OLD ENGLISH NEWSLETTER

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NEWS

I

New OEN Subscription Rates for Individuals

As the editors announced in the last number, rising postal costs require the imposition of a new rate schedule for individual subscribers. This current volume is the last one to be published under the old rate schedule. With Volume 17 (Fall 1983 and Spring 1984) all individual subscribers are asked to pay $3.00 per volume, but, in order to reduce administrative costs, they are asked to pay for two volumes at a time.

The editors are aware that subscribers outside of the United States encounter high banking charges. Individual subscribers may pay in cash (for which receipts will be issued) or in international postal money order, if check charges are prohibitive. Subscribers outside of the US may indeed prefer to subscribe up through Volume 21 (i.e. $15.00 US) so as to make banking charges cost effective. Even if it were practical for the editors to set up banking accounts in the many countries receiving OEN, the fiscal laws governing the State University of New York would make it improper, if not illegal, to maintain such accounts.

The editors are trying to reduce the cost of publication by experimenting with new word processing modes and new equipment. Readers may note some lack of uniformity in typography or layout between the copy prepared at Binghamton and that prepared at Rochester or Arizona. Presumably these aesthetic flaws will be but a minor inconvenience.

II

1982 Annual Meeting of the MLA in Los Angeles

The Modern Language Association has scheduled five sessions of interest to Anglo-Saxonists at the next Annual Meeting. The main meeting of the Old English Division will be:

Session no. 75: Tuesday, December 28, 8:30-9:45 a.m., Music, Biltmore

"Old English Studies: 'Of What is Past, or Passing, or to Come'"

Presiding: Stanley B. Greenfield (University of Oregon)

Papers:

1. Daniel G. Calder (University of California-Los Angeles)

   "The Isolation of Old English Studies: Past, Present, and Future"

2. Jess B. Bessinger, Jr. (New York University)

   "The Teaching of Beowulf in 1982"

3. Jean Ritzke-Rutherford (Universität Regensburg)

"The Cluster—A New Contribution to the Systematic Analysis of Old English Poetic Style and Structure"

The Executive Council of the OE Division has also arranged these sessions:

Session no. 245: Tuesday, December 28, 3:30-4:45 p.m., Gold, Biltmore

"Old English Poetry: Keeping Time"

Presiding: Mary P. Richards (University of Tennessee-Knoxville)

Papers:

1. George Clark (Queen's University)

"Time and Tide at Maldon"

2. Norma Kroll (University of Massachusetts-Boston)

"Beowulf: Everyman's Keeper"

3. David L. Hoover (New York University)

"An Old Dogma and Some New Tricks in Old English Meter"

Session no. 432: Wednesday, December 29, 12:00 noon-1:15 p.m., Music, Biltmore

"Anglo-Latin in the Context of Old English Literature"

Presiding: Paul E. Szarmach (State University of New York-Binghamton)

Papers:

1. George H. Brown (Stanford University)

"The Age of Bede"

2. Allen J. Frantzen (Loyola University of Chicago)

"The Age of Alfred"

3. Colin Chase (University of Toronto)

"The Age of Ælfric"

The members of the Old English Division have organized these sessions:

Session no. 217: Tuesday, December 28, 1:45-3:00 p.m., Corinthian, Biltmore

"Sources and Resources of Anglo-Saxon Studies: Problems in Manuscript Research and in Research Aids"

Discussion Leader: Mary-Catherine Bodden (University of Toronto)

Panelists:

Paul E. Szarmach (State University of New York-Binghamton)

Cynthia Cornell (DePauw University)

Richard W. Clement (Illinois State University)

Theodore Leinbaugh (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)

Session no. 701: Thursday, 12:00 noon-1:15 p.m., Moroccan, Biltmore

"The Dating of Beowulf: Critical Responses to Kevin Kiernan's
Beowulf and the Beowulf Manuscript"

Discussion Leader: Allen J. Frantzen (Loyola University of Chicago)

Panelists:

Helen T. Bennett (Eastern Kentucky University)

Richard W. Clement (Illinois State University)

Raymond P. Tripp (University of Denver)

Joseph F. Tuso (University of Science and Arts of Oklahoma)

III

ISAS News

In his first letter to the more than 200 Anglo-Saxonists who have joined
the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists Daniel Calder, the Executive Director,
has announced special discount benefits for members and has outlined preliminary
plans for the Society's first meeting. Members of the ISAS will be able to
receive Anglo-Saxon England and Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies at substantial
savings. ASE 11, regularly priced at £27.50 (US $49.50), will be available at
£13.50 (US $29.50), while CMCS will be available at £9 per two-numbered volume,
or 10% below the already special price to individuals. The University of Toronto
Press will give members a 20% discount on selected books in Old English. These
discounts are available only through forms furnished by ISAS. The first conference
will take place in Brussels on August 22-23, 1983. There may be meetings on
August 24 as well. More than 70 ISAS members submitted abstracts, which are being
considered by the program committee. It is anticipated that a tentative program
will be set by the end of 1982.

Those who wish to join ISAS may send their check for $10.00 (or equivalent) to:

Daniel G. Calder, Executive Director
ISAS
Department of English
University of California-Los Angeles
Los Angeles, CA 90024

IV

The Haskins Society

The First Annual Conference of the Charles Homer Haskins Society for Viking, Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and Angevin History took place at the University of Houston Central Campus on November 12-14. The first meeting featured three keynote speakers: R. Allen Brown, University of London King's College; Henry Loyn, University of London Westfield College; C. Warren Hollister, University of California-Santa Barbara. Sixteen shorter papers ranged over topics from Viking military tactics to late Angevin administration. Historians from the United States and Canada participated.

The Second Annual Conference is scheduled for November 11-13, 1983. Individuals working in the fields of Viking, Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, or Angevin history are invited to submit abstracts for papers by April 1, 1983. Send one-page, typewritten, double-spaced abstracts, with your name and address at the top, to Sally N. Vaughn, Department of History, University of Houston Central Campus, Houston, Texas 77004. Papers must never have been published. They should be planned for a presentation time of twenty minutes (ten typewritten pages, double-spaced). All papers presented at the Second Annual Conference of the Haskins Society will be considered for publication in a special issue of Albion. Please bring a typed copy of your paper to the Conference for submission to the editor. All papers presented at the Conference will also be considered for the Denis Bethell Award. All participants should be prepared to submit a completed copy of their papers to the prize committee one month before the November conference in order to be eligible for the Award. Anyone who is interested in chairing a session or commenting upon a session may send his or her name and specialty to the Conference Chairman as soon as possible.

The inaugural meeting of the Haskins Society took place on May 7, 1982 at the Congress on Medieval Studies at Western Michigan University. C. Warren Hollister presided over the meeting of some forty historians and friends of history who attended. Sally N. Vaughn announced that the chancellor of the University of Houston had authorized funding for the First Annual Conference and gave information on the beginnings of the Society, including the selection of officers, plans for a newsletter, the readiness of Albion to consider conference papers for publication, and general funding. The officers are:

President: C. Warren Hollister (University of California-Santa Barbara)
Vice-Presidents: Thomas K. Keefe (Appalachian State University)
                  Sally N. Vaughn (University of Houston)
Secretary: Victoria Chandler (Georgia College)
Treasurer: Charlotte Newman (Jr. College of Albany)
Board of Directors: Bernard Bachrach (University of Minnesota)
                     Eleanor Searle (California Institute of Technology)
                     James Alexander (University of Georgia)
                     Edward J. Kealey (College of the Holy Cross)
Newsletter Editor: David Spear (Furman College)

Membership fees are $10 for general members, $5 for graduate students. Send required fees to: Dr. Charlotte Newman, Treasurer; Haskins Society; Dept. of History; Jr. College of Albany; 140 New Scotland Avenue; Albany, NY 12208.

V

Frances A. Yates Fellowships

Dame Frances Yates, who died on 29 September 1981, generously bequeathed her residuary estate to found a research Fellowship or Fellowships in her name at the Warburg Institute. Fellows' interests may lie in any aspect of cultural and intellectual history but, other things being equal, preference will be given to those whose work is concerned with those areas of the medieval and Renaissance encyclopedia of knowledge to which Dame Frances herself made such distinguished contributions.

There are two kinds of award, long- and short-term. The number and duration of awards will vary according to the money available in any given year. The Fellowships will be advertised annually in October. Short-listed candidates will be interviewed in January, and, if successful, will be expected to take up their Fellowships on the succeeding 1 October if long-term, or as soon as possible in the succeeding academic year if short-term.

The Fellowships are intended primarily for younger scholars, who should have completed at least two years' research towards the doctorate. Applicants over the age of 35 will be considered only if they propose to take unpaid leave of absence from an established post in order to complete a particular piece of work. The value of long-term Fellowships (up to 3 years, not normally renewable) will be in the range £5,000-£9,000 annually, according to age and qualifications, plus London University fees if relevant (but not fees due to other universities). Short-term Fellowships will be for periods of one to three months, as follows: <u>Applicants domiciled in the United Kingdom</u>, £1,000 for three months (shorter periods not available); <u>Applicants domiciled abroad</u>, £500 for one month, £850 for two months, £1,200 for three months. Fellowships of a value of £4,000 and over are liable to tax. Post-doctoral applicants, or those already holding university appointments, will be eligible for membership of U.S.S., and National Insurance contributions will be required. The stipend will be paid monthly in arrears.

Fellows will be expected to put their knowledge at the disposal of the Institute, by presenting their work in lectures or seminars, or by contributing to the Institute's teaching for the M.Phil. degree, or by advising the Library and Photographic Collection, or by a combination of all three. Except in special circumstances, and with the express permission of the Director, they will not be permitted to teach elsewhere during their tenure. Fellows will be required to present a brief written report at the conclusion of their appointment, or every year, whichever is the briefer period. Fellowships may be terminated if the Appointing Committee is not satisfied that the conditions of the award are being met. All publications containing results of work done with the aid of a Fellowship shall include adequate acknowledgment of the fact.

Applications should be made by letter to the Director, enclosing a curriculum vitae (giving full details of name, age, address and present occupation, school and university education, degrees, teaching and research experience, publications), an outline of proposed research, particulars of grants received, if any, for the same subject, and the names of three referees. Copies of published work should be submitted, if possible.

The closing date for applications will be 15 November in any year. Write to: The Director; The Warburg Institute; Woburn Square; London WC1H OAB.

VI

OE Typing Element

From time to time the editors of OEN receive inquiries regarding the existence or availability of OE typing elements for IBM Selectric typewriters and the like. Longtime readers of OEN will recall former editor Stanley Kahrl's special efforts to obtain an OE typing element from Camwil Inc. (see OEN 9, no. 1, 7-8). This element was produced and marketed, but it appears that Camwil has gone out of business. Thanks to a helpful hint from John Miles Foley the editors have learned that IBM itself has a typing element that is serviceable. It is "Element Iceland Advocate #6522905 - S2402." Readers should be advised that it still may not be easy to obtain this element. When the secretary of CEMERS attempted to purchase this element from IBM, IBM sales representatives denied everything. Persistence, however, paid off. Here are samples of the element:

1234567890-´	Row 1	asdfghjklöæ	Row 3
%"/&£$°()+_¨	Row 1, shift	ASDFGHJKLÐÆ	Row 3, shift
qwertyuiopö	Row 2	zxcvbnm,.þ	Row 4
QWERTYUIOPÖ	Row 2, shift	ZXCVBNM?:Þ	Row 4, shift

The cost is approximately $23.00 per element. You may contact Richard Davis at IBM Sales Office, New Jersey, 800-631-5582.

VII

Odense Conference

The Centre for the Study of Vernacular Literature in the Middle Ages at Odense University has celebrated the introduction of the art of printing into Scandinavia 500 years ago with a symposium "From Script to Book" at the University, 15-16 November. Those reading papers were:

> Ursula Altmann, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, DDR
> Nicolas Barker, British Library, London
> Albert Derolez, Rijksuniversiteit-Gent
> Lilli Gjerow, Norsk Historisk Kjeldeskrift-Instituut, Oslo
> Helmar Härtel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel
> Torben Nielsen, The University Library, Copenhagen
> Armando Petrucci, Università degli Studi, Rome
> Joseph W. Scott, University College Library, London

On the second day of the meeting Torkil Olsen, National Librarian, Copenhagen, led a discussion on the papers presented.

VIII

Anglo Saxon England 11 (1982)

The contents of ASE 11 are:

D. W. Rollason, "The Cults of Murdered Royal Saints in Anglo-Saxon England." Analyzes the ecclesiastical and political significance of this phenomenon, unique to Anglo-Saxon England.

Allen J. Frantzen, "The Tradition of Penitentials in Anglo-Saxon England." Offers a description of primary sources from both the early period and the later one, a guide to printed editions and the manuscripts on which they were based, and a provisional hypothesis for linking these too-little-understood materials into a "tradition."

A.G. Kennedy, "Cnut's Law Code of 1018." Publishes for the first time a coherent edition (including translation) of Liebermann's "D" text in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201, in the conviction that it represents, as Professor Whitelock argued, legislative pronouncements compiled by Wulfstan and issued as a result of the meeting between Danes and Englishmen at Oxford in 1018.

Elisabeth Okasha, "A Supplement to Hand-List of Anglo-Saxon Non-Runic Inscriptions." Brings the 1971 Hand-List up to date by describing and illustrating twenty-six additional inscriptions, providing additional information about several entries, and listing corrections and bibliographical addenda.

Michael J. Enright, "The Sutton Hoo Whetstone Sceptre: a Study in Iconography and Cultural Milieu." Explores the archaeological and literary analogues available if the Whetstone is regarded as Celtic in type, and proposes a working hypothesis that it was made in southern Scotland.

M.L. Cameron, "The Sources of Medical Knowledge in Anglo-Saxon England." After a survey of the writings available in western Europe in the early Middle Ages, identifies those which were demonstrably used in Anglo-Saxon England--for instance, the medical texts in Oxford, St. John's College 17 and those in Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 5.35, are properly itemized for the first time--and evaluates Anglo-Saxon use of this material, pointing out, for example, the comprehension and practical sense shown by the compiler (or compilers) of Bald's Leechbook, probably at the end of the ninth century.

Joseph S. Wittig, "King Alfred's Boethius and its Latin Sources: a Reconsideration." On the basis of a study of forty-eight manuscripts containing glosses on the Latin Boethius and an exhaustive examination of the Orpheus metre as a representative passage, rejects the usual view that Alfred and his helpers used a Latin commentary on Boethius' text and argues instead that they drew on a range of works known in their circle.

The late Caroline Brady, "'Warriors' in Beowulf: an Analysis of the Nominal Compounds and an Evaluation of the Poet's Use of Them." Systematically examines in context eighty-eight nominal compounds and thirteen genitive combinations which refer to warriors either collectively or as individuals.

Birte Kelly, "The Formative Stages of Beowulf Textual Scholarship: Part I." Reviews the pioneering contributions made by textual critics of the first half of the nineteenth century--in quality as well as quantity--by presenting the readings which were proposed by any given scholar up to 1857 and have been accepted by at least one editor from 1950 onwards.

Bibliography for 1981. A sixty-one page classified list of books, articles, and significant reviews in all the branches of Anglo-Saxon studies.

                                                            Peter Clemoes

<u>Subsidia 8</u>

The editors of the <u>Old English Newsletter</u> announce the publication of Volume 8, in the <u>Subsidia</u> series, <u>The Bibliography of Old English</u>. Edited by Stanley B. Greenfield, the volume presents in slightly revised form papers from a special session at the 1981 MLA. Eric Gerald Stanley on "The Past," Donald K. Fry on "The Present," and Carl T. Berkhout on "The Future" all discuss aspects of the title subject. The 22-page (8 1/2 x 11 format) <u>opusculum</u> is available for $3.00 from <u>OEN</u>.

XI

Short Notices on Publications

Günter Kotzor has edited <u>Das Altenglische Martyrologium</u> for the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Phil. hist. Klasse,abh. n.f. 88/1,2 [Munich, 1981]), thus replacing G. Herzfeld's edition published by the Early English Text Society in 1900 (rpt. 1973). The typescript edition comes with a full apparatus discussing among other things earlier editions, manuscript witnesses, Latin sources and traditions, and language. The second part, which contains the text, gives variants and textual notes.

The Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies at SUNY-Binghamton announces a special volume of its annual <u>Mediaevalia</u> published in honor of Bernard F. Huppé on his retirement. The issue contains sixteen essays on early literature by various hands, thus reflecting in their extent Prof. Huppé's wide interests. There are four essays on Old English literature: Charles Dahlberg on <u>The Seafarer</u>, Donald K. Fry on <u>Widsith</u>, Paul E. Szarmach on Alfred's <u>Preface</u> to the <u>Pastoral Care</u>, and W.F. Bolton on <u>The Dream of the Rood</u>. The issue, which is <u>Mediaevalia</u> 6 (1980), sells for $15.00. It is available from: SUNY Press, Transworld Distributions Services, Inc.; P.O. Box 9878; Raritan Center; Edison, New Jersey 08817.

The Center regrets the egregious delays in the already announced <u>Acta</u> 6 (1979). This volume, featuring essays by Roberta Frank, James E. Cross, Donald K. Fry, K. Drew Hartzell, and Joel Rosenthal, was announced in the Spring of 1981, when a series of unfortunate technical problems developed. <u>Acta</u> 6 (1979) is now at the lithographers', whence it shall shortly come forth.

Garland Publishing Company has recently published two books of interest to Anglo-Saxonists. Carl T. Berkhout and Milton McC. Gatch are the editors of <u>Anglo-Saxon Scholarship: the First Three Centuries</u>, which is a collection of ten papers first presented at the Thirteenth Conference on Medieval Studies sponsored by the Medieval Institute at Western Michigan University in May of 1978. The essayists are Michael Murphy, Ronald E. Buckalew, Theodore H. Leinbaugh, Peter S. Baker, M. Sue Hetherington, Sandra A. Glass, Sarah H. Collins, Shaun F.D. Hughes, Richard C. Payne, and Gretchen P. Ackerman. These essayists seek to understand and to evaluate both the motivations of the early scholars studying the Anglo-Saxons and the achievements of such scholars as George Hickes, Elizabeth Elstob, Laurence Nowell, and J.M. Kemble, among others.

The collection comes with a Select Bibliography of Secondary Studies of Anglo-Saxon Scholarship. Laurel Braswell has written <u>Western Manuscripts from Classical Antiquity to the Renaissance</u> (404 pp., $50). The book is an annotated, international bibliography that assembles for the first time more than 2,000 resources relevant to the study of palaeography, including primary references on scripts and book production from medieval manuscripts. Braswell has selected those titles most useful and accessible to the scholar working with early manuscript resources. The book has an extensive author and title index.

The University of Toronto Press continues to publish important titles for the study of Old English. David Williams' <u>Cain and Beowulf: A Study in Secular Allegory</u> ($25) examines the figure of Cain and its use in the poem. Williams discusses the Cain tradition, the digressions, and "the poetic present and the fabulous mode." He concludes that the <u>Beowulf</u>-poet used the exegetical tradition "to describe social force among men, forging, with biblical figures and moral truths, an allegory which is secular in the fullest medieval sense." The inaugural volume of McMaster Old English Texts and Studies, a series published by the Toronto Press, is <u>The Prose Solomon and Saturn and Adrian and Ritheus</u>, edited by James E. Cross and Thomas D. Hill. After a discussion and presentation of the Old English texts the editors give a full and detailed commentary. The editors discuss the British Library manuscripts, provide text and translation, and amass a wealth of material treating and elucidating the sources for the some 109 questions and answers that constitute the two prose dialogues. The edition is available in cloth ($35) and paper ($12.50). The Toronto Old English Series has just issued its seventh volume, <u>Eleven Old English Rogationtide Homilies</u>, edited by Joyce Bazire and James E. Cross. The editors provide "plain texts with some accessory material" for eleven of the more than twenty-three vernacular pieces treating Rogation Days. Each homily has its own introduction, and there is an introduction to the whole as well. The price is $32.50.

The Oficina di Studi Medievali in Palermo announces the publication of a new journal, <u>Schede Medievali</u>. The journal contains articles, book reviews, conference proceedings, and news notes relating to a variety of medieval cultures and disciplines, with Anglo-Saxon subjects well represented. The first issue (July-December 1981) contains eight Old English book reviews plus Patrizia Lendinara's report of the 1980 Orosius conference at Bologna. The single 1981 issue is available for 15,000 lire; the journal is to be published semiannually thereafter, at a subscription rate of 22,000 lire a year. All correspondence and books for review should be sent to the Oficina di Studi Medievali, Via del Parlamento 32, 90133 Palermo, Italy.

The Oxford University Press has published <u>The Old English Exodus</u>, which contains text, translation, and commentary by J.R.R. Tolkien and editorial apparatus by Joan Turville-Peter. The Tolkien matter derives from full notes for a series of lectures delivered to a specialist class in the 1930's and 1940's and retouched in the 1950's. Dr. Turville-Petre has brought this material to publication by abbreviating Tolkien's commentary, excluding palaeographical description, and providing necessary, later observation. The book sells for $19.95 (x + 85pp.).

Craig Williamson's <u>A</u> <u>Feast</u> <u>of</u> <u>Creatures</u>: <u>Anglo-Saxon</u> <u>Riddle</u> <u>Songs</u> is a translation of the Exeter Book riddles into a verse mode that echoes the cadences of Aelfric and the sprung rhythm of Gerard Manley Hopkins. Williamson gives an introduction tracing the history of riddles and riddle scholarship and drawing upon Lévi-Strauss, D.H. Lawrence, Freud, and others. The Notes and Commentary entertain possible and probable solutions and treat sources, analogues, and contexts. The University of Pennsylvania Press is the publisher.

Teresa Pàroli's <u>La</u> <u>morte</u> <u>di</u> <u>Beowulf</u> (132 pp. + 7 plates) is a study of the thematic integrity, literary technique, and other aspects of lines 2711-2820 in <u>Beowulf</u>. The book includes an edition of these lines, accompanied by an Italian translation, textual notes, glossary, and facsimiles. It is volume 4 (1982) of the series Testi e Studi di Filologia, published by the Istituto di Glottologia, Università degli Studi di Roma, and distributed by Herder in Rome. The price is L 20,000.

Phaidon Press Limited has issued <u>The</u> <u>Anglo-Saxons</u>, edited by James Campbell with contributions from Campbell, Eric John, and Patrick Wormald, as well as P.V. Addyman, S. Chadwick Hawkes, D.A. Hinton, M.K. Lawson, and D.M. Metcalf. This handsomely illustrated survey, which features 330 illustrations (some forty in color), aims to present an authoritative introduction to the history of Anglo-Saxon England. There are some 19 "picture essays" too, not to mention a special emphasis on original sources. The announced price is £16.50.

In Memoriam: Dorothy Whitelock (1901-82)

A Remembrance by Dorothy Bethurum Loomis

In the death of Dorothy Whitelock on August 14 Anglo-Saxon scholarship lost its most distinguished contributor. Her death, however, was not an untimely one, for she had completed what will probably be her finest work, the biography of Alfred the Great. At 81 she ended a long life devoted undeviatingly to Anglo-Saxon studies, to the great enrichment of the field.

She was born in Leeds on November 11, 1901, and was educated at the Leeds' Girls High School, from which she went in 1921 to Newnham College, Cambridge, where she came under the influence of H.M. Chadwick, an influence that continued long in her work and gave it its broad background and deep reliance on a thorough study of the documents themselves. It was fitting that the commemorative volume presented to her on her 70th birthday should have as its sub-title Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock. Her first work on primary sources was an edition of Anglo-Saxon wills begun under a scholarship at the University of Uppsala. The most comprehensive was her fine volume, English Historical Documents c.500-1042 in which she collected, translated, and commented on the principal source material for these five and a half centuries, a volume unrivaled for sound scholarship and illuminating interpretation.

In 1930 Dorothy Whitelock was appointed lecturer in English Language at St. Hilda's College, Oxford, where she later became Fellow, Tutor, and Vice-Principal. Her interests were closer, she felt, to history than to the English school, and here began her long and fruitful friendship with Sir Frank and Lady Stenton. She followed the writing of Stenton's Anglo-Saxon England with absorbed interest. For the next twenty years she acquired her own incomparable knowledge of Anglo-Saxon diplomata, life, and literature. The Beginnings of English Society, Volume 2 of the Penguin History of England, exhibited her rare combination of detailed learning, her characteristic good sense and insights, and her vigorous and felicitous prose. During these years she was studying the career of Wulfstan, Archbishop of York, and with the help of Karl Jost, destroying the idea of the elusive "Wulfstan imitator." In a closely reasoned article she proved that Wulfstan had written the first and second edicts of Cnut. She was also editing the "Sermo ad Anglos" and continued her work on Wulfstan's career with an article that summed up the archbishop's commanding role in the early eleventh century.

In 1957 she was elected to the Elrington and Bosworth Chair in Anglo-Saxon at Cambridge, which she held to her retirement in 1969, and she renewed her connection with Newnham College. She was at that time a Fellow of the British Academy and was made companion of the British Empire in 1964. In 1971 the University of Leeds awarded her an honorary Litt. D. degree. Her direction of Anglo-Saxon studies in the chair Chadwick had held led little by little to the transference of Anglo-Saxon Studies from the faculty of Archaeology where Chadwick had left it to the Faculty of English, a move that followed her own development from purely historical interests to the comprehensive treatment of history and literature.

Dorothy Whitelock was totally devoted to learning without any competing interests, and she had little patience with work which did not meet her high demands, either from shoddy performance or from what she considered ill-conceived theories. Though she never came to suffer fools gladly, as she grew older her strictures became less severe and always she was completely generous in making her own vast learning available to her students and to other scholars. Her firm common sense she applied to practical situations as well as to learning and remained all her life a sturdy Yorkshire woman. Her friendships were warm and lasting. She could at one time exhibit that warmth and criticize unfavorably what she disagreed with in one's work.

She spent, as she complained, far too much time acting as president of various learned societies. But her human interests were not confined to academia. She once said that when she retired she would like to live opposite a pub in a small town and watch the people come and go. She did not do this but lived with her sister Mrs. Phyllis Priestly, on the outskirts of Cambridge, where her friends from England, the Continent, and America visited her and enjoyed both Dorothy and Phyllis.

A Memorial Address by Peter Clemoes given October 30 in Cambridge

We have met today to pay tribute to, and thank God for, the life of an outstandingly distinguished scholar. The composition of this gathering is itself testimony to the range of Dorothy's eminence; more personal to her is the quality of her achievement. Most of us, no doubt, treasure our own impressions of that. Mine began when I heard her, a small, slight figure, deliver her Audience of 'Beowulf' lectures in London in 1950. To a raw, post-war undergraduate, as I was, it was a precious insight into how scholarly methods could serve the purposes of imaginative enquiry. And the formative experience deepened when, as a research student here in Cambridge, I heard her deliver a lecture to the Medieval Group in which she put forward the new argument that the northern recension of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle was compiled almost certainly at York and that the D manuscript of the Chronicle was written more probably at York than at Worcester. I remember she began her masterly analysis by hoping that it would not seem as boring to us as it had to her when she reread it on the train coming over from Oxford. In reality it was enthralling.

Dorothy came into her own when, as a Cambridge undergraduate at Newnham College in the early 1920's reading for what was then Section B of the English Tripos, she was introduced to Professor H.M. Chadwick's conception of studying the languages, literatures, history and antiquities of pre-Conquest Britain in combination. Bruce Dickins, who examined for the Tripos in Dorothy's year, told me several times how remarkably mature her scripts were. Mistrusting half-knowledge and hostile to gratuitous assumption, from the outset she perceived the opportunity Anglo-Saxon materials give for a strict (though not easy) relationship between evidence and conclusions, and was eager to exploit it. Her first publication, in 1930, after research which included two years in Uppsala, the critical edition of Anglo-Saxon Wills which, reprinted, is still the classic on the subject, already exhibited her distinctive array of talents--mastery of specialized documents, linguistic and historical understanding working together, and a cast of mind at once thorough and economical, practical and logical, informed and independent, precise and free, cautious and imaginative. And she was to show herself as effective when dealing with texts more overtly expressing cultural values, for example in her original interpretation of the Old English poem The Seafarer in the volume published in memory of H.M. Chadwick in 1950. Here indeed was a richly endowed scholar, whose single-minded

and acute study of an unrivalled range of texts from Anglo-Saxon England came to abundant fruition in English Historical Documents c. 500-1042 in 1955 and attained even further growth in the revised edition of that great work in 1979 and in the 871-1066 part of Vol. I of Councils and Synods published last year. Essentially a documentary scholar herself, she remained faithful to the interdisciplinary vision of her Chadwickian upbringing, as her Presidency of the Viking Society 1939-41, Presidency of the English Place-Name Society 1967-79 and Chairmanship of the British Academy Committee for the Sylloge of Coins of the all British Isles 1967-78 all testify. Among the major disciplines concerned with Anglo-Saxon England archaeology perhaps appealed to her least, but all the same she gave it loyal support and served as a Vice-President of the Society for Medieval Archaeology 1957-64. In 1952 she summed up her comprehension of the whole Anglo-Saxon scene, humanely, succinctly, lucidly and elegantly, in her volume in the Pelican History of England, The Beginnings of English Society. No wonder recognition came. In 1951 she received the degree of Litt. D. from Cambridge University and in 1956 was elected Fellow of the British Academy. In 1957 she followed Bruce Dickins as Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon here in Cambridge and was elected Professorial Fellow by her old college, Newnham, and Honorary Fellow by St. Hilda's College, Oxford, where she had taught first as Lecturer and then as Fellow and Tutor for the previous twenty-seven years. In 1964 she was appointed CBE. When she retired from her chair she was elected to an Honorary Fellowship by Newnham College and in 1971 the University of Leeds awarded her an Hon. Litt. D.

Personal relationships meant a great deal to Dorothy. Her admiration for such men as the Venerable Bede, St. Boniface, King Alfred and Archbishop Wulfstan was integral to her bond with Anglo-Saxon studies. Her devotion to Sir Frank Stenton and love of Kathleen Hughes personalized her dedication to scholarship. And she had her antipathies too, ranging from St. Augustine of Hippo to Lord Beeching, who was "nasty" enough to close the branch railway line to Robin Hood's Bay. Family ties were at the heart of it all, and, in particular, deep affection for her mother, who, during Dorothy's childhood in Leeds, had a difficult time bringing up the family on a small income after being widowed. But from that center Dorothy extended her affections widely, to colleagues in college and university, to fellow scholars she thought had integrity akin to her own, to students she taught during more than forty years, to friends, whatever their walk of life, in whom she recognized the counterparts of her own loyalty, honesty and warmth of feeling. In true Yorkshire style she took seriously her responsibilities to individuals and institutions alike, not sparing herself as a conscientious teacher, going to extraordinary trouble to place her immense knowledge of primary sources at the disposal of others (the festschrift on her seventieth birthday expressed gratitude for that), supporting friends when they were ill or in other need, serving as Vice-Principal of her Oxford college for six years and here in Cambridge, doing duty as an ex-officio member of the Faculty Board first of Archaeology and Anthropology and then of English and as a member of the Board of Graduate Studies and the Council of the Senate. In 1967, while Elrington and Bosworth Professor, with great determination and skill she steered the Department of Anglo-Saxon and Kindred Studies (as it then was) back from the Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology, where Professor Chadwick had taken it forty years before, to the Faculty of English where she was convinced it properly belonged as a department responsible for a mainly documentary, language-based discipline. But all was not seriousness. She was stimulating and entertaining company. She had a delightful sense of humor. She could be great fun. I can see her now at the age of seventy or thereabouts linked in single file with her sister Phyllis Priestly and my children, playing trains round her garden in Thornton Close.

Her flow of substantial publications, advancing Anglo-Saxon studies in various ways, continued unabated during the tenure of her chair, but perhaps her greatest accomplishment of all came during her retirement, completion of her biography of King Alfred, commissioned as long ago as the late fifties and now being prepared by Professor Janet Bately and Dr. Simon Keynes for publication probably next year. This comprehensive tribute to the qualities of a great king in our past will rank among the major achievements of twentieth-century English scholarship in any field. It would never have been finished without the devoted support Dorothy received from her widowed sister Phyllis, living in happy companionship with her during these years in Thornton Close. Today we offer her our affectionate sympathy. The sadness of impaired communication with Dorothy during her last illness bore hardest on Phyllis but was felt by others too. In these trying circumstances the steadfastness of Dorothy Hahn and other friends was beyond praise. Dr. Harold Taylor, for his part, has given Phyllis unwavering support. The friendship of these and others has been exactly of the kind Dorothy valued. But let us not finally dwell on sadness. Here first and foremost was a life of great and lasting scholarly achievement. We thank God for it in this church in which Dorothy regularly worshipped. May others be so blessed as to crown a lifetime of fulfilment with their finest book in their eightieth year.

at St. Botolph's Church

In Memoriam: Neil Ripley Ker (1908-82)

A Remembrance by Carl T. Berkhout

Neil Ker died on August 23 as the result of a fall while hiking near his country home in Scotland. He was 74 years old.

Ker, born in London, was educated at Eton and then at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he remained to become University Reader in Palaeography until his early retirement ("to do some long-neglected work") in 1968. There at Oxford, while in his early twenties, he discovered his easy rapport with the writers and scribes and keepers of books in the Middle Ages and began a scholarly career that would produce some 125 publications and establish him as our era's most respected authority on early English manuscripts and libraries.

In 1941 Ker published his Medieval Libraries of Great Britain (second edition in 1964) for the Royal Historical Society. At about that time, with his left hand on many other projects, he began work on his monumental Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon (1957), a compilation so thorough that two decades of collective scrutiny and new information could yield only an eleven-page supplement--by Ker himself--in the 1976 number of Anglo-Saxon England. In the meantime he delivered the Lyell Lectures for 1952-53 (published as English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest in 1960), produced in 1954 his Fragments of Medieval Manuscripts Used as Pastedowns in Oxford Bindings (a work of far greater significance than its wonderfully frumpy title might suggest), undertook a series of facsimile editions for the Early English Text Society, and still continued his yearly contributions of shorter studies and informative book reviews.

In 1969 and 1977 Ker published the first two volumes of Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries, a detailed catalog of all manuscripts not adequately described elsewhere. It was to be, and will be, the culmination of his life's work. "It is an aim," he said, "which can be independent of my own capacity to achieve it from end to end." He was of course wrong in supposing that any other single scholar might have continued it, but his remark was obliquely prophetic. His third volume is now in press, and he had completed enough of his fourth and final volume to enable his colleagues to prepare it for publication.

In his seventieth year Ker was honored by fifteen of his colleagues in Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries, edited by Malcolm Parkes and Andrew Watson. In the preface to that worthy Festschrift C. R. Cheney said of Ker: "Very numerous are the scholars who have reason to be thankful to him for the stimulus and advice and information that he offers. His object is to advance knowledge, and whether findings are announced by him or by someone else does not matter to him; the important thing is to see that they are reported in accurate form." For all his discoveries and for all the thousands of manuscripts that he deciphered, dated, described, or analyzed--always with astonishing speed--later scholars have almost never been able to point to a verifiable error in his work. Scholars of future generations should not wonder why this man appears and reappears so respectedly in our footnotes or why we think very, very carefully before even questioning a simple "s. xi med." or "probably Winchester" from his pen.

Few of us in North America knew Ker personally, for we were not often in the paths of his pursuit of manuscript discoveries. His friendships here grew mainly in his little scribbled exchanges, always eager to share whatever he knew and always grateful to receive in turn some fragment of scholarly information. Though never chatty in his correspondence, he was cheerful and candid in a way that somehow shows itself even in the down-to-business style of his scholarly writings, which he would

occasionally interrupt to observe self-critically, "I should have done more [manu-
script] dating than I have done," or, "I wish now that these short descriptions
contained more about the quiring and script of manuscripts than they do."

That was Ker. He had made us all his colleagues, and his greatest concern
was that he should ever fall short in his service to us or somehow fail to merit
the esteem and the affection that he blinkingly found himself receiving. His
quiet, thoughtful tribute to Humfrey Wanley, probably his only equal in three
centuries, seems simple enough for Ker himself: "His opinion on any given matter
will always be worth knowing."

Historical Thesaurus of English

Annual Report 1981-82

1. General. The past year has seen considerable progress in all aspects of our
work, with contributions to the project now being made by some twenty people
working in various capacities in Glasgow and elsewhere. The most important
event in the near future is likely to be the completion of all slips from the
Oxford English Dictionary, excluding supplements, after seventeen years of endeavor.
Financial stability has been achieved by grants from the Axe-Houghton Foundation
and the Leverhulme Trust, but this money runs out in July 1983, so fund-raising
is once again an important item on the agenda.

2. Slips. We are well on target for our deadline of December 1982 for all OED
slips. The letters A and F, and their supplement material, were completed in
the course of the year, and the finishing touches are being put to B, E, and
R, the last remaining letters. Slips for the first two volumes of the supple-
ment are nearly completed, and work has begun on the third volume. If we are
able to maintain our present work force, slips for all available supplement
material should be completed within the next two years.

3. Classification. Now that the main archive of slips is nearly complete, attention
is shifting to classification, which involves transferring material at present
classified under Roget's system to the modified folk taxonomy which forms the
basis of the new classification, and doing considerable work on the internal
structure of sections of it. A program of preliminary classification of the
concrete vocabulary has been carried out by graduates working under our
Community Enterprise Programme, and thanks to their efforts and those of our
research assistants and other workers, approximately one fifth of our material
has been sorted ready for editing. The main focus of the CEP project this year
has been the sorting of section I of the new classification, The Physical
Universe, under the joint guidance of CEP Supervisor Ann Tierney and Christian
Kay. In addition to this, individual members of the team have worked on sections
reflecting their own interests: Mineralogy (Julia Marshall), Politics
(Brian Glancey), Mathematics (Ada Strong), Philosophy (Donald Hillies), The Fine
Arts (Colin Thom), The Supernatural (Ann Tierney).

The principles of classification evolved during the project have stood up
well to the demands of increased classificatory work. One especially interesting
exercise has been the revision by Irene Wotherspoon of two early sections of
classification, The Body and its Parts and Warfare, both of which have been
successfully expanded to include the large amounts of data which have accumulated
since their original preparation, or have been retrieved from elsewhere in the
archive. The sheer bulk of our material is one of its challenges, and we are
fortunate to have postgraduate students working on four sections of major scope and
considerable theoretical interest: Religion (Tom Chase), Good and Evil
(Freda Thornton), The Animal Kingdom (Lorna Gilmour), Authority (Rona Williamson).

4. <u>Old English</u>. The more manageable Old English corpus is being edited by Jane Roberts of King's College, London, who is to be congratulated on her recent promotion to Reader in the English Department there. She is making a preliminary sorting of a variety of fields, and, with the assistance of Christian Kay, comparing the results with schedules already prepared in Glasgow, with a view to assessing the different demands of the two bodies of material. Contributions to this side of the project are being made by King's College postgraduate students; Sue Stephens, who is now working for Harvester Press, is dealing with problems presented by <u>Honour</u>, a field widely scattered through Roget, while exploratory work has been undertaken on musical terms by Mary Palmer and on Anglo-Saxon drinks by Bill Griffiths.

5. <u>Word-Processing</u>. Now that the University of Glasgow has provided the project with a Superbrain and a spinwriter, we have begun to investigate which word-processing program is most suitable for initial data entry. Once this has been done and the revised style sheet completed, we plan to begin editing individual slips in the classified sections and entering them on the word processor. They will then be transferred to the main frame computer for storage until final editing begins. Our target date for completing editorial tasks is 1987.

6. <u>Staff</u>. Continuity is achieved by the fact that our two research assistants, Irene Wotherspoon and Lorna Gilmour, remain in post, and by the contributions of four members of the permanent staff: Professor M.L. Samuels, John Farish, Leslie W. Collier and Christian Kay. Our CEP employees are, however, only able to remain with us for one year, and this year we have also lost our CEP supervisor, Ann Tierney, who has joined the dictionary department at Longmans. She has been replaced by Colin Thom, while other posts have been filled by Jim Tague and Sharon Loughlin. We have also been grateful for the services of Enid Boston, a graduate of the department, who has been working as a volunteer on the project.

7. <u>Visitors</u>. In the past year these have included:

Dr. Günter Kotzor, University of Munich, to continue work on Meteorology;
Dr. Rosemary Huisman, University of Sidney, to discuss using the Old English material for a project on speech acts;
Dr. David Albertyn, University of the Orange Free State, who spent three months studying the project and working on legal terminology;
Ms. Judith Perryman, University of Leiden, to discuss the development of work in the fields of truth and loyalty;
Ms. Susan Leslie, a postgraduate at Balliol College, Oxford, who examined Old and Early Middle English materials in a variety of fields;

We were sorry that Angus Somerville of Brock University, Ontario, did not manage to visit us this year, but glad to receive from him a consignment of slips for B.

8. <u>Publications, etc</u>. An article entitled "The Historical Thesaurus of English" by L.W. Collier and C.J. Kay appeared in volume 2/3 of <u>Dictionaries</u> (1980-81), pp. 80-89. Professor Yoshinobu Niwa of Nagoya University, who had previously visited the project, contributed an article on it to the Japanese periodical, <u>The Rising Generation</u>. Working papers for internal use were prepared on classification by Irene Wotherspoon, supplement slip-making by Ann Tierney, and preliminary editorial procedures by Christian Kay, who is also working on the revised style sheet. A series of seminars was held at which various members of the project reported on their work.

M.L. Samuels, J. Farish, L.W. Collier, C.J. Kay, J.A. Roberts, I.A.W. Wotherspoon, on behalf of all members of the project,

Department of English Language, University of Glasgow, Glasgow G12 8QQ.

A Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture

in conjunction with the Eighteenth Congress on Medieval Studies,
Western Michigan University

Sponsored by the Medieval Institute and the Center for
Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies at SUNY-Binghamton

Thursday, May 5

    11:00 a.m.   Coffee Hour for program participants

    1:30-3:00   Literary Culture I

        Introductory Remarks: Paul E. Szarmach, SUNY-Binghamton

        Presiding: David Yerkes, Columbia University

        "At the Coal-Face: Old Workings and New Seams"

                James E. Cross, University of Liverpool

        "Biblical Style in Early Insular Latin"

                David Howlett, Medieval Latin Dictionary

    3:30-5:00   Iconography

        Presiding: Cynthia Cornell, DePauw University

        "The Ideology of the Monastic Reform and the Images of the
        Living Ecclesia in Art, Liturgy, and Literature"

                Robert Deshman, University of Toronto

        "Demonic Elements in Anglo-Saxon Iconography"

                Louis Jordan, University of Notre Dame

        "Alexander the Great and the Marvels of the East Tradition"

                John Block Friedman, University of Illinois at
                                Urbana-Champaign

Friday, May 6

    10:00-11:30   Art and Archaeology I

        Presiding: F.M. Ahl, Cornell University

        "Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Kingship: Some Further Thoughts"

                Patrick Wormald, Glasgow University

"Relationships between the Art and Archaeology of Britain and Ireland in the Pre-Viking Period"

Rosemary Cramp, University of Durham

1:30-3:00   Literary Culture II

Presiding: Carl T. Berkhout, University of Arizona

"Evidence for Knowledge of Latin Literature in Old English"

Janet Bately, University of London King's College

"The Transmission of Greek Learning in Early England"

Mary Catherine Bodden, University of Toronto

3:30-5:00   Literary Culture III

Presiding: Mary Richards, University of Tennessee-Knoxville

"The Venerable Bede and Irish Gospel Exegesis: a New Area of Research"

Joseph Kelly, John Carroll University

"Continental Sources of Anglo-Saxon Devotional Writing"

Thomas H. Bestul, University of Nebraska-Lincoln

Saturday, May 7

10:00-11:30   Art and Archaeology II

Presiding: Joseph C. Harris, Cornell University

"Scandinavian Art and the Insular Tradition c. 750-1100: Similarities, Relationships, and Contrasts"

Signe Horn Fuglesang, University Museum, Oslo

"The Distinctiveness of Viking Colonial Art"

James T. Lang, University of Durham

1:30-3:00   Literary Culture IV

Presiding: Joseph B. Trahern, Jr., University of Tennessee-Knoxville

"Two Old English Saints' Lives in relation to their Latin Sources"

Colin Chase, University of Toronto

"Old English Poetry and the Problem of Literary History:
The Case of _Christ_ I, II, and III"

Thomas Hill, Cornell University

3:30-5:00   Research Tools

Presiding: Paul E. Szarmach, SUNY-Binghamton

"The Dictionary of Old English"

Ashley Crandell Amos, University of Toronto

"Index to Iconographic Subjects in Early English Manuscripts"

Thomas Ohlgren, Purdue University

"Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Sculpture"

Rosemary Cramp, University of Durham

Discussion

10:00 p.m.   RECEPTION

Sunday, May 8

10:00-11:30   Interdisciplinary Approaches: _Dream of the Rood_

Presiding: Harry Bober, Institute of Fine Art, New York University

"Ruthwell and Bewcastle: The Devotional Context"

S.D. McEntire, Cornell University

"Reflections on the Iconography of the _Rood_ Cross"

Robert T. Farrell, Cornell University

"Theological, Liturgical or Devotional? Some Problems in Ascertaining
the Context(s) of the Ruthwell Cross and of the Ruthwell Crucifixion
Poem"

Éamonn Ó Carrigáin, University of Cork

The Wife's Lament

I tell this story   of myself, much sorrowed,
of my own enduring.   That I may say,
what miseries I suffered   since I grew up,
new ones or old   never more than now;
ever I knew hardships   of my exile-journeys.

First my lord traveled   hence from our people
over the waves'-play;   at dawn I would wonder
where my people's-lord   might be in the world.
So I journeyed abroad   seeking some service,
friendless, an exile,   in my woeful need.

Then that man's kinfolk   came to consider
secret in thought,   that they should part us,
that we-two most widely   in the world-kingdom
should live most loathfully   and I in longing.
Then my lord bid me   take this harsh dwelling;
loved-ones not many   had I in this land,
loyal friends few.   Therefore am I mind-sad
when I found this man,   so suited to me,
to be hard of spirit,   cruel in mind
hiding his heart's-mood,   harsh in his thoughts.

Blithe in our bearing   oft we two promised
naught should divide us   save death alone,
nothing else ever.   All that is altered;
now it's as if   our love-friendship
never had been.   I must endure now,
far or near, enmity   of my most-loved one.

They put me to live here   in a wooded grove
under an oak-tree   in that earth-cave.
Old is this earth-hall,   I am all a-longing;
the chambers are dim,   the downs up-high,
bitter town-walls   begrown with briars,
a joyless dwelling.

        Oft cruelly weighs on me
my lord's departure.   Friends there are on earth
living lovingly;   they keep to the bed,
while I at dawn   walk all alone
under the oak-tree   among those earth-caves.
There must I sit   the summerlong day,
there may I weep   my path of banishment,
miseries a-many;   for never am I able
to see an end   to my mind-sorrows
nor all the longing   with which life loads me.

May that young man now   live heavy-minded,
hard of heart-thought,   while showing still
blithe in his bearing,   know, too, sharp breast-care,
sound every sorrow.   May all his world's-joy
rest on him lonely;   be he in banishment
far from his folk-land;   that my friend sits
under a stone-cliff   be-rimed by storm,
my friend mood-weary   be-washed with water
in a horrid hall,   my friend oppressed
with mickle mind-care,   too oft remember
the joyless dwelling.   Woe to one who must,
left in longing,   wait for a loved-one.

Frederic G. Cassidy
University of Wisconsin-Madison
1982

STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK AT BINGHAMTON

Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies

SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

October 21-22, 1983

MEDIEVAL ARCHAEOLOGY

This conference is designed to bring together a large number of medieval archaeologists and scholars from traditional medieval disciplines to discuss and document the fact that archaeology has come of age and is beginning to contribute in substantial ways to our understanding of the medieval and early Renaissance periods. The major lectures of the conference will communicate from a variety of geographic and methodological perspectives some of the contributions archaeologists are now making. This theme will be carried over into some of the papers delivered in the additional sessions. However, we would also like this conference to be a place where the archaeologists themselves can share their ideas and formulate future plans. Hence, we plan to have papers presented on a variety of methods and interpretive ideas that are helping to shape medieval archaeology today. Among these would be papers on historical and literary models as they are used in archaeological research, the application of scientific methods to archaeological field and laboratory research, and substantive discoveries of special interest. We hope that this conference will be a turning point in the growth of medieval archeology itself and its appreciation by its sister disciplines.

CALL FOR PAPERS

Several sessions of the conference will be devoted to topically organized subjects. We invite short papers (20-30 minutes) for these sessions. To be considered, the paper itself or an abstract must be submitted by May 15, 1983.

INFORMATION

The final program of the conference will be mailed in September 1983. Please address all inquiries, abstracts, and suggestions to the conference coordinator:

Professor Charles L. Redman
Conference Coordinator, CEMERS
State University of New York at Binghamton
Binghamton, New York 13901

Telephone (607) 798-2730 (CEMERS)

British Library, Cotton Otho A.viii, fols. 1-6

Before the fire of October 1731 in the Cotton library, MS. Otho A.viii had
129 leaves compassing a dozen assorted items. Rebound by the British Museum in
June 1846, the volume now preserves only 34 badly damaged, separately mounted leaves:
fols. 1-6 from the late eleventh-century Vita and Translatio sanctae Mildrithae by
the Flemish monk Goscelin of St. Augustine's, Canterbury (BHL 5060-61) and fols.
7-34 from the Old English translation of Bili's Vita sancti Machutis (Ker no. 168).
The Vita and Translatio Mildrithae once made up fols. 2-21 and 22-41 respectively;
current fols. 1-6 represent earlier 3-4, 8, 15-16, and 39, with fols. 2, 5, and 6
reversed.

One scribe wrote the surviving fols. 1-5 except for the last four-plus lines
of fol. 1r. A third scribe wrote fol. 6v and the first twelve lines of 6r, and a
fourth started in with the opening of Chapter 32 of the Translatio on line 13 of
fol. 6r. I identify the first scribe with that of two St. Augustine's manuscripts,
Trinity College Cambridge 0.2.51 and Bodleian Ashmole 1431, assigned respectively to
c. 1070-1100 and the last quarter of the eleventh century by Claus M. Kauffmann,
Romanesque Manuscripts 1066-1190 (London and Boston, 1975), MSS. 8 and 10, pp. 56-57,
and plates 13-16 and 22-25. All other witnesses of Goscelin's writings on Mildred
date from the next century or later: British Library, Cotton Vespasian B.xx, Harley
105, and Harley 3908 from St. Augustine's, and Bodleian Rawlinson C.440, Trinity
College Dublin B.2.7 (172), and Gotha Forschungsbibliothek I.81 of uncertain provenance.

The "Prologus in uita deo dilectae uirginis Mildrethae" begins at the top of
fol. 143 of Vespasian B.xx, followed by a capitulum and on the twelfth line of 144r the
vita proper. Most of each of the original thirty lines of text remains on fol. 1
of Otho A.viii, which runs from Vespasian fol. 144r line 8 transit, near the end of
the capitulum, through 145r16 occupat. Fol. 1r includes the heading "Incipit uita
deo sacratae uirginis Mildrithae: in small red capitals on lines 4-5 and an indented
decorated R ten lines high plus a row of large (lines 6-7) and a row of small (line 8)
red capitals opening the text, "Regum proles / dignissima uirg[o domini Mildritha]."
At the foot of fol. 1r the second scribe apparently had a set amount of text to supply,
from imperauit to bella, but misjudged the space, initially writing as narrowly as
possible, then filling in with minims the wide blank left at the end of the last line.
The text continues uninterrupted in the first hand at the top of fol. 1v, "augustorum
quinqu aginta . . . " (Vespasian 144v11). The reversed fol. 2 has only parts of the
top twenty-three lines of text (Vespasian 145r16 adest-145v13 Mild[riðe] and 145v24
materteras-146r20 esserit); fol. 3, only parts of the bottom twenty-five lines (150r12
non mediocriter-150v14 uelut and 150v22 non seculi-151r23 hominibus). All thirty
lines remain largely intact on fols. 4-6 (159r21 nocte-160v24 clamab [ant], 160v25
heu-162r28 tercio, 191r23 cumque-192v10 sanctorum).

David Yerkes
Columbia University

British Library   Cotton Otho A.viii, fol. 1r.   Reproduced from an
ultraviolet photograph by permission of the Trustees.

THE YEAR'S WORK IN OLD ENGLISH STUDIES - 1981

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

The 1981 issue of YWOES marks the fifteenth publication of this annual review of scholarship on pre-Conquest England. When YWOES was started in 1967, it filled twenty pages in the Old English Newsletter; last year, the reviews covered one hundred sixteen pages; this year, the text is even longer. Originally, there were only half a dozen contributors; this year there are nearly twice that number. This substantial growth results both from increased coverage by the annual OE Bibliography (from which YWOES derives its categories and most of its entries) and from important growth in scholarly work on the Anglo-Saxon world.

YWOES has always tried to bring its reviews and comments to the learned world as quickly as possible. Speed and accuracy are not good friends, however, and error is an almost inevitable product of their companionship. Nevertheless, the generous reception of YWOES encourages us to continue this pattern of timely production.

Contributors to YWOES are independent reviewers appointed annually by the editor. Evaluative criteria may well differ from one reviewer to another and even from year to year. The editor attempts to eliminate duplication as he prepares the text for publication in a reasonably consistent form. Abbreviations for the names of journals conform, as much as possible, to the comprehensive list published at the beginning of the 1980 MLA Bibliography. Journals which are not listed there are either referred to in full or with a few unmistakable abbreviations. Articles and books which are reviewed but which were not included in the 1981 OE Bibliography are marked with an asterisk (*). Each reviewer has appended a section of "Works not seen" but oftentimes dissertations, redactions, and summaries are silently omitted.

This fall the Department of English at the Universtiy of Rochester has changed its office equipment from typewriters to word processors. YWOES-1981 was produced on an IBM 5520 ink-jet system by Catherine Strassner, for whose dedicated work the editor is very grateful. While the IBM representatives said that this system could make all of the three most common peculiarly Anglo-Saxon letters, in both upper case and lower case, as well as all the diacritical marks needed for this publication, the system was totally unable, as it turned out, to make "eth" and could produce "thorn" only by superimposition of "p" and "b." Consequently, all occurrences of "eth" are manually created for photo-duplication. Improvements are now sought by a change of equipment.

Last year, the authorship of section 8., "Archaeology and Numismatics," was not identified. Not that there was much doubt, for the author, Professor Robert T. Farrell of Cornell University, has written that particular section since YWOES was founded. For the reviews of the work of 1980, Professor Farrell was assisted by Roberta Valente. The editor apologies to them both for this unfortunate omission.

The authors of each section in this issue can be identified from the initials which appear at the end of each contribution:

C. C.	Colin Chase, University of Toronto
J. D. C.	John David Cormican, Utica College
J. P. C.	James Patrick Carley, The University of Rochester
R. T. F.	Robert T. Farrell, Cornell University (with the assistance of Fred Jonassen)
M. McC. G.	Milton McCormick Gatch, Union Theological Seminary
J. R. H.	James R. Hall, University of Mississippi
T. G. H.	Thomas G. Hahn, The University of Rochester
M. M.	Matthew Marino, University of Alabama
D. A. E. P.	David A. E. Pelteret, University of Toronto
J. B. T.	Joseph B. Trahern, Jr., University of Tennessee

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

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS

Anglo-Saxon culture survives not only in the artifacts that date from the OE period, but in the minds and writings of those who have afterwards thought about it; the history of scholarship, therefore, serves a double purpose, shedding light on the extant documents and monuments and on the reconstruction of the culture through those artifacts as well. W. H. Monroe, in "Two Medieval Genealogical Roll-Chronicles in the Bodleian Library" (BLR 10, 215-21), examines two rolls that trace the ancestry of King Edward I from the quest for the Golden Fleece through Troy's fall and Brutus's colonization of the western isles, Geoffrey of Monmouth's kings, and the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy. These rolls, both composed about 1300, give special attention to the OE monarchs (taking information apparently from Henry of Huntingdon) in their attempt to establish Edward's claim as overlord of Scotland. The appealing authority and relevance of early British history are likewise manifest in I. N. Wood's review, "Arthurian Sources" (Northern Hist. 17, 269-71) of the revised edition of John Morris's Age of Arthur (3 vols.), and of the first three volumes published in Arthurian Period Sources (texts and translations of the life of St Patrick, Gildas, and Nennius). Wood characterizes the volumes as products of a school of history unto itself. Wood does not chide the romantic enthusiasm that seems to lie behind the Arthurian Sources project and that colors the view projected by these volumes and by Morris's history; while such a motive may claim authenticity, it is the scholarship, especially in Morris's reconstruction of early Britain, that Wood finds questionable. The discussion of texts and traditions, and of recent work in Studia Celtica and Britannia, should be helpful to those interested in Anglo-Saxon England.

The interests and reconstructions of early modern scholarship form the subject of two other articles. Norman L. Jones, in "Matthew Parker, John Bale, and the Magdeburg Centuriators" (SCJ 12, no. 3, 35-49), gives a close account of the relations between English antiquaries and the "centuriators" of Magdeburg. In Spring, 1560, Matthias Flacius Illyricus sent the fourth volume of his intellectual history of the Christian Church--Quarta Centuria Ecclesiastica Historia--to Queen Elizabeth, to whom it had been dedicated. At the same time he asked her aid in obtaining MSS bearing upon the early history of the Church, especially works of Matthew Paris and Wyclif. Elizabeth, in turn, requested her Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker, to reply, and Parker enlisted Bale's help as a bibliographer. The list of books sought and found contains no references to OE texts, but a MS of Ælfric's Catholic Homilies (CCCC MS 302) contains annotations and glosses in German, and it seems possible that a German scholar or polemicist--one of the Magdeburg centuriators--consulted this MS in 1561 or 1562. In a brief but densely argued essay, "Edward Thwaites, Pioneer Teacher of Old English" (DUJ 73, n.s. 42, 153-159), Michael Murphy considers Edward Thwaites's place among his colleagues and predecessors at Queen's College, Oxford, including Edmund Gibson, who published an edition of the Chronicle (1692), William Nicolson, and George Hickes, the publication of whose Thesaurus (1703) Thwaites helped materially to advance. Murphy offers a full rehearsal of Thwaites's editing and printing of the Heptateuch (1797), which includes a transcription of Judith arranged as prose. He recounts the remainder of Thwaites's Oxford career more briefly, including a grisly description from an unpublished letter of the amputation of Thwaites's leg, his role in the publication of Anthony Hall's Leland, and his publication in the year of his death of the student handbook, Grammatica Anglo-Saxonica ex Hickessiano Thesauro Excerpta (1711).

Two other articles deal with issues of current interest to scholars.

Peter Ridgewell, in "Metaphrasing and Teaching Old English to Icelandic Under-graduates" (OEN 14.2, 13-16), reports on the pedagogical device of metaphrasing --"reproducing in English the sentence structure of inflected languages and providing English-speaking students with an apparatus for initial access to the syntactic relationships involved." Since modern Icelandic remains an inflected language with many cognates of OE words, Ridgewell discusses as well "metaflection" and "metaliteration"--rules for systematic changes from OE to Icelandic. Such rules sometimes produce non-existent or nonsense words in the translator's language, though students have been able to supply meanings by observing the obvious syntactic function of such a "counter." Ridgewell remarks that Icelandic students seem better "equipped to adjust systematically to" memorization of paradigms and vocabulary than their English-speaking counterparts, but this is undoubtedly because of the similarities in structure between their native language and OE. It would be enlightening to see what success such a method might enjoy among English-speaking students; Marijane Osborn has apparently applied it in classes at Lancaster and California (Davis), and will perhaps provide a report on her experiences. Sarah L. Higley (OEN 14.2, 9-10) reports on the various panels and papers of the Berkeley Symposium on OE (May 1980), and invites requests for the Newsletter published on a bi-quarterly basis by the Old English Colloquium (302 Wheeler Hall, Berkeley 94720).

The past year witnessed the appearance of several books that, while not dealing directly with Anglo-Saxon culture, will nonetheless provide indispensable help in the study of the language, literature, and institutions of the era. Oxford University Press issued the first paperback edition of *An Introduction to Old Norse by E. V. Gordon (1927), revised by A. R. Taylor (1957). For fifty-five years Gordon's Introduction has remained the most important-- really the only, leaving aside Wright's grammar--guide to OI for English students. This reissue makes Gordon available (though at £7.50, not readily affordable) to OE scholars and to others who wish to begin the language. At the same time, however, Oxford (in cooperation with the American-Scandinavian Foundation) has brought out a rival to Gordon: *Old Icelandic: An Introductory Course, by Sigrid Valfells and James E. Cathey. The difference between these books reflects drastically different approaches to learning a language: Gordon evidently wrote for sophisticated students motivated by love of literature and an intense interest in their linguistic and racial past. He provided an eighty-page historical (and romantic) introduction, almost two hundred pages of literary selections, seventy pages of historical and comparative notes (with small attention to philology or basic grammar), an austere grammar of sixty-odd pages, and a thorough glossary that parses many words from the texts. Gordon's idea seems to have been that readers would learn OI by force of enthusiasm, that through sudden and deep immersion would come absorption. And this obviously has worked for a great number of scholars.

The selection of literary texts in Valfells and Cathey is, by comparison, minimal. The first ten lessons contain composed, graded readings, and though the last twenty-five lessons contain some of the most brilliant and memorable selections from the sagas, none is more than a paragraph in length. There are, moreover, no commentaries or notes, and no attempt to provide literary history or backgrounds. The book is, in short, a clear and systematic introduction to OI language, and while it may prove less exciting than Gordon, it should make the material more manageable and more teachable. Almost every chapter is divided into sections on grammar, vocabulary, texts for translation, drills, and composed sentences for translation into OI. The latter two components should enhance students' knowledge and their sensitivity to the language

immeasurably. The grammatical sections of the lessons contain from one to five elements; the authors begin with adjectives, nouns, and pronouns, and work through conjugations, tenses, moods, special constructions, and so on. The explanations, paradigms, and cross-references are clear, and the coverage is admirable. The book contains a table of selections (arranged by saga title), a table of grammatical topics, a grammatical index, and a phonological introduction at the beginning. The glossary, which not surprisingly has many fewer entries than Gordon's, provides stems, translations, and indication of where a word first occurs; it does not parse individual words or offer alternative translations, though the vocabulary sections within the individual chapters furnish this information. At the back, Valfells and Cathey provide translations for the English sentences in their composition exercises, and a key to drills; both will make the book more usable (and less frustrating) on its own. The text does not contain material on MSS or palaeography, or on inscriptions, and there are no facsimilies or illustrations. This book should change considerably the practice of teaching and learning OI for speakers of English, and it doubtless will remain a standard text for some time, since it is carefully planned and well put together. It is ironic, however, that this volume, which in one sense may replace Gordon, will probably also create further demand for its rival; although as an introduction it is self-sufficient, those who use it will want a companion reader, and Gordon is the obvious (again, really the only) candidate in this field. (One might consider Roberta Frank's introduction to the Drottkvætt stanza in a course on poetry, though Valfells and Cathey themselves provide no selections from the skalds.) Yet in whatever way it is used, OI: An Introductory Course should make its presence felt for those who wish to study the language of the sagas, or who wish further acquaintance with the cultural environs of OE.

The two volumes that have appeared in the Modern Language Association's series, Introduction to the Older Languages of Europe, also deserve the attention of those engaged in the study of Anglo-Saxon culture. *An Introduction to Old Irish by R. P. M. and W. P. Lehmann (New York: MLA, 1975) presents a course of study that would be both workable and profitable to those who already know OE. Within their chapters, the authors provide the basis for a rudimentary mastery of OIr; they apportion their attention so that in the one hundred sections they treat grammar, phonology, the history of the language, orthography (and even palaeography to some extent, with two facsimiles), prose and poetic texts, and cultural backgrounds. In the course of chapters one to eighteen, the complete text of Mac Datho's Pig (Scéla Mucce Meic Datho) is presented for translation, analysis, and grammatical drill; this device gives the handbook a coherence and interest that make it particularly attractive to the beginning student. The first four chapters contain phonetic transcriptions of their selections, to aid in pronunciation, and several of the early chapters contain translations as well to hasten the student's engagement with the language. Chapters six through fifteen also contain thirty-two glosses from the continental MSS, which provide perhaps the earliest and most authentic instances of OIr. The last two chapters contain ten poetic texts (including the four alliterating seasonal poems from "The Guesting of Athirne"); these complement the dialogue poem from Mac Datho (chapters four and five), and the authors provide translation for all the poetry. Chapter twenty offers essential bibliographical references, and the forty-page glossary that follows not only furnishes definitions but parses most words and gives reference to the selection where each occurs. An Introduction to OIr is handsomely (and carefully) printed; the brown ink on its pages is distinctive and easy on the eyes, making the volume physically as well as intellectually inviting.

The second volume in this series, *An Introduction to the Gothic Language by William H. Bennett (New York: MLA, 1980), may possess even more appeal for Anglo-Saxonists than the Lehmanns' book. The connections with OE through comparative philology are evident; though less important, perhaps more intriguing are the cultural and literary parallels with OE texts. Gothic survives chiefly in Wulfila's translation of the Gospels (fourth century), and our evidence for reconstructing the cultural context of the language is accordingly much more limited than for Anglo-Saxon England. Wulfila was apparently descended from Christians captured by Goths, and he studied Greek--perhaps at Constantinople and at Antioch--and Latin as well. In making his translations from an Antiochian/Lucianic Greek text of the Gospels, he proceeded not "hwilum word be worde, hwilum andgit of andgiete," but entirely on a word-for-word basis. The influence of Greek syntax is, therefore, overwhelmingly manifest, and the features of the language and the oral culture that Wulfila inherited are almost entirely obscured. Yet Wulfila borrowed few words from his Greek text, and the nature and effect of his translation, compared to the OE (based on the Vulgate), is greatly intriguing, as a few examples make clear (I quote from Bosworth's text):

Yah andhafyands sa hundafaþ qaþ,	Þa andswarode se hundredes ealdor, and þus cweþ,
Frauya, ni im wairþs ei	Drihten, ne eom ic wyrðe
uf hrot mein inngaggais;	ðæt ðu ingange under mine þecne;
ak þatainei qiþ waurda	ac cweþ ðin an word,
yah gahailniþ sa þiumagus meins.	and min cnapa biþ gehæled. (Matthew 8.8)
Yah adsteigands in skip	Ða astah he on scyp,
ufarlaiþ, yah qam in seinai baurg.	and oferseglode, and com on his ceastre. (9.1)
Þanuh biþ ut usiddyedun eis,	Ða hig wæron soþlice utagane,
sai! atberun imma mannan baudana,	hig brohton him dumbne man,
daimonari.	se wæs deoful-seoc.
Yah biþe usdribans warþ unhulþo,	And utdryfenum ðam deofle,
rodida sa dumba.	se dumba spræc. (9.32-33)

The similarities and differences--in word choice, word order, patterning, and idiom--shed much light on both languages. OE ceastre (where the Gothic has baurg) seems a more assimilated borrowing than the glaringly learned daimonari; one notes as well the variation in the Gothic between daimonari and unhulþo (translating δαιμονιζόμενου/δαιμονίον) and baudana (from bauþ) and dumba, which reproduces the OE (translating κωφός in both instances). Bennett's Introduction will prove invaluable in filling a pressing need in Anglo-Saxon studies, especially for those who feel most comfortable with a guide in English. Bennett presents the material clearly and accessibly, offering cultural, historical, and linguistic backgrounds as well as basic grammar. He includes a brief treatment of palaeography, reproducing letter forms and providing two facsimiles, one of the Codex argenteus (though alas, not in color!); for the preliminary exercises he has composed a series of Gothic paragraphs that will allow the new student to immerse himself in the language immediately, and the volume concludes with a forty-five page glossary, a bibliography, and index. Bennett divides the book into twenty-eight chapters, which makes it particularly convenient for study during an American semester. Indeed, the book is designed and executed to allow the student--one who already knows OE or OI especially--in a reading course, or the ambitious scholar on his own to gain a reasonable, useful control of Gothic, and to enjoy himself in doing so.

Another contribution to scholarship and the history of scholarship is the collection of Dorothy Whitelock's essays in History, Law and Literature in

10th-11th Century England (London). This volume complements last year's issue
of From Bede to Alfred, and comes from the same publishers and in the same for-
mat (that is, photocopies of the original articles). This consideration of the
traditions of OE scholarship may properly conclude with acknowledgement of the
tributes to particular teachers and scholars: these include Joseph S.
Wittig's commendation of Norman E. Eliason (Eight Anglo-Saxon Studies, ed.
Wittig, 1-3), the memorials to Bruce Dickins by Kenneth Cameron (Jnl of the Eng.
Place-Name Soc. 11 [1978-79], 1-2) and R. I. Page (Saga-Book of the Viking
Society 20 [1978-79], 4-5), to Fumio Kuriyagawa by Shinsuke Ando (Poetica
[Tokyo] 9 [1978], 1-8), to F. P. Magoun, Jr., by Larry D. Benson (Speculum 56,
696-698), and to J. A. Nist by Julie Knowles (OEN 15.1, 21), and finally Seán Ó
Lúing's retrospective consideration of the career of Robin Flower (Studies
[Dublin] 70, 121-134).

Books intended for children and studies of OE influence on modern
literature and culture are neither reviewed nor listed below.

Works not seen:

Del Lungo Camiciotti, Gabriella. "Le origine della filologia inglese nell'
    antiquaria del XVI secolo." AION 23, filogia germanica (1980), 51-100.
Mazzuoli Porru, Giulia. "I rapporti fra Italia e Inghilterra nei secoli
    VII e VIII." Romanobarbarica 5 (1980), 117-69.
Schneider, Karl. "On Camouflaged Paganism in Anglo-Saxon England." Tokyo
    Medieval Eng. Lit. Discussion Group 19, 28-50.
Stanley, E. G. "The Glorification of Alfred King of Wessex (from...1678
    ...to...1851)." Poetica ((Tokyo) 12, 103-33.
Thomas, Charles. Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500. London.
Wood, Michael. In Search of the Dark Ages. London.

                                                            T. G. H.

2. LANGUAGE

a. Lexicon, Glosses

A. C. Amos, in "Dictionary of Old English: 1980 Progress Report" (OEN 14, no. 2, 11-12), leads us to believe that the writing of the dictionary entries is imminent. The headword lists are coming apace. Another felicitous side effect of the project that should soon be finished by A. Cameron and A. Kingsmill is the bibliography of OE word studies. A. Cameron and A. diPaolo Healey, in "The Dictionary of Old English" (Dictionaries: Jnl of the Dictionary Society of North America 1, 87-96), point out the three recent areas of concern for the Toronto project: the effective treatment of frequent function words, the format for entry writing, and the bibliography of word studies. The material appended to the article is probably of most interest. There is a short clear explanation of the full corpus of OE, the full sentence context for each word accessible through the computer, and the effective means for generating each entry. They also postulate that a student's dictionary of OE, a Latin-OE dictionary, and a ModE-OE dictionary will be easily generated. The entry writing is described under fields evocatively labelled: headword, phonological variants, attested spellings, grammatical information, usage, schema of entry, definitions, citations, collocations, Latin equivalents, references to other OE words, and references to secondary material. M. L. Samuels's "Historical Thesaurus of English: Annual Report, July 1981" (OEN 15, no. 1, 13-14) gives us equally encouraging news about the Glasgow project. J. Roberts has completed the OE slip-making; those materials along with the OED data are now being readied for computer manipulation and semantic classification. Oxford University Press is expected to publish the Historical Thesaurus toward the end of this decade.

C. Peeters, in "On Prediction in Comparative Linguistics" (GL 21, 17-18), briefly continues his meditation on comparative linguistics started in a General Linguistics note the year before. He seems to be balancing his former commentary on the retrospective character of comparative reconstruction with the observation that prediction is based on phonological regularity which makes comparative linguistics the most exact science in the humanities, pace other specialists. Some of the vagaries of our science are pointed out by a number of corrective notes. P. O'Neill's "Old English brondegur" (ES 62, 2-4) argues that the hapax legomenon, which has had rather tentative explanations, is actually an accidental joining by a scribe of OE brond (Latin erugini) "blight" and OE egur (Latin grandini) "cataclysm." Their proximate position in an original marginal or interlinear gloss might have caused a non-native scribe to assume their relationship. J. E. Cross, in "Old English leasere" (N&Q 28, 484-86), argues that the Bosworth-Toller definition "jester" may well apply in one instance but in other applications would represent a "macabre sense of humour." The other instances seem to reflect the development of a post-classical sense "guard, official." V. Edden, in "'And my boonus han dried vp as critouns': the History of the Translation of Psalm 101.4" (N&Q 28, 389-92), shows that Latin cremium "brushwood" has had a wide variety of extreme glosses in OE: moes "moss," tofan/tofaran? "to be scattered," or cofan? "chamber." However, an association with Latin frixorium "residue from fat meat" is also clear. The ME translations of the word are the older craukes and the later critouns "scratchings"; still later the concept of "scratchings" disappears and a variety of strategies is developed for rendering the psalm. K. N. Val'dman's "Istoricheskoe izmenenie drevneangliĭskikh omonimov--naritsatel'nykh sushchestvitel'nykh i toponimov" (VLU, no. 2, 90-95) compares the stability of

compounds as common nouns and place names. Out of 614 Bosworth and Toller two-component common nouns only fourteen are still in use. The homonymous place-names from Ekwall and English Place-Name Society surveys have fared better; 26 are preserved in somewhat modified forms.

J. E. Cross, in "Passio Symphoriani and OE cun(d): for the Revision of the Dictionary" (NM 82, 269-75), presents an argument that the apparent variant of cun(d) for cild is indeed a valid word. His evidence comes from the composer/translator's habitual methods of operation. He finds that OE cun(d) is the reasonable equivalent of Latin natus "son" in a parallel relationship with OE cynnan to Latin nascor, both "to give birth to." P. Lendinara, in "Ags. fahame" (AION 23 [1980], 191-96), rejects the idea most recently articulated by Bammesberger that OE fahame is the result of a scribal error. A very general meaning such as "food" seems likely in the contexts in which it occurs. Its re-occurrences lead to the idea that it is not a scribal error. S. Ono's "Supplementary Notes on ongietan, undergietan, and understandan" (Poetica 12, 94-97) belongs to a forthcoming article on the OE equivalents of Latin cognoscere and intelligere. Gorrell's observation that OE ongietan is frequently used in the Alfredic period and OE undergietan and understandan replace it in the later periods is confirmed. There is, however, also a dialect matter in the set of words. The careful classification of different documents shows that OE ongietan is the Anglian choice with no occurrence of OE understandan in the sense "to understand." C. E. Fell's "A Note on Old English Wine Terminology: the Problem of cæren" (NMS 25, 1-12) is in some ways more about viticulture than lexicography, but its expert concerns make it more careful about the meanings of the words than a lexicographer could normally be. OE cæren is naturalized like its companions OE win, eced, and must and not a foreigner like its companions Latin defrut and sape. Her view of the use of OE cæren "a sweetening agent" (not "a sort of wine, boiled wine") is predicated on particular uses, but there seem to be a lot of indications that it was used in a more general sense like OE must "must, a new wine," which is also a sweetening agent. At any rate, she must be right that the use was complex and perhaps more widely spread than usually acknowledged.

B. A. E. Yorke's "The Vocabulary of Anglo-Saxon Overlordship" (ASSAH 2, 171-200) surveys the evidence concerning the EOE terminology for overlords and overlordship. The OE bretwalda "ruler of Britain" in fact only appears once--in the Parker Manuscript of the Chronicle. The other texts of the Chronicle, perhaps more dependable, all have variants of the OE brytenwalda "wide or powerful ruler." Bede's use of Latin imperium next to regnum appears more of an equation than the distinction between "overlordship" and "simple kingship" that many scholars have sought. The application of Latin imperator in its three scant occurrences is without particular significance. The vast majority of descriptive terms for overlordship seem to refer to the ruler as rex, along with an accurate description of the people over which he claimed direct rule, e.g., rex Suthanglorum. I. Lohmander's dissertation, Old and Middle English Words for 'Disgrace' and 'Dishonour' Gothenburg Studies in English 49 (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.), makes a virtue out of arbitrariness: the explanation of methods of exclusion and inclusion is long, but not comforting. This simple representation of the semantic field for words having the concept "shame/disgrace" in them is for English translations of Latin in EOE prose, classical OE, and LME. OE bismer "disgrace, shame, insult" translates a range of Latin words: 26 once and 16 at least twice. The other words used to render these Latin words constitute the data; the list includes verbal and adjectival forms used to rephrase the Latin nouns. The first semantic

field entails "an activity of showing contempt or disgrace," subcategorized between devil and man, man and God, and man and man. The man and man relationship is made up of derision, calumny, or insult. The second semantic field entails "a state of shame," subcategorized as about either misfortune, unchastity, or misbehavior. The reasons for the shifting semantic fields are loosely postulated as French loan word prestige, influence of Latin, and a few Scandinavian words that have preempted the other words (wrong and ill).

Two studies in this year's bibliography provide large glossaries. T. Hunt, in "The Old English Vocabularies in Ms. Oxford, Bodley 730" (ES 62, 201-09), has published glosses and glossaries inserted on ff. 144-6 of this twelfth-century manuscript. The first fragment consists of interlinear Anglo-Norman and some ME glosses. The second is a Latin-OE glossary of birds, fish, and weaving terms. The third consists of individual OE and Anglo-Norman glosses scattered within predominantly Latin glosses. The fourth fragment includes a list of body parts and a vocabulary which corresponds to Ælfric's glossary. In "Contribute del Corpus Glossary al lessico del latino tarde e dell'antico inglese" (Rendiconti dell'Instituto Lombardo, Classe di lettere e scienze morali e storiche, 113 [1979], 55-80) C. Milani lists lexical items in late Latin and in OE that appear in the Corpus Glossary that are not recorded, or at least not in that form, in other glossaries. Her primary focus, however, is on late Latin.

In "The Use of Other Latin Manuscripts by the Glossators of the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels" (N&Q 28, 6-11) A. S. C. Ross suggests that Farman and Owun worked at Chester-le-Street where they used Aldred's gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels and that they never worked at Harewood at all. Ross also shows that Aldred made at least some use of the Latin of the Rushworth Gospels in his gloss of the Lindisfarne Gospels, so Rushworth must have taken to Chester-le-Street at that time.

Two articles in this year's bibliography concern the Lindisfarne Gospels glosses. The first, "The Differences Between Lindisfarne and Rushworth Two" (N&Q 28, 98-116), by P. Bibire and A. S. C. Ross, makes the same points as the previous article by Ross, but it also identifies the language of Rushworth Two as being South Northumbrian while Aldred's Lindisfarne Gospels glosses are North Northumbrian. The authors then show fifteen pages of differences between the two sets of glosses in terms of comparisons, number, case, tense, mood, etc. The second is also by Ross: "Aldredian Comments on Two Articles by the Late Professor Flasdieck" (Anglia 99, 390-93). In it, Ross points out that Flasdieck used inaccurate editions for his articles on Aldred's glosses of the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Durham Ritual and that he discussed non-existent forms, gave forms as occurring only once when they occurred more than once, and ignored altered forms and most of the alternate forms.

Two studies in this year's bibliography reject earlier interpretations of individual words in various glosses. In "Vier altenglische Interpretamenta des Épinal-Erfurt Glossars" (Anglia 99, 383-89) A. Bammesberger amends the Pheifers' interpretation of four words in the Épinal-Erfurt Glossaries. He suggests that gitiungi in Ep. 97 means "manifestation," that fex in Ep. 430a does not mean "feather" but "hair," that satul in Erf. 926 does not mean "saddle" but comes from OE setl, and that suollaen in Ep. 1018 does not mean "swelling" but is the past participle of the strong verb swellan. R. Derolez and U. Schwab, in "Logðor, ein altenglisches Glossenwort" (SGG 21, 95-125), reject W. Krogmann and H. Marquardt's attempts to connect the OE gloss, logþor,

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as well as the runic logaþore with the ON Loki and Loðurr and suggest instead
that OE logþor be translated as "sorcerer, juggler, trickster."

Works not seen:

Düwel, Klaus. "Philologisches zu 'Gilde.'" Das Handwerk in vor- und
frügeschichtlicher Ziet I. Ed. Herbert Jankuhn et al. Abhandlungen
der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Göttingen. Pp. 319-
415.

Grinda, Klaus R. "Altenglisch (ge)gilda, (ge)gildscipe, (ge)gile(e): zu
den Beziechnungen für 'Gilde' und 'Gildemitglied' in vornormannischen
Quellen." Das Handwerk in vor- und Frühgeschichtlicher Ziet I. Ed.
Herbert Jankuhn et al. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften
in Göttingen. Göttingen. Pp. 370-98.

Henry, P. L. "Furor heroicus." Studies in English Language and Early
Literature in Honour of Paul Christophersen. Ed. P. M. Tilling.
Coleraine, N. Ireland. Pp. 53-61.

Jember, Gregory K., and Fritz Kemmler. A Basic Vocabularly of Old English
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b. Syntax, Phonology, Other Subjects

M. Cummings, in "Systemic Analysis of Old English Nominal Groups"
(The Sixth LACUS Forum, Columbia, SC, 1980, pp. 228-42), using a grammar that
he calls "non-generative and polysystemic," seems to argue that a grammar
based on Firthian traditions can best describe a circumscribed set of data,
the nominals of Sermo Lupi Ad Angelos. Since the Systematic Grammar is the
point of the paper, any interest in the discussion comes from whether the
attempt to marry the logical and attributional elements to categorical elements
in an integrated network of representation is informative. Despite its puta-
tively nongenerative character, there is a combination of tree diagram repre-
sentations and expositorily represented binary features. The combination of
features and constructions seems reasonable but without particular motivation
within the confining limits of the paper. R. J. Reddick's "Reason Adverbials
and Syntactic Constraints in Early West Saxon" (Glossa 15, 17-52) raises ques-
tions concerning the transformationalist arguments about why the þe S construc-
tion never occurs clause-internally. The patterns of EWS forþon þe S reason
adverbials suggest that they are generated outside and to the right of the
clause modified. Thus that construction supplies no evidence about the puta-
tive surface structure constraint against clause-internal þe S that has been so
widely accepted by transformationalists.

D. A. Schmidt's dissertation, "A History of Inversion in English"
(DAI 41A, 3089-90), seeks primarily to document historically the difference

between OE and ModE inversions: the two OE inversions, an <u>optional inversion</u> to stress the subject and an <u>obligatory inversion</u> which had variable stress on the subject, the verb, or a preposed constitutent; and the two ModE inversions, a <u>semi-inversion</u> which places heavy stress on the preposed constituent and <u>full inversion</u> which introduces a new topic in discourse. The discussion of levels of stress in OE is certainly a delicate matter which cannot be fully documented, but the hypothesis that spoken OE and French borrowings influenced the changes seems reasonable. However, that these two matters caused the changes would seem to go counter to most of the hard research that has recently been done. J. Rudanko's "A Note on Word Order in Old English" (<u>NM</u> 82, 155-58) enters once more into the problem of the effect of modals on word order in subordinate clauses, particularly in response to Allen. Assuming that modals are verbs rather than auxiliaries, he uses a well-defined rule called Rightward NP Raising, a convention called Transportability, and a surface filter to block *SVOM. The introduction of a surface filter then allows one to get rid of the offending non-construction; such a system can of course account for any arbitrary set of data.

F. Bancila's "Remarks on Syntactic and Semantic Constraints on Subject Formation in English Impersonal Constructions (Diachronic Approach)" (AUB-LLStrăine 28, no. 1, 133-40) starts with useful definitions of <u>impersonal</u> and <u>subject</u>. The impersonal construction shows the absence of the Agent case; the verbs are stative, non-volitional, and about uncontrollable human experience. The tendency to subjectness arises out of the accrual of subject-like properties in Keenan's Promotion to Subject Hierarchy: strongest is position, then case marking, then verb agreement, then transformational properties, and last semantic/pragmatic properties. The rather conventional discussion leads to the assumption of autonomous syntax, but the method of proof shows no more than that it is one possible model of interpretation. W. Elmer, in <u>Diachronic Grammar: the History of Old and Middle English Subjectless Constructions</u>, <u>LArb</u> 97 (Tübingen) uses OE prose and selective material for each century from the 12th to the 17th. He cites five semantic classes characterized by particular verbs for subjectless constructions in OE: 1. <u>hreowan</u> 2. <u>lician</u> 3. <u>behofian</u> 4. <u>weorþan</u> 5. <u>þyncan</u>. He suggests four syntactic classes represented by particular types of constructions: 1. <u>me hreowþ þæse dæde</u> 2. <u>me hreoweþ seo dæd</u> 3. <u>ic hreowe þære dæde</u> 4. <u>me hreoweþ þæt</u>. He presents a non-systematic, multivalent analysis which treats semantic, syntactic, and morphological causes as fostering a complex of changes that lead to personal reanalysis, expressed by animate nouns either becoming subjects or indirect objects with an empty subject. The study strongly suggests that analyses based on single factors, well-defined temporal shifts, and even unified representations for any particular period are dangerous. Most of M. C. Butler's helpful thoughts in the <u>Grammatically Motivated Subjects in Early English</u> (Austin, 1980) have already appeared in print, but its publication in <u>Texas Linguistic Forum</u> does indicate that it was a good dissertation. The examination of five OE texts and six ME texts leads to the conclusion that most ModE dummy subject constructions do not arise from a verb second condition; instead, their sources are in functional, referential morphemes that have been semantically reduced: existential <u>there</u> from a locative; clefting pronouns referring to implicit propositions; and extrapositioning pronouns from forward referencing. He did not find clear evidence of a similar pattern for the impersonal <u>it</u>, since the weather <u>it</u> already seems fairly well entrenched. W. D. Keel's simple argument in "Passives and Grammatical Subject in Old/Middle English" (<u>Papers from the 1979 Mid-America Lingistic Conference</u>, Lincoln, NB, 1980, pp. 376-83) would probably be taken as an obvious semantic side-effect in most syntactic analyses

of passivization. He directs our attention to the cognitive goal of the speaker, either demoting or deleting the logical subject or agent; the grammatical subject is a default from something else, an object or an impersonal.

Although there are no surprises in G. G. Alekseeva's "O variantakh i raznovidnostiakh slozhynkh predlozheniĭ s sopodchineniem v drevneangliĭskom iazyke" (VLU no. 8, 75-80), the one-line English summary at the end of the article is more misleading than useful. Most of the constructions dealt with are rather clearly subordinate rather than coordinate, even taking into consideration the long tradition of not being sure in some cases. Some examples, randomly selected from the Blickling Homilies, Gregory's Pastoral Care, St. Guthlac, and Orosius, are used for a description of complex sentences whose rate of occurrence is inverse to their complexity. Descriptive terms for the seven types of constructions are taken from a variety of sources: attribute, location, object, cause, effect, comparison, condition, and target/goal. J. Krzyszpien's "The Periphrastic Subjunctive with magan in Old English" (SAP 11 [1980 for 1979], 49-64) analyzes the magan+infinitive as an alternative strategy to the inflectional subjunctive. He distinguishes the mood (grammatical devices) from modality (the attitude of the speaker toward what he is saying). Of course the periphrastic expressions take up an ever-widening position as the means of marking the modality. In OE the subjunctive mood alternated with the magan construction in independent clauses of volition, indirect questions, attribution, purpose, and condition. Magan+infinitive seems to have carried the specific sense of objective possibility beyond the non-fact modality of the subjunctive. R. Nagucka, in "The Grammar of OE hatan" (SAP 11, [1980 for 1979], 27-39), chooses to discuss the semantic and syntactic behavior of hatan as "call, name" and "order, bid, command" but not as "giving a promise, making a vow." The active form, passive construction, inflectional passive form, and reduced passive construction of the "naming" sense of hatan seem to represent the underlying performative speech act of naming, even if the surface manifestation is stative. The "command" sense of hatan is rarely passive and represents the underlying performative speech act of requesting. Both underlying senses are performative, transitive, and causative, but the selection of active mode yields "commanding" and stative yields "naming." Rendering hatan with ModE call may reflect its semantic and syntactic distribution.

K. A. Ogulnick's dissertation, "Allomorphy in Linguistic Theory: Strong Verbs and Derived Nouns in German" (DAI 42A, 688), proposes a restrictive morphological theory of related words being derived from a uniform base representation in the lexicon. Grammatical information as primitives in the base allows predictable nominalization from Class I and Class II verbs. The alternative analysis for Ger which classifies base forms only by the allomorphy rules that they take seems to apply reasonably well to a like analysis of OE data. In "Two Notes on the Present Optative in Germanic" (GL 21, 79-84), A. Bammesberger's summary states: The ending for 1sg of the present optative, Gmc *-au^n > Go -au, ON -a, represents IE *oyṃ; WGmc *-ai (> OE, OS, OHG -e) is due to an analogic innovation. 3pl *-ain (> Go -ain-a, ON -e, OE -en, OHG -ēn, OS -en) reflects IE *-oy-ent and corresponds to Gk *-οεν (—> -οιεν) and Av -ayan. K. Dietz's "Die englischen Präterita des Typus went" (Geschichtlichkeit und Neuanfang im sprachlichen Kunstwerk. Studien zur englischen Philologie zu Ehren von Fritz W. Schulze, Tübingen) does not refer to the suppletive character of went, but speaks to the variety of situations where the regular morphophonemic distribution of past tense is replaced by an unexpected /t/ allomorph: after liquids as in spelt; substituting a /t/ for a /d/ as in bent; vowel replace /i:/ > /e/ as in dealt; voiced consonant replaced by a voiceless

consonant as in <u>cleft</u>. The arguments have little to do with the OE forms of the verbs in question.

O. Arngart's "The Word <u>thing</u> in Adverbial Phrases" (<u>NM</u> 82, 368-69) supplements his "Adverbial Phrases with <u>thing</u>" with commentary on a few other occurrences. The expression <u>sure thing</u> is classified as an adverbial, with <u>thing</u> being added as a species of pro-form for -<u>ly</u>; it would parallel <u>sure enough</u>. The OE <u>sumera þinga</u> is added as a parallel to OE <u>nænigra þinga</u> in the original article. L. Kahlas's "Old English 'everyone'" (<u>Papers from the Scandiavian Symposium on Syntactic Variation</u>, Stockholm, 1980, pp. 125-32) tends to illustrate rather than explain OE <u>æghwa</u>, <u>æghwhilc</u>, <u>gehwa</u>, <u>gehwilc</u>, and <u>ælc</u> and their various combinations with forms of <u>man</u> (as a genitive or as a head noun modified by the words) and <u>an</u> in agreement or as a genitive modifier to emphasize individualization. Factors affecting their use seem to have been: syntactic origins (substantival or adjectival); metrical considerations; dialectal, idiolectal or stylistic choices; and Latinate constructions. There remains, however, no real model of explanation or even description. K. Shields, Jr., in "Thoughts About the Dative of Germanic Personal Pronouns" (<u>ABäG</u> 15, 1-16), provides a speculative reconstruction of Gmc personal pronouns in the dative which goes back to a Pre-IE nominal inflection for an oblique case in a paradigm that includes a nominative *-$\emptyset$, an accusative *-<u>N</u>, and an oblique *-<u>s</u>. OE evidence tends to be remote from the argument, but a more generalized example of its reflexes may show up in OE <u>þære</u> and <u>þara</u>.

A. L. Sihler's "Early English Feminine Agent Nouns in -<u>ild</u>: a PIE Relic" (<u>Die Sprache</u> 27, 35-42) is a companion piece to his more extensive "The PIE Origins of the Germanic Nomina Agentis in *-<u>stri(o)n</u>" (1977). The new reconstruction for -<u>ild</u>, like the earlier -<u>ster</u>, suffers from the same dearth of examples. He rejects a correspondence between masculine and feminine forms using -<u>(h)ilde</u> as the simple source as in some proper nouns, but he constructs a complex phonological development from *-<u>stri(o)n</u>. He uses OE <u>læpeldre</u> "platter," <u>neh(h)ebyreldas</u> "neighbors," and <u>færeld</u> "female relative" in a variety of ways, but the bulk of attestations are later as the <u>Ancrene Riwle</u>'s <u>fostrild</u> "nutrix" and <u>gruccild</u> "murmuratrix." The purely speculative reconstruction is at least possible. K. Yamakawa's "The Adverbial Accusative of Duration and Its Prepositional Equivalent. Part I: Old and Middle English" (<u>HJA&S</u> 21 [1980], 1-39) begins to examine how the accusative of temporal extension survives into ModE alongside the use of equivalent prepositional phrases, typically with <u>for</u>. Their semantic equivalency seems to be a function of ModE, but this paper concerns itself with the uses in OE (<u>West Saxon Gospels</u>, <u>Beowulf</u>, <u>Blickling Homilies</u>, and Ælfric's <u>Lives of Saints</u>) and ME (<u>Laymon's Brut</u>, <u>Wycliffite Gospels</u>, <u>The Canterbury Tales</u>, Malory's <u>Works</u>). He postulates six types in both prepositional and non-prepositional forms. He believes that the use of adverbial accusative of duration is advancing, but that the prepositional forms proceed negligibly. It is difficult to discern what the concepts like <u>maturity</u>, <u>progress</u>, and <u>advance</u> mean in this statistical linguistic setting. Perhaps the second part of the paper will clarify this. G. Mirarchi, in "Il duale ellittico nella poesia anglosassone. I. <u>Widsith</u> 103; II. <u>Cristo e Satana</u> 409; III. <u>Genesi</u> 387; IV. <u>Beowulf</u> 2002; V. <u>La Discesa all' Inferno</u> 135" (<u>AION</u> 23 [1980], 197-257), spends sixty pages examining the contexts of the five best known occurrences of dual pronouns in OE and comes to the conclusion that one is a type of preposed adverbial marker for a proper noun and that the other four are indeed regular duals which require a knowledge of their contexts to be understood completely.

Although P. Ramat's Introduzione alla linguistica germanica (Bologna, 1980) is above the introductory level and very general in topic, he has made some particular choices in his wide-ranging synchronic rather than diachronic description of the phonology, morphology, and syntax of early Gmc. He pays reasonable attention to recent theorizing and scholarship, but any attempt at a coherent or unified representation of this scope of reconstructive information is doomed to be nit-picked to pieces by writers with more modest localized aims and particular passions. His choices, ranging from a musical accent in PIE to a claim for the very early onset of SVO order in Gmc, will leave him open to specific critical attacks.
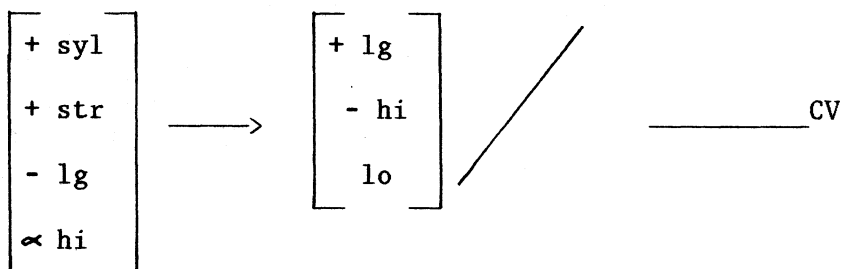
In "Linguistics, Literary Criticism, and Old English" (Mediaevalia 5 [1979], 1-14), M. Marino argues that despite recent attacks on linguistics by some literary critics, linguistic theory can help critics make informed decisions about OE literature. He emphasizes, however, that a methodology inherent in a linguistic theory is not the same thing as a discovery procedure. Since both linguists and literary critics share language as their subject matter, although with different foci, it is inconceivable that they should have nothing to share with each other.

Two recent articles on runes discuss the runic system in general, and two others deal with specific runic inscriptions. In "The Emergence of the Viking Runes" (MGS 7, 107-116), A. Liestøl presents a very logical and methodical explanation of the process by which the older twenty-four runes were reduced to the Viking futhark of sixteen runes. He argues that the changes were probably made by one person whose goal was economy, and he explains how specific sound changes as well as the decision to use one symbol each for the pairs of voiced and voiceless homorganic stops permitted the reduction of the number of runes in the system to occur. Liestøl uses the inscriptions on the Swedish Rök stone in both the older and the younger futhark as the basis for his analysis. R. Derolez, in "The Runic System and Its Cultural Context" (MGS 7, 19-26), touches on several specific runic problems in his broad discussion of the runic system which includes the acrophonic names of the runes, the "perfect fit" between graphemes and phonemes, the order of the runes, their division into three groups, etc. He suggests that the fifteenth rune, the old z-rune, was adapted to represent the Latin x in OE transcriptions because it had already become superfluous in writing OE. He also argues that the key to translating the inscription in the right side of the Auzon casket is that each vowel-rune has been replaced by the rune which ends its acrophonic name. Further, he suggests that the creator of the futhark created i and j runes for use in initial positions because the i/j and u/w alternations occurred only medially and finally; thus the new j-rune ᛡ was established. This j is shown to be identified with the ON j-rune, and Derolez attributes this to continual contacts between Scandinavia and England.

In the first of the articles with specific runic inscriptions, "The Inscription of the Nordendorf Brooch I: A Double Reading in Line III?" (MGS 7, 38-49), U. Schwab argues that the first word inscribed on the sixth-century South Germanic brooch's headplate, logaþore, should be considered a personal name of the receiver of the fibula and suggests that the last part of the third word, wigiþonar, may have meant not only the name of the god, þonar, but because of the doubly-carved i-rune before it and the small l-rune above the o-rune, may also have the meaning lonari referring either to the god as a "giver of victory" or "one who recompenses by distributing the spoils of war." See also Derolez and Schwab above in 2a. In "Le iscrizioni runiche di Monte

Sant'Angelo sul Gargano" (Vetera Christianorum 18, 157-172), M. G. Aracamone discusses three runic inscriptions found in the crypt of the basilica of St. Michael at Monte Sant'Angelo in 1949. She attributes the inscriptions to Northumbrian pilgrims visiting the basilica between 670 and 869 and transliterates the inscriptions as: hereberehct, wigfus, and herræd.

There are three articles touching on dialects in this year's work. In "Old Frisian and Old English Dialects" (Us Wurk 30, 49-66), H. F. Nielsen examines all of the similarities between Old Frisian and one or more of the OE dialects and concludes that none of the OE dialects is a direct descendant of Old Frisian but that most of the post-invasion parallels, which occur in southern OE dialects and particularly in Kentish, are the result of post-invasion contacts across the North Sea. In "$\bar{Æ}_1$" (York Papers in Linguistics 8, 49-54), R. M. Hogg argues rather forcefully that Gmc *$\bar{e}$, developed into a pre-West Saxon *$\bar{a}$ and a pre-Anglian *$\bar{æ}$ and that both vowels were then fronted and raised respectively to $\bar{æ}$ and $\bar{e}$ during the Anglo-Saxon Brightening. T. Matsushita, in "On Middle English Lengthening in Open Syllables" (SELit 57, 229-45), shows that to generate dialect differences in the lengthening in open syllables in the grammar of ME, it is necessary to have a General Open Syllable Lengthening Rule (GOSL):

$$
\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ syl} \\ + \text{ str} \\ - \text{ lg} \\ \propto \text{ hi} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ lg} \\ - \text{ hi} \\ \text{lo} \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \underline{\hspace{2cm}} CV
$$

and to specify the value of the variable and specific conditions in each dialect where the open Syllable Lengthening occurs as follows where (N)HV stands for (non-) high vowels:

		e Anglia	n Midland and North	Mid and South
NHV	GOSL	$\begin{bmatrix} \propto = - \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} \propto = - \\ \\ \begin{bmatrix} \beta \ 1 \ o \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \propto \text{ tns} \end{bmatrix} \\ \\ \propto = + \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} \propto = - \end{bmatrix}$
HV		$\begin{bmatrix} \propto = + \end{bmatrix}$		

J. P. Crowley's dissertation, "The Study of Old English Dialects" (DAI 42A, 1125), purports to synthesize everything known about OE dialects including: the history of the period as it relates to dialects; the textual and non-textual evidence of dialects with particular attention to names, inscriptions, and coins; and seven major criteria for dialect differentiation: West Saxon $\bar{æ}^1$/ non-WS $\bar{e}$; breaking/retraction, i-mutation, and Anglian smoothing; WS and Northumbrian diphthongization of vowels after inital palatals; Kentish and Mercian back mutation, Mercian second fronting; Kentish fronting and raising to $\breve{e}$; WS and late Kentish syncope in present indicatives; and vocabulary.

Two other articles deal with specific OE sound changes without regard to dialect. In "A Note on the Development of Old English [x] to Middle English [f]" (NM 82, 1-4), T. Lauttamus argues that the sound change in the title is a

they express" (p. 74).

Rosemary Woolf's remark that Juliana led OE poetry "into a blind alley" becomes the text of the following chapters. Calder first presses the need to admit that Juliana, as a saint's life, is not mimesis but a work in which the characters "become figures in a religious and poetic calculus, ciphers in a set of coordinates that reveal Christian truths" (p. 79). Cynewulf "turns the realistic Latin version [of Juliana's Acts] into a sharply etched ritual drama" (p. 82). Much of the remaining discussion has to do with how Cynewulf animates this drama, by scaling it as a contest in "the eternal war between the dryht of heaven and the dryht of hell" (p. 85), by polarizing the forces within the poem so that earthly mercy and power appear to "burlesque God's true mercy and dominion of paradise" (p. 87), and by exaggerating verbal contrasts so that divine and human love or riches--eadlufan and eadge (pp. 81, 85, 88)--are defined by exclusion. Calder contends that, however much we may relish it, the "combat with the devil is mainly symbolic" (p. 94). Cynewulf's distinctive achievement is perhaps clearer here than in the poems discussed earlier, as Calder's final estimate indicates: "Out of an undistinguished prose life, domestic in tone and sentimental in detail, Cynewulf has fashioned an abstractly conceptualized poem" (p. 103). Although Calder carefully--even defensively--refrains, throughout his study, from making evaluative judgments about Cynewulf's poetry, in the next chapter he indicates, indirectly at least, that "Elene does represent the most refined example of [the poet's distinctive] techniques" (p. 105). In his analysis, Calder elaborates on these techniques, particularly the serial organization of matter, the "reflecting panels which both mirror one another and yet stand in sharp contrast," and the use of typology. Although Calder denies the presence of typological thought in Christ II, he argues here that a concentration of signal "details and perspectives make a figural interpretation...attractive" (p. 112). Though the narrative elements in Elene are more striking than in the other poems, "Cynewulf's careful patterning shows that he is concerned with more than simple narrative" (p. 127). Calder is especially impressive and enlightening in his discussion of how these figural elements shape Cynewulf's presentation of the Jews and Judas in the poem: "The Jews' 'emotional' state must be read not as a psychological description but as a statement about their spiritual condition" (p. 116). Elene's condemnation of them is likewise figural, signifying "þæt we fæstlice ferhð staðelien" and that they represent traditional "duritia cordis." Cynewulf's use of hypermetric lines to convey their confusion (p. 122), and his recourse to images of darkness and light to figure forth Judas's "spiritual blindness" and conversion (p. 125) substantiate this portrayal. Calder suggests, moreover, that Cynewulf as poet writes himself into the poem and into this pattern: he "is the fourth protagonist, the last in the series, who enacts within his soul the thematic pattern he has so carefully constructed in the narrative" (p. 134). Elene, as an artifact, is therefore a pattern and, like the Cross it celebrates, a "holy object making the invisible visible and revealing to all men the truth of that sacramental vision" (p. 138).

The final chapter, "Cynewulf's Style and Achievement," restates in more compact and direct form the arguments of the earlier chapters, and Calder expands upon several of these points in arriving at a general estimate of Cynewulf's corpus. He reviews the studies of Das and Schaar, and from these identifies as distinctive traits Cynewulf's "habitual emphasis on abstract ideas" (p. 141) and his "use of the compound/complex series" (p. 142). Faced with four disparate poems, Calder makes a virtue of necessity in declaring their unity in "that for Cynewulf each poem was a conscious experiment" (p. 143).

The results of such "radical exercises in perspective" are mixed: the Fates joins "the styles of epic, riddle, and gnome to produce a heroic enigma" (p. 147); though the conception behind Juliana is simple but not simplistic, the poem puts off many readers. Taking a note from W. P. Ker, Professor Calder suggests that we may think of Cynewulf as "a mannerist poet...[for] his interest in experimenting with the decoration of poetic surfaces" (p. 165). He connects this trait with Cynewulf's status as a learned poet, with his "training in Latin grammar and rhetoric"; it is this knowledge that in part provides the resources for his "myriad of attention-calling devices...the runes, rhyme, puns, anaphora, and the expert restructuring of his sources" (p. 167). Cynewulf's originality--like so much that is distinctive in OE culture--lies in his adaptive techniques: "his changes in the received structures do not merely rearrange details; they are absolute.... Cynewulf took his task to be the weaving of one literature into another, and the result is a new clarity of OE poetry" (p. 170). Calder's Cynewulf contributes much to our understanding of this new clarity, and the book will certainly have its place as the standard guide to the poems and as a source of encouragement for further study of them.

In another publication of general significance "Histories and Surveys of Old English Literature: a Chronological Review" (ASE 10, 201-244), Professor Calder offers an overview of general histories of OE literature, drawing together more than two hundred seventy-five years of scholarship. More impressive even than the comprehensive character of the essay are the contrasts that emerge among the various approaches and understandings. Many of the most intriguing items discussed are, not surprisingly, among the earlier and therefore less well known contributions; nonetheless, their interest is not merely antiquarian, for the contents and vantage points of such publications illustrate the "shifts in taste and attitude towards OE literature," and, even more revealingly, the persistence of certain themes and idées fixes through centuries, even into modern and contemporary criticism. In this illustration, Calder's survey resembles E. G. Stanley's Search for Anglo-Saxon Paganism and his essay of last year on the Greenfield-Robinson Bibliography, and Calder's own review of criticism which makes up the introduction to OE Poetry: Essays on Style (1979). Calder begins with Hickes's Thesaurus (1705), which, in its censure of the poetry for "its obscure transpositions of words, its tendency towards periphrases and cryptic utterance...its frequent synonymic appositions and its delight in ellipsis," stands as a prototype for much criticism that follows. He reports the schematic notions--for example, that OE writings represent the childhood of the race--that shape scholarly histories like Warton's and Sharon Turner's, and considers more impressionistic yet significant responses, like Longfellow's. In the course of his survey, Calder analyzes a great number of histories by foreign scholars, including Etmüller (1847), Bensch (1853), Eichoff (1853), Taine (1863), ten Brink (1877), Wülker (1885), Körting (1887), Ebert (1887), Jusserand (1894), Brandl (1901), Schröer (1906), Sarrazin (1913), Pierquin (1914), Legouis (1924), and Schücking (1927). In his sketches, Calder does an excellent job of characterizing each history and marking out its eccentricities and deficiencies; he perhaps does not do quite so well at indicating why certain works--those by Wülker or Brandl, say--retain a scholarly readership, while others are forgotten or ridiculed. The answer may simply be a deeper knowledge and higher concentration of primary texts in these authors. The English and American scholars discussed by Calder far outnumber the foreign, and here what is most memorable is often what is most eccentric: Stopford Brooke (1898), for example, opines that "Questions of race are often questions of literature," and describes Beowulf as possessing "the gentleness of Nelson,

and his firmness in battle.... Fear, as also in Nelson, is wholly unknown
to him"; W. V. Moody (1905) observes that "Whenever an Anglo-Saxon poet men-
tions the sea, his lines kindle." In his evaluations of these various studies,
Calder gratefully comes directly to the point: he remarks the "genteel and
insipid romanticism" of Wardale (1935), the "idiosyncratic opinions [with] more
than historical interest" of Hulbert (1935), Kennedy's "hushed reverence before
the Christian texts" (1943), Malone's "perfunctory" survey (1948), Anderson's
"political and ideological gush" and his "check-list of clichés" (1949), Green-
field's comments on prose which seem "a duty performed" (1965), Wrenn's "pallid
criticism that does not venture beyond comfortable impressionism" (1965), and
Pearsall's "idiosyncratic or...archaic" evaluations (1977). Writing a his-
tory such as Calder's is a thankless, recapitulative task, though one useful in
a wide range of ways; moreover, the serial nature of the effort poses a terrible
temptation to parade the flaws of the work under review. Listing critiques, as
I have done above, distorts Professor Calder's achievement, for he finds much
to admire and along the way he offers numbers of insights on literary history
and methodology and on the texts themselves. Yet the list also makes clear
that in at once looking over such a body of material, where a history does not
seem pallid and obvious, it almost needs seem bizarre or eccentric. Perhaps,
as a result, such a survey underrates a book like Wrenn's. Calder omits no
major publication from consideration, though he might well have considered the
essays in Continuations and Beginnings, ed. E. G. Stanley (1966), which, if it
does not fit the formal category of a survey, was intended as a careful broad
view and deserves remark among the best. Calder ends his review on an optimis-
tic note: "We are in a better position than our predecessors have ever been to
analyse the literature, both poetry and prose, without preconceptions." Perhaps
so; or is this merely a characteristic historicist perspective? The concluding
list of specific achievements in OE studies impresses, and sounds the challenge
for a "literary historian who can exploit all these resources in a sustained,
responsive, and intellectually vigorous criticism"--if indeed such qualities
and knowledge may abide in a single human repository.

   The reissue of John C. Pope's Seven OE Poems restores to teachers
and students of OE what is both a valuable resource for language and literary
study and a landmark of sorts in literary history. This edition retains every-
thing from the original and adds a bibliography of recent publications. While
Seven OE Poems has exercised broad popular influence, it demonstrates an exten-
sive knowledge of poetic context, and several articles explore particular as-
pects of Anglo-Saxon culture and traditions. Marie M. Walsh, in "St. Andrew
in Anglo-Saxon England: The Evolution of an Apocryphal Hero" (AnM 20, 97-122),
begins her discussion of the traditions surrounding St Andrew with a consider-
ation of the apocryphal Acts, which, though condemned by Church authorities,
made up one of the fundamental sources for calendars, martyrologies, and later
lives. The cultus of Andrew produced a variety of narratives, and its inten-
sity was such that the English dedicated six hundred thirty-seven Churches to
him before the Reformation, and in the seventh and eighth centuries his cult
followed only those of Mary and Peter. Andrew's glory was celebrated in the
liturgy; in hymns by Bede, Aldhelm, Alcuin, and others; and in homilies by
Bede and Ælfric. The latter's homily clearly demonstrates the blending of
scriptural and apocryphal traditions, and the two parts of the homily actually
appear separately in several MSS. Ælfric's source for the second part of his
homily depended on the primary acts of Andrew, while Andreas and the account
of Andrew in the Blickling Homilies derive from the secondary acts. In the
second part of her article, Walsh analyzes the allusive, accretive technique
of Andreas, comparing it--especially in the embedding of scriptural echoes and

resonances--to a Latin poetical version of Andrew's life. She argues that such evidence, in particular the constant recourse to the Acts of the Apostles, shows clearly that the OE poet, no less than his Latin counterpart, possessed an unmistakeable doctrinal intention, and, further, that this ultimate reliance on the apocryphal traditions produces a characteristic scriptural tone that en- hances the poem's artistry and appeal.

Thomas H. Bestul's study, "Ephraim the Syrian and Old English Poetry" (Anglia 99, 1-24), seems, at first, a rather narrow Quellenforschung, but the essay finally represents a model for assessing the literary and intellectual borrowings of particular writings. At various times and by different scholars, Ephraim has been named as a source or analogue for Elene and Christ III; his ascetic treatises have been associated with Andreas, Juliana, Guthlac, The Dream of the Rood, Judgment Day II, and Soul and Body. Most of these connec- tions rest on verbal parallels, and in the latter part of his study Bestul cites--and refutes--what seem to him the most worthy examples of possible in- fluence. The first part of the essay proposes a method of investigation that may result in more certainty on such issues: here Bestul attempts as full a consideration as possible of textual and manuscript traditions. He discusses the possible transmission of Greek texts through Ireland, Spain, North Africa, and by way of the continent; he examines the record and influence of transla- tions of Ephraim into Latin; and most importantly, he scrutinizes manuscript traditions--the authors and texts with whom Ephraim's writings circulated, the centers that reproduced his treatises (arguing here for possible influence through MSS in Luxeuil and perhaps Beneventan scripts), and the relative dates and patterns of transmission. Bestul concludes that, according to available evidence, Ephraim exercised no influence on OE writings; if scholars accept this as the final word, he will effectually have shut the door on this small corridor of research. Yet the issues raised, directly or indirectly--for ex- ample, how reliable or eccentric the patterns of MS survival are--will doubt- less offer provocation to others who come to Ephraim and these texts.

A number of other articles attempt to define the nature and extent of particular traditions. In "The Soldier of Christ in Old English Prose and Poetry" Joyce Hill (LeedsSE n.s. 12, 57-80) shows that the miles Christi was a Latin image with an extensive literary pedigree that Anglo-Saxon writers adapted to their use with self-conscious subtlety. Her discussion refutes the idea that the influence went the other way, that is, that OE poets and prose writers made a native, Teutonic category of thought to fit Christian tradition with procrustean ruthlessness. The spiritual struggle recast in the imagery of the battlefield has scriptural precedent and the idea of the believer as miles Christi occurs in apostolic and patristic writings; related concepts and meta- phors penetrate OE texts first through translations and glosses, as in the Benedictine Rule, and in the Lives of the Saints and the Martyrology where, for example, campode signifies "was martyred." Other figures, such as the siege of the soul, combat against the devil, and even human combat as a trial of faith occur widely. A sustained examination of Guthlac A demonstrates that while the poet openly adopts the tradition of Christian militarism, he consciously avoids vocabulary that would connect the saint directly with the "secular" heroic tra- dition. Likewise, the imagery of siege warfare in Juliana borrows from spiri- tual writings, not native poetic conventions. The Fates of the Apostles, on the other hand, "lacks the stylistic tact" of the saints' lives, and its language echoes more fully descriptions of heroic conflict, and Andreas mixes these traditions to a yet greater extent.

Thomas D. Hill, in "Invocation of the Trinity and the Tradition of the
Lorica in Old English Poetry" (Speculum 56, 259-267), begins by pointing out the
relative infrequency in OE writings of direct appeals to the persons of the
Trinity by name. After examining eight poetical passages--from Judith, Christ
II, Juliana, the journey charm, and elsewhere--he argues that their similari-
ties "reflect a formal convention in OE poetry," and that this convention
shares the essential features of loricae: prayers uttered to the Trinity for
safety in time of distress. Hill provides several Celtic examples, in Old Irish
and Latin; these demonstrate the likenesses, but they reveal as well how the OE
convention differs from the loricae. The former are ordinarily briefer and more
restrained than loricae, and they resemble formal prayers much more than they do
charms. These conventional passages, embedded within literate and sophisticated
poems, yet clearly popular in origin, indicate that archaic habits of thought
survived into the historical period. Indeed, one suspects that references to
the tree called "chi" in the prose Salomon and Saturn, allusions to the power
of the tau, and other invocations of the Cross display elements of quite similar
traditional beliefs.

The inspiration for Fred C. Robinson's "...Experiment in Editing"
(Eight Anglo-Saxon Studies, ed. J. Wittig, pp. 4-19) may well have arisen from
the text at hand, the envoi to the Ecclesiastical History. This essay in effect
constitutes the second part of a study begun in the article "OE Literature in
its Most Immediate Context" (see YWOES 1980, OEN 15.1, 77-78). The envoi con-
sists of two petitions, usually ascribed to Bede and common to Latin and OE
versions of the History, and a third metrical petition of ten lines unique to
CCCC MS.41. Robinson characterizes the envoi as "a text of composite author-
ship and mixed form," and points out that no editor of the MS or the History
has allowed it "to stand as the composite unit which it was intended to be."
Professor Robinson argues here, as well as in his earlier essay, that medieval
readers would have regarded this scribal addition as an integral part of Bede's
text. Moreover, scribes like this one clearly reckoned themselves editors or
even collaborators of the original author, and insofar as their revisions and
insertions are intentional, they deserve editorial respect in their own right.
Robinson in turn collaborates with the scribe in preserving his work in its
original context, and publishing all of "Bede's" envoi. In his introduction,
he considers several possible emendations and transpositions that would improve
the metrical regularity of the piece--and that, if adopted, would certainly
reflect the editorial practice of such scribes--but the text presented repro-
duces the MS (though without the surprising number of errors that had accumu-
lated in editions of the piece). The notes help to illuminate further the
context of this representative fragment, and to evince its connections with
ideas and practice in other OE writings.

Another pair of articles examines the portrayal of women in OE liter-
ature. Jane Chance Nitzsche begins her discussion of "The Anglo-Saxon Woman as
Hero" (Allegorica 5.2 [1980], 139-148) with a brief survey of the roles allotted
to women in Saxo Grammaticus, Maxims I, the Chronicle (the lives of Seaxburh,
Cuthburh, Æthelburh, and Æthelflaed), the Martyrology, and Ælfric's Lives of
the Saints. She suggests that the inferiority of women is a distinctive feature
of Anglo-Saxon literature and society, urging that pejorative notions of effemi-
nacy "perhaps can be explained" in part through Asser's use of the adverb
"muliebriter" to describe the cowardly behavior of pagans. Yet such associa-
tions, however lamentable, have scriptural precedent and certainly exist in
Latin literature: Plautus, for example, has a character declare, "non me
arbitratur militem, sed mulierem," and Cicero exhorts his audience, "ne quid

serviliter muliebriterve faciamus." Nitzsche argues that in the saints' lives "sado-masochistic torture often veils with obvious sexual symbolism the act of intercourse," and that praiseworthy virgin-martyrs reject human sexuality because they enjoy "a spiritual bond with the Perfect Man that resembles the sexual one." She explains the suppression of female traits in portrayals of women as the allegorical domination of reason over sensuality according to the mythographers (though this seems really a later tradition separate from heroic literature and hagiogrpahy), and concludes by offering as a paradigm for the motives of such writers the suggestions presented in a paper on "The Solo Woman in a Professional Peer Group": "Anglo-Saxon men projected their fears of sexuality onto women," and so portrayed them favorably only when "women repressed and denied all sexual desires and manifestations through exemplary chasity and spiritual devotion." This is an area of study where much interesting work has appeared in the last few years, though much remains to be done. Another possible approach to understanding the cultural position of women is offered in Helen Damico's article on the "Valkyrie Reflex" (Allegorica 5.2 [1980], 149-167). The essay adduces literary "parallels suggest[ing] that both the Nordic and Anglo-Saxon poets availed themselves of a stock female character that was so embedded in Germanic heroic literature tradition that, in its depiction, religious or national boundaries were ignored." Damico discusses the portrayal of Modthrytho and Grendel's Mother in Beowulf, the charms "Wiδ færstice" and "Wiδ ymbe," and, in more detail, Judith and Juliana. One difficulty with the argument is that wælcyrgean occurs only in prose texts--Wulfstan, Cnut's letter, Wonders of the East, and the vocabulary lists--and so the discovery of valkyries in the poetry requires a certain amount of reading in. Although male heroic epithets characterize the female warriors, similarities to the woman warriors of the Edda include splendid martial adornment, especially the wearing of rings (OI baugr, OE beag), application of the epithet beorht, boldness in action, and more-than-human status as intercessor.

Finally, two other articles consider in a general way the character of OE literature. Lamar York, in "The Early English Lyricist" (Neophil 65, 473-479), declares that "the speakers in 'Deor' and 'Widsith' present themselves so compellingly as poets" that we perhaps imagine all OE makers as lyricists of this sort. Yet, within the "multilingual culture" of English monasticism, vernacular poetry may have been practiced and appreciated. York cites evidence from Bede's History, and from letters by Bede and St Boniface, that instruction and business were often conducted in English at monasteries. "What I would like finally to show, then, is not how far apart but how close together were the monastery and the mead hall...in a sense the two, miles Christus [sic] and miles gloriosus, collaborated." Tim D. P. Lally, in "Synchronic vs Diachronic Popular Culture Studies and the Old English Elegy" (5000 Years of Popular Culture, ed. Fred E. H. Schroeder [Bowling Green, Oh., 1980]), argues that artifacts may fit several different categories of popularity: those that begin as synchronically elite--appreciated by few in their own time --may become diachronically popular. In order to characterize a particular work, scholars should examine the fictive audience implicit in the structure of the composition. Partly on the basis of such analysis, Lally envisions a revival of interest in the elegies: they might well "attract over the next quarter century as many readers as persons who attend one well-regarded stock-car race or perhaps a couple of pancake derbies." The appeal of poems like the Wanderer lies in the modern American desire for community, engagement with the social environment, and the sharing of social responsibility; the appeal within the poem is its awareness of the transitory nature of earthly splendor, joy and security, and the pattern of loss and consolation. Lally's examples for

comparison--Gunsmoke, Star Wars, Archie Bunker--are provocative, but the details of the argument remain perhaps even more problematic than Lally allows: for example, how much diachronic interest must an artifact arouse to be considered "popular"? (Do well regarded conferences or talks count as a measure?) And in what genuine sense--oral delivery notwithstanding--are the Homeric epics or OE poetry popular in origin?

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T. G. H.

b.   Individual Poems

     Among a number of very good essays on OE poems published last year,
three stand out as having materially advanced our understanding of the poems
they treat. In "The Figure of Constantine the Great in Cynewulf's 'Elene'"
(Traditio 37, 161-202) Gordon Whatley attempts "to show that Cynewulf's
Constantine, for all the apparent ease and superficiality of his conversion, is
just as important and substantial a figure, just as rich and profound, figura-
tively and poetically, as the archetypally Judaic Judas and the imperious
female emissary of the church militant who confronts him." Whatley demon-
strates "that Constantine is depicted in Cynewulf's poem as the Gentile suc-
cessor of the Old Testament patriarchs and kings, fulfilling and perfecting
these ancient biblical types in his role as emperor of the new Israel." The
first of the three sections of this learned essay explores the spontaneous con-
version of Constantine in the context of the narrative and religious exemplars
available to the poet and to the authors of his hagiographical sources. The
second section explores "the lineaments of the biblical Constantine in the text
of the poem and in the literary tradition Cynewulf inherited." The final sec-
tion, which brings a wealth of historical material to bear on the poem, demon-
strates how Cynewulf's development of Constantine brings a higher degree of
unity and thematic coherence to the poem than the Latin Inventio itself pos-
sesses. Elene has been well served by critics in the past decade, but even
the best of them (Anderson excepted; see MP 72 [1974], 111-22) have tended
either to ignore or to deemphasize the matter of Constantine. Whatley's
present essay, too complex for more detailed summary here, will take a well-
deserved place beside the very best critical studies of the remainder of the
poem and help establish Elene as now the most fully, carefully, and learnedly
explicated of the poems in the Cynewulf canon.

     The Wife's Lament has probably been the subject of as many diverse
critical interpretations as any OE poem. Karl P. Wentersdorf's "The Situation
of the Narrator in the Old English Wife's Lament" (Speculum 56, 492-516) seems
to me one of the very best of these in that it manages both to deal with the
thematic and linguistic problems in the appropriate historical, linguistic, and
literary contexts and to present a sensible and persuasive critical interpreta-
tion which relies in large part upon previous scholarship but with more con-
vincing results than several earlier scholars were able to produce. The
article is long and too complex for adequate summary; but, in broad outline, it
assumes that the poem falls into four sections, the first of which (lines 1-10)
is a prologue in which the narrator introduces herself and outlines her story.
This, if correct, eliminates the problem raised by the tenses in lines 6-17.
Wentersdorf then turns to two cruces, Folgað secan (line 9) and herheard niman
(line 15). For the latter, he reasserts Grein's suggestion that the compound
should be read as herh-eard, a variant of hearg-eard, and suggests that herheard
niman probably means "to take refuge in a [heathen] sanctuary," just as folgað
secan probably means "to seek refuge." Wentersdorf brings a massive amount of
historical and linguistic evidence to bear on the poem in support of a subtle
but rather simple story line (summarized on pp. 511-16) which eliminates many
of the problems and pseudo-problems noted in earlier scholarship.

     Peter Baker's "The Ambiguity of Wulf and Eadwacer" (SP 78, 39-51) is
a careful and highly enlightened attempt to weed out from the poem those ambig-
uities which are the product of modern scholarship in order to consider the

artful use of those which remain, so as to display "how the poet makes enig-
matic statements and withholds for several lines the information we need to
interpret them, puns with words and phrases that have nearly opposite meanings,
and manipulates the context of the repeated lines so as to shift their meaning."
In the process, he makes several attractice arguments: that lac means "gift"
and only that; that a þecgan be translated either "to feed" or "to kill"; that
lines 2 and 7 are more likely statements than questions; that reotugu is more
highly suggestive of "wild lamentation" than of "decorous tears"; that dogode
ought to be emended; that Eadwacer's name "perhaps suggests that he is the
speaker's guardian or jailer" and "probably is to be identified with se
beaducafa of line 11"; and that the speaker's husband is Wulf. With a few
minor differences, the end result is a reading which is much like that offered
by Bradley in 1888, though more persuasively defended. This will, of course,
disappoint those for whom this poem has provided a source for seemingly limit-
less interpretations of almost every conceivable kind. Still, Baker is prob-
ably right when he asserts that "once we have cleared away the poem's scholarly
encrustations, much ambiguity remains, but this ambiguity is more artistic than
puzzling." Or, as Pogo once put it, "we have met the enemy and he is us."

Several other aspects of the three poems which are subjects of the
essays noted above have been explored in other essays. Barrie Ruth Straus, in
"Women's Words as Weapons: Speech as Action in 'The Wife's Lament'" (TSLL 23,
268-85), applies aspects of speech act theory as originated by J. L. Austin and
refined by John Searle to the Wife's Lament. Using the concept of the illocu-
tionary act "to make precise the way the same proposition can be used differ-
ently--to make an assertion, to ask a question, to give an order, to express a
wish, and so forth--depending on the situation," Straus looks at the three
parts of the poem to demonstrate the way in which the speaker "shows us how
female strength goes beyond endurance and how women act by using words as
weapons." The essay offers some interesting assertions on causality and some
attractive evidence for reading the conclusion as a curse rather than a predic-
tion or a piece of gnomic wisdom. In "'Wulf and Eadwacer': A New Reading"
(Neophil 65, 468-72) Richard F. Giles follows Richard Adams in asserting that
eadwacer is a common noun, "property-watcher," but he disagrees with Adams's
assertion that it refers to Wulf. Giles views the poem as an interior mono-
logue in which the speaker is brought back from a reverie by the crying for
attention of her child. "She speaks to herself when she asks, 'Hearest thou,
Property-watcher?'... The answer to her question, 'our wretched whelp /
The wolf bears to the woods,' is a figurative way of saying, 'While I have been
daydreaming hopelessly I have been neglecting the duties of a parent; our child
has gotten into some sort of mischief.'" Giles views the fact that eadwacer is
masculine as a possible furthering of the irony of the situation in which the
speaker finds herself--as one who has had to assume the male role. Cinzia
Marino's "La Giuliana e l'Elena: una proposta di analisi" (AION 23, filologia
germanica [1980], 101-20) is a structuralist comparison of the two Cynewulfian
poems following the methodology of Vladimir Propp's Morfologija skazki
(Leningrad, 1928). Drawing upon several of the thirty-one functions of the
fabular narrative identified by Propp, Marino attempts to demonstrate a
"struttura monotypica" for the two poems by which Cynewulf communicates to his
audience the triumph of Christianity through the respective victories of the
two heroines. Hiroshi Hasegawa's "Wulf and Eadwacer" (Studies in Stylistics
[Japan] 29 [1979], 56-69) is in Japanese. The English synopsis (pp. 68-9) is
devoted to a survey of earlier scholarship and comments on six difficult words
in the text. The author sides with those who take Wulf as the lover and
Eadwacer as the husband.

Several essays deal with problems concerning genre. In "The Battle
of Maldon: A Historical, Heroic and Political Poem" (Neophil 65, 614-21), W. G.
Busse and R. Holtei are concerned about the fact that a good deal of criticism
on OE poetry tends to "imply generic presuppositions, which have a decisive
bearing on the interpretation of the heroism and the intention of the poem:
according to the view a critic takes of the contemporary social and political
situation, the text is then seen as either completely concordant with or
strikingly contrary to its supposed time of composition." Busse and Holtei
believe that Maldon "is a literary product exhibiting a special dialectic rela-
tion between fiction and reality." They attempt to determine those situations
which come up to the dialectic of the heroic alternatives and decide that only
one of the three choices in the poem--the English warriors' decision to con-
tinue fighting to avenge their fallen lord--applies to the dialectic character
of the heroic situation and thereby establishes the members of the fyrd as the
true heroes of the poem. They conclude that the poem "does not articulate an
old heroic ideal inherited from tradition in a retrospective view, but within
the experience of a literary presentation of the historical event, it urges the
importance of a communal action in the future." In "The Least Elegiac of the
Elegies: A Contextual Glance at The Husband's Message" (SN 53, 69-76) Alain
Renoir expresses doubts that there are any real elegies in OE, but notes that
"whenever I hear the word elegy in connection with Old-English poetry, the
remainder of the discourse usually gives me the impression that I am being told
something about Boethius' Consolation of Philosophy." After brief attention to
the eight other poems in the Exeter Book generally known as elegies, Renoir
turns to the Husband's Message, expanding on Greenfield's opinion that it is
the "least elegiac of the elegies" and asserting that in this poem, unlike the
others, the present is better than the past and the future better than the
present. Noting the reluctance of the recipient of the message and the quali-
fication put on the tone of optimism, Renoir suggests that "what Greenfield has
fittingly described as 'a call to the renewal of the happiness that the
addressee and her husband possessed before feud drove him over the seas' may be
construed as an expectant call without much likelihood of a happy answer in the
foreseeable future." Hence, "the 'least elegiac of the elegies' may occasion-
ally read like the most elegiac of the non-elegies." Elaine Tuttle Hansen, in
"Precepts: An Old English Instruction" (Speculum 56, 1-16), attempts "to re-
examine Precepts on the grounds that our ignorance of its genre--and of the
intentions and conventions governing that genre--may have impeded our under-
standing of the purpose and achievement of the poem." After a brief survey of
the wisdom literatures of Egypt and the near East and of that of Ireland, Hansen
examines a number of themes, conventions, prohibitions, grammatical structures,
and the like, and succeeds in demonstrating that a better appreciation of the
poem can be gained through a fuller understanding of the conventions it employs.
It is possible, of course, that the critical neglect which Hansen laments here
results in part from the elusiveness of a precise source for the poem, but she
has done much to establish the context in which such a source must be sought.
Finally, Peter Orton offers two essays on the influence of one poetic genre on
another. In "The Speaker in The Husband's Message" (LeedsSE n.s. 12, 43-56)
Orton attempts to answer several recent objections to the theory that the
speaker of the poem is a rune-staff. He does so with considerable success, and
in the process he makes some interesting comparisons between the poem and the
riddle genre in their uses of prosopopoeia, noting "a very marked contrast
between the poetic eloquence of the naturally dumb staff, developed to a point
where the audience sometimes finds itself envisaging a human envoy, and the
terseness--one might say, the taciturnity--of the text it bears." Orton sug-
gests, moreover, that the poem may reflect the tendency found in certain OE

riddles such as 93, "inkhorn," "to elaborate the presentation of the persona beyond the requirements of the solver." In opting for gehyre rather than genyre as the crucial reading in line 50, Orton appears to create at least as many problems as he solves (and for me, at least, genyre better suits Orton's own interpretation); but the essay as a whole is a solid and sensible overview of a number of difficult aspects of the poem, with some attractive alternatives provided by way of reinterpretation. In "The Technique of Object Personification in The Dream of the Rood and a Comparison with the Old English Riddles" (LeedsSE n.s. 11 [1980, for 1979], 1-18) Orton examines a number of techniques, found both in the Riddles and in the Dream, "whereby inanimate objects are endowed with volition, emotion, and capacity for action." While Orton finds little verbal resemblance in the extracts he cites from the poem and from the riddles, he notes that the essential forms of poetic procedure are comparable. He argues in conclusion that his evidence "suggests either that the composition of the Dream provided a stimulus toward the development of a more sophisticated form in the riddle genre, or (more probably) that the Dream poet was familiar with the conventions of vernacular riddles, and that he made good use of them to convey the significance of a complex event of supreme importance to his Christian audience."

Three articles on Guthlac enhance our appreciation of various aspects of that poem. In "The Age of Man and the World in the Old English Guthlac A" (JEGP 80, 13-21) Thomas D. Hill, beginning with an explication of line 4b (hafað yldran had) suggests that yldra means simply "older," and notes that in his description of Guthlac's stay in the desert, the poet calls the angel Guthlac's lareow. Citing the Irish De Duodecim Abusivis Saeculi, Hill expands his explication of the theme of youth and age to the state of the world and the poet's concern for the last things. This leads to a fruitful consideration of an implicit paradox, involving the contrast of youth in the world with what youth might be, freed from the constraint of necessary obedience. Guthlac's adversaries are ealdfeondas, but among the joys of heaven is geoguþe, and the last age of the world, the weakest and most corrupt, while the saint, in old age, is best prepared to conform himself to the will of God. In "The First Beginning and the Purest Earth: Guthlac B, Lines 1-14" (N&Q 28, 387-89), Hill discusses the poet's assertion in lines 4 and 5 that Adam was made of þære clænestan...foldan as an allusion to the exegetical commonplace that Adam was created from "virgin" earth and that therefore his birth prefigures Christ's. Having explained the allusion, Hill proceeds to a productive explanation of how it serves further to prefigure and make possible the life of Guthlac, "the saintly hermit whose 'imitation' of Christ was so perfect that he could face death with complete assurance. In "Guthlac A and the Acquisition of Wisdom" (Neophil 65, 607-13) Kathleen Dubs attempts to view the poem outside the constraints of the hagiographic tradition in order to suggest "implicit elements within the explicit hagiography: attributes of the wise individual, the process by which wisdom is acquired, and the necessity for such an acquisition." With side glances at Beowulf and The Seafarer, Dubs points to a number of episodes in Guthlac A which together provide "a concatenation of most of the characteristics of the wise man discussed by the Fathers." The argument is well-documented and persuasive.

A highly significant discovery is reported by R. Derolez in "A Key to the Auzon Casket (ES 62, 94-5). Derolez offers a convincing explanation for the substitution rules underlying the use of modified consonantal runes for vowels in the inscription on the Franks Casket. "The substitution was based on Germanic lore, viz., on the names of the vowel-runes, each vowel-rune being

replaced by the final rune of its name. Thus, a was replaced by one form of c-rune because the name of the a-rune was ac, and æ by another c-rune because of the name æsc. Similarly, the place of i was taken by an s-rune on the strength of the rune-name is, and that of o by the modified s-rune because of os, whilst e was replaced by the modified g-rune on the basis of the name eg, a variant (with eh) of eoh." Although, as Derolez himself admits, the solution does not settle the question as to which of the c-runes stands for a and which for æ, it is otherwise totally persuasive and fascinating both in its symmetry and simplicity. It also provides "evidence for the carver of the Auzon casket, or his patron, having used a list of Old English rune-names at least a century older than the earliest surviving manuscript name-rows."

Harold Kleinschmidt's "Das Problem des Geschichtlichen in der Battle of Maldon" (Poetica [Tokyo] 10 [1978], 12-34) sees the problem of history in the poem as involving three aspects: (1) the historical matter of the poem; (2) the recollection of a past ethos; and (3) the state of political affairs at the time of the composition of the poem. The essay contains a thorough, scrupulous, and well-balanced survey of earlier scholarship, a comparison of the historical details in the poem with other records of the battle, and an examination of the social and political hierarchy in terms of the poetic vocabulary. Kleinschmidt concludes that although Maldon is useless for a factual account of the battle and meaningless as evidence for a "'germanisches' Gefolgschaftsideal," we gain from the poem a document of great historical value which grants us an insight into the dialectic of medieval life and thought. Hiroshi Hasegawa's "Some Problems in The Battle of Maldon"(Papers on Eng. Lit. [Nihon Univ.], 56-69) is in Japanese. The English synopsis contains a survey of some of the previous scholarship on the time, date, and site of the battle and reports some new information (from the Meteorological Agency in Tokyo) on high and low tides on August 10 and 11, 991. The author conjectures that Byrhtnoth was killed about 17:57 on August 10th or 18:41 on August 11. He has also measured the length and width of the causeway, which he reports as 200 yards long and about 10 feet wide.

Dean R. Baldwin's "Genre and Meaning in the Old English Phoenix" (BWVACET 6, 2-12) asserts that the Phoenix can best be understood in the light of the physiologus tradition to which it belongs. He sees a typical division into narratio (the story of the creature, its appearances and habits--here with emphasis on the human qualities of the phoenix) and the significatio (the symbolism or allegory--which Baldwin believes is confined to one point: that the phoenix represents Christian man). While this interesting essay seems to me to dismiss too freely some penetrating observations by scholars such as Cross and Calder as unnecessarily complex (and thereby to deprive the reader of an appreciation of some of the learned subtleties which the poet employs), it succeeds in presenting a consistent reading of the second part of the poem which is in keeping with the treatment of this and other subjects in the physiologus tradition, while retaining the clear sense that the Phoenix poet transcended the genre while continuing to work within it. In "Il Christo I anglosassone: tematica e struttura" (AION 22, studi nederlandesi, studi nordici [1979], 209-34) Teresa Pàroli argues that recent criticism has wrongly emphasized the lyrical character of the separate sections of the poem to the neglect of its thematic unity. She attempts to examine the theme of the incarnation from several perspectives--lexical, thematic, and symbolic, asserting that the thematic structure reaches its peak in the seventh section, whereas the symbolic structure, based on the addition and the product of the numbers three and four, provides an additional unity of a different sort. She sees the poet's use of

the first person plural in the invocations as a "coro degli uomini" which func-
tions like that of the chorus in Greek tragedy to underline "il momento cruciale
della storia della salvezza e la validita universale della sua realizzazione."
A brief summary in English follows the essay.

Carl T. Berkhout's "Four Difficult Passages in the Exeter Book Maxims"
(ELN 18, 247-51) explains inwyrcan, line 67, as "work within" or "inform" and
suggests that the evidence in the line for an allusion to the comitatus ritual
is highly tenuous. He would translate line 67 "the head shall inform (or work
within) the hand." He deals with the troublesome mægð egsan wyn of line 106b
with an emendation to mægðes agen wyn, suggesting the error of metathesis and
translates it "the maiden's own delight (that is, her sailor-lover)." For line
191, geara is hwær aræd, he takes geara not as the adjective "ready" but as
"formerly" or "long ago" and aræd as "established" or "determined," suggesting
that it means "ever since long ago (enmity between brothers) is always, or
everywhere, the rule--because of Cain's crime against his brother." The final
crux with which Berkhout deals is line 197a, Cain, þone cwealm nerede. He sug-
gests, wholly convincingly, that it means simply "whom death spared" and alludes
to the mark of Cain as explained in Genesis 4:15. All four of these are attrac-
tive suggestions for clearer readings of a different poem; the fourth one should
clearly lay that particular issue to rest.

K. Stevens, in "Some Aspects of the Metre of the Old English Poem
Andreas" (Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy 81C, no. 1, 1-27), offers an
analysis of the metre of Andreas following the system of scansion devised by
A. J. Bliss. It includes an interesting discussion of the relation between
verbal stress and semantic value which concludes that "the poet is careful
to give fully meaningful verbs alliteration and, therefore, stress, and to
give verbs which convey less information no alliteration." Stevens goes on
to discuss anacrusis, double alliteration, and contraction and offers three
emendations, metri causa, in lines 493a, 499a (dropping the ge- in geseah in
each instance) and in 1221b (reading beran, inf. for bæron). Along the way
the author makes several useful comparisons between Andreas and Beowulf. In
"Andreas 733b" (N&Q 28, 5-6) Peter J. Lucas suggests reading þy sel gelyfan
(replacing MS sceolon with sel) and taking gelyfan for gelyfen, pr. subj. 3 pl.,
translated "may believe." He notes that this solution provides the appropriate
alliteration without the necessity of hypermetric scansion. The emendation
assumes "scribal 'correction' of sel to sceolon (to which it partly corres-
ponds in appearance) before what was wrongly taken to be an infinitive."
Raymond St. Jacques, in "Cynewulf's Juliana (Explicator 39, no. 3, 4-5), offers
a brief outline for a reading of the poem "as a depiction of universal history
understood as a conflict between the forces of Good and Evil where, at certain
times, Evil seemingly engulfs the earth, but where ultimately it is overcome
by Good." He points to the parallel contrasts in the descriptions of Maximian
in lines 1-17 and God in 704-31 and to the prefiguring of the ultimate triumph
of Good in the microcosm of Juliana's victory and the punishment of her enemies.

J. B. T.

Three new essays on Genesis B explore, each in a different way, dic-
tion and its implications. John F. Vickrey's "Some Further Remarks on self-
sceaft" (ZDA 110, 1-14) is in response to D. Kartschoke's attack (ZDA 106
[1977], 73-82) upon Vickrey's earlier analysis (Anglia 83 [1965], 154-71).
Does Adam maðelode...selfsceafte guma (522-23a) mean, as Vickrey contends,
"Adam spoke...the man of self-fate" or, as Kartschoke argues, "Adam spoke...

the man to the self-created one [the tempter]"? Kartschoke's main tenets are
that both Genesis B (278-83) and Latin tradition indicate that Satan thought of
himself as self-created, and that the application of the word to Adam would be
confusing to the audience in light of the poet's statement that Adam and Eve
are godes handgesceaft (455a). Vickrey answers with a pointed citation of
Latin antecedents of his own, and with a painstaking (and painfully detailed)
discussion of the poet's terminology, style, and syntax: Vickrey vindicates
his self-. In "Duality and the Dual Pronoun in Genesis B" (PLL 17, 139-45)
J. R. Hall considers forty or so occurrences of wit and git in various contexts
to show that "...the dual pronoun helps to define opposing dualities central
to the poem. As Adam and Eve form a pair, so do Satan and his servant. Given
hell's inverted perspective, it is appropriate that the fiend should achieve
duality with his lord precisely by exploiting the duality of the human couple."
In "God's handmaegen versus the Devil's craeft in Genesis B" (ESC 7, 1-14)
Robert Emmett Finnegan finds, as have others recently, a significant set of
characterizing terms in the poem: "As his [God's] love is infinite, so the
terms which define it and its objects, i.e., handmægen, handgeweorc, and handge-
scæft, push against their semantic boundaries and must be contextually re-
defined. Satan's mode of existence and method of operation is cræft.... As
Satan's megalomania is cramped and self-centred, ...so the lexical parameters
that fix his cræft are narrowed, until the term is emptied of all positive con-
notation." Although, as the foregoing quotation suggests, Finnegan's argument
pushes against its own boundaries, straining them to the limit, his basic idea
seems sound, and he adds some interesting remarks on possible man / man word-
play (286a, 318a).

André Crépin's "L'exode"(Écritures 79, ed. J. De Caluwé-Dor, Liège,
21-30) is a translation of the poem into French prose. Although Crépin uses
the edition of Peter J. Lucas (1977) -- at times even absorbing some of Lucas's
symbolic readings into the translation -- the paragraphing and pointing are
Crépin's own, and he frequently departs from Lucas on textual matters. Aimed
at a popular audience, the translation is unaccompanied by scholarly notes or
even line-numbers and is very free. To Crépin must go the credit (or discredit)
of being the first to undertake a complete translation of Exodus into a Romance
language. Nina Boyd begins her paper, "A Note on the Old English Exodus, Lines
41b-53" (ELN 18, 243-47), by citing several biblical parallels (most of the
them previously noted by others) to show that there is no reason for recourse
to symbolism in explaining the account of the tenth plague. "The only real
difficulty lies in understanding lines 49-50, where ealdwerige Egypta folc is
usually taken to be a nominative construction, the subject of dreah" -- a
construction to which she objects because "a strong adjective is demanded by
the context." Instead, Boyd takes swa (49a) as a relative pronoun in reference
to Israel and as the subject of dreah, reads folc as a caseless locative, and
translates the noun phrase as "among the accursed Egyptian people" (my emphasis).
The argument is unconvincing. To support the caseless locative construction,
Boyd must resort to glossaries and is able to adduce but a single -- and con-
troversial -- instance from poetry (Genesis A 2161a). On the other hand, one
could cite more than twenty examples in Exodus itself in which a weak adjective
appears where a strong would be expected. Maxwell Luria's first two notes in
"The Old English Exodus as a Christian Poem: Notes toward a Reading" (Neophil
65, 600-06) -- on the first seven lines of the poem and on grene tacen (281a)
-- are repeated from his paper in ELN 17 ([1980], 161-63). Otherwise, he argues
that the Egyptians of the tenth plague symbolize devils, that the nautical
imagery describing the march to the sea suggests the voyage of life, that segl
(81b, 89b) may be understood as a military standard, that the close association

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of the beasts of battle with Pharaoh's army helps to define the Egyptians' evil
nature, that the south wind which opens the sea is a symbol of the Holy Ghost,
that Noah's flood and the sea-crossing may be linked by baptismal typology, and
that the sacrifice of Isaac betokens the sacrifice of Christ. Save for a detail
here and there, none of these arguments is new, and most have been made pre-
viously more than once. The paper is, in fact, curiously perfumed with age:
Luria quotes from Charles W. Kennedy's undependable translation of the poem
(1916), refers to Irving as "the latest editor" of Exodus (1953), and, with the
exception of an essay from 1975, cites only one piece of scholarship published
in the last ten years. Considerably more original is Brian Green's "Gregory's
Moralia as an Inspirational Source for the Old English Poem Exodus" (Classica
et Mediaevalia 32 [1971-80], 251-62). In commenting on Job 36:29-31, Gregory
considers God's clouds as preachers, Moses as God's tent, and lightning in the
clouds as miracles which frighten people into repentance while at the same time
illuminating and feeding their hearts. All this sounds like a far cry from
Exodus -- and is. True, "Gregory's allegoresis and the Exodus-poem have at
least an imagistic overlap," but the same would be the case for any two works
which mention at one time or another clouds, fire, and preaching. Otherwise,
both the texts and contexts are very different, and Green is forced into some
strained readings to get the poem to reflect the commentary. Green would have
been on much safer ground had he simply noted that Job 36:29 itself is the
closest biblical parallel so far observed to the Exodus poet's reference to the
cloud-pillar as a tent, and had he limited his allegorical argument to stressing
that the poet's characterization of the fire-pillar is similar to Gregory's
remarks on God's use of lightning. In "OE Exodus 294" (mistitled as "The Junius
Manuscript" in the Explicator 39, no. 3, 26-27, but corrected in 40, no. 1, 65)
J. R. Hall contends that the image of reade streamas, which the poet says were
lifted up to protect the Israelites against the Egyptians, alludes to the pa-
tristic notion that the Red Sea betokens the blood of Christ by which Christians
are saved through baptism. Hall further asserts that the blood in the sea
during the destruction of the Egyptians must, on the literal level, belong to
the Egyptians themselves, but, on the figural level, must be Christ's "and the
very means by which Egyptians / sins are slain." In "Old English Exodus 344b-
351a: The Leader and the Light" (ELN 18, 163-66) the same author defends MS
morgen mæretorht, "splendidly-bright morning," against emendation to morgen
meretorht, "sea-bright morning," because, first, it is appropriate that the
day on which Moses became mære (349b) should itself be called mæretorht and,
second, because Moses's leading his people over the sea is a symbol of
Christ's leading the just from hell, when a mære leoht illumined the under-
world. By coincidence, two scholars published essays in 1981 which defend the
integrity of the long digression with which the poet interrupts his account of
the Israelites' march across the sea. Paul F. Ferguson, in "Noah, Abraham, and
the Crossing of the Red Sea" (Neophil 65, 282-87), holds that "the major empha-
sis in the Noah / Abraham episode is on the promise God made to Abraham, a
promise which provides the motive force for the Israelites' journey, and which
is fulfilled by the passage of the Red Sea." After discussing lines 351b-58
as a bridge to the digression, Ferguson explains how the themes of counting,
treasure, legacy -- together with their typological implications -- link the
stories of Noah and Abraham to the rest of the poem. In "The Patriarchal Di-
gression in the Old English Exodus" (Eight Anglo-Saxon Studies, ed. J. Wittig,
Chapel HIll; SP 78, no. 5, 77-90) Stanley R. Hauer finds that the digression
is related to Exodus as a whole in four ways: first, in genealogy, with spe-
cial reference to Abraham's fatherhood; second, in thematic parallels, includ-
ing those of deliverance, faith and reward, and the covenant; third, in imagery,
especially the images of seafaring, exile, and the temple; and fourth, in
Christological symbolism. Of the two essays, Hauer's, with its learned survey

of previous scholarship and greater scope, is the more valuable. On the other hand, Ferguson's handling of the transitional passage is superior for its greater detail and consistency, and (though I prefer his treatment of the problem in his doctoral dissertation) Ferguson's analysis of the counting motif as a significant feature in the poem's unity is quite instructive. Either essay, however, ably shows that the poet bound the episodes of Noah and Abraham to the story of Israel with skill and intelligence.

In "Christ and Satan 319 and 384: windsele" (ELN 19, 93-95) Richard J. Schrader, rejecting Robert Emmett Finnegan's retention of the scribe's winsele, "wine-hall" (edition, 1977), argues for the alteration to windsele, "windy hall," made by the "Corrector," who was apparently contemporary with the scribe. Schrader observes that windiga sele appears in reference to hell in line 135b and that the image of a wind-swept hall is frequently found in OE as a "symbol of desolation." Schrader acknowledges, however, that the Corrector's windsele is otherwise unattested while the scribe's winsele occurs at Christ and Satan 93a and six times elsewhere, typically with ironic implications. It is difficult to decide whether to accept Finnegan's reading or Schrader's: each argument is defensible and has some kind of MS authority. My own inclination is to go with winsele because it is a recorded OE word, because it is reasonable to suppose that the scribe must have been copying from an exemplar (whereas we are uncertain if the Corrector had it before him or was judging on the basis of his own sensibility), and because winsele makes the lines in question somewhat more interesting.

André Crépin's "L'appel de la mer"(Écritures 79, ed. J. De Caluwé-Dor, Liège, 17-19) is a translation of the Seafarer into French prose. The rendering is accurate, though it is disconcerting to find such OE phrases as bitre breostceare (4a) and geomran reorde (53b) construed as "amer chagrin" and "message mélancolique." (Thank heavens the Norman Conquest came as late as it did.) In the same volume (pp. 14-17) Juliette De Caluwé-Dor offers a translation of the Wanderer. The rendering suffers from the same disadvantage as Crépin's -- namely, the French language -- but De Caluwé-Dor at least translates into verse, supplies line-numbers, and is able to suggest something of the original rhythm and syntax by careful punctuation. R. A. Peters concludes, in "Philosophy and Theme of the Old English Poem 'The Exile'" (Neophil 65, 288-91), that "...the poet's ostensible purpose is to convey the didactic message that any human comitatus is subject to mutation and ultimately is unreliable, but God's comitatus is not." Probably few would dispute the finding, but I am unable to see that, in arguing for it, Peters says anything both new and significant. His suggestion that the Wanderer be rechristened the Exile is attractive, however. In "Varieties of Repetition in Old English Poetry, Especially in The Wanderer and The Seafarer" (Neophil 65, 292-307) Muriel Cornell finds that "both poets used repetition, a common device in Old English poetry, often in the same way and for the same purposes. At the same time, the particular repeated sounds, words, and phrases differ depending on the theme of each poem and on the stylistic preferences of each poet" -- a predictable conclusion. The paper is valuable, nonetheless, for Cornell's close analysis of how each poet employs subtle techniques (e.g., the use of the last stressed but non-alliterating syllable in the off-verse to anticipate the alliteration of the next line) to unify various passages and the poetry as a whole.

In "Sui presunti influssi nordici nel Waldere" (AION 23, filologia germanica [1980], 159-80), Antonio Piccolini discusses the vexed problem of Waldere II, 12-13a: hæfde him on handa hildefrofre [MS hilde frore], /

guðbilla gripe (ASPR VI). After examining evidence from the sagas to show that gripe cannot be explained as a reflex of ON gripr, Piccolini concludes that it is best either to emend to gripes and translate "he had in his hands protection for battle (hilde frofre), for the assault of war-swords" (cf. BTS, s.v. gripe), or, preferably, to emend with Rieger to guðbill agripen and translate "he had gripped in his hands protection for battle, a war-sword." Piccolini's argument against ON influence is much more persuasive than in his defense of the emended readings.

Paule Mertens-Fonck's "Widsith" (Écritures 79, ed. J. De Caluwé-Dor, Liège, 7-10), a translation of the poem into French verse, is the most circumspect of the four such renderings under review. The translator gives a brief introduction, clearly sets off the first and last nine lines from the rest of the poem to indicate the poet's framing device, provides line-numbers, and, thanks largely to the poem's catalogues of proper names, preserves much of the original alliteration.

In "Deor's Artistic Triumph" (Eight Anglo-Saxon Studies, ed. J. Wittig, Chapel HIll; SP 78, no. 5, 62-76) Edward I. Condren presents a new analysis of the poem's organization: "The first movement (lines 1-17) celebrates the shaper or maker as hero; the second (18-27) identifies the king as antagonist; and the third (28-42) describes a classic confrontation between scop and lord in which the scop triumphs unreservedly in the only way he can -- through the artistry of the very poem we are studying." The argument is plausible but subject to various objections. In the first movement, the allusion to Beadohild's pregnancy may contribute to the motif of difficulty overcome through achievement but not, as Condren admits, through artistic achievement, a fact weakening his larger thesis that Deor's triumph is specifically artistic. Again, Condren considers lines 28-34 as transitional and part of the third movement, yet the passage, devoted to the idea that God bestows honor or sorrow as he sees fit, has nothing to do with "a classical confrontation between scop and lord." On the other hand, the fact that the passage, when taken as part of the second movement, yields a line-group (18-34) exactly equal in length to the first movement (1-17) suggests that the passage belongs to the second movement rather than to the third; if so, Condren's unifying principle of the second movement, kingship, would have to be abandoned. Finally, in light of such poems as the Wanderer and the Seafarer, it seems more likely that the familiar motif of wisdom through suffering is the main theme of Deor rather than that of "artistic triumph" over adversity.

According to Marijane Osborn, in "Hleotan and the Purpose of the Old English Rune Poem" (Folklore 92, 168-73), the statement in the feoh stanza that a man must share his wealth gif he wile for drihtne domes hleotan (3) means generosity is necessary not only for anyone who wishes "to obtain glory before the Lord" but also for anyone who would like "to cast the lots of judgment before his lord." (Cf. Halsall, below, pp. 100 and 103), for a different double sense of the line.) The reference to casting lots introduces a work which, in the poet's subsequent description of the rune-words, is "in fact a guide to 'divinatory meditation,' a kind of meditation drawing upon signs in the secular world as a focus for deeply absorbed contemplation." Most scholars would agree that the poet's definition of the rune-words is designed to be thought-provoking, but I see no reason to characterize the purpose by the new-fangled term, "divinatory," or to connect it with domes hleotan in Osborne's sense. In its other occurrences (Menologium 192b, Guthlac B 972b) the formula does not refer to casting lots. Further, Osborn adduces no

evidence that lot-casting requires an exchange of gifts or that an Anglo-Saxon audience would have associated lot-casting with the use of runes. In The Old English Rune Poem: A Critical Edition (McMaster Old English Studies, 2; Toronto) Maureen Halsall first discusses the history and use of runes, the language and date of the Rune Poem, its Norse analogues and literary background, its style and themes, and the poet's achievement. She then edits and translates, furnishing nearly seventy pages of explanatory notes. Although one may disagree occasionally with her findings (or lack of them), it is clear that Halsall's lucid and learned book is the single most valuable work of scholarship ever accorded the Rune Poem. My main reservation is personal but has demonstrably wider implications: Halsall seems to borrow more than half a dozen times from a paper of mine, "Perspective and Wordplay in the Old English Rune Poem" (Neophil 61 [1977], 453-60), without acknowledgement. (Compare, e.g., her discussion of the poet's purpose and techniques, p. 63, with my earlier discussion, p. 458; Halsall seems to borrow not only my findings but also my use of a quotation from Bruce Dickins.)

In "Notes on the Old English Bee Charm" (JIES 9, 338-40) Eric P. Hamp supports James B. Spamer's argument for the charm's unity by pointing out structural, semantic, and syntactic parallels among its parts. Hamp further contends that the OHG Lorsch bee charm is "a nearly exact Christianized transformation of our OE charm" and asserts that funde (3b) is from fundian, "to go, go after," rather than from findan, "to find." Heather Stuart's purpose, in "'Ic me on þisse gyrde beluce': The Structure and Meaning of the Old English Journey Charm" (MÆ 50, 259-73), is to argue that the poem should not be regarded as a curious bit of folklore but as a work of well-wrought literature. She succeeds admirably. After discussing the poem against the background of journey charms, Stuart demonstrates that the poet weaves the traditions of the genre into a poetic prayer unified by the concept of the protective circle or, more broadly, the sphere of peace. The purpose of the prayer is to protect the suppliant on the journey of life, not on a journey to a geographical place. "Once the OE Joureny Charm is regarded in this light, many of its former obscurities are clarified." Together with John D. Niles's essay on the acerbot ritual (reviewed in YWOES -1980), Stuart's enlightening essay suggests an exciting, new direction for OE charm studies.

The scholarship published on the riddles in 1981 is notable for offering three new solutions, but the most valuable contribution is devoted to riddle-scholarship itself. Donald K. Fry's "Exeter Book Riddle Solutions" (OEN 15, no. 1, 22-33) furnishes a reference guide that offers "ready access to all scholarship proposing or discussing solutions by means of a chart keyed to a chronological bibliogrpahy." Part I records the various solutions for each riddle (numbered according to ASPR III); Part II lists 138 scholarly works, published between 1826 and 1980, to which the solutions in Part I are keyed; and Part III gives an alphabetical index of the solutions in modern English terms. Although Fry's bibliography is not exhaustive -- his modest word is "skeletal" -- one cannot but be awed by his energy in compiling such a guide, by the vast amount of work which scholars have lavished upon riddle-solving for the last century and a half, and by the ingenuity of the poets themselves in composing riddles which have elicited so many diverse answers. In point of fact, Fry lists these proposed solutions to riddle 17: "ballista," "fortress," "oven," "town," "forge," "inkwell," and "phallus." In "Ein neuer Lösungsvorschlag für ein altenglisches Rätsel (Krapp-Dobbie 17)" (Anglia 99, 379-82), however, Peter Bierbaumer and Elke Wannagut solve for "beehive," supporting their answer with evidence from Aldhelm's twentieth riddle and from OE

apian texts, and by analysis of the riddle's martial imagery. Their argument
is compelling. Arnold Talentino remarks, in "Riddle 30: The Vehicle of the
Cross" (Neophil 65, 129-36), that "thoughtful attention to the first four lines
can set off associations which reveal that the wood of the last five lines, the
cross, is to be understood as a simulacrum of the true cross. The Good Friday
ritual of the adoration of the Cross...has much in common with the action
portrayed in Riddle 30, lines 5 and 6, where a group of communicants pass and
kiss a cross." Although Talentino is not the first to read the last five lines
as an exclusive reference to the cross (usually taken as "harp" in line 5,
"cup" in line 6, and "cross" in lines 7-9), he is to my knowledge the first to
identify the specific context as the Good Friday rite. Less convincing is his
argument that the imagery in lines 1-4 is to be viewed primarily from a reli-
gious perspective. It is true that fire, e.g., is a central Christian symbol
(and one might strengthen Talentino's argument by noting that the cross etched
on the Paschal Candle on Holy Saturday might well be called legbysig, "busy with
flame"); yet this image and the others in the first part of the passage do not
add up to a coherent religious picture as well as they do to a description of
a tree in the world of nature and man. It seems more likely that the riddle
has a two-part solution, "tree / wood" (1-4) and "cross" (5-9), with the imagery
of the first part perhaps possessing Christian implications on a secondary
level. "The Solution to Old English Riddle 4" (Eight Anglo-Saxon Studies, ed.
J. Wittig, Chapel Hill; SP 78, no. 5, 52-61) offered by Ann Harleman Stewart
is "bucket of water." Stuart's depiction of the "tiny drama" enacted when an
early morning riser confronts the icy bucket, her analysis of how the riddle-
object reflects the features of the human agent, and her explanation of ambi-
guity, paradox, and elegiac overtones in the imagery are as attractive as the
solution itself.

<div align="right">J. R. H.</div>

Works not seen:

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Rood." RUO 51, 236-46.
Kanayama, Atsumu. "The Dream of the Rood: a Japanese Translation."
Osaka Gaidai Engl. and Amer. Studies 11 (1979), 147-54.
Noël, Aimé, trans. "La complainte de L'épouse." Ecritures 79. Ed. J.
De Caluwé-Dor. Liège. Pp. 11-12.
-----"Le message du mari exilé." Ibid., 12-14.
Ó Carragáin, E. "How Did the Vercelli Collector Interpret The Dream of
the Rood? Studies in English Language and Early Literature in Honor
of Paul Christopherson. Ed. D. M. Tilling. Pp. 63-104.
Olsen, Alexandra Hennessey. Guthlac of Croyland: a Study of Heroic
Hagiography. Washington, D. C.
Sakai, Tsuneo, "On The Anglo-Saxon Poem Christ." Katahira 15 (1979),
5-25 [In Japanese].
Schabram, Hans. "Andreas 303A and 360B-362A: Bemerkungen zur Zählebigkeit
philologischer Fehlurteile." Geschichtlichkeit und Neufang im
Sprachlichen Kunstwerk: Studien zur englischen Philologie zu Ehren
von Fritz W. Schulze. Ed. Peter Erlebach. Tübingen. Pp. 39-47.
Sugahara, Shunya. "On The Seafarer: Its Vocabulary and Cultural Phase."
Tamagawa Rev. 4 (1979), 36-38. [In Japanese]

<div align="right">J. B. T. and J. R. H.</div>

Vincent DiMarco's article, which touches on the illustrations of Noah's wife
in MS Junius 11, is discussed in Section 5, below.

<div align="right">R. L. C.</div>

c.   Beowulf

Beowulf scholarship in 1981 seems to have given somewhat less empha-
sis to interpretation of the poem and more to questions of origin, transmis-
sion, and development, both oral and literary. Especially significant was the
Beowulf material in John M. Foley, ed., Oral Traditional Literature (Columbus),
Kevin S. Kiernan's controversial Beowulf and the Beowulf Manuscript (New
Brunswick), and The Dating of Beowulf (Toronto), which I edited from the pro-
ceedings of the 1980 Toronto conference. These will be discussed below with
similar work, though The Dating of Beowulf will be left to the end for another,
disinterested reviewer.

An article embracing both a general interpretation of the poem and a
theory of textual development is "Beowulf and the Tenth Century" by W. G. Busse
and R. Holtei (BJRL 63, 285-329). They see the poem as a speculum regis in
which cautionary examples interpret the progress of events in order to define
the responsibility of the king and to indicate that the hero erred in attacking
the dragon alone. Hrothgar's building of the hall and Beowulf's unprofitable
use of his bodily strength are signs of ofer-hygd or conceit (p. 297), though
both kings are nonetheless characterized as god and the audience's "potentiality
of identification is greatly enhanced" (p. 297). This last phrase is related to
the authors' "text pragmatic" approach, intended "to cope with the analysis of
the interdependence of literature and society" (285). Though the only certain
date "for fixing an equivalent communication situation for the text of Beowulf"
is the date of the manuscript (p. 286), this is adequate for their purposes
because the text of Beowulf is "essentially dynamic", was "constantly adapted
to changing social conditions...was reshaped in the later part of the tenth
century and then written down in the manuscript as we have it today" (p. 287).
Busse and Holtei add nothing new in the way of interpreting the poem and offer
no evidence to support their belief that the poem was constantly changed in
the course of the tenth century. Even the historical parallels adduced to
show that the world of Beowulf would have had meaning for Anglo-Saxons con-
temporary with the manuscript are based on commonplaces such as the loyalty
of thane to lord and the practice of gift-giving, very difficult to identify
with a particular period. Still, in combination, the interpretation, histori-
cal parallels, and theory of development offer a way of looking at the poem
which is methodologically original and, more important, a possible model for
future analysis.

Two articles sought to clarify an ideal of wisdom present in the
poem by placing it in a recognizable tradition. Robert L. Kindrick, in
"Germanic Sapientia and the Heroic Ethos of Beowulf" (M&H n.s. 10, 1-17), tries
"to determine what elements of wisdom in Beowulf could have come from the
Germanic non-Christian heritage" (pp. 2-3). He is principally interested in
the wisdom associated with Beowulf himself and finds that it is a combination
of political responsibility, restraint, rhetorical ability, and shrewdness.
The argument is based on a close analysis of the text and is intended to
supplement analyses of scholars such as Robert Kaske, who identify wisdom in
the poem with Christian tradition. In her study of "Hrothgar's Sermon in
Beowulf as Parental Wisdom" (ASE 10, 53-67) Elaine Tuttle Hansen provides more
evidence external to the text than Kindrick does, but she is concerned with
the wisdom displayed by the Danish king, not the hero. Based on her reading

of the OE "Precepts," published simultaneously in Speculum, this article out-
lines a structure for Hrothgar's sermon quite different from that of earlier
commentators and in essential harmony with the convention of parental
instruction. To Hansen, this is why the poet takes pains to establish
Hrothgar as Beowulf's adoptive father.

Thomas Elwood Hart has published another numerological study, much
like his earlier work ("Calculated Casualties in Beowulf: Geometrical Scaf-
folding and Verbal Symbol," SN 53, 3-35). As before, line numbers in modern
editions form the basis for demonstrations of Pythagorean proportion and har-
mony. Beginning with a remark of D. R. Howlett to the effect that the number
of Beowulf's allies decreases at every encounter, from 15 (na sum) at line 207,
to 14 at 1641, to 13 at 2406, and 12 at 3170, Hart demonstrates that if one
inscribes within a circle a polygon of 15 sides whose circumference is taken to
be 3182 (the number of lines in Beowulf), a polygon of twelve sides inscribed
within the same circle will have a perimeter of 3169, or the number of lines
from the beginning of the poem to the end of Howlett's series. Moreover, the
word twelfe (actually at 3170 in Klaeber's edition) describes the number of
loyal thanes who ride in a (twelve-sided) ring about Beowulf's barrow. To
Hart, such elegant proportions suggest the kind of precise geometric calcula-
tion apparently employed by the illuminators of the Lindisfarne Gospels and
the Book of Kells and, incidentally, have "obvious implications for controver-
sies about oral-versus-literary and textual corruption versus integrity" (p. 34).

The articles in Oral Traditional Literature, noted in my first para-
graph above, may be discussed together, since they all strive to refine the
techniques of formulaic and thematic analysis, though without reaching mutually
consistent conclusions. Perhaps the most original study, embodying the most
comprehensive theory, is Robert P. Creed's consideration of "The Beowulf-Poet:
Master of Sound Patterning" (pp. 194-216). Five tests devised by Berkley
Peabody for Homer and Hesiod and expounded in The Winged Word are briefly
applied to Beowulf. The tests are the phonemic text, the formulaic test, the
enjambement test, the thematic test, and the song test. Each test seeks a con-
sistent reduplicating pattern of sounds, of word forms, of syntactic periods,
of "thematic clumps," or of discourse. Some of Creed's admittedly speculative
findings are: that there is a higher incidence of essential enjambement than
Parry found in the Odyssey, that there is a "subtle but definite link between
the far-comer theme and the sword theme" (p. 203), and that the Christian sing-
er, were he a writer and not an oral poet, would have dealt with the gastbona
passage (178b-188) differently--probably excizing it--while the oral tradition
works to "conjure that past as the living present" (p. 206), thereby introduc-
ing such uneasy anomalies into the tale. Both Creed and John D. Niles ("For-
mula and Formulaic System in Beowulf," pp. 394-415) work from a more flexible
description of the formula than that passed on to us by F. P. Magoun from A. B.
Lord's work with Millman Parry. Niles begins with Donald Fry's definition of
the formulaic system as "a group of half-lines usually loosely related metri-
cally and semantically, which are related in form by the identical relative
placement of two elements, one variable and usually supplying the alliteration
of the line and the other constant, with approximately the same distribution
of non-stressed elements" (quoted from ES 48 [1967], 203; here, pp. 397-8).
Seeking to make a more rigorous application of this definition than Fry him-
self has, Niles inserts each of the first 50 half-lines of Beowulf into the
formulaic context demanded by the definition. Thus, ellen fremedon belongs to
a system made up of twenty occurrences of forms of the verb fremman in Beowulf
such that fremman always follows a word bearing the alliteration and the other

strong stress of the line (e.g., mærðo fremede 2134a, mærða gefremede 2645b, geoce gefremede 177b, etc.). The conclusion, based on similar, but unreported, analysis of the first five hundred lines of Beowulf, is that "[c]lose to two out of three verses in the poem are members of one or another formulaic system" (409). A difficulty I have with this kind of analysis is to distinguish accurately between the demands of OE syntax and word order and the extra requirement imposed by oral, and hence formulaic, composition. In sharp contrast with Niles's conclusion is that reached by Francelia Clark ("Flyting in Beowulf and Rebuke in The Song of Bagdad: the Question of Theme," pp. 164-93). While the Serbo-Croatian epic shows a very high degree of repetition of the challenge in response (statistically 47%), Beowulf's answer to Unferth shows only 6%, significantly higher than the epic as a whole (2.7%) but insufficient to show oral-formulaic composition. Joanne De Lavan Foley's "Feasts and Anti-Feasts in Beowulf and the Odyssey" (pp. 235-61) is a valiant but unsuccessful attempt to show that oral-thematic analysis can lead one to deeper insights into the poem's substrate of "essential ideas." Having identified a formulaic system involving sleeping and eating on the basis of Fry's definition of the formula, quoted above in connection with John D. Niles's article, the author comments on each occurrence of the formula to show that eating and sleeping, violence and death are linked in ironic juxtaposition throughout the poem. The idea is defensible, but the application is unconvincing when at the entrance of Grendel's dam into Heorot we are told that "the sleep of the comitatus is again disturbed by a night-feaster" (p. 242) though she is not so described in the poem, or when references to sleep contained in Hrothgar's sermon are linked to feasts because the men are said to have been served after he finished. More objectionable, however, than such special pleading is the insistence on technical jargon unrelated to the main argument. The point would not have been weakened had we never discovered that "there is a metrical tendency for the constant to bear an alpha or delta configuration (75% of the time), both of which follow an alpha-prime variable configuration 63% of the time" (pp. 236-7). In sharp contrast with Joanne Foley's attempt to link formulaic analysis with the poem's underlying sensibility is John D. Niles's analysis of "Compound Diction and the Style of Beowulf" (ES 62, 489-503), for Niles urges us to emphasize utility over esthetic subtlety in assessing the poet's choice of one compound over another, since "very likely his chief concern was not to develop subtle shades of meaning but simply to compose in the alliterative form" (p. 497). Contrasting the Homeric principle of thrift with the OE principle of variation --according to which there is "any number of alternative words and phrases by which [the poet] can express a given essential idea" (p. 492)--Niles goes on to demonstrate that Beowulf 710-27 shows ten times as much formulaic compounding as the Meters of Boethius II: 3, 1-17. Partly a response to Benson's challenge of Magoun (PMLA 81 [1966], 334-41), the article concludes that "this flexible system of compound diction" is an indication (not a "touchstone") that the Beowulf poet "composed in a manner that one would expect to be characteristic of a good scop skilled in the old tradition." Though Niles's article is undeniably more closely reasoned and convincing than Joanne Foley's (discussed above), I must confess I prefer her working premise that analysis of poetic convention (whether oral-formulaic or literary) can lead to an understanding of poetic sensibility, for I have never understood why utility need preclude beauty.

Calvin B. Kendall's study of "The Prefix un- and the Metrical Grammar of Beowulf" (ASE 10, 39-52) concludes on the basis of an argument too complex to summarize here that "the stressed prefix un- alliterates. If the prefix does not alliterate, it is not stressed." Moreover, "an initially stressed compound

in which the second element is semantically significant is marked for alliteration" (p. 52). Interesting to me was his observation that "the Beowulf poet avoided placing compounds in the second position in the b verse--a placement which freely occurs in the a verse, always with double alliteration" (p.51).

Patricia Silber ("Rhetoric as Prowess in the Unferð Episode," TSLL 23, 471-83) argues that the "flyting" between Unferth and Beowulf is a formal rhetorical contest having more to do with wit and verbal skill than with Beowulf's prowess against Breca. Suggesting that such encounters were common in Anglo-Saxon celebrations (cf. Vainglory 15-16, 18-19, and Fortunes of Men 51-7), the author demonstrates that A. C. Bartlett's categories are present both in Unferth's challenge, which is a formal example of epideictic rhetoric, and in Beowulf's response, which is refutatio. Here, as elsewhere in rhetorical analysis, the categories seem so general as to prevent us from being certain whether they are present because the nature of the situation so dictates or because the author is following rhetorical convention.

Articles which rely on other literatures to illuminate Beowulf include those of David N. Dumville, "Beowulf and the Celtic World: the Uses of Evidence" (Traditio 37, 109-60); Earl R. Anderson, "Beowulf's Retreat from Frisia: Analogues from the Fifth and Eighth Centuries" (ELN 19, 89-93); and Sylvia Huntley Horowitz, "The Ravens in Beowulf" (JEGP 80, 502-11). Dumville's article was originally prepared for the Toronto conference on dating the poem and is concerned with broad methodological questions of textual and historical analysis. His belief is that OE scholars have much to learn from procedures developed for Celtic literatures and that, on the whole, we have been far too timid in attempting to solve "the problems inherent in attempts to date and localise Old English poetry" (159-60). Instead, he suggests, among other things, that linguists rewrite the poem into earlier dialects as a way of testing its metrical and linguistic consistency (e.g., pp. 124-5), that a specific textual history be established for Beowulf which would take into account not only all the "data provided by the manuscript-text and by metrical analysis" (p. 154) but also the possible influence of contemporary version(s), that we undertake lexical work, particularly in religious vocabulary, for "[s]uch work has scarcely begun in Anglo-Saxon studies" (p. 116), that we pay closer attention to the presence of anachronisms and archaisms in traditional literature (p. 135), and that we avoid the naive use of the poem for historical information, recognizing "how unreliable as historical matter is the stuff of heroic legend" (p. 136). The most valuable section of the article comes at the beginning, where Dumville summarizes the evidence that there was constant intermingling of Irish and Anglo-Saxon cultures from the seventh century almost indefinitely onward. His suggestions, on the other hand, would have been more persuasive had he shown more specific awareness of what actually has been done in the areas mentioned. Earl Anderson cautions against too hastily eliminating elements of the marvelous from Beowulf's retreat from the Frisian raid. In separate histories of the Armenians, Agathangelos (fifth century) and Moses Khorenats'i (eighth century) record a feat of the hero Trdat, who is described swimming the Euphrates with his own armor, the horse's trappings, and, in the earlier version, the horse himself strapped to his back. In the light of Norse mythology and the biblical story of Noah, Sylvia Huntley Horowitz argues that even the "blithe hearted" raven of line 1801 "is not merely a symbol of triumph and joy, but also a symbol of death, or the ever-present death in life" (p. 502). A pattern is identified in the poem according to which, for each of the societies mentioned, "we can name the moment when a fateful, fratricidal greed follows innocent virtue" (p. 508). The appearance of the raven tends to

signalize such moments. Thomas L. Keller's article on the dragon ("The Dragon in Beowulf Revisited," Aevum 55, 218-28) contains nothing not already known to anyone who has read the poem.

Articles concerned with lexical and textual matters narrowly focused on briefer sections will be considered in the order established by the poem. James B. Spamer, in "Beowulf 1-2: an Argument for a New Reading" (ES 62, 210-14), suggests that the traditional interpretations of the lines are impossible because "a genitive cannot be separated from its head noun by a prepositional phrase" (p. 210), proposing instead: "Lo! We have heard of the courage of the tribal kings/ in the bygone days of the Spear-Danes" (p. 214). Malcolm Andrew, in "Grendel in Hell" (ES 62, 401-10), argues that the doubtful phrase feond on helle at 101b, which Bugge wanted to change to feond on healle, is to be understood literally and not as an expression loosely equivalent to "hellish fiend." The basis of argument is Augustine's understanding (in Conf. VI, 12 and in Civ. Dei XIV, 11, and XV, 5) that the punishment of sin is internal rather than imposed from outside. In 1971, Thomas D. Hill published a note on line 163 (MS 33, 379-81), which Stanley B. Greenfield commented on in 1977 (MP 75, 44-8). In "The Return of the Broken Butterfly: Beowulf Line 163 Again" (Mediaevalia 5 [1979], 271-81) Hill provides corroborating evidence for his original position, that the line refers to the circular movement of the damned or lost reminiscent of Ps. 11:9 ("In circuitu impii ambulant") as explained by Gregory, Augustine, and other commentators. Donald K. Fry, in "Launching Ships in Beowulf 210-16 and Brunanburh 32b-36" (MP 79, 61-6), carefully considers the sequence of events in the lines mentioned, which have seemed to describe two loadings. His suggestion is that the ship has been beached, so that when the sailors come to board it they must stand with their weight to the seaward end, making the hull pivot where keel touches sand. They then load the ship. Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe, in "Beowulf, Lines 702b-836: Transformations and the Limits of the Human" (TSLL 23, 484-94), suggests that in the passage named Grendel appears to become more and more closely identified with men as he approaches Heorot, first a sceadugenga, then a manscaða, and finally a rinc. Further, the feond at line 748 might be Beowulf or Grendel, an ambiguity serving to identify hero and monster even more closely. Such identification is part of a pattern found elsewhere in the poem allowing Grendel, Beowulf and Sigemund all to be referred to variously as aglæca, rinc, guma, and wer. J. F. Doig, in "Beowulf 3069b: Curse or Consequence" (ELN 19, 316), suggests that "diope benemdon" does not mean "cursed" but simply "solemnly declared" and that the succeeding noun clause "þæt se secg wære..." is to be taken as a "clause of consequence" rather than an "adverb clause of purpose." This means that the danger inherent in the treasure is not that of an effective curse but that attached, for a Christian, to anything "dedicated to the purposes of heathen ritual" (p. 5). The weakness in the argument is that it depends on the logical impossibility of a heathen's considering the idea of being "imprisoned in idol shrines" (hergum geheaðerod, line 372) as a punishment. But Klaeber glosses geheaðerod as "fenced out from" (p. 227).

Kevin S. Kiernan's Beowulf and the Beowulf Manuscript (New Brunswick) is certain to cause much discussion among OE specialists, though there is perhaps a danger that readers will react more to the boldness of his conclusions than to the substance of the evidence, which needs to be weighed very carefully. As expressed in the Introduction, Kiernan's argument is essentially three-fold: that historical and linguistic evidence do not preclude eleventh-century copying and composition, that the physical make-up of the MS suggests that Beowulf was once a separate codex, and that close examination of this Beowulf codex

"shows that the poem may have been still undergoing revision while the MS was being copied" (p. 4). As Chapter 1 unfolds, however, the more important thrust of the argument is clearly not to move the manuscript two decades later than we are accustomed roughly to date it, but to move Beowulf's composition several centuries later: "Taken together, the linguistic and historical evidence plainly point to an 11th-century provenance for the poem, as well as for the MS" (p. 14).

The historical argument is that before 1016 the poem is unlikely to have been commissioned anywhere in England because it glorifies Danes. Though Kiernan's conclusion is different, the fundamental argument is the same as that offered by Dorothy Whitelock in The Audience of Beowulf (Oxford, 1950), where she said that such terms of praise are "not how men like to hear people des- cribed who are burning their homes, pillaging their churches, ravaging their cattle and crops, killing their countrymen or carrying them off into slavery" (p. 25). Similarly, Kiernan gives much emphasis to events such as Swein Forkbeard's harrying of Essex, Kent, Sussex and Hampshire in 994; the St. Brice's Day massacre of 1002; and the martyrdom of archbishop Ælfheah in 1011. The difference is that where Professor Whitelock had concluded that the poem "could hardly be located in English England until the reign of Cnut, and that is later than our surviving manuscript" (p. 25), Kiernan accepts a date after 1016 for the manuscript and concludes that "historical evidence suggests a post-Viking date for the poem, as well as for the copy of it that has come down to us" (p. 21). Any argument resting on negative proof is vulnerable, but this one is especially so, since we have no evidence Beowulf was ever known beyond a very small circle of people. A single example of a time or place where Danes were honored or accepted by Englishmen would be sufficient to weaken the argument, and three would be enough to destroy it. Unfortu- nately, both Raymond I. Page and Alexander Callander Murray, in articles to be reviewed below, have provided much solid evidence for friendly relations between Englishmen and Danes in the ninth and tenth centuries. In the light of this, one is surprised to read in Kiernan's Preface that Page's and Murray's articles "most obviously support my convictions" (p. xii), without any hint that their arguments run directly counter to his.

Though linguistic dating tests are considered in more detail than would have been possible to establish the historical argument, the analysis is based on a general conception of the nature of OE verse tradition: "A compli- cated transmission is simply not needed for an early 11th-century poem, written in an eclectic, standard literary dialect, that itself admits archaisms and orthographical variations, and was thoroughly permeated by an archaic, poetic dialect that was also eclectic" (p. 49). Thus, the high incidence of weak adjective before a noun but without an article is discounted as evidence of early date because the same feature occurs in late poetry such as Maldon and Brunanburh; apparent metrical deficiencies created by the contraction of previously uncontracted forms are discounted as dating evidence with the argu- ment that "[n]o doubt a trained Anglo-Saxon reader could readily detect when to pronounce a normally monosyllabic form like reon disyllabicallly...just as one instinctively pronounces final e in Chaucer when the meter requires it" (pp. 25-6); and the presence of non West-Saxon words and forms is explained with reference to "the 'classical OE koiné' of the time of Ælfric and Wulfstan" arising "from a variety of natural causes, which have no essential connection with the original date of the poem" (p. 38). Though Kiernan makes some mis- takes in his detailed analysis (e.g., confusion of oe for e has nothing to do with the use of wæs for wes at line 407 and the reference to Campbell's

Grammar, p. 339, does not weaken but strengthens a dialectal distinction between West-Saxon and Anglian with respect to iewan/eawan: see p. 52), the general argument is not materially weakened.

That argument has some recent, solid scholarship to recommend it. As the work of Helmut Gneuss has shown, perhaps some of the traditional approaches to dialect analysis were too rigid, and the preliminary results of research conducted by scholars at the OE Dictionary project (reviewed below) suggests that Beowulf's vocabulary and usage is more uniform than was once thought. Still, have we come so far in destroying once stable categories that a poem we knew ten years ago to be a product of the eighth century cannot now be shown to be earlier than its sole surviving manuscript? Pressed to the extreme Kiernan has in this book, virtually all of the poetry in the four great codices might be shown to have been written in the eleventh century.

Many have depended on the form wundini at 1382. Kiernan rejects this form as a "manuscript ghost" for which he reads wundmi, to be reinterpreted to stand for wundun (four minims = un rather than mi), itself part of a compound wundun-golde, which equals wunden-golde (pp. 31-7). Though the rereading of the minims applies as well to wundini as wundmi, the argument as a whole is reasonable and corroborates earlier objections to the reading. A more serious objection to an eleventh-century date of composition, and one which Kiernan does not consider, arises from the poet's habit of alliterating palatal and velar g. As Ashley Amos notes in Linguistic Means of Determining the Dates of Old English Literary Texts (Cambridge, MA, 1980), this "is probably a valid chronological criterion" (p. 102), for late poets seem to avoid it. Thus, there is not a single poem dated securely after the early tenth century with a line of verse unambiguously alliterating palatal and velar g. Brunanburh 18 and 44 carry both types of g in the on-verse, but even this pattern is avoided in Maldon, The Capture of the Five Boroughs, The Coronation of Edgar, The Death of Edgar, The Death of Alfred, and The Death of Edward, while Beowulf alliterates the two every thirty-five lines, or seven times, in the first two hundred and fifty lines (1, 13, 72, 121, 177, 205, and 246). Interestingly, The Metrical Epilogue to the Pastoral Care alliterates palatal with velar g twice, at lines 10 and 23. In a different context Kiernan notes an instance of such alliteration in Beowulf but sees no serious implication in it: "One must remember that Old English spelling does not always precisely reflect Old English phonology. Thus in line 1 of Beowulf the velar stop [g] in gar- alliterates with the palatal semivowel [j] in gear- because both words begin with the graph g" (p. 188).

Kiernan's argument that Beowulf may once have been a separate codex depends on a reinterpretation of the foliation according to which the poem begins a new quire rather than starting within the last part of the same quire occupied by The Letter of Alexander to Aristotle. The nexus of the argument is that, to Kiernan, three-sheet gatherings were the rule in the prose part of the Nowell Codex and that we therefore need not assume that the poem began on the seventh leaf of a four-sheet quire. The evidence for this is drawn from his analysis of the hair-flesh arrangement, which revealed to him that leaves 3 and 6 of quires 3 and 4 were non-conjugate. This yields a quire construction of 5, 3, 3(+1), 3(+1), 3, accounting for the entire prose section of the manuscript and allowing Beowulf to begin quire 6. Since the conclusion--that quire 5 has three sheets--depends on accepting the notion that the two preceding quires, each made up of three whole sheets and two singlets, are quires of three and not four, the argument is not very compelling.

The hypothesis that Beowulf was revised in the eleventh century, at the time it was being copied down, depends on Kiernan's reinterpretation of folio 179 (182 in the BL official foliation), which he is convinced is a palimpsest containing a reworked, transitional passage joining two originally distinct poems (see pp. 249-58). The argument here, as indeed throughout the book, is too complex to summarize fairly, but Kiernan sees evidence that the text visible today is substantially different from the text which covered the page before it was reworked. All have accepted that this folio was written on after the original date of copying, but previous scholars have interpreted this to be freshening up of a damaged leaf, while Kiernan sees evidence of literary revision. Having once suggested that Cynewulf wrote Christ II to join two other, originally distinct poems (ASE 3), I find Kiernan's suggestion interesting, but the same objection applies here that applies to eleventh-century composition of the whole poem. Even on this leaf, containing lines 2207-52, the poet alliterates palatal and velar g: swa hy on geardagum gumena nathwylc (2232), a line confirmed both by Kiernan's transcription (p. 240) and by Thorkelin.

In discussing Beowulf and the Beowulf Manuscript, I have concentrated on what I take to be the book's main arguments, leaving without comment a wealth of interesting information and commentary. Though I find many things to disagree with in his conclusions, I also feel strongly that we owe Kevin Kiernan a large debt of gratitude for having had the temerity to ask some questions that sorely needed asking and for pursuing the answers he saw to their logical conclusions. If those answers can be improved on, that is only because he first asked the questions. Any serious scholar of Beowulf will want to ponder this book very carefully.

C. C.

In sharp contrast to the defense of a precise date for the composition of Beowulf by Kevin Kiernan, The Dating of Beowulf (Toronto), a volume of fourteen essays by thirteen authors edited by Colin Chase, presents a wide variety of opinion about the time the poem was composed. These divergent opinions are based on an impressive range of careful recent research--palaeographical, linguistic, prosodic, historical, archaeological, and literay (stylistic and comparative)-- and, while they present no consensus at all, they set forth, collectively, I think, the range of inquiry which ultimately may lead scholars to agreement about the time the great surviving OE epic was composed. That scholars have never really tended to agree on the date of Beowulf is clearly illustrated by Colin Chase in his opening essay, "Opinions on the Date of Beowulf, 1815-1980" (3-8). Here he outlines the conclusions of over forty scholars, from the first printed edition by Thorkelin to the most recent savants; the dates range from shortly after the fourth century to late in the tenth. While Chase uses this information to set up the intensive investigations which are presented in the rest of the volume, the review of these earlier findings also illustrates the impressive range of important thinkers who have dedicated much time and great energy to this problem.

Some of the most impressive pieces of new research come up with no specific dates at all. Chief of these is "A Reconsideration of the Language of Beowulf" (33-75), by Angus Cameron, Ashley Crandall Amos, and Gregory Waite (with assistance from Sharon Butler and Antonette DiPaolo Healey), a team associated with the new Dictionary of OE and uniquely well equipped to study this

problem. Linguistic evidence has been the keystone to many an argument about assigning a date to Beowulf and, consequently, this lengthy and detailed essay assumes great importance. These scholars are characteristically modest in their assertions but their presentation of orthography, morphology, syntax, and vocabulary leads them to conclude that while an investigation of the language of the poem is extremely important for dating, at present no "date in the Old English period [is] impossible, on linguistic grounds, for the composition of the poem." They leave an open field.

In the last essay in the volume, "The Date of Beowulf: Some Doubts and No Conclusions" (197-211), E. G. Stanley reminds us straightaway that "[t]he greater the distance between the date of the Beowulf manuscript...and the posited date of the poem as we now have it, the heavier the element of hypothesis." He goes on to review a wide variety of evidence, to confess his early distrust of a late eighth-century date, and to support, with all sorts of caution, "a date of composition in the earlier tenth century [as] more rather than less likely than a date in the ninth century" (201). Stanley's learned and wide-ranging essay makes an altogether suitable ending for this volume, not only because of his thoughtful and cautious reasoning, but also because of his careful look at the time before 937 as a likely chronological locus for the composition of the epic.

R. W. McTurk's essay, "Variation in Beowulf and the Poetic Edda: a Chronological Experiment" (141-160), presents even fewer definite conclusions about the date of the poem, but for very different reasons. After exhaustively examining the various patterns of parallelism and variation in Old Norse and OE poetry, with particular attention to Beowulf, he concludes that "variation is unlikely to serve as a guide to the chronological interrelationship of Old English poems" (160).

Probably the earliest dating is suggested by John C. Pope in "On the Composition of Beowulf" (188-195). As he gently states, he is "still of the old opinion that Beowulf was first put in writing at sometime in the eighth century" (187); although he considers most of the standard linguistic arguments weak, he is "swayed by...the probability of a long period of gestation of both story and style before the poem we have was composed and put in writing." While Pope observes clearly that he has "not proved that Beowulf was composed in the eighth century...[he has] yet to be persuaded that another period will do as well" (195). Peter Clemoes, in "Style as the Criterion for Dating the Composition of Beowulf" (174-185), is only slightly more precise than Pope in favoring "the second half of the eighth century as much the most likely" (185). Clemoes's essay looks closely at the texture of the poem itself, the word order, the metaphors, the general descriptions, and the techniques of Hrothgar's sermonizing. While he is precise in noting that "proof is not available" (185), he notes also that while a late dating may be possible, it is not probable (184).

In "Saints' Lives, Royal Lives, and the Date of Beowulf" (161-171), Colin Chase sensitively examines the organizational techniques of hagiographies as well as secular biographies (especially Asser) and suggests that "the ninth century...[is] the most probable date for the composition of Beowulf" (170). Thomas Cable, in "Metrical Style as Evidence for the Date of Beowulf" (77-82), comes to a similar conclusion, but less directly. After reporting on his scansion of twenty-two OE poems, he "can find no metrical reason why all the poems in our list..., including Beowulf, should not be assigned dates of composition in the ninth century" (82). R. I. Page, in "The Audience of Beowulf

and the Vikings" (113-122), takes a long look at the references to Danes in
Beowulf in the historical context of ninth- and tenth-century English courts.
He concludes that the references to Danes are more to a religious than to a
racial group and that more than a few Anglo-Saxons of this period were able to
distinguish between their immediate enemies and ancient Scandinavian poetic
subjects. While Page does "not seek to show that *Beowulf* is a late poem," he
does assert that "[i]f there is other reason for placing *Beowulf* after, say,
835, there is nothing in the political situation in England to preclude it"
(122). Roberta Frank, in "Skaldic Verse and the Date of *Beowulf*" (121-139),
imaginatively uses an unusual body of comparative evidence in ON poetry to
point to the years between 890 and 950 as likely for the composition of *Beowulf*;
at least, "accepting that the poem came into existence...[at this time] solves
far more problems than it poses" (137). In "*Beowulf*, the Danish Invasions, and
Royal Genealogy" (101-111) Alexander Callander Murray records parallels in the
genealogy of Æthelweard and that of Beowulf and suggests "that the poem was in-
tended for a patron connected with the West-Saxon dynasty" and that it is "a
late ninth- or tenth-century composition" (110). Walter Goffart, in "Hetware
and Hugas: Datable Anachronisms in *Beowulf*" (83-100), examines the use of
these two names in the poem in the context of their historical reality and
notes that the facts imply that "the poem was written no earlier than in the
second quarter of the tenth century" (100).

A much later date, after 1016, is vigorously proposed by Kevin S.
Kiernan in "The Eleventh-Century Origin of *Beowulf* and the *Beowulf* Manuscript"
(9-21), a summary of his much more extensive book, reviewed above. In *The
Dating of Beowulf*, however, another view of the manuscript is advanced by Fr.
Leonard Boyle in "The Nowell Codex and the Poem of *Beowulf*" (23-32). After a
sustained examination of the manuscript, Fr. Boyle reports, in considerable
detail, the work of Scribe A and Scribe B in relation to the quires and leaves
of the codex. He concludes that "the *Beowulf* text in the Nowell Codex is far
from 'original.' At best it is a copy (whether faithful or not who can tell?)
of an existing text, perhaps contemporary, perhaps not" (29). His evidence,
then, runs directly counter to Kiernan's "view that *Beowulf* is an eleventh-
century composite poem, and that the *Beowulf* manuscript is a draft, the arche-
type of the poem as we now have it" (20).

The Dating of Beowulf does not provide us a single date for the poem.
Instead, as the verbal form in its title implies, the book offers us learned
views of the act of setting the composition of the poem in time. That this
task has not been indisputably accomplished should come as no disappointment
to scholars, for the attempts have themselves increased our knowledge many-
fold. As Roberta Frank observed, "certainty may not be attainable"; this book,
however, has moved us closer toward workable conclusions, even in its diversity
and variety.

<div align="right">R. L. C.</div>

Neither the dissertations nor the articles in Japanese which are
noticed in the annual OE Bibliography are included in the following list.

Works not seen:

Camargo, Martin. "The Finn Episode and the Tragedy of Revenge in *Beowulf*,"
    Eight Anglo-Saxon Studies, ed. J. Wittig. Chapel Hill. Pp. 120-34.

Farina, Peter. "The Christian Color of Beowulf: Fact or Fiction?" Univ.
of So. Fla. Lang. Quarterly 20, nos. 1-2, 21-6.

Garmonsway, G. N., and Jacqueline Simpson, trans. 'Beowulf' and Its Analogues.
2nd ed. London, 1980.

Kavros, Harry. "Swefan æfter symble: the Feast-Sleep Theme in Beowulf,"
Neophil 65, 120-28.

Locherbie-Cameron, Margaret A. L. "Structure, Mood and Meaning in Beowulf,"
Poetica (Tokyo) 10 (1978), 1-11.

Poussa, Patricia. "The Date of Beowulf Reconsidered: the Tenth Century?"
NM 82, 276-88.

Sato, Noboru. "Beowulf and Sophocles' Oedipus Tyrannus." The Ronso (Tamagawa
Univ.) 20 (1980), 353-71.

Shaheen, Abdel-Rahman, "The Style of Beowulf: a Study of Diction and
Rhetorical Devices," SAP 13, 149-62.

Silber, Patricia. "Unferth: Another Look at the Emendation," Names 28 (1980),
101-11.

Taylor, Paul B. "Beowulf 1130, 1875 and 2006: in Defence of the Manuscript,"
NM 82, 357-9.

Tilling, P. M. "William Morris's Translation of Beowulf: Studies in His
Vocabulary," Studies in English Language and Early Literature in Honour
of Paul Christopherson. Ed. Tilling. Coleraine, N. Ireland. Pp. 163-75.

Tripp, Raymond P., Jr. "A Reconsideration of the Textual Evidence for the
Existence of a Thief in Beowulf," Tokyo Medieval English Lit. Discussion
Group 19, 14-27.

Trnka, Bohumil. "The Beowulf Poem and Virgil's Aeneid," Poetica (Tokyo) 12,
150-56.

Vaught, Jacqueline. "Beowulf: the Fight at the Center," Allegorica 5, no. 2,
125-37.

Wentersdorf, Karl P. "Beowulf: the Paganism of Hrothgar's Danes," Eight Anglo-
Saxon Studies, ed. J. Wittig. Chapel Hill. Pp. 91-119.

Wilts, Ommo. "Die Friesen im Beowulf -- Rezeption und epische Grundlage,"
NFJ, n.s. 15 (1979), 131-44.

C. C.

d.   Prose

It is startling to note that only in 1981 was one of the most important collections of OE prose made fully available to scholars. Paul E. Szarmach's edition of Vercelli Homilies IX-XXIII (Toronto) joins Max Förster's Die Vercelli-Homilien I-VIII (Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, vol. 12. Hamburg, 1932; reptd. Darmstadt, 1964) to present all the prose texts of the Vercelli Book in two useful, although differently arranged volumes. As Szarmach points out, homilies 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 20, 22, and 23 have been published in one way or another in diverse places. Even though only 10, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 21 have never before been printed, the overwhelming virtue of the Szarmach edition is that these texts are at last available as a group and now only two slim books are necessary to have the entire collection. But sheer availability is scarcely the only great virtue of this edition. Although a comparison with the original manuscript has, not surprisingly, been impossible to secure for this review, a careful check of randomly selected passages with the facsimiles of Förster (1913) and Sisam (1976; EEMF 19) shows that the text is, at least in all instances observed, carefully and accurately transcribed. Szarmach presents each homily with brief introductions which list variant texts, OE analogues, known sources, as well as all scholarly commentary. Textual notes are full and some explanatory material is also included. The general introduction discusses the contents of the manuscript as well as its condition and history. The language of the homilies is described briefly, and primarily in relation to D. G. Scragg's unpublished Manchester dissertation. The principles of the edition are explained clearly. While the usefulness of Szarmach's edition cannot be questioned, the fullness of commentary is somewhat less than it could have been because a complete edition of all prose texts in the Vercelli Book is being prepared by Scragg for the Early English Text Society and "should appear within this decade." Szarmach provides neither translation nor glossary, but the only complaint one can advance against his edition is that the typefont chosen for the text makes a full page (48 lines) of OE very unpleasant to read.

In addition to his much welcomed and greatly admired edition, Paul E. Szarmach adds, in "Another Old English Translation of Gregory the Great's Dialogues?" (ES 62, 97-109), an analysis of a section of Vercelli Homily XIV, which he shows is "an adaptation of the closing sections of Book IV of Gregory's Dialogues" (97). Szarmach suggests that the identification of this Gregorian source may lead to implications about other literary relationships as well as about the art of homiletic composition.

Although the OE Martyrology has been edited before, the new edition by Günter Kotzor, Das altenglische Martyrologium, in two volumes from Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Munich), presents an admirable text with full apparatus. The first volume (of 461 pages) presents, in German, an account of all previous editions and scholarly commentary as well as work on sources, a description of all five primary manuscripts, a full discussion of the hagiographical tradition and its effect on the OE martyrology, an analysis of the language of the texts, and a statement of editorial principles. Eight photographs of the manuscripts are provided. Volume two (of 449 pages) presents the edition, textual notes, a collation of texts in each of the major editions (Cockayne [1864-70], Herzfeld [1900], and the present one), an index of names, and a bibliography. All commentary in the second volume is in English. The martyrology itself is presented in a multi-text edition. The two principal manuscripts (B. L. Cot. Jul. A. X and C.C.C.C. 196) are closely related and are printed as a single text with full variants provided in the notes. Divergent but related manuscripts

(B. L. Add. 23211 and 40165A) are presented facing the principal texts. A fifth manuscript (C.C.C.C. 41) supplies entries for Christmas and the end of December and is printed as the beginning of the martyrology. The edition is a photo-offset reproduction of a typescript and is generously spaced on the page. There is neither glossary nor translation.

Several important articles on the OE Martyrology have also appeared recently from the hand of J. E. Cross. The chief of these is "The Apostles in the Old English Martyrology" (Mediaevalia 5 [1979], 15-59). From an examination of the use made of sources for the lives of each apostle, Cross concludes that "the material used...could have been available before 850" (43), thereby assembling more evidence toward establishing the OE Martyrology "as a cultural landmark of a defined period" (42). In "An Unrecorded Tradition of St. Michael in Old English Texts" (N&Q 28, 11-13) Cross compares a passage in the entry on St Michael with a section in C.C.C.C. 41 to conclude "that both Old English pieces drew independently on a common source, an otherwise unrecorded story about St. Michael (very probably in Latin) which was circulating in England by the ninth-century date of the Martyrology" (13). In "Eulalia of Barcelona: A Notice Without Source in the Old English Martyrology" (N&Q 28, 483-4) Cross identifies the source of the passio of Eulalia in ninth-century variant manuscripts printed by Narbey in his supplement to the Acta Sanctorum. In collaboration with C. J. Tuplin, Cross offers the much more extensive piece, "An Unrecorded Variant of the 'Passio S. Christinae' and the 'Old English Martyrology'" (Traditio 36 [1980], 161-236). A previously unrecorded text of the passion of St Christina from B. L. Add. 11880 and two other Latin variants which are closely related are edited by Tuplin. Cross's introductory commentary indicates that "it may be suggested that the Old English martyrologist used a Latin text which was rather close to [this newly discovered text]...and was available within the first half of the ninth century" (168). In addition, Cross published a careful piece on "The Influence of Irish Texts and Traditions on the Old English Martyrology" (Proc. of the Royal Irish Acad. 81C, 173-92). In this he analyzes in detail the accounts of the death of Sts Patrick, Columba, and Furseus, the only Irish saints included in the OE Martyrology. Aspects of each account show unique use of sources or otherwise unrecorded details about these important figures. "[T]he composer of the Martyrology was a man of some scholarship who had access to books written by Irishmen, and to some tracts thought, at present, to have been written by Irishmen...[he] also...had...information about Irish saints which is not recorded elsewhere, or not elsewhere by the ninth century when OEM was composed" (192).

Teresa Pàroli, in "Dalla promessa alla sapienza tramite la descrizione" (AION 23, studi nederlandesi, studi nordici [1980], 241-79), analyzes the progression and structure of the long Latin text of the Visio Pauli as edited in 1893 by M. R. James. The OE Visio Pauli, Pàroli concludes, is derived from a redaction of the Visio, as are all other vernacular paraphrases.

One more previously unpublished homiletic text was made available by Ruth Evans in "An Anonymous Old English Homily for Holy Saturday" (LeedsSE n.s. 12, 129-31). Evans chooses the version in Bodley 340 and 342 as her copy text and records variants from C.C.C.C. 198 and C.C.C.C. 162. Her analysis of the relationship between the manuscripts is sound and she is probably too modest in her statement that this text "is a not insubstantial witness of the pre-Ælfrician homiletic tradition" (131).

Laura R. McCord, in "A Probable Source of the Ubi Sunt Passage in

Blickling Homily V" (NM 82, 360-61), indicates that St Basil's Admonitio ad
Filium Spiritualem, or at least a version of it, probably inspired the moving
passage in Blickling. Her evidence is modestly but cogently presented and
analyzed and her "strong" suggestion is probably right.

Some more general commentary on homiletic literature has been pre-
sented by two scholars. Kathleen Greenfield, in "Changing Emphases in English
Vernacular Homiletic Literature, 960-1225" (Jnl of Medieval Hist. 7, 283-97),
compares a body of homilies written between 960 and 1100 with a group written
between 1100 and 1225. She documents opinions in each group about thirty-seven
aspects of human misconduct and notes slow changes in emphasis which, studied
together, show a gradually less pressing concern with "questions of basic social
order" and an increased concern with "sincere compliance with Christian moral
precepts" (283). The statistical methodology used here may not seem to take
sufficient account of the relationship between surviving literature and lost
literature, but the vision of literary and historical importance for this body
of prose works is refreshing and important. Milton McCormick Gatch, in "The
Harrowing of Hell: A Liberation Motif in Medieval Theology and Devotional
Literature" (Union Seminary Quarterly Rev 36, suppl., 75-88), also brings impor-
tant qualities of OE homilies into a fresh and important literary and religious
perspective. After a review of the elements of the doctrine of the Descent into
Hell as well as its elaboration, the Harrowing, Gatch characterizes it as "a
pivotal moment in the drama of salvation, the moment when Christ became truly
victor and liberator" (76). Three medieval sermons for Easter discuss this
event: one each from Gregory, Eusebius "Gallicanus," and (allegedly) Augustine,
as well as the apochryphal Gospel of Nicodemus. Reference is made to Ælfric's
work, to the OE poem, Christ and Satan, and to OE versions of the pseudo-Augus-
tinian sermon. The most striking part of the essay follows a report of the use
of the Harrowing in teaching, in liturgy, and in eschatological literature. The
Harrowing is seen as a figural structure for important aspects of reality,
namely liberation and freedom and its ability to move an audience is explained
in a remarkably well-informed historical context.

Professor Gatch has also published an article on the medieval church
which deals with OE prose. His "Basic Christian Education from the Decline of
Cathechesis to the Rise of the Catechisms," which appeared as chapter 4 in A
Faithful Church: Issues in the History of Catechesis (ed. Westerhoff and Edwards;
Wilton, Conn.), reports the importance of evidence from the Anglo-Saxon church
in showing "how the church went about...its...teaching office" (92). Ælfric's
educational plan is discussed in detail, particularly in relation to Rogationtide.

Two dissertations this year deal with Ælfric. Elizabeth Ruth Waterhouse
wrote on "Some Syntactic and Stylistic Aspects of Ælfric's Lives of Saints" (DAI
42A, 2666) and William Schipper completed "Ælfric's De Auguriis: a Critical
Edition with Introduction and Commentary" (DAI 42A, 1650-51). Both deal closely
with stylistic concerns; Schipper also covers the historical and theological
context of augury, in addition to textual matters.

Another dissertation deals with OE religious prose. Patrick Paul
O'Neill wrote on "The Old-English Prose Psalms of the Paris Psalter" (DAI 41A,
3100-01) and presents not only an edition of the OE paraphrases of the first
fifty psalms but also a full commentary on language and historical and literary
context. He finds "Alfredian authorship for the prose psalms...a tempting, but
so far unprovable hypothesis." O'Neill also contributed an important article,
"The Old English Introductions to the Prose Psalms of the Paris Psalter: Sources,

Structure, and Composition," to Eight Anglo-Saxon Studies (ed. J. Wittig; Chapel Hill, pp. 20-38). In this careful study he established that a single author wrote each of the fifty prose paraphrases and the forty-nine prose introductions and that he knew the methods of four-fold exegesis from Irish sources and followed them in this work. The complexities of literature composed according to such a scheme were, of course, great and they were handled, furthermore, with consummate skill by the paraphrast. On this same body of literature, Janet M. Bately presents "Lexical evidence for the authorship of the prose psalms in the Paris Psalter" (ASE 10, 69-95). She starts with a review of the OE books once attributed to King Alfred: "Pastoral Care, Boethius, Soliloquies, Bede and Orosius"; she notes that while the first three are now "firmly established" as Alfred's work, the last two are now recognized as the work of others. Her essay gives elaborate lexical comparisons of the Paris Psalter OE prose with "works not by Alfred" and with "accepted works of Alfred." While she speaks of "differences" in the first instance and "agreements" in the second and freely admits that the word lists for comparison are her own choice, the conclusions are convincing and readers can, I think, accept the great weight of evidence that King Alfred himself was the single mind which produced the OE prose of the Paris Psalter.

Olof Arngart offers a careful essay on "The Durham Proverbs" (Speculum 56, 288-300) in which he provides a new text as well as the identification of additional sources and analogues. Arngart's text improves on his own, first published in 1956.

Secular prose also received attention in 1981. R. W. McTurk, in "'Cynewulf and Cyneheard' and the Icelandic Sagas" (LeedsSE n.s. 12, 81-127), investigates "the claim made so often that C&C is in one way or another comparable to an Icelandic saga" (81). With so open a thesis it would be hard to contemplate a negative result. After a presentation of the full text of "C&C" with variants, McTurk proceeds to examine the patterns of oral narrative in Icelandic sagas, feature by feature, and then to do the same for written patterns. His devotion to "the laws of oral narrative" (as discussed by Alan Olrik in 1965) does yield the desired results, for "C&C" indeed shows many characteristics of Icelandic sagas. The energy and devotion shown in this article could, I suspect, have been directed toward more satisfying conclusions.

While Peter Baker's controversial article on Byrhtferth (in Speculum) was reviewed here last year and his article on Byrhtferth's Enchiridion (ASE 10, 123-42) is reviewed in section 4, below, his dissertation, the original work which led to these other publications, is listed only this year in the Bibliography. "Studies in the Old English Canon of Byrhtferth of Ramsey" (DAI 41A, 3569-70) is obviously an important work.

Karen Jane Quinn's dissertation, "A Manual of Old English Prose" (DAI 42A, 1649), is a work of reference "for research in the Old English literary prose, exclusive of Ælfric and Wulfstan." The word "literary" also means that legal documents are omitted. Otherwise, the description of the texts, the indices, and the bibliographies make the work seem useful.

Two works on King Alfred's prose, which were reported as "works not seen" by this reviewer last year, can now be reviewed. Remembrance in Good Works: a Study of the Prose Translations of King Alfred by Sukey S. M. Jessup was published in 1979 in Folkestone, Kent, by þa Engliscan Gesiþas," a fellowship for the revival and propagation of English culture." It was originally "written as

a thesis for La Sainte Union College of Education" between 1970 and 1974 and is primarily an appreciation of the Alfredian Boethius and Soliloquies. The pleasant interest in Anglo-Saxon letter forms and the dependence on other scholars make this book, on first glance, seem easy to dismiss. Some of the observations on prose style are sensitive, however, and worth reading, particularly by undergraduates.

Of much greater importance is Janet M. Bately's inaugural lecture in the Chair of English Language and Medieval Literature at the University of London, "The Literary Prose of King Alfred's Reign: Translation or Transformation?" This graceful paper makes the art of Alfredian prose available to all serious students of literature. Prof. Bately discusses three books: the Boethius, the Orosius, and the prose psalms of the Paris Psalter. She analyzes the qualities of each and discusses Alfred's sure authorship of the first, his separation from the second, and his likely claim to the third (subsequently proved in ASE 10, reviewed above). Her most important assertion is implied by the question in the title. The prose of Alfred's reign is in fact "a reworking, a reshaping of Latin material that justifies a description such as...transformation" (12). But, as Prof. Bately concludes, "[i]n view of the enormous respect afforded to authority in the early Middle Ages, the liberties taken by these ninth century authors are quite extraordinary.... [They] shaped this source material for the refreshment of the mind, and discarding literal translation transformed the Latin into what may be called independent English prose" (21).

Works not seen:

Cillufo, Gilda. "Il dialogo in prosa Salomone e Saturno del Ms. CCCC 422." AION 23, filologia germanica (1980), 121-46.

-----, ed. and trans. Il Salomone e Saturno in prosa del ms. CCCC 422. With appendix by Patrizia Lendinara. Quaderni di filologia germanica, 2. Palermo.

D'Aronco, Maria Amalia. La designazione del tempo nella traduzione in inglese antico della 'Regola' benedettina. Glossai, 1. Udine.

Lendinara, Patrizia. "Alla traduzione anglosassone delle Historiae adversum paganos è stato dedicato il VII Convegno dei docenti italiani di filologia germanica...." Schede medievali 1, 125-29.

Luiselli Fadda, Anna Maria. "Il frammento vaticano Reg. Lat. 497, f. 71, dell' Orosio anglosassone." AION 23, filologia germanica (1980), 7-22.

Lutz, Angelika. Die Version G der Angelsächsischen Chronick: Rekonstruktion und Edition. Texte und Untersuchungen zur englischen Philologie, 11. Munich.

Manabe, Kazumi. "On Ælfric's Prose." Ling. Science (Kyushu Univ.) 15 (1980), 36-47.

Picard, B., ed. Das altenglische Aegidiusleben in Ms. CCCC 303: Textedition. Hochschulsammlung Philosophie, Literaturwissenschaft, 7. Freiburg im Breslau, 1980.

Tornaghi, Paola. "Osservazioni sul 'Canterbury Psalter' di Eadwine: il problema delle lezioni alternative." Rendiconti dell' Instituto Lombardo, Classe di lettere e scienze morali e storiche, 113 (1979), 348-58.

R. L. C.

4. ANGLO-LATIN AND ECCLESIASTICAL WORKS

Bede's works, the Historia Ecclesiastica in particular, were the sub-
ject of the largest number of publications reported in the OE Bibliogrpahy for
1981. By studying allusions to Bede's historical works in chronicles and other
documents, Antonia Gransden has examined "Bede's Reputation as an Historian in
Medieval England" (JEH 32, 397-425). His repute, she argues, basing her demon-
stration also upon the number of surviving MSS of Bede's works, was at the
highest level in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Anglo-Normans, in
particular, found Bede's work useful for their studies of the traditions of
English Christianity and for their efforts to foster the growth of monasticism
in England. But our interest in Gransden's study must be primarily with her
analysis of pre-Conquest citations of Bede's historical writings. Gransden
cites, in particular, Alfredian uses of Bede: in the translation of HE, as a
base for the Chronicle, and as a source for the Martyrology. The reformers of
the tenth century found precedents for their work in Bede's descriptions of the
spirituality and the councils of the earlier age. Bede was a major source of
Ælfric's hagiographical writing, but Ælfric and Byrhtferth were at least as inter-
ested in the "scientific" or computistical work of Bede as in his historical
writings. .And, of course, the Anglo-Saxons regarded Bede as a saint, entombing
his relics next to Cuthbert's at Durham in the middle of the eleventh century.
In "Bede and the 'English People'" (Jnl of Religious History 11 [1980-81], 501-23)
H. E. J. Cowdrey suggests that the full title of Historia Gentis Anglorum
Ecclesiastica "announces not only a subject but also a purpose"--namely, to
nourish national awareness that would meld the gentes who inhabited Britain into
a single gens by stressing the ethnic unity of the Germanic settlers, by imply-
ing that the settlement of the Celtic-Roman issues in ecclesiastical life helped
to forge a new national identity, and by instructing the leading groups in secu-
lar and ecclesiastical life to continue work for unity. Like Gransden, Cowdrey
suggests that Bede played an influential role throughout the Anglo-Saxon period.
In a volume honoring the greatest English medieval historian of our time, Sir
Richard Southern (The Writing of History in the Middle Ages, ed. R. H. C.
Davis and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill), Archibald A. M. Duncan contributes a paper
on "Bede, Iona, and the Picts" (pp. 1-42), the themes of which are in some ways
similar to those of Cowdrey. Duncan stresses the centrality of the conversion
of Iona to the establishment of a gens Anglorum--an event in which Ceolfrith
and Egbert were central and for his description of which Bede must have used
sources from Iona. Duncan believes these source materials were probably trans-
mitted by Egbert from Iona to Ceolfrith at Jarrow.

It was inevitable in a Festschrift for Professor Albert Bates Lord
that there would be a paper on Cædmon--or Bede's account of the herdsman-poet.
For Oral Traditional Literature, edited by John Miles Foley, the paper, "The
Memory of Cædmon" (pp. 282-93) was offered by Donald K. Fry; and it is one of
the best on the subject in many years. Reflecting, first, on the theory of
memory spelled out by F. C. Bartlett in Remembering (1932) and after reflection
on the Greek practice of memorizing verse "as a part of their education," Fry
argues that "Cædmon extemporizes only once, creating the original hymn."
Therefore, reciting the hymn or versifying materials learned from his clerical
instructors, he recited from memory. All OE poetry, Fry argues, is written
down (even Cædmon is recorded from his recitations from memory) so that future
students can, in their turn, be taught the verses and recite them from memory
themselves. "The Venerable Bede and the Pastoral Affirmation of the Christian
Message in Anglo-Saxon England" by T. R. Eckenrode (The Downside Review 99,
258-78) is a review of matters in Bede's teaching which touch on praedicatio

in the broadest sense--which, after all, is the sense of the word used in
Gregory the Great's Liber Regula Pastoralis, too. Eckenrode's is a useful sur-
vey, if it is understood as a survey of the pastoral office which does not
touch on preaching as a liturgical phenomenon and, therefore, does not deal
with Bede as a homilist. Hans-Joachim Diesner addresses Fragen der Macht- und
Herrschaftsstruktur bei Beda (1980). His is a balanced and convincing essay
on Bede's political philosophy.

In an article on "Bede's Lost Liber Epigrammatum" published in 1975,
Michael Lapidge referred to another Anglo-Saxon collection of epigrans, as-
sembled by or for Milred of Worcester in the eighth century. In ASE 10 (21-38)
Patrick Sims-Williams now offers a full-dress study of what can be known of the
character of "Milred of Worcester's Collection of Latin Epigrams and its Con-
tinental Counterparts." Expert and fully detailed, the paper reveals more than
one might have imagined could have been learned about this collection of
"native and Roman inscriptional verse."

Several items in the bibliography center on Alcuin. The genre of
literary works conceived in "two paired parts--the one in prose, the other in
verse" are the subject of Peter Godman's interesting essay, "The Anglo-Latin
Opus Geminatum: from Aldhelm to Alcuin" (MÆ 50, 215-29). Godman concentrates
on Alcuin's poem on the church of York, a "twin" to portions of Bede's History
and of the prose Vita S. Cuthberti. He also studies the late-classical and
Anglo-Saxon antecedents of the genre, which is rooted in classical conversio,
the device in rhetorical training of paraphrasing a prose work in verse and
vice versa. Sedulius is seminal in the transmission of this practice, taken
up among the Anglo-Saxons by Aldhelm in the two works on virginity, by Bede
in the prose paraphrase of Paulinus's Vita S. Felicis and in the two Cuthbert
vitae. Alcuin designated his geminated life of Willibrord as suitable for lec-
tions in church (prose) or for private study (verse). Godman's is a very sug-
gestive and helpful paper on a Latin genre of great importance in Anglo-Latin
literature. Another study of the Versus de...Sanctis Eboracensis ecclesiae is
Donald A. Bullough's contribution, "Hagiography as Patriotism: Alcuin's 'York
Poem' and the Early Northumbrian 'Vitae Sanctorum,'" to a colloquium at Nanterre
and Paris in May 1979, entitled Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés: IVe—XIIe
siècles (Paris, pp. 339-59). The poem, Bullough suggests, is a vehicle for
Alcuin to argue the case of York as a "royal capital, providing the securest
basis for a political unity...in Northumbria" (p. 351). On another genre in
the work of Alcuin, I Deug-Su contributed two long studies of "L'Opera
agiografica di Alcuino" to SM 21 (1980). The first is an examination of "la
'Vita Willibrordi'" (pp. 47-96), commissioned by Beornrad, bishop of Sens and
abbot of Echternach. The unifying theme of this vita, according to the critic,
is the people of God: Willibrord's missionary activities helped to raise up a
new people of God--a movement brought to fruition by Alcuin's patron, Charlemagne.
"La 'Vita Vedastis'" (pp. 665-706), written at the request of the abbot of Arras,
stresses the piety and the assiduously pastoral labors of its subject.

A text attributed in one manuscript to Alcuin is shown by E. Ann
Matter to be earlier and without Anglo-Saxon connections. "The Pseudo-
Alcuinian 'De Septem Sigillis': an Early Latin Apocalypse Exegesis," she
shows in Traditio 36 ([1980], 111-37), was probably written in Visigothic Spain
in the sixth and seventh century. In the light of two manuscripts not used by
Ehwald, Rosario Leotta offers observations on the text of the last part of
Aldhelm's Epistola ad Acircium in "Considerazioni sulla tradizione manoscritta
del 'De pedum regulis' di Aldelmo," Giornale italiano di filologia (32 [1980],
119-34).

An important study of early medieval philosophy, which makes a significant contribution to the history of philosophy, has been published by John Marenbon: From the Circle of Alcuin to the School of Auxerre: Logic, Theology and Philosophy in the Early Middle Ages (Cambridge). The study is only peripherally concerned with England: chiefly as the place where Alcuin received his early training. Yet this study of the limited pursuit of certain logical, speculative philosophical issues--notably of the problems of Categories and Universals--by John Scottus Eriugena (Marenbon's spelling) and others is invaluable to any effort to make a general assessment of the intellectual character of the times, even if one must contrast the efforts of Anglo-Saxons unfavorably with the work of the Carolingian scholars at the center of Marenbon's stage. More enthusiastic than Marenbon, perhaps because it is not so well controlled, is the thesis of Vincent Serralda in La Philosophie de la Personne chez Alcuin (Paris, 1978), in which it is argued that Alcuin's teachings on psychology and politics are closely related and remarkably innovative. According to Serralda, Alcuin believed that legal authority (pouvoir juridique) rests in the individual, and on this foundation he developed not only his Christological but also his political and ethical teachings.

The acta of an interesting conference held at York University, Toronto, in 1979 have been published as Pontifical Insitutite of Mediaeval Studies, Papers in Mediaeval Studies, 1: Insular Latin Studies: Papers on Latin Texts and Manuscripts of the British Isles: 550-1066, edited by Michael Herren (reported in Bibliography as "not seen"--and, therefore, not analyzed). Herren himself opens the volume with a paper on "Hiberno-Latin Philology: the State of the Question" (pp. 1-22). The most important paper for our purposes here, however, is Michael Lapidge's contribution, *"The Present State of Anglo-Latin Studies" (pp. 45-82). After just tribute to the great scholars qui ante nos fuerunt, Lapidge proceeds to a masterful survey of recent studies of the Anglo-Latin writers. At the outset, he emphasizes the "Southumbrian Anglo-Latin writers because, in general, the Latin culture of late seventh and early eighth century Northumbria has been more thoroughly studied." After a useful section on the work of Alcuin in the English setting, Lapidge addresses the ninth century: "the darkest century in the record of Latin culture in England." Despite the fact that current Anglo-Latin scholarship is concentrated in the tenth century, Lapidge finds the period "a vast expanse of relatively uncharted ocean." He surveys the three major communities that contributed to the production of Anglo-Latin literature: Christ Church, Canterbury; Winchester (Old Minster); and Ramsey. He emphasizes in particular recent study of Byrhtferth's Latin writing, to which he himself (inter alios) has made notable contributions. Wesley M. Stevens contributes a useful survey of *"Scientific Instruction in Early Insular Schools" (pp. 83-111), finding more evidence of piety than of science. Gernot Wieland addresses the phenomenon of *"Geminus Stilus: Studies in Anglo-Latin Hagiography" (pp. 113-33). This topic, also addressed elsewhere in this review in connection with both Aldhelm and Alcuin, raises questions for Wieland related to abbot Ælfric's rythmical prose style. Other essays in this very stimulating volume can only receive the very slightest mention here: Colin Chase's paper on *"Alcuin's Grammar Verse: Poetry and Truth in Carolingian Pedagogy" (pp. 135-52); an essay on what is known of *"English Libraries before 1066: Use and Abuse of the Manuscript Evidence" (pp. 153-78) by David Dumville; and two papers on Breton works of insular connections: Christine E. Ineichen-Eder's *"The Authenticity of the Dicta Candidi, Dicta Albini and Some Related Texts" (pp. 179-93) and Francois Kerlouegan on *"Les Vies de Saints Bretons les plus Anciennes dans leurs Rapports avec les Iles Britanniques" (pp. 195-213). The collection, as a whole, is a most useful contribution to Anglo-Latin studies.

Byrhtferth of Ramsey's Latin work continues to receive scholarly attention, and consequently his historical importance continues to be enhanced. Supporting the arguments of Thomas Arnold and the late Peter Hunter Blair concerning the unity and the tenth-century composition of the early sections of the Historia Regum, Michael Lapidge also attempts to identify its author in "Byrhtferth of Ramsey and the early sections of the Historia Regum attributed to Symeon of Durham" (ASE 10, 97-122). Style and phraseology associate the work with the hermeneutic style; computistical and astronomical topics resemble the well-known interests of Byrhtferth; and both the use of such sources as writings of Aldhelm, Bede, Boethius, and Abbo and idiosyncratic use of quotations also point to Byrhtferth's authorship of the writing. Lapidge concludes with comments on the emergence of Byrhtferth as a major Anglo-Latin author, five of whose works are now known. Study of these works and their "abundant quotations," he urges, can lead to assessment of Byrhtferth's education and the scholarly resources available to him at Ramsey. One of the other Latin works of Byrhtferth is studied in conjunction with his major English writing by Peter S. Baker, "Byrhtferth's Enchiridion [i.e., what has been called the Manual] and the computus in Oxford, St John's College 17" (Ibid., pp. 123-42). Baker shows that the computus is an anthology of materials on the subject which Byrhtferth not only gathered but also followed in organizing the Enchiridion--the contents and organization of which Baker elucidates in a satisfactory way for the first time. In this scholarly methodology, Byrhtferth can be compared with Ælfric and Wulfstan as a gatherer of materials in Latin which were later adapted in writings in the mother tongue.

The Latin chronicle manuscript from Bury St Edmunds, usually known as the Annals of St Neots (where Leland discovered it in the 1540's), is discussed by Cyril Hart under a new and more helpful title, "The East Anglian Chronicle," in Jnl of Medieval History (7, 249-82). Hart analyzes the sources of this "composite work" and suggests it was put together at Ramsey for use at Bury St Edmunds. The chronicle has several stylistic traits in common with the writings of Byrhtferth of Ramsey. It does not display the hermeneutic style of Byrhtferth's other Latin writings, however; and Hart will only posit that it may have been influenced by Byrhtferth when he was the schoolmaster of Ramsey. A. C. de la Mare and B. C. Barker-Benfield have edited an elegant catalogue of the Bodleian exhibition in memory of R. W. Hunt, Manuscripts at Oxford (1980). Among the several sections of interest to Anglo-Saxonists, the chief is Michael Lapidge's "The Revival of Latin Learning in Anglo-Saxon England" (pp. 18-22). Lapidge selected a continental Aldhelm manuscript with glosses by Dunstan and John the Old Saxon; the Dunstan "Class-Book"; an Aldhelm manuscript from Abingdon during the abbacy of Æthelwold; a manuscript of the metrical vita of Swithun by Æthelwold's pupil, Wulfstan of Winchester; and--to stress the importance of Abbo of Fleury, the great scholar brought to Ramsey by Dunstan in 986-88--two Byrhtferth manuscripts.

Among publications on matters hagiographical, one may note several publications by David Yerkes on St Machutus (olim. Malo). A note, "The Accounts of Saint Machutus in the Breviaries of Hyde and York" (RB 91, 383-85), shows that the two breviaries derive from different families of texts. Hyde belongs to a Winchester family of manuscripts of the Life of Machutus by Bili, to which the OE version of the vita is also probably related. Robert Brown and Yerkes have edited "A Sermon on the Birthday of St Machutus" from B. L. MS Royal 13 A.x in An Bol (99, 160-64). The sermon is derived in part from a sermon on St Vedast attributed to Alcuin. This edition is one of a number of addenda to Yerkes's forthcoming edition of the OE Machutus homily. (The same zeal for completeness is evidenced by his private publication of a "Latin Word Index to

The Two Versions of Wærferth's Translation of Gregory's 'Dialogues.'") Alexandra Hennessey Olsen's essay "'De Historiis Sanctorum': a Generic Study of Hagiography" (Genre 13 [1980], 407-29), tilts with received definitions of and attitudes towards hagiography. Treating a number of Latin and vernacular lives, she argues that the generic requirements of the vitae sanctorum are not rigid but manifold. Authors are to be judged on their skill in handling traditional materials.

Janet Nelson's contribution to the festschrift for Walter Ullmann, Authority and Power, edited by Brian Tierney and Peter Linehan (Cambridge, 1980), is a contribution to the study of the English "coronation" orders, "The Earliest Surviving Royal Ordo: Some Liturgical and Historical Aspects" (pp. 29-48). Nelson makes major revision of the basic studies on the subject by P. E. Schramm. The Leofric Missal and its ordo are English, she argues; and the ordo can probably be dated as early as the eighth century. The rite thus established was "remarkably stable," having been used throughout the ninth (witness the ordo for Judith upon her marriage to Æthelwulf in 856) and tenth centuries and was, indeed, essentially the rite used for William in 1066. Among the many interesting points in this paper is the argument that through the ninth century the chief headgear of Anglo-Saxon rulers was not the corona but the helm.

The dissemination of two grammatical texts written in England in the eighth century is considered by Vivien A. Law in "The Transmission of the Ars Bonifacii and the Ars Tatuini" (Revue d'Histoire des Textes 9 [1979], 281-88). It has usually been thought that Boniface must have taken the Tatwin as well as his own text with him to Fulda and that the dissemination of the two texts (which appear together in two MSS: B. N. lat. 1759 and Vat. Pal. lat. 1746) can be traced to Boniface. Law shows, however, that the presence of the two texts in two collections of grammatical materials is fortuitous and that these artes are quite independent in both their origins and their textual histories.

The publication of the Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources by R. E. Latham has continued with the appearance of fasicule 2 for the letter C. In a related project, R. L. Thomson offers a study of "Ælfric's Latin Vocabulary" (LeedsSE n.s. 12, 155-61) in which he presents the words in Ælfric's appendix to the Grammar that are post-classical. He bases his study primarily on R. E. Latham's Revised Medieval Latin Word-List, both giving lists of words in Latham according to the dates under which they were first introduced in England and noting words in the Ælfric gloss which, according to Latham, were only later introduced in the Anglo-Latin vocabulary.

Works not seen:

Blumenshine, G. B., ed. Liber Alcuini contra haeresim Felicis. Studi e testi, 285. Vatican City: Biblioteca Vaticana, 1980.
Campbell, James. Bede's 'reges' and 'principes'. 1979 Jarrow Lecture. Jarrow: Jarrow Parish, 1979.
Lendinara, Patrizia. "Gli Aenigmata Laureshamensia." PAN: Studi dell' Instituto di filologia latina 7 (1981 for 1979), 73-90.
Thacker, A. T. "Some Terms for Noblemen in Anglo-Saxon England, c. 650-900." ASSAH 2, 155-61.

M. McC. G.

5. MANUSCRIPTS AND ILLUMINATION

Two articles this year deal with Anglo-Saxon book production and dating. T. J. Brown uses nine examples in his consideration of "Late Antique and Early Anglo-Saxon Books" (Manuscripts at Oxford: an Exhibition in Memory of Richard William Hunt [1908-1979]. Ed. A. C. de la Mare and B. C. Barker-Benfield [Oxford, 1980], 9-14). Making a concise chronological survey, he shows the two different ways Anglo-Saxon Christian book production is ultimately connected with the Roman system of late antiquity. In its early phases it derives through Irish missionaries from the provincial book production of sub-Roman Britain; in its latter forms the influence of the Roman conversion manifests itself. By the mid-8th century the membrane and quire production belong to the old insular tradition, as do the less formal scripts, whereas the formal scripts show the Roman elements. This Anglo-Saxon synthesis, moreover, was foreshadowed by the mid-7th century invention of the insular initial. H. L. Rogers gives a thorough account of an individual manuscript, a charter (Birch 1334) granted by Oslac in 780 and confirmed by Offa between 787-796, in "The Oldest West-Saxon Text?" (RES 32, 257-66). He summarizes Birch's arguments for the document's originality and traces its early history, from its beginnings as a discarded psalter page to the final addition of Offa's confirmation. Rogers then produces orthographic reasons why the second scribe was not a West-Saxon or a Worcester scribe, but one with some Kentish connection. Oslac's grant itself, on the other hand, shows West Saxon forms in orthography. Interestingly, the only West Saxon charter which may be earlier (Birch 225) has pronounced Mercian features. We have then "the strange situation that Oslac's Sussex charter represents early West-Saxon better than the oldest West-Saxon documents do."

In several articles Rodney Thomson has established the range of William of Malmesbury's reading. Now, applying his erudition to the monastery itself, Thomson examines "Identifiable Books from the pre-Conquest Library of Malmesbury Abbey" (ASE 10, 1-19). This is a splendid piece of detective work, in which Thomson makes use of John Leland's lists of books in the library, manuscripts known to William of Malmesbury, internal evidence of surviving manuscripts, all taken in conjunction with Aldhelm's quotations about his books and other background material. Leland's lists, in particular, reveal fascinating information under close scrutiny. For example, Thomson shows that Leland's Tertulian entry can be linked with the German Renaissance editor Ghelen and with Leland's friend John Clement. Much earlier on, too, the manuscript may have been associated with Corbie--perhaps even acquired by William of Malmesbury himself. William mentions several books in the Malmesbury library, one of which--Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 330--he actually owned. Certain extant books, moreover, have features linking them with Malmesbury. What Thomson establishes, then, is the surprisingly wide range of material in this pre-Conquest library of which so little remains. "Had we more evidence we would probably find the Malmesbury library to have been most like those at Durham and Glastonbury, comparable ancient centres." Peter J. Lucas also looks at the Malmesbury library in "MS Junius 11 and Malmesbury" (Scriptorium 34 [1980], 197-220, and 35, 3-22). Lucas undertakes four tasks: (1) a re-examination of the binding of the manuscript, (2) a discussion of its purpose, (3) an argument for its early Malmesbury associations, and (4) a consideration of its relation to Malmesbury as an important area of book production. To the first subject, in particular, he brings new light--establishing, for example, that the binding is probably Anglo-Saxon, that of the seventeen quires in MS Junius 11 all except 1, 15 and 17 were almost certainly quires

of 8 and that as many as 19 leaves are missing from Quires 2-16. He notes that the manuscript had a grand design, "mimicing the Bible, no less," and that it was intended for private devotional reading. Lucas's arguments for the assignment of the manuscript to Malmesbury have been made elsewhere. They are fourfold and complex and have been definitely evaluated--and dismissed-- by Thomson in the above cited article: "Four weak arguments do not support each other or constitute a single strong one. These particular arguments do not make much of a case for a Malmesbury provenance for Junius 11 and no case at all for its origin there." If one accepts Thomson's conclusion, then Lucas's discussion of the relationship of the manuscript to Malmesbury's scriptorium becomes somewhat superfluous. Even so, Lucas does give an interesting account of the various kinds of influence behind the manuscript and suggests that "The manuscript thus combines a number of disparate elements, native OE poetry some of which is of early date and possibly of northerly origin, and which may have passed through a West Mercian recension, poetry taken from a translation of the OS Genesis which may have been in the West Midlands, and illustrations partly based on continental models."

Two important studies come from German scholars. In Die Worttrennung am Zeilenende in altenglischen Handschriften (Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe 14: Angelsächsische Sprache und Literatur, 96. Frankfurt am Main and Bern) Claus-Dieter Wetzel examines a corpus of 168 manuscripts and 125,000 word divisions at the ends of lines. He comes to the conclusion that in general word division at the end of lines in OE manuscripts is based on linguistic principles and that it does not vary notably with the date or the location at which a manuscript was copied. In a supplement of six microfiche Wetzel lists word divisions in various environments of consonants and vowels. In "Mittelalterliche Konstruktionshilfen und altenglische Wortstellung" (Scriptorium 34 [1980], 18-58) Michael Korhammer expands on Fred Robinson's article on "Syntactical Glosses in Latin Manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon Provenance" (Speculum 48 [1973], 443-75) by examining medieval manuscripts of other provenances. The evidence supports Robinson's linking and sequential systems of glossing and a third, logical system is noted. Korhammer argues convincingly that the sequential system of glossing reflects a pedagogical tradition of construing Latin sentences rather than the word order of any medieval vernacular.

A number of pieces examine Anglo-Saxon illustrated Gospel books and psalters. In her study of "The Lichfield Gospels" (DAI 42A, 4-5) Wendy A. Stein gives the history of this decorated Hiberno-Saxon manuscript, which came to Lichfield in the tenth century via Wales from an undetermined place of origin. The book's nearest surviving palaeographic relatives are the Book of Kells and fragments at St. Gall and Worcester. The four surviving initial pages are related to those in the Lindisfarne Gospels and to St. Gall Cod. 51. The four symbols show some connections with pages in the Books of Durrow and Kells. The Lichfield Gospels can probably be dated c.730; the sources are mainly insular and it may have come from Northumbria or Mercia. Janet Backhouse's The Lindisfarne Gospels (Ithaca, N. Y., and Oxford) is designed for an intelligent, non-specialist audience and is a kind of companion piece to Françoise Henry's edition of The Book of Kells. The illustrations are abundant and of high quality; they are complemented by a coherently organized, highly readable text. Backhouse gives a background history of Lindisfarne, discusses the four men who made the book, analyses text and illustrations, compares it with other illustrated texts from the same period and charts its later history. As she points out, The Lindisfarne Gospels have been the focus of much scholarly analysis; hers is a wide ranging summary, not a critical discussion of any given feature.

Without footnotes and containing only the briefest bibliography, The Lindisfarne Gospels is almost deceptively light in tone. Only afterwards does one realize how much information has been packed into it. The books published in the Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile series have been masterpieces of scholarship and elegance. The Durham Gospels (Durham, Cathedral Library, MS A. II. 17), ed. C. D. Verey, J. Brown, and E. Coatsworth (Early Eng. Manuscripts in Facsimile, 20; Copenhagen, 1980), though prohibitive in cost, is no exception. It deals, of course, with the remains of two Latin Gospel books which now reside at Durham as one codex. Both segments have been with the same community for over 1,300 years and both may have originated at Lindisfarne itself. The first is much more complete (fols. 2-102) than the second (fols. 103-11), which consists only of a portion of St. Luke's Gospel. The first book was written by two scribes and the scribe illuminator also wrote and illuminated the Echternach Gospels. Of the three early Gospel books from Lindisfarne, moreover, the Durham book is in many ways the most eclectic. Aside from the delights of the text itself, this new edition provides exemplary physical and palaeographic descriptions of the manuscript, careful discussions of the illustrations, a history of the manuscript, an analysis of additions and so forth.

In "The Durrow Four Evangelist Symbols Page Once Again" (Gesta 20, no. 1, 23-33) Martin Werner both reassesses his own earlier theses on the iconographic derivation of this page and responds to Lawrence Ness's criticism of this interpretation. Werner qualifies very radically Ness's comparisons with a recently discovered mosaic at Gennaro, although he grants that it is possible that the Durrow artist drew inspiration for his cross design from an early Latin display resembling the mosaic. The Durrow page, however, does not depend on the Gennaro model for its interlaced cross or its Evangelist symbols. Werner continues to hold that the lion and ox are portrayed upright in uniformity with the man and eagle above. They must, moreover, have been inspired by a type of upright Coptic zoam. In "Imago Leonis" (Gesta 20, no. 1, 35-41) Wayne Dynes undertakes a full examination of this immensely popular representation which precedes the Gospel of Mark in the Echternach Gospels. This illustration forms one of a group of four such pages, with which Dynes compares and contrasts it. What is remarkable is the energy of the lion and its relationship to its frame, which constrains it while at the same time providing a foil for its triumph (where its claws begin to escape from the boundaries of the frame). The movement of the lion, moreover, should be considered in the context of the earlier Roman tradition of the flying gallop rather than in comparison with later heraldic forms. In the frame itself it is tempting to see other patterns--a city plan or a labyrinth, for example--but in this respect the artist has been much more allusive than iconic. Dynes also discusses the role of the colors and of the parchment itself in the unified development of the work.

In her discussion of "The Immaculate Imagery in the Winchester Psalter" (Gesta 20, no. 1, 111-18) Kristine E. Haney focuses on one of the thirty-seven pages of illustrations found in the Winchester Psalter (BL MS Cot. Nero C. IV), one which has hitherto defied successful analysis. The key comes in the lower section which represents the annunciation to Joachim, an unusual topic for illustration in twelfth-century England and one about which there was considerable controversy. Using "Immaculist" texts of the period, Haney shows how the Virgin was often linked with Moses--through parallels with the Burning Bush and as new Ark of the Covenant--and how the lower section therefore relates to the upper which illustrates Moses in these contexts. The middle section, which seems particularly obscure, probably represents God flanked by David and

Solomon, distinguished ancestors of the Virgin, "the flower of the root of Jesse." This page relates to the other Marian scenes in the Psalter and they form a cycle of events: "In spite of the heterogeneous stylistic and icono-graphic character of the illustrations, the message they carry is single-minded to honor the life and death of the Mother of God." In "Three Drawings in an Anglo-Saxon Pontifical: Anthropomorphic Trinity or Threefold Christ" (Art Bull. 63, 547-62) Jane E. Rosenthal re-examines three full-page drawings on consecu-tive folios at the head of the Sherborne Pontifical. In well-reasoned, well-illustrated arguments she establishes clearly that they cannot be--as early commentators have posited--one of the earliest examples of an anthropomorphic Trinity. Rather, all three portray Christus Victor; an analysis of their attributes and a study of medieval Biblical exegesis show that--like gold, frankincense and myrrh--they represent Christ as King, as God, and as Man. This is an unusual subject, but imagery in early pontificals had to be impro-vised. Moreover, the theme can be related to the bishop's dedication ordo, and the figures are "illustrations of the basic theme of the entrance ceremony, the arrival of the victorious Christ who comes as the King of glory, God almighty, and man the martyr to occupy his temple."

The early Irish Christians were particularly subtle in their use of pictorial symbolism. Suzanne Lewis examines "Sacred Calligraphy: the Chi Rho Page in the Book of Kells" (Traditio 36 [1980], 139-59). Arguing from patris-tic sources and indigenous traditions, she establishes that a profusion of interlinking motifs can be found here which focus on Christ, his sacred name, and his incarnation, death, and resurrection. The various small creatures--the otter and fish, and cats and mice--provide images of the Body of Christ as the Logos Incarnate in various disguises. All the animals and insects show preoccupation with food, as in the Eucharist, and represent in themselves the three parts of the mundus. Three other large pictures expand the significance of the Chi Rho incipit: the Virgin and Child Enthroned, the Arrest of Christ, and the Temptation of Christ. These three repeat and embellish the triad of Christological and Eucharistic ideas and indicate an intention to mark the illustrated passages for liturgical reading. Lewis's interpretation of the text confirms the theory that the illustrations must have been produced in the scriptorium of a large Irish monastery like Iona by an erudite and talented craftsman--perhaps, as Françoise Henry conjectures, the abbot Connachtach who died in 802. The complicated use of symbolism and the minute nuances show kinship with other Irish art of the period and with the "magical" side of Isidore of Seville. In its own complicated exegesis Lewis's article itself illustrates just how much aid a modern scholar needs before he can penetrate the surface ambivalence and redundancy of Irish sacred art of this period.

In "The Early Provenance of the Harkness Gospels (BRH 84, no. 1, 85-97) K. D. Hartzell uses annotations as a means of determining the history of this ninth-century manuscript (now MS 115 in the collection of Latin manuscripts at the N. Y. Public Library) after it left the abbey of Landevennec in Britanny. Hartzell first examines a set of emendations which contain some insular fea-tures. These suggest that the manuscript came to England, although it may have remained in a place where Bretons lived in exile. The second set of emenda-tions can be related to an insular square miniscule which first appeared in the latter part of the reign of King Alfred and then spread. Through certain features of these emendations, moreover, a south-west provenance is indicated. The later history of the manuscript--in particular, how it got to Como--is un-clear, although this type of travel is not without precedent: one must bear in mind, for example, the travels of the more famous Vercelli manuscript. In her

analysis of "The Northumbrian Golden Age: the Parameters of a Renaissance" (DAI 42A, 2339) Carol Leslie Neuman De Vegvar isolates several patterns in the post-conversion art of Northumbria. Northumbria was divided into Celtic and Roman missions. The Celtic Church produced assimilative works in which the style of indigenous metalwork was superimposed on foreign symbols and motifs. The Roman Church tended to be more emulative; and after the Synod of Whitby centres such as Lindisfarne--Celtic in origin but newly Roman in practice-- demonstrated a new synthetic approach.

Two studies deal with Anglo-Saxon saints. Kathryn Christine Flom's "M736 Miracula et Passio Sancti Eadmundi, a Study of the Pictorial Cycle" (DAI 42A, 432) examines the thirty-two full-folio miniature cycle prefacing and illustrating Abbon of Fleury's Passio sancti Eadmundi and an anonymous Miracula sancti Eadmundi in Pierpont Morgan Library manuscript, M736. The illustrations emphasize the theme of St Edmund's protection of his abbey at Bury and suggest that their purpose was to affirm Anglo-Saxon associations. There are clear relationships with the prefatory drawings of Pembroke MS 120 and the illustrator must have been an associate of the Alexis Master at St Albans, although he nevertheless showed himself pictorially inventive in his own work. By examining "The Manuscript Sources for John of Tynemouth's De Sancto Neoto Abbate et Confessore" (Manuscripta 25, 50-53), Mary P. Richards discovers that John of Tynemouth summarized and combined three pieces. For the account of St Neot's life he epitomized the latest and most miraculous of the versions available in the fourteenth century, using a text which now survives only in BL MS Cot. Claudius A V, fols. 145^{v}-160^{v}. Moreover, John identified Neot's father with King Ethelwulf, thus making him a brother of Alfred the Great. Although John used only one version for the vita itself, he combined two accounts of the translation of his relics. Both these accounts are always found with a rather sober vita, one singularly lacking in miracles, and one which John seems, therefore, to have rejected. The impression we have, then, is of a compiler who gathered material from a wide number of sources, who liked the miraculous and was eager to include much detail, who, in short, was a popularizer of great energy and creativity.

Although Alcuin has been the subject of recent studies, there has been no modern edition of his Liber de virtutibus et vitiis. As the first step in this direction Paul E. Szarmach has tracked down more than 140 manuscripts containing complete or partial witnesses to the text and has assembled them in "A Preliminary Handlist of Manuscripts Containing Alcuin's Liber de virtutibus et vitiis (Manuscripta 25, 131-140). He gives a brief description of the text (which was written an an ethical manual), discusses its contents, and establishes its widespread influence throughout Europe. In the later Middle Ages, in particular, the treatment of the capital sins seems to have been the chief reason for its popularity. Szarmach lists manuscripts containing translations as well: here, the surviving OE translations and adaptations seem especially interesting. The handlist itself is arranged in a standard format and includes a short commentary giving pertinent information about the manuscript where available. Other manuscripts will, Szarmach suggests, turn up: shorter versions, manuscripts now attributed to Augustine and other authors, and so forth. The Liber de virtutibus et vitiis is clearly an important text and Szarmach's proposed edition is much needed.

Among the scholars in the great nineteenth-century wave of philological studies, Richard Cleasby is the least famous and the least well published.

The fate of the notes he must have left, moreover, is obscure. Almost by seren-dipity, however, Christine E. Fell has now discovered "Richard Cleasby's Notes on the Vercelli Codex" (LeedsSE n.s. 12, 13-42). In this article she gives a brief analysis of his career, tells how she found these notes (and descibes another surviving set of notes on Beowulf as well), and points out areas in which Cleasby anticipates modern editors. The notes concern the Vercelli poems only and Fell gives an abbreviated version of them, but even in short-ened form they show Cleasby's sharp scholarship, wide knowledge of comparative philology, and shrewd emendations.

At a time when R. W. Pfaff's excellent biography of M. R. James has sparked renewed interest in this great scholar, it is perhaps particularly appropriate that his hitherto unpublished Sanders lecture of 1903--"Collec-tions of Manuscripts at Cambridge: Their History, Sources and Contents"--has at last appeared (TCBS 7, pt. 4 [1980], 395-410). In some sense, the piece is a historical curiosity since much of the information can now be found in N. R. Ker's Medieval Libraries of Great Britain. James's discursive style, however, is charming, and the range of his learning immense. He looks first at each of the pre-Dissolution college and monastic libraries and notes both medieval catalogues and surviving manuscripts, concluding that "we have some nine or ten catalogues of mediaeval libraries in Cambridge, containing notices of per-haps 1500 volumes. Between 200 and 300 of these books exist now. We have in addition a similar number of books not catalogued which formed part of the mediaeval libraries there." He then gives a brief history of later catalogues, ranging from the period of Cuthbert Tunstall and Archbishop Parker up to James's own monumental labors in this field. He discusses private collectors as well, dwelling in particular on Parker's contributions. When this lecture was first delivered James illustrated it with a number of the manuscripts themselves. Even in its printed form almost eighty years later it conveys the enthusiasm, the erudition, and the charm of this major pioneer in manuscript studies.

In "Uxor Noah Rediviva: Some Comments on her Creation and Development" (Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch n.s. 21 [1980], 21-37), listed in the OE Bibliography with works on "Genesis," Vincent DiMarco challenges earlier schol-arly theories that there were pre-cycle appearances of the hesitant or con-trarious Uxor Noah. He shows that the Cursor Mundi cannot, in fact, be used to show the mockery of Noah's family, and that the Cornish creation does not present a hesitating Uxor. Nor does the Noah illustration in Bodley MS Junius 11 pro-vide a precedent. The folklore connections, too, are minimal. Instead, DiMarco suggests, we should analyze the dramatic structure of the cycles them-selves and their firm reliance on exegetical tradition. Noah's wife, for example, provides a kind of transitional female figure standing between the extremes of Eve and Mary. Noah and Mary, moreover, are similar figures and they have parallel problems with their spouses: "I suggest that the dramatic pattern of the Noah plays that feature a contrarious Uxor may well have devel-oped on analogy with the plays of Mary and Joseph with their clear sources in the canonical and apocryphal gospels of the Nativity" (p. 32). In the cycle plays where Uxor does not show active collusion with the devil DiMarco sees an influence of the First Epistle of Peter, 3:18-20, where the verses can be interpreted in such a way as to make Noah's wife a prototype of those sinners who hesitate at first but then acquiesce to salvation. Finally, DiMarco thinks that the behavior of Noah's wife raises the question of mastery and of the need for charity between the sexes.

Works not seen:

Angell, I. O. "A Mathematical Appreciation of Celtic Art." Science and
    Archaeology 21 (1979), 15-22.
Cartianu, Virginia, and Viorica Dene. Miniatura medievală în Anglia.
    Mica Bibliotecă de Arta, 21. Bucarest, 1980.
Godman, Peter. "The Textual Tradition of Alcuin's Poem on York."
    Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch 15 (1980), 33-50.
Kauffmann, C. M. "Manuscript Illumination at Worcester in the Eleventh
    and Twelfth Centuries." Medieval Art and Architecutre at Worcester
    Cathedral. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc. Conference Trans. for the Year
    1975, 1. London, 1978. Pp. 43-50.
Pattenden, Philip. "Robert Hegge of Durham and His St. Cuthbert."
    Architectural and Archaeol. Soc. of Durham and Northumberland,
    Trans. 5 (1980), 107-23.
Wieland, Gernot. "Medieval MSS: an Additional Expansion for the
    Abbreviation 'q.'" Monumenta Apuliae ac Japygiae 1, no. 1, 19-26.

J. P. C.

6.   HISTORY AND CULTURE

   a.   Texts and Reference Works

  Dorothy Whitelock's second edition of English Historical Documents, I: c. 500-1042 (London and New York, 1979) takes into account nearly a quarter of a century of scholarship which has seen notable advances, especially in archaeology. It is a tribute to her scholarship that she has had to make only a handful of changes to her translations. But since the book has been completely reset, it is a pity that further selections could not have been made. As it is, only genealogical tables have been added. Since Norse texts are included, it would have been nice to see some extracts from Celtic sources; and, since EHD II interprets "documents" to include the Bayeux Tapestry, some line drawings of Anglo-Saxon coins would also have been a useful addition. The omission of the Old Testament material from the Introduction of Alfred's Laws is regrettable because it is relevant to our assessment of Alfred's purpose in compiling them; had that controversial document the Tribal Hidage been included, teachers would have found it easier to illustrate the political development of Anglo-Saxon England. Yet these are just quibbles. What is more serious is the price of the book: no students and few teachers will be able to afford it, which virtually negates its declared purpose of making the texts it contains "generally accessible." The book is reviewed by Karl Leyser in "The Anglo-Saxons 'At Home'" (ASSAH 2, 237-42). He is prompted to ask what the general reader should look for in Anglo-Saxon history and concludes that it should be the evidence of centralization accomplished over a long period of struggle, which brought with it government bureaucracy and taxation, accomplishments that can be viewed both positively and negatively.

  Anglo-Saxonists have long been aware of the value of maps, such as those of the Ordnance Survey, yet they have been curiously slow to employ them to illustrate their own writings. (The single inadequate map in the two published volumes of the British Academy edition of Anglo-Saxon charters represents a golden opportunity missed.) It is disappointing to say, therefore, that the new Historical Atlas of Britain, ed. Malcolm Falkus and John Gillingham (London, Toronto, Sydney, New York), will not prove to be so helpful as it could have been. An attempt at haute vulgarisation, it will probably satisfy neither specialist nor general reader. The maps of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland may be useful to those hazy about the location of Welsh and Irish monasteries, sites of battles between Celts and Anglo-Saxons, and islands occupied by Norsemen; the brightly-colored maps representing William I's initial campaign and gradual conquest of England may be helpful for teaching purposes. The accompanying text is so compressed, however, that it does not adequately explain the information contained in the maps and may even on occasion mislead the reader (e.g., for the Settlement Period the Franks get disproportionate treatment while the Frisians are not even mentioned, though the importance of their homeland is implied by one of the maps). The absence of a bibliography is inexcusable. The stimulating Atlas by David Hill, reviewed elsewhere in this issue, will offer a greater reward for the reader's time.

   b.   Historiography and Post-Conquest Scholarship

  Niels Lukman's "Vortigern/Guortigern = Goar the King (406-c. 442)?" (C&M 32 [1971-80], 227-49), examines stories appearing in Gildas, Bede, Nennius, and Geoffrey of Monmouth and expends much ingenuity in seeking to prove that

Vortigern is in fact the Alanic leader Goar, who resided in and around Brittany in the mid-fifth century. Insofar as I can follow his argument, I am unconvinced by his philology and his folklore. Nennius tells us that Hengist's daughter from Oghgul (Angeln in most scholars' view) caused Vortigern to become drunk in the banqueting hall so that he fell in love with her and gave Hengist Kent in return for her hand. I am unable to see this as an analogue of the foundation legend of Marseilles, which tells how a local king gave a feast at which his daughter chose as her husband a visiting Greek by giving him water; to him the king gave land "as it were in a corner (angulo) of the sea" on which Marseilles was founded.

Bede's preface to his Historia Ecclesiastica dedicated to King Ceolwulf mentions that he had sent the king an earlier version of his work. David P. Kirby argues, in "King Ceolwulf of Northumbria and the Historia Ecclesiastica" (StC 14-15 [1979-80], 168-73), that the king influenced Bede in his presentation of Ceolwulf's accession, which is not implausible. I am less convinced of his argument that Ceolwulf caused Bede to portray Aidan and the Scottish mission in a more positive way than he felt it to be because of links the king had with Dalriada; the evidence here is very tenuous.

Thomas Callahan's study of the historical portrayal of William Rufus from the twelfth to the twentieth century, "The Making of a Monster: the Historical Image of William Rufus" (Jnl of Medieval Hist. 7, 175-85), helps prepare the ground for the biography that Frank Barlow is writing. Eadmer, who knew the king, was very biased against him because of William's poor relationship with Anselm. Though William of Malmesbury had some praise for him scattered amongst his criticisms, most medieval writers condemned him. He gained his most positive image during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when there was more interest in the politics rather than the religious affairs of his reign and less sympathy for the Catholic Church. Now we know how black tradition has generally painted William, we may expect a scholarly reaction that will seek to rehabilitate him. The monks, however, may have been just in their appraisal.

"Cultural Transition at Worcester in the Anglo-Norman Period" by Antonia Gransden, in Medieval Art and Architecture at Worcester Cathedral (Brit. Archaeol. Assoc. Conference Trans. for the Year 1975, 1; London, 1978, pp. 1-14), is an examination of the literary history of Worcester Cathedral in the late eleventh and early twelfth century, when several writers sought to enhance its standing through their writings. Two Anglo-Saxon literary forms continued there into the twelfth century, the bipartite biography, represented by the Vita of St Wulfstan, and annals, represented by those written, Dr. Gransden suggests, by John of Worcester using material collected by Florence. This last work, composed in Latin, transmitted to the Anglo-Normans the contents of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and encouraged the compilation of annals elsewhere. It is examined in detail by Martin Brett in a paper entitled "John of Worcester and His Contemporaries" published in a Festschrift worthy of a great historian, The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays presented to Richard William Southern (ed. R. H. C. Davis and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill; Oxford, pp. 101-26). After reviewing the relationships of the extant manuscripts to each other, he defines its sources. Basing his work on a chronicle by Marianus the Scot, John added English material consisting of genealogies of Anglo-Saxon kings, tables of bishops with notes, and a history of events in England derived from Bede, Asser, saints' lives and a version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Eadmer's Historia Novorum provided him with information on the period 1102 to 1121.

His use of this and other sources, recounted in detail by Dr. Brett, reveals an active exchange in historical materials between Canterbury, Malmesbury, Durham, and Worcester. Dr. Brett's paper enlarges our understanding of the early twelfth-century intellectual ferment that recorded through its historical writings so much of the Anglo-Saxon past. His study is, however, more than this: it is an essential prolegomenon to a full edition of John's work. As Dr. Brett observes, "John has preserved a mass of precious details of chronology" (p. 125); it is to be hoped that his paper will spur on the production of an edition that will make this evidence available in a reliable form.

That delightful story-teller, Geoffrey of Monmouth, came in for a fair amount of attention last year. John Clark, in "Trinovantum -- the Evolution of a Legend" (Jnl of Medieval Hist. 7, 135-51), traces how a tribal name first used in literature by Julius Caesar came to be applied via Orosius, Bede, and Nennius to a place-name and then through Geoffrey's ingenuity to London, to which through his etymologizing the Troy legend became attached. Regrettably Geoffrey's confection is found to retain no genuine elements of oral tradition about pre-Roman London. (Archaeological findings announced in the past few months may, however, satisfy our curiosity.)

Susan M. Shwartz, in "The Founding and Self-Betrayal of Britain: an Augustinian Approach to Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae" (M&H n.s. 10, 33-53), argues that Geoffrey uses "an Augustinian model of history -- one of betrayal by sin followed by retribution -- in order to shape the history of the Britain he chronicled into a structure of founding, betrayal, and diaspora based on Old and New Testament models" (p. 34). In her view Arthur's reign is the focus of the book: in typological terms it is to be compared with David's Israel (she cites examples of how rulers of Britain are synchronized with those of Israel and another verus Israel, Rome) and with the life of Christ. I find myself disturbed by this article in the same way as I do with those literary critics who see allegory in everything medieval that they read. We can see from a number of the Church Fathers the mental acrobatics that could be employed by ancient critics in biblical exegesis; I am not sure that modern critics should engage in the same contortions when examining medieval works. Can we really say that when Geoffrey writes of Vortigern, "Intraverat, inquam, Sathanas in corde suo" he had consciously in mind "Intravit autem Satanas in Iudam" (Luke 22:3) and even "introivit in eum Satanas" (John 13:27), and wanted us to think of Judas? Did Geoffrey mean Dubricius and Merlin (or either) to correspond to the prophet Samuel? And of Modred's revolt against Arthur, can Ms. Shwartz have been said to prove there to be typological parallels when she comments, "For every David, an Absalom, for every king, a Judas: Arthur is forced to return to wrest Britain from sceleratissimus proditor ille Modredus. Anaphora, a three-fold repetition of the word proditor, leaves no doubt that Geoffrey depicts Modred as a type of Judas" (p. 44)? One need only point out that Modred was Arthur's nephew whereas Absalom was David's son. And proditor is one of the two regular Medieval Latin words for a traitor. It was natural in an age steeped in the scriptures and in writings strongly influenced by Augustinian thought for writings to show traces of both: for a critic to claim that a writer is consciously drawing Biblical parallels, I think it is legitimate to expect the evidence of clear allusions to Biblical characters and direct linguistic or structural parallels. Others may be less demanding. Regretfully I must continue my skepticism into a review of another Galfridian article. Geoffrey Ashe wants to believe the claim of his namesake that he derived his information from a written British source. "'A Certain Very Ancient Book': Traces of an Arthurian Source in Geoffrey of

Monmouth's History" (Speculum 56, 301-23) is devoted to proving this. He believes the source to be a Breton one and the claim that Arthur fought in Gaul "as pointing back to a 'something' which Geoffrey has inflated but not concocted" (p. 304). In defence of this hypothesis he cites the fragmentary Legend of St Goeznovius, which he interprets as differing from Geoffrey's account in two instances. I find no difficulty in seeing it as dependent on Geoffrey's account, nor did Tatlock in Speculum 14 ([1939], 361-5). I find his arguments to be tortuous and far too dependent upon conjecture. Insufficient attention is paid to Professor Fleuriot's arguments presented in Les Origines de la Bretagne, pp. 170-8 (reviewed below, section g.) that the British leader called Riothamus by Sulpicius Severus was Ambrosius Aurelianus, the British name actually being a title, "Supreme King." Mr. Ashe acknowledges Professor Fleuriot's work, which he says he saw "only after completing the main argument" (p. 313, n. 26; cf. p. 320, n. 37). It won't do, however, simply to dismiss Professor Fleuriot's case by saying, "This seems to me to raise difficulties" (p. 313, n. 26). The difficulties are Mr. Ashe's. I prefer to apply Occam's Razor to his arguments and with William of Newburgh doubt Geoffrey's veracity.

R. William Leckie's The Passage of Dominion: Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Periodization of Insular History in the Twelfth Century (Toronto, Buffalo, London) investigates the problem that Geoffrey posed for his contemporaries and successors, viz. when did dominion over Britain pass from the Britons to the Anglo-Saxons? Geoffrey essentially fudged the issue. As Professor Leckie interprets his work, "there can be little doubt that for Geoffrey the crucial importance of unified rule was an inescapable lesson of both British and Anglo-Norman history" (p. 57). This didactic end led Geoffrey to imply no less than three points when the passage of dominion could be said to have occurred. Professor Leckie points out that "A new era may be thought to have begun, either when the Britons lose their character as the determinant force, or when the Saxons assume clear pre-eminence. These two conditions are interrelated but need not be met simultaneously. Geoffrey depicts both moments in Britain's history while separating them chronologically from the military conquest and from each other" (p. 69). The first moment of change was the loss of military control over Loegria as a result of the upheavals of Cadwaladr's reign; the second was when the Britons lost their name and thereafter were called Welsh; the ultimate transition, however, took place only during the unity of Athelstan's reign. "His didactic end could only be achieved by separating historical pre-eminence from the entire question of territorial dominion. To equate control of the heartlands with the assumption of a leading role in Insular affairs would only have served to underscore the importance of the nascent kingdoms as providing the governmental framework for the Germanic conquest. This traditional association is precisely what Ge[o]ffrey controverts" (p. 72). This approach caused difficulties for Geoffrey's immediate successors; none finally could accept that the passage of dominion was divorced from territorial control, though his work did succeed in extending the period of British rule. Henry of Huntingdon, though interested in Geoffrey's account, was able only to include a few details. Gaimar in his Estoire des Engleis made the sixth century his period of change consequent on Modred's treachery at Camlann. Alfred of Beverley ascribed it to Gormund's campaign but his approach was to place the Heptarchy between the history of the British derived from Geoffrey and the story of Anglo-Saxon England derived from Bede. Both writers show that they were troubled by the problem; not so Gervase of Canterbury writing ca. 1200, who basically epitomized Geoffrey, nor Roger of Wendover, the first to include Geoffrey's work in a universal history, which he accomplished

by inserting sections of the Historia Regum into his account through the use of selection and abbreviation. Among the vernacular redactions, Wace's Roman de Brut of A.D. 1155 saw the need to accommodate Geoffrey to the Anglo-Saxon tradition, whereas Layamon's later Brut was not really aware of the dilemma Geoffrey posed. Thus, by 1200 in both histories and translations the incompatibility of Geoffrey with traditional historical accounts was no longer a source of concern; he had become an acknowledged authority. Professor Leckie's monograph is a useful contribution to our understanding of the historiography of the twelfth century.

In recent years increasing attention has been paid to the antiquarian researches of the Elizabethan age. Though the dominant interest here may be for the history of ideas and of learning in England, important information about the provenance and composition of the manuscripts studied by the scholars of the English Renaissance and the possibility of their supplying evidence about lost texts makes this kind of material relevant to Anglo-Saxon studies. David N. Dumville engages in some literary detective work in his paper, "The Sixteenth-Century History of Two Cambridge Books from Sawley" (TCBS 7.4 [1980], 427-44). The Cistercian abbey at Sawley founded in 1148 has left only three known books. Two are at Cambridge: C.C.C. MS 139 and Univ. Lib. MS Ff.1.27+ C.C.C. MS. 66^{A,B}. The first manuscript contains the Historia Regum ascribed to Simeon of Durham and Nennius's Historia Brittonum. In addition to his consideration of this book, Dr. Dumville reconstructs the medieval order of the second book, now bound in three parts.

c. Settlement Period

Old orthodoxies die hard among non-specialists and that, if for no other reason, is why Anglo-Saxonists should read Peter Salway's Roman Britain (Oxford). Here one will discover that the traditional division between the highland and lowland zones of Roman Britain is no longer an adequate conceptual tool, that villas did not turn as a widespread practice in the fourth century from arable to sheep farming, that the population of the late Empire did not necessarily decline. There is much more to be gained from this book. At first glance it appears a little off-putting: the rather dated format of 500 pages of narrative history followed by another 250 pages on such subjects as "Town and Country," "The Economy," and "Religion and Society" give it a rather old-fashioned appearance. Its format, however, belies the modernity of its contents. Dr. Salway utilizes the latest archaeological and epigraphical studies, and a whole host of ancillary disciplines and methodologies. One will look in vain in the old "Collingwood and Myres" for references to palaeobotany, to speculations about the changing coastline of Britain, to the fact that the Thames at London was then not a tidal river, to the "real chance of building up significant medical statistics" from cemetery sites (p. 551): Dr. Salway discusses all these. And much else besides -- even permitting one of the luxury of the odd chuckle. He comments about a curse mentioning possible suspects "who carried off Vilbia" inscribed on a lead sheet from Bath, "It is a commonplace to make sure that a prayer or curse does not overlook the right target but the range of sexual practices that may have prompted the deed is interesting" (p. 688). Interesting in a different way are the implications of recent archaeological excavations for population studies: "If other regional and local studies confirm these calculations, we should no longer be comparing Roman Britain with 1086 (recent work on Domesday Book suggests 1.75 to 2.25 million) but with England in the middle of the fourteenth century shortly before the Black Death, when a figure towards the upper end of the range 4.5 to 6 million

is currently thought likely.... [T]he Romano-British estimate does pose very acute problems for the student of the centuries between Roman Britain and the Norman Conquest, for it is necessary to take into account a fall to around 2 million -- indeed, to presumably something well below that figure, since it is very unlikely that there was no growth in the relatively settled conditions of Late Saxon England" (pp. 544-5). Settlement historians will find Dr. Salway's description of fifth-century Britain especially enlightening because he brings to bear a breadth of knowledge about the late Roman world that most Anglo-Saxonists do not possess. The political circumstances obtaining in the Roman Empire during the career of Ætius, for instance, help us to put our sketchy information on events and attitudes into a better perspective. Similarly, his explanations as to why Britain did not undergo the same evolution as Gaul did as it passed into the Middle Ages are worthy of our attention. Evidence is now accumulating too rapidly for Dr. Salway's book to become the classic that for nearly half a century "Collingwood and Myres" has been but most Anglo-Saxonists will want to own a copy.

Gildas continues to tantalize scholars. He tells just enough for them to be able to depict the Britain (which part?) of his time (when?) in quite contradictory ways. E. A. Thompson discusses "Gildas and the History of Britain" with a dry sense of humor (Britannia 10 [1979], 203-26). He notes that Gildas was the first to write a history of a Roman province. His knowledge of both contemporary Britain and its past was limited. He knew nothing of the Pelagian heresy and seemed to be familiar only with the west, the southwest and the north of Britain. Professor Thompson guesses he was writing in the Chester area. His observations that Gildas was familiar with the technical vocabulary relating to federate status is, so far as I know, a novel one. I am less disposed than Professor Thompson is to believe the literal truth of the story of the arrival of Germanic warriors in three ships, but I find his suggestion that some of the British fled to Ireland as well as to Gaul and that those from Ireland might have been his overseas source of information about British history is an attractive one. Professor Thompson shows that original observations on Gildas based on a purely literary examination of the text can still be made, though I doubt whether we can go much further without integrating archaeological material into an historical analysis of this period. (For some small corrigenda to his paper, see Britannia 11 [1980], 344.)

d.   General Anglo-Saxon History

In a paper drawn from his 1979 Leicester M.A. dissertation Paul Courtney suggests, in "The Early Saxon Fenland: a Reconsideration" (ASSAH 2, 91-102), the locations of a number of tribes mentioned in the Tribal Hidage. Though the nature of the early Anglo-Saxon settlement of the Fenland is obscure (for the Roman settlement, see now *T. W. Potter [Britannia 12, 79-133]), he believes that the silt fens were settled by the Middle Saxon period. He posits locations for the North and South Gyrwe, Wideringas, Spalda, Bilmigas, Sweorda, Herefinna (all mentioned in the Tribal Hidage) and Bede's provincia in Undalum and Wissa. His suggestions are attractive but he offers no controls for his use of the place-name evidence, though, admittedly, given the difficulty of linking cultural artifacts to national or tribal groups, it is hard to see how even the archaeologists will be able to convert this material from speculation into tolerable certainty.

Indo-European kingship has been studied by scholars from a variety of national and intellectual traditions, thus ensuring that anyone contributing to

the field will be subject to the cross-fire of controversy. In "Kings and
Conversion: Some Comparisons between the Roman Mission to England and Patrick's
to Ireland" (FMAS 14 [1980], 59-94), Clare E. Stancliffe enters the fray in
seeking to explain the differing impact of the Christian missions of Augustine
and Patrick. Part of her answer lies in the personalities of the two mis-
sionaries themselves: Augustine, imbued with Roman notions of auctoritas and
potestas, approached the king of Kent and sought his support, whereas Patrick
was less inclined to utilize the ruling hierarchy. But an important difference
lay in the role of the kings: Anglo-Saxon kings had both sacral and legal
powers but in Ireland these were held by the druids, filid, and brehons. Not
the least value of her article is the review of scholarship on Anglo-Saxon and
Irish kingship; it is pleasing to see Celtic material being drawn into associa-
tion with Anglo-Saxon studies. She acknowledges Gregory the Great's role as an
innovator in sending out missionaries and his very Roman assumption that they
should treat with kings rather than ordinary tribesmen, but he is understand-
ably not the primary focus of her paper. A complement to her study is provided,
however, by R. A. Markus, who, in *"Gregory the Great's Europe" (TRHS 5th ser.,
31, 21-36), paints a sensitive picture of the social and intellectual context
that shaped Gregory's outlook. He was a product of the Empire of Justinian
that knew no distinction between ecclesiastical and secular society. Coercive
power in support of preaching the Gospel was a given, though the initial exper-
iences of Augustine in Kent led him to break with this approach. As to his
motives in sending Augustine, Professor Markus rightly points out that a pas-
toral concern and a desire for renovatio imperii are not mutually exclusive
and the evidence does not permit us to choose one over the other in his case.
In a controversial assessment he holds that "Gregory's 'Europe' fell much more
easily into the mould of the traditional Byzantine representation of barbarian
nations as subjected under divine providence to the universal Empire of his
earthly representative, the most Christian emperor, than it does into that of a
kind of anticipation of a later, Western, Latin imperium christianum under the
principatus of the Roman see" (p. 29). This narrower concept of Europe, he
feels, was essentially a product of the eighth century.

Hermann Moisl argues, in "Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies and Germanic
Oral Tradition" (Jnl of Medieval Hist. 7, 215-48), that the genealogies were an
oral genre before the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity and the
scops were the agents who were the repositories and preservers of this form.
To show the probability of this he calls on evidence from other Germanic
peoples and later Anglo-Saxon sources. This material indicates that the keep-
ing of dynastic histories lasted at least until the eighth century and that the
extant written genealogies were ultimately dependent on oral originals, though
subject to later modification, especially by ecclesiastics. His marshalling of
evidence from a very wide range of sources would be hard to refute, which is
comforting, since on a priori grounds it seems eminently reasonable to believe
that the kings would have sought to preserve their dynasties through oral
records of their forebears and that they should have employed poets to compose
these records and keep the memory of them alive. Not all Germanic kings were
successful in establishing a dynasty or even maintaining themselves in power.
Konrad Bund has diligently sought out all the instances he can find in the lit-
erary sources of deposition of kings among the Germanic peoples in Thronsturz
und Herrscherabsetzung im Frühmittelalter (Bonner historische Forschungen 44;
Bonn, 1979). The scope of his work is such that he cannot go into all politi-
cal circumstances that might have led to the overthrow of a king as, for
instance, in the case of King Ceolwulf, who was forcibly tonsured, then re-
gained the throne of Northumbria only to enter a monastery voluntarily some

years later. (D. P. Kirby engages in some speculation on the circumstances in his paper reviewed above, section b.) The jockeying for power that went on between the various kingdoms and petty kingdoms in England throughout the Anglo-Saxon period provides Dr. Bund with a great deal of material to work with. Assassination, death in battle, banishment and voluntary or enforced entry into a monastery were various means of ousting an Anglo-Saxon king: not for them the easy retirement of thirty-four years duration on a large pension that was the fate of the last western emperor of Rome, Romulus "Augustulus." Perhaps the most unpleasant deposition was that suffered by Eadberht Præn of Kent who in A.D. 798 was blinded and had his hands chopped off at the behest of Coenwulf of Mercia. Dr. Bund points out that a letter of Pope Leo III indicates that Eadberht was a cleric who had ascended the throne and was thus excommunicated. This perhaps explains why he was subjected to mutilation rather than simply being killed: "Es ist möglich, dass man das Leben eines Klerikers nicht antasten wollte und sich mit einer physischen Untauglichmachung zufriedengab" (p. 666). Following the Continental model, his book has an analytical table of contents, but given its scale (791 pages), an Index nominum would have been helpful.

Pauline Stafford's paper, "The Laws of Cnut and the History of Anglo-Saxon Royal Promises" (ASE 10, 173-90), appears at first sight to be directed at legal historians but is, in fact, also largely about kingship. She discusses how the two codes of Cnut are compilations by Wulfstan of earlier writings with the exception of II Cnut 69-83. These last clauses deal with abuses of lordship, especially by the king, and their form suggests that they were originally an independent piece of legislation. Their similarity to Henry I's coronation charter leads her to suggest that these could perhaps represent a coronation charter issued at the beginning of Cnut's reign and used by him to bolster his position. This, in turn, could have been based on the lost code of Æthelred's of 1014. The political circumstances were appropriate for the issuance of such a charter and its promises would have been in keeping with the Anglo-Saxon coronation ordo, which by the tenth century had been transformed into a promise of just kingship. Wulfstan could have used the events of 1014-1020 "to define 'good kingship' and give it practical legal expression" (p. 188). If Ms. Stafford's speculations are right -- and they are certainly cogent -- the tensions between post-Conquest kings and their subjects were already working themselves out in legal forms well before 1066. Those interested in the growth of the feudal monarchy should certainly read this paper.

Since Horace Round Adelsgeschichte has not had many devotees among Anglo-Saxonists until recently. But complementing Cyril Hart's paper of nearly a decade ago on Athelstan "Half King" (ASE 2 [1973], 115-44) is A. Williams's article, "Principes Merciorum gentis: the Family, Career and Connections of Ælfhere, Ealdorman of Mercia, 956-83" (ASE 10, 143-72), which reconstructs the activities of a rival clan whose ambitions were a signal influence on politics in the reigns of Edgar and Æthelred II. This paper is an important contribution to our knowledge of Mercia in the third quarter of the tenth century. It focuses on politics, and among the aristocracy a central issue in politics was land. Williams thus rightly puts the opposition to the monastic reform movement in its political context: "All the lay noblemen of the time had cause for alarm at the great increase in wealth and power enjoyed by the reformed monasteries in the 960s and 970s and the sometimes dubious means they employed to acquire land" (p. 166). To encourage more prosopographical studies as this one we really need a new Onomasticon. I hope volunteers will be found among the

readers of this review.

Land is also the center of attention in M. A. Meyer's examination of the "Patronage of the West Saxon Royal Nunneries in Late Anglo-Saxon England" (RB 91, 332-58). The reconquest of England by the West Saxon royal house led to an increase in their landed estates. A valuable way of increasing their power was by using this land to endow monasteries and nunneries. During the monastic revival six nunneries in the heart of Wessex and one in Essex thrived under royal patronage. The abbesses were mainly members of the royal family and thirteen became popular saints in the tenth and eleventh centuries, thus further enhancing royal power. At their most secure during Edgar's reign, the seven nunneries lost thirty-five estates in the late Anglo-Saxon and early Norman periods and, though they survived under the Normans, they were not endowed as before.

H. R. Loyn, in "Wales and England in the Tenth Century: the Context of the Athelstan Charters" (WelshHR 10 [1980-81], 283-301), looks at the political implications of charters involving Welshmen during the reign of Athelstan. After sketching Athelstan's successful attempts at gaining and maintaining control over much of Britain, he shows how the subscriptions of charters reveal that Welsh rulers were present at the West Saxon court from 928 to the 950s. This overlordship, however, was not destined to last. Studies of subscription lists such as is presented in this paper offer a promising means of increasing our understanding of the dynamics of political life in pre-Conquest England.

Adding to the growing number of studies on women in Anglo-Saxon society is a second article by Pauline Stafford, "The King's Wife in Wessex 800-1066" (Past and Present 91, 3-27), which surveys the evidence on these women from a political perspective. Unlike in Mercia, royal women in Wessex did not play a prominent part in politics in the ninth century, but from the 940s to 1066 English history was strongly influenced by four women, Eadgifu, third wife of Edward the Elder, Ælfthryth, third wife of Edgar, Emma, second wife of Æthelred II, and Edith, wife of Edward the Confessor. Three were involved in disputes over succession to the throne and all four were ecclesiastical patronesses. Serial monogamy, which gave a king the potential to have sons by several wives, and the failure by the West Saxon royal family to choose between fraternal and vertical succession gave royal wives a part to play in politics. Drawn from aristocratic families, royal wives benefited from the growing power of their families in the tenth century. The monastic revival in the same century also assisted them by giving them the opportunity to form ecclesiastical alliances.

In "Notes on a Life of Three Thorney Saints, Thancred, Torhtred and Tova" (Proc. of the Cambridge Antiquarian Soc. 69 [1980 for 1979], 45-52), Cecily Clark argues that the Life of the three saints named, to be found in Harley MS 3097, was written by the Flemish hagiographer and unconsecrated head of Thorney Abbey, Fulcard, who was ousted from his position in the 1080s. The Life claims they were hermits from the time of King Edmund and that Æthelwold built an oratory to Tova. Other than this they contain little historical information. The initial elements of the names Thancred and Torhtred are early and Tova could be an OE hypocoristic form rather than a Scandinavian name so Ms. Clark concludes, "All in all, then, the three names seem, for what they are worth, compatible with an authentic tradition dating from pre-Viking times..." (p. 49).

Another but less celebrated dimension of the medieval ecclesiastical world is the humble parish church. Since ecclesiastical parishes are first recorded only in Domesday book, Colin Platt's well-illustrated social history, The Parish Churches of Medieval England (London), devotes comparatively little space to the Anglo-Saxon churches. It is worth noting, however, his observation made in the course of his discussion of some of the churches discovered through archaeological excavation (illustrated inter alia by a picture of the remains of the church at Raunds described in ASSAH 2, 103-22): "The lesson of Hadstock, of Rivenhall, and of Wharram is that our view of the wealth and resources of the Anglo-Saxon rural church is likely to change dramatically as the study by excavation of the English village churches gathers momentum. In the urban church, the picture will probably be the same" (p. 19).

Della Hooke's "The Droitwich Salt Industry: an Examination of the West Midland Charter Evidence" (ASSAH 2, 123-69), is a fascinating study that makes a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Anglo-Saxon economic history. In the course of her monograph-in-miniature she draws on geology to explain the reasons for the salt pits, administrative boundaries such as rural deaneries and parishes to determine earlier territorial patterns, place-names to obtain an indication of older patterns of woodland that supplied the necessary timber for the pits, archaeological data to depict the nature of the salt workings and the road network dependent on them, linguistic data for the terminology, as well as charter and Domesday Book evidence. The last two sources of information are given in full in two appendices, and five maps assist in integrating the varied material. This model of interdisciplinary scholarship shows that the industry was in operation for something like two millenia in the area. By the time of Domesday Droitwich was drawing fuel for its brine pits from a wide area in the West Midlands in return for reciprocal rights in salt. The continuity in practice, organization, and terminology of the industry in the region is noteworthy. A wide range of specialists should find something of interest in this paper.

e. The Period of the Viking Raids and Settlement

A number of papers in the *Proceedings of the Eighth Viking Congress, Århus, 24-31 August 1977, ed. Hans Bekker-Nielson, Peter Foote and Olaf Olsen (Odense), will be of interest to the Anglo-Saxonist. Peter H. Sawyer's *"Conquest and Colonization: Scandinavians in the Danelaw and in Normandy" (pp. 123-31) seeks to highlight recent findings that will influence our assessment of the nature of Scandinavian settlement. He claims that field nomenclature in Normandy indicates that the Scandinavians must have engaged in agriculture there as they evidently did in England. In England, where it has "become abundantly clear that long before the Viking raids began, the settlement of England was virtually complete" (p. 125), many estates had passed by the ninth century into the ownership of the Church and of individuals after whom the estates were named. They then came under the control of the Scandinavian conquerors, which also influenced the toponymy. He suggests that most of the Scandinavian place-names were formed in the tenth century and hence are to be found in East Anglia and north of Northampton, where English influence remained limited. The Scandinavian defeat at Tettenhall in 910 may also have promoted name formation as individuals sought to seize land formerly under the control of Scandinavian lords. Neils Lund, in his provocatively titled *"The Settlers: Where Do We Get Them From -- and Do We Need Them?" (pp. 147-71), expresses alarm at how little agreement there is over the nature and degree of Danish settlement and over the use of place-name evidence. His paper is only likely to stir up

further controversy -- but that, after all, is no bad thing. He swims against the prevailing current of scholarly opinion, which has tended to emphasize the Vikings as traders; he sees them primarily as plunderers. He feels the evidence of the initial Danish settlement cannot be characterized as a "migration." Here the place-name evidence comes into play: if it points to a considerable settlement, a secondary migration is called for. He then subjects the nature of this evidence -- particularly of field names, which as Sawyer indicates, implies a direct Viking engagement in agriculture -- to a searching methodological analysis. His examination of the names underlines what has been apparent for some time: place-name evidence is treacherous material for historians to base far-reaching conclusions on. Peter Sawyer's paper, however, perhaps contains the seeds of an idea for fresh research in place-name studies in which historians could greatly assist, viz. to undertake a close study of the toponymy of Normandy. French place-name studies are way behind those of England and those archives that survived the ravages of the last war are not always well catalogued (see David Spear's useful guide, *"Research Facilities in Normandy and Paris: a Guide for Students of Medieval Norman History," Comitatus, 12, 40-53). The French evidence would enable a number of Professor Lund's concerns to be examined in a setting where there were not two cognate languages in contact to contaminate and confuse so much of the evidence. Christopher D. Morris's *"Viking and Native in Northern England: a Case-Study" (pp. 223-44) examines from a multidisciplinary point of view the evidence on the relationship between the natives and the Scandinavians in the Tees Valley in the north-east of England. It presents the status quaestionis by drawing on documentary and place-name evidence, pollen analysis, monumental stone sculpture and archaeology. Many of these fields at present offer only promising lines of approach rather than answers. His paper's most valuable evidence relates to land-holding between the Tyne and the Tees and is based on documentary evidence, the historian's traditional material. He concludes that it is "most likely that there was an estate-like structure on church lands in the pre-Viking period in northern England, and that some at least of these estates were taken over (presumably as going concerns) by the Scandinavian leader Ragnald in the early tenth century, and re-granted to secular lords" (p. 227).

Large-scale emigration to England from Denmark would require a surplus population and a shortage of land; whether these obtained there, Niels Lund declares we do not know. Klavs Randsborg shows in his paper, "Les Activités internationales des Vikings: raids ou commerce?" (Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations 36, 862-68), that these factors could have been present in Denmark. Writing in the classic Annales tradition, Mr. Randsborg suggests that a complex interaction of demographic growth, a consequent move from domestic animals to cereals as food, climatic change, political expansion, and internal economic developments associated with these changes explain the rôle of the Danish Vikings between the eighth and eleventh centuries. He makes the valid point that the Viking raids were not without risks to the attackers, but I am not sure that his deduction from this--that only if the risks were reduced or internal need demanded them would raids take precedence over commerce--is equally valid. This seems to take insufficient account of the class distinctions that existed throughout the Scandinavian world. The Danish military fortresses of Sweyn Forkbeard's reign show that a warrior class survived in Denmark into the eleventh century and the hogback graves of Northumbria with their representations of Valhalla point to a class that believed there lay a solace in the next world if they died in battle.

The lay Eiríksmál, reputedly composed in honor of Erik Blood-Axe at

the behest of his widow, Gunnild, concludes by mentioning five kings present
with him in Valhalla and whom he promises to name to an enquiring Sigmund.
(The poem is conveniently available in Gordon's _An Introduction to Old Norse_,
pp. 148-49.) The failure to name the kings in the extant text is taken as
evidence of its fragmentary nature. Axel Seeberg, in "Five Kings" (_Saga-Book_
20 [1978-79], 106-13), notes that five kings are recorded as dying in the poem
Brunanburh; the claims of the sagas that Erik came to England in Athelstan's
reign could be right and he thus could have been present at the battle. He
doubts, however, whether five kings actually perished there, regarding this as
derived from Joshua 10. The extant text of _Eiríksmál_ thus may preserve its
original conclusion since there were not five kings to name. This short paper
has implications for the chronology of Norway and England and will also be of
interest to both Anglo-Saxon and Norse literary historians.

Two other recent studies have dealt with Brunanburh, though the first
is of much wider scope. Alfred P. Smyth's _Scandinavian York and Dublin: the
History and Archaeology of Two Related Viking Kingdoms_, Vol. 2 (Atlantic High-
lands, N.J., and Dublin, 1979) continues his history of these two cities from
the reign of Athelstan till the death of Erik Bloodaxe in A.D. 954 and the
acquisition of control over York by Eadred. His account of the topography and
material culture of the two cities is a valuable summary of the archaeological
investigations of recent years. More is being found annually in both cities
but the following broad summary will surely continue to apply: "This, then is
the archaeological picture of York and Dublin, -- of great commercial centres
crammed with closely-packed timber-framed houses with gable ends facing on to
the streets, housing workshops of tanners, comb-makers, metal-workers and weavers,
who worked in squalid conditions, and much of whose wares were destined for the
trading vessels moored along the nearby wharves" (p. 228). His description of
the stonework of Northumbria and Ireland is similarly a useful conspectus of a
specialized field. The hogback gravestones with their scenes from the Ragnarök,
Northumbrian crosses showing the assimilation of the Scandinavian immigrants
into Christianity, and the iconography of the Leinster and northern Irish
crosses, which "reflect the attitudes and fears of a Christian society under
siege from heathen attack" (p. 289), reveal a fascinating interplay of cultural
and religious ideas. Art historians should also note his view that the Irish
high crosses date from a relatively brief period in the late ninth and early
tenth century as opposed to Dr. Henry's dating of the eighth century for some of
them. The narrative history section of his book contains much of interest;
space precludes an adequate summary. Dr. Smyth draws a distinction between
Viking Dublin, whose economic underpinning came from men and goods plundered
from monasteries that were permitted to survive in order to provide yet more
men and goods, and York, which was more closely integrated into the agricul-
tural and ecclesiastical structure of Northumbria. The Scandinavians in
Dublin thus had a very different relationship with the Church from those of
York, to the extent that in the case of the last king of Scandinavian York,
"Eiríkr's rule at York was undermined, not on the battlefield as we might ex-
pect for such a warrior-king, but by the arrest and downfall of Archbishop
Wulfstan in 952, whose support he needed to carry on" (p. 173). Dr. Smyth de-
votes two chapters to the Battle of Brunanburh. He shows how Óláfr Gothfriths-
son had reason to invade England in A.D. 937 since he had conquered the Lime-
rick Norsemen, thus securing his position in Ireland, and had cause to feel
he had a better claim on York than did Athelstan. I am not convinced, how-
ever, by Dr. Smyth's location of _Brunanburh_ as being just north-west of Bed-
ford in Mercia; I find Michael Wood's arguments presented in "Brunanburh

Revisited" (Saga-Book 20.3 [1980], 200-17), in favor of Brinsworth near the Northumbrian-Mercian border, more plausible. The latter's identification, based on topography -- a prominent hill beside the Roman road known as the Ryknield Way and near the confluence of the Don and the Rother, which could control movement north and south between Northumbria and the Five Boroughs -- makes very good sense. Some may think, however, that with Alistair Campbell we should still declare "an honest nescio" as to the location of the battle site.

f. Post-Conquest England

Professor Ralph Davis, in the first of two recent studies by him of William the Conqueror's reign, discusses *"William of Jumièges, Robert Curthose and the Norman Succession" (EHR 95 [1980], 597-606). He examines the textual evidence surrounding three passages in William of Jumièges's Gesta Normannorum that indicate that Robert was Duke of Normandy in 1067. He argues, convincingly in my view, that Robert was made Duke by William through "association." This process had the disadvantage that a son might revolt, as Robert did, but it was one means of overcoming the absence at that time of the principle of hereditary succession. Professor Davis concludes that the passages were not inserted later in the text and that they confirm the view of many scholars that William of Jumièges completed his work in 1070x1071. His second paper, "William of Poitiers and His History of William the Conqueror" is a contribution to the Southern Festschrift, pp. 71-100. The extant text of William's work is derived from Duchesne's edition of 1619, which was based on a now-lost manuscript that lacked its beginning and end. After analyzing its contents, which already included legendary material about the Conqueror within a decade of the events ("the truth of the matter is surely that the legends were not new, but old ones adapted to new circumstances" [p. 83]), he speculates on who the author was. He suggests that he might have been linked with the rebellions of Robert Curthose or of Odo of Bayeux, which would explain why he apparently did not continue his history to the end of William's reign and why his work was not widely copied. Copies there were, however, and Professor Davis puts forward the exciting possibility that a more complete text could still be extant bound up with other manuscripts formerly owned by Pierre Pithou, who certainly possessed a complete text but whose library has been widely scattered.

The two most enigmatic figures in that puzzling historical (and literary) "text," the Bayeux Tapestry, are Ælfgyva and the dwarf-like trousered man holding some horses above whom the name "Turold" appears. J. Bard McNulty's *"The Lady Aelfgyva in the Bayeux Tapestry" (Speculum 55 [1980], 659-68), is a brief but impressive explication of this hitherto unidentified woman whose face is being touched by a cleric. As McNulty points out, "...the Aelfgyva scene is not primarily documentary, but iconographic" (p. 663): the touching of the face signified a sexual gesture and here implies a sexual impropriety. He claims that the inscription "Ubi unus clericus et Ælfgyva" is deliberately broken off to be suggestive. I should like to see some other examples of this from literature (e.g., from the chansons de geste) before agreeing with this claim, but I believe he is quite right in his linking the two nude males in the border with the scene. The one is a workman, the other mimics the gesture of the priest. He concludes from this evidence that the central figure represents Ælfgyva of Northampton, first the mistress and then the wife of Cnut, whose two sons, Swen and Harold Harefoot, were rumored to be the offspring of a priest and a cobbler respectively. Swen had been sent by Cnut in 1030 to rule Norway and through that association the later Norwegian king Harold

Hardrada became one of the claimants to Edward the Confessor's throne. In two subsequent scenes in the Tapestry Harold Godwinson and William are seen cooperating amicably, both being in agreement in rejecting the claim that had (from their viewpoint) such a scandalous basis. This paper should not be missed by anyone interested in the Bayeux Tapestry, as much for its methodology as for its explanation, which I find convincing. P. E. Bennett, in "Encore Turold dans la tapisserie de Bayeux" (Annales de Normandie 30 [1980], 3-13), examines the figures surrounding the name Turold and the two scenes to the right within the context of the rest of the Tapestry. He points out that the Tapestry is not "realistic" in scale or in consistency of color and details such as clothing. The small figure need not be a dwarf: his diminutive size merely indicates his lack of importance. He argues that the name refers to this figure and makes the important observation that the structure of the scene draws attention to the small man's beard and trousers. Bennett's approach, which involves detailed analysis of the internal iconography of the Tapestry is to be applauded. I should like to have seen, however, the top and bottom borders related to the three scenes that he reviews.

Susan Reynolds presents the evidence on one of the leading opponents of William the Conqueror in "Eadric Silvaticus and the English Resistance" (Bulletin of the Inst. of Hist. Research 54, 102-5). She suggests that his by-name was one given to a number of resisters of the Normans who took to the woods and marshes for some years after the Conquest and whose existence lent force to the later Robin Hood legends.

J. A. Green discusses, in "The Last Century of Danegeld" (EHR 96, 241-58), the nature, importance, and disappearance of a levy that Stenton has described as "the first system of national taxation to appear in western Europe." Under the Normans exemptions from the tax provided a valuable opportunity for royal patronage, especially for Henry I. Though the system had numerous discrepancies and exemptions, there is evidence that it provided for the earlier twelfth-century kings a basis for higher taxes, often in times that were not emergencies. Even in its final years it furnished a significant proportion of royal revenue. Green suggests that it fell into disuse from the 1160s because it was impolitic to retain it, and was replaced by military obligations and aids. Green's enlightening article on the disappearance of this Anglo-Saxon institution is a reminder of how much we still have to learn about taxation in the late pre-Conquest and immediate post-Conquest period.

g.   The Celtic Realms

The fruitful conjunction of studies by Celtic and Anglo-Saxon specialists (and a few are able to work in both fields) promises to expand considerably our understanding of the early English past. One of the areas of England least known to Anglo-Saxonists is Cornwall, the former Celtic kingdom of Dumnonia. Some of the scholarship by the few experts on the Duchy such as Charles Henderson still remains in manuscript. Barbara Lynette Olson's 1980 Toronto Ph.D. dissertation, "Early Monasteries in Cornwall" (DAI 42A, 323), therefore, is much to be welcomed. A great deal of the material, both literary and archaeological, is ambiguous, and she is properly cautious in her assessments. Her analysis of these two classes of evidence leads her to believe that monasticism came to Cornwall in the sixth century, probably from Wales rather than directly from Mediterranean sources. She identifies twenty possible monastic sites, half with tolerable certainty, mostly along the north coast but with some along the southern shore. The first reference to some of these sites

appears in the form of a list of A.D. 850x950 from MS Vat. Reg. Lat. 191, which Dr. Olson with Mr. Padel noticed records the patron saints of various Cornish churches and which she discusses at length. Domesday Book exempts a number of Cornish churches from geld, which she suggests goes back to the period of Cornish autonymy. It is to be hoped that her researches will encourage further archaeological investigations, notably at Tintagel (she shares Mr. Burrow's hesitancy about interpreting this site as a monastery) and at Looe Island.

The early Celtic genealogical material appears to be pretty intractable but Dr. Molly Miller has in recent years shown that it can be utilized for historical purposes. In *"Hiberni reversuri" (Proc. of the Soc. of Antiquaries of Scotland 110 [1978-80], 305-27) she examines the possibility that this phrase of Gildas's is indicative that there was an invasion of Britain from Ireland after the Third Pictish War. She shows that at least in the Insular historical sources around A.D. 800 there appears to have been a belief that in ca. 530 there was an Irish attack on Man, Arran, Cowal, and Anglesey, possibly under Cairell of the Dál Fiatach of Ulster. She seeks to back this up with an examination of archaeological and epigraphical material but concludes that at present consideration of it offers "nothing immediately relevant to Gildas' Hiberni reversuri, but very strongly suggests that a great deal of illumination can be expected from archaeology in the near future, especially if this includes substantial exploration in Man" (p. 318). Though this information is disappointing, those interested in the British Dark Age would do well to look at her deductions about fifth- and sixth-century trade routes in and around Britain and Ireland. These she bases on inscriptions and the latest evidence on potsherds of Mediterranean origin. The relevance of her paper to Anglo-Saxon studies is apparent from the following observation of hers: "Any conquering 'Heroic' Dark Age king would need to be assured of, or to find, a market for enslaved war-captives.... In a general sense this must have been true for Aedán in the Hebrides, for Urien Rheged and his allies against the Saxons, for Aethelfrith in turn against the Britons.... The important aspect of this problem is therefore whether the ending of the traceable Mediterranean voyages was connected with some reorganisation of the slave-trade consequent upon, or as part of, changes in political and ecclesiastical situations, perhaps far from the islands" (pp. 317-8).

Anglo-Saxonists should be aware of a new journal, *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies 1.1- (Summer 1981-), which is likely to contain material of interest to them. The first issue publishes the late Kathleen Hughes's O'Donnell Lecture of 1974-5 entitled *"The Celtic Church: Is This a Valid Concept?" (pp. 1-20 including 5 maps). This calls into question the tendency to use the term "Celtic Church." This term assumes certain features in common, most notably an ecclesiastical organization based on monastic paruchiae. This system was evident in Ireland by the eighth century as a result of monasteries established independently of bishops by aristocratic patrons in a country where petty kings were weak. "The family element in abbatial succession was often strong. Bishops performed sacramental functions in the monastery, but powers of jurisdiction were vested in the abbot; it was the abbot who was the princeps and who governed the paruchia" (p. 2). Dr. Hughes found on the other hand that the evidence for Wales, especially in the south-east, shows that bishops and territorial dioceses, being associated with kings who were stronger in Wales, never died out. "In Wales some bishops did take up the monastic life with enthusiasm and new monasteries were also founded by kin groups, but the monasteries sometimes remained under the bishop's jurisdiction and their estates were often within a confined territory" (p. 15). As can be seen, Dr. Hughes

did not deny the existence of monastic _paruchiae_ in Wales but she contested
"the generally held assumptions that the Welsh system was purely monastic,
that there were no dioceses or diocesan bishops, and that bishoprics grew up
as a result of Anglo-Norman penetration" (p. 15).

The world of learning suffering a grievous blow in the death of
Kathleen Hughes not long after her taking a Chair at Cambridge. In an act of
pietas Dr. David Dumville has made available some of her papers in a volume
entitled _Celtic Britain in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Scottish and
Welsh Sources_ (Studies in Celtic History, 2 [Woodbridge, Suffolk, and Totowa,
N.J., 1980]). Three of the papers have been published previously: "Early
Christianity in Pictland," her 1970 Jarrow Lecture; "British Library MS.
Cotton Vespasian A.XIV (_Vitae Sanctorum Wallensium_): Its Purpose and Prov-
enance," which appeared in _Studies in the Early British Church_, ed. N. K.
Chadwick (Cambridge, 1958); and her Rhŷs Memorial Lecture, "The Welsh Latin
Chronicles: _Annales Cambriae_ and Related Texts," published in _PBA_ 59 (1973),
233-58. The final chapter of the book is a detailed treatment of her Rhŷs
Lecture. It is too complex to be summarized here; but, suffice it to say, this
paper and its British Academy predecessor will be essential reading for any-
one working in early British history, including those interested in the
"Arthurian" problem. They should be read in association with Dr. Dumville's
review of her lecture published in _Studio Celtica_ 12-13 (1977-8), 461-7, and
Molly Miller's "Date-guessing and Dyfed" in the same volume, pp. 33-61. Of
possibly wider general interest are her hitherto unpublished Hunter Marshall
Lectures delivered in 1977 at the University of Glasgow, entitled "Where are
the Writings of Early Scotland?" and "The Book of Deer (Cambridge University
Library MS. Ii.6.32)." Her answer to the question she posed herself in the
first lecture is "that comparatively little history was written down in the
early Scottish Church, that history and literature must have been largely oral
and vernacular, and that the concept of history was quite different from our
own.... When the Picts and Scots united in the ninth century it was the myth-
ological and legendary conception of history which prevailed" (pp. 20-1). Her
second lecture is devoted to the historical value of a "pocket-gospel" which
has been held in low esteem by art historians. She dates the manuscript to
the first half of the tenth century. Its text is poor, revealing a scribe who
knew little Latin, yet who possessed a practiced hand. The illuminations are
unskilled. These she examines in detail (as can the reader, since the text is
supplemented with both line drawings and plates). She argues that the scribe
did his own illuminations. She suggests that he perhaps used sketch-books for
his drawings, though he was aware of both illuminated books and stone carvings.
She concludes that a Scot would be the most likely scribe: "You would expect
a Scottish scribe of the tenth century to be producing an Irish-style book
with peculiar features. This is what Deer is" (p. 37). Professor Hughes's
papers are impeccably edited by Dr. Dumville, an appropriate tribute to a fine
scholar.

Both P. H. Sawyer's and C. D. Morris's papers (discussed above, sec-
tion e) show that the importance of Glanville R. C. Jones's numerous papers on
multiple estates in Britain is now being acknowledged by historians. He summar-
izes his views and provides some further insights in his 1978 O'Donnell Lecture
*"Continuity Despite Calamity: the Heritage of Celtic Territorial Organization
in England" in the newly-resurrected _Jnl of Celtic Studies_ (3.1, 1-30). He
argues that though the superstructure of Roman Britain may have collapsed, the
practice of husbandry continued. This is best illustrated by much later Welsh
evidence. Land was cultivated there on an infield-outfield basis. The latter,

also known as mountain land, was generally used as common pasture, though parts
could be cultivated for limited periods of time. Land was organized into a
multiple-estate (Welsh maenol) consisting of four vills. Two royal vills and
four estates formed a commote and two commotes a hundred or cantref. He illus-
trates the last by examining the hundred of Aberffraw in Anglesey. The royal
demesne of Aberffraw has been shown to be the site of a Roman fort renovated
before the middle of the sixth century. The later chapel lay within the fort
and Professor Jones suggests "it is possible therefore that there was a court
(llys) [i.e. the royal residence that formed the centre of a multiple estate]
at Aberffraw from the late-Roman period onwards" (p. 10). Many such multiple
estates can be distinguished in Britain. Place-names, especially those derived
from *lisso and *eclēsia as well as those containing the element wealh, "Celt,
foreigner, slave," indicate the presence of Britons throughout England, more
usually than not on land of reasonable quality and close to one another. He
then examines two examples of such estates, in Burghshire, West Yorkshire, and
in Wrockwardine Hundred, Shropshire. In the latter the Roman town of Wroxeter
is now just a village and so the site has largely been preserved. He suggests
that there has been continuity of settlement there since the time of the
Romans. He concludes, "With its three inter-related key components, the llys
(court), the llan (church) and the din (fort), the multiple estate provides a
meaningful territorial framework for the continuity of British settlement in
England during the Dark Ages" (p. 30).

If few Anglo-Saxonists have acquired an intimate knowledge of Celtic
Britain and Ireland, even fewer will know anything about Brittany. The only
recent book they may have looked at might be N. K. Chadwick's Early Brittany,
a work that more than one specialist has felt was written after Mrs. Chadwick
had passed the peak of her powers. Now they can be eased into the field by
the work of an acknowledged expert who has already proved he has the linguistic
skills to deal with his difficult material. Léon Fleuriot's monograph, Les
Origines de la Bretagne: l'émigration (Paris, 1980) provides a history of
Brittany from late Antiquity through the period of the migrations in the early
Middle Ages. This is followed by a summary of all the relevant sources with
editions and French translations. (Possibly his concentrating on the latter
led him to exclude Marjorie Chibnall's now-standard edition of Orderic Vitalis
in favor of Le Prévost's 1838 edition, and Rachel Bromwich's Trioedd Ynys
Prydein has now appeared in a second edition -- but one should be more than
willing to do some homework in return for the information he supplies on the
texts and studies relating to Breton saints given on pp. 269-86.) A list of
major concurrent events from A.D. 150 to 753 in Great Britain, Armorica,
northern Gaul, and the rest of Gaul and beyond; a useful bibliography; and a
collection of thirteen maps on a wide range of subjects complete the volume.
Professor Fleuriot's basic thesis is that there were two major migrations of
the British to Armorica. The first did not have precise chronological limits
but the number of Britons on the Continent increased greatly between A.D. 383
and 407 when the Roman army came over from Britain with imperial claimants.
His review of the evidence shows that there were Britons in many occupations
present on the Continent but this first migration was primarily military in
character. "Donc, dès la première migration deux traits s'affirment: d'un
côté les Bretons dispersés un peu partout en Gaule participent à la défense
de l'Empire, de l'autre ils deviennent très nombreux, en proportion, chez les
Ossismes et les Vénètes dès une époque reculée" (p. 160). The second migra-
tion was almost entirely limited to western Armorica and was of such impor-
tance in this region that the first migration was almost forgotten. "Ainsi,
peu après le traité de 497 [with Childebert of the Franks] commença la seconde

migration. Sans doute n'a-t-elle pas été plus massive que les passages com-
mencés à la fin du 4e siècle, mais, localisée dans un espace étroit, elle y
donna vite l'impression d'une marée. Elle n'est nullement anarchique ou
désordonnée.... À côté du roi et tenant la place qu'autrefois tenait le
druide, est le saint, frère ou parent proche du roi. Il est prêtre, moine,
diplomate, organisateur. Sous sa direction, l'on achète la terre; on négocie
sa cession avec la lointaine autorité franque; on défriche" (p. 207). Migra-
tion from Britain continued for centuries thereafter. It is not really pos-
sible to say when it ended but by the beginning of the eleventh century more
Bretons were settling in Britain than Britons coming to live in Armorica.
Professor Fleuriot supports his case for two periods of migration with con-
siderable erudition. Integral to his case is the use of linguistic material.
Thus, in Chapter Five, for example, he uses toponymy to show the range and
density of British settlement by examining the use of the *Brit- name-element
in the names of communes. Nor does he ignore the historical value of literary
evidence. For instance, his comments on the alleged successes of Arthur in
Gaul reported by Geoffrey of Monmouth are worth noting: "Sans nul doute, le
nom prestigieux d'Arthur recouvre ici le souvenir affaibli de trois ou quatre
chefs bretons ou chefs d'armées bretonnes passés sur le continent" (p. 117).
All in all, this book should persuade Anglo-Saxonists that their area of study
should not be restricted to the island of Britain.

Works not seen:

> Asakura, Bun-ichi. "The Monastic Reforms of Tenth-Century England."
> Cultural Stud. (Notre Dame Seishin Univ.) 4, no. 1 (1980), 29-40.
> [In Japanese]
> Coggin, William Owen. "Feudal Antecedents in Anglo-Saxon England."
> Diss. Oklahoma State Univ. DAI 42A, 221.
> Koike, Kazuo. "A Study of English Social Conditions before the Norman
> Conquest, Focusing on Ælfric's Colloquy." International Culture
> (Obirin Univ.) 1 (1980), 163-96. [In Japanese]
> Tomlin, E. W. F. The World of St Boniface. Exeter.

D. A. E. P.

7. NAMES

   Two articles in this year's bibliography focus on landscapes and names. In "Place-Names and Past Landscapes" (<u>Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.</u> 11 [1978-79], 24-46) M. L. Faull explains the methods by which landscape archaeologists and historians can use place-name evidence and the problems attendant therein in reconstructing general settlement patterns. She focuses on late OE and early Norman names in the West Riding of Yorkshire in her discussion of place-names referring to burial sites, a supernatural presence, fortifications, lines of communication, settlements, and what she calls "post-medieval processes" such as mining and quarrying. In "Anglo-Saxon Landscapes of the West Midlands" (<u>Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.</u> 11 [1978-79], 3-23) D. Hooke shows how charter evidence can be used to augment place-name evidence to get a picture of the Anglo-Saxon countryside. She shows convincingly how the charters with their minute detail preserved at the Church of Worcester reveal the natural landscape as well as man's effect upon the landscape in Worcestershire, Warwickshire, and Gloucestershire. She also provides twelve pages of maps illustrating her discussion of early routeways, <u>hlāw</u> sites, <u>furh</u> sites, <u>lēah</u> sites, <u>hecg</u> sites, and <u>haga</u> sites.

   D. Ford suggests, in "A Note on a 'Grant by Aethelbald, King of Mercia, to Ealdorman Cyneberht, of Land at Stour in Ismere, Worcs.'" (<u>Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.</u> 12 [1979-80], 66-69), that the grant was confused when it said the estate "has on its northern side the wood which they call Kinver, but on the west another of which the name is Morfe" since Ismere lay within the Kinver Forest as late as 1300 and Morfe and Kinver Woods were probably part of the same forest. A note at the end of the Ismere grant mentions another estate in Morfe Woods called <u>Brochyl</u>, which Æthelbald grants to Cyneberht "into ecclesiastical right." Ford argues that <u>Brochyl</u> means "brook hill" rather than "badger hill." In "Methodological Reflexions on Leatherhead" (<u>Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.</u> 12 [1979-80], 70-74) R. Coates derives the first element of <u>Leatherhead</u> in Surrey from a Celtic place-name *<u>Lētorito</u>- "grey ford," but his major point is that Celtic origins of English place-name elements need not be ruled out if no Anglo-Saxon origin seems obvious since it is not improbable that British communities survived and retained their autonomy and names after the Anglo-Saxon invasion and settlement of England.

   Two book reviews are included in this year's bibliography. J. Insley's review of <u>Medieval Settlement</u>, edited by P. Sawyer, is entitled: "Medieval Settlement: The Interdisciplinary Approach" (<u>Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.</u> 11 [1978-79], 54-74). He praises the survey of place-name evidence by Gelling and Watts, the Continental regional studies by Fossier and Janssen, the article on multiple estates by Granville Jones, and the introductory essay by Sawyer as particularly good parts of the book but criticizes the volume as a whole for a lack of overall unity and for ignoring numismatic evidence and problems associated with land colonization. M. Gelling, in "On Looking Into Smith's Elements" (<u>Nomina</u> 5, 39-45), takes H. Smith to task for not performing a statistical analysis, for not providing a detailed study of distribution and topography,and for not making a comprehensive classification of first elements in his 1956, two-volume <u>English Place-Name Elements</u>. She suggests that he should have consulted E. Ekwall's <u>Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names</u> in order to make a systematic analysis of names containing common elements. She also feels that spot checks could have been made to ascertain the frequency of occurrence of elements in major names, minor names, and field names. Gelling illustrates what might have been done with her own analysis of names in <u>trēow</u>, <u>cirice</u>, and <u>cot</u>.

A. D. Mills's The Place-Name of Dorset, part 2 [Nottingham, 1980] continues his thorough work on Dorset place-names, including field-names. This volume focuses on the East Dorset Hundreds of Cogean, Loosebarrow, Rushmore, Combs Ditch, Pimperne, Badbury, Cranborne, Wimborne St. Giles, Knowlton, and Monkton Up Wimborne. Only two maps are included: one of hundreds and parishes and the other of geology. Sixpenny Handley parish is not covered in this volume but is to be included in part 3.

In "English and Welsh Place-Names in Three Lordships of Flintshire" (Nomina 5, 47-55) H. W. Owen shows that the place-names of areas settled by Anglo-Saxons in this Welsh county are often the result of the Anglicization of existing Welsh names, more frequently the result of the Anglo-Saxons simply giving the place OE names, and occasionally the result of the conscious translation of Welsh names into OE. The location of the Anglo-Saxon names in groups indicates the continued pattern of separation of the Welsh and OE inhabitants. Owen points out that certain place-name elements in northeastern Flintshire have been associated with Cheshire, Derbyshire, and the West Riding of Yorkshire, so a detailed place-name study of the area should be included in any study of place-name elements of the West Midlands and the north of England. T. Kisbye, in "De danske stednavne i England" (Maal & Maele 2 [1980], 6-15) gathers together much of the material already known about Danish influence on OE place-names. He discusses place-name types as well as place-names in -by, -thorpe, -thwaite, -toft, etc., blended names, and Scandinavianized names in England.

R. Coates, in "On cumb and denu in Place-Names of the English South-East" (Nomina 5, 29-38), argues persuasively that in Sussex, Kent, Surrey, and the Isle of Wight the distinction between place-names in -cumb (a borrowed Celtic term) and -denu is that cumbs were valleys containing flowing water and that denus were dry, or at least had no flowing water. In "The Meaning and Significance of Old English walh in English Place-Names" (Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc. 12 [1979-80], 1-53) K. Cameron concurs with M. L. Faull's contentions and argues strongly that the OE element w(e)alh in personal names was used initially to name persons of Celtic stock or of mixed parentage and the element in place-names such as Walcot, Walworth, and many of the Waltons denoting "a Briton, a Welshman" first appeared in the late seventh and eighth centuries. The article includes a six-page corpus of such place-names and is accompanied by a short appendix by M. Todd, "The Archaeological Significance of Place-Names in Walh," showing primarily their connection to Roman sites, and by an even shorter appendix by J. Insley, "The Continental Evidence: OHG wal(a)h, O Sax walh."

Three other articles focus on the etymology of elements in individual place-names. In "The Hundred-Name Wayland" (Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc. 12 [1979-80], 54-58) O. Arngart suggests that the first element of this name comes from the Old Danish personal name Waghn or Wagne- which was Anglicized to Wayn-, the second element coming from ON lundr "grove." He further suggests that the Wayn- who was the source of the first element was the hundred-man or the priest who guarded the grove. In another article, "Barstable: Further Notes towards an Explanation" (Namn och Bygd 68 [1980], 10-18), Arngart suggests that the first element in this place-name derived from OE *bearde "battle axe" during the first century of the Saxon occupation of southern Britain after the battle-axe had been adopted at the hundred court as an executioner's axe. Therefore, the *bearde-stapol "battle-axe post" came to denote the block for beheading or the scaffold for hanging. J. Insley, in "The Etymology of the

First Element of Woodsford, Dorset" (Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc. 12 [1979-80], 59-65), thinks that the first element of this name should be derived from an OE personal name *Weard, not Wigheard, with replacement in ME because of folk etymology by ME wod(e) from OE wudu.

In "The Name-Element Æðel- and Related Problems" (N&Q 28, 295-301) F. Colman postulates an OE sound change by which words of more than three syllables lost /ð/ between vowels, the second of which is followed by /l/, and the vowel is lengthened in order to account for the name element Æðel- being spelled on coins with a ð most frequently in the tenth century but with Ægel- forms beginning to appear, and Ægel- forms being the most common forms in the eleventh century but with Æl- forms beginning to appear. K. Dietz, in "Mittelenglisch oi in heimischen Ortsnamen und Personennamen, der Typus Croyden" (BN 16, 269-340), summarizes the developments of the ME ui and ME oi, borrowed from Norman French, as they appeared in ME place and personal names. However, in his discussion of twenty-two different place-names, he shows that many times the oi spelling reflected vocalization of OE consonants after vowels and other regular sound processes, so that some of the oi spellings did not reflect borrowings from French into English.

B. Odenstedt translates the runes on the sixth-century Gilton pommel from Kent as "sigi owns me" in "The Gilton Runic Inscription" (ASSAH 2, 37-48). He takes Sigi to be a short form of the first element in a personal name like Sigebeorht or Sigehelm.

Works not seen:

> Bremmer, Rolf H., Jr. "Frisians in Anglo-Saxon England: a Historical and Toponymic Investigation." Fryske Nammen 3, 45-94.
> Coates, Richard. "Where Our Anglo-Saxon Ancestors May Have Come from-- Some Doubts." Sussex Family Historian 4, no. 9, 287-91.
> Foxall, H. D. G. Shropshire Field-Names. Shrewsbury: Shropshire Archaeol. Soc., 1980.
> Piroth, Walter. "Where Our Anglo-Saxon Ancestors May Have Come from." Ed. F. L. Leeson. Sussex Family Historian 4, no. 6 (1980), 183-85.

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J. D. C.
M. M.

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8.   ARCHAEOLOGY AND NUMISMATICS

   a.   General

      Philip Rahtz, in his inaugural lecture as Professor of Archaeology at
York, provided a useful and incisive discussion of *The New Medieval Archaeology
(York). What is new archaeology? An example Rahtz uses makes the point nicely;
in the new, models and comparisons play a larger part. A very precise study was
made by Odner (1972) of a migration period rock-shelter in Norway. Two models
were contrasted; one was based on thermo-dynamic calculations, assuming that the
family group of 8-10 was entirely dependent on local resources to get the neces-
sary millions of calories per year to support human life, from hunting reindeer,
hare, grouse, to domesticating cows, sheep, and goats, and eating other wild
foods. All this was firmly based on the archaeological evidence from the cave,
and on a consideration of the whole background of valley and mountain in prehis-
toric and modern times.

      The alternative model was derived from saga evidence of later cen-
turies. In this exchange relationships played a major role, and the family
group was that of serfs exploiting local ecological resources for a distant
chief. The rock shelter was in this case a subsidiary element in a chiefly re-
distributive organization.

      How should the teaching of archaeology differ under the new rubric?
Rahtz concludes:

         The role of university teaching in this debate is clear.
         We aim to educate students in the matter and practice of
         archaeology: the evidence for man's past, the techniques by
         which it is recovered, and the nature and limitations of such
         evidence. But we also have an increasing responsibility to
         relate this data-base of archaeology to the wider theorising
         of anthropological and historical interpretation. Finally,
         we must be sure that our students understand, and can in
         their turn communicate to others, the fundamental relevance
         of world history to the problems of our society.

A detailed example of the way Rahtz uses the new archaeology is *Wharram Data
Sheets (£1.50, Dept. of Archaeology, U. of York).

      Bryony Ormes *Anthropology for Archaeologists (Ithaca, N.Y.) seems
an odd book for Anglo-Saxonists, but it has surprises. Its first chapter has
a good deal to say about the growth and shift of the ethnological tradition
which started with Elizabethan antiquarians. Thomas Harriot and John White
turned out a brilliant and sympathetic account of the Virginia Indians, and in
course of illustrating it did some portraits of imaginary British aboriginies,
the Picts. Ormes underlines the importance of their portraits:

         It would be wrong to suggest that Harriot and White
         revolutionised antiquarian studies as a result of their
         American reportage. There was no sudden realisation of
         the savagery of prehistoric Albion, no imaginative leap
         into a past that was different, totally different from
         contemporary life. But, almost unnoticed, John White's
         comparisons came to the attention of many people for

de Bry's edition of the Brief and True Report was popular
and widely read. One or two antiquaries began to refer
to the American material here and there in their works,
as one can see, for example, in Daniel's The first part
of the History of England (1612) and Speed's The History
of Great Britaine (1611). Speed reproduced White's
Ancient Britons, though rather more decently clad, and
he christened the civilised female from Kent 'Boadicea'
(Fig. 7). So the savage American made his way into the
body of ideas that men held about their remote past, and
the idea of a past different from the present, a key-
stone of archaeology, was established through the use of
ethnography.

Dr. J. K. S. St. Joseph makes a modest claim for aerial photography
in his account of "Sprouston, Roxboroughshire: an Anglo-Saxon Settlement" (ASE
10, 191-199): "Photographs [of this site] provide yet further proof of the
value of air reconnaissance as an instrument of discovery and of its power to
illuminate what is vague or uncertain in the written record" (p. 199). The
fascinating piece which he provides actually gives us a parallel site to that
of Yeavering, though it is somewhat more modest than that early royal city;
they have such similarities that St. Joseph dates the outlines he sees to
Hope-Taylor's post-Roman Phase IV, 547-616. Thus we now have two sites men-
tioned by Bede, Ad Gefrin (Old Yeavering) and Mælmin, (Milfield) balanced by a
third. One can only hope for excavation of this site in the near future.

Students of the early medieval period have long been in the debt of
numismatists, who have refined dating of coins with great precision, sometimes
to particular months of a given year. Jennifer Hillam reports on "An English
Tree-Ring Chronology, A.D. 406-1216" (Med. Arch. 25, 31-44). The conclusion
to Ms. Hillam's study is indeed bright.

The establishment of a firm chronology gives absolute dates
for a major period of English archaeology. Even with rela-
tively few timbers, the curve is made up of data from dif-
ferent parts of the country. This, plus the high agree-
ments between the English sequence and curves from Ireland
and Germany, indicates that the chronology will be of use
for dating wood samples from all over England. Apart from
providing absolute dates for the 5th/13th centuries, it may
also form the basis for the production of a continuous
English tree-ring chronology covering the last 2000 years.

The third edition of D. R. Brothwell's *Digging up Bones (Cambridge)
is must reading for anyone planning to take part in any archaeological excava-
tion. Sadly, the one placement Brothwell overlooks is underwater. For that
context, one must consult with the Arnaud et al. article reviewed in YWOES 1980.

In *"Treasure Trove and the Protection of Antiquities" (Modern Law
Review, 44, 178-87) N. E. Palmer reviews recent cases involving finds of
archaeological interest and great value and concludes that the English laws
of treasure trove are inadequate to protect and preserve items of historical
interest. Although difficulties in the law are generally canvassed, no sugges-
tions for solutions are forwarded.

Jim Spriggs provides an account of *"Waterlogged Deposits at York" (The Conservator 21 [1980], 19-24) which is at once encouraging and depressing. We are encouraged by the vast amount of material recovered in this condition, and the excellent state in which it came to light. The problem lies in the difficulty of stabilizing and storing such materials until the laborious process of actual conservation can begin. Not enough money has been allocated for conservation, and a proper lab for waterlogged materials has just now been opened in York; it remains to be seen how much of the stored material from seven years of excavations can be restored.

b.   Anglo-Saxon

David Hill's An Atlas of Anglo Saxon England (Toronto) is welcome for many reasons. First, Hill is daring enough to cross disciplinary lines in order to make his maps as broadly based as they can be. Second, he sets out to give a viewpoint, rather than hedging his bets by the usual "it is held that" and "some scholars believe" route. We are given 244 maps, which include Ireland, the continent, and Scandinavia as well as England itself. The Toronto Press deserves credit, for this book is a treasure, and probably the bargain of the year at fifteen dollars. Even the back-page blurb is accurate: "the book covers every major aspect of Anglo-Saxon culture and history that may be expressed in graphic terms--sea level changes, settlement patterns, place names, invasions, campaigns, mints and...important itineraries, invasions, land holdings, mining, agriculture, trade routes, monasteries, and the Church."

The second volume of Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History is now out (BAR British Series 92). Teresa Briscoe reports on her newly-established Index of "Anglo-Saxon Pot Stamps" (1-33) and stresses that such a body of information should make clear "the subtlety, variety and importance of pot motifs, and the place they should take in the whole concept of Anglo-Saxon Art..." (p. 33). The practice of pot-stamping carries on a tradition established in the Scandinavian Iron Age. The Index may be consulted at Stoke Poges, Buckinghamshire, by application to Lady Briscoe at Little Acres, Stoke Poges. Bengt Olmstedt offers a new interpretation of the Gilton Runic Inscription (37-48), and he reads "Sigi Mic Mic Mic AH"; his tentative suggestion on the repetitions of the MIC-form lead us to magic:

> [M]ic might have been repeated for magical purposes. Writing about the magical use of runes, Page says: 'Three and its multiples are common magical numbers, appearing often in manuscript charms.' mic contains three letters. By repeating this word twice the inscriber multiplied the magical number in various ways, thus increasing the magical power of the sword: (i) the word mic occurs three times; (ii) the number of letters in mic is three; (iii) together the magical words have nine letters, another magical number; (iv) each individual letter (m, i, c,) occurs three times.

Sonia Chadwick Hawkes writes on "Recent Finds of Inlaid Iron Buckles and Belt-Plates from Seventh-Century Kent" (49-70), and reasons that these important indications of Frankish taste and influence were very influential on Kent.

The finds from the two cemeteries at Finglesham and Updown have thus begun a transformation of our view of Kentish

seventh-century culture. Not only should we expect to
find occasional examples of imported iron Contintental
belt-sets, with silver inlaid ornament concealed beneath
the rust, but we should now be actively on the look-out
for the much less obvious inlaid products of the Kentish
workshops. As the buckles from Updown indicate, these
contrast with the Continental series....

David Brown re-examines "The Dating of the Sutton Hoo Coins" (71-86),
starting from his reading of the arguments put forth by Dr. Kent in The Sutton
Hoo Ship Burial, Volume I. Dr. Brown was "astonished to find that there appears
not to be any additional evidence to contribute to the dating, and also that the
argument as put forward cannot be followed to a conclusion of 620-25" (p. 71).
Dr. Brown re-examines the alloys of which the coins are composed, the specific
gravity studies, and the standards at various Provençal mints. His conclusion
is startling, and of the greatest possible importance:

It is apparent now that we do really have a homogeneous group
of coins - and without any outliers; and that the latest
coins, the lowest in value, fit into the first two standards
that I have postulated for Dagobert's reign, the year c 622-
629. And that, it seems to me, is the complete answer. I
see no virtue in rounding off the figures to 620-630, or any-
thing else; that would make these meaningless. Awkward as
they are, everyone can see how they have been reached, and
can make their own interpretation of them.

Andy Boddington, et al., present "Raunds - An Interim Report on
Excavations 1977-80" (103-122). A series of churches and manors were discov-
ered, and two rather splendid grave-covers. It may well be that development
here was planned, with changes--through time--of the placement of church and
manor. Recent studies have often concentrated on continuity, sometimes through
more than a millennium.

Two studies deal with words, Barbara A. E. Yorke's "The Vocabulary of
Anglo-Saxon Overlordship" (171-200), and A. T. Thacker's "Some terms for Noble-
men in Anglo-Saxon England, c. 650-900" (201-236). Yorke's work is covered
above in Section 2.a. Thacker's study deals with the uses of a number of Latin
terms for classes of ruler at various times in the several kingdoms. Since the
conclusions of themselves run to six hundred words, it is impossible even to
summarize this interesting and important research here.

A report on "Excavations at Upper Borough Walls, Bath" (T. J. O'Leary,
et al., Med. Arch. 25, 1-30) is full of information of interest to Anglo-Saxon-
ists. Bath appears to have been re-fortified both in the mid-Saxon period, and
in late Saxon or Norman times. This interpretation is of very great importance,
because earlier excavations in the city seem to have indicated that there was
some doubt about the Roman origins of the walls; this is now established by the
more recent research.

Though the original reports on the Anglo-Saxon cemetery of Peters-
finger, Hants., described some shields as laminated, like modern plywood,
Heinrich Härke explodes this interpretation in a brief note; the "Anglo-Saxon
Laminated Shields at Petersfinger--A Myth" (Med. Arch. 25, 141-44). The error
arose from a misinterpretation of organic remains on metal grips, and grip

rivet measurements.

Felicitous surprises in the early Medieval period are becoming almost commonplace, and even when there are difficulties with such a site as *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Fonaby, Lincolnshire (Occasional papers in Lincolnshire History and Archaeology, by A. M. Cook), the yield is still great. The goods are mainly sixth-century, with some fifth-century pieces. Some of the objects come from far afield, and the general impression is that of an "extremely prosperous" community. As for the origin of these settlers, "Enough objects can be paralleled in the Scandinavian world...to suggest that the sixth-century incomers who inhumed their dead came from Southern Scandinavia" (p. 89). The fabrics left on the site consisted of "more and larger textile fragments than have been found in any other Anglo-Saxon burial to date, apart from the Sutton Hoo ship" (E. Crowfoot, p. 89). Mrs. Crowfoot goes on to give us a projected description of the dress of the Anglo-Saxon women of Fonaby:

> From the position of the textiles it is obvious that some
> women at Fonaby must have worn a garment with long sleeves
> edged with braid fastened by sleeve clasps, and others one
> with braid edging to the neck, fastened with a pair of
> annular brooches. This arrangement, familiar from other
> Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in eastern England, suggests a cos-
> tume somewhat similar to that shown on the Pannonian reliefs
> of the early centuries A.D. with a long-sleeved undergarment
> fastened at the neck, and a thicker gown, like a rectangular
> tube of cloth, caught on the shoulders by a pair of brooches.

Audrey Meaney, whose work on Anglo-Saxon cemeteries is well known, provides a lengthy account of *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones (Oxford: BAR British Series 96). The book starts with a fascinating account of trinkets, amulets and talismen (?) in the present and in the past. The Anglo-Saxons were very keen on herbal amulets, and Ælfric issued strictures against them in his homily on the passion of St Bartholomew. Despite this, the leechbooks abound in them, and Meaney concludes that clerics who decried them were fighting an "up hill battle" as they fought them. In her conclusion, Meaney makes the following points.
> 1) Men rarely used amulets, perhaps because they had apotropaic elements on their weapons;
> 2) Children seem not to be buried with amulets;
> 3) Women appear to have a large number of ritual objects;
> 4) Some women may have functioned as (white) witches.

Dr. Meaney is certain of one thing: "for the Anglo-Saxon woman, amulets were a part of their everyday life" (p. 269).

Gale R. Owen's Rites and Religions of the Anglo Saxons (London and Totowa, N. J.) is in the main a very useful work. She attempts an illustrated survey of what religious life must have been like throughout the entire Anglo-Saxon period, and more importantly, she draws an interesting picture of the part religion played in the lives of those who were not religious. It is extremely refreshing, after the multitude of archaeological publications of burials, and the massive studies of such aspects of them as the urns, to read a well-written, introductory book on how it all fits together, and what rites meant in Saxon life. It is extremely useful to have as well a context for Sutton Hoo, as a burial site and as a ship-burial, which puts it into the very

large context of early English and Scandinavian customs. The book is extensively illustrated, both with photographs, and a series of good clear line drawings, most of which were done by Mrs. Christine Wetherell. It is interesting to note that barrow-burials, both in newly constructed and re-used mounds, took place early in the seventh century, when Christian influence began to be strong.

The book is not without flaws. Some of the illustrative material does not seem to correlate with the text, and there is no summary chapter at the end. Still, the book will be useful to student and scholar alike, and at its published price is in the reach of many.

Two very important books on Christianity have appeared, the first, *Christian England: Its Story to the Reformation (Oxford, 1980), by the Dean of Norwich Cathedral, David L. Edwards, and the second a broadly-based study of *Christianity in Roman Britain by Charles Thomas (Berkeley). The Edwards book provides a most readable, sensitive and accurate account of the growth of Christianity in England, with none of the usual bias towards St Augustine. It is an excellent place to send students who wish to gain an idea of the cultural amalgam by which Christianity was formed in early Britain. The Thomas book is quite a different proposition. The study arose out of a series of lectures Thomas gave at Truro Cathedral in 1977, on the Age of the Saints. I see the book as a brilliant synthesis of archaeological, historical, and linguistic evidence which has as its goal that "it will no longer be supposed that Christianity in Britain effectively opens with St. Augustine in A.D. 597. If (apart from the odd reference to St. Alban) this has too often been the case, it is largely because no one has bothered to refute it in detail" (p. 12). Professor Thomas presents a most impressive array of evidence of every kind to show how far Christianity had spread, and how deeply it had sunk into the sensibilities of the peoples in those islands from the very earliest times. Where it is hard to follow Thomas, he has in the enthusiasm of his quest inferred too strong an argument on the basis of probability, rather than firmly established evidence. It would be unjust and unfair to try to summarize the complex multidisciplinary arguments of this most important work; it is more appropriate to urge all to consider it carefully, particularly if interest, judgment and inclination lead one to disagree with the notion of a well-established church in Britain in the Roman and immediately post-Roman periods. There seems to be a notion about that Thomas is over enthusiastic and can be given little attention. The archaeological evidence is not overwhelming, but it does point in the direction Thomas would have us follow, and a few more discoveries like Hinton St. Mary's or Lullingstone will indeed confirm Thomas's views. It should further be noted that Thomas is buttressing a case already made in brief by no less a scholar than Toynbee. Finally, both the Oxford University Press and the University of California Press are to be congratulated at turning out such excellent books, both of which can be had for just a little more than half price of the equally important Hughes memorial volume reviewed in the Celtic part of this section.

Ian Burrow's *Hillfort and Hilltop Settlement in Somerset in the First to Eighth Centuries A.D. (BAR British Series 91) is an important work, in part because it includes a treatment of, and provides a context for, Cadbury/Congressbury. It is the author's ultimate concern to throw light on "the profound changes which affected Britain and Western Europe during the third to the seventh centuries" (p. 3) by dealing with a limited geographic area. The crucial question, of course, is whether cultural continity prevailed here. Burrow concludes:

It is therefore difficult to avoid the conclusion that cul-
tural changes, apparently at their most intense in the fifth
century, were so profound as to render artificial any attempt
to treat the first seven centuries AD as a continuum in this
context. We may perhaps assume that the Somerset population
remained genetically the same throughout the period, and
that broad patterns of land exploitation and land holding
continued. These aspects of continuity are clearly important,
but the discussion below illustrates that complex phenomena
such as hillfort and hill-top usage reflect cultural changes
rather than any underlying regularity. (p. 152)

As for the use of the sites, Burrow reviews a range of ethnic and economic pos-
sibilities, including pagan worship, defense, and trading centers. As a foil
to Professor Thomas, Burrow holds that "Christian activity in Somerset before
the end of our period cannot be positively demonstrated," though dedications to
Celtic saints may in part originate 400-700. Burrow sees a situation in which
"a coastal evangelization made little progress in the south and east" (163).

Christian activity in Somerset before the end of our period
cannot be positively demonstrated. One inscribed memorial
stone on Exmoor and a cross-marked stone at Culbone are pre-
sumably Christian, but for the period before c. 400 AD we
have only the ambiguous imagery of some villa mosaics to
indicate the presence of Christians. Dedications to Celtic
saints, discussed in chapter 3, may in part originate in the
AD 400-700 period. Their distribution, supported perhaps by
that of 'sub-Roman' and other cemetery types, supports the
model of a coastal evangelisation which made little headway
in the south and east.

Richard Bailey's *The Early Christian Church in Leicester and its
Origin (Vaughan Paper 25, University of Leicester, 1980) was the sole commemora-
tive event for the anniversay of the "traditionally received date of the
appointment of the first Bishop of Leicester" (Richard Leicester, prefatory
comment). It is a richly packed piece. The first section is negative, since
Bailey shows that the first bishop of the see was not Cuthwine, despite the
traditional attribution. The second section is an exciting account of the
importance of the see's contribution to the culture, art, and literature of
the Anglo-Saxon period. Two major houses are commented upon by Professor
Bailey, the first All Saints, Brixworth, the second the church at Breedon.
Though Brixworth is in Northhemptonshire, it appears that the closest parallel
for the igneous stone which was used in its construction is the Jewry Wall at
Leicester. As for Breedon, Bailey holds that the place was the monastery of
Tatwine; that learned Archbishop must have had "extensive bibliographical
resources" in Breedon. The famous Breedon sculptures would be in keeping
with the most advanced traditions on the Continent, and the remnants of the
shrine of a saint (Chad?) now behind the altar is closely cognate to the
sculptures at Jouarre, near Paris. Finally, a small fragment of sculpture
found in 1959 has two panels of figural ornament on it: its lower shows a
Fall scene, its upper a depiction of the sacrifice of Abraham. We must turn
to a church tradition reflected in OE Genesis and Ælfric; its sacrifice of
Isaac, according to Augustine, was a "type" of Christ's own sacramental
offering.

The poet and Ælfric are both responding to a commonplace of
Christian teaching - and one which the Calendar of Willibrord
also reflects in its identification of 25 March as the day
'dominus crucifixus est' to which a later hand has added
'immolatio Isaac'.

Read against this background the two panels on the Breedon
stone give us a complete Christian statement of the Fall and
(by implication) the Redemption of mankind.

In "Brixworth and the Boniface Connection" (Northamptonshire Past and
Present 6, no. 4 [1980], 179-83) David Parsons gives us a study of the venera-
tion of St Boniface in England. Parsons explains the eminence of Boniface at
Brixworth by identifying Brixworth at Clofesho where a council was held in 747
which received an important letter from Boniface on a Frankish synod.

David Rolleson's *The Search for St. Wigstan (Vaughan Paper no. 27,
University of Leicester, 1981) is a fascinating study in politics and state-
craft of the early Middle Ages. The basic point of the essay might be coarsely
put as "yes, Virginia, there is a Wigstan" (or Wihstan, Wistan, or Wystan, de-
pending on which dedication is studied). This saint seemed to have been ele-
vated to sanctity for one of two reasons:
        a) His Wig--family wished to have a claim for legitimacy over the
Beorht--group who claim they were connected to the kingship in Mercia;
        b) There was an extensive spate of murders of kings around Wigstan's
time (obit 950/49), and the Church made him a saint to point out the terrible
nature of regicide. To students of Beowulf, it should be pointed out that
Wiglaf was Wigstan's grandfather, and was king of Mercia 827-36. This, of
course, is a fact very much to be reckoned with, as it may support dating
Beowulf to the 10th century, which is so popular these days.

George Ellis Burcaw has produced a chatty and wide-ranging study
of The Saxon House: a Cultural Index in European Ethnography (Moscow, Idaho,
1979). His anthropologically-oriented study has as its thesis that peasants
are enormously conservative in their stance toward houses, so that compara-
tively modern examples echo ancient forms. He holds that there are clear re-
flexes of the Saxon house in America, particularly in the so called "Dutch
Barn" in New York State. Unfortunately, when he deals with Anglo-Saxon
material, his knowledge both of primary sources and of scholarly material is
weak. One simply cannot say "The Saxons scorned Norman buildings," as Burcaw
does on p. 53, though this view is put forward in the latest source on early
Saxon England which Burcaw cites, Collingwood-Myres, 1936. He appears to be
similarly unaware of the impressive amounts of work done on Scandinavian towns
in the past twenty years, or of continental parallels.

Delia Hooke's *Anglo-Saxon Landscapes of the West Midlands: The
Charter Evidence (BAR British series) is an important contribution, for she
attempts a survey of "The Nature and degree of development achieved in the West
Midlands in the Anglo-Saxon period." It is something of a shock to discover
that even in the mid-Saxon period the west midlands area was heavily settled;
and, save for the boundaries on the kingdom of the Hwicce, forest had almost
totally disappeared. Linguists--and I am sure the indefatigable scholars of
the OE Dictionary--will profit from the extensive discussions of the referents
for place names. The number of tracks and walkways which cross this area is
little short of remarkable; it is quite clear that there are often close

correlations between the earlier Roman and Celtic settlers, but the key to the whole area is diversity:

> Inevitably, some areas are better-covered than others in the amount of information available, but those areas for which charter evidence is plentiful may in turn help to suggest the pattern of development which took place in closely related areas which are less well supplied. Broad bands of countryside may be suggested in which development followed a similar course and great contrasts appear within the Hwiccan kingdom in the Anglo-Saxon period. Such contrasts have been examined at a later period by Darby and others, (32) using the information available in the post-Conquest Domesday assessment. The West Midland charter and place-name evidence, however, shows that regional variation had already developed at an earlier period in an entirely different cultural milieu and that this variation was deeply rooted in antiquity.

Because of delays in publication and in distribution, several of the most recent Jarrow lectures have not been available to me until recently. Readers of YWOES will be glad to know that it is now possible to establish a standing order for the lectures as they come out, by writing to the Parish of Jarrow, St. Paul's House, Borough Road, Jarrow, England. In the Jarrow Lecture for 1978, Richard Bailey studies *"The Durham Cassiodorus." Professor Bailey honors Bede at a distance, for it is his conclusion that the manuscript is "not de manu Bedae; not from Bede's period; not even, perhaps, from his monastery." Despite this, the study is extraordinarily useful. The importance of Psalms, and of their interpretation is just dealt with, and Bailey shows how the apparently rambling Cassiodoran commentary (of which the Durham manuscript is the earliest extant example) is a "vital medieval book." Through his studies of figural representation and of non-representational elements in the manuscript, Bailey makes important contributions to knowledge. The two illustrations of David as Psalms are also clearly to be related to Christ portraits; they then "stress in visual terms the prophetic nature of the Psalms and the typological, shadowing role of David. In so doing they speak out the same message as the text they accompany: the psalms are concerned with Christ, and David is a type of its Saviour." In his study of detail, Bailey shows how a template must have been used, a mode of drawing he has already convincingly demonstrated being used in stone sculpture, and on the figural sculpture on the Cuthbert Coffin. He finds illustrations of templates both in the Codex Amiatinus (Ezra Portrait) and in the St Gall's Stiftsbibliotek Codex 1395. The essay deserves careful study, as its range and scope are so broad despite the concise format in which the information is presented. In *"Bede's Reges et Principes," Jarrow Lecture for 1979, James Campbell studies the series of Latin words used for rulers in Bede. Bede seems to have used rex rather rarely; generally speaking, it was a word for those rulers who had other noblemen subject to them. But as Mr. Campbell points out, "Bede's ambivalences in the use of rex and related words probably reflect his feeling that while there was a distinction between reges and their immediate inferiors, it was not easy to see where to draw it" (p. 8). Mr. Campbell cites the structures of society as it is seen in Beowulf as parallels for medieval sources; the picture of Oswine's fully equipped stable in the context of his gift of an equum Regium to Aidan has a parallel in Beowulf: "There is a point at which the long distance raids Bede describes and the fluid violent world of Beowulf meet the investigations

of those who concern themselves with renders and grazing rights. The great needed horses; that horses needed to be fed was one of the reasons why land was coveted as much as gold" (pp. 11-12). Mr. Campbell's concluding remarks on Bede's treatment of rulers are of particular interest:

> I suspect that, if Bede, in thinking about great and good
> kings long dead could feel about kingship rather as Alcuin
> and Aquinas were to do, he was led nearer to an Augustinian
> position in considering the kings of his own day. He knew
> too much about them. (p. 12)

J. Schofield and D. Palliser have produced a report on Recent Archaeological Research in English Towns (London, CBA). The introduction starts with a body-blow to the intellect; "The destruction wrought in our historical cities in 36 years of continuous peace (1945-81) has been far greater than anything achieved by enemy action in World War II." The individual sites are presented in alphabetical order, with the accounts and brief bibliographies provided by the excavators. The most exciting aspect of the report is the mass of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian material yet to be discovered; the most depressing, the simple fact that building, road-making and other kinds of development moves so fast even if the money and resources were multiplied by ten, "progress" would still be outrunning archaeological research.

Sometimes it appears that a proper appreciation of the accomplishment of the early medieval period is possessed by art historians of both the early and late mediaeval periods, but in M. F. Hearne's *Romanesque Sculpture (Ithaca, N. Y.) we find a woefully brief and unfortunately misdirected account of the entire tradition and the extensive repertory of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture. Current opinion, for example, does not place the Ruthwell cross in the seventh century as Hearne states; Professor Hearne admits that though barbaric art "diluted the antique inspiration," the tradition in which Ruthwell is placed managed to keep going until "The Carolingian Renovatio of the ninth century." This assessment leaves the rich tradition of later Saxon sculpture out of account. Hearne's book is admirable in its subsequent chapters, but it is both ironic and unfortunate that A. K. Porter, over fifty years ago, had a more lively appreciation of the Insular tradition in his Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads.

David A. Hinton, et al., report on "The Winchester Reliquary" (Med. Arch. 25, 45-77), an object found in the late ninth- or early tenth-century level. It has a wooden core and external decoration of gilt copper-alloy metal sheets; art historical evidence indicates that it was made about a hundred years before it was lost. It belongs to a class of bag or purse-shaped objects, examples of which are found on the Continent, dating from the seventh to eleventh centuries. It is of particular interest to students of literature because the seated Christ on the front holds in his left hand a rectangular object with five bosses on it, which is not paralleled elsewhere in art; perhaps the closest parallel is the five marks mentioned in the Dream of the Rood. Though it is hard to pin down the place of origin of the piece, the authors draw interesting conclusions about it:

> The reliquary can therefore take its place as a further example
> of the works of art in Winchester during the renaissance which
> King Alfred and his successors fostered. (p. 72)

Joachim Werner provides a review article on *"Das Schiffsgrab von Sutton Hoo" (Germania 60, 193-209). He starts out with the observation that the grave of Childeric was discovered on 27 May 1653, and that Chiflet turned the manuscript of his study on the treasure over for publication exactly one year later. The drift of the review article can readily be inferred from the comparison; Dr. Bruce-Mitford did indeed publish many useful "unofficial" accounts over the years, but some of them were in very obscure and difficult-to-find publications. It is probably best in the present instance to quote Werner's own conclusions:

> Der Grabfund, seit 1939 Eigentum des englischen Volkes, war
> seit 1940 ein ständiges Diskussionsthema der englischen und
> der internationalen Forschung. Für diese Diskussion bildeten,
> wie hier zu zeigen versucht wurde, die Vorberichte der
> Kriegszeit und die Provisional Guides und Handbooks von 1947
> bis 1972 eine völlig unzureichende Basis. So musste man auf
> die endgültige Publikation von 1975 und von 1978 warten, die,
> was die Interpretation anlangt, in vielem jetzt schon überholt
> ist. Ein so bedeutender archäologischer Fund wie das Schiffs-
> grab von Sutton Hoo hätte eine langjährige und ausführliche
> Diskussion auf sicheren Grundlagen verdient, deren Ergebnisse
> der späteren Edition nur zugute gekommen wären.
>   Wenn jetzt die englischen Archäologen vor der Frage
> stehen, ob in Sutton Hoo bei den ausserordentlich schwierigen
> Bodenverhältnissen weitergegraben werden soll, so kann man
> nur hoffen, dass dies erst geschieht, wenn das Schiffsgrab im
> Hügel 1 vollständig publiziert ist. Man sollte darüber hinaus
> einen fünften Band abwarten, der ein zusammenfassendes Résumé
> mit allen Korrekturen, Zusätzen und neuen Erkenntnissen
> enthält, die vor und nach Erscheinen der Bände 1 and 2 bekannt
> wurden und die Beurteilung dieses grossartigen Fundes
> inzwischen stark verändert haben.

In my view, and on the basis of fair play, Rupert Bruce-Mitford is a very dis-tinguished archaeologist who has served us all in the great publication of Sutton Hoo; but even without Sutton Hoo, he has done more than many an occupant of distinguished university chairs. Such an accomplishment deserves respect and thanks; had Bruce-Mitford rushed to print, he could never have brought to-gether the results of his own banbrechende Arbeit and that of his colleagues into so satisfying a whole. Though there are many points in the account Bruce-Mitford gives with which one can take issue, the purpose of the massive study was to provide as full an account as possible so that scholarly debate could be encouraged.

G. Storms, in *"The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial: An Interpretation" (Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek, Proceedings of the State Service for Archaeological Investigations in the Netherlands 28 [1978], 309-345), proposes a series of novel interpretations of the objects found in the prime mound at Sutton Hoo. Storms holds that Rædwald was at best a lapsed Christian, and further proposes that his cenotaph is in fact a triumph of paganism. Storms sees the ship itself as perhaps an object of worship and outlines the history of such practices in Holland to the modern period. The standard he sees as a kind of broiling rack or display stand for parts of a bull ritually slaughtered by the iron hammer found at Sutton Hoo, and the whetstone is to him an idol. Woden figures heavily in Storms's arguments, and even the harp (or lyre?) is associated

with his worship. Most interesting of all is Storms's acceptance of the burial of Scyld and of Beowulf as phenomena very much attended with real historical events. He sees Beowulf as accurately reflecting history as far as we know it, particularly with regard to the Geats. As for the Sutton Hoo master goldsmith, Storms would have him an Alamannic merchant, or fellow-traveller with merchants, who entered the service of Rædwald. It would be very easy to dismiss the conclusions drawn in this far ranging and very scholarly study, because they are so far from the bases of conventional wisdom on Beowulf and Sutton Hoo; in my view, Storms deserves careful consideration precisely because he opposes the standard perceptions of archaeologists and literary critics.

In *The Hermitage and the Offshore Island (Second Paul Johnstone memorial lecture, Occasional Lecture number 3, National Maritime Museum [Greenwich]) Rosemary Cramp examines a number of island strongholds for medieval Christianity, including St Cuthbert's small island off Lindisfarne, Coquet Island, and St Herbert's island on Windermere. The base type of this kind of spirituality is Lérins, off Cannes. Professor Cramp points out that none of these islands has been excavated, though each would yield a fascinating sequence of structures. Cramp's closing remark is sobering indeed: "on the three islands I have looked at in detail, there is much better protection for the sea-birds than for the surviving archaeology."

Sean McGrail interprets *"A Medieval Logboat from the R. Calder at Stanford Ferry, Wakefield, Yorkshire" (Med. Arch. 25, 160-165) and concludes:

> This medieval oak logboat is important not least because she
> is the earliest-known logboat from Britain with direct evidence
> for fitted ribs. Her useful beam, flared transverse section
> and (probable) stabilizers mean that she would have had good
> stability. This and the fact that she may have had thwarts
> would make her suitable for use as a passenger ferry, a role
> echoed in the site name. (p. 164)

*Hampshire's Countryside Heritage: Ancient Tracks and Lanes (second impression, available from Hampshire County Council, the Castle Winchester) by Jane Doherty is a beautiful example of how the county should both present and preserve its past. If you wish to see a sketch of how an Iron Age track looked, or how to walk it, this splendid booklet will lead you into these largely unknown yet pleasant paths.

In "An Aspect of the Early Gothic Revival: the Transformation of Medievalist Research, 1770 - 1800" (Jnl of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 43 [1980], 174-185) John Trew describes the growth of antiquarian and archaeological interests in medieval English monuments. He shows how and why study of Gothic buildings grew in sophistication and the execution of prints and drafts of these structures were done with more care and competence. For these reasons, medievalist research of Gothic buildings became available to a larger audience and the beauty of these buildings was made known to a greater number of architects.

In "A Sword Pommel with Ring-Knob at Grenay, Pas-de-Calais" (Septentrion 38-39 [1979], 37-9), a description of the sword pommel relates it to a group of 6th-century pommels produced in Kent. The ring-knob is of a pattern at a later stage of development than the pommel and not English.

Vera Evison has edited a collection intended to honor the eightieth birthday of J. N. L. Myres, under the appropriate title, Angles, Saxons, and Jutes (Oxford). It is a rich contribution. Hans Neumann finds further parallels between Kentish and Jutish graves ("Jutish Burials in the Roman Iron Age," 1-10), most particularly examples found surrounded by circular or pennanular ditches. This parallel supports Myres's view, put forward in 1970, that Bede's attribution of settlement sites was buttressed by the archaeological evidence. Egel Bakka writes on "Scandinavian-type Gold Bracteates in Kentish and Continental Grave Finds" (11-30) and concludes that though such objects are probably found in Kent because of trade, they are found "also on the Continent and no direct connection with Scandivania can be demonstrated by them" (p. 28). C. M. Hills comes up with some interesting preliminary conclusions in "Barred Zoomorphic Combs of the Migration Period" (96-125), the most significant that "we may eventually be forced to the conclusion that in England, as in some parts of the Continent, at some periods there were partially separate male and female cemeteries" (108). Leslie Alcock writes on "Quantity or Quality: The Anglian Graves of Bernicia" (168-186), vigorously refuting the notion expressed by Hunter Blair in 1959, who held that the entire body of early Anglo-Saxon material from Northumberland "would be scarcely equivalent to the contents of six well-furnished graves from, for example, the Cambridge region." Alcock cites Yeavering, inter alia, and holds that social rank was differently arranged in Northumbria, an area in which Celtic influences is strong. Interestingly, Alcock's presentation and review of evidence leads him to Myres's conclusions of 1936. David Brown puts forward a new notion of influence in his study of "Swastika Patterns" (227-40) in that he sees the use of this design as a point of origin for certain patterns in Irish eighth-century enamels, and a much more likely source than the traditional one, the cloisonné patterns of Anglo-Saxon garnet jewelry. J. G. Hurst's report on "Wharram: Roman to Medieval" (241-255) shows that in this part of Yorkshire land exploitation followed patterns similar to those discovered by Professor Cramp in her Cuthbert lecture (see Celtic section):

> The research project at Wharram therefore suggests that there was a continuity of exploitation of the land, though possibly from shifting centres, over most of the parishes between AD 350 and 700, but that at the medieval village site of Wharram Percy, because of its situation as a preferred site close to abundant water, there was continuity of settlement with some proprietorial or tenurial continuity.

c.   Viking

The Vikings--or their material goods at any rate--are still very much a center of interest. An entirely new exhibit, *The Vikings in England and in their Danish Homeland" was shown first at the National Museum, Brede-Copenhagen, then at Århus, and finally at the Yorkshire Museum, York (April 3-30 September 1982). The display itself was very powerful, offering among other things a great collection of stone sculpture of the period, and the catalogue, The Vikings in England, has extraordinarily useful introductory essays by fifteen contributors, including Christopher Morris, Else Hoendahl, and James Graham-Campbell. At £3.50 the book offers very good value for money, for the plates --both in color and black and white--are up to the high standard of the text. The book can be obtained from the York Museum.

*Proceedings of the Eighth Viking Congress: (ed. Hans Bekker Nielsen, et al., Odense University Press) is a rich collection. Einar Haugen, in *"Was Vinland in Newfoundland?" (1-7), rejects the equation L'Anse aux Meadows = Newfoundland, on the basis of grapes as central to both of the sagas which treat of Vinland. He holds: "I am happy to recognize Newfoundland as [the] beginning and congratulate the Ingsteds on their discoveries. But Newfoundland cannot be the end of Vinland" (p. 7). He is in favor of New England. Bjorn Ambrosiani comments on "Birka--a planted town serving an increasing agricultural population" (8-23), and concludes:

> The Helgo complex lies on a property with a name which is
> normally associated with crown land - Bona. Hovgården on
> Adelsö lies in the neighbourhood of Birka. Munsö has at
> least 2 large royal demesnes: Bona, given to the arch-
> bishop in the 12th century, and Husby. Kungsberga,
> Svartsjö and Askanäs are probably farms of the same type.
> So it is quite reasonable to see colonization of the
> Mälaren islands as examples of attempts to increase their
> income by king, crown and state. The foundation of the
> first non-agrarian sites, Helgö and Birka, can certainly
> also be fitted into this picture. The king exploited
> those areas which allowed him room for expansion and
> created institutions on the continental pattern. This
> would probably demand a royal power stronger than the
> one that the kingdom of the sea kings could provide.

C. J. Becker comes up with some very interesting conclusions in *"Viking Age villages and 'Manors' in Denmark: Recent discoveries" (25-36). A number of sites show continuity from the sixth to eighth century but "not a single, so far published, shows continuity from the 6th to the 8th century; and every site was abandoned during the eleventh century" (p. 28). Kalbjørn Skarre surveys *"Mints in Viking Age Scandinavia" (39-42) and shows how difficult it is to draw a great deal from coins in our present state of knowledge; most inscriptions are blundered, and it is dangerous to suppose that even place names can be recovered with any certainty. Still, the present state of affairs is encouraging, in that "the numismatist still may have something in store to offer to the student of Viking urbanization" (p. 41). A number of site reports deal with the Dublin Viking excavations, conducted under Bréardan Ó Riordáin. Though a stave building was found on the site, the normal Irish wattle structures seem to have been preferred. The most fascinating piece is G. R. Coopes's Report on *"Coleoptera from an 11th Cent. House at Christ Church, Dublin" (51-6), which proposes that the householders made use of an insect-infested, fermenting carpet of vegetable matter as heat source; the West Stow Environmental group provided a parallel to this fascinating practice. Christine Fell gives us a study of *"Anglo-Saxon Saints in Old Norse Sources and Vice-versa" (95-105); and she finds that while cults of Sts Olaf and Magnus quickly grew in England, it is not until Becket that an English saint had a cult in the north. However, Icelandic interest in a number of Saxon saints was high. Else Roesdahl studies *"Aggersborg in the Viking Age" (107-122), concluding that this large complex and a number of other projects such as the bridge at Ravening Enge were produced under Harold, who ruled 940-86.

Gillian Fellows Jensen provides some interesting parallels in her study of *"Scandinavian settlement in the Danelaw in the light of the place-name of Denmark" (133-145); by comparing Gaul, the American West, and

Scandinavian settling in the Danelaw and in Schleswig:

> George Stewart has compared Gaul under the Roman Empire
> with the American West in the nineteenth century. Both
> were regions of opportunity and in Gaul 'men with Roman
> names got land, and set up for themselves, whether to be
> country gentlemen or merely farmers'. From the nucleus
> of one man's personal holding there developed a village
> that took its name from that of the individual owner,
> usually with the addition of a suffix. Hence the many
> names in -acum, e.g. Juillac (Julius). American paral-
> lels are names containing or consisting of personal names,
> such as Johnson City and Lovelady in Texas. The Roman
> Julius and the American Johnson were acting in the same
> way as the Vikings Ketill and Hákon, who took land at
> Ketsby and Hacconby in Lincolnshire, and the more stay-
> at-home Ketills and Hákons, who made homes for them-
> selves at Ketelsby in Schleswig and Kejlstrup in Viborg
> amt. (p. 23)

Morris's "Viking and Native in Northern England" (223-244) is an important con-
tribution, for Morris deals with the patrimony of St Cuthbert, and the use of
those lands during the Viking period. There are also interesting fusions in
the arts that Morris puts before us. In the Tees valley, for example, the
stone sculpture "points to an integration of Scandinavian taste with the native
tradition, and not an overwhelming of one by the other" (233). The picture
Morris draws from a variety of sources of evidence is not at all one of Viking
destruction, but rather one in which interaction and adoption between Vikings
and English was the norm.

Finally, Iain Crawford, writing on *"Viking Colonisation in the
Northern and Western Isles of Scotland" (245-269), supports Wainwright's view
of total suppression of the indigenes by the Vikings; but the last words in
this debate are far from written.

Don Perring's *Early Medieval Occupation at Flaxengate, Lincoln
(Lincoln Archaeological Trust, IX-I) offers insights into the history of that
city which are at one and the same time fascinating and unsatisfactory. The
site is undoubtedly important, for it appears that it was uninhabited from the
third to the ninth centuries. Thus, it would seem that the prosperity of the
area, and the clear evidence of trade found there, are strong indications for
the positive impact of Viking settlement. But then, one cannot identify who
precisely it was that left all this amazing evidence behind, though it is
clear that Scandinavia had something to do with the business. The industries
practiced were glass and metalworking (for items of adornment), and the sources
of the varied artifacts found were eye-openers:

> Ceramics found in levels immediately pre-dating and associated
> with the earliest timber buildings on Flaxengate had been
> imported from as far away as China...and Syria...and may have
> reached the site by way of Arab and Viking trade routes. A
> larger body of pottery represented the trading contacts with
> north-west Europe.... This included a variety of French
> wares, early continental glazed wares, probably from the Low
> Countries, Rhenish wares, sherds of a jar paralleled at Ribe

in Denmark, and a Slavonic sherd. A number of small finds, including imported ivory, soapstone, mica schist, and possibly glass, add to this picture of extensive overseas trading. Most of the imported material came from the very earliest levels and pre-dated the period of intensive glass- and metalworking. Lincoln's trade must, however, have been primarily local, and the pottery and the coins show a considerable trade within England and the Danelaw throughout the period with which this report is concerned.

Else Roesdahl's excellent *Danmark's Vikingtid is now available in a first-rate English translation: Viking Age Denmark (London, British Museum Publications). It is her intent in this book to "define important features and developments of the Viking Age in Denmark and to put them in their context; to describe the domestic background to the great adventures in foreign lands and to investigate what actually happened at home and abroad" (p. 9). She accomplishes these ends in a study that is clear, concise and complete, and beautifully illustrated into the bargain. She wisely points out that many of the great Viking achievements in engineering date to the later Germanic Iron Age, 550-800, and that Gotfred reigned over a rather sophisticated Kingdom at the very start of the ninth century. She concludes:

> ...ever since the beginning of the Viking Age, the Danes had mastered the organisation of large-scale projects.
> Scandinavian culture had its own modes of expression in many fields. But all through the Viking Age close connections with other countries resulted in strong influence, especially from Western Europe. These influences clearly played a large part in the development of society; and in religion and decorative art they gradually took over. By the end of the Viking Age, Denmark had in many respects become part of Europe. (p. 224)

This book is a must for any serious student of the early Middle Ages.

David M. Wilson and Margorie L. Caygill have given us a valuable collection of essays in *Economic Aspects of the Viking Age (London: British Museum Occasional Paper No. 30). Ingmar Jansson writes on *"Economic Aspects of Fine Metalworking in Scandinavia" (1-19). He deals with a large number of oval, trefoil, oval-armed and circular brooches, cast both in bronze or silver, and which were almost entirely associated with the dress of women. Most of these are found at Hedeby and Birka, with a few more from Dublin, Ripe, and elsewhere; he concludes:

> A fact of especial interest is that these standard Scandinavian types of jewellery were cast on Gotland, since Gotland is the only area within Scandinavia where ornaments of these types were not used. Instead of oval brooches the Gotlandic women wore animal-head brooches, and in place of equal-armed trefoil and large circular brooches they were box-shaped brooches. The pendants used on Gotland were also different. This must mean that the Scandinavian standard ornaments produced on the island were meant to be sold outside the island.... The existence of production solely for export has also been discussed for Hedeby but cannot be proved.... (p. 7)

Signe Fugelsang studies *"Woodcarvers--Professional and Amateurs--In Eleventh Century Trondheim" (21-31). She concludes:

> Judging from the material found so far, there seems to have
> been a marked heightening of quality and of diversity of the
> woodcarving at Nidaros in the period of the Urnes style, i.e.
> the second half of the eleventh century. This may be a fal-
> lacious impression, valid only for the area of the recent
> excavations. It tallies well, however, with earlier finds
> from other parts of the town and, on balance, it may perhaps
> not be too fanciful to suggest that a broader and better
> assortment of decorated woodwork reflects the economic
> flowering of the Nidaros kaupang - a centre of trade, of pil-
> grimage, and of a royal mint. Professional carvers seem, in
> my opinion to be part of the economic totality of the town -
> both as builders of churches and probably decorators of
> private houses, as well as producers of carved furniture and
> other household goods. Their social status cannot be deter-
> mined but copying of their wares by more or less gifted
> amateurs hints at the popularity of the products. (p. 25)

Irmelin Martens gives us *"Some Reflections on the Production and Distribution of Iron in Norway in the Viking Age" (38-46). She delineates a complex of mines, wholesale, and retail sales and distribution from a very early time. In *"Settlement Structure in Viking Age Sweden" (47-50) Bjorn Ambrosiani shows how important the Mälar region is, with over eight thousand graves, some of which are very rich indeed. He concludes:

> Iron production could, therefore, account for the rich boat-
> graves and trade centres which occur during this period. The
> trade and transport of these raw materials must have been im-
> portant to the economy. As well as these distant contacts,
> there was also a need for craft centres and market places....
> The oldest towns or trade ports as service centres for farmers
> were important elements in the settlement structure of the
> Viking Age. Settlement growth also exaggerated the need for
> more such centres. During the twelfth century most central
> Swedish towns had already been founded. The succeeding agri-
> cultural depression stopped the expansion of the towns for
> many hundreds of years.
>   It is important to note that the distance between these
> medieval towns was normally about thirty kilometres. Their
> location therefore seems to have been planned. Each part of
> the settlement area should thus have a craft- and market-
> centre. The organization of the crafts can be discussed, but
> here I wish to stress that many different functions were con-
> centrated on each site.
>   Thus long distance trade has been emphasised in the past
> but scholars often forget that people living in nucleated
> areas such as Birka also needed supplies such as food, fuel,
> raw materials, and that they paid for this with crafts and
> cheap imports. According to the evidence from grave-finds
> the most luxurious objects seldom or never went outside the
> town: they were acquired in exchange for iron and fur
> exports.

In the last essay, Holger Schmidt provides important perspective on *"Viking Houses in Denmark" (51-56), particularly those found in the fortress sites. He concludes:

> The seminal excavation at Trelleborg led to the identi-
> fication and excavation of the related ring-forts at
> Aggersborg and Fyrkat. Although Frykat is somewhat
> smaller and Aggersborg considerably larger than
> Trelleborg in size, the houses in the Jutland ring-forts
> display only minor differences to those at Trelleborg.
> One is justified, therefore, in regarding them all as
> representatives of a distinct house type, as in the
> Fyrkat report published in 1977. The evidence proves
> that these houses did not have an open gallery. As the
> outer post-holes are all angled towards the building
> they must represent a series of external buttresses, as
> was the case both at Elisenhof and Hedeby.... With the
> exception of this particular feature the reconstructed
> house at Trelleborg should therefore still be regarded
> as a valid model and there is ample justification for
> undertaking a thorough restoration to prolong its life-
> span. (p. 53)

In *"Stylistic Groups in Late Viking and Romanesque Art" (Acta ad Archaeologiam Et Artium Historiam Pertinentia, Serie Altera in 8°, Vol. I [Rome], 79-125) Signe Horn Fugelsang sketches anew the nature of ornamental development, which she sees as "basic to the understanding" of Viking art. Perhaps the most important aspect of her work is her strong insistence that the classifications she deals in make sense only if the art of all of Scandinavia is surveyed as one whole. Though her discussion is quite technical, it is im-portant in that it deals boldly with Anglo-Saxon influence on Viking art, and the continuity of Urnes elements into the Romanesque art of the twelfth cen-tury. This interinfluence is seen even on such every-day objects as spoons, handles and mounts. Interestingly, the same admixture of elements is found in late Irish art, such as the Cashel Sarcophagus, and the Cross of Cong. With regard to the Ringerike style, her study is firmly based, while her initial investigation of the Urnes is open-ended:

> I believe, however, that the homogeneity of the Ringerike
> style designs may be taken to indicate that this style was
> created consciously in one Scandinavian centre, and from
> there transmitted to other parts of Scandinavia. Because
> of the blend of Anglo-Saxon and Ottonian elements in the
> Ringerike designs, I have suggested Denmark as the general
> location for such a hypothetical centre; and because of
> the affinities with manuscript ornament, the formation of
> the new style may in some way have been connected with
> the nascent church organization, although there is no
> direct proof for either suggestion. Similar considera-
> tions may apply even for the Urnes style, although here
> much of the basic study remains to be done.

Thus, Fugelsang's study stresses the continuity and vitality of the Viking tra-dition; they do not die, but form Romanesque art, in the same way that Lubeck as a late medieval trading center has its foundations in the late Viking age.

The continuity of Viking traditions of ship-building is one of the most amazing characteristics of the craft; André W. Sleeswyck's *"The Ship of Harold Godwinson" is a startling example. Sleeswyck throws light on the vessel represented on the Bayeux tapestry as Harold's by drawing parallels on the Sunmørsothring, a ten-meter vessel used in Norwegian waters as recently as sixty years ago.

Carl O. Cederlund makes another contribution of importance to medieval archaeology in "Bulverketbåten--en model för dokumentation an båt og farteyslamningår" (Fornvännen 75 [1980], 30-43). His study includes both proposed methodologies for the study of the remains of early boats, and the usefulness of models and replicas in such studies. Since the boat under discussion was found in a lake on Gotland and it appears to be twelfth-century, it is an ideal starting point for such studies.

In "Björnfällar och Odin-Religion" (Fornvännen 75 [1980], 266-70) Äke V. Ström comes up with some information that may throw some light on the anthropological antecedents of Beowulf. He builds on the research of Bo Petré (Fornvännen 75, 5-23) who concludes that bear phalanges in graves from pre-Roman to Viking Iron Age sites are to be viewed as indications of regional fur and skin trade. Strom prefers the view that such materials are connected with "the cult of Odin as the god of the upper classes, especially dead men in prominent positions. Odin himself was thought of as a bear and his warriors and those of the kings were called beserks, 'bearskins,' of whom there were females, too." (p. 270)

Cajsa Lund has produced an interesting study in "The Archaeomusicology of Scandinavia" (Archaeomusicology 12, no. 3, 246-265). After describing methods and problems concerning the meaning and nature of prehistoric musical instruments as sound producing implements, and recognizing them as such, the author gives a useful survey of the various types of finds and discusses what is known about these implements from experimentation, laboratory examinations, and analogical analyses.

E. Nylén and Jan Peder Lamn have produced a German version of the Swedish book on the Gotland Picture stones, in *Bildsteine auf Gotland (Neumünster, Karl Wacher Verlag), which is welcome in that it makes this important and attractively produced little book more readily available. Those for whom German is easy will find the text both informative and authoritative; those who have difficulty with that language will be happy to know that a translation into English is scheduled to appear in 1983, through Cornell University Press.

In *Freswick, Caithness, Excavations and Survey at Freswick Linki and Freswick Castle, 1979-80 by Colleen Batey et al. (Durham), we get a very gloomy and appropriately concerned picture of the only known mainland Scottish Late Norse site. The losses are staggering: "At least 20 meters and at worst, 40 meters have disappeared since the production of the Ordinance Survey map of the area, apparently in 1969" (p. 25). Despite this, we are learning a great deal about the ecology of this site, in large part through techniques of analysis of midden remains such as were virtually unknown a decade ago. We can look to the Durham archaeologists for a good deal of exciting new information on the Anglo-Norse period.

In "Some Thoughts on Manx Runes" (Sagabook 20 [1980], 179-99) Ray Page provides both a survey of the evidence and its potential, and indications of how Manx Runic monuments were the product of an Irish-Norse culture:

> A tentative theory is that the Manx rune-stones indicate the conflation of two cultures, the indigenous Celtic and the incoming Norse. The Manx people had a long tradition of erecting stones of various designs, but often with a cross prominent in their decoration. They are usually without inscription. The Norse had a tradition, not rich but adequate, of putting up memorial stones with inscriptions. When the two nations came together, the Norse tradition was enriched by the Celtic, or the Celtic modified by the Norse, and hence the Manx runic memorial cross with its typical memorial formula.

d.   Celtic

In *"Celts and Germans" (Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies 29, 235-55) D. Ellis Evans critically surveys previous theories that our knowledge is still extremely shadowy and techniques of integrating linguistic disciplines with archaeology have not been successful. Evans considers several examples of linguistic exchange between the Celtic and Germanic language and concludes that the two groups were distinct and probably did not develop contacts until late in the first millenium B.C.

To say that *Ireland in Early Medieval Europe: Studies in Memory of Katheleen Hughes (ed. Dumville, et al., Cambridge) is important is an understatement. The book is a fitting tribute to a great scholar precisely because much work in it follows the trails she made, in seeing Ireland as an active member of the larger European community. Several of the contributors provide new insights on the problematic Picts; Isabel Henderson, in *"Pictish Art and the Book of Kells" (79-105), again turns to the Pictish influence on Insular Art, and finds "a significant number of varied, specific, traits of composition and decoration shared between Pictish and the Book of Kells and that a comparable number and range cannot be found elsewhere in Insular art" (105). More startlingly still, she says

> These traits are found not only in the Easter Ross slabs where they have been recognized to some extent by all writers, but also notably at Meigle. Because of the historical background of the Pictish Church, the ecclesiastical art of the Picts was heavily influenced by the monastic arts of Northumbria and Ireland. Its vitality and individuality demonstrate forcefully the truth of the observation 'influence creates nothing, rather it awakens'. The political and ecclesiastical conditions of the eighth century and the quality of the art, intellectually as well as artistically, make Professor Brown's inclusion of eastern Scotland as one of the possible provenances for the Book of Kells entirely reasonable and fair. The Book of Kells could fittingly have rested on the tomb-shrine of St Andrews. Understandably, the still vaguely apprehended Pictland will never be a favourite choice for the provenance of so great a manuscript as the Book of Kells, but perhaps a

more acceptable suggestion would be that in Pictish art we can find traces of the decoration of some of the missing manuscripts by which we must account for the change in Insular book art that took place between the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Book of Kells. The Picts at all periods responded fully to manuscript art, no doubt as the direct result of the compatibility of the manuscript page with their native cross-slabs.

In *"Dalriada and the Creation of the Kingdom of the Scots" (106-132) M. Anderson examines the extremely close relationship between the border country that includes modern-day Dumfries, and Ruthwell, inter alia, with her point of departure clearly stated:

> Scotland's Irish inheritance needs no emphasis. The mediaeval kings of Scots traced their descent from the Dalriada of Argyll, settlers from Antrim in the fifth century AD and describable in Latin as Scoti because of their Irish origins. These Dalriada had for several centuries remained part of the Irish political structure, and as late as the eleventh century a historical writer in Ireland could treat their descendants, the kings of Scots of his own time, on a par with kings of the great Irish provinces.

She examines with care the reigns of two important monarchs, Constantine and Oengus, both of whom ruled both Picts and Scoti in the ninth century, probably holding this conjoint honor because descent was matrilinial among the Picts, patrilineal among the Dalriada. Her conclusions on the "end" of the Picts are as follows:

> With the break-up of their matrilineages the Picts probably lost interest in their genealogies and their traditions generally. If some families in Alba owed their status in the first place to a Pictish 'heiress', that fact was perhaps conveniently forgotten. Ethnologically the people who had been known as 'Picts' probably survived in substantial numbers, but after the early tenth century there were no Picts in a political or social sense. Their country had become, as it was to remain for many centuries, part of the Gaelic world.

Molly Miller concludes her essay on "Matrilining by Treaty: The Pictish Foundation Legend" (133-63) as follows:

> ...[W]e are presented with a community which has worked at its inheritance problems, is habituated to diplomacy in its relations with foreign powers, had an accessible register of royal land grants back at least to 565, and introduced the modern Easter calendar by royal edict. Given this, it is almost necessary, and certainly probable, that there was a reasonably well-organized stratum of government and administration below the kings, in which able and ambitious men excluded from the kingship could find satisfaction.

> All this is far from sullen hebetude of a lingering
> Iron Age survival; it must have been interesting to be a
> Pict at this time.

David Dumville writes on *"Latin and Irish in the Chronicles of Ulster. A.D. 431-1050" (320-341), and puts Ireland ahead of England in the matter of vernacular chronicles:

> In short, there is much less certainty in respect of English
> sources for this period than we are able to attain for the
> Irish. In Ireland we have a context of extensive literary
> use of the vernacular from at least the seventh century,
> whereas we lack indubitable evidence of this sort from pre-
> ninth-century England. The employment of the vernacular in
> Irish annalistic writing is, by common consent, contemporary
> by 820 at the latest, while its growing (if still occasional)
> use in the eighth century seems at least arguable. In
> England the case seems securely established only from the
> last third of the ninth century (and arguable for the 830s),
> which might be thought to suit generally held views on the
> development of Old English prose.
>
> I conclude, therefore, that the development of annalis-
> tic writing in the vernacular was extensively practised in
> at least one centre in Ireland not less than half a century
> before Anglo-Saxon work of comparable scale was under way.
> But when the Alfredian Anglo-Saxon Chronicle began it was a
> wholly vernacular work; completely vernacular annals are un-
> known in Ireland before the eleventh or twelfth century.

Peter Sawyer, with his usual incisive brevity, tells us that there were solid societal reasons for the episodes of friendly exchange and contact between *"The Vikings and Ireland," examining in the course of his work the nature and the unusual structures in Icelandic Christianity (345-361). In *"Ireland and Western Gaul in the Merovingian Period" (362-386), M. R. James offers convincing arguments from history and archaeology that shows these regions were in close contact in the early Medieval period.

Volume one, number one of *Cambridge Celtic Medieval Studies contains two papers of very great interest to all those interested in the scope and intellectual force of the early medieval Celtic church. The late Kathleen Hughes posed a question to her Oxford audience in an O'Donnell Lecture for 1974-75: *"The Celtic Church: Is This a Valid Concept?" We are fortunate to have an updated version of this talk with addenda by Dr. Patrick Simms-Williams, as the lead article in CCMS (1-20). Dr. Hughes's answer to her rhetorical question is no; there was great variety in the church as it existed among the Celtic peoples, differences both diachronic and synchronic. She provides a brief summary, but the article deserves careful reading in full:

> The 'Celtic Church' is, then, a rather misleading phrase. In
> Wales bishops and territorial dioceses were much more firmly
> established than they were in Ireland. They were linked to
> kings and kings were stronger in Wales. So when the monastic
> movement swept Ireland and Wales in the mid- and later sixth
> century its development was rather different. In Ireland kin

groups founded monasteries without much reference to diocesan
bishops and the disciples of monastic founders spread the
monastic <u>paruchia</u> far outside the immediate vicinity of the
chief monastery. In Wales some bishops did take up the
monastic life with enthusiasm and new monasteries were also
founded by kin groups, but the monasteries sometimes re-
mained under the bishop's jurisdiction and their estates
were often within a confined territory.

Peter Dronke discusses *"St. Patrick's Reading" (21-38) in a fascinating and
most subtle study of how a medieval mind worked. Dronke posits the notion that
Patrick's work has a kind of "conjointure" with Augustine's, and that structur-
al and stylistic echoes of Augustine permeate Patrick's work. The style of
Patrick's <u>confessio</u> has often come under attack, but Dronke holds that "in the
moments when Patrick's will to express himself outstrips his command of his
medium, his writing is purposive, even exalted, and coherent in a way that
random outpourings could never have achieved" (p. 34). Dronke admits that there
are many problems in Patrick's work and style that are difficult to solve, but
he takes a very firm positive line in his conclusion; by holding "the picture
of Patrick as 'the man of one book' belongs in the cellarage, and...a more
realistic portrait should be hung in the gallery of the Fathers."

Volume 110 of the <u>Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, Ireland</u>
(Dublin, 1980) is an exciting collection of important papers. Carola Hicks
provides a useful commentary on *"A Clonmacnois Workshop in Stone" (5-36).
She compares and analyses crosses at Ahenny and Clonmacnois, concluding "The
least unsatisfactory option is to regard the two groups as broadly contempo-
rary but representing different regional schools, the products of two con-
trasting workshops of which that based at Clonmacnois was the more conserva-
tive" (p. 31). Dr. Hicks holds that there is a strong Pictish influence in
the crosses:

> The innovative Ahenny features include the first examples
> of biblical scenes, and far less use of the Pictish elements
> which so permeate the former. Henry describes the Pictish
> carved animal scenes...as more sculptural and static than
> those of the Bealin, Banagher and Clonmacnois shafts, a
> judgement with which it is difficult to agree in view of
> the flowing and active narrative scenes of horsemen, hunts
> and strange creatures on the back of the Class 2 cross
> slabs. There can be no doubt that these were a major
> source of influence on the workshop.
>
> The necessary political and historical contacts can
> be found in the period immediately prior to the disruption
> caused by the Scandinavian invaders, a time of expanding
> Scotic settlement, contact between the churches and the
> golden age of Hiberno-Saxon art.

Charles Doherty's paper on *"Exchange and Trade in Early Medieval Ireland" (67-
89) is of great importance because Doherty attempts to re-evaluate the whole
notion of exchange of goods in Ireland, and to point out that Scandinavian
influence on Ireland has perhaps been overstressed. He would have us believe
that Ireland was moving towards international trade before the Vikings ever
touched her shores. While gift-giving was of central importance in the period,

and even clerics gave gifts to cement bonds with people, this earlier, gift-bonding society lasted for a very long time. As for trade, Doherty says "the use of the terms pre-Viking and post-Viking are scarcely applicable. The shattering of the archaic society of its laws had originally taken place by the beginning of the eighth century. Between 664 and 900 approximately there is rapid change; the Vikings have a quickening effect in this; joint slaving raids must have brought home to the Irish the nature of quick and relatively easy profit" (71-2). Despite the strength and attractiveness of Doherty's work, his concept of trade appears to be out of line with more recent commentators on urban development such as C. Blindheim (in Farrell [forthcoming]):

> Throughout the early middle ages self-sufficiency was the
> ideal. Trade and market activity was peripheral and sub-
> sidiary to this. However from the eighth and ninth cen-
> turies onwards there was a slow increase in economic
> activity which increased in momentum during and particu-
> larly after the tenth century.

As Blindheim points out, Helgö was a busy port in the fifth century, and it does not seem to have been unique. Undoubtedly the most exciting papers in the volume are those which deal with the splendid objects in the Derrynavlan Hoard, discovered early in 1980. It is curious, in a way, to have these papers so early, for the chalice is currently undergoing conservation at the British Museum, and the description and analysis of the pieces are in the very capable hands of Michael Ryan, Curator of Irish Antiquities in the National Museum. Hillary Richardson, in her *"Derrynavlan and other Early Church treasures" (92-115), starts boldly, in a statement she supports to the full: "The finding of the Derrynavlan treasure has added at a single stroke a vast new extension to early Christian Irish Art." Richardson holds that the find is Irish, and vigorously attacks the work of Dr. Rupert Bruce-Mitford and others, who argue for places outside of Ireland as points of origin for almost every medium of art, save for the stone crosses. However, despite her great enthusiam, virtually nothing is said about Derrynavlan; we have instead a catalog of similar objects in the contexts of European culture. This study will be quite useful when it can in fact be linked to a more detailed study of the Derrynavlan objects themselves. Francis John Byrne gives us the first part of *"Derrynavlan: the Historical Context" (116-26) and though he gives us quite a good deal on a site "comparatively obscure" before the hoard turned up, it seems best to deal with the account as a whole in a subsequent issue of YWOES. P. Ní Chathain's account of *"The Liturgical Background of its Derrynavlan Altar Service" (127-152) is a splendid up-to-date attempt to outline the liturgy of the Mass as it may have been practiced in eighth-century Ireland, and to relate the Derrynavlan objects to these largely Gallican but very varied Irish observances. The article is extremely useful, but impossible to summarize.

The Irish exhibit which travelled around America from 1977 to 1979 is to most a distant memory. The splendid objects are still being shown as an assemblage at the National Museum, Dublin. The small catalogue entitled *Artists and Craftsmen: Irish Art Treasures which was produced in 1980 as a general introduction to Irish art gives a beautifully clear and concise account of the development of Irish art and culture, and also offers a fine series of plates (many in color) and drawings. This pamphlet would be an invaluable aid in an introductory undergraduate course in medieval studies.

Michael Ryan and Mary Cahill have produced a splendid catalogue, *Gold aus Irland (Munich), which spans many periods and which is splendidly illustrated. It seems an ideal text for learning the arcane vocabulary one needs for technical art historical and archaeological literature.

*The Gauls: Celtic Antiquities From France by I. M. Stead (London, British Museum Publications) seems an unlikely subject, for this group was effectively stamped out on the Continent in 52 B.C., when Vercinggetorix was defeated at Alesia. The collection is worthy of study for several reasons; the material culture represented provides a milieu for the Tain, a text cognate to Beowulf in the Heroic tradition, and the objects shown in the Catalogue are, in their form and decoration, basic to the understanding of later Celtic art, even into the Christian period. While the torque is not particularly well-known in European contexts, it is very common indeed in the graves of Champagne. The first floruit of the style came in Britain, in the centuries before the Roman occupation, and thus was transmitted into the bases of Anglo-Saxon and Insular art.

*The Making of the Scottish Countryside by M. L. Parry and T. R. Slater (Toronto: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1980) is a clear indication of how little we know about early Medieval Scotland. Virtually no firm evidence is available, and our knowledge of the Solway - Clyde region is particularly frustrating, because the Roman wall lies here, and the Ruthwell Cross as well. The one very interesting fact emerges, namely, that, in the main, cultivated fields are found at and above 300 meters O.D., an elevation that is now largely moor. The authors therefore propose "from the early centuries A.D., with increasing annual temperatures, the Highland-Lowland division in Scottish architecture first came into existence" (p. 40). The conclusion of this chapter is very tantalizing:

> In terms of viewing the development of Scotland's landscape
> as a slowly evolving process, rather than one in which sud-
> den change occurred, it is the Dark Ages which hold the im-
> portant key. Until such times as more detailed palynological
> study for the period from the early sub-Atlantic uncil c.1100
> A.D. is undertaken and until the archaeology of the Dark Ages
> is more fully investigated, we will be left with a gap in our
> knowledge as to the evolution of settlement and agriculture
> and thus in the development of the countryside's appearance.

Joseph Kelly provides a useful review of "Hibeno-Latin Exegesis and Exegetes" (Annuale Medievale 21, 46-60). He starts with the observation that "In recent years the study of Hiberno-Latin exegesis of the period 600-900 has emerged as an incipient Medieval discipline," and concludes with the notion that the influence of Irish exegesis on Bede is "perhaps the most fruitful area of research" in the field. Given this strong cross-cultural link on the level of textual study, the entire case for an "Insular Tradition" in art and archaeology is more firmly established.

R. J. Mercer's *Archaeological Field Survey in Northern Scotland, vol. 2 (University of Edinburgh Department of Archaeology, Occasional Paper No. 7), is an extremely useful document which has very important ultimate objectives, which "may be indicated as an attempt to provide a framework of questions, impossible of solution by field survey alone, which may enable excavation strategies to be sampled and with, at least initially, clear research objectives, in

response to the vagaries of developmental activity over a relatively wide area"
(p. v). It is hoped that the study will permit a greater yield from the ter-
ribly inadequate resources for field research.

Joanna Close Brooks's new publication, *St. Ninian's Isle Treasure
(National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland), describes the hoard as "the most
important single discovery in Scottish Archaeology." This is certainly an
acceptable stance, and this handy little booklet with its very modest price of
£1 gives very good pictures of the individual pieces. However, it is sad to
relate that, in the museum itself, the hoard is poorly displayed, and indeed
difficult to find. The casual reader will get a better knowledge of the hoard
from the slim pamphlet than from the museum display.

In Richard Reeces's (et al.) account of *Excavations in Iona 1964-
1974 (London Institute of Archaeology, Occasional Papers. no. 5) we can build
up a fairly clear picture of the monastery established by St Columba, and of
its inhabitants. Life was good, as red deer figured heavily in the diet, plus
a variety of other animals, fish, and shellfish. The mounts found in the work-
shop indicate to Mr. Graham-Campbell that they are very close to Irish exem-
plars, which "will occasion no surprise, although it is of the greatest inter-
est in the context of the high degree of artistic achievement attributable to
Iona at this date [i.e. 650-750]" (p. 24). The skeletal evidence, from bodies
(mostly female) at Martyr's bay, because of this fragmentation is speculative,
but many interesting probabilities were put forward by the late L. C. Wills:
It would appear that the population died elderly, circa 38.7 for men, 34.5 for
women. It is important to note that in many early populations, people who
managed to live to 19 generally lived to about 33. Leprosy, tuberculosis and
syphilis do not seem to have been present. As for teeth, only 0.4% had cavi-
ties as against an Anglo-Saxon average of 1.5% - 5.0%. The burials are vir-
tually impossible to date, and the evidence on many points is contradictory,
but still we have much more than before about Columba and his successors.

The Durham Cathedral Lecture for 1980 was given by Rosemary Cramp,
and dealt with *"The Background to Cuthbert's Life." Professor Cramp manages
at one and the same time to provide a vivid picture of the great saint, and to
review in very clear terms the milieu in which he functioned. She shows how
farmland and clearings occupied a great deal of Northumbria in the Roman and
the post-Roman periods: "It seems possible that there was a change at the end
of the Roman period from arable to pastoral farming and this would still have
been the condition in Cuthbert's youth" (5-6). We get from Professor Cramp a
new understanding of Cuthbert and the animals: "The role of animals in the
religion of the Pagan Germans is of crucial importance in understanding Cuth-
bert's own relationship with the natural world, which is perhaps easy for us
today to sentimentalize" (7). Her picture of Cuthbert struck with the terrors
of solitude in the last five days of his life is very moving:

> ...[A]n almost pagan fear must have oppressed him. Suddenly
> his little hut ceased to be a refuge and became a prison, and
> the longing for human company overwhelmed him. It is only a
> matter of a few minutes to run from the landing stage to the
> top of the hill where the cell and oratory were on Farne, but
> when the monks came and found that he had crawled down to the
> guesthouse to wait there for them, he explained his presence
> by saying that he had come down 'in order that those of you
> who came to minister to me could find me here and not be

compelled to enter my dwelling'.... This time not even a
bird or beast had come to minister to him. However, by the
time the monks arrived, he had conquered his demons, and,
like Bede, he died among friends looking towards the altar
in his cell. From that time onwards he has never lacked
for company.

Janet Backhouse's beautifully illustrated study of The Lindisfarne
Gospels is properly reviewed in Section 5, above, but a few words on the com-
parative chapter seem in order here. This chapter is extremely useful, in that
it deftly handles the relationships the decoration of Lindisfarne has with ob-
jects and manuscripts of the period. The Celtic relations will probably have
to be reconsidered in the light of the Derrynavlan Hoard, but the other parts
of the study are well done.

Though the major treatment of The Durham Gospels also appears above
in Section 5, it is important to mention it here, because of the complex series
of relationships it has to other manuscripts--and other art forms--in the Golden
Age of Northumbria. Elizabeth Coatsworth studies the decoration of this complex
manuscript which, as Dr. Verey points out, "would appear never to have been far
from the bones of the great saint, Cuthbert." Her conclusions are interesting,
for she finds that "The Hexham sculptures...support the suggestion of the pres-
ence in Bernicia of a Crucifixion model closer in its detail to the Durham
miniature than to those elsewhere within the insular area.... These close
parallels in sculpture are a stong argument in favour of the production of
Durham at some center within Bernicia." Though Lindisfarne is a likely center
for the production of such a book, there are other possibilities.

e.   Continental

M. Gibson and J. Nelson have edited a substantial volume on *Charles
the Bald: Court and Kingdom (BAR International Series 101) which covers impor-
tant parallels and perspectives on Anglo-Saxon England. In *"A Sketch of the
Currency in the Time of Charles the Bald" D. M. Metcalf starts with two basic
observations: 1) foreign coins--vital evidence of exchange and trade--are sel-
dom found in Gaul, or in Anglo-Saxon England--in large part because they may
well have been excluded from circulation. His second point is that Latouche, in
his 1961 study of medieval economy, was quite wrong in placing the beginnings of
the rest of an economy in the eleventh century; Metcalf makes a good case for
substantial economic development before 877. His study of mints and hoards
leads to the "inescapable" conclusion that there must have been the "geographi-
cal displacement of millions of coins in all directions within ten or fifteen
years" (p. 60). This distribution can only be accounted for by the "volume and
pervasiveness of trade." In *"Trade and Market Origins in the Ninth Century:
An Archaeological Perspective of Anglo-Carolingian Relations" (213-33) Richard
Hodges tells us a great deal about the re-emergence of long-distance trade in
the sixth or seventh centuries. There seem to have been trading centers at
Ipswich and Sarre, centers regulated by royal authority. There was an Rhenish
network based on Dorstadt, with trade peaking during the reigns of Charlemagne
and Louis the Pious. The extent of this activity is astonishing:

...[W]e can now suggest that the produce which was taken up
the Rhine to Dorestad from the estates in the Central Rhine-
land was traded to the Frisians themselves in and around
Dorestad; to the Frisian communities further north on the

edge of the North Sea; to the Danes who also had access to
the lively early Viking commerce in the Baltic; and to the
East Anglians whose commercial focus was the emporium at
Ipswich. Clearly at Haithabu and Ipswich, the terminal
points of the two directional routes, the Frisians were not
the only merchantmen present. The pottery assemblages at
these sites suggest that the Frisian merchants were com-
peting with Slavs, possibly Scandinavians and possibly
Danes in Haithabu; while in Ipswich they would have prob-
ably encountered traders from northern France and modern
Belgium.

There was another network centering on Quentovic, but this site has yet to be
located, and excavated. These networks declined as the Vikings took command of
the sea at the end of the sixth century; a new system came into being:

By the mid tenth century it is clear that a system of hier-
archically-arranged markets was operative within southern,
central and eastern England. The speed with which this
system evolved is striking, and it appears to have developed
from the burhs founded by King Alfred in Wessex which were
subsequently extended to the reconquered Danelaw areas in
the tenth century. Notably, the Danes themselves were also
constructing communal fortresses in the late ninth or early
tenth century in eastern England and they were also using
these as the foci for the development of market-places.

We see yet another facet of King Alfred's greatness in this sytem:

The Alfredian and later urban expansion necessitated mass-
produced pottery in a wider range of forms. As a result
the West Saxon potters appear to have adopted the use of
the potters' wheel and they awkwardly adapted their tra-
ditional forms in traditional fabrics to the new needs.

f.   Coda

In *"Leprous Skeleton of the 7th Century from Eccles Kent, and the
Present Evidence of Leprosy in Early Britain" (Jnl of Archaeological Science
8, 205-9) Keith Manchester describes the skeletal pathognomoic features of
leprosy, and gives an analysis of these features as they exist in the skull
from Eccles. The palaepathological evidence for leprosy in early Britain is
very scanty, leading Manchester to speculate that more evidence of the disease
will be forthcoming only when a leper graveyard in England is found.

The very learned C. E. Fell contributes yet another piece on
*"Bibulousness in Saxon England: A Note on Old English Wine Terminology: The
Problem of Caeren" (Nottingham Medieval Studies 25, 1-12). She concludes:

I am not trying to prove that the Anglo-Saxons established a
vast range of vineyards monastic and secular, though there
is enough evidence to suggest that vine-growing was more com-
mon than is usually supposed. The lexical evidence is one
item only and needs to be interpreted. When Bosworth-Toller
defines Old English must as 'must, new wine', and cæren as 'a

sort of wine, boiled wine', these definitions, though accurate
enough for a lexicographer, conceal the real use and impor-
tance of these products. They were primarily sweetening
agents, and their value in an economy where sugar was unknown
and the supply of honey unstable is self-evident. It cannot
be demonstrated conclusively that as the Anglo-Saxons devel-
oped their own vineyards the terms must, cæren and eced were
retained with full technical precision to describe the local
products as well as imports. But it would be one way to in-
terpret the curious history of the word cæren.

Anne Sofie-Gräslund writes on *"Vikingatidens Örslevar-Ursprung Och
Funktion" (Tor 18 [1978-79], 295-310); these objects could function well in ear
cleaning, or as aids in removing makeup from narrow-necked bottles. They would
serve well in removing objects from children's ears. Ms. Gräslund closes her
study with a caution and a hypothesis:

The fact that ear-spoons are always found in the graves of
women should perhaps not only be regarded as an indication
that women were more careful in their personal hygiene than
men. As a hypothesis, it can be suggested that a good
housewife would have had among her responsibilities the
removal of wax from the ears of her family and servants.

Works not seen:

Faull, M. L., and S. A. Woodhouse, eds. West Yorkshire: an Archaeological
    Survey to A.D. 1500. Wakefield: West Yorkshire Metropolitan County
    Council.
Jennings, Sarah, et al. Eighteen Centuries of Pottery from Norwich. East
    Anglian Archaeology, Report no. 13. Norwich: Norwich Survey.
Stjernquist, B. "The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial: a Frame of Reference for
    Archaeological Analyses." Meddelanden från Lunds Universitets Historiska
    Museet n.s. 3 (1979-80), 61-67.

                                                              R. T. F.