It attempts to show that despite Hill's assertion to the contrary, our methodologies do differ in our criticism of Old English poetry, especially in what we take as "context."

Thomas J. Farrell (University of Michigan)

"Alliterative Patterns in Beowulf"

Critical discussion of Beowulf often flounders over the "unity" of the poem. Too many definitions of unity exist, and most of them are based (implicitly) on a belief in the single authorship of the poem, a belief which simply disguises the
critic's perceptions as the poet's pre-occupations: there are as many different notions of what the Beowulf-poet was like as there are of how the poem is unified. Moreover, these difficulties infect almost any discussion of the poem: the perception of Christian themes is always taken to imply a Christian poet who has reinterpreted pagan material with (depending on the critic) greater or less success.

Oral-formulaic theory has mitigated these problems. Most critics now agree that oral composition played some role in the production of the poem as we now know it. But how much? Critics have argued, but none has objective evidence. My paper discusses how patterns of concentration of double alliteration clearly indicate the literary reworking of portions of an essentially oral text. Moments of great narrative or rhetorical importance are always marked by such concentration. The so-called "historical digressions" never are. Other themes, most notably Christian ones, are marked sometimes, but not always.

This theory gives us a realistic model of the composition of the poem, and some real, though hardly definitive, notions about the concerns of its last author. But it must be remembered that one of his choices in revising was to leave some inherited material intact; Beowulf remains an existential unity, and this should be the basis of our future criticism.

Session 252: Old English Literature III: Beowulf

Malcolm M. Brennan (the Citadel)

"Beowulf's Reception Among the Danes"

The reception of Beowulf among the Danes shows not only the apprehension of those plagued by a monster but also the sophisticated and partly decadent state of Danish government. The advanced form of Danish rule is shown in the discrete functions performed by the several officials of the court. The faithful coast-guard exercises his delegated duties with discrimination; Wulfgar is scrupulous, even punctilious in observing the niceties of curial protocol; Hroðgar like a skilled diplomat adds a condition to Beowulf's petition for permission to fight Grendel, a stipulation that the great deed will discharge Ecgþeow's debt to Hroðgar rather than constitute a claim against Danish sovereignty; Unferþ makes a "case for the prosecution" against Beowulf prior to the king's final decision on the petition; and Wealhþeow at a diplomatic reception gives public and ceremonial expression to the terms of the agreement negotiated. In the course of this processing, Beowulf is recognizably promoted from stranger, to visitor, to petitioner, to guest, to visiting thane, and ultimately to adopted son of the king.

This reading of these episodes is based upon attention to the status of the Danish characters as officials (they are not just warriors and royalty in general), to their persistent and successful efforts to harness the power of Beowulf to the circumstances of their beleaguered kingdom, and particularly to the legalistic and bureaucratic dictum employed by and about them. A consequence of this reading is to elevate the status of organized society in the poem to a position near, but still inferior to the individualistic heroism of Beowulf.

Edwin Duncan (University of Texas-Austin)

"Stress, Meter, and Alliteration in Beowulf"

Although the three-level stress system (i.e., primary, secondary, and weak), used by Eduard Sievers and other major prosodists, has generally been considered adequate for scansion of Old English verse, it fails to reveal some of the metrical
and alliterative constraints apparently used by the *Beowulf* poet.

Actually there are two distinct stress levels in what is usually designated weak stress. The group with least stress, which is comprised of the verbal prefixes (ge-, be-, for-, etc.), ne, and ond, behaves differently from other metrically weak syllables, and scansion should note this distinction.

By using a four-stress system of scansion I can show that:

1. Anacrusis in the initially-stressed verse types (Sievers' types A, D, and E) is quite limited in terms of length and amount of stress.

2. The length of the thesis between stresses in verse types B, D, and E is more limited than the three-stress system indicates.

3. Type A verses which have more than one syllable in the first thesis may be divided into two distinct groups in terms of metrical and alliterative structure; one of these groups, which requires double alliteration in the on-verse and is rarely found in the off-verse, constitutes a sub-type of A not previously noted in metrical studies of *Beowulf*.

The first two points above bring into question the theory that there is no limit to the number of unstressed syllables that may occur before a stress, and the third point refutes the common assumption that the length of the thesis is of no metrical importance.

Thus, because it shows the verse of *Beowulf* to be more intricate and consistent than previously supposed, the four-stress system of scansion deserves consideration as a valid method of analyzing Old English poetry.

Francelia Clark (University of Michigan)

"Oþ þæt deaþ nimeð!"—*Beowulf*'s Boasts as and beyond a Germanic Form

A comparative examination of context, idea, and rhetoric reveals the boast as a discrete unit within the speeches of *Beowulf*. In context, this unit is *Beowulf*'s formal statement of being ready to fight, is introduced by the poet as *gylpworda* (675) or *beotwordum* (2510), and leads to movement toward the enemy. Four of these statements make a pattern of boasting, though they differ specifically in plot. The pattern of boasting becomes recognizable through recurring, but distributed, ideas: it includes the speaker's credentials and determination, reference to weapons, desire to fight alone, speculation as to whether the enemy will fight, statement that God or fate will determine the victor, naming of a legacy, and final exclamation swearing victory or death. Not only ideas but a few key words distinctly recur in these statements, most memorably in the exclamation "or else death takes me!" These recurring elements raise the question of a cultural or artistic convention underlying *Beowulf*'s boasts. This study pursues that question within the Germanic poetic evidence and then re-examines *Beowulf*.

The Germanic heroic poetry that remains shows no other display of the boast pattern to compare to these in *Beowulf* in size or complexity. What it does show, however, tends to fit, and to suggest much by differences in focus. Poems contain one or two ideas of the pattern and the final rhetorical flourish. The fragment of *Waldhere* breaks off after two of the ideas; a passage from *Guthlac* suggests the
relation of boast to prayer; the five boasts in the Battle of Maldon bring attention to an element of flight denial in Beowulf's boasts. More broadly, comparison in the Atlakviða tends to support Ursula Dronke's ironic interpretation of the boast; comparison in Húmil and Hildebrandrætt suggests variations in the boaster's relation to fate. Over all, the evidence substantiates not only that Beowulf draws upon a Germanic boast form and what that form is, but that by comparison Beowulf particularly makes use of the boast to convey plot and dramatic intensity.

Session 255: Oral Literature, V

Geoffrey Russom (Brown University)

"Heroic Poetry and Book Poetry in Old English"

In "The Literary Character of Anglo-Saxon Poetry" [PMIA, 30 (1966), 344-41], Larry Benson argues that verse translations provide evidence indicating a literary origin for Beowulf. Benson shows that verse translations employ repeated phrases, as does Beowulf. Since there is no difference in this respect between Beowulf and poems close to literary sources, he argues, we can reject the oral formulaists' suggestion that the Old English epic was composed by an "unwashed illiterate." The aesthetic merit of Beowulf may be due to skill of a purely literary kind. I want to attack this line of reasoning at several points. First, I will show that the devices that facilitate composition in Beowulf are in some cases of common Germanic origin, whereas the devices employed in e.g. The Paris Psalter are of a very different character, with no obvious traditional antecedents. I will also demonstrate that Beowulf is aesthetically superior to verse translations in certain obvious ways. For example, the Beowulf-poet often provides an ornamental alliterative element even when not required to do so by the meter. In Paris Psalter, very few lines have a third alliterative element. In fact, verse translations have many deviant half-lines which must, I will argue, be regarded as metrical lapses. Finally, I will show that the devices responsible for the aesthetic superiority of Beowulf are often just those inherited from oral tradition. The merits of the epic are traditional, not clerical.

Carol L. Edwards (University of California-Los Angeles)

"The Oral-Formulaic Theme, Variation, and Closure in Old English Poetry"

Although oral-formulaic theme studies have been all but abandoned, the structural properties of the Old English compositional theme can tell us something about its function, and therefore about its aesthetic value in Old English poetry. Themes are not sub-plots or underlying motifs, but sub-significations which function on the narrative level exactly like variation on the stylistic level. Like variation, the oral-formulaic theme creates effects that are extrinsic to those of its elements; like variation, it is autonomous; like variation, it possesses potentiality. And like variation, the oral-formulaic theme satisfies by withholding, then providing, closure.

Variation, the repetition or restatement of a poetic line, phrase, or motif in slightly different words, slows down and thus lends weight to the narrative. The particular sense of style we get from variation, however, depends on the cumulative effect of the repetitions or parallelisms, an effect extrinsic to that of individual elements. So, too, with the compositional theme, whose effect derives from the transformations or relations among elements, rather than from any one element. Yet, just as any half-line possesses potential for variation, so any theme possesses potential for theme expression. This quality of potentiality, the absence of fulfillment, provides narrative tension, and thus adds to the sense of a fitting conclusion. Such tension is generated by a series of binary transformations whose
cumulative potentiality and fulfillment define "completion" and thus allow it to be "experienced" [Tzvetan Todorov]. In addition, the theme's autonomous nature, its quality of stepping somewhat aside from the narrative--just as any half-line, once varied, impedes the narrative's forward movement--provides a sense of narrative resonance, and thus increases the effect of completion. I suggest that in Old English poetry we can identify theme expression beyond a shadow of a doubt by its quality of narrative completion.

Ward Parks (University of Missouri-Columbia)

"Oral Context and the Implied Singer in Beowulf"

This paper examines the concept of the singer as the originator of meaning in an oral tradition. The first section delineates from a purely theoretical standpoint the various aspects of the "singer" in the transmission process from message maker to receiver. Developed by analogy with the literary transmission process, this model includes, as crucial relevant stages, the singer (outside the text), the singer as creator (on the border of text and context), and implied singer (within the text). Yet the oral situation differs from the literary in the peculiar relationship of an oral performance to its tradition. Thus I recognize two axes bearing on every point in oral poetic transmission: the synchronic and the diachronic. The synchronic axis encompasses all the individualistic features of a specific performance. The diachronic axis generates the system of generic moulds or traditional forms by means of which a song is stitched together.

The second section of the paper turns more narrowly to the implied singer in Beowulf. I approach this construct through the evidence of direct "authorial" self-reference in first-person pronouns. All seventeen such instances belong, remarkably enough, to two formulaic systems: "ic gefraeg" and "ic hyrdic." Viewed as the partial articulations of a single underlying performative matrix clause, these expressions suggest that the poem as a speech act has the nature of a reenactment or re-presentation. In conclusion, this line of analysis provides a new kind of support for the idea of the traditional singer that Albert Lord proposed in The Singer of Tales.
News and Notes on Archaeology

Robert T. Farrell
Cornell University

Editor's Note: this is the first in what will be a regular Spring feature. Readers who wish to send news items to Prof. Farrell should write directly to him at: Dept. of English; Goldwin Smith Hall; Cornell University; Ithaca, NY 14853.

These informal jottings are intended to bring to the attention of Anglo-Saxonists new work, primarily fieldwork, which looks as if it may throw more light on the culture of early medieval England. These notes will parallel the sections done by this reviewer for JWOES, in covering Roman, Celtic, Continental, and Viking material, with occasional use of Byzantine and Slavic material, if, as, and when they impinge upon Anglo-Saxon affairs, or vice-versa. Conferences, digs, and chance finds will be touched upon, as appropriate. As this is the first attempt, the survey may not be as extensive or as inclusive as subsequent issues.

Conferences

There is a move about to bring together all those with interests in the archaeology of the medieval period. There was an extensive program at Kalamazoo in May 1982, under the general heading "Beyond Urban and Rural Archaeology: Connecting Town and Country," five sessions were organized:

"Forming and Transforming Regional Networks"

"Topographies - Urban, Suburban, Rural"

"The Countryside Goes to Town"

"The Environmental Impact on the Urban Center"

"Planning Together: Coordination of Medieval Archaeology in North America" (round table discussion for all interested parties)

A corollary to this new movement will be a new series of notes of interest to medieval Archaeologists, to be published in the Old World Archaeology Newsletter. OWAN can be obtained by writing Professor S. Dyson, Department of Classics, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., 96457. Subscriptions are $3.50 US, $4.00 foreign. Professor Dyson and I have agreed to cooperate in every possible way, since OWAN's work will clearly be complementary to our own. It is the purpose of these notes to inform those primarily interested in literature and language of the period 400-1100 about recent work in archaeology - new excavations and the like - while Professor Dyson's work has a broader base, and his audience is in the main composed of archaeologists. A mailing and address list of those "seriously interested in Medieval Archaeology" is being compiled by Dr. Bernard Wailes, Department of Archaeology, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA., 19104. I am sure that he will welcome additions to the list.

"The Early Church in Western Britain and Ireland" was the subject of a Conference held at Exeter University under the auspices of the Devon Archaeological Society, September, 1981. Charles Thomas spoke on "The Cross in Insular Art," and several other papers of great interest to early medievalists were on the program. Publication is planned in a BAR volume honoring C.A. Raleigh Radford;
Susan Pearce of the Exeter City Museum will be the editor.

Two conferences were held in Ireland in April, 1982, one on the Vikings (Maynooth, 1–2 April), the other the 26th annual meeting of the Society for Medieval Archaeology at Kilkenny, from 2–7 April. Participants in the latter enjoyed a stimulating series of talks and site visits, with an up to date discussion of the Derrynafinan Hoard as a special feature.

Journals

It is unusual in these times of financial restraint to introduce a new venture, but the field of Celtic studies which so closely impinges upon our own has two new journals. The first is Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies, which is "an interdisciplinary journal concerned with all aspects of the Celtic Countries in the Middle Ages." The first number includes important articles on the Celtic Church and on Bede. The second such venture is Peritia, which is the publication of the Mediaeval Academy of Ireland. The first issue contains two ongoing columns on "Insular Latin" and "Insular Monasticism," as well as a series of articles on Irish and Anglo-Trish topics.

Another municipality has accepted the responsibility of recording and publishing its heritage, and the first volume sheds light on the centrally important crossover period at the Millennium, when Viking influence faded, and the Hanseatic League came into being. Lübecker Schriften zur Archaeologie und Kulturgeschichte I first appeared in 1978, and it appears that the continuing publication of this site may well throw a good deal of light not only on the transition through the late Viking age, but on English east coast ports as well.

General News, Mostly Bad

The Margaret Thatcher government appears to be going all out to cut archaeology, with a number of practical and unfortunate consequences. Some years ago, Dr. Flenderleith, a distinguished member of the British Museum staff with particular interests in archaeological conservation, helped to organize the International Centre for the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property. This useful venture was funded by member governments. A recent move proposed that the British contribution—£39,000—simply be stopped. Such a move is in line with the destruction or reduction of archaeology programs in the universities. If projected cuts are carried out, archaeology is to disappear at Lancaster, Leeds, St. Andrew's, and Reading. To think that the erstwhile seat of Sir Frank Stenton may lose its program is indeed bitter. York's department, until recently scheduled for growth, is now to "co-operate" with Durham, some fifty miles away. As the Council for British Archaeology sums up the situation in a recent Newsletter, resources of all kinds decrease while threats continue to multiply.

The Metal Detector

One must applaud the tack employed by the British government to make at least some gains from the growing army of weekend treasure hunters, for they have elected to pay handsomely for any finds promptly turned in. Chance finds are sometimes glorious assets. In 1979, a hoard of six Anglo-Saxon silver brooches was recovered by a gravedigger in Pentry, Norfolk, and the finder gained some tens of thousands of pounds. (The corpus of late Saxon silver brooches was thus virtually doubled.) A half dozen finds of interest to early medievalists have been turned in recent years in similar instances, in which metal detectors figured—but we should not be encouraged. In almost every case, the area is destroyed, and the archaeological context absolutely irrecoverable. There is
in fact a hot and nasty feud between the Council for British Archaeology and the "Establishment" of detector-users. In May 1981, CBA reported an anonymous threat from what appears to have been a group of UK detector enthusiasts who suggested that a program of mis-salting sites might be instigated. Roman pottery buried in a late industrial site, the odd coin several hundred years out of date seem to be what was intended.

Meanwhile, just as is the case with the Dublin Viking excavations, national and local planning bodies seem to have made some decisions fatal to important sites. There were three main legionary fortresses in Roman Britain, York, Chester, and Caerleon. The first two are under town centers, the last is shortly to be buried under a housing development intended to take the "spill" from Newport, though other sites are available. Another housing development is planned right next to Beverley Minster, Humberside, despite the fact that a sceatta of the Northumbrian king Eadbright (737-58) was found there, in what well may be an important series of stratified Saxon remains. Finally, a long standing policy in England which has many admirable effects now hinders archaeology. I refer to the "Green Belt" policy. As an amenity for town dwellers, the green belt is admirable, but the policy puts heavy pressure on towns intensively to redevelop their city centers. Near Carlisle, a car park is planned which will cover a large area known as "The Lanes." Even if the planned two to three seasons of excavation are carried out, only one-third of the area to be covered can even be sampled.

A Technical Advance

Dendrochronology is not only here to stay, but it is in some circumstances making possible amazing degrees of accuracy. The 1980 publication (in German) of Ernest Holstein's Central European Oak Archaeology has made it possible to narrow some early medieval oak samples to +/- 1 to 4 years, as opposed to the more common +/- 30 to 40 years. In fact, the medieval series may soon link to the Roman, which would make possible a sequence of more than two thousand years.

Romano-British

The more the period 300-600 is studied, the more complex the relationship of Romanitas to Celtic and Anglo-Saxon culture becomes. While in the West Country people appear to have been building new decorated tile floors circa 400, excavators at Silchester show civic life to have been at an end in the fourth century. At Wells, the redoubtable and energetic Warwick Rodwell has investigated a series of Saxon chapels under the current cathedral and found an odd feature in the very end of a little Saxon chapel--a Roman mausoleum, with the bones of some thirty individuals (Anglo-Saxons) stacked in it in some kind of order. This find is unique so far in England, but ties in with the kind of series--and cultural continuity--that is found in many places in Gaul, in which a Roman burial-place--perhaps of a Christian Martyr--became an early medieval (in this case Saxon) church, and developed into a medieval cathedral.

Barry Cunliffe of Oxford and his colleagues are to be congratulated not only for their discoveries, but for a marked degree of personal bravery in the excavation of the pool and spring at Bath. Excavation of the site became possible when the pool--still in use as of a few years ago--proved to be infested with amoebic meningitis, and a young woman died. Considerable precautions against infection had to be undertaken, but the finds are indeed spectacular: 16,000 coins, and a series of fifty-odd curses, incised into lead sheeting, and rolled up. The curses reveal a great deal that is new about the language in use, which takes over further the insights of Charles Thomas, whose 1981 study of the church in England to 500 A.D. will be reviewed in YWOES.
The Early Celts, and Others

Leslie Alcock of Glasgow is pursing an energetic program of excavation on a number of sites—sometime seats of the Britains, the Picts, and others. His work at Dundurn, Strattean, Perthshire shows that a nuclear fort was erected on the site almost certainly in the eighth century. This conclusion is of great interest because it has long been assumed that nuclear forts are really iron-age foundations; but the eighth-century date of this structure indicates not that it is a re-used site from an earlier date, but rather a later construct entirely.

Anglo-Saxon: Early and Late

The excavation at Spong hill, North Elmham, Norfolk, is now in its ninth season, under the direction of C. Hills of Cambridge. The total number of burials is now 2200, with 600 discovered in 1980. M. Millett continued work on a Saxon settlement at Cowery's Down, Basingstoke, Hampshire. Five more halls have come to view, two of them quite large, 22x9 and 20x8 meters respectively. The first stage of the settlement appears to date to the late fifth or early sixth century.

The Durham Archaeologists are as active as usual; Rosemary Cramp continues on The Hirsel at Coldstream, in an attempt to trace back the origins of the church and cemetery to the Early Christian period. (Mr. Morris' work on Viking sites will be considered below). Important churches are receiving a good deal of attention. The Church of All Saints at Brixworth is one of the most important, as it is a large structure, equal in size to Roman Basilicae and almost certainly is a seventh-century structure in origin. But the additions and changes are so complex, the interpretation of either side-chapels or porticus so difficult, that a study of the church, virtually stone by stone, has been undertaken. D. Parsons is doing a stone-by-stone drawing of parts of the church; in 1979, the nave/choir north elevation was done in this way, and the stone inside the upper stages of the west tower is now under scrutiny. It appears that the west Gable of the AS nave was largely rebuilt in the fourteenth century. In due course, through a study of the bricks, stone and mortar, dating the various stages of the church with some precision ought to be possible. St. Peter's Church, Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire, a now redundant church, is under study. St. Peter's is generally grouped with the finest late Saxon churches, like Earl's Barton, and Barnack. There are two or three phases of pre-Conquest burial, and the original three-celled AS church had near it "a complex of wells and a masonry foundation, either the base of a cross or possibly the corner of an otherwise unknown building. Another foundation, evidently a cross or monument base, was located off the NE corner of the chancel" (S.M. Youngs and John Clark, "Medieval Britain in 1980," Medieval Archaeology, 25 [1981], 169). The combination of cross(es) and wells is very interesting indeed. A particularly splendid find was a stone which appears to be Anglo-Scandinavian (tenth century) which has a triangular head let into the upper surface. The head is strikingly like the series of heads on the Sutton Hoo whitestone. Excavators interpret the piece as a Christ in Majesty, the remainder of the figure having been originally painted in.

The Vikings

The Vikings we have always with us. The principal site right now seems to be Coppergate, York, where R.A. Hall has discovered a series of four tenements, neatly laid out, stretching from the street back towards the Ouse. All had been extensively remodelled, rebuilt and reworked after their origination circa 875. Wet conditions were a Godsend, in that all kinds of organic remains were well-preserved. Among other industries, spinning, weaving, bone and antler working, metalworking and coin die manufacture were carried on. Imports included silk,
and a shell from the Red Sea. Mr. Morris of Durham and his associates continue activities on a number of sites in the Orkneys, and in the furthest northern parts of Scotland. Not only has he excavated a large number of buildings, but finds indicate the possibility of a fairly large-scale fishery industry. To say that the fishing was good in the Viking period is a modest claim; the skeletal remains of cod some two meters long have been recovered! Sadly, the Orkney sites are suffering massive damage from erosion. Another Orkney site, Rousay, Westness, threatened with erosion, was excavated by S. Kaland. A Viking cemetery was discovered, with 32 graves, one a boat grave. Weapons, jewelry, and tools were found.

Coda

The third season of excavations at Butley, Burrow Hill, Suffolk, continues in an inhumation cemetery of Circa 780; several unassociated inhumations were found in monoxylous coffins shaped like boats and bathtubs. Finally, it is reported that Peter Sawyer, who is an excellent and friendly (if mordant) commentator on archaeology and archaeologists, has changed his dictum. In former years, he held:

"Archaeology is an expensive way of finding out what we already know."

In honor of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Society for Medieval Archaeology, his new bon mot:

"Archaeology is an expensive way of disproving what archaeologists thought yesterday."
Index to Iconographic Subjects in Early English Manuscripts:
Report #2

As announced in Report #1 (Fall 81, pp. 15-20), this collaborative, inter-institutional project is intended to provide a systematic iconographic inventory of manuscripts illuminated in the British Isles during the Anglo-Saxon period. The proposed reference work will consist of two parts: 1) a listing of manuscripts, containing the following categories of information: a) city, library, and shelfmark; b) author (if known) and title (or type); c) date; d) place of origin; e) size in millimeters; and f) iconographic contents arranged by folio number. The second part will consist of computer-generated indices to: cities, libraries, and shelfmarks; titles; authors; dates; places of origin; and iconographic contents.

Based upon discussions and correspondence with a large number of consultants, including David Wilson (British Museum), Joseph Trapp and Michael Evans (Warburg Institute), Robert Deshman (Toronto), Richard Rouse (UCLA), Bruce Barker-Benfield (Bodleian Library), C. Michael Kauffmann (Victoria and Albert Museum), Bezalel Narkiss (Hebrew University), Katharine Galbraith (University College, London), Paul E. Szarmach (SUNY-Binghamton), and Harvey and Elly Miller (London), the project group proposes to make the following changes to the previously-announced project:

First, we will broaden the scope of the project to encompass J.C.G. Alexander's Insular Manuscripts (1978) and C. Michael Kauffmann's Romanesque Manuscripts (1975). The number of manuscripts to be inventoried will therefore increase from the 106 manuscripts listed in Elibrieta Temple's Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts (1976) to at least 317 manuscripts. As a result, the iconographic survey will include all those manuscripts listed in the first three Harvey Miller volumes, covering the period between c. 600 and 1190, offering a unique research resource to scholars interested in the Insular roots of Anglo-Saxon iconography, the zenith of Anglo-Saxon illumination in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and the continuation of the Anglo-Saxon tradition in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Second, because of certain shortcomings of the BIRS system, which was used to produce a pilot version of the index, we have switched-over to a new word-processing system, Word-11, which is available at Purdue. Using a computer terminal, Thomas Oehlgen is entering the codicological and iconographic information directly into a data file, which can be edited on-line. This system also generates the various indices, including the alphabetically-arranged iconographic index. Finally, using a Diablo printer, we can produce high-quality, photo-ready output, suitable for photographic duplication by the publisher. We are also investigating the possibility of composing the final version of the index at the University of California-Davis using computer tapes supplied by Purdue.

Third, due to the change in the computer processing system, the format for the manuscript listings will be more flexible than the rigid BIRS entries (Fig. 1). Each of the 317 records will consist of the following elements:

1) a record number, which uniquely identifies each manuscript (e.g. 163). This number, along with an item number, will permit access to the catalogue entries from the various indices.

2) a cross-reference to the appropriate entry in the Alexander, Temple, and Kauffmann volumes (e.g. T57).

3) codicological data, consisting of city, library, and shelfmark; author (if known) and title (or type of manuscript); date; and place of origin.

4) iconographic descriptions of each illumination and major decorated initials.
These entries consist of an item number, a folio number, and a detailed description of the main components of the illustration or initial. (See below.)

5) The iconographic descriptions will be followed, whenever possible, by a reference to the text illustrated. The line numbers in Fig. 1, for instance, refer to George P. Krapp's edition of The Juniour Manuscript.

6) Also, as a result of a valuable suggestion by Robert Deshman, in those cases where an illustration has migrated from its basic text (e.g., Genesis 1:2) to a new or different text (e.g., p. 6 of MS Juniour II, Fig. 1, item 6), a reference will be included, whenever possible, to the basic text.

7) Finally, if an illustration is accompanied by a photograph in the Harvey Miller series, it will be so noted (e.g., Ill. 190 in Fig. 1, item 9). Thanks to another suggestion by Robert Deshman, we will indicate photographic references in other published sources for those illustrations not reproduced in the Harvey Miller volumes. As a result, users will be able to locate photographic reproductions of specific illuminated folios in such standard works as T.D. Kendrick's Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D 900 and Late Saxon and Viking Art, D. Talbot Rice's English Art 871-1100, M. Rickert's Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages, and Francis Wormald's English Drawings of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries.

Another significant change involves the form of the iconographic descriptions. The BIRS software, which was used in producing the pilot version of the index, severely limited the format, length, and depth of the content descriptions. For example, in addition to limiting keyphrases to no more than ten terms or 65 characters, the BIRS system dictated that each phrase begin with the main entry term for the alphabetically-arranged index. In addition, BIRS prohibited the use of punctuation within a keyphrase; as a result, the syntax of many of the phrases were awkward if not ungrammatical. The new Word-ll system is fortunately not subject to any of these restrictions. The iconographic descriptions can be written in "natural" language, utilizing as many words as needed to describe precisely the minimal distinctive features of the illustration. In brief, as each illustration is described, coded, and keyboarded to appear in the iconographic index with a special delimiter. These terms will appear as separate entries in the contents index, while the fuller context of the description can be obtained by referring to the appropriate catalogue entry for each manuscript.

The following description of an illustration in British Library, MS Harley 603, an eleventh-century English copy of the Utrecht Psalter, reveals the form, style, and depth of a typical entry (See Ill. 1):

13. fol. 6v *Psalms 11 (12) Salvum me fac.* In the upper register, *God, flanked by a group of four angels on the left, steps out of His oval mandorla and hands a spear to an Angel, who in the lower right, smites the deceitful lips of a group of proud men, armed with spears and shields (v. 4).* In the lower left, a group of the *Crippled and the poor (v. 6).* In the foreground, one group of the *wicked walk around a table while another group walks around a turnstile (v. 9).* In the upper right, the *Psalmist, who gestures and holds a scroll,* is accompanied by two *blacksmiths at a forge (v. 7).*

This illustration, which is an exact copy of fol. 6v in the Utrecht Psalter, is remarkable for its literal interpretation of the language of the Psalm, particularly verse 9: "In circuitu impii ambulant." As indicated by the asterisks, the
index entries for this illustration will consist of six entries.

Our progress to date is encouraging. A preliminary, draft version of the index to the first 86 manuscripts (Alexander 1-76 and Temple 1-8) has been completed and is now circulating among the various contributors and consultants. In addition, Thomas Ohlgren has completed the basic data entry for 191 of the 317 manuscripts. Once this data is processed and edited, it will be added to the growing data base of information. We are, furthermore, awaiting a response from Harvey Miller about publication plans for the volume. It is our hope that the index will be published as a supplement to the series, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles. To keep the price of the volume within the financial reach of individual scholars, we have tentatively agreed to supply the publisher with photo-ready copy; in our opinion, we do not need another $85 reference work. Finally, some of the members of the project group will meet at the Seventeenth International Congress of Medieval Studies to discuss the current status of the project, to investigate further funding for the project, and to solicit additional contributions.

For the project group:
April, 1982

Thomas H. Ohlgren
Purdue University

Notes:

1 The project group is made up of the following individuals: Thomas Ohlgren (general editor), Carl Berkhout (University of Dallas), Linda Brownrigg, John Friedman (Illinois), John Higgitt (University of Edinburgh), Lister M. Matheson (Middle English Dictionary), Kevin Roddy and Susan Alvarez (University of California-Davis), Ann Shannon (Middle English Dictionary), Paul E. Szarmach (SUNY-Binghamton), and William Voelkle (Pierpont Morgan Library).
Catalogue 163
T 57
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Junius 11
In Old English
11th century/ c. 1000
Canterbury, Christ Church (?)
318 x 195 mm.


1. p. 1 God, bearded, cross-nimbed, and seated on a cushioned throne, holds a tubular sceptre or scroll, and is flanked by two Seraphim with eyes in their wings. Below, two angels support the throne. (ll. 1-16)

2. p. 2 God, bearded, cross-nimbed, and seated on a cushioned throne, addresses a small, haloed Lucifer. St. Michael stands on the upper left. (ll. 20-46)

3. p. 2 In the lower margin, a bust portrait, labelled "Ælfwine."

4. p. 3 In the upper register, Lucifer, crowned and holding a sceptre, points to an edifice containing a throne. Three groups of angels, one of which offers him crowns. In the second register, Lucifer triumphant receives palms of victory from angels on either side. In the third register, God, attended by five angels, hurls spears downwards. In the lower register, the Fall of the rebel angels into a hell-mouth. Satan lies bound in the jaws of hell. (ll. 49-69)

5. p. 6 Above, God with an Angel bearing the symbol of Divine Wisdom. Below, the Spirit of God on the surface of the deep. (ll. 103-34 Genesis 1:2

6. p. 7 Creation: the third to sixth days. Above, God in a mandorla stands over the creation of vegetation, birds, and animals. The Cross in the tree is probably a reference to the Rood Tree legend. Below, God stands over the creation of the stars. (ll. 154-68) Genesis 1:11-25

7. p. 9 Creation of Eve: God removes a rib from the sleeping Adam and, above, God raises and blesses Eve. A ladder reaches from Paradise to Heaven, where St. Michael, flanked by angels, stands in the doorway. (ll. 169-85) Genesis 2:21-22

Fig. 1
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by

Carl T. Berkhout


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IP = in progress
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<td>AB</td>
<td>Analecta Bollandiana</td>
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<td>AHR</td>
<td>American Historical Review</td>
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<td>AION</td>
<td>(Naples) Istituto Universitario Orientale, Annali</td>
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<tr>
<td>AntJ</td>
<td>Antiquaries Journal</td>
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<tr>
<td>ArchJ</td>
<td>Archaeological Journal</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASE</td>
<td>Anglo-Saxon England</td>
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<td>ASNSL</td>
<td>Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen</td>
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<td>ASSAH</td>
<td>Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History</td>
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<td>BAM</td>
<td>Bulletin des Angliscistes Médiévistes</td>
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<td>BN</td>
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<td>CHR</td>
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<td>OEN</td>
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<td>PQ</td>
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<td>Times Literary Supplement</td>
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<td>YES</td>
<td>Yearbook of English Studies</td>
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<td>ZAA</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZDA</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur</td>
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The Poems

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Richard Morgan Loomis

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Richard Morgan Loomis is Professor of English at Nazareth College, Rochester. He has published a number of poems as well as translations of Welsh poetry (in Poetry Wales), articles on Robert Southwell (in Recusant History), and studies of Welsh language (in Studies in the Humanities).

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David Yerkes

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David Yerkes is Assistant Professor of English at Columbia University. His publications include An Old English Thesaurus (1979) and articles on Warferth's translation in Speculum and in Anglo-Saxon England.
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