OLD ENGLISH NEWSLETTER

Subscriptions. The rate for institutions is $6.00 US per volume, current and past volumes, except volumes 1 and 2, which are sold as one. New individual subscribers are asked to pay $3.00 US for Volume 16; with Volume 17 (1983-84) all subscribers will be asked to pay $3.00 for each volume but, in order to reduce administrative costs, will be asked to pay for at least two volumes at a time, e.g., $6.00 US for Volumes 17 and 18. All back volumes are available to individuals at $4.00 US each, except Volumes 1 and 2 which are sold as one.

General correspondence regarding OEN should be assressed to the Editor. Correspondence regarding Year's Work in Old English Studies and the Annual Bibliography should be sent to Professors Collins and Berkhout respectively.

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

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

A Guide to the Contents of this Issue

I

1983 Annual Meeting of the MLA

The Modern Language Association will celebrate its 100th year at its annual meeting in New York City, December 27-30. To help mark the occasion the Executive Committee of the Old English Division will sponsor three sessions, the maximum number allowable for a Division Committee under MLA rules. In addition to the open session that customarily takes place the Committee is in the process of organizing a session on "Old English Literature and Related Disciplines: Perspectives and Insights" and another on "Old English Literature in Manuscript Context." Mary Richards (University of Tennessee-Knoxville) is general program organizer for the 1983 meeting.

The MLA Program committee is also considering proposals from the membership.

II

ISAS News

The International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, now some 260 strong, is making final plans for its first meeting in Brussels, August 22-24. The program will feature major addresses by the following:

Budny, Mildred and Dominic Tweedle. "The Anglo-Saxon Embroideries at Maaseik"
Clemoes, Peter. "Symbolic Language in Old English Poetry"
Gatch, Milton. "The Office in Late Anglo-Saxon Monasticism"
Gneuss, Helmut. "King Alfred and the History of Anglo-Saxon Libraries"
Irving, Edward B., Jr. "The Nature of Christianity in Beowulf"
Loyn, Henry. "Anglo-Saxon Coinage"
Robinson, Fred C. "The Language and Theology of Beowulf"

From some 80 abstracts the program committee selected the following 20-minute papers:

Bammesberger, Alfred. "Hidden Glosses in Manuscripts of Old English Poetry"
Bodden, Mary C. "The Knowledge of Greek in Early England: 700-1100 A. D."
Cable, Thomas. "Punctuation and Intonational Contours in Aelfric's Edmund,
            Christ I, and the Antiphonary of Hartker"
Clark, George. "Sveinn Forkbeard: Victor at Maldon, Conqueror of England"
Dekeyser, Xavier. "Aspects of Relative Clause Formation in Old English"
Fischer, Andreas. "Æ(w) and lagu: A Case of Lexical Change in Old English and
            its Chronology"
Grinda, Klaus. "Pigeonholing Old English Poetry: Some Criteria of Metrical
            Style"
Kiernan, Kevin. "The State of the Beowulf Manuscript, 1882-1982"
Law, Vivien. "The Foreign-Language Grammar: An Anglo-Saxon Contribution to
            Education?"
Lutz, Angelika. "Spellings of the Waldend Group -- Again"

Okasha, Elizabeth. "Addenda to Handlist of Non-Runic Inscriptions"
Paroli, Teresa. "The Dimension of the Trinity in Old English Poetry"
Pelteret, David A.E. "The Roads of Anglo-Saxon England"
Rankin, Susan. "Musical Notation: its Use and Function in Pre-Conquest England"
Renoir, Alain. "Oral Formulaic Context and the Affective Interpretation of Old English Poetry"
Rumble, Alexander R. "The 'Fraudulent Codex Wintoniensis': Fact or Fiction?"
Taylor, Paul B. "The Vocabulary of Treasure in Old English Poetry"
Yorke, Barbara. "Patterns of Rulership and Succession in the Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms, c. 500-900"

Registration will cost $35 or £22; spouses and other guests may register for non-scholarly activities at $15 or £10. The fee covers a day-excursion to Ghent, but will not cover meals.

Readers of OEN interested in joining ISAS and seeking further information should write to:

Daniel G. Calder
Department of English
UCLA
Los Angeles, CA 90024

The local arrangements chairman is:

Prof. Rene Derolez
Muinklaan 57
9000 GHENT
Belgium

III

Symposium at Kalamazoo

With major funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities, Division of Research, the Medieval Institute at Western Michigan University (Kalamazoo) and the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies at SUNY-Binghamton sponsored a symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture, May 5-8. The symposium featured nine sessions on various aspects and problems in literature, art history, and archaeology, as well as generally in interdisciplinary research. Participants also discussed research tools in Anglo-Saxon Studies, considering strengths and weaknesses of present tools and prospects for the development of new ways to study the interdisiplinary subject. The Fall, 1982 OEN gave a preliminary program for the Symposium. Because of conflicts there were some last-minute changes. Readers should consult the Abstracts section of this issue, part VIII, below, for abstracts of papers given.

The Medieval Institute plans to publish the Proceedings of the Symposium through its own publications program. See p. 12 for an announcement regarding project activity deriving from the symposium.

IV

<u>Beowulf</u> Opera

<u>Beowulf</u>, a musical epic based on the poem with music by Victor Davies and book and lyrics by Betty Jane Wylie, is available as a three-record set with libretto from Leap Frog Records, 102 Lyall Avenue, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M4E 1W5. First produced as a double record album on the Daffodil label in Canada in 1974, the opera had an Actors Equity Showcase production staged by AMAS Repertory Theatre Company in New York in 1977. The work features major parts for Beowulf, Hrothgar, Wealhtheow, Poet and Grendel, as well as for Wiglaf, Wulfgar, Unferth, Coastguard, and a quartet of Narrators. On the record the Holiday Festival Singers provide a Chorus, while players of the Winnipeg Symphony Orchestra are part of the accompaniment. Victor Davies has composed music for film, television, theatre, recordings and the concert hall, including commissions from the Winnipeg and Vancouver Symphonies and the CBC. Betty Jane Wylie is an author, playwright, and a journalist who has published in the United States and Canada, having studied at the University of Manitoba where she took an M.A. in twentieth century poetry with a minor in Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse. Featured singers on the record include: Chad Allen (as Beowulf), the rock-pop singer and songwriter associated with The Guess Who and Backman Turner Overdrive; Frank Adamson (as Grendel); Diane Heatherington (as poet-minstrel), one of Canada's top female rock singers and prominent on the Toronto scene.

Chester Duncan, CBC radio reviewer, has given the following estimate:

> I've properly done my job...in just telling you that this Musical Epic exists and that I think you'll enjoy it--it'll <u>get</u> to you if you let it reach you in the way it's decided to go. But I also think that it would make a good <u>stage</u> show. It is to some extent imitative, but it's miles ahead of some of the musicals that achieve worldwide success. Beowulf has a very interesting story indeed, and there's a lot of good music in it. I think maybe the best of the music is in the solely instrumental passages, of which I wish there were more, and in the accompaniments to the songs. Some of the textures to these backgrounds are fascinating and they are invariably done with great zest and bite.

> It's <u>popular</u> music of course, and <u>primitive</u>. There are at least two ways of using the word <u>primitive</u>; what I have in mind is that there may be an interesting connection between the primitivism of the story and the atmosphere of the Old English poem <u>Beowulf</u> and the <u>primitivism of modern pop music</u>. It's not such a strange combination--far better than Brahms would be or Stravinsky with this material. Actually there are <u>some</u> errors of judgement I think. When the merrymaking in Heorot's meadhall turns into a hoe-down it was like a stranger at the party. Acually I think all the men singers could with great gain be professional art singers. It's hard for a rock person or a pop singer to sound like a hero of old.

> But--(it's an enormous <u>but</u>)--this musical epic of <u>Beowulf</u> is very exciting both in itself and in the daring and imagination with which it was constructed.

V

Haskins Society News

The Haskins Society for Viking, Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and Angevin History is making preparations for its Second Annual Conference, which will take place at the University of Houston, November 11-13, 1983. Two of the three keynote speakers will be Frank Barlow and J.C. Holt. For further information contact Prof. Sally N. Vaughn, Dept. of History, University of Houston-Central Campus, Houston, TX 77004.

Members of the Society receive a 25% discount from the University of California Press as well as substantial discounts on all volumes of the Proceedings of the Battle Conference. To join the Society send $10.00 ($5.00 for students) for the annual membership fee to: Prof. Charlotte Newman, Treasurer of the Haskins Society, Dept. of History, Junior College of Albany, 140 New Scotland Avenue, Albany, NY 12208.

The Society's newsletter, the Anglo-Norman Anonymous, is edited by David S. Spear of Furman University. The Winter, 1983 issue (Vol. I, no. 2) features biographical and bibliographical information on members and gives brief descriptions of "A Catalogue of English Vernacular Documents," the new journal Anselm Studies, and a collection of microfilmed unprinted cartularies and related records of religious houses founded in England to 1189.

VI

Conference Activity

The Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies at SUNY-Binghamton will devote its Seventeenth Annual Conference to "Medieval Archaeology," October 22-23, 1983. The six major speakers are:

David Whitehouse, "Archaeology and the Pirenne Thesis"

Klaus Randsborg, "Death and Society in the Viking Age"

Oleg Grabar, "Formation of a Holy City - Jerusalem"

Peter Addyman, "History from the Earth: the Archaeology of Jorvik and York"

Richard Hodges, "Archaeology and the Medieval Village"

George Bass, "Underwater Archaeology and Medieval Shipping"

In addition there will be several sessions devoted to special topics and studies. The full Conference program will be ready in early September. For further information write: Prof. Charles L. Redman, CEMERS, SUNY-Binghamton, Binghamton, NY 13901.

The Augustinian Historical Institute at Villanova has announced its Eighth
International Conference on Patristic, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies,
September 23-25. The conference offers a venue to Anglo-Saxonists as well as
to all fields implied by the conference title. For more information write to
the co-chairmen, Dr. Thomas A. Losoncy and Rev. Joseph C. Schnaubelt, OSA,
PMR Conference, Villanova University, Villanova, PA 19085.

The Southeastern Medieval Association will hold its Ninth Annual Conference
at the University of Virginia, October 7-8. The major speakers will be Donald
Howard, Frank G. Ryder, and Milos M. Velimirovic. Several simultaneous sessions
on a range of topics will also take place. To join SEMA write to: J.S. Russell,
Secretary-Treasurer, Dept. of English, Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta,
GA 30332.

The Tenth Annual Carolinas Symposium on British Studies will be held at
Clemson University, October 15-16. The Symposium seeks to promote research,
dialogue, and scholarship in an interdisciplinary forum for scholars in the
Southeastern United States. For further information write to: Charles R. Young,
Dept. of History, Duke University, Durham, NC 27706.

VII

Short Notices on Publications

The Rutgers University Press has published its third major book in Anglo-
Saxon Studies in recent years: Allen J. Frantzen's The Literature of Penance in
Anglo-Saxon England (1983). Frantzen analyzes the impact of confession and penance
on the literature of Anglo-Saxon England. His study begins with the Irish
penitentials in the sixth century and their transmission to England and the
Continent. The price is $27.50 (ISBN: 0-8135-0955-6).

Penguin Books is about to bring out Alfred the Great, a collection of
sources on Alfred translated with introduction and notes by Simon Keynes and
Michael Lapidge. There are four major sections in the book: Asser's Life, the
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, a section of extracts from Alfred's writings, and a
section of miscellaneous sources. The estimated price is £4.00.

The North American Patristics Society provided funds to Classical World to
help defray publishing costs of the "Special Survey Issue: A Decade of Patristic
Scholarship," by Thomas Halton and Robert Sider. The bibliography, totalling
128 pages, will occupy two issues of Classical World. Those who wish to take
advantage of a special price of $5.50 must be members of NAPS. For details of
membership and purchase write to: Joseph F. Kelly, NAPS Secretary/Treasurer,
Regligious Studies Department, John Carroll University, Cleveland Ohio 44118.

Roland Torkar has published Eine Altenglische Übersetzung von Alcuins De
Virtutibus et Vitiis, Kap. 20 (Liebermanns Judex). Originally a Gottingen
dissertation, the work appears in Münchener Universitats-Schriften: Texte und
Untersuchungen zur Englische Philologien, 7, München. The publisher is the
Wilhem Fink Verlag (price: DM 46). Torkar's study presents extensive and
detailed discussions on Alcuin's Liber, the tradition of Judex, the Nowell

transcript, and language, among other things, in addition to the critically edited text.

The University of Toronto Press has issued volume 8 in the Toronto Old English Series: Old English Word Studies: A Preliminary Author and Word Index, by Angus Cameron, Allison Kingsmill, and Ashley Crandell Amos. The authors have drawn up this list of word studies for their own use in writing dictionary entries, hoping that their work will inform anyone interested in exploring OE lexicographical scholarship. Five fiches accompany the printed book. The price is $60 (ISBN: 0-8020-5526-5).

The Old English Colloquium at Berkeley has issued the first volume in its Colloquium Series: Approaches to Beowulfian Scansion, edited with an Introduction and Selected Bibliography by Alain Renoir and Ann Hernandez. The 60-page pamphlet contains essays by John Miles Foley, Winfred P. Lehman, Robert P. Creed, and Dolores Warwick Frese. To purchase the pamphlet write: Publications Manager, Old English Colloquium, Dept. of English, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720. (No price available.)

Manfred Görlach's Einfuhrung in die Englische Sprachgeschichte is now available in a second, revised edition from Quelle and Meyer (Heidelberg) at DM 19.80. Using modern linguistic methods Görlach discusses reconstruction, writing system, morphology, syntax, and other major categories of language investigation. The work is meant as a basic text for instruction and as a supplementary text in linguistics courses.

Harald Kleinschmidt has compiled a bibliography of the works of Felix Liebermann. There are 650 entries and two indexes of key words and names. For information on the 61-page pamphlet write to: Dr. Harald Kleinschmidt, Ludwigstr. 122, D-7000 Stuttgart 1, West Germany.

Peter Lang Publishing Inc. has opened a New York City Office at 34 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016 (212-692-9009). The Bern-based firm hopes to increase its contact with American authors and institutions and to offer its books more conveniently to the scholarly community in this country. Lang hopes to expand its American University Studies, a series of monographs in a variety of fields written by scholars at universities across the country. Those interested in publishing a manuscript or editing a new series of scholarly works under the Lang imprint should feel free to contact the New York office.

British Archaeological Reports has announced new titles that may be of interest to Anglo-Saxonists. These are:

International Series

B.A.R.-S148, 1982 Concordia Apostolorum: Christian Propoganda in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries. A Study in Early Christian Iconography and Iconology by J.M. Huskinson. ISBN 0-86054-186X. xiv + 185 pp, 24 plates. Price £12.00 post free.

British Series

B.A.R. 101, 1982 The Roman Military Defence of the British Provinces in its Later Phases by Derek A. Welsby. ISBN 0-86054-178-9. 311 pp, 52 figs. Price £10.00 post free.

B.A.R. 102, 1982 The Early Church in Western Britain and Ireland: Studies presented to C.A. Ralegh Radford ed. Susan M. Pearce. Contributions by L. Alcock, Katherine Barker, P. Bidwell, S. Cruden, M. Cubbon, W. Frend, Margaret Gelling, P.-R. Giot, C.S. Green, Ann Hamlin, C. Henderson, V. Hurley, M. McCarthy, Sybil McKillop, D. Melia, H. Mytum, Lynette Olson, Susan Pearce, W. Rodwell, E. Rynne, M. Swanton and C. Thomas. ISBN 0-86054-182-7. 388 pp, 27 plates, 71 figs. Price £16.00 post free.

B.A.R. 103, 1982 The Romano-British Countryside: Studies in Rural Settlement and Economy ed. David Miles. Contributions by C.J. Arnold, S. Applebaum, K. Branigan, P.A.G. Clack, H.F. Cleere, T. Darvill, M. Fulford, T. Gregory, D. Hall, R. Hingley, H. James, N.D. Johnson, M. Jones, R. Leech, A. McWhirr, D. Miles, M. Millett, H.C. Mytum, P. Rose, D.R. Rudling, C.C. Taylor, J.P. Wild and G. Williams. ISBN 0-86054-183-5. 462 pp, 98 figs. Price £16.00 post free.

B.A.R. 106, 1982 Romano-Saxon Pottery by William I. Roberts IV. ISBN 0-86054-185-1. 186 pp, 55 figs. Price £8.00 post free.

B.A.R. 104, 1982 Prehistoric and Roman Archaeology of North-East Yorkshire ed. D.A. Spratt. Contributions by M. Atherden, P.R. Cundill, B.R. Hartley, J.E. Hemingway, J.B. Innes, R.L. Jones, I.G. Simmons and D.A. Spratt. ISBN 0-86054-181-9. 306 pp, 62 figs. Price £13.00 post free.

B.A.R. 112, 1983 Early Anglo-Saxon Sussex by Martin G. Welch. ISBN 0-86054-202-5. xii + 654 pp, 7 plates, 186 figs. Price £27.00 post free.

VIII

Late Items

     Phillip J. Pulsiano (Department of English, SUNY-Stony Brook, Long Island, New York, 11794) is compiling a comprehensive bibliography of North American doctoral dissertations on Old English language and literature. He would be grateful for notices of dissertations not recorded in the various catalogues, or which may be otherwise overlooked.

     Craig Williamson's book of riddle translations, A Feast of Creatures: Anglo-Saxon Riddle Songs (University of Pennsylvania Press), has received a 1983 Columbia University Translation Center Award for excellence in translation.

Research Tools and the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture

As part of the symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture held at Kalamazoo May 5-8, 1983, there was a full session concerning Research Tools in the field of Anglo-Saxon Studies. The formal meeting consisted of reports on or descriptions of major projects now under way. These were: the Dictionary of Old English (Ashley Crandell Amos), an Index to Iconographic Subjects in Early English Manuscripts (Thomas Ohlgren), the Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Sculpture (Rosemary Cramp), a Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts (Helmut Gneuss, report read by Paul E. Szarmach). The rest of the session was an informal discussion of projects now being considered or planned, or projects thought to be desirable. These included: a motif or theme index, a catalog of post-Conquest legal and administrative documents in English, a machine-redable copy of Doomsday Book, a "Bollandist" presentation of Anglo-Saxon saints' lives, a successor to J.D.A. Ogilvy's Books Known, a prosopography of the Anglo-Saxon period, a machine-readable text of the Anglo-Saxon charter corpus, and a corpus of translations from the Latin for students and scholars. After lengthy and general discussion on continuing the impetus of the 1983 Symposium and on problems in disciplinary and interdisciplinary research, the group supported proposals for 1984 sessions at Kalamazoo on the project to organize a successor-volume to Ogilvy's Books Known and on an interdisciplinary approach to the ninth century. These two proposals--and others--are still in the preliminary stage of development.

Those who would like more specific information on the project to collect the literary sources for Old English literature or who have observations or contributions to make, or who wish to express interest may write, pro tempore, to:

Paul E. Szarmach
Literary Sources Project
CEMERS
SUNY-Binghamton
Binghamton, NY 13901

Typographical Resources and Problems in Old English (Part I)

L. Michael Bell

University of Colorado at Boulder

There is a somewhat wider selection of standard Icelandic type elements for the IBM Selectric than is indicated in OEN 16, no. 1, p. 8 ("OE Typing Element"). Further, some problems with these elements should be mentioned; and then there are some potential alternatives to consider.

To begin with an important correction, the sample of "Iceland Advocate" reproduced in OEN 16 no. 1 is typed at 12 pitch (12 characters to the horizontal inch, or "elite"), but the element was designed for 10 pitch ("pica").[1] Figure 1 below gives a correctly spaced chart and a sample of OE.

The Iceland Advocate 10-pitch has been available since the late 1960's, the Icelandic Courier 10-pitch since somewhat later. Kahrl mentions them both in OEN 9 no. 1, p. 8. Figure 2 gives a chart and sample for Courier 10. Still later, IBM produced two 12-pitch Icelandic "golf balls," in the Courier and Scribe type faces (figures 3 and 4). All four elements are available to fit Selectric I and II models, which use interchangeable elements, and for III, which requires minimally different elements (see below). In addition, two styles of Icelandic element are available for the Selectric III only: Courier Italic-12 and Script-12. I have seen neither at this writing.

Some Typographical Problems

This richness of choice is not without its problems, among which are:

A) LIGHT-STRIKING CHARACTERS. Even on the most advanced IBM Selectrics, certain keys are designed to strike more lightly than the rest, as they produce very small marks--period, colon, apostrophe--which might punch right through the paper. On all the Icelandic type balls, these very key positions hold þ/Þ, æ/Æ, and ð/Ð. In combination with a carbon ribbon, the result is often a broken, unclear, or too light æ/Æ or ð/Ð, less often þ/Þ. This defect is shown quite clearly in the Advocate sample in OEN 16 no. 1, and even in published works like Donald K. Fry's Norse Sagas Translated into English: A Bibliography (New York, 1980), produced from camera-ready typed copy.[2]

Unfortunately, this feature of Selectrics is not adjustable, according to every IBM salesman and technician whom I have consulted. Nor is the problem correctable with the five-level striking-force control on the II and III models. It can be even worse when one uses the heavy clay-coated papers which publishers often prefer; a particularly unfortunate combination is carbon ribbon, claycoated paper, and the Iceland Advocate 10. It is a lovely type face, but ill-starred.

The only solution I have ever found to this problem is not really a solution. There is a random population of Selectrics which strike a harder ð, æ, and þ than others, but this trait cannot be adjusted for. To produce acceptable camera-ready Old Norse copy for a publisher in Germany, I recently sampled all fifteen IBM Selectric II machines at a rental agency. The only one I found which (usually) typed a clear ð and æ typed a defective þ.

B) ACUTE ACCENT POSITIONING. The macron is not available on standard Iceland type balls. Those who type Old Norse, or prefer the Magounian acute accent to the macron, will find, first, that a capitalized vowel will sometimes nearly swallow its accent; secondly, in single-space typing the accent mark will nearly strike the descender of a g, j, p, q, or y on the line above. Figure 5 gives examples of both phenomena.

C) NON-INTERCHANGEABILITY WITH SELECTRIC III. Selectric I and II models can use the same type balls, but the III requires a ball that is apparently different in only one particular: an extra notch that makes them non-interchangeable with I/II models. As this innovation seems to have no point except to force the purchase of more type balls, it is hard to draw a charitable conclusion.

Availability and purchase of type balls

In OEN 16 no. 1, the line "IBM representatives denied everything" surely rang bells for anyone familiar with this or any similar organization. My favorite epigraph for the phenomenon was uttered at a computer conference in the 1960's: "IBM has this capability, though it may be difficult to find individuals within the organization who are aware of its existence." In most inquiries, however, I have found IBM sales offices aware of the four Icelandic elements mentioned here. (But God ana wat; there may be an Iceland Elite or Adjutant known but to Armonk, or not even there.) I have found that the most efficient procedure is phoning (800)-631-5582, which connects you with IBM-Dayton, New Jersey. They will inform you of their inventory and establish an account number, and after these arrangements are completed the element will reach you amazingly quickly--postmarked Lexington, Kentucky. Why? Surely Old English scholars know better than anyone that some things are beyond mortal understanding.

Previews of coming attractions

Scholars contemplating production of reference works in medieval languages-- in my case, concordances to Old Norse sagas--are frequently advised by well-intentioned technical people to try (a) "Daisy wheels" or (b) computer typesetting. Although neither appears to be leaning toward our highly specialized typographical needs and small market, both methods of printing seem to be distinct features of the present exfloreation of small computers, and both promise to make the "golf ball" obsolete. Camwil Inc., for example, branched out into daisy wheels at an early stage. In the coming Part II of this note I will investigate the current status of Camwil and its competitors in the hot OE-ON market; present samples of Courier Italic-12 and Script-12; investigate the type face "Iceland Title," available only on the IBM Electronic Models 50, 65, and 85, and the Magnetic Card Executive Typewriter (both proportional-spacing machines); and look into the daisy wheel and computer typesetting--neither of which, as far as my researches have gone, supplies þ or ð.

Notes

[1]It might be mentioned here that typing at the "wrong" pitch is not always unacceptable. I did so with the Iceland Advocate 10 for nearly ten years, in ignorance of "pitch"; and sometimes still do, as my 1963 Selectric I is an unadjustable 12-pitch machine. I regret that this error made my Ph.D. dissertation 16.67% shorter than necessary; but the arrangement produces a pretty fair oe digraph, for those who type ON or like Magoun's normalized Early West-Saxon orthography for OE. Only the Advocate's unusually slender constituent strokes make this variation acceptable; the Courier-10, by contrast, jams the letters together unappealingly if used at 12 pitch.

[2]With a carbon ribbon, the problem is only occasionally correctable by over-striking (typing the letter again in the same space). About half the samples presented here in figures 1-4 had to be overstruck to produce an acceptably clear ð, æ, or þ, though the typewriter used is the best in our department's stable in this regard.

Figure 1. Iceland Advocate 10

1234567890-´   asdfghjklðæ
%"/&£$°()+_¨   ASDFGHJKLÐÆ

qwertyuiopö   zxcvbnm,.þ
QWERTYUIOPÖ   ZXCVBNM?:Þ

Moððe word fræt. Me þæt
þuhte wrætlicu wyrd, þa
ic þæt wundor gefrægn,
þæt se wyrm forswealg
wera gied sumes

Figure 2. Iceland Courier 10

1234567890-´   asdfghjklðæ
%"/&£$°()+_¨   ASDFGHJKLÐÆ

qwertyuiopö   zxcvbnm,.þ
QWERTYUIOPÖ   ZXCVBNM?:Þ

Moððe word fræt. Me þæt
þuhte wrætlicu wyrd, þa
ic þæt wundor gefrægn,
þæt se wyrm forswealg
wera gied sumes

Figure 3. Iceland Courier 12

1234567890-´   asdfghjklðæ
%"/&£$°()+_¨   ASDFGHJKLÐÆ

qwertyuiopö   zxcvbnm,.þ
QWERTYUIOPÖ   ZXCVBNM?:Þ

Moððe word fræt. Me þæt
þuhte wrætlicu wyrd, þa
ic þæt wundor gefrægn,
þæt se wyrm forswealg
wera gied sumes

Figure 4. Iceland Scribe 12

1234567890-´   asdfghjklðæ
%"/&£$°()+_¨   ASDFGHJKLÐÆ

qwertyiopö   zxcvbnm,.þ
QWERTYIOPÖ   ZXCVBNM?:Þ

Moððe word fræt. Me þæt
þuhte wrætlicu wyrd, þa
ic þæt wundor gefrægn,
þæt se wyrm forswealg
wera gied sumes

Figure 5. Acute Accent with Related & Unrelated Letters

Advocate 10

á é í ó ú ý Á É Í Ó Ú Ý

g j p q y
á á á á á

Courier 10

á é í ó ú ý Á É Í Ó Ú Ý

g j p q y
á á á á á

Courier 12

á é í ó ú ý Á É Í Ó Ú Ý

g j p q y
á á á á á

Scribe 12

á é í ó ú ý Á É Í Ó Ú Ý

g j p q y
á á á á á

Dictionary of Old English: 1982 Progress Report

Ashley Crandell Amos

Centre for Mediaeval Studies

University of Toronto

During 1982 the staff of the dictionary have concentrated on writing entries. Over half the entries for the letter d and a number of entries from c have been drafted. We have considered questions of format, inclusiveness, and style, and discussed such questions with the two members of our Advisory Committee who visited the project in 1982, E.G. Stanley (in January) and Fred C. Robinson (in July), as well as with Hans Sauer of Munich (in August). We are almost ready to draft a procedural manual for the entry-writing. Angus Cameron has grappled with over ten thousand slips for dæg in order to devise a method for handling the very common words. We hope to finish a first run through the letter d by the summer of 1983.

The movement of our computer-generated slips into the headword files continues. Joan Holland and other members of the staff assign the slips to headwords, and the students sort and file them. Antonette di Paolo Healey has, with the assistance of Patricia Eberle, continued the collection of lexically variant readings (e.g. cweartern for carcern) from manuscripts not included in the concorded corpus of Old English. Lexical variants have been collected for many Ælfrician texts, all of Wulfstan, approximately half of the anonymous homilies, several of the Alfredian translations, and the Martyrology.

The dictionary is continuing to distribute A Microfiche Concordance to Old English; about 225 copies have been distributed. Antonette di Paolo Healey handled the distribution through August 1982, and Sharon Butler is now responsible. Computer processing is complete for the complement to the first concordance: A Microfiche Concordance to Old English: The High Frequency Words, prepared by Richard L. Venezky and Sharon Butler. The concordance should be available in the early spring; it will provide access to all the spellings omitted from the first concordance, and will be about three-quarters the size. Increases in our supplier's charges for microfiche and increased postal rates have forced us to raise the price of the concordances. The price is $175 to institutions, $150 to individuals.

We have discovered a few texts inadvertently omitted from one or both concordances. The major omission from the first concordance is the London manuscript of the prose life of St. Guthlac, edited by Gonser (1909), pp. 101-73. Other texts omitted from the first concordance include: the preface to Book I of Gregory's Dialogues in the Otho manuscript, Hecht (1900-07), p. 2, ll. 1-21; a number of glosses to Aldhelm's prose De Laude virginitate from MS CCCC 326, Page, ES 56 (1975), 481-90; an anonymous homily, "In Parasceve," previously treated as a variant manuscript of HomS 24, Schaefer (1972), pp. 285-314; the runic inscription on the Monkwearmouth stone, Page (1973), p. 143; and a number of texts which appeared too late to be included: glosses to Sedulius from MS BN Lat 8092, Lapidge, Anglia 100 (1982), 1-17; two other glosses, in Lucas, N&Q 224 (1979), 8, and Le Duc, EC 16 (1979), 261-62; and an unpublished rubric in a Lincoln Cathedral manuscript. All of these texts are included in the high frequency concordance. We have since discovered three brief texts missing from both concordances: a paragraph marked for delection in ÆCHom I, 12 (Royal 7 C.XII, fol. 64), Clemoes (1955-56), p. 609; a paragraph about the magician Mambres located at the end of Wonders of the

East in MS Cotton Tiberius B.V, vol. 1, Förster, Archiv 108 (1902), 19-21; and one of the charms in the Læceboc, III.62, "wið ælfadle," Cockayne (1864-6), II.344-50, or Storms (1948), no. 17. Full bibliographic information for the author (date) references above can be found in the index of editions for the Microfiche Concordance.

The machine-readable version of the Old English corpus which was used in the preparation of the microfiche concordances will also provide the citations quoted in the dictionary. We plan to check citations used in the dictionary against editions and manuscripts, but we would like to make the machine-readable corpus as accurate as we can. We would be very grateful to learn of errors and omissions in the concordances as you discover them. The machine-readable corpus is available, with some documentation, from Mr. Lou Burnard at the Oxford Archive, Oxford University Computing Service, 13 Banbury Road, Oxford OX2 6NN, England, or directly from us. The corpus occupies 43.4 megabytes in its current format on magnetic tape and is available at cost, approximately $100 to $150.

After investigating a number of small computer systems and computing services over a period of several years, we have finally chosen the system which we will use to prepare the dictionary. We will be working with the Xerox Star system; with Richard Venezky's guidance and assistance we believe this system will save a significant amount of time and frustration for the editors. We have also received useful advice on the efficiency of entry-writing procedures from a consulting engineer, W. G. Kingsmill.

Every member of the dictionary staff has worked at one time or other on Old English Word Studies: A Preliminary Author and Word Index, by Angus Cameron, Allison Kingsmill, and Ashley Crandell Amos. We are delighted to see it come to publication; it is the last of the works planned by Angus Cameron early in the '70s as preliminary to the dictionary itself. The volume will be published, early in 1983, as volume 8 in the Toronto Old English Series; it will consist of a printed book (the author index) and a set of microfiches (the word index). Volume 7 in the series, Eleven Old English Rogationtide Homilies, edited by Joyce Bazire and James E. Cross, was published in October 1982. It comprises 176 pages of introductions, texts, and commentary, and is available from the University of Toronto Press for $32.50. Volume 9 in the series is at the typesetting stage and should be published in 1983; it will be an edition of the Old English Life of St. Machutus by David Yerkes.

DICTIONARY OF OLD ENGLISH

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The Study of Early Medieval Ireland

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In the Early Middle Ages intellectual and cultural contacts between the Irish and Anglo-Saxons were strong and fruitful. Even the most casual reader of Bede's Ecclesiastical History cannot fail to be impressed by the interaction of these two peoples. Initially the flow was from the Irish to the English, but by the second half of the seventh century, as the Anglo-Saxons showed the Irish (and Romans) what apt pupils they were, influences flowed in both directions. It is not an overstatement to say that one cannot understand Anglo-Saxon England without understanding Early Christian Ireland or vice-versa.

This essay hopes to introduce the Anglo-Saxonist to the study of "Early Christian Ireland," the designation which scholars usually use for Ireland in the period from the fifth century, the career of Saint Patrick, to the ninth century, the coming of the Vikings. The Vikings so altered Irish life that scholars consider "Viking Ireland" a separate period. This article will not presume which aspects of Early Christian Ireland will be of most interest to the Anglo-Saxonist; rather it will try to give a picture of the current study of the period but with emphasis on those aspects relating to England.

Several introductory works are available. The best remains Ireland, Harbinger of the Middle Ages by Ludwig Bieler (London, 1966). The work is dated on some few points, but it is otherwise first-rate. Bieler ranks alongside James Kenney as one of the two greatest scholars of Early Christian Ireland of this century. This book, although aimed at the general educated reader, is a product of great learning and treats of such technical matters as palaeography and monastic rules. It has good line illustrations and photographic reproductions of the highest quality.

The work of Maire and Liam de Paor, Early Christian Ireland (London, 1964) is part of the helpful series Ancient Peoples and Places. It was reissued in 1977 as a paperback but was not updated. Archaeological concerns predominate in this richly illustrated book (36 figures, 76 photographic plates).

The series Library of Medieval Civilization includes Charles Thomas' Britain and Ireland in Early Christian Times, AD 400-800 (New York, 1975). This is the work of a leading archaeologist who has provided many fine and uncommon illustrations, but the work is so brief (129 pages of text, of which more than one-quarter are taken up by illustrations) that it is probably better for undergraduates than for the scholar seeking an introduction.

The Gill History of Ireland is an eleven-volume series available in paperback. The first two volumes treat the period under discussion. Volume One is Ireland before the Vikings by Gearoid Mac Niocaill (Dublin and London, 1972), and Volume Two is Ireland before the Normans by Donncha O Corrain (Dublin and London, 1972). Both concentrate on political and social history.

Under the auspices of the Royal Irish Academy, Oxford University Press is publishing, in nine volumes, "A New History of Ireland," edited by T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, and F. J. Byrne. The editors announced that volume one, Prehistoric and Early Medieval Ireland, would appear in 1976, but it is not yet available.

No serious student of the period can overlook James L. Kenney's magisterial The Sources for the Early History of Ireland, 1: Ecclesiastical (New York, 1929; rpt. 1966, with some minor updating by L. Bieler). This work catalogues all--literally all-- the original sources relating to the early ecclesiastical history of Ireland as they were known in 1929. The entries include author, title, incipit, explicit, manuscripts, editions, secondary literature, and Kenney's own evaluation. This work gives the student an unforgettable picture of the sheer range of Irish ecclesiastical literature and thus remains of great value. But its value goes far beyond that. Kenney was enormously well versed in the literature, both Latin and vernacular, and many of his observations and suggestions are still accepted by scholars. Indeed, for some relatively obscure works, he remains the only reliable commentator.

The valuable patristic handbook, Clavis Patrum Latinorum, edited by Eligius Dekkers, 2nd ed. (Steenbrugge, Belgium, 1961), has a table concording references with Kenney's Sources (pp. 626-27).

Edmondo Coccia's article, "La cultura irlandese precarolingia: miracolo o mito?" Studi Medievali, ser. 3, vol. 8 (1967), 257-420, contains a lengthy catalogue of the Latin material and a good bibliography.

Irish activities in England formed just a part of the Irish presence outside their homeland. There are many works on the Irish overseas, but the basic work is now Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter, 2 vols., edited by Heinz Löwe (Stuttgart, 1982). This massive work (1083 pages) contains forty essays on a wide range of topics. Part One, "Die Iren bei Picten und Angelsachsen," contains eight essays on history, palaeography, art, and poetry.

As for journals, there is no one journal that concentrates on this period. In 1981, however, several scholars in Ireland, Great Britain, and the United States formed the Medieval Academy of Ireland, which will publish an annual journal Peritia, the first issue of which is scheduled to appear late in 1982. The journal will deal with the entire Medieval period in Ireland, including Early Christian Ireland, and it will include regular sections on Insular Latin and Insular Monsticism. Naturally one cannot yet comment on the quality of the contributions, but the distinguished consultative commit- tee, including D.A. Binchy, Paul Meyvaert, and Friedrich Prinz, inter alios, inspires confidence.

There are several other journals dealing with Irish literature, history, and culture, and while they include much from this period, they also deal with much earlier and much later periods, and it is not uncommon for issues to include no contributions on Early Christian Ireland. The most wide-ranging journal is The Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, section C (sections A and B deal with the natural sciences). PRIA has published many important articles on Irish history, art, archaeology, language, and literature.   Jornals such as Eriu, Celtica, Studia Celtica, Études Celtiques, Eigse, Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies, and Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie deal largely with vernacular materials but include Hiberno-Latin studies as well. Their concerns have traditionally been literary. Studia Hibernica, an annual, deals largely with Irish history and literary culture.

Because of the influence of the Irish on Early Medieval England and Europe, articles on Early Christian Ireland appear in a variety of European and American journals, inter alia, Revue Bénédictine, Sacris Erudiri, Analecta Bollandiana, Journal of Theological Studies, Speculum, Mediaevalia, Annuale Mediaevale, and Traditio. (Anglo-Saxonists will know that the bibliographies printed in Anglo-Saxon England and and Old English Newsletter include books and articles on the Irish in England.)

Three works offer general introductions to the archaeology of this period. The first is The Archaeology of Ireland by Peter Harbison (New York, 1976), a brief survey for the general reader. Of more particular interest is Lloyd Laing's The Archaeology of Late Celtic Britain and Ireland, c. 400-1200 A.D. (London, 1975), a lengthy survey which relates the archaeological evidence to the historical situation. The Early Development of Irish Society: The Evidence of Aerial Photography by E. R. Norman and J. K. S. St. Joseph (Cambridge, 1969) offers a different approach, archaeology from the air. The book contains many striking and unusual photographs.

Because of the importance of Christianity in this period, general church histories make good introductions. The best of these is by Kathleen Hughes, The Church in Early Irish Society (London, 1966), a concise, learned, and readable account by a great scholar. Louis Gougaud's Christianity in Celtic Lands (London, 1932) remains valuable. John McNeill's attempt to supplant Gougaud, The Celtic Churches: A History (Chicago, 1974), does not, despite the advantage of being written fifty years later, because of a too credulous acceptance of spurious and possibly spurious sources. Leslie Hardinge's The Celtic Churches in Britain (London, 1972) deals largely with Irish Christianity. It provides a generally reliable survey, but it fairly swarms with factual errors and should be used with caution.

Volume One of the series A History of Irish Catholicism is in three parts, the first by Ludwig Bieler, St. Patrick and the Coming of Christianity (Dublin and London, 1967) and the second and third (in one book) by John Ryan, The Monastic Institute, and Patrick Corish, The Christian Mission (1972). Bieler's work offers a concise statement of long-held and well-argued views. The second book provides general introductions to the topics.

The Irish Christians with whom the English had the most contact were the monks such as Aidan, Colman, and Adamnan. The standard study of the Irish monks is John Ryan's Irish Monasticism: Origins and Early Development (Shannon, 1972). The book deals primarily with monastic life. A briefer introduction is Celtic Monasticism by Kathleen Hughes and Ann Hamlin (New York, 1981), a gem of a book which deals mostly with the physical aspects of Irish monasticism such as sites, buildings, and the monastic economy. Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland by Aubrey Gwynn and R. Neville Hadcock (London, 1970) has a chapter on "Early Irish Monasteries" and an "Appendix to Early Sites."

A good survey of various cultural aspects of Early Christian Ireland is Old Ireland, edited by Robert E. McNally (New York, 1965), with essays by such scholars as James Carney, Jocelyn Hillgarth, John Hennig, and McNally himself, on such topics as Irish learning, poetry, and contact with Visigothic Spain.

As for the scholarly study of Early Christian Ireland, the place to start is Early Christian Ireland: Introduction to the Sources by Kathleen Hughes (Ithaca, New York, 1972), a volume in Cornell University Press's series The Sources of History. Hughes said in the preface, "I have written this book because it is needed," and she was right. The chapters discuss the modern study of secular and ecclesiastical literature, annals, laws, hagiography, archaeology, and the like. Scholarship has, of course, moved along in the decade since the book was published, but along the same lines she discussed. The book is compact and filled with information.

Michael Herren's essay "Hiberno-Latin Philology: The State of the Question" in Insular Latin Studies, edited by Herren (Toronto, 1981), gives a brief account of Hiberno-Latin studies since Hughes' book. (This volume also contains several fine essays on Anglo-Latin studies such as Michael Lapidge's "The Present State of Anglo-Latin Studies" and Gernot Wieland's "Geminus Stilus: Studies in Anglo-Latin Hagiography.")

Dublin is the center of Early Irish studies, and it houses the two leading research centers in this field. The older of the two is the Royal Irish Academy, founded in 1782, and owner of a magnificent research library. Its journal, PRIA, has already been discussed. The Academy also supports publication of learned books, such as John Gwynn's magisterial 1913 edition of the Book of Armagh, the most important Irish historical manuscript before the year 1000, and R.I. Best's facsimile edition of Codex Ambrosianus 301, one of the most important Irish manuscripts from the continent and the object of much study. First published in 1936, it was reissued by the Academy in 1979.

The other research center is the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, which has concentrated on the philology of the vernacular literature. It publishes Celtica, which, although dated to particular years, is not an annual (volume 8 appeared in 1968, volume 9 in 1971, volume 10 in 1973). The Institute has published some important monographs and arranged for the reprinting of classic older works such as the collection of Old Irish marginalia entitled Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus, 2 vols., by Whitley Stokes and John Strachan, first published at Cambridge in 1901 and 1903, and reprinted in 1975. The Institute also publishes the series Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, which I mention below.

Turning to printed editions of works from this period, I will concentrate on Hiberno-Latin texts, not because the vernacular texts are unimportant, but because most are later than the Early Christian period and because the Latin ones are those most likely to have influenced the English. The Irish and English were separated by their vernacular languages but united by Latin. Two examples from Bede suffice. The first is his unforgettable picture of Aidan in Northumbria, spreading the faith by speaking in Irish while King Oswald translated into English for the benefit of his people (HE III, 3). The second is Bede's copious citing of Adamnan's De Locis Sanctis (HE V, 15-17), an Hiberno-Latin work easily available to the Anglo-Saxon scholar.

The series Scriptores Latini Hiberniae is published by the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies in cooperation with Oxford University Press. To date eleven volumes have appeared. These include texts from the eleventh and fourteenth centuries but concentrate on the Early Christian period. There are three volumes of John Scottus Eriugena's On the Division of Nature (one volume for each book of the original with two volumes yet to come), the opera of Columbanus, the earliest vitae of Saint Patrick, Adamnan's De Locis Sanctis, and, perhaps of most interest to Anglo-Saxonists, the Irish Penitentials. The series offers a critical edition of the Latin text, an English translation (except for volume 8, four later vitae Patricii), and an introduction which treats the work's literary merits, its historical setting, and the manuscripts and editions, including the palaeographical evidence. These volumes are usually of the highest quality.

Many Hiberno-Latin works are available only in the Patrologia Latina; these include the biblical commentaries of Sedulius Scottus as well as lesser exegetes. Several other works, especially exegetical works by anonymous authors, appear in the Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum, most in volume 4. The French series Sources Chrétiennes offers John Scottus Eriugena's commentary on John (vol. 180 [1972]) and his homily on the prologue to John's gospel (vol. 151 [1969]), both edited by E. Jeauneau, and the opera of Saint Patrick (vol. 249 [1978]) edited by R. P.C. Hanson, who is also the author of the best book on the saint, Saint Patrick: His Origins and Career (London, 1968). The Sources Chrétiennes volumes offer detailed introductions and analyses as well as French translations. These three editions are so valuable that one must hope more will appear.

The "new Migne," the Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, has three Hiberno-Latin volumes, all exegetical works: Lathcen's Abbreviatio of Gregory the Great's Moralia in Job, edited by M. Adriaen (vol. 145 [1969]), and two collections of anonymous exegetical works, mostly on the New Testament, edited by Robert McNally (vol. 108B [1973]) and this writer (vol. 108C [1974]). The last two volumes were criticized by Rachele Duke et al. in Comitatus 8 (1977), 49-72. The article consists largely of supposed errors listed seriatim but with no discussion of whether or not these "errors" were the result of the conservative approach of the editors who emended as little as possible (which this editor would be willing to admit was too little).

Some Hiberno-Latin works appear in independent editions, such as A.O. and M.O. Anderson's Adomnan's (sic!) Life of Columba (London, 1961), a Latin text and English translation of a key text for Irish history, especially of the Irish in Scotland. Charles Plummer, best known to the Anglo-Saxonist as the editor of Bede, compiled four significant volumes of Irish hagiography, mostly vitae post-dating the period under discussion but with earlier elements: Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae, 2 volumes (Oxford, 1910; rpt. 1968), and Bethada Náem nÉrenn (Irish text and English translation), 2 volumes (Oxford, 1922; rpt. 1968). These remain basic texts. W.W. Heist edited a smaller but still important hagiographical collection, Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae ex Codice Salmanticensi (Brussels, 1965).

Michael Herren edited The Hisperica Famina: 1. The A.-Text (Toronto, 1974). "The Famina . . . are models for the ornamentation of style; they would surely constitute the final stage of a scholar's education in the arts" (p. 18). The edition is well-documented and includes an English translation. M. Diaz y Diaz edited the Liber de Ordine Creaturarum: Un anonimo irlandes del siglo VII (Santiago de Compostela, 1972). The title is self-explanatory; the work draws from the Bible, the Fathers, and antique science.

The discussion of texts brings in the question of manuscripts. There is no over-all catalogue of Irish or Hiberno-Latin manuscripts. Mario Espositio catalogued the Irish manuscripts in Swiss libraries in PRIA, 28C (1910), 62-95, and Standish O'Grady and Robin Flower produced an extensive, three-volume work, Catalogue of the Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum (London, 1925-28). But both these works antedate even Kenney's Sources, and advances in palaeography have enabled scholars to identify many more manuscripts as Irish. Kenney, Sources, pp. 84-90, has a valuable section on "The Major Collections of Manuscripts." Irish manuscripts have been catalogued for particular topics, but in general one is best advised to consult E.A. Lowe's indispensable Codices Antiquiores Latini, 11 volumes plus supplement (London, 1934-71), especially volume 2, published in 1935 and revised in 1972, which deals with pre-800 A.D. manuscripts in British and Irish libraries. Codicological journals such as Scriptorium and Manuscripta are helpful sources.

The last section of this article will discuss exegesis. The two greatest Anglo-Saxon scholars, Bede and Alcuin, were both renowned exegetes. Friedrich Stegmuller, in his monumental Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi, 2 (Madrid, 1950), lists sub nominibus fifty exegetical works attributed to Bede and nineteen to Alcuin as well as several pseudepigrapha. For generations these works have been largely ignored, although the situation is currently changing for Bede. Several of his important commentaries, such as those on Mark and Luke, have been critically edited and more are on the way, mostly for Corpus Christianorum. In addition, Famulus Christi (London, 1976), the volume of essays edited by Gerald Bonner to mark the thirteenth centenary of Bede's birth in 1973, contains several pieces on Bede which center on or take into serious account his exegesis.

In recent years Hiberno-Latin exegesis has emerged as an incipient Medieval discipline. Bernhard Bischoff pioneered this study with his article, "Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter," Sacris Erudiri, 6 (1954), 189-281. [This was reprinted with some additions in Mittelalterliche Studien 1 (Stuttgart, 1966), 205-73; an English translation was made from the 1966 text and is available in Biblical Studies: the Medieval Irish Contribution, edited by Martin McNamara (Dublin, 1976), pp. 73-260.] Bischoff brought to light three dozen Hiberno-Latin exegetical texts, most still in manuscript. His student, Robert McNally, edited several of these and made some secondary studies before his death in 1977. This writer prepared a list of Father McNally's publications in "A Bibliography of the Works of Robert E. McNally," Thought, 54 (1979), 230-32, as part of a memorial volume. As mentioned earlier, some Hiberno-Latin exegetical texts are available in CCSL 108B and 108C. Martin McNamara catalogued all the Irish Psalm commentaries in his "Psalter Text and Psalter Study in the Early Irish Church," PRIA, 73C (1973), 201-98. This writer has just completed a catalogue of all the Hiberno-Latin scriptural commentaries which he hopes to publish in 1983 or 1984. See also my "Hiberno-Latin Exegetes and Exegesis," Annuale Mediaevale, 21 (1981), 46-60, a revision of a paper delivered to the 1977 annual meeting of the Medieval Academy of America, which contains many bibliographical references.

Irish-English contacts are readily evident in this literature. A late eighth-century Irish Lucan commentary, available in CCSL 108C, used Bede's In Lucam as one of its major sources. Bede, on his part, drew from two Irish commentaries on the Catholic epistles, both available in CCSL 108B, for his own commentary on those epistles. In "Bede and the Irish Tradition on the Apocalypse," Revue Bénédictine, 92 (1982), 393-406, this writer demonstrates that Bede and the Irish drew from a common tradition for Apocalypse commentary.

In the Early Middle Ages, study of the Bible was never separated from interest in the Apocrypha. Martin McNamara has catalogued all the Apocrypha known to the Medieval Irish, in both vernacular and Latin sources in his The Apocrypha in the Irish Church (Dublin, 1975). His list includes 107 items, many of them known to the English.

Occasional articles have directly addressed the Irish-English connections, for example, McNamara in his "Ireland and Northumbria as illustrated by a Vatican Manuscript," Thought, 54 (1979), 274-90 [the manuscript in question is Vatican Pal. Lat. 68, a psalm commentary], and this writer in his "Irish Influence in England after the Synod of Whitby," Eire-Ireland, 10, 4 (1975), 35-47.

Research has increasingly proved how strong were the links between the English and Irish in the Early Middle Ages, and future research will strengthen these links. One must hope that the scholars studying these two peoples will interact as much as their subjects once did.

The Teaching of Old English to Students of English Literature 1981

Lenore Harty

University of Otago

In 1964 my "Notes on the Teaching of Old English to Students of English Literature," based on a questionnaire replied to by eighteen universities in the British Isles and supplemented by discussions with staff from four others, was published in the Medieval Studies Newsletter.[1] Being on leave again in 1981 I sent out the same questionnaire, this time to thirty-eight universities, including two colleges of the University of London, thirty-seven of whom replied. Of these, FIVE (Dundee, Kent, Strathclyde, Sussex, and Warwick) taught no Old English at all.

The questionnaire was as follows:

1. Is Old English a compulsory part of the syllabus for students who are studying English Literature? If so, how long is the minimum required course?

2. What are the syllabus and set texts for this course? Are you satisfied with the set texts?

3. Do students have to sit final examinations in this subject? (Please give details of paper(s) and questions.)

4. Are any short tests or examinations held during the course? Please specify.

5. How many teaching hours are devoted to the course--per week, per year?

6. Is the course given by lectures only, or are seminars and tutorials held?

7. How much written work (essays, translations, etc.) is required during the course?

8. Is there an optional course in Old English? If so, how many students are likely to take it each year?

9. Further comments.

1. (a) Old English is compulsory for both Ordinary B.A. and Honours degrees in TWELVE universities--Bristol, Hull,[2] King's College London, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, Nottingham, St. Andrews, Sheffield, University College London, York.
Old English is compulsory for Single Honours degrees in TEN universities--Aberdeen, Aberystwyth, The Queen's University Belfast, Birmingham, Edinburgh, Exeter (Course II), Glasgow, Leicester, Oxford, Southampton.
The study of Old English is optional in TEN universities--Bangor, Cardiff, Durham, East Anglia, Keele, Lampeter, Lancaster, Reading, Stirling, Swansea.[3]

1. (b) The length of courses
2 terms[4] only: TWO universities--Aberdeen, University College London.

1 year   : TWELVE universities--Birmingham, Bristol, Hull, King's College London, Leeds, Leicester, Liverpool, Newcastle, Nottingham, Oxford, Sheffield, Southampton.

2 years   : THREE universities--Aberystwyth, Belfast, Manchester.

3 years   :   ONE university--Exeter.

15 weeks at St. Andrews.

Part of first year at Glasgow. 1 term in York.
1/5 of a two year course at Edinburgh.
The others did not specify the length of their courses.

From now on this paper will deal with compulsory and optional courses
together as this was the way the questionnaire was answered by most
universities.

2. (a) What are the syllabus and set texts for this course?

This proved an ambiguous question but nearly all answers gave the informa-
tion I was seeking. A similar syllabus is being taught at most universities,
the main difference being the amount of prose taught. Seventeen universi-
ties had courses with a balance of verse and prose, ten taught mainly verse,
four only verse. The rest did not specify the texts but only the books used.

(b) Books used in both optional and compulsory courses

Wrenn's Beowulf was set by an overwhelming majority of those who taught the
poem.

Twenty-one set Sweet's Reader, fourteen Sweet's Primer, five Hamer's A Choice
of Anglo-Saxon Verse, four the Methuen/Exeter texts, two Fowler's Old English
Prose and Verse, two Quirk et al.'s Old English Literature, one Pope's Seven
Old English Poems, and one Bolton's Old English Anthology.

Several provided their own editions of texts as well as using some of the
above; many recommended individual editions to supplement the anthologies.

From the works listed by the majority of the universities the popularity of
certain poems became obvious. "The Wanderer" was mentioned 21 times, "The
Dream of the Rood" 20, "Maldon" 19, "The Seafarer" 17, Beowulf 16. Fourteen
other poems were named, 6 occurred only once and none more than 7 times.
In the prose The Chronicle was top of the list followed by Aelfric's works,
Alfredian texts, and Wulfstan in that order. The Biblical texts in the
Primer were occasionally specified. There is clearly a swing towards teach-
ing a minimum of prose and concentrating on the verse, and equally clear is
the dissatisfaction, expressed by some, implied by others, with the high
price of texts which prevents many universities from setting what they
consider the best edition available.

3. Final examinations.

In SIX universities there is no compulsory final examination--Durham, Hull,
    King's College London, Leicester, Sheffield, Stirling.

In FIVE universities Old English forms part of a final paper--Aberdeen,
    Belfast, Reading, St. Andrews, University College London.

In TWO universities there is a two-hour paper in Old English--Nottingham
    (Part 1), Oxford (translation; see next list also).

In NINETEEN universities there is a three-hour paper--Aberdeen, Aberystwyth,

Bangor, Birmingham, Bristol, Cardiff, East Anglia, Edinburgh, King's College London, Lampeter, Leeds (Hons.), Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, Nottingham (Part 2), Oxford (literature), Southampton, Swansea, York.

ONE university holds a 3 1/2 hour paper--Lancaster, ONE uses course work only--Lampeter, ONE demands two essays--Reading, and Glasgow did not specify, but mentioned a "degree exam."

4. Tests, exercises, etc. required during the course.

None at FOUR universities-- Aberystwyth, Hull, Lancaster, Sheffield.

Translation at TWELVE universities--Birmingham, Bristol, Cardiff, East Anglia, Edinburgh, Lampeter, Leeds, Newcastle, Nottingham, Southampton, Stirling, York.

Essays at FIVE universities--East Anglia, Edinburgh, Nottingham, Stirling, York.

Exercises at THREE universities--Aberdeen, Keele, Swansea.

Tests at SEVEN universities--Belfast, Kings's College London, Leicester, Liverpool, Oxford, Stirling, University College London.

Examinations at SEVEN universities--Aberdeen, Bangor, Exeter, Glasgow (2), Kings's College London, Manchester, St. Andrews.

It will be seen that East Anglia, Edinburgh, and Nottingham require both translation and essays, Aberdeen both exercises and examinations, King's College London both tests and examination, and Stirling translation, essays and tests.

5. Teaching hours per week, ignoring length of courses and distribution of classes.

Under one hour at THREE universities--Hull, Manchester (2nd year), Newcastle (1st year).

One hour at SEVEN universities--Cardiff, Exeter, Glasgow, Keele (for 1 term: see below) Leicester, Swansea, University College London.

1 1/2 hours at THREE universities--King's College London, Newcastle (2nd year), Oxford.

Two hours at EIGHT universities--Belfast, Birmingham, East Anglia, Edinburgh, Leeds, Manchester (3rd year), Nottingham, Stirling.

2+ hours at THREE universities--Aberystwyth, Lancaster, St. Andrews.

Three hours at SIX universities--Aberdeen, Bangor, Bristol, Lampeter, Liverpool, Manchester (1st year).

3-4 hours at ONE university--Southampton.

Four hours at TWO universities--Sheffield, York.

Six hours at ONE university--Keele (for 2 terms).

6. <u>Lectures</u> given in addition to seminar or tutorial work.

TWENTY-TWO universities used lectures in their courses--Aberdeen, Aberystwyth, Bangor, Belfast, Birmingham, Bristol, Exeter, Glasgow, Keele, King's College London, Lampeter, Lancaster, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, Nottingham, Oxford, St. Andrews, Sheffield, Southampton, York.

The number given ranged from 48 in Bristol to 2 or 3 in Southampton.

Others find that their classes are small enough to make the seminar the norm.

7. <u>Written work required during courses.</u>

THREE universities require no written work--Birmingham, King's College London, University College London.

All the rest require essays and sometimes translations except for Cardiff, Liverpool, and Southampton which ask for translations only.

8. <u>How many students take the optional courses?</u>

2-6 students at TWELVE universities.

7-10 students at ELEVEN universities.

11-15 students at FIVE universities.

16-20 students at THREE universities.

21-30 students at THREE universities.

The range was from Leeds with 30 in each year of a two-year course to Aberdeen and Bristol with 2-7 and Aberystwyth with 2.

Most fell between 6 and 10.

9. This question asked for further comments.

Six universities had no comment to make, three discussed postgraduate courses and numbers, and fourteen gave more details of courses already referred to. (Several also sent copies of syllabuses and examination papers, which were very helpful). One or two made the point that their courses concentrated on literary work, whereas others lamented the down-grading of their subject to part of History of the Language courses.

After reading of several places where Old English was clearly being eased out of the degree, one university complaining bitterly of a most unsympathetic head of department who will probably kill the subject, I was relieved to hear about University College London's new course in Old English and to rejoice at the optimism expressed by Jane Roberts of King's College London, John Braidwood at the Queen's University of Belfast, T.A. Shippey at Leeds, and by David Sims who writes:

> Despite the smallness of the scale my colleague and I who teach Anglo-Saxon are happy and eager to keep its study alive here in Swansea.

and Donald Scragg of Manchester:

> One of the most pleasing aspects of the Manchester course
> is the standard we are able to achieve in three years.
> For example, a significant number of undergraduates feel
> confident of tackling editing of OE material from manu-
> scripts--they may not do it to publication standard, but
> they are able to decipher the script, recognise the words,
> sort out the syntax, and make meaningful comments about
> the language and style. And though these may be the best--
> those who have chosen to specialise--there are few who don't
> get some enjoyment from reading Beowulf and most accept
> reasonably readily the hard work involved.

II

When comparing the answers of 1963 with those of 1981, one can see the
reasons for the prevailing pessimism. Nineteen universities answered both
questionnaires: Aberystwyth, Bangor, Belfast, Birmingham, Bristol, Durham,
East Anglia, Exeter, Glasgow, Hull, Keele, Leeds, Leicester, Liverpool,
London (1981 King's and University Colleges), Manchester, Nottingham, Reading,
St. Andrews.

The first part of the question about compulsory classes gives the following
result:

A. Honours and Ordinary B.A. in both 1963 and 1981:

SIX universities--Bristol, Leeds, London, Manchester, Nottingham,
    St. Andrews.

B. Honours and Ordinary B.A. in 1963 reduced to Single Honours in 1981:

FOUR universities--Aberystwyth, Birmingham, Exeter, Glasgow.

C. Single Honours only in both 1963 and 1981:

TWO universities--Belfast, Leicester.

D. Single Honours in 1963 reduced to an Optional Course in 1981:

THREE universities--Bangor, Durham, Reading.

E. Optional in both 1963 and 1981:

TWO universities--East Anglia, Keele.

F. Single Honours only in 1963 extended to the Ordinary B.A. in 1981:

TWO universities--Hull, Liverpool.

At this point it would appear that only SEVEN universities have actually reduced the amount of Old English taught, while TWO have increased it. But Hull teaches its courses in translation, and when we look at the second part of the question a different picture emerges.

1. (b) Length of courses.

    A. At Bristol reduced from 5 terms to 1 year.

        At Leeds the same--1 year.

        At London reduced from 3 years to 2 terms--1 year.

        At Manchester reduced from 3 to 2 years, with an optional 3rd year.

        At Nottingham the same--1 year.

        At St. Andrews reduced from 2 years and 3 years to 15 weeks.

    B. At Aberystwyth the same--2 years.

        At Birmingham the same--1 year.

        At Exeter extended from 1 year to 3 years.

        At Glasgow reduced from 1 year and 3 years to part of the first year.

    C. At Belfast reduced from 3 years to 2 years.

        At Leicester reduced from 3 years to 1 year.

    D. (Bangor and Reading 3 years in 1963, no figures for 1981)

        Durham reduced from 2 years to "some lectures on the pre-Conquest period backed up with some seminars on poems in translation."

    E. (East Anglia and Keele no figures.)

    F. Hull no figure for 1963, 1 year in translation in 1981.

        Liverpool reduced from 2 years to 1 year.

So NINE universities have reduced the length of their courses and only ONE increased it. One year's work seems to be the norm now.

The answers to question 2 reveal that there have been some changes in the popularity of the texts studied. In 1963 the most popular texts in prose were (in order) The Chronicle, Alfredian texts, Aelfric, Wulfstan; in 1981 The Chronicle, Aelfric, Alfredian texts, Wulfstan: in poetry in 1963 Beowulf, "Battle of Maldon," "Wanderer," "Genesis B," "Dream of the Rood," "Seafarer;" in 1981 "Wanderer," "Dream of the Rood," "Maldon," "Seafarer," Beowulf. Probably the relegation of Beowulf has come about because of the shorter courses now offered, while the other changes may reflect the prevailing interest in the Christian element of Anglo-Saxon culture.

With regard to the use of final examinations only THREE universities have changed their practice: Leeds and Nottingham now have such a compulsory examination but Leicester no longer does.

When the teaching hours per week are considered the picture becomes even more complicated than the one the first question produced.

1. SIX universities have the same number of hours as in 1963:

<u>1963</u> and <u>1981</u>

Belfast	2 hours
Exeter (Ordinary B.A.)	1 hour
Leeds	2 hours
Liverpool	3 hours
Manchester	3 hours
Nottingham	2 hours

2. FOUR universities have increased the number of hours:

	<u>1963</u>	<u>1981</u>
Aberystwyth	1 hour	2+ hours
Bangor	2 hours	3 hours
Bristol	2 hours	3 hours
Keele	2 hours	1-6 hours

3. SEVEN universities have decreased the number of hours:

	<u>1963</u>	<u>1981</u>
Birmingham	3 hours	2 hours
Durham	2 hours	some lectures
Exeter (Hons.)	1-2 hours	1 hour
Glasgow	2-3 hours	1 hour
Hull	3-4 hours	less than 1 hour
Leicester	2 hours	1 hour
St. Andrews	2-3 hours	2+ hours

and figures are incomplete for THREE--East Anglia, London, and Reading.

When the answers to this question and question 1b are put together it seems that

TWO universities--Aberystwyth and Exeter (Hons)--are teaching more Old English; EIGHT--Belfast, Birmingham, Durham, Glasgow, Leicester, Liverpool, Manchester, St. Andrews--less; THREE-- Bristol, Leeds, Nottingham about the same, while the evidence is incomplete for the other SIX.

In 1981, FIVE of these nineteen universities teach three or more hours per week, SEVEN two hours, FIVE one hour, and ONE less than an hour. (Reading gives no figure).

In 1963 Leeds and Glasgow taught Old English by lectures only, all the other universities using seminars and tutorials as well, though Nottingham had only four seminars during the year: in 1981 the pattern has changed with lectures being used <u>in addition to</u> seminars and tutorials, and East Anglia, Hull, Leicester, Reading, and University College London not using them at all.

Concerning written work: ELEVEN universities require about the same amount in 1981 as in 1963, THREE require less, THREE have introduced it and in TWO cases the information is lacking.

In 1963 NINE universities either ran no optional courses or gave no figures for those who took them; with regard to the other TEN the following table shows the position:

	1963	1981
Aberystwyth	2	2
Bristol	6-8	2-7
Durham	12	6-7
Exeter	3-4	4-6
Manchester	6	24
Nottingham	10	6-12 (first year) 2-4 (second year)
St. Andrews	"a few"	12-15
Keele	10% (first year) 2% (second year)	12-24 6-14
Leeds	25%	60
Reading	50%	c 14%

With such mixed information no conclusion is possible but, at a guess, the position does not seem to have changed much between these years.

There were many comments made in 1963, the overwhelming majority justifying the teaching of Old English to students of literature. The optimistic note sounded then is a great contrast to the pessimism of those few who did write on question 9 in 1981, though I suspect this change is not solely because of the subject being discussed but echoes also the position of British universities in general during that year.

III

It should be clear from the outline given above that a comparison between the position in 1963 and that in 1981 is a difficult one to make because in only one question, 1 (a), are the figures complete, and such patterns that do emerge are complex. For instance, although seven universities have reduced the length of their courses, one of these (Bristol) has increased the number of hours' teaching, and Keele which provided no figures in 1963 has a course of six hours per week for two terms and 1 hour a week for one term in 1981.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the whole exercise is that the answers to question 2 would seem to show that, although the time given to the subject has been reduced in many, though by no means all universities, the number of texts studied remains about the same. Whether this means more expert and concentrated teaching or a lowering of standards can be judged only by those taking the courses, but Honours students whether voluntary or not, at these 19 universities (and at the eleven others not questioned in 1963) can still be expected to have some knowledge of Old English prose, and at least three poems, usually part of Beowulf, "Dream of the Rood," "Wanderer," "Seafarer" or "Battle of Maldon."

A questionnaire which had included enquiries about graduate work might have changed the impression gained from this exercise. The three (The Queen's University Belfast, King's College London, and Leeds University) who gave information about post-graduate courses and numbers plus those who mentioned the publications of staff members showed that in some places at least the study of Old English is in a healthy condition even if undergraduate courses have been pruned since 1963.

1. Medieval Studies Newsletter, no. 3 (September, 1964), 1-6.

2. At Hull it is taught in translation only. Some other universities used translated texts to supplement their study of the literature in the original language.

3. At Durham and Newcastle it is compulsory for degrees in English Language and Medieval English and English Language and Literature respectively.

4. In most British universities the academic year is divided into three parts or terms, usually of eight to ten weeks' duration.

Abstracts of Papers in Anglo-Saxon Studies

In each Spring issue the editors of OEN seek to publish abstracts of papers in Anglo-Saxon studies given at various conferences and meetings in the previous year, i.e. June to May. The success or value of this feature depends on the cooperation of conference organizers and session chairmen, from whom the editors hope to receive conference information, abstracts, and confirmation that papers were given as announced.

I. The Seventh International Conference on Patristics, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies, the Augustinian Institute, Villanova University, September 24-26, 1982:

Topical Session: Old English

Patricia Silber (SUNY-Stony Brook)

"Youth, Age, and the Heroic Society in Beowulf"

The two-part structure of Beowulf, with its parallel monster-battles, funerals, and accounts of feuds and treachery, is frequently interpreted as providing contrasting visions of the Heroic Age in its glory and in its decline. A close reading of the imagery in Part Two, however, shows the second half to be a gloss on the first, a commentary on implicit flaws in the heroic society that doomed it from the start, rather than just a reversal effected by time.

By juxtaposing such elements as Hrothgar's sermon to Beowulf and the latter's last address to his retainers we can perceive an idealized version of the Heroic Age corrected by a realistic presentation in the latter part of the poem.

In this paper I examine images accompanying thematic uses of youth, age, and death throughout the poem, with particular attention to the passage at Higelac's court that bridges the two parts. The occurrences especially of the words duguð and geoguð, and the actions associated with them, indicate that the glamor of Heorot at its high points only faintly conceals an underlying weakness that must end in disaster for the society, a disaster represented by, but not limited to, Beowulf's last battle and death.

Michael O'Shea (Assumption College)

"The Structure of the Old English Poem Andreas"

The structure of the poem Andreas derives from the contrasting processes of Andrew's education and of the Mermedonians' conversion. Andrew's journeys, both the real and those recounted within the frame of the sea journey, oppose the Mermedonians' battle preparation. The sea journey frame contains the description of six other journeys, all of which prove crucial to the development and preparation of Andrew. The brief journey scenes involve, in this order: Christ; stone carvings of angels on the temple wall; the Old Testament Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; Andrew's companions; and lastly, Andrew himself. Spatially, they encompass actions on earth and visions of heaven; temporally, they include a movement from the past through the present into eternity, with an eventual return to the present. The natural and supernatural spheres inter-penetrate one another and cause the audience to recognize the inseparability of the two.

Jonathan Black (University of Toronto)

"Isidore, Bede, and Hrabanus Maurus on the Book of Samuel"

Augustine's De Civitate Dei, Bk. 17 chaps. 4-8, 12, 13, was a source for
early medieval commentaries on I and II Samuel. Augustine's comments were used
directly in Isidore's Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Bede's commentary on
I Samuel, and in Hrabanus Maurus' commentary on Samuel and Kings. Augustine's
comments were not used in Gregory the Great's commentary on I Samuel, but in
the prologue there is a reference to one of Augustine's interpretations.

These commentaries differ in the levels of interpretation that are followed,
and this often determines the manner in which De Civitate can be used: Augustine's
levels of interpretation could be of little use to Gregory, who interprets
Old Testament men and events primarily in terms of the pastoral office and moral
lessons; Isidore confines himself to an allegorical level, and he therefore uses
only those passages from Augustine that are typological interpretations.

Furthermore, the distinctions that Augustine makes between prophecy and
Old Testament history and between the literal and typological levels become apparent
only when Bk. 17 is seen in the context of De Civitate as a whole, and the later
authors differ in the extent to which they convey these distinctions. Isidore
does not distinguish between prophecy and history. Bede, on the other hand, often
uses his own words to express Augustine's distinctions between prophecy and
history and between the levels of interpretation. Bede also successfully adapts
Augustine's thematic exposition to a line-by-line commentary. Hrabanus quotes
De Civitate extensively, but the other sources that he includes often contradict
Augustine's statements on the validity of the various levels of interpretation for
a given passage.

Topical Session: Latin Influences on Old and Middle English

Lois Bragg (SUNY-Buffalo)

"Color Words in Beowulf"

There are three variables in the sensation we call color: hue, saturation,
and brightness. ModE names colors chiefly with regard to hue, while OE, on
the contrary, is generally thought to name colors chiefly with regard to
brightness, and, in addition, to make little, if any, distinction between color
words (which must, by definition, include some indication of hue, however general)
and brightness words. While it is clear that Anglo-Saxon poets were vastly more
interested in light and dark, gleam and shadow, than in hue specific modifiers,
an examination of the color words in Beowulf reveals that the author of this
work, at least, was not hue blind, but did in fact employ color words with both
accuracy and specificity as to hue, and, in other cases, employed these words
successfully as metaphors as well. The words brun, fealu, græg, geolo, hwit,
blaec, sweart, and wann are all found to be hue specific, the first two surprisingly
so. Har, gylden, blac, etc., are found to carry no color meaning whatever.

Phillip Pulsiano (SUNY-Stony Brook)

"'Cames Cynne': Confusion or Craft?"

Biblical exegesis has been widely misused by critics of Beowulf as more of a battering ram, forcing gates which will not yield up the desperately sought for "hidden meaning" of a passage, than as a means of shedding gentle light to inform and embellish the poem's Biblical resonances. Such critics as Allen Cabaniss writing on Beowulf and the liturgy and M.B. McNamee on Beowulf as an allegory of salvation are typical offenders easily placed in this first category of exegetical warriors. There are, of course, those critics who refrain from drawing hasty conclusions, on the basis of a few Biblical references in Beowulf, as to the whole meaning of the work viewed from a Christian perspective. Biblical exegesis is used by such critics to inform the text, not trample it under foot. It is in light of this second group that I will offer several comments on Grendel and his problematic relationship to the race of Cain. The Beowulf-poet is clearly conflating the Cain and Cham stories to produce a fresh re-telling of the entry of monsters into the world. At the same time, he is connecting this event with the most readily recognizable act against God, namely, Cain's killing of Abel. Where the Cain episode leaves off, however, the Cham episode (line 107) continues. Both men were offenders against their fathers and the Godhead, and both were cursed and exiled from mankind. The linking of these two accounts serves the poet's purpose of increasing the horrific perversity of the events he relates: a brother-killing which offends God, results in exile, and leads to the introduction of monsters into the world. The juxtaposition of these two accounts creates a new type of history linking pre-flood and post-flood periods: the evil which began with creation continues, and even such apocalyptic events as the great flood cannot rid the world of such evil. I suggest, then, that the original manuscript reading of "cames" be given equal consideration in favor of choosing "caines" and thereby ignoring the related Cham tradition. These two traditions are linked by the poet to add greater richness to his work and to supply a more artistically valid explanation of the monstrous progeny of Cham who will later cause strife for Sigemund, Hrothgar, and Heorot.

Sr. Dorothy M. Jehle (Barry University)

"Latin Rhetoric in the Signed Poems of Cynewulf"

Reading the work of the Old English poet Cynewulf brings attention to his repeated use of balance, of parallel structure, in his four extant poems, Fates of the Apostles, Christ II, Juliana, and Elene. Further study discloses that Cynewulf achieves this parallelism through the use of zeugma, hypozeuxis, parison, and chiasmus: rhetorical devices included in the Latin grammars of Donatus and Aquila Romanus and in the Venerable Bede's short treatise on schemes and tropes. Other figures, such as homoeoptoton, paronomasia, and homoeoteleuton—figures which depend on the employment of particular sounds—are used to emphasize isolation, disruption, amity, or some other concept already pointed up by the syntax of the passage. Statements by such writers as Cassiodorus and Bede make it clear that these figures were considered of great value for "embellishment" of style. It follows, then, that writers like Cynewulf, aware of this esteem for figurative language, would have deliberately employed the schemata and tropi to produce certain artistic effects. The poems of Cynewulf reveal the careful work of an artist striving deliberately to bring to his work not only the best of ancient

oral traditions of his craft, but also the principles of rhetoric, equally
ancient but more recently brought to England. These details of language will
be examined for the understanding they can provide about theme, plot, structure
of the literary work, character, and aesthetic significance, rather than from
the point of view of the professional linguist.

II. The eighth Annual Conference of the Southeastern Medieval Association, held
at Southern Medthodist University, October 15-16, 1982:

Session 1: Old English Poetry I

Kevin S. Kiernan (University of Kentucky)

. "The Unreliability of Thorkelin's Transcript of Beowulf"

The eighteenth century Thorkelin transcripts of Beowulf at the Royal Library
in Copenhagen preserve hundreds of readings that have since been lost to the
Beowulf MS through fire-damage. A new collation of the two transcripts, parti-
cularly of their errors, reveals that the first transcript, made by a hired
scribe, is far more accurate and reliable than the second, made by Thorkelin
himself. The evidence clearly shows that Thorkelin often relied on his scribe's
copy, rather than on the Beowulf MS itself, and that many of Thorkelin's readings
were added when he no longer had access to the manuscript. Thorkelin's procedure renders
agreement between the two transcripts less compelling than editors have always
believed. Thorkelin's copy, formerly considered the more reliable witness of the
two, is not an objective transcript at all, but a randomly executed conflation of
his scribe's copy and the manuscript.

Gay Marie Logsdon (University of Texas at Austin)

"The Poetic Style of Finnsburh: The Individual and the Norm"

For over a century the fragmentary Fight at Finnsburh has puzzled
critics, who have preferred a variety of interpretations of the story in relation
to the allusions in Beowulf and in relation to Germanic legend. Only tangentially
has the meter and style of Finnsburh been discussed, and then only briefly, or
in comparison with the prosodists' time-honored standard, Beowulf. Dobbie
remarks that the fragment lacks the "usual ornaments" and notes that the trans-
itions are abrupt. Klaeber finds that the poem lacks polish, and he more
carefully notes the poem's peculiarities--the irregularities of alliteration,
the isolated hypermetric line--but does not adequately review the relationship
of subject matter and form. Although comparison with Beowulf certainly is
helpful in establishing a perspective on the development of Anglo-Saxon verse,
the question can legitimately be raised: is Beowulf necessarily the most suitable
norm against which to measure the qualities of Finnsburh? According to Heusler
and Klaeber, Finnsburh is the only Anglo-Saxon example of the short epic lay,
a form which dates from the Old Germanic period, whereas Beowulf is a full-length
book epic. I would argue that, since the theme of Finnsburh is heroic valor,
the poem's style would be best compared to that of the other Anglo-Saxon battle
poems, notably The Battle of Maldon. In fact closer examination reveals
interesting similarities: the use of verbal echoes, the repetition of similar
half-lines to create a sense of movement, and the frequency of end-stopped lines.
This paper thus proposes first to contrast the Finnsburh fragment with Beowulf

to review its so-called irregularities and then to re-examine the poem in relation to the Battle of Maldon in order to establish the poem's individual merits and its consistency with heroic battle song.

Session 12: Old English Poetry II

Peter S. Baker (Emory University)

"A Little Known Variant Text of the OE Metrical Psalms"

A fragment of Old English poetry preserved between the lines of a Latin psalter, Trinity College, Cambridge, R.17.1, parallels the text of the Paris Psalter, 90:16-95:2. Since it escaped the attention of Krapp and Dobbie, it has seldom been discussed, but it is valuable as one of a few surviving variant texts of Old English poetry. Because this text was copied in the twelfth century, one would expect its text to be inferior to that of the Paris Psalter, and indeed it is; but it allows one to correct the Paris Psalter at several points and to judge the editorial decisions of Thorpe, Grein, Assmann, and Krapp. Compared with other variant texts of Old English poems, the psalter fragment is reasonably accurate. In fact, it contains fewer errors per line than the A-text of The Battle of Brunanburh, written perhaps fewer than twenty years after the event it commemorates. (The A-text of Brunanburh also is far less accurate than the C-text, written about a century later.) The relative accuracy of the late psalter fragment and the relative inaccuracy of the A-text of Brunanburh suggests that the common assumption that early texts must be more accurate than late ones is not always true; editors do well to print from early manuscripts, but perhaps should be more willing than they have been to admit emendations from late ones. These texts also demonstrate the impossibility of generalizing about the accuracy of our copies of Old English poetry: the editor should approach each manuscript he uses without preconceptions.

Carl T. Berkhout (University of Arizona)

"The Search for a Theme in the Exeter Book Maxims"

The verses in the Exeter Book commonly known as Maxims I probably ought to be read as three distinct poems, possibly of separate origins, rather than as one poem in three sectional divisions. The palaeographic evidence, the sharply different metrical patterns, and a number of discrete stylistic features tend to support this reading. (The possibility of three poems instead of one poem in three parts has occurred to scholars before, but no one has thought the matter important.) Freed from having to weld all 204 lines into a single structure, we can discern some distinct subjects that might suggest a theme or at least a thematic preoccupation in each of the three poems. The subject of the first poem is mainly epistemological, balancing divine intelligence against the limits of human understanding. The second poem observes the routine human activity of buying, selling, exchanging, and providing, but suggests that ultimately God, or divine providence, is the only reliable provider. The third poem considers the essential loneliness and violence of the human condition and concludes that, ever since Cain, society and fraternity are hardly more secure than the life of an outcast among the beasts.

James R. Hall (University of Mississippi)

"The Opening of the OE Exodus"

The first seven lines of Exodus, comprising the most complex beginning of any poem in Old English, serve three major functions. First, the arresting and ambiguous syntax initiates the reader into a poem whose notorious interpretative difficulties are a major esthetic principle. Second, the passage introduces the reader to the poet's Christian perspective and its meaning for the poem as a whole. Third, the passage endows the story with a sense of immediacy for the reader by implying that the story of Israel is really the reader's story as well.

Session 32: The Manuscripts of Northern Literature

Allen J. Frantzen (Loyola University of Chicago)

"The Manuscripts of the Old English Scrift-boc"

The English Church of the tenth century was the first church of the early Middle Ages to produce a reasonably coherent corpus of vernacular texts for liturgical and administrative use. The homilies of Ælfric and Wulfstan are among the best-known literature of this period; my topic is a somewhat obscure but nonetheless vital genre, the handbook of penance, a guide for the confessor to use in determining periods of penance proportionate to the severity of sins. The vernacular penitentials are unusual evidence of the Anglo-Saxon church because they are on the one hand a synthesis of various Latin traditions and on the other a sharp departure from continental, Carolingian precedents.

I am in the process of re-editing the oldest of the three OE vernacular handbooks, the Scrift-boc. It exists in only three manuscripts, and takes a somewhat different form in each. In some the Scrift-boc is accompanied with elaborate introductory matter for the confessor; but one is entirely lacking in such material. It is even more curious that the latest manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121) is nearly twice as long as the earliest (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190), and that the third manuscript (Bodleian Library, Laud, Misc. 482) has an intermediate length. It is by no means certain which of these three forms is in fact the earliest, and it is far from clear why a single text should have been subjected to so much modification--far more than we see in manuscripts of Latin penitentials or of the other two vernacular handbooks. I will outline the characteristics of each version of the Scrift-boc and will attempt to account for them by relating each version to the particular character of the manuscript collection which contains it. Two of these collections are among the so-called "commonplace books" associated with Archbishop Wulfstan. I hope in my discussion to be able to contradict the widespread assumption that there was such a thing as a "typical" commonplace collection in Wulfstan's time by showing, through my analysis of the different forms of the Scrift-boc, that each commonplace collection had its own purpose, and indeed its own logic as a collection.

My immediate objective is to analyze the manuscript tradition of the Scrift-boc, but my long-range objective is to show that we cannot generalize about the pastoral literature of Anglo-Saxon England without oversimplifying the complex historical process through which the early English church and its texts evolved.

Patrick W. Conner (West Virginia University)

"The Old Norse <u>Solarliod</u> as a Model for Unity in the <u>Exeter Book</u>"

The Old Norse <u>Solarliod</u>, sometimes characterized as a Christian poem in the Eddic tradition, provides some particularly fertile points of comparison with several poems in the Old English Exeter Book, particularly "Precepts," "Widsith," "The Fates . . . " and "The Fortunes of Men," "Deor," and "The Order of the World." In addition to comparing the ON piece with the OE poems from both thematic and stylistic viewpoints, I shall also defend the following hypotheses: I) that the boundaries of Old Germanic non-epic poetic units were not perceived as deriving from thematic or stylistic unity, but were based on structural/ codicological considerations; II) that because of our misunderstanding of what constituted a poetic unit for the compiler of the <u>Exeter Book</u>, we have fragmented what might be called certain macrosegments in all of our editions of the manuscript in much the same way as Vigfusson and Powell destroyed the integrity of much Old Norse poetry in their <u>Corpus Poeticum Borealis</u>. Not only is the <u>Solarliod</u> an example of the excesses of their methods of determining poetic boundaries, but--in modern editions--is a model of the kind of structures we might find in the non-narrative poems of the <u>Exeter Book</u>.

III. The Thirteenth Annual Interdisciplinary CAES [Committee for the Advancement of Early Studies] Conference, Ball State University, October 15-16, 1982:

Session 13:

Linda Houts (Dassel, Minnesota)

"Evil and Society in <u>Beowulf</u>"

Gleaning an understanding of Anglo-Saxon society from the tale of Beowulf's three battles as well as from the commentary, stories, and speeches which are included by the poet, we are able to gain a further understanding of Beowulf's adversaries. The monsters are, most certainly, real enemies of Beowulf, but they are also larger forces of evil because the actions and natures of the monsters can be related to the societal evils of Beowulf's time.

The tribal structure of the <u>comitatus</u> lends to Anglo-Saxon society a fierce sense of community. Interdependency plays a key role: the tribal chief depends upon his retinue for strength, and the followers look to their lord for leadership. Praise rests on loyalty and friendship, and the "giving of gifts" acknowledges and furthers these ties. Finally the mead-hall becomes a symbol of <u>comitatus</u> life, because it provides the setting where these desirable elements are fostered.

The undesirable elements of early medieval society are the forces that undermine the structural basis of the band. Destruction of the <u>comitatus</u> comes through feuds, kin-slaying, and hoarding treasure. The first destroys the group member by member, the second and third betray group loyalty and community. The monsters all display some of these characteristics. Grendel destroys the mead-hall, destroying the symbol of the tribe, and is a son of Cain, the first kinslayer. Grendel's dam also breaks into the mead-hall and carries on a feud

with the Danes. The dragon hoards treasure instead of allowing the gift-
giving process to occur.

When we see characters given certain qualities or acting in certain ways
which the story's society feels are evil, it is not too presumptuous to conclude
that these characters, to an extent, embody these evils. The monsters in
Beowulf hold such a position, and they thus become more than foes in battle;
they become evil.

Session 14:

Susan K. Lemke (National Defense University)

    "'Go litel book': Book Production, Dissemination, and
    Literacy in England From the Anglo-Saxon Period through
    the Introduction of Printing"

  Caxton's verse that follows his edition of Lydgate's Lyf of Our Lady,
    Goo lityl book and submytte the
    Unto al them / that the shal rede
    Or here / ...
echoes a line from his favorite poet's Troylus and Criseyde, "Go, litel book, go,
litel myn tragedye." To both Caxton and Chaucer, the "lityl" volume that they
had published, edited, translated, copied, or written has assumed living
qualities--becoming an extension of their personalities and a manifestation of
their genius. This paper investigates what lies behind this ardent appreciation
of the book and explores the medieval attitude toward the book. The development
of the book from manuscript to print, with emphasis on the English vernacular
tradition, is examined, in addition to medieval book production and trade, and
the demand of contemporary readers.

One question which accompanies that of the transmission of the text is how
books were produced and disseminated to the reading "public". From the fall of
Rome until the twelfth century, books were produced primarily in monasteries. The
literate were generally in holy orders and considered "professional" readers.
The learned literature of this scholarly closed circle was written in Latin, but
from the Anglo-Saxon period a rich vernacular manuscript tradition is evident.

The ninth century was a traumatic period for the manuscript and literacy in
England. Alfred's reign at the end of the century marked a revival of scholar-
ship and the beginning of book production in English. An interesting parallel
can be drawn between Caxton and Alfred: both were translators and conveyors of
what they considered the best in the letters of their respective centuries.
Until Alfred's reign, there had been no systematic copying of the English
vernacular text. Scribal collaboration, coupled with the existence of similar
hands, suggests that an organized production of vernacular manuscripts was taking
place during the late ninth and early tenth centuries.

The Norman conquest resulted in the introduction of the French vernacular,
the influence of Norman scribes, and the importation of continental books into
England. Small handwriting was an outgrowth of Norman interest in schools and
academic study. The Normans also introduced developments in the page, which
reflected academic techniques, included in which is the glossed text. Instead
of the text as a basis for meditatio, it became a reference work that was

consulted and methodically studied. In some manuscripts, sources and cross-references were indicated in red in the margin; also rubrics were used at the beginning of each chapter to define the topic under discussion, and punctuation was developed.

During the twelfth century and thereafter, the Anglo-Norman lay reader increased and the taste for vernacular literature grew. The thirteenth century witnessed further developments in the presentation of the text, among which were layout, headings, running-titles, contents, indexes, rubrics, and decoration.

Another important aspect of the booktrade before Caxton was that it was a "bespoke" or a "custom" trade. Manuscripts were compiled at the specific request of a buyer; therefore marketable copies were not "on hand" in the shop. A corollary to the expense of manuscript production to the stationer or bookseller was the delay to the customer. Caxton responded to the demand for vernacular literature: the more he printed, the more he could sell. Printing provided Caxton with notable advantages over manuscript production. Of foremost intellectual importance was the advantage of printing identical copies, free from numerous variants and scribal emendations.

Session 16:

George R. Adams (University of Wisconsin-Whitewater)

"The Structure of Discourse in the OE Caedmon Narrative"

The story of Caedmon in Bede's Ecclesiastical History is a simple narrative which makes a rather complex statement. Part of the statement of the narrative derives from the dynamic "surface" or plot structure, which resembles a narrative model suggested by Labov in Language in the Inner City. The other part of the statement derives from a "deep" or "counterstructure" which is static, symmetrical, and repetitive. Together, the two structures suggest that Bede's intention in the narrative was to emphasize the monastic life as the ideal one for the flowering of creativity.

John H. Knight (Illinois Valley Community College)

"Andreas: A Figural Reading"

A figural interpretation of the Andreas provides an understanding of the poem which explains inconsistencies which develop from a realistic, literal or heroic reading. Specifically, the thematic development of the poem rests upon the movement from cupiditas to caritas which uses the cannibalism of the Mermedonians and their conversion to Christianity to signify the efficacy of the Christian ethos. The early events in Andreas--the cannibalizing of their own tribe, their treatment of Andrew, their consuming hunger which is ever unsatisfied by physical sustenance, Andrew's concern with the spirit rather than the flesh, the saint's survival through God's intervention, and the parallels between Christ's suffering and Andrew's--all lead the poem to conclude that only spiritual food can satiate the cannibals' endless hunger. Thus the poet uses the figura of baptism by both fire and water to bring the Mermedonians to the love of God, the Word made flesh. The terrible flood recedes only after the cannibals recognize their sin against God's messenger, Andrew, and only after Andrew intercedes on their behalf. The feasting imagery which permeates the poem culminates in the satiation of spiritual

hunger in the conclusion of the poem through consumption of the word of God through Andrew's ministry, emphasized in the actual building of a church. Passion of the flesh has been repudiated by faith. The movement from cupiditas to caritas manifests itself in the Mermedonians' praise of God when Andrew leaves, a stark contrast to the poem's heathenish opening passages.

IV. The Annual Meeting of the Modern Language Association, Los Angeles, December 27-30, 1982:

Session 75, "Old English Studies: 'Of What is Past, or Passing, or to Come'"

Daniel Calder (University of California-Los Angeles)

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

The isolation of Anglo-Saxon literature is a fact we must accept and not try to obscure. While Chambers' attempt to connect Old English prose with later homiletic and didactic texts is more convincing than C.L. Wrenn's highly impressionistic musings on the continuity of Old English poetry, there is still a sharp break between "Anglo-Saxon" and "English" literature. The isolation of subject, then, is of less importance than the isolated way in which the subject is studied. Only in the late nineteenth century was there a harmonious marriage between the study of Anglo-Saxon literature and the important critical concerns of the age; historical and philological scholarship were at the forefront during this period. The present situation finds Anglo-Saxon studies isolated from the many and various philosophical and critical inquiries which surround us. Without in any way abandoning our traditions of historical and philological study, we should be more open to the possibilities which modern speculative criticism offers.

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

"The Teaching of Beowulf in 1982"

This report grows from a survey made by Robert F. Yeager and me for the MLA's Teaching Masterpieces of World Literature series; the volume on the teaching of Beowulf is now in production.

During the past two decades there have been remarkable changes in the teaching of the poem, quite apart from a kind of Beowulfian cult that has grown up outside the classroom (Beowulf rituals at dawn in Central Park, a cartoon-movie made from John Gardner's Grendel, etc.). The poem is not studied in OE so commonly as before, certainly not as an unquestioned and universal Graduate English requirement, but it is surviving heroically. It is studied today in OE by proportionately more undergraduates than ever before, often in classes of mixed graduates and undergraduates. It is also read in high schools, community colleges, and in undergraduate courses (almost always in translation, but often with a gratifying amount of linguistic backgrounding or orientation) in a wide distribution of colleges and universities that cannot afford to offer true OE courses but who wish to cater to the Dark Ages in an educational market increasingly and restrictively competitive to our specialty. It is taught in comparative courses in company with The Tain, Star Wars, The Song of Roland, Sir Gawain and the Green

Knight, Old Testament heroic sagas and poems, Billy Budd, and Huckleberry Finn, and many other pieces, and with background studies ranging from Tacitus to Claude Lévi-Strauss.

We learned from about 100 informants that Beowulf is taught to graduate students (about 15 percent), undergraduate English majors (about 30 percent), undergraduate non-majors (about 45 percent), and mixed graduates and under-graduates (about 10 percent). It strikes us that the third category--nearly half of our current Beowulfians--is the most notable and prophetic.

Because of a notable decline in the study of language and history, per-haps no other major poem in the English language is so jeopardized in the universities. Beowulf was never easy to approach. But its teachers are shift-ing to accord with the times, devising new approaches and refining older ones.

Session 217, "Sources and Resources in Anglo-Saxon Studies: Problems in Manuscript Research and in Research Aids"

Richard W. Clement (Illinois State University)

"Alfred's Pastoral Care and Gregory's Regula pastoralis"

It has become an unfortunate commonplace to speak of King Alfred's first translation as one in which he was still finding his way--and often unsuccess-fully--through the unfamiliar Latin syntax of Gregory's Regula pastoralis. This view was first given wide currency by Wack and Dewitz (in their doctoral dissertations) in 1889 and even C.L. Wrenn's influential Study of Old English Literature echoes such an estimation. Actually nothing could be further from the truth.

The various studies which have considered the relationship of the OE translation to its Latin original have all relied on one of two printed editions. No one has heretofore compared Alfred's translation to either the most authori-tative manuscript of the Regula, Troyes 504, or the five Insular manuscripts which are closer in date to Alfred's lifetime. A comparison of these Insular manuscripts to the Troyes manuscript, the printed editions, and the six manuscripts of the OE translation, reveals that these Insular manuscripts belong to a separate recension, that Alfred's translation was made from a manuscript of this recension, and that none of the printed editions contain these recensional variants. However, the textual history behind Alfred's translation is more complex than this series of recensional variants. We must also distinguish between these later variants, and the variants of two Gregorian "editions." Alfred's translation was made from a manuscript of the heretofore unknown "first Gregorian edition." We are extremely fortunate that the Troyes manuscript is the actual working copy of the "first edition" text, which was extensively altered to form the "second edition."

We may distinguish three major stages in the textual history of the Regula during Gregory's lifetime: I. c.590. The text was dictated by Gregory to a stenographer who wrote the text in shorthand upon wax tablets. The text then almost immediately transferred to papyrus rolls, still in its abbreviated form. Finally the text was transferred, in an expanded form, to a parchment codex-- Troyes 504. The text in Troyes 504 was proofread and a number of corrections

were made. II. c. 596. Paterius (Gregory's secretary), in preparing for his own work, <u>Liber de expositione veteris ac novi testamenti</u>, compared the Biblical quotations in the <u>Regula</u> against the Vulgate; he corrected the many Old Latin variant versions to conform with the Vulgate readings, and supplied marginal Biblical attributions. In addition, Gregory, or possibly someone else, extensively changed and revised several passages. These two series of changes, the regularization of Biblical quotations and the revision of several passages, constitute the "second edition." Finally a new clean copy was made for Gregory's use and Troyes 504 was given away. III. c.597. Further changes (as reflected in Gregory's letters and in additions to the text of Troyes 504 in a later hand) were made to the text in the (now lost) clean manuscript.

As Alfred's <u>Pastoral Care</u> was translated from a copy of Gregory's "first edition," we must first understand the origin and the history of the recension to which Alfred's Latin manuscript belonged before we can understand or estimate Alfred's abilities as a translator. Because Latin printed editions can unwittingly create misleading evidence by which to judge the competence of OE translators, we must always consider the manuscripts and Insular recensions from which the OE translations were made.

Cynthia Cornell (DePauw University)

"Problems of Using Analogues for the Interpretation of OE Poems"

The vision of corruption in the monasteries in the OE poem <u>Guthlac A</u> is an episode for which there are no close analogues in any extant accounts of the life of Saint Guthlac; nor have close parallels to it been identified elsewhere. It also presents textual difficulties and inconsistencies: for example, it is almost immediately preceded by an unreconstructible gap in the text, at least a manuscript page in length; it is described as the saint's first temptation even though it occurs halfway through the poem, after repeated demonic assaults; and its frame seems to introduce a physical attack while what actually occurs is a spiritual one. Efforts to interpret the monastic vision have been not entirely successful, dramatizing particularly well the real subject of this paper: the problems of using analogues to interpret and evaluate incomplete and sometimes confusing poetic texts for which sources and analogues are unknown or in dispute.

These problems can best be exemplified by examining how three critics have used analogues to make judgments about the monastic vision. All three seek to define the literary value of this difficult poem. Drawing upon analogues, critics 1 and 2 try to define the poem's originality, and critics 2 and 3 try to define the nature of its coherence. Critic 1 uses one set of analogues to highlight its originality, while the choice of another set might instead have suggested the opposite. Critic 2 uses another set of analogues: (1) to lend authority to a perception of coherence which is not supported by the text itself and (2) to argue opposite sides of an issue: both the poet's originality and his dependence upon a source in his patterning of events. And critic 3 uses the same principal analogue as critic 2, this time to define still another standard of coherence, against which he sets the poem and finds it faulty, advocating the abandonment of the search for coherence in the monastic vision. The practice of these critics raises such questions as whose analogues are the right analogues and whose use (or which use) of the same analogue is the right use, while exemplifying the conscious or unconscious tendency for critics to find the analogues they

need in order to support their perceptions of a poem, or, on the other hand, to read a poem into the shape of other more familiar or seemingly more coherent materials. Nevertheless, in spite of the problems of the text and the probably inescapable prejudices of its critics, few of us would carry the argument of critic 3 to its extreme and advise that the search for an understanding of this poem through a cautious examination of analogues should be abandoned.

Theodore Leinbaugh (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)

"Textual Problems in Ælfric's De Creatore et Creatura"

This paper examines textual problems in the only surviving witness to Ælfric's De Creatore et Creatura, Cotton Otho C.i, vol. 1. The manuscript suffered damage in the Cotton library fire of 1731. One folio, containing part of the text of De Creatore, shows not only damage from the fire, but also wear through fading and the inking over of the text by a later hand. The retouched readings are inaccurate in several places, and in one sentence the apparent manuscript reading gives nearly opposite sense to what is in all probability the manuscript's original reading. The use of ultraviolet photographs and the comparison of this text with partially parallel passages in Cotton Julius E. vii, Bodley 343, and Boulogne sur-Mer 63 help to recover the original readings of Cotton Otho C.1, vol. 1.

Paul E. Szarmach (SUNY-Binghamton)

"Problems and Meta-Problems in the Study of Old English Prose Texts"

The textual study of Old English prose seems to be in that same state in which the textual study of poetry found itself a long time ago. The field is still waiting for the publication of reliable editions of hitherto unpublished texts and the replacement of unreliable editions by more satisfactory ones. The lagtime for textual work on prose is understandable, if one grants that poetry precedes prose in the aesthetic interest of scholars as well as in the growth of literature. To be sure, the lag has skewed the scholarly perception of OE literature, allowing, e.g., the pursuit of literary and cultural contexts in the Patrologia Latina and the Corpus Christianorum Latina, but impeding what Ælfric's exegesis may tell us or Alfred's cultural program may reveal. There is no need for undue despair, however, for this large and culpable problem in the whole of OE literature has its felicitous aspect, viz., those hardy souls who venture forth to edit prose will probably have a self-conscious and salutary lack of confidence in their approaches sufficient to prevent the excesses of the earlier editors of poetry, who often thought they could write the poems better than the scribes or the poets the scribes meant to serve, and insufficient to cause that intellectual paralysis whereby only a clear photograph of a manuscript page qualifies as the acme of the editor's art. The contemporary editor must know that he or she is part of the observation and, like another kind of analyst, must first undergo literary self-analysis before attempting to practice. Whether literary sanity is certifiable may finally be arguable, but all will surely agree that the pursuit of literary value is a common pursuit and a desirable one. But can the textual critic be dispassionate and disinterested in his method and intention and yet find literary value in the kind of OE prose where some aesthetes would see the bald, the bad, and the boring? It is this meta-problem--to use the current argot-- that is the concern of this presentation, the relation if not the tension between textual criticism and aesthetic criticism in OE prose. Vercelli Homily X provides an exemplary point of difficulty or a collision point between the two scholarly modes.

Session 245, "Old English Poetry: Keeping Time"

George Clark (Queen's University)

"Time and Tide at Maldon"

Maldon seems a straightforward account of actual events told plainly and in the order of their occurrence. A strict unity of time and linear narrative making chronology and sequence one powerfully implies that nature and truth, not art, have shaped the poem. Yet in Maldon dispersed achronological elements, repeated flashbacks, foreshadowings, and nearly typological identifications of Byrhtnoth and his followers give the poem a second, lyric structure. The narrative, causal structure of the poem as pure action centers on lines 185-208, the flight of the faithless retainers, the "moral collapse" and "physical disintegration" of the English force, and the loyalty of the doomed retainers; this structure assumes the freedom of the will as it makes fidelity and betrayal the central issues at the turning point of the poem's action. The lyric structure of Maldon centers on Byrhtnoth's death, and makes the deaths of his followers types of that event; this structure suggests that the hero and his faithful retainers were doomed to die at Maldon before the battle began and makes glory, fate, and death the poem's essential subjects. The poet's treatment of time, measured by the tides of Maldon, and timelessness, defined by the recurring phrase "as long as he could wield his weapons," allows the central event of a single day to discover the eternal reality of a heroic ideal.

David L. Hoover (New York University)

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

Most OE metrical theories assume two metrical stresses (lifts) in each half-line (verse) and accept stress as the primary determiner of metrical stress; this leads to the view that OE meter is based on rhythm--that the rhythms of verses define the meter. I argue that these traditional views are false.

There is evidence for more than two stresses in some verses and for only one stress in others. Further, the very different treatment of alliterating and non-alliterating stresses suggests that the two are not equivalent metrical entities. Therefore, the metrical stress, or lift should be redefined as an alliterating, stressed syllable. This means that OE meter is not based on rhythm, because many heavy stresses are not lifts, are not metrically significant, and neither are the rhythms they and their surrounding unstressed syllables produce.

The very simple metrical theory produced on the basis of my reanalysis helps to explain the problematic "light verses" and also provides a logical explanation for OE meter. If the rules of the new theory are followed, all verses with single alliteration are of the following two patterns: A n and n A n, where "A" is an alliterating, stressed syllable, and "n" is one or more than one non-alliterating syllable, of whatever stress level. (Crudely put, verses with single alliteration have the alliteration at the beginning or in the middle.) If a second alliteration is added to these two patterns in any possible position, the following patters are produced: A A n, A n A, A n A n, n A n A, n A A n, n A n A n. And these eight patterns with single and double alliteration are all and only the patterns of the poetry.

In the simple theory proposed, OE meter is not related to nor dependent upon rhythm. This is startling, but not unreasonable. First, a look at OE poetry in comparison with ModE poetry shows that the rhythm of ModE lines is much more regular. For example, OE verses may have two stresses at the beginning or in the middle, one at the beginning and a second in the middle or at the end, or one in the middle and one at the end. And this contrasts sharply with ModE, in which one rhythm is chosen as the basis of all lines. Second, OE metrical theories have tended to be very complicated, and to include large numbers of complex rules with many exceptions. This, I claim, is because of the false assumption that the meter is based on rhythm. Finally, the rejection of a rhythmical basis for OE meter and its replacement by a simple, logical meter makes the composition of the poetry comprehensible. The poet followed a few rules (probably unconsciously) to produce verses with single alliteration, and then added another alliteration at will in the a-verse.

Session 432, "Anglo-Latin in the Context of Old English Literature"

George H. Brown (Stanford University)

"Anglo-Latin in the Context of Old English Literature: The Age of Bede"

My task is to present (in the oddly apt language of Silicon Valley) "the state of the art" in Anglo-Latin scholarship for the Age of Bede as it pertains to the interests of Anglo-Saxonists. This is a large task. When Bede was faced with an even larger task, he remarked, "Multi multa dixere." He was speaking about how many commentaries on Genesis there were before he undertook his. However, he observed that a summary and new synthesis were needed, and he went ahead and added his own "multa." He provided a worthy precedent; and since a summary and synthesis of so much modern scholarship of the Age of Bede is worthwhile, I shall do my bit.

Allen J. Frantzen (Loyola University of Chicago)

"Anglo-Latin in the Context of Old English Literature: The Age of Alfred"

It is a paradox that the Latin literature of the ninth century, which once must have been so much more abundant than the vernacular, is now so much more difficult to discuss. This period has never been considered a great one for Latin literature. It has no figures equal to Bede, Alcuin, or Aldhelm in the preceding century, and none to compare to the many learned authors of the century which followed. Studies of the ninth century seem to focus almost exclusively on vernacular texts and their relationship to King Alfred, a worthy but problematical keystone for the century's literary history. Although he may have exaggerated the decline in literacy among his peers, Alfred's testimony in the Preface to his translation of the Pastoral Care retains its force: he could find few priests who could read their Latin service books or translate Latin into English.

The key questions concerning literacy in the ninth century remain unresolved. Did Alfred report current conditions accurately? Was his role in restoring the learned tradition that of carrying out the mere handful of translations now attributed to him (the Consolation of Philosophy, the Pastoral Care, the prose psalms of the Paris Psalter, the Soliloquies); what was his role in such works as the Orosius, Waerferth's translation of Gregory's Dialogues, and other texts contemporary with him?

An accurate estimation of literary activity in the ninth century requires more than the identification of Latin sources, and the analysis of the idiom and style of the vernacular texts. We must also focus attention on the Latin manuscripts themselves. By tracing the relationships between the vernacular texts and the manuscripts of their Latin originals, we may be able to define more carefully the resources available to learned Englishmen at the end of the ninth century. Those resources were, of course, Latin. What we do not know is where that Latin came from--if it had long been in English libraries, or if it had been recently imported from the continent. As we become better informed of the texts and traditions available to Alfred and others translating at the end of the ninth century, we will have to replace terms such as "Alfredian circle" and "Mercian school" with others which, if less convenient, also reflect more precisely the provenance, authorship, and originality of Anglo-Latin literature in the ninth century and the vernacular tradition based upon it.

Colin Chase (University of Toronto)

"Anglo-Latin in the Context of Old English Literature: the Age of Ælfric"

The Age of Ælfric contrasts with the Ages of Bede and Alfred as well-mapped territory contrasts with an uncharted ocean. We are not really certain what is there. The work of Ker, Bishop, Alexander and Temple was never meant to answer this need, but Gneuss's List and the new Cranz microfilm corpus of manuscript catalogues will make all the difference, though shortly we may miss the thrill of the chase.

The most promising area is hagiography, if only because there are so many saints' lives. From them we can learn more about the evolution of literary fashion than from any other genre. Michael Lapidge's work with the Saint Ecgwine legend is a good illustration, showing the shift from Byrhrtferth's densely packed periods to the easier flow of Dominic of Evesham after 1100, to the pedestrian epitome of an anonymous recension of the time of Henry I. In virtue of his ruthlessly economical prose style, Ælfric himself stands in remarkable contrast to such contemporary writers as Frithegod and Wulfstan.

Other areas are also beginning to open up. In liturgical studies, Milton McC. Gatch, Helmut Gneuss, Michael Korhammer, and Alejandro Planchart have made major recent contributions, while Mechtild Gretsch and John Chamberlain have made much clearer the transmission of the Benedictine Rule in England. The educational context is clearer because of Lapidge's focus on English monastic centres and Riché's comprehensive studies, alongside the detailed work of such as Fred C. Robinson and Gernot Wieland.

But much remains to be done, especially with the material contained in martyrologies, calendars, dedications, official monastic correspondence, and glosses. Of special interest with regard to glosses is the work going ahead at the Dictionary of Old English in Toronto, where the modern PhD has now been traced back to a late tenth century gloss in the Lindisfarne Gospels.

Session 540, "Oral-Formulaic Tradition and the Critical Interpretations of Literature: Old English and Other Medieval Texts"

John Miles Foley (University of Missouri-Columbia)

"Structure and Meaning in Oral Traditional Epic"

This essay considers the problem of meaning in formulaic diction, specifically in Beowulf and the Odyssey, two poems which derive ultimately from oral traditions. The referent of recurrent phraseology is shown to be neither a tired, shopworn cliché nor a special, context-dependent overtone, but rather a whole character, situation, or event in its full mythic form. The epithets, for example, summon their characters by a process of metonymy or synecdoche, the repeated quality conjuring the mythic personality pars pro toto. Only by reading recurrent phraseology in its full connotation can we resolve the question of traditional structure and art.

Constance B. Hieatt (University of Western Ontario)

"On Envelope Patterns, Ancient and (Relatively) Modern"

Envelope patterns, a rhetorical device involving repetition to enclose and in some fashion emphasize a subdivision of a poem, can be found in Homer, Beowulf, and many other early works deriving from an oral tradition. Recognition of the signal they convey can be of help in interpreting a poem--one in Beowulf seems to indicate clearly that the solidarity between Hrothgar and Hrothulf is to be interpreted ironically, for example. This is especially true of patterns formed of "nonce-formulas," occurring only in one context, such as one in the Wanderer which incorporates much of the poem's major symbolism and imagery and is at the same time a key to its structure. The device persists as a legacy of oral style in unquestionably literate poetry of a later period, such as the Cutch Karel ende Elegast and Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde.

Alexandra Hennessey Olsen (University of Denver)

"'Al Be Ther in Hir Tellyng Difference': The Invention of
the Cross and the Oral-Formulaic Theory"

Vernacular versions of the legend of the Invention of the Cross in both prose and verse and in such languages as Old Norse, Old French, Middle Irish, and Middle High German are remarkably similar to the Latin original both in narrative details and in diction. Elene too is in many ways close to the Latin, but it shows variations that are the result of formulaic elements, on the level of diction and on that of larger structural units like themes and type-scenes. The "tellyng difference" between Elene and the non-formulaic versions can be shown by a comparison of the epilogue to Elene to that of La Sainte Croix, an Old French poem found in BN Fr. 763. The Old French poem and epilogue are composed in rhymed octosyllabic couplets and use no formulaic language; Elene is composed of demonstrably formulaic half-lines. The epilogue to La Sainte Croix begins by announcing "De l'estoire summes au chief" ["We are at the end of the story"], and it has no organic relevance to the poem; it provides closure and nothing more. The epilogue to Elene is of interest for its own sake, as may be seen from the number of articles that derive Cynewulf's biography from his epilogues. It begins with lines that call attention to the process of poetic composition, uniting it to the poem, whose focus is on speech acts and the nature and purpose of speech. The language and subject of the epilogue remind us of the poem, so that the formulaic "tellyng" of the poem reflects and enhances the "sentence" of the legend in a way not found in the simple narrative Old French poem and its clumsy epilogue.

Edward B. Irving, Jr. (University of Pennsylvania)

"What to do with Old Kings"

Oral-derived heroic poetry typically shows ambivalence in its stereotypes of old rulers, who are respected as carriers of tradition but scorned for lack of the fighting-strength the society demands. The Beowulf-poet takes such a double view of Hrothgar. Though preserving the king's dignified image by honorific epithets and the respectful attitudes of bystanders, by displacing Danish incompetence onto Unferth and the council of elders who advise idol-worship, and by granting Hrothgar one moment of real glory when he leads the warriors to the mere he dreads, the poet undercuts him in many serious ways. What Hrothgar does not do we might term a zero-grade narrative element. He is absent from the poem all during the long account of Beowulf's fight with Grendel and the Danes' triumphant return-ride; we know no details of his youthful achievements; he has no personal relationships (e.g., speaking to others) apart from his dependent relationship to young Beowulf; his wife takes over important political concerns; he is generally passive in his gestures, religious attitudes, and lyrical expression of suffering. Point by point, in the usual binary mode of oral-derived literature, he is placed in the strongest contrast with the old king Beowulf, who has a richly detailed and significant past, affectionate and immediate relationships with other people, and unfaltering dedication to action even in extreme old age.

Session 701, "The Dating of Beowulf: Critical Responses to Kevin Kiernan's Beowulf and the Beowulf Manuscript"

Helen T. Bennett (Eastern Kentucky University)

"Alliteration in Beowulf"

By arguing convincingly for Beowulf as an eleventh century poem, Kevin Kiernan's book Beowulf and the Beowulf Manuscript marks our final liberation from our stylistic assumptions and prejudices in dealing with the greatest extant Old English poem. The book does not merely allow but actually requires us to trust the manuscript of the work and, in so doing, opens the way for greater appreciation of the poet's style, both traditional and innovative, particularly in connection with alliteration.

Kiernan discusses the techniques and consequences of emending just to supply alliteration in lines that are nonalliterating in the manuscript. Following his lead, I examine significant emendations designed to correct any alliterative aberration. I treat these emendations in three groups: 1) those that seem justified because they not only correct the alliterative configuration, but also make sense of an apparently unintelligible passage; 2) those that "correct" the alliterative pattern but do not change the basic sense of the passage; and 3) those that change the meaning of the passage simply to correct what appears to be an alliterative "flaw." My main objective in discussing categories 2 and 3 is to establish the manuscript version as equal or superior to the emended version(s). At the very least, such emendations distort the varying alliterative practices of the poet, practices that can be shown to play on alliterative expectations. At worst, these emendations can actually lead to misreadings of the textual meaning the poet intended.

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

"Beowulf's Dialectal Vocabulary and the Kiernan Theory"

In Beowulf and the Beowulf Manuscript Kevin Kiernan provides a number of supports for his theory that the provenance of Beowulf occurred early in the eleventh century during the reign of Cnut the Great. One of Kiernan's contentions is that, since the archaic and multi-dialectal spellings and grammatical forms can be accounted for by the poem's use of a general OE poetic dialect, one need not postulate, with Klaeber and others, earlier dialectically diverse manuscripts of the poem to account for these mixed forms.

The dialectal word studies of Hildegard Rauh (1936) and Joseph F. Tuso (1968) of the West Saxon Corpus, Northumbrian Lindisfarne, and Mercian Rushworth Gospels, when applied to the vocabulary of Beowulf, reveal a striking similarity in dialectal word usage between Beowulf and these three late tenth-century OE texts. A significant number of the dialectal word preferences found in the three Gospels are used throughout Beowulf, and with almost equal recurrence in lines 1-1887, 1888-2199, and 2200-3182.

The more than 1,100 recurrences of these 62 dialectally established words indicate that Beowulf's dialectal mix--from the standpoint of vocabulary--is relatively uniform throughout. This uniformity seems to bolster Kiernan's view that Beowulf is written in a general OE poetic dialect, since the poem draws on a number of dialectal synonyms which are commonly used in the late tenth-century elevated prose styles of the three Gospels. The dialectal word preference in Beowulf, moreover, seems to be somewhat less mixed than it is in any of the three Gospels, and yet no one has felt the need to postulate a transmission theory like Klaeber's for them.

Although the exact dialects of Kiernan's three sections of Beowulf cannot be established by applying to the poem what we currently know about OE dialectal word preference, such an application does seem to support Kiernan's view of the poem's provenance, rather than to weaken it.

Raymond P. Tripp, Jr. (University of Denver)

"The Paleography of Beowulf Folio 179"

A single-page summary of what needs to be said is not possible, so I shall state what I shall cover in my brief paper, which is aimed more at uncovering the problems that exist, rather than at solving all of them.

I shall first present my considered conclusion based upon four readings of the manuscript spaced over as many years: namely, that many people over many years have been variously at work on this folio as we now have it. I shall then outline the general paleographic problems which grow out of the second scribe's peculiar style and repertoire of strokes. In a word, a faded or damaged word can generate more than one word which "makes sense," so that restoration cannot be made on paleographic grounds alone but must also involve literary inference.

After these theoretical, fundamentally epistemological problems, often overlooked by even modern editors, I shall move on to examples, to illustrate that the touched up language is often demonstrably wrong and, therefore, the

work of someone in full possession neither of the language nor the poem—very unlikely someone revising his own poem. These examples will include the following: (1) the notorious beow begn crux (r17), (2) 7 si an ða gen (v8), (3) rihðe (v10), and a selection of other suspected forms and letters. My examples will also include certain mistaken "corrections" to later portions of the dragon episode, such as hatne for horde (r190, 20-1) and wundengold (r198, 9).

In each case, above and beyond the immediate evidence of different hand-writing, it can be shown that someone mistook the poet's meaning and altered that text in order to "make sense of it." Someone revising his own poem would be unlikely to miss his own syntax and meaning and thus to introduce changes which would either make little sense of any kind or even require further emendation to be rescued.

Richard W. Clement (Illinois State University)

"Codicological Aspects of the Nowell Codex"

Two crucial codicological considerations, upon which Professor Kiernan bases his eleventh century Beowulf, are the collation of the Nowell codex and the nature of the "palimpsest" folio 182. The collation of the codex may be determined from the hair-flesh sequence of the folios. Quire 1 = 5 sheets; quire 2 = 3 sheets; quire 3 = 3 sheets + 2 singletons; quire 4 = 3 sheets + 2 singletons; quire 7 = 4 sheets (fol. 147 is a replacement leaf); quires 8, 9, 10, and 11 = 4 sheets; quires 12 and 13 = 5 sheets; and quire 14 = 4 sheets. The problem lies with the make-up of quires 5 and 6: they may be either, as Professor Kiernan argues, 3- and 5-sheet quires respectively, or as has been traditionally maintained, both 4-sheet quires. None of the further evidence supporting either collation is definitive. We are unable to come to a conclusion as to the make-up of quires 5 and 6.

Folio 182 is indeed most puzzling. It has been subjected to a liquid, and has undergone erasures and corrections, but, as there is no evidence of the folio having been rubbed or scraped down, and as there is no evidence of an underlying text, I do not believe that we can call this folio a palimpsest. There is however some evidence that a corrector has been at work in an attempt to restore some of the readings on this damaged folio. Folio 182 has certainly been subject to some extraordinary handling, but by whom and when I am unable to say.

V. A Conference on Europe and Asia 600-1600: Institutions and Ideas, University of Hawaii at Manoa, January 2-5, 1983:

Helen Damico (University of New Mexico)

"Queens and Female Warriors in Old English Literature and Society"

It is difficult to ascertain to what extent characters in literature reflect social reality. This is especially true of Old English literature which, because of its traditional and conservative nature, tends to produce highly stylized dramatis personae. Yet allowing for the normal disjunction between history and literature, it is possible to correlate the major female characters in Old English literature—Elene, Judith, Juliana, and the women in Beowulf—with the Germanic cultural situation. Vigor and independence of action were exhibited by noblewomen

in social and legal affairs. From documents ranging from Tacitus's _Germania_
through Cnut's laws, there emerges a composite portrait of the Germanic noble-
woman as an active, interdependent member of the family. Engagement in govern-
mental affairs was within the province of historical female royalty, as it
seems to have been within that of the literary queens. The political authority
exercised by Wealhtheow and Elene, as well as by some of the other female
characters (Hygd, Judith, the _Maxims I_ figure) reflects actuality. A string of
Anglo-Saxon queens and noblewomen--tyrants (Cynethryth, Eadburg, Ælfgifu) and
benefactors (Æthelflaed, Emma, Bebba)--helped shape English political history.
Military leadership possessed by the warrior-women Elene and Judith was likewise
well within the experience of the Germanic noblewoman. The traditional source
cited for the actual existence of the Germanic warrior-women is _Germania_,
although in this work Tacitus does not describe them as leading armies (as he
does in _Agricola_ and _Annals_), but rather as inciting men into battle. Saxo and
Jordanes present fuller portraits of the fighting female swinging ax and sword
and polishing her armor. Hetha, Wisna, and Webiorg, the she-captains of
Bravalla, possessed the "bodies of women [and] the souls of men," Saxo relates.
In England, Boudicca in the first century and Æthelflaed in the late ninth and
tenth were powerful political and military leaders. First-born of Alfred and
Ealhswith, Æthelflaed, in a cooperative campaign with her brother, Edward, King
of Wessex and Alfred's second-born, built a line of fortresses across England
that defended the northern midlands from Danish and Norwegian attack. She ruled
with dignity and in the comitatus tradition, and it is thought that her military
genius in large measure helped to secure for Edward the rule over an integrated
England. It is reasonable to conclude, then, that the aristocratic Germanic
female, whether queen or warrior, was a formidable figure in society--autonomous,
powerful, and imbued with heroic energy. The female rulers and fighters of the
literature mirror that reality.

VI. The Fourth Medieval Forum, Plymouth State College, Plymouth, New Hampshire,
April 22-23, 1983:

Group 15:

Devora Steinmetz (Columbia University)

"Hand, Head, and Sword: the Individual and Society in _Beowulf_"

The narrative and digressions in _Beowulf_ form an intricate pattern of
overlapping rises and falls--building and destruction, peace and war, day and
night, singing and wailing. Superimposed over all of these movements is the rise
and fall of the largest narrative frame; the poem begins with mythical ancestors,
the building of the hall, and the creation of the world and ends with Beowulf's
death, the burning of halls, and visions of future destruction. Beowulf's career
documents the rise and fall of civilization, a pattern which takes clear shape
in the poem through the motifs of hand, head, and iron sword.

Beowulf's fight with Grendel is a contest between two individuals, much like
the young boy's adventure with Breca. Both Grendel and Beowulf fight alone, and
both disdain to use weapons; the two grapple primitively with their hands,
becoming indistinguishable from one another in their wrath, and Grendel is
finally defeated as Beowulf rips off his arm. While Beowulf is adopted into
Danish society and the scop sings of Hildeburh and strife between kinsmen,
Grendel's kinswoman prepares to avenge her son and sets out to capture Hrothgar's

favorite thane. This time Beowulf does not wait to be attacked; he sets off with Danish and Geatish troops to avenge the captured thane, whose head they find on the mere's cliff. The battle with Grendel's mother is more complicated than the first fight. Both combatants resort to using weapons, Beowulf finally killing his opponent and beheading Grendel with the mere-sword which, through its inscription, symbolizes the origin of strife.

Hands, heads, and magically forged iron reappear throughout the poem, with increasingly ambiguous connotations. Heorot itself is decorated with hands (992), the head-like structure is horn-gabled (82) and has a mouth (724), and the hall is held intact by iron bonds (774)--yet these same images recall the destructiveness lurking beneath the surface of the narrative. Power can be both creative and destructive. Grendel and his mother embody the destructive side of man and society; they are less monsters than members of a human race gone astray, like the race of Cain. The two battles are contrasted by the motifs of hand and head--of primitive, individual force and of civilized, collectively rational power which can forge both swords and the iron bonds of a hall. Beowulf, fighting two different opponents, first as an individual and then as a member of society, duplicates the upward movement of the poem's pattern of rising and falling. The second part of the poem chronicles the fall of society, as the distinction between man and monster and between hall and barrow becomes even more blurred than in the first part. Beowulf's last battle uses the three motifs to illustrate the decay of society--Beowulf's sword fails, his hand cannot kill the dragon, and Wiglaf's hand is burned by fire from the dragon's head. Lord and thane together, the smallest social unit, do succeed at last in killing the dragon, but Beowulf dies as well, and society falls with him. Man has power both to build and destroy, but the ultimate vision of the Anglo-Saxon poet is of destruction.

Lois M. Bragg (SUNY-Buffalo)

"Beowulf: The Questions Raised by a Translation"

For the specialist in Old English literature, teaching Beowulf in translation can prove to be a frustrating and unsatisfactory experience. Although one can do little about the limitations imposed by the nature of the survey course and the students' literary backgrounds, a translation which has been individually chosen to suit the teacher's preferred approach, coupled with a classroom technique designed to make the student aware of the limitations of even the best of translations, can significantly improve the possibilities for a satisfactory encounter with Beowulf.

This paper is an attempt to apply Prague School methodologies to the problems of chosing and teaching a translation. The theory of the Czech translator Vladimir Prochazka--that "the translation should make the same resultant impression on the reader as the original does on its reader"--is briefly outlined and compared with Nabokov's theory--that the translation should be literal, "no matter how bizarre the result." Having defined his or her own translation theory, the teacher may then find it useful to apply the æsthetic theory of Jan Mukarovsky to both the Old English text and several translations. Mukarovsky's theory, again, briefly summarized in this paper, is that the æsthetic uses of language-- in our case, kennings, personification, periodic sentences, formulaic expressions, embedded genres (e.g., elegy and homily within the epic)--function by "foregrounding," that is, they surprise the reader and draw his attention to the elements so foregrounded against the dual background of the standard spoken

language and the particular genre. Thus, whether the teacher adopts Prochazka's stance or Nabokov's (or any other), Mukarovsky's theory can provide a valuable basis with which to evaluate translations. For example, scop was clearly not a foregrounded word for the poet or his audience. Leaving scop untranslated will foreground the word, as will translating scop as "poet." The designations "minstrel" and "bard" will not be foregrounded but may have unsatisfactory or inaccurate connotations for the student. This paper concludes with an exercise in examining four translations (those of Donaldson, Hall and Wrenn, David Wright, and Stanley B. Greenfield) in which the foregrounding in selected passages is compared to that in the original.

Since this is a first essay in what I hope to be an ongoing project, I would be pleased to hear from anyone—students included—who has questions or comments on this methodology in particular or the problems of translations from Old English in general.

VII. Tenth Acta Conference, Text and Image, SUNY-Binghamton, April 22-23:

Grace L. Houghton (SUNY-Binghamton)

"Cassiodorus, Josephus, and the Codex Amiatinus"

Documenting a specific source for manuscript illumination is seldom possible. However, in the case of the "Tabernacle of the Wilderness" illustration in the Codex Amiatinus, we have primary sources which not only describe the illustration, but point to its origin. When descriptions from Bede's De Templo and De Tabernaculo are added to writings of Cassiodorus concerning this illustration, we find clear evidence that this illustration, plus a lost illustration, are derived from a Jewish literary source: the Antiquities of Josephus. Further-more, they give us additional evidence that Cassiodorus produced original illus-trations in his scriptorium at Vivarium.

VIII. Eighteenth International Congress on Medieval Studies, the Medieval Institute, Western Michigan University, May 5-8, 1983.

The Medieval Institute and the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies at SUNY-Binghamton jointly sponsored a Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture as part of the Eighteenth Congress. The National Endowment for the Humanities underwrote major expenses for the Symposium. In addition to the Symposium the Eighteenth Congress featured other sessions and individual papers of interest to Anglo-Saxonists. In this section the abstracts for the Symposium appear first, followed by the abstracts for various other Kalamazoo sessions.

Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture

Session 11: Literary Culture I

James E. Cross (University of Liverpool)

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

In the first part, this paper argues that anonymous Hiberno-Latin commentar-ies, which by nature are not original are yet reliable and are a means of dissem-ination to Old English of extra-Scriptural ideas which may have originated in the

Near East. Ideas found in commentaries and in Old English are identified, and a section of such a commentary (on Cain) from a manuscript is considered as illustration.

In the second part the paper argues for a study of Latin manuscripts for obvious reasons already given in the studies on the Old English Martyrology and elsewhere. It proposes that the same methods should be used for identification of sources of the anonymous OE homilies, particularly to find variant texts of identified Latin sources and to date anonymous sources by their distinguishing characteristics in datable Latin manuscripts.

It also suggests that Latin homilies in manuscripts written or deposited in England [Gneuss, ASE 9] should be identified, and printed if not already in print. One such manuscript is analyzed as illustration.

David Howlett (Medieval Latin Dictionary)

"Biblical Style in Early Insular Texts"

This paper defines Biblical Style with two basic and eight subsidiary rules and three adjuncts, as illustrated in the Massoretic text, the Septuagint, and the Vulgate, as well as works of Cicero and Vergil. It illustrates ways in which structure and the content of biblical texts have informed Romano-British and Anglo-Latin texts from the fifth century to the ninth and applies the principles to the reconstruction of Cuthbert's De Obitu Baedae.

Session 35: Iconography

Robert Deshman (University of Toronto)

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

The Benedictional (London, BL Addit. 49598) made about 973 for Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester, a leader of the monastic reform, contains two unusual, related iconographic features which equate a saint or the believers with the architecture of the Church. The figure of Saint Swithun is visually identified with a column, illustrating the concept that the apostles and the saints were "columns" which morally supported the Church. In the Nativity miniature the architectural form of Christ's crib and its placement in the bottom corner of the composition pictorially conveyed the complex symbolism that the crib was simultaneously the altar and the cornerstone of Christ which unites the "living stones" of the believers into the spiritual edifice of the Church. The symbolism of both pictures was rooted in the liturgy and in earlier iconographic tradition. The Benedictional's preoccupation with different symbolic architectural features of the living Ecclesia is a striking visual analogue to the literary imagery of the Advent lyrics in the approximately contemporary Exeter Book.

This architectural symbolism also referred to contemporary events. The identification of Swithun with a column was associated with Æthelwold's rebuilding of Winchester cathedral to house the recently translated relics of the saint whose new miracles and new presence in the church were considered to be signs of divine approval for the monastic reformers' controversial seizure of physical and spiritual control of the church from the secular canons. Contemporary sources

symbolically equated the column and the cornerstone with monastic virtue and reform and with the reform leaders themselves. Thus the Benedictional is part of a widespread propaganda campaign in literature as well as art to identify monks and monasticism with Ecclesia.

Louis Jordan (University of Notre Dame)

"Demonic Elements in Anglo Saxon Iconography"

In early insular art representations of Satan or his cohorts are quite rare. The earliest surviving example is the figure of Satan from the temptation of Christ miniature in the Book of Kells. This portrayal of Satan is based entirely on Byzantine sources. The only other representations of devils during the period are from the Cross of Muiredach at Monasterboise and the Cross of Scriptures at Clonmacnois. Both works are by the same workshop and the iconography is derived from Carolingian sources. In these early examples there is little creativity in the demonic imagery.

The late tenth and eleventh centuries, however, were a very innovative period for Anglo-Saxon iconography. Many new images such as the horned Moses and the jaw bone used by Cain were created during this era. In the realm of demonology there were also some important iconographic transformations. By assimilating and adapting Carolingian imagery to their own traditions the Anglo-Saxons created a very successful image of the devil as a fierce beastly adversary. The earliest example is the unprecedented representation of Death as Satan in the Leofric Missal. Horns, wings, and a variety of beastly features, such as taloned claws, emphasize the demonic power of this creature. We find similar creatures in BL Stowe 944 and Cotton Tiberius C. vi, while various elements of this iconography are present in almost all Anglo-Saxon representations of demons. Beastly qualities were even added to the devils in an otherwise faithful copy of the Utrecht Psalter (BL Harley 603) done in Canterbury ca. 1000. The final phase of this development seems to be from the Gunhild cross, where the devil has assumed an animal body with horns and cloven hoofs. This assimilation of beastly attributes was important not only for English iconography but it was also influential in the development of twelfth century continental demonology.

John Block Friedman (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)

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

Of all pagan legends, the story of Alexander's adventures in the East seems to have fascinated the Anglo-Saxons the most. A key source for these stories was the Letter of Alexander to Aristotle. An Old English translation of this work exists in the Beowulf codex, BL Cotton Vitellius A.xv, written in the late tenth century. There the work is unillustrated. It exists in conjunction, however, with another vernacular treatise on eastern wonders, the Marvels of the East, which contains 29 miniatures.

Kenneth Sisam and others have noted that the appearance of three works devoted to or containing a goodly amount of material on monstrous men and wonders in one codex points to a very strong interest in wonders lore on the part of the Anglo-Saxons. What has been less commonly remarked on is the fact that the two unillustrated items of this manuscript, Beowulf and the Letter of Alexander show a rather different attitude towards exotic races of men than does the illustrated

Marvels. The works without pictures treat such men as always violent, dangerous to humanity, indeed the very antithesis of civility, while Marvels takes a more emotionally neutral view of them. The same literary attitudes of rhetorical fear and heightened drama can be found in an anonymous Latin treatise, Liber Monstrorum, which is connected through its mention of Hygelac to Beowulf and by late medieval witnesses to Aldhelm and his circle.

Cotton Vitellius A.xv and its illustrations inspired two copies of the Marvels text, Cotton Tiberius B.v, second quarter of the eleventh century, and Oxford Bodley 614, early twelfth century. These works, the first containing 38 drawings and the second 52, reveal in their treatments of monstrous races, the intellectual attitudes present in the Letter to Alexander, Beowulf and Liber Monstrorum. Their illustrations attempt to make these creatures frightening and inimical to men rather than the merely interesting exotica the texts would seem to call for. Thus it appears that the illustrators of these later copies may have been influenced by a verbal tradition associated with their subject matter when they came to paint these unusual races of men.

Session 61: Art and Archaeology I

Patrick Wormald (Glasgow University)

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

The fact of Irish influence on Anglo-Saxon Christian culture is generally admitted, though its extent is debated, and no doubt will be at this conference. Paradoxically, however, orthodox scholarship emphasizes the contrast between Celt and Anglo-Saxon in secular society, and especially in kingship. Thus Professor Byrne: "...the history of Irish and Anglo-Saxon kingship offers an instructive study in contrast" (my italics). This paper will argue that the contrasts which undeniably exist are a function of the different types of evidence for its kingship with which each society has left us. One undoubted idiosyncrasy of Irish society was the existence of a powerful class of men professionally learned in the ancient native tradition, druids, filid, brehons and bards, and it is these men that were responsible for the legal and literary impression of archaic Irish kingship. There was no real counterpart to this class in Anglo-Saxon England, where the evidence is dominated by churchmen like Bede and Alcuin. The filid were committed on principle to the preservation of the past, preferably in practice, but failing that in theory, and the tragic history of polarization between native and "Norman" communities and traditions in later medieval Ireland gave them an effective monopoly of the evidence transmitted to us. We cannot assume that this class actually could obstruct the development of Irish society, and we cannot exclude the possibility that it made it seem more archaic than it really was. In fact, Latin texts, which (significantly) survive outside Ireland only, like the De Duodecim Abusivis Saeculi and the Collectio Canonum Hibernensis (both important in Anglo-Saxon England), suggest that the Church was seeking to develop royal power along lines followed elsewhere in Europe, and to some extent, together with other evidence, they suggest that it succeeded. In other words, it may be that Celtic and Germanic societies changed in similar ways during the early Middle Ages, if not at the same speed. This is what their evident compatibility in the Anglo-Saxon context would lead one to expect.

Rosemary Cramp (University of Durham)

"Northumbria and Ireland"

The debt to Ireland in the Early Christian culture of the Anglo-Saxons, particularly of the Northumbrians, is widely acknowledged. Nevertheless when one tries to substantiate this debt, the detail is strangely illusive. The social systems and some aspects of material culture of the Anglo-Saxons and the Irish in the sixth to eighth centuries are very similar, but it is as well to examine the gaps in what we do not know about the lifestyles and artistic achievements of the laity before discussing the common traditions and similarities in the monastic culture of the two areas. The nature of monastic settlements and the varied evidence for the artistic and technological achievements of communities on either side of the Irish Sea has been somewhat illuminated by recent archaeological excavations, while new analyses of metal work and sculpture have indicated complex relationships between the ecclesiastical arts of Ireland and its colonies, England and Pictland. This paper will attempt to look at the general picture and will consider in detail some problems relating to settlement types and the stylistic links between stone sculpture and manuscript painting in North Britain and Ireland.

Session 92: Literary Culture II

Janet Bately (University of London King's College)

"Evidence for Knowledge of Latin Literature in Old English"

A quick reading through extant Old English texts, in particular those in prose, reveals what appears to be an extensive knowledge of Latin literature. Not only are there full scale translations, there are lengthy "quotations," numberous allusions, and verbal echoes. Over the last 25 years scholars have been assiduous in tracking down Latin sources, both classical and patristic, and considering the manner in which material from them has been treated. What has been largely ignored is how this material reached the Anglo-Saxon writers, in what form, and no less important, how far these writers had the equipment to understand it. Yet there are many exciting clues waiting to be followed up, whether in the texts themselves, in extant Latin commentaries and glossaries, or in surviving manuscripts of the period.

Mary Catherine Bodden (University of Toronto)

"The Preservation and Transmission of Greek in Early England"

Why, in their literature, did the Anglo-Saxons preserve the occurrences of a language which few of them professed to know? What was its value to them? And how knowledgeably was it preserved?

The Anglo-Saxons had, actually, a good many reasons for preserving Greek. In the first place, much of the Latin biblical and patristic literature derived from Greek sources--a fact that the Early English knew and respected. Then, too, part of the Good Friday liturgy was bi-lingual, and in some pontificals directions for the blessing of a church include inscribing on its pavement the Greek alphabet in the Andreas Cross fashion. Moreover, phrases, sentences and passages appear in all of their major writers: the Fathers of the Church, partic-

larly Jerome, Augustine, and Ambrose. Those educators of the past who figured so largely in the curriculum of Early England constantly made reference to Greek terms and etymologies, e.g., Boethius, Cassiodorus, and Isidore. And finally, their own native scholars, Bede, Aldhelm, Alcuin, and Byrhtferth all included a generous sprinkling of Greek in their works, especially Bede and Byrhtferth.

As to its value, the Early English had inherited a set of reasons for respecting it and those who were proficient in Greek. The Fathers of the Church frequently refer to the value of Greek. Augustine (De Trinitate I. vi) argues that meanings in Scripture are much clearer in Greek, and Jerome's commentaries indicate the same attitude. Later churchmen expressed the same respect. Moreover, the mastery of Greek was a sign of great erudition. Eutropius's Breviarum considers the knowledge of Greek as the sign of great minds and rulers. Bede notes those early educators in England who knew Greek, and in Gregory's Dialogues a boy simple in mind who has died from the plague returns to warn the other monks. As proof of his speaking the truth about having already been to heaven, he now speaks Greek.

How knowledgeably was Greek preserved by the Anglo-Saxons? The knowledgeable preservation of any concept and its articulation or of any language and its grammatical forms is determined solely through a study of its transmission. The validity of documenting the transmission of any text depends on its being preserved to us in several copies. We have preserved to us over a thousand manuscripts known to be of Anglo-Saxon provenance or use or ownership. However, surprisingly enough, of these thousand manuscripts, apart from the Gospel, Psalter, the three main Fathers of the Church (Jerome, Augustine, and Ambrose) and the works of Prudentius, Bede, Aldhelm, Alfred, and Ælfric, remarkably few of the remaining manuscripts preserve more than one or two copies of individual texts. The field for the study of transmission of texts is already, therefore, limited.

Now, more than 500 of these manuscripts contain Greek matter. However, the primary means of study of transmission of any language requires that there be available a reasonable amount of continuous prose (or poetry). Single words do not really demonstrate the compiler's knowledge of a language; the very individuality of the word renders it impossible to show relationship between words or to reveal the hierarchy of meaning represented by inflection and syntax.

Few texts contain continuous Greek prose; of these, moreover, even fewer are preserved in more than one copy. We have, in fact, only one text which both supplies us with numerous copies and with a reasonable number of samples of continuous Greek prose. That text is Boethius's De Consolatione Philosophiae. Fourteen Latin copies of Early English provenance remain, and one vernacular version. I have examined eight of these copies. Not only are they fairly revealing about the problems which the Anglo-Saxons seems to have in copying Greek, but they offer as well valuable clues to the sort of scribal activity occurring on the Continent and its relationship with English scriptoria. Glosses are a secondary means of studying transmission, particularly identical glosses derived from unrelated texts. Thirdly, glossaries themselves are a valuable index to the vocabulary of Greek words amassed by the Early English, although they are of little value as an indication of their knowledge of a language.

Finally, I have examined five vernacular texts which are translations of Latin texts containing Greek matter. Frequently, the vernacular text, while it translates closely the Latin sentence containing the Greek work or phrase, drops the Greek word itself.

Session 123:   Literary Culture III

Joseph Kelly (John Carroll University)

"Bede and Irish Gospel Exegesis"

Bede tells us in his Historia Ecclesiastica that Irish teachers contributed much to the education of Northumbrian youth in the seventh century. Since both magistri and discipuli were almost all monks, the content of the teaching was theological or at least ecclesiastical in nature, with other disciplines seen as aids for religious study. Following the common practice of the Latin Church, the Irish would have emphasized the study of Scripture. Bede, as a Northumbrian, would have been aware of some Irish traditions, even though he does not generally cite Irish writers in his works.

Bede was the foremost exegete of the pre-Carolingian Middle Ages, and his exegesis has recently become the focus of important research. The last three decades have also seen much research into Irish exegesis. Bede wrote a major commentary (425 pages in the Corpus Christianorum edition) on the gospel of Luke, while the Irish composed four commentaries on it, one of which, an Expositio in Evangelium Lucae of a Pseudo-Jerome, antedates Bede's work. This paper will examine the relation of Bede's work on that gospel to the Irish tradition, and it will consider four points: 1) Bede's use of Irish exegesis, particularly Pseudo-Jerome's work; 2) Bede's reaction to Irish exegetical methods; 3) Bede's use of the Irish in comparison to his use of the great Latin Fathers; 4) the Irish use of Bede's Lucan commentary.

Thomas H. Bestul (University of Nebraska-Lincoln)

"Continental Sources of Anglo-Saxon Devotional Writing"

A characteristic of early Anglo-Saxon England is the existence of manu-scripts containing private devotional prayers--well known examples are the Book of Cerne (Cambridge University Libr. Ll. 1.10) and the Book of Nunnaminster (BL Harley 2965), both of which have been much studied from the point of view of the Irish influence they reveal. A less studied group of manuscripts is the collections of private prayers and other devotional materials from late Anglo-Saxon England--examples are BL Cotton Galba A.xiv, Cotton Titus D.xxvi-xxvii, Cambridge Corpus Christi College 391. These complex, heterogeneous collections seem to combine elements of an earlier Anglo-Irish tradition with new continen-tal forms of devotion. A careful analysis of these manuscripts and a comparison with ninth- and tenth-century continental examples, particularly those known to have been produced in centers of the Benedictine reform movement, is par-ticularly illuminating, revealing the extent to which the late Anglo-Saxon Collections are indebted to the continent, and to what extent they develop an original strain. In a more general sense, since the two classes of manuscripts are relatively numerous, a comparison from a codicological, formal, and textual standpoint can contribute to an understanding of the patterns of transmission between continental centers, such as Fleury, and Anglo-Saxon centers, such as the New Minster, Winchester, and the means by which continental influence was disseminated among English monasteries in the period of the Benedictine reform. In addition these Latin devotional writings of the tenth and eleventh centuries have certain important relations to vernacular literature of the time--some of the manuscripts combine both Latin and Old English versions of the same prayers, and the Latin devotions seem to have a bearing on such minor Old English poems as "A Summons to Prayer" and "A Prayer."

Session 154: Art and Archaeology II

Signe Horn Fuglesang (University Museum, Oslo)

"Scandinavian Art and the Insular Tradition c. 750-1100"

Anglo-Saxon and Viking art had a common heritage in Migration animal
ornament, in addition to pre-Viking direct contacts that can be discerned.
By the time of the Viking settlements, the arts in both areas had undergone
considerable development: Anglo-Saxon art primarily in its fruitful encounters
with Christian classicism, Scandinavian largely indigenous but with both
continental and insular loans. With the Viking settlements in northern England,
and later, under the Danish dynasty, the historical scene was set for a more
comprehensive artistic intercourse between the two areas. Because of many
inherent similarities, it has proved difficult to gauge the extent and importance
of reciprocal influences. Recent studies tend to concentrate on regional work-
shops, prototypes, and conventions of ornament in order better to evaluate the
more complex problems. The present paper is an attempt to sum up recent results,
and to review some of the older theories in the light of new studies and finds.

James T. Lang (University of Durham)

"The Distinctiveness of Viking Colonial Art"

Since the Viking colonies in Northern England, Man, Ireland, and Scotland
were historically a manifestation of Scandinavian expansion in the ninth and
tenth centuries, it has been customary to see the art styles of their artefacts
as a reflex of homeland taste in Norway and Denmark. The art of the colonies,
however, is distinctive from that of Scandinavia, for example in its predilection
for interlace patterns and its adoption of the insular art form of monumental
sculpture. Many motifs, hitherto regarded as ethnic indications of Scandinavian
presence, are likely to have evolved in an insular, more particularly Irish
context. An example is the vertebral ring-chain pattern which is a feature of
the cross-slabs of Caut Bjornssonon Man; the pattern is not exclusively
Scandinavian and its versions on Irish ecclesiastical metalwork are closer to
the Manx-Norse and Anglo-Scandinavian examples than the Borre style features
which are sometimes postulated as its immediate source.

Similarly, the so-called Jellinge beast, as Shetelig observed, has close
similarities to the profile fettered animals of insular manuscript painting and
metalwork. Rather than establishing stylistic origins and influences, it is more
useful to scrutinize the structure and composition of such ornament. Analysis
of decorative lay-out and methods of construction reveals the chief difference
between Scandinavian and colonial art. The sequence of Viking styles has
recently too much depended on metalwork artefacts which are so portable that
their provenance archaeologically may be far distant from their place of manufacture.
Manx and Anglo-Scandinavian taste, however, is firmly fixed by the stone carvings
which are heavily located by their weight in their original areas. Hence the
distribution and definition of provincial styles can be reliably refined. These
monuments were designed on insular principles and their ornamental repertoire
derives from the west rather than the north.

Just as the hoards from Britain and Ireland demonstrate a preference for
Celtic artefacts, such as certain types of penannular brooch, so the standing
monuments and decorative metalwork produced in the colonies display an eclectic

habit which served as a vehicle for Celtic styles. Quite pure Irish features appear in Northern England, probably imported by Norse-Irish settlers in the early tenth century. New movements resulted from the mixture of Viking, Anglian, and Irish elements whose harmony produced a distinctive artistic evolution. Perhaps the most important distinction between homeland and colony is the indisputably Christian character of the Viking sculpture, which pre-dates the Jelling stone of Harald Bluetooth, king of Christian Denmark, by a couple of generations.

Session 184: Literary Culture IV

Colin Chase (University of Toronto)

"Mary of Egypt and the Seven Holy Sleepers: A Methodological Inquiry"

These two Old English lives are among the few non-Ælfrician compositions to be found in BL Cotton Julius E.vii and Otho B.x. The OE life of Mary is closely dependent on a Latin life composed for Charles the Bald by the Neapolitan deacon Paul. The vernacular version of the Sleepers' legend, on the other hand, is much more loosely dependent on a tradition originating with the Syrian poet Jacob of Sarug in the early sixth century and translated into Latin by Gregory of Tours, among others.

The methodological focus of investigation is not to examine how sources can be established but to discover what we can learn from close comparison of versions of the same story. Depending on the relationship, the harvest can be lexical, syntactic, formulaic, historical, theological, archetypal, mystical. Examples of each can be developed from the traditions in which these two stories survive.

Thomas Hill (Cornell University)

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

The study of sources is a venerable feature of Anglo-Saxon literary scholarship, but source study has conventionally been done text by text and sometimes even passage by passage. It is the thesis of this paper that the scrupulous study of Old English texts in relationship to their known sources is a potentially revealing approach to the larger problem of Old English literary history, which I would define as the problem of ordering these texts, particularly the poetic ones, in relationship to each other with assurance and objectivity. I exemplify this procedure by considering a traditional question-- the relationship of Christ I, II, and III--in terms of source study. Christ I is a learned and allusive poem, reflecting a poetic intelligence steeped in orthodox Christian Latin literature and written for a relatively sophisticated audience. The sources of Christ II are like those of Christ I, orthodox Christian-Latin texts, but Christ II is a much more openly homiletic poem than Christ I. Cynewulf was prepared to instruct his audience, and expected little of them. And finally Christ III is similar to Christ II in being a relatively straightforward poem, but the eschatological lore of the poem is often drawn from apocryphal literature and shows affinities with rather exotic Irish and Irish-Latin eschatological speculation. Source study thus suggests that these three poems are really quite different and that their association in the Exeter Book is an essentially arbitrary and capricious one.

Session 209: Research Tools

Ashley Crandell Amos (University of Toronto)

"The Dictionary of Old English"

A dictionary is perhaps the most basic reference book for any scholarly
investigation involving linguistic records. Important questions in almost
every discipline turn on the interpretation of words. But if a dictionary
is to be authoritative it must be comprehensive, and the preparation of a
comprehensive dictionary requires a prior generation of catalogues--catalogues
of extant manuscripts and inscriptions, texts and records. The Dictionary of
Old English currently being prepared at Toronto is based on the entire corpus
of extant Old English only because of the existence of superb catalogues like
those of Ker, Sawyer, Marquardt, and Okasha. The Dictionary will be, in
every sense, a research tool based on other research tools, some pre-existent,
others prepared by the Dictionary staff in the course of their work. The
Microfiche Concordance to Old English, the Microfiche Concordance of the High
Frequency Words, and the bibliography of Old English word studies are working
documents, prepared because they were essential for the writing of the Dictionary,
and published in the hope that other scholars would use them to produce
semantic studies. Although a dictionary itself is a research tool par
excellence, it is written using the research of others.

Thomas Ohlgren (Purdue University)

"Index to Iconographic Subjects in Early English Manuscripts"

In the fields of Anglo-Saxon Studies, where scholars and teachers often
consider evidence drawn from collateral disciplines and media, there is the need
for access to the visual dimensions of culture. Given the relative paucity of
extant documents (some 30,000 lines of Old English poetry, for example, survive),
art may provide an important reflection of the values, attitudes, and tastes of
Anglo-Saxon society. Because of the ravages of time, religious zeal, and later
restoration, the monumental art forms--wall painting, mosaics, sculpture, and
stained glass--are often mere shadows of their former selves. Anglo-Saxon
manuscripts, by contrast, frequently preserve in excellent condition a visual
encyclopedia of subject matter of potential great interest to modern scholars
in many different disciplines. Access to the iconographic contents of Anglo-
Saxon illuminated manuscripts, until recently, has been hampered by the lack of
a systematic, complete, and portable research tool.

This paper will report on the collaborative efforts of a team of eleven
scholars in various disciplines--art history, codicology, paleography, Old
English language and literature, history, and history of science--to create a
systematic inventory of and indices to the iconography of at least 232 early
English illuminated manuscripts produced in the British Isles during the
Anglo-Saxon period, circa 690 to 1100.

The proposed research tool consists of two parts. First, a listing of
manuscripts, made-up of the following categories of information: a) city,
library, and shelfmark; b) author (if known) and title (or type); c) date;
d) place of origin; e) size in millimeters; and f) iconographic contents
arranged by folio number. The second part will consist of indices to: cities,

libraries, and shelfmarks; authors; dates; places of origin; and, most importantly, iconographic contents. Since the inventory will be accompanied by a comprehensive photo-bibliography, researchers and teachers in a variety of humanistic disciplines with access to a university or college library will be able to locate photographic reproductions of many of the illuminations in readily-accessible published books and journals. Also, since the Index will be broadly interdisciplinary in scope, an elaborate cross-reference system, anticipating the needs and interests of scholars in different disciplines, will be constructed. Such a referential network, consisting of broad subject headings, see and see also references, will enable researchers, perhaps unfamiliar with more specialized iconographic terms, to locate specific illuminations relevant to their individual fields of study. The proposed research tool, then, is a key that will unlock the extremely rich pictorial contents of early English illuminated manuscripts, vital to a full understanding of Anglo-Saxon culture.

By the time of the Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture, we hope to be able to report on the funding status of the project, the considerable progress made to date (232 manuscripts have received preliminary description and indexing), and the work remaining to be accomplished. Finally, we hope to receive additional contributions and suggestions for improving the project.

Rosemary Cramp (University of Durham)

"Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Sculpture"

This presentation will be a general discussion and overview of the Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Sculpture. The Corpus intends to provide illustrations and drawings of all the sculpture extant as well as detailed descriptions and complete measurements. Supported by the British Academy, the volumes will have an emphasis beyond archaeology for they will contain discussions of non-figural decorations and iconography, and introductory essays placing the various pieces in the tradition of sculpture. For the first time scholars will have available both individual objects and a consideration of their place in a tradition.

Session 233: Interdisciplinary Approaches: Dream of the Rood

S.D. McEntire (Cornell University)

"Ruthwell and Bewcastle: the Devotional Context"

Since the finding of the true cross by Helena, the cross has traditionally had a vital place in the spirituality of Christians. Patristic commentary, and iconographic and literary sources all indicate the importance of the cross in the final redemptive act of Christ at the end of time. There are, however, further aspects of the devotional and spiritual importance of the cross directly relative to the life of the Celtic monks who served as the primary force in the conversion of England. The cross was not only a symbol of Christ's receptive act, but it was also central to whole concept of the peregrinatio which resulted in insular missionary activity. The cross was a symbol which prefigured the dimensions of the universe whereby the four cardinal points were joined in a unique center. Precisely because of the consuetudine peregrinandi, the cross was the impetus to missionary and catechetical activity. The image most closely connected with this concept is the ship, the navis crucis, by means of which the peregrini went out to isolated hermitage, sister monastery, and pagan wilder-

ness alike. This paper is an attempt to examine the devotion of the cross as dynamic participation in the saving activity of Christ. The Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses continue even today to evoke this understanding.

Robert T. Farrell (Cornell University)

"Reflections on the Iconography of the Ruthwell Cross"

The interpretation of the individual scenes on the Ruthwell Cross and on the west face of the Bewcastle Cross presents some difficulties, in large part because both monuments have been damaged, and inscriptions, which may have clearly identified the panels, are now lost to us. At present there is a lively scholarly controversy over the interpretation of the figure holding the Agnus Dei, which appears on both monuments.

The greatest difficulty in dealing with the Ruthwell Cross lies in the interpretation of the sequence of iconography, and the placement of each panel of figural sculpture into a cohesive whole. This paper will put forward arguments on the sequence based on a new examination of the present reconstruction of that much defaced monument, and on recent archaeological research and scholarship, which make clear the importance of the Irish church on the formation of the spiritual and intellectual heritage of the church in England. The notion of a series of possible interpretations of the iconographical schema will be discussed. In my view the Ruthwell Cross was intended to have impact on the educated Christian, while a more complex and recondite understanding of the monuments was enjoyed by the members of the monastic community with which the cross has been linked.

Éamonn Ó Carragáin (University of Cork)

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

Early medieval monks saw liturgical practice, private devotion and theological reflection as complemetary activities within the monastic life. Thus, the AGNUS DEI (on Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses) was used in private devotion, while in the liturgy it was associated with (a) baptism (b) the eucharist and (c) the Last Judgment. Similarly, PAUL AND ANTHONY (Ruthwell) stood both as exemplars of the eremetic life and of eucharistic practice. Which contexts are "realized" in the programs of the crosses?

The primary problem of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses is, what were they for? In the Roman liturgy, the Papal ceremonies of the Easter vigil at St. John Lateran culminated in the Chapel of the Holy Cross where the neophytes were confirmed. The sacraments administered during the Easter vigil (Baptism, Eucharist, Confirmation) are reflected in the programs of the Ruthwell Cross (all three sacraments) and of Bewcastle (the Eucharist). Could the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses have been used as the equivalents of "chapels of the Holy Cross" for their communities?

Other Sessions

(not all abstracts were available)

Session 6: Symposium on Gestures and Motion in Medieval Literature etc.

Robert L. Kindrick (Western Illinois University)

"Gesture as Rhetoric and Wisdom in Beowulf"

Germanic and Christian traditions of wisdom converge in Beowulf. The poem's definition of wisdom is summarized in Hrothgar's sermon after the defeat of Grendel and Grendel's Dam, and it includes Christian trust and patience, political obligation, personal restraint, rhetorical capabilities, and a sense of tactics and strategy. These elements of philosophy and theology establish the ethical framework against which Beowulf's actions must be judged.

Throughout the poem the Beowulf-poet reinforces these values through the hero's actions. From Beowulf's greeting to the coastguard through his return through Hygelac's court, Beowulf's gestures and actions reflect this extended definition of wisdom. In his final battle with the firedrake, Beowulf is confronted with the tension between two of the elements in the poem's definition of wisdom--political obligation and a sense of tactics. In choosing to fight the firedrake, Beowulf takes a symbolic act which shows the preeminence given to political considerations in the poem's definition of wisdom.

Session 38: Computer Techniques II

Antonette diPaolo Healey (University of Toronto)

"The Addition of Lexical Variants to the Computer Corpus of the
Dictionary of Old English"

The corpus of Old English consists of around three million running words. Its texts are quite diverse, ranging from poetry to prose, from secular to religious material, from legal to scientific writings, from occasional glosses to full interlinear glosses to Latin texts, from runic to non-runic inscriptions. Initially, we defined the Old English corpus as including approximately 2000 texts which were entered into the computer and concorded, thus providing a comprehensive data base for Old English lexicographical work (See Venezky and Healey, A Microfiche Concordance to Old English). Some of these texts exist in multiple manuscripts, however, and we are now gathering variants of lexicographical interest from manuscripts not included in the computer corpus.

For the Dictionary's purposes a lexical variant is defined as any word which would be placed under a headword different from the headword given to a spelling found in the control manuscript. At the moment, we are not concerned with noting omissions in the text and differences in morphology and syntax. In the first part of this paper I will discuss why the lexical variants are important, the kinds of information they provide, and the size of the problem (i.e. some variant manuscripts were included initially in the computer corpus and others were not). In the second part of the paper, I will discuss how we have gathered the variants and the winnowing process they have undergone. The important decision taken at

this stage was to make the system of reference used in recording the variants reflect the system of reference for our Dictionary citations so that the variants can be incorporated smoothly into the computer corpus. Finally, I will discuss the various methods we are experimenting with to input these variants into the computer corpus, and the ways we would like to manipulate the material to provide the information most useful to lexicographers. Such information would possibly include (1) lists of words thought of as synonyms or near synonyms, (2) preferences in vocabulary in the Old English dialects, (3) preferences in vocabulary in certain scriptoria (Winchester, Canterbury, York, and possibly Abingdon).

Session 41: Editing Old English Prose

Peter S. Baker (Emory University)

"Editing Byrhtferth's _Enchiridion_"

This paper will be in part a progress report on the edition of Byrhtferth's _Enchiridion_ now being prepared by Michael Lapidge and myself. It would seem proper to discuss the project under the broad headings of text and sources, but in practice nearly every discovery of a new source necessitates one or more changes in our text, so it is impossible to separate problems of text from those of sources. For example, in his edition, Crawford emended a passage derived from Bede's _De Arte Metrica_ so as to make it conform to Giles's edition of Bede's works. But a look at C.W. Jones' new edition of _De Arte Metrica_ reveals that Byrhtferth consulted a manuscript far superior to that printed by Giles, so there is little need for editorial intervention in Byrhtferth's discussion of meter: Crawford's emendations in fact introduced a number of corruptions into his text.

Of late there has been much discussion, by Bruce Mitchell, Helmut Gneuss, Malcolm Godden, and others, of such questions as whether the editor should modernize capitalization and punctuation, how an apparatus should be arranged and what it should contain, and what an introduction should discuss. We believe that it is impossible to generalize: every text demands a different editorial procedure. This paper will present some of our decisions on these matters and our reasons for deciding as we have done.

David Yerkes (Columbia University)

"Doing a Diplomatic Edition of a Unique, Badly Damaged Copy:
MS. Cotton Otho A.viii of the Old English _Life of Machutus_"

Before the fire of 1731 the anonymous Old English translation of Bili's _Vita sancti Machutis_ (Malo) comprised fols. 43-86 of Cotton Otho A.viii. Frederic Madden had the twenty-eight scorched and shriveled surviving leaves inlaid and rebound in June 1846 as fols. 7-34 of the codex (Ker no. 168). An editor of the translation should reproduce as nearly as possible, not just these leaves, but also those of the two copies of the Latin original, to enable readers to restore (or test the editor's restoration of) the Old English material missing on every page.

The Old English diplomatic text should follow the manuscript line by line, page by page, retaining manuscript accents, punctuation, abbreviations (or expanding them in italic), capitals, illumination (in boldface), and word division. Slanting lines should enclose superscript or squeezed-in letters; angle brackets, anything lost or illegible, with a dot for each minim of space. In the introduction or critical apparatus belong accounts of all abbreviations, illumination, letter forms, corrections or erasures, as well as an indication of when additional letters or words may have come at the end of a line.

So the Latin diplomatic texts, except for the angle brackets and dots, since the two Latin manuscripts survive intact.

Finally, reader-restorers will find invaluable a complete glossary, with normalized word division, in which the corresponding Latin reading(s) accompany each Old English form. An index to all the Latin forms given in the glossary rounds out the edition.

Allen J. Frantzen (Loyola University of Chicago)

"Re-examining the Archetype of the Old English Scriftboc"

Few Old English prose texts are more inaccessible, in nearly every sense of the term, than that published by Robert Spindler as the "Pseudo-Egbert Confessionale" (which I have restored to the title "Scrift-boc"). The genre itself, the penitential handbook, is obscure, and copies of Spindler's edition are difficult to find in most libraries. But the greatest obstacle is the edition itself. Spindler required 176 pages to introduce a 27-page text loaded with variant readings and Latin parallels, adopted somewhat uncritically from secondary studies and editions which were already out of date. But this was not all. Faced with three manuscripts of unequal length which arranged the chapters of the text differently, Spindler not only disregarded the two manuscripts which he classified as corrupt [Cambridge, CCC 190; Bodl. Laud. Misc. 482], but rearranged the sequence of chapters in his base manuscript, Oxford, Bodl. Junius 121.

Spindler's guide in this reorganization of the manuscript evidence was a hypothetical Latin archetype. However, no Latin handbook now known even remotely resembles the form of the OE Scriftboc, although the chapters themselves derive from a wide variety of Latin handbooks, both English and continental. I have chosen to present all three manuscripts. Rather than dismiss the other versions, both of which occur in important eleventh century codices, I hope to discover a logic behind their apparent selection and reorganization of the text in Junius 121. My objective is not to recover a hypothetical text but to discover what the surviving manuscripts can tell us about a text with an unusually complex editorial history and about the methods of the scribes who copied it.

Session 79: The Insular System of Scripts

T. Julian Brown (University of London King's College)

"The Insular System of Scripts (600-850)"

This paper will consider the following:

1. Older definitions. The middle ages; 16th- and 17th-century antiquaries; Mabillon; Wanley; Astle; O'Conor.

2. Recent definitions. Traube; Lindsay; Lowe.

3. New departures. The grading of Gothic cursiva: G.I. Lieftinck, "Pour une nomenclature de l'écriture livresque de la période dite Gothique," in Nomenclature des Écritures livresques du XIe an XVIe Siecle (Paris, C.N.R.S., 1954).

4. <u>Phases</u> <u>of</u> <u>development</u>. Phase I (to circa 700) in Ireland and England; Phase II (from <u>circa</u> 700) predominantly in England.

5. <u>Nationality</u> <u>and</u> <u>Type</u>. Validity of "Irish" and "Anglo-Saxon" as subdivisions of "Insular." Existence of local types of minuscule in England: Type A (Northumbrian), Type B (Southumbrian).

6. <u>Grades</u> <u>of</u> <u>Anglo-Saxon</u> <u>script</u> <u>in</u> <u>Phase</u> <u>II</u>. Current, cursive, set and hybrid minuscule; half-uncial and display half-uncial; display capitals.

7. <u>Grades</u> <u>of</u> <u>Irish</u> <u>and</u> <u>early</u> <u>Anglo-Saxon</u> <u>script</u> <u>in</u> <u>Phase</u> <u>I</u>. Cursive and set minuscule; half-uncial (or hybrid minuscule).

8. <u>Insular</u> <u>half-uncial</u> <u>and</u> <u>Late</u> <u>Antique</u> <u>half-uncial</u>.

Session 135: The Advent Lyrics: Aspects of their Unity

David Campbell (Portland, Oregon)

"The <u>Advent</u>-Poet's Alien Imaginative Temper"

This paper discusses the <u>Advent</u> <u>Lyrics</u> and their unity with reference to several passages that involve images of vastness. These contrast significantly to the "closed" mode of the poem—passages employing metaphors of containment and limitation. The tension between "open" descriptions of the world and "closed" doctrinal material may be one cause for our sense of this poet's "alien imaginative temper" (Rosemary Woolf).

In the extant fragment of Division I the architectural metaphor from the poem's antiphonal source is expanded from the original "corner-stone" to indicate a structure that is vast in both size and renown. Likewise in Division V the original metaphoric reference to the rising sun is amplified with references to further astronomical features. Christ becomes bright beyond the stars and is said to illumine all the seasons. In both cases, as elsewhere in the sequence, the vernacular expansion of antiphonal material indicates stunning conceptions of vast spaces within the physical world.

This imagery contrasts sharply with the stifling conditions indicated in the doctrinal passages which conclude the divisions. In Division V God's creation is covered with smoke and enfolded in sin. A typical image of containment or closure is the gate of heaven observed by "Esais" in Division IX. It is wound with bands, firmly bolted, and always closed. The doctrinal point is that man has access to eternity only through God. Even here there is a momentary sense of vastness as Ezekiel surveys the whole dwelling place of life, but this perspective is only glimpsed and the "closed" metaphor dominates.

The unity of divisions at times seems to be jeopardized rather than enhanced by this contrast. One example of the tension between the poet's conceptions of vastness and his doctrinal message is found in Division III. The "O Jerusalem" antiphon implores the city to look toward the coming of Christ. Whether Jerusalem is seen to symbolize the temporal Church, the eternal home, the Virgin Mary, or some other exegetical counterpart, the poet's expansion seems peculiar:

Sioh nu sylfa þa geond   þas sidan gesceaft
swylce rodores hrof   rume geondwlitan
ymb healf gehwone . . .   (59-61)

The poet's insistence that Jerusalem be aware of the vastness of creation and
the wideness of the sky is out of character with the passages that describe
believers confined in darkness or, as here in Division III, bound. My conclusion
indicates that these "alien" passages in Christ I need not have an exotic source.
They instead could result from the interaction of Anglo-Saxon descriptive
practice and the philosophical "elevation" of Christian theology.

Douglas Moffat (University of Western Ontario)

"Manuscript Divisions and the Unity and Development of the Advent Lyrics"

A good deal of energy and intuition has been expended in the search for a
unifying structure of the Advent Lyrics, but insufficient attention has been paid
to what the manuscript itself might reveal about such a structure. Specifically,
no attempt has as yet been made to see whether the sectional division of the
first 439 lines of the Exeter Book might not yield some clues to the larger unity
of the Lyrics, though sectional division has been investigated in regards to
structure with some success in other Old English poems.

This paper will attempt to show that there is a thematic structure and devel-
opment in the Lyrics that is revealed when they are studied in the five sections
established by the large capitals in the manuscript. It is my contention that an
examination both of these sections individually and of their relations to one
another can serve to demonstrate with some precision the way in which the poet
combines expressions of man's joy at the prospect of salvation, a theme that all
commentators have recognized to be central to the poem, with the theme of exile
and sorrow that Greenfield pointed out thirty years ago. In the first two
sections which contain three lyrics each, there is a movement from expressions
of the theme of exile in Lyrics I and II to joy in Lyrics III and IV to renewed
expressions of exile and sorrow in Lyrics V and VI. This movement is repeated in
the third and fourth sections: in Lyrics VII and X the focus on exile predominates
while in VIII and IX, though exilic diction certainly does occur, the focus is
primarily on joy. However, in the final three sections of the poem, the lyrics
expressing the theme of salvation become increasingly long compared to their
sorrowful counterparts so that by Lyric XI joyful expectation overcomes sorrow, and
in Lyric XII the sense of exile is all but gone.

Eric Dahl (University of Washington)

"Criticism and the Old English Advent: Four Kinds of Coherence"

Scholars have discussed the unity of Christ I in terms of its recurrent themes
(joy and exile), its genre (part of an epic or a collection of lyrics), its
dependence on liturgical sources, and with reference to apparent typological
patterns. This discussion briefly assesses these descriptions and offers a new
view that addresses several unresolved questions. The coherence of Christ I
has to do with its presiding voice, which restates the antiphons underlying each
division; introduces such speakers as Mary, God, the angels and believers; and
indicates the importance of these within God's larger design. This view has points

in common with the work of Marius Sepet, who discussed the dramatic potential indicated by the lectio/response pattern in the liturgy and identified a central speaker (la voix de l'Église) there and in such early dramas as the Mystère d'Adam. Just as Catherine Dunn considered Sepet's conclusions with reference to her study of the much later Townley Plays, this paper applies them to the voice structure of Christ I. They are particularly useful for understanding the importance of Division VII, a dialogue between Joseph and Mary that has caused difficulty in previous attempts to describe the unity of Christ I. This section was once considered the earliest drama in English, a claim for which there is still some basis. The paper concludes with speculations about the use that Christ I might have had in an English religious establishment during the decades prior to its transcription in the Exeter Book.

Session 143: Priests, Magnates, and Landholding in Late-Saxon England

Karen Louise Jolly (University of California-Santa Barbara)

"Parish Priests in Late Saxon England"

In the eleventh century a wide gap in education, behavior, and social position existed between the primarily monastic episcopacy and the lower secular clergy, who were sometimes isolated from the church administration. The parish priests not only assumed through their office the duties and responsibilities of ecclesiastical tradition as passed on and amplified by their reforming superiors, but they also inherited the legacy of local custom--the Christian traditions which had developed since the conversion of England. Ælfric and Wulfstan initiated a reform movement, in the tradition of their predecessors Dunstan, Oswald and Æthelwold, among the lower clergy in order to eliminate this physical and spiritual gap between minster and parish clergy that had occurred in the development of the church structure in Anglo-Saxon England.

These two monk-bishops sought to reform the clergy through laws, canons, letters, and synods in two areas. In Wulfstan's words, priests were to "bodian and bysnian," teach and set an example. In learning, there was a vast difference between a minster priest who spent many hours a day reading and a parish priest who spent many hours a day ploughing. Morally, the reformers were concerned that the clergy were too involved in secular life, but they were concerned especially with celibacy.

The documents of Wulfstan and Ælfric make it clear that they were attempting to bring the clergy up to reformed, even monastic, standards. However, the village priest was far removed from their influence and had his own way of life. He was the "ealdwita," the "old one who knows" in the village; he had remedies for both spiritual and physical ills; he often performed some charms as well as liturgical remedies. Thus, the priest was a repository for both church knowledge and customary practices. More than their minster brethren, village priests were peers of their parishioners, assuming the role of the intermediary with God yet following the same lifestyle as any other villager. Ælfric's and Wulfstan's efforts were unable in one generation to break traditions which had existed for centuries. The needs of the community rather than monastic ideals influenced the character of the parish church, resulting in a cultural and spiritual distance between reformers and the parish priest.

Katharin R. Mack (University of California-Santa Barbara)

"The Case of the Missing Ealdormen: Cnut's Conquest and the Anglo-Saxon Aristocracy"

The impact of the Norman Conquest remains a central historical issue. England, however, was conquered twice in the eleventh century, and the full extent of Cnut's conquest in 1016 has not yet been recognized. Cnut's accession to the throne, like William the Conqueror's, was accompanied by alterations in the administrative organization and aristocratic personnel. Perhaps the most striking change was Cnut's decision to put an end to the use of ealdormen, instituting in their place four great administrative districts presided over by earls. The concentration of previous studies on the creation of the earldoms is understandable but insufficient.

Between the death of Æthelred in 1016 and the end of the first year of Cnut's reign in 1017, the Chroniclers mention the division of England into earldoms in one brief sentence, while the bulk of their narrative is devoted to the description of the battles, treachery, and revenge which resulted in the deaths of (in the words of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle) "...all the flower of the English nobility." Indeed from the Battle of Ringemere in 1010 to Cnut's departure for Denmark in 1019, the narratives record innumerable battles and describe a similar tale of aristocratic death. Even allowing for monastic exaggeration, these entries, coupled with the notices of Cnut's and Edmund Ironside's frequent forays and systematic purges suggest a devastation of the English aristocracy which rivaled the events of 1066.

Despite this tale of extermination, historians have emphasized the overall continuity of the Saxon institutions and aristocracy. Based on the Chronicles and to some degree on diplomatic and linguistic evidence, they have argued that Cnut did not reward large numbers of his Scandinavian followers with lands; only a handful of foreign earls and houscarles received such grants. Indeed Domesday Book, which records the owner and value of nearly all estates in the England of 1066, discloses the existence of an elite thanely aristocracy whose wealth and configurations of landholding could not have been created in a single generation. Or was it? The aristocracy of 1066 could be new without being foreign. It is the purpose of this paper to explore this potential change in aristocratic personnel and its effect on eleventh century England.

Robin Fleming (University of California-Santa Barbara)

"Monastic Lands and the Defense of Anglo-Saxon England"

The narrative sources for England after Bede are confined to several terse chronicles, a handful of later histories, three royal biographies, and a few saints' lives. Not surprisingly, the reigns of Alfred and his heirs are obscure. The narratives give us a general notion of West Saxon military success and consolidation, but little more. Consequently, Anglo-Saxonists have been forced to rely on the less eloquent evidence of numismatics, toponymics, diplomatics, and archaeology. A reconstruction of Anglo-Saxon landscape and landholding could further add to our knowledge of the period, although such an undertaking has never been attempted. A careful study of the ancient landscape can provide us with the roads and waterways of Anglo-Saxon England as well as strategic holdings and areas vulnerable to attack. The boundaries between many of the ancient kingdoms and diocese can be redrawn, and the marchland between English and Danish lordship can be located. Our

knowledge of this physical and political geography is further enhanced by Domesday Book, which provides a comprehensive record of landholding on the eve of the Norman Conquest, and by some 1,700 Old English wills, charters, and writs, which enable us to uncover the pre-Conquest histories of many estates in England. This evidence, when scrutinized throughout England, and across the entire Saxon period not only preserves a record of West Saxon success, but illuminates the mechanics behind West Saxon ascendancy. By tracing the lands of early monasteries into the Viking Age and beyond, we can examine one important factor which enabled the House of Cerdic to survive and indeed thrive in an age which generally treated kingship so poorly.

Session 167: Issues in Teaching Medieval Civilization I

Helen Damico (University of New Mexico-Albuquerque)

"Using the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle"

The importance of including the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the syllabus of any course in Medieval Culture is apparent to any medievalist. It is not only a historically significant document, but a valuable repository of linguistic forms, literary genres, and moving English prose. It is, nonetheless, equally clear that as a text, it is difficult to teach to the undergraduate.

One difficulty stems from what it leaves unsaid, a state of affairs that is related directly to its genre. The task of an annalist is neither to describe events, nor to relate them to other similar occurrences, nor to offer explanations for their cause or consequence. His task is simply to record events. Hence, there are entire sections of the Chronicle that are cryptic and factual with little or no continuity between entries, so that the student is very often faced with entries of this nature:

> 831 (834). In this year archbishop Ceolnoth received the pallium.
> 832 (835). In this year the heathen devastated Sheppey.

The above is an exaggeration. Many of the entries (the later ones, in particular) are extended narrations and developed portraitures, but on the whole the student is largely faced with material that can be likened to a prompt script with great lacunae of event and characters, and with no stage directions relating motivations of action. The task for the teacher is to give the event three-dimensionality, a result that can be achieved by approaching the event from different perspectives. The entry for 870 (869), as an example, could be treated quite well in this manner. One would begin by explicating the passage by posing questions that would give reality to terms and concepts that appear in the entry. In this particular, which deals with the host overrunning Thetford and the slaughter of Edmund, questions will be raised regarding the nature and size of the host; the quality and variety of their equipment; and the geographical span being discussed. The event will then be presented as it treated in two other disciplines, in illuminated manuscripts which relate the story of Ivar the Boneless and Edmund, and in Ælfric's St. Edmund, a saint's life. By treating the Chronicle in this manner, one is placing it in its cultural and artistic milieu, and in the process of focusing and refocusing on a particular event, one begins to invest it with volume and dimension. The response from the student is involvement and familiarity. What was fragmented and foreign has become whole and personal.

Session 174: Manuscript Studies II

Stephen F. Vincent (Georgia State University)

"The Library of St. Swithun's, Winchester, during
the Anglo-Saxon and Norman Periods"

There have been many studies of the libraries of English cathedrals and
larger independent monasteries. However, to date, there has been none for the
cathedral priory of St. Swithun's, Winchester. The primary reason for this is
the lack of documents relating to the history of the library. Fewer than
seventy-five manuscripts dating to the twelfth century or earlier survive, no
catalog exists for the library, and virtually no mention of the library appears
in other records of the priory.

The objective of this research is to trace the history of the library from
its origins through the century following the Norman Conquest and to reconstruct
its collection at that time. An analysis has been made of lists of surviving
books and of works which could be identified through other primary and secondary
sources. A study was also made of the careers of bishops, priors, and other
scholars known to have worked at St. Swithun's. Catalogs of other twelfth cen-
tury monastic libraries were compared with the works identified in the study,
in order to determine how St. Swithun's may have differed from other libraries
of the period.

Session 190: Translation and Transmission of Learning in English Prose

William Kretzschmar (University of Wisconsin-Whitewater)

"Translation and Adaptation in the Old English Orosius"

After Janet Bately's recent edition of OEO many questions about what the
translator did to his source have been answered; the question now must be why
he did what he did. As one of those books "most necessary for men to know"
Orosius, one may assume, had value for the kind of book it was (history), for its
contents (deeds), and for itself (its particular selection and interpretation of
material). The translator's radical adaptation, then, should preserve what was
necessary in the view of Alfred's circle; one may speculate that the translator
adapted what he kept the better for his audience to know it. The medieval concep-
tion of history as deeds in sequence, to be read for exemplary instruction, did
not match what Orosius tried to do, and the medieval conception dictate changes so
that the substance of Orosius would be understood by the Anglo-Saxon audience:
elimination of Orosian polemic and rhetoric concentration on deeds, explanation of
obscure facets of culture, and creation of exemplary structures according to
typical exemplary modes of knowing. While many particular differences between
Orosius and OEO can be explained in these ways, the large-scale omissions and
massive condensations were likely carried out in response to a particular need of
Alfred's circle: documentation of the causal chain of events and kingdoms which
led to ninth-century England, from which one might derive a Providential pattern
analogous to that provided by Orosius for Rome. OEO offers the early links in
the chain; Bede's Ecclesiastical History and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the other
two vernacular histories produced at the time, complement OEO, and carry the chain
to Alfred's court and, for posterity, beyond.

News and Notes on Archaeology

Robert T. Farrell

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Conferences and Exhibits - Past and Future

We have a full house on this front, both with regard to meetings now passed, and future events. It seems best to start with what is to come.

This year's conference at Western Michigan, surely the largest in the field of Medieval Studies, will have a series of meetings on archaeology, in conjunction with the extensive program on the contexts of Anglo-Saxon literature. The new Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Sculpture will be introduced, as well as the Ruthwell/ Bewcastle cross separate publication. Speakers will include Rosemary Cramp and James Lang (Durham), Signé Fuglesang (Oslo), and Patrick Wormald (Glasgow).

On 21-22 October, CEMERS at SUNY-Binghamton will have its Seventeenth Annual Conference on Medieval Archaeology. Peter Addyman (York Archaeological Trust), David Whitehouse (British School at Rome) and George Bass of the Institute for Nautical Archaeology (Texas A.&M.) are among the speakers.

As 1984 marks the death of Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, who was at the forefront of the greatest period of Anglo-Saxon art, the British Museum and Library will combine forces for an exhibition under the title "The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art, 966-1066." The exhibit will be designed so that the history of the art of the period will be set in broader intellectual, religious, political, and economic contexts. In the fall of 1983, the Bryggen Museum at Bergen, Norway will host a conference on waterfront archaeology. (The Bryggen Museum is also one of the most striking in Scandinavia, for the seafront, late Viking through medieval, is reconstructed virtually in situ.) The dates are 23-25 September.

Conferences and Exhibits, Past

Space does not permit listing of all conferences for the year; only those of which the reviewer has direct information, or which are published or about to be, will be dealt with here.

St. Gall Exhibit and Jarrow Lecture

Just as the publication of The Plan of St. Gall by Walter Horn and Ernest Born was a major event in 1979, the St. Gall Exhibit, mounted by Pro Helvetia and the University of California was of great importance in England. The exhibit was, however, rather more controversial. There could have been no better setting than Jarrow Hall, for one was able to view the St. Gall material in the context of Bede's monastery. But the Jarrow material is so elegantly displayed, so well captioned that the St. Gall plan suffered by comparison. Not only were the scale models of St. Gall rather dead (they were cut out of a plain light wood, and often shown as solid blocks), but the captions were inordinately wordy. The Jarrow Lecture for this year, however, was quite another matter.

The task of giving the Jarrow Lecture is one of the most demanding in the archaeological profession, for the lecturer must not only provide new and important insights on Bede and his times, but he must also make his presentation interesting for those who attend the lectures as members of the parish, to whom Bede and his times are of special interest. On 21 May 1982, Malcom Parkes of Oxford satisfied and informed both of these groups in an account of the compilation and script of the Leningrad Bede. By a fascinating and convincing chain of evidence, Parkes showed that the manuscript was a "make up" of a defective copy to meet the pressing need of more manuscripts from the Wearmouth/Jarrow scriptorium. It appears that the last part of the manuscript, with its elegant, formal script was left from an earlier, defective copy, and that those who made up the missing sections did so in a greatly simplified script, which made possible a much more economical and efficient use both of scribes and vellum. Once again, we remind readers that they can subscribe to the Jarrow Lecture Series and order back copies through the Jarrow Church itself.

The Devonshire Archaeological Society meeting in Exeter in Fall, 1982 to honor Dr. Raleigh Radford, has been published as The Early Church in Western Britain and Ireland; Susan Pearce is the editor. The volume can be obtained through BAR, 122 Banbury Road, Oxford OX2 7BP, England.

From 16 September to 14 November 1982, the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York held an exhibit on Icelandic Sagas, Eddas, and Art. The exhibit was of very great importance, for it was the first loan of any Icelandic manuscript out of the country. Her Excellency Viǵdis Finbogadöttir, President of Iceland, opened the Exhibit. A small but excellent catalogue was produced, by Jonas Kristjansson et al., which covered various aspects of the items on display. The catalogue is an important little volume which the Morgan is no longer stocking—news on how to get it will appear in OEN as it becomes available.

Society for Medieval Archaeology

The annual meeting of the Society for Medieval Archaeology was held at Kilkenny, Ireland on 2-9 April last year. Michael Ryan's report on the Derrynavlan Hoard was the most exciting. The hoard consists of a chalice, a paten, a strainer and a large bronze bowl, much decayed, which helped to preserve the major pieces in very good condition indeed. As both the paten and the chalice are currently disassembled and undergoing conservation at the British Museum, Mr. Ryan was able to tell us a good deal about the complex and accomplished construction of the pieces. The rim of the paten, for example, consisted of a number of segments of a circle, notched and lettered for ease of assembly. Since the letter K is used, as well as more normal first uncial letters, one must assume that a literate Christian had a hand in its making. The paten is richly decorated, with a series of round design features sewed on to its upper surface. This process has only recently become known, and the masters who made the paten and chalice were extremely skilled in this delicate and complex technique. Space permits only a few words on the chalice. It is very similar to Ardagh, though disassembly and x-ray make it clear that the artisans who crafted the Derrynavlan chalice had greater mastery of their art. While the connection between cup, neck and base on Ardagh did not fit together well enough, and a lead filler had to be used to stabilize construction, the Derrynavlan craftsman needed to resort to no such make-up work. Another major structural difference is the extensive use of

amber on Ardagh. Mr. Ryan and his colleagues are preparing the definitive publication of the work which should be out in the course of 1983.

Miss Nancy Edwards gave a talk on "The Early Crosses of Ossory," and extended her commentary during a site-visit to the early medieval crosses at Kilree and Ahenny. She links the Ossory group with Aberlemnoe 2 and 3, and Ahenny North. Aberlemnoe is a Scottish monument, and Edwards sees many parallels between Scottish (including Pictish) crosses and the Irish examples, though each grouping of course has distinctive techniques and details. Iona is a key to the dissemination, and Edwards would even suggest that "Hiberno-Saxon" is an appropriate term under which to discuss all of these monuments. Tantalizingly, she does not think it possible to determine which way the influences ran.

New Publications

Two new journals dealing with things Celtic have produced their first issues, Peritia, Journal of the Medieval Academy of Ireland, and Eile, Journal of the Roscrea Heritage Society. Peritia has no art historical or archaeological papers in the first issue, but at least one is to appear in Volume Two. Eile is published by the Roscrea Heritage Society and sells for £5 Irish (circa $8.00), and can be obtained by writing Mr. George Cunningham, Chairman of the Society, at Heritage Centre, Damer Annexe, Roscrea, Co. Tipperary. Several items from the first issue will be reviewed in this year's YWOES. Readers will also do well to keep in mind C.R. Dodwell's Anglo-Saxon Art: A New Perspective (Ithaca, 1982), and Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter, ed. H. Löwe (publ. E. Klett, D-7000, Stuttgart 1, Rotebühlstr. 77), a staggering two-volume compendium which offers almost fifty important essays in its thousand-plus pages, a good third of which deal with culture/art history/archaeology. The Royal Commission of the Ancient and Medieval Monuments has produced volume 4, Iona. The massive volume covers all of the monuments of that sacred place, with very exciting newly discovered fragments of the early crosses restored to the original monuments. The book costs £45 plus postage, and can be obtained from H.M. Stationery Office, 13a Castle St., Edinburgh, EH2 3AR, Scotland. The first volume of the Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Sculpture is now in press. This is an event of the first importance, for all stone crosses, funerary monuments and architectural details will be included. Rosemary Cramp deals with Durham and Northumberland in Volume One. R.N. Bailey will do Cumbria, James Lang and C.D. Morris will do Yorkshire in subsequent volumes.

One item causes a very great sense of loss. For fifteen years now, the Council for British Archaeology has produced British Archaeological Abstracts, a series of precis produced in two volumes each year, and the Archaeological Bibliography. The 1983 volume (for 1980) will appear, but that is the end-of-run. BAA will therefore have to handle both jobs, a task which can only be accomplished by reducing very substantially the depth of indexing.

In the Field: Sutton Hoo and Elsewhere

Readers will no doubt want to know first about this most famous site, of which news this year is both good, and bad. The bad news is that one of the unexcavated mounds has been cut into by digging a pit 10x6x14 feet. As the edges were carefully cut, so that strata could be observed, there was some notion at first that a very careful treasure hunter did the job, but it is now rumored that the pit may have been some kind of hunting blind. Given this wretched blow, the good news is that there is a five-year plan for an archaeological unit to carry on excavations. The

British Museum will take responsibility for the work, in conjunction with other agencies; a more detailed report will be given in the next News and Notes on this exciting and long sought after venture.

Though the scarcity of evidence for our period can be frustrating, the corollary is that the finding of a single object changes the picture radically. The helmet found in York in the spring of 1982 is such a case, for we now have three helmets from pre-milennial England, the other two being Sutton Hoo and Benty Grange. The new helmet did not come from the Coppergate site directly, but was recovered under a watching brief on a nearby construction site. The piece was found in a square, lined pit cut into the natural, which may have been a well; at any rate, the piece was full of mud when recovered which may have helped its preservation. It is constructed of iron plates and an iron headband, and copper-alloy strips. It appears to have had bird figures over the eyes, a mail skirt at the back, and it has an inscription, currently read as OSHERE. It probably is a seventh century piece. More details in our next News and Notes.

The Canterbury Pendant

This splendid piece, which several authorities including Mrs. Leslie Webster of the British Museum have described as the finest piece of Anglo-Saxon jewelry since Sutton Hoo, is a classic example of the early Kentish technique of gold with gold filigree and inlaid garnets. It is painfully ironic that the piece was found in an excavation with no funding either from the city of Canterbury or the DOE, even though the site is owned by the City Council. Tim Tatton-Brown continues excavation in the area, despite lack of funding.

Saxon Palaces (?) at Northampton

In the course of 1981 and 1982, excavations adjacent to the Church of St. Peter's in Northampton have revealed a number of halls, dating to the seventh and the eighth centuries. One of the early timber halls was massive (some 30x9M plus annexes), and built with great skill and metrical precision; it was apparently directly replaced by a stone structure, 37.5x11.5M. These buildings are of the greatest possible interest, as they indicate that Northampton was of major importance hundreds of years before it became a town in the ninth and tenth centuries. The early construction seems best interpreted as the caput of a large royal estate. It is important to note that the excavators see early Northampton as a buffer settlement for Mercia, though there is some evidence of an East Anglian connection.

London's Waterfront

Excavations of Roman remains at the junction of Fish Street Hill and Lower Thames Street have revealed both rapid rebuilding of Roman wharfage, and what may be part of a Roman bridge. Anglo-Saxon trading was equally thriving and important; there is evidence for a trading beach at Billingsgate, and a number of Saxon sites full of pottery in Rectory Grove, Lambeth. This latter site is particularly important, for Saxon material is rare in inner London.

An Anglo-Saxon Mausoleum?

A report at second hand suggests that an Anglo-Saxon store funerary building was found at Repton by Martin Biddle; it appears to have been re-used as a house by Vikings. In Barton-on-Humber, Lincolnshire, a number of important burials associated with St. Peter's Church were found by the Rodwells. In eighteen examples, the coffins were well preserved by water, so that tool marks and even carpenters' lay out lines can be studied. The study of All-Saints' Church at Brixworth continues, under D. Parsons; M. Audony has excavated around the porticus. It now appears that these side-chambers were built at the same time as the nave, thus offering the beginnings of a solution for the dating of this most important building.

OXFORD, "Ox-Ford"

At St. Aldate's, Oxford B. Durham found an unusually well-preserved feature, the silt of the old river channel to a depth below present course of 1.5M; as below this lay the stone metalling of a ford was known to have existed near St. Aldate's in the eighth century, it appears that paydirt has indeed been struck.

The Ironic and Bizarre

The long lasting feud between the users of metal detectors and the archaeological establishment continues. The establishment most frequently attacked is the Council for British Archaeology (CBA). The magazine Treasure Hunter has started a campaign to smear archaeology, under the nom de plume Boudicia. There is a real possibility of a kind of "acid drip" erosion from such attacks. It is ironic that after a long period of work and the investment of about three million pounds the hulk of the Mary Rose, Henry VIII's flagship, has been raised, with a larger and even more expensive period of conservation in the offing. As Rex Cowan pointed out wryly, the ferry service from the mainland to the Mary Rose surface vessel cost more than the entire budget of the only Centre for Underwater Archaeology in Great Britain, that at St. Andrews. This kind of spectacular searching after "Honeypots", as Cowan has it, hurts medieval archaeology, for there are scores of known medieval sites in the British isles which are yet to be touched, much less excavated, which lie under water.

OLD ENGLISH BIBLIOGRAPHY 1982

by

Carl T. Berkhout

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10. RESEARCH FORTHCOMING OR IN PROGRESS

a = article, chapter, or review
b = book or monograph
d = doctoral dissertation
IP = in progress
C = completed
TBP = to be published in/by

Alexander, Robert J. (Point Park College): Index of Biblical Quotations in OE Prose, bIP.

Bammesberger, Alfred (Katholische Univ. Eichstätt): Hidden Glosses in MSS of OE Poetry, aIP.

Bately, Janet M. (King's College, Univ. of London): Evidence for Knowledge of Latin Literature in OE, aIP.

Berkhout, Carl T. (Univ. of Arizona): Further Evidence of MSS Known to Nowell and Lambarde, aIP; Notes on a Laurence Nowell Commonplace Book, aIP; Research on OE Literary Prose, 1973-1982, TBP Szarmach, ed.

Bestul, Thomas H. (Univ. of Nebraska): Continental Sources of Anglo-Saxon Devotional Writing, aIP.

Biggam, Carole P. (Univ. of Strathclyde): A Semantic Study of Colour Words in OE, dIP (dir. Sylvia Adamson).

Bjork, Robert E. (Arizona State Univ.): Early Literary Relations between England and Scandinavia, bIP; Hagiographical Techniques in The Battle of Maldon, aIP.

Bremmer, Rolf H., Jr. (Katholieke Univ. Nijmegen): OE feoh and heorh, ON fé ok fjor, ergo: Old Frisian fiā and ferech 'money and life,' TBP NM; "Substantival Adverbs" and "Prepositionalization" in Old Frisian, Compared with OE in Particular, TBP Us Wurk.

Brown, George H. (Stanford Univ.): Bede
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Style in Ælfric's Life of St. Edmund
and in Gawain, aIP.
Calder, Daniel G. (UCLA): see under Green-
field.
Casteen, John (Univ. of Virginia): Anglo-
Saxon Literary Culture from A.D. 597
to 1066, bIP.
Chase, Colin (Univ. of Toronto): Anglo-
Latin in the Age of Ælfric, aC; History
of the Saint's Life in pre-Conquest Eng-
land, bIP; The Life of St. Mary of Egypt
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Clement, Richard W. (Illinois State Univ.):
The Collation of the Nowell Codex, aIP;
Preliminary Investigation of the Insular
MSS of Gregory's Regula Pastoralis, aIP;
Handlist of the MSS of Gregory's Regula
Pastoralis, aIP; Edition of the OE Pas-
toral Care, bIP; Biography of Thomas
James (1573-1629), bIP.
Clemoes, Peter (Emmanuel College, Cam-
bridge): Symbolic Language in OE Poetry,
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Dahl, Eric C. (Univ. of Washington): Criti-
cism and the OE Advent: Four Kinds of Co-
herence, aIP.
de Looze, Laurence (Univ. of Toronto):
Frame Narratives and Fictionalization:
Beowulf as Narrator, TBP Texas Stud. in
Lit. and Lang.
Frank, Roberta (Univ. of Toronto): Viking
Atrocity and Skaldic Verse: the Rite of
the Blood Ego, TBP EHR.
Gatch, Milton McC. (Union Theological Semi-
nary): The Office in Late Anglo-Saxon
Monasticism, aIP.
Gneuss, Helmut (Univ. München): King Alfred
and the History of Anglo-Saxon Libraries,
aIP.
Greenfield, Stanley B. (Univ. of Oregon),
and Daniel G. Calder (UCLA), Revised and
Enlarged Edition of A Critical History
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Griffiths, B. (Univ. of London): Critical
Edition of the Meters of Boethius, dIP
(dir. Janet Bately).
Hait, Elizabeth A. (Univ. of Tennessee):
The Wanderer's Lingering Regret: a Study
of Patterns of Imagery, aC.
Hall, J. R. (Univ. of Mississippi): A Source
for OE Exodus: Alcimus Avitus, De transitu
maris rubri, aC.

Harris, Joseph (Cornell Univ.): The Bat-
tle of Brunanburh, Lines 12b-13a, aIP.
Hill, Joyce (Univ. of Leeds): Ælfric on
the Benedictine Reform, aIP.
Hill, Thomas D. (Cornell Univ.): Woden as
Ninth-Father: Numerical Patterning in
Some OE Royal Genealogies, aC; The King-
dom of the Father Son and the Counselor
in Judgment Day II, TBP N&Q; Why God
Blew Satan out of Heaven: Exsufflation in
Vercelli Homily XIX and Later Medieval
Texts, aC.
Hilton, C. B., Jr. (Univ. of Tennessee):
An Edition and Study of the OE Seasons
for Fasting, dIP (dir. Mary P. Richards).
Hudson, Marc (Univ. of Washington): Beowulf:
Translation and Commentary, dIP.
Irving, Edward B., Jr. (Univ. of Pennsyl-
vania): The Nature of Christianity in
Beowulf, aIP.
Jolly, Karen Louise (Univ. of California at
Santa Barbara): Magic, Miracles, and
Charms in Late Anglo-Saxon England, aIP.
Kindrick, Robert L. (Western Illinois
Univ.): Gesture as Rhetoric and Wisdom
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Lutz, Angelika (Univ. München): Spellings
of the Waldend Group--Again, aIP.
Macrae-Gibson, O. D. (Univ. of Aberdeen):
The Metrical Entities of OE, aC.
McGregor, John (Univ. of Wales Institute
of Science and Technology): Edition of
the OE Charms, dIP (dir. J. B. Wynn).
Meaney, Audrey L. (Macquarie Univ.): St.
Neot's, Aethelweard, and the Anglo-Saxon
Chronicle, aC.
Moffat, Douglas A. (Univ. of Western
Ontario): The Grave-House Metaphor in
Early Middle English, aC; Manuscript Divi-
sions and the Unity and Development of the
Advent Lyrics, aIP; Edition of Soul and
Body I and II, bIP; Re-examination of
Fragment Order in The Soul's Address to
the Body in Worcester Cathedral MS. F.74,
aC.
Murphy, James J. (Univ. of California at
Davis): Census of Early Medieval Rhetor-
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Niles, John D. (Univ. of California at
Berkeley): Beowulf: the Poem and Its
Tradition, TBP Harvard Univ. Press.
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aIP; Beowulf and the Mirabilia, aC.

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Orton, Peter (Univ. of Leeds): Verbal
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Wulf and Eadwacer, aC.
Pàroli, Teresa (Univ. di Roma): The
Dimension of the Trinity in OE Poetry,
aIP.
Porter, Nancy A. (Univ. of Toronto):
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Aldhelm's Riddles in British Library
Ms. Royal 12.C.XXIII, dIP.
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York at Stony Brook): Bibliography
of North American Dissertations on OE
Language and Literature through 1981,
bIP.
Raw, Barbara (Univ. of Keele): Anglo-
Saxon Crucifixion Iconography and the
Art of the Monastic Revival; bIP; The
Production of MS. Junius 11, TBP ASE.
Renoir, Alain (Univ. of California at
Berkeley): Oral-Formulaic Context and
the Affective Interpretation of OE
Poetry, aIP.
Richards, Mary P. (Univ. of Tennessee):
The Manuscript Contexts of the OE Laws:
Tradition and Innovation, aC; Studies
in the Medieval Scriptorium and Library
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Riley, Samuel M. (Illinois State Univ.):
Study of Bede's Commentaries on Kings
and Samuel, bIP; Translation of Bede's
Thirty Questions on the Book of Kings,
bIP.
Ritzke-Rutherford, Jean (Univ. Regens-
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English Kingship and the Ideal of
Christian Knighthood, aIP.
Roberts, Jane (King's College, Univ. of
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mach, ed.
Robinson, Fred C. (Yale Univ.): A Posi-
tive Style in Beowulf, bIP.
Schrader, Richard J. (Boston College):
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Spurrier, Lydia J. (Univ. of Wales Insti-
tute of Science and Technology): Anglo-
Saxon Gospel Books, Psalters, and Other
Service Books: a Study of Their Devlop-
ment before the Conquest, dIP (dir.
J. B. Wynn)
Stanfield, B. Jane (Univ. of Tennessee):

Exploration of the Possible Existence
of an Anglo-Saxon Chancery, dIP (dir.
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Szarmach, Paul E. (State Univ. of New York
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in Their Context, bIP; Notes on the Sources
of the Vercelli Book, aIP; (ed.) Early
OE Prose: Seventeen Essays, bC; The Earlier
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Taylor, Paul B. (Univ. de Genève): The
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Thundy, Zacharias (Northern Michigan Univ.):
Beowulf: Date and Authorship, aC; Beowulf:
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and Spiritual Friendship, aC; Qu'ran: the
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Wrander, Nils (Lund Univ.): English Place-
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Gillis Kristensson).

ABBREVIATIONS

AB   Analecta Bollandiana
AHR   American Historical Review
AION   (Naples) Istituto Universitario Orien-
            tale, Sezione germanica, Annali
AntJ   Antiquaries Journal
ArchJ   Archaeological Journal
ASE   Anglo-Saxon England
ASNSL   Archiv für das Studium der neueren
            Sprachen und Literaturen
ASSAH   Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology
            and History
BAM   Bulletin des Anglicistes Médiévistes
BN   Beiträge zur Namenforschung
CCM   Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale
CHR   Catholic Historical Review
DAEM   Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des
            Mittelalters
DAI   Dissertation Abstracts International
EA   Etudes Anglaises
EASG   English and American Studies in German
EHR   English Historical Review
ELN   English Language Notes
ES   English Studies
FS   Frühmittelalterliche Studien

HZ	Historische Zeitschrift
IF	Indogermanische Forschungen
JBAA	Journal of the British Archaeolo- gical Association
JEGP	Journal of English and Germanic Philology
JEH	Journal of Ecclesiastical History
MA	Medieval Archaeology
MÆ	Medium Ævum
MLQ	Modern Language Quarterly
MLR	Modern Language Review
MP	Modern Philology
MS	Mediaeval Studies
N&Q	Notes and Queries
NM	Neuphilologische Mitteilungen
OEN	Old English Newsletter
PQ	Philological Quarterly
RB	Revue Bénédictine
RES	Review of English Studies
SAP	Studia Anglica Posnaniensia
SBVS	Saga-Book of the Viking Society for Northern Research
SM	Studi Medievali
SN	Studia Neophilologica
SP	Studies in Philology
TLS	Times Literary Supplement
YES	Yearbook of English Studies
ZAA	Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Ameri- kanistik
ZDA	Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur
ZVS	Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprach- wissenschaft

APPENDIX

A Classroom Edition of

Wulf and Eadwacer

by Peter S. Baker
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Prefatory Note:

The following "classroom edition" of Wulf and Eadwacer is so called because it does not aspire to the scholarly completeness of a critical edition. The introduction and commentary do not survey the many interpretations of the poem and attempted solutions of its cruces; the bibliography directs the student .mainly towards scholarship of the last twenty years, and even within that range is highly selective. It seems to me useless, for pedagogical purposes, to overburden such an edition as this with references to past scholarship, much of it long since discredited; instead, my aim has been to illuminate the immediate sense and some of the context of the poem as I understand it. My hope is that my editorial procedures will enable the student to approach Wulf and Eadwacer less as a curious and somewhat antiquated puzzle than as the record of "breathing human passion" it was at the time of its composition.

P.S.B.

WULF AND EADWACER: A CLASSROOM EDITION
Peter S. Baker

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Wulf and Eadwacer, preserved in the Exeter Book (fols. 100v-101r), is considered one of the most enigmatic poems in Old English. Benjamin Thorpe, its first editor, declared that he could make nothing of it; later critics have interpreted it as a riddle (solutions: Cynewulf, millstone, riddle), as a canine romance, as a poet's lament for his dismembered poems, and as a charm against a wart. All of these interpretations require a rather too free handling of what is in fact a precisely worded poem. What we have here is really a story of thwarted love. We know from the feminine inflections of **reotugu** (10) and **seoce** (14) that the speaker is a woman; Wulf very likely is her husband and an outlaw. He is hunted by "slaughter-cruel men" who intend to kill him and present him, as if he were a gift, to the speaker's people; she, it seems, has been sent to live on an island, where she is watched over by Eadwacer, who has used her sexually and perhaps fathered a child by her.

For Old English poets, a woman's separation from her husband by distance or death offered a situation rich with emotional possibilities. The *Beowulf* poet dwells sympathetically on the plight of Hildeburh, deprived by intertribal strife of her brother, son, and husband; in *The Wife's Lament,* the scheming of kinsmen causes a woman to be estranged from her husband; in *The Husband's Message,* a man promises his wife a joyful reunion after a separation brought about by his having become entangled in a feud. The position of a Germanic wife could be exceedingly delicate, particularly if she was a **freoðuwebbe,** a "peace-weaver" exchanged between tribes in an attempt to create family ties and alliances. In *Beowulf,* Hrothgar's daughter Freawaru is promised to Ingeld so as to bring peace to the squabbling Danes and Heatho-Bards; but Beowulf predicts the end of both marriage and alliance, for "the deadly spear rests but a little while, even though the bride is good" (Donaldson's translation). Freawaru, as helpless victim of a quarrel among men, will have her chance to sing the kind of lament that our poem exemplifies.

The strophic form of *Wulf and Eadwacer* is unusual in Old English poetry. Here the strophes are strongly marked by isolated half-lines that occur at increasing intervals and mark the shifts of feeling as the poem builds towards the emotional flash-point of lines 16 and 17. From the obliquity of the first two lines we move through the factual, tensely controlled clarity of lines 4-7 to the outburst of lines 9-15, in which the speaker laments her situation and cries out to her absent Wulf. Then she tears into Eadwacer with a speech whose brutal imagery expresses the full force of her hatred and contempt. Rhythm and syntax aid the emotional buildup: the first eight lines are heavily end-stopped; the repeated **ungelic(e) is us** has the quality of a reflective pause. Then we have four longer, more rapid lines marked by fluidly ambiguous syntax, giving way to the exclamations of lines 13-15. Finally the speaker

alternates long lines with terse half-lines, ending with the bluntly emphatic rhythm of **uncer giedd geador**. The resulting meter is sometimes irregular, but always effective.

The poem's ambiguity increases its tension. The first riddling lines place the reader on alert: Who or what is like a gift? Who is "he"? What does aþecgan mean? By line 8 these questions are answered, but still the poet maintains suspense. We suspect but do not know for sure that the speaker is a woman before line 10, and Eadwacer is mysteriously introduced as **se beaducafa** (11) five lines before we learn his name. The speaker is not telling her story in logical sequence. There is tension, too, in the poem's oppositions, for example those in lines 4 and 12. Opposite meanings are brought together in a single word, aþecgan, and the verb bilecgan makes an agony of the pleasure of an embrace. This playing out of the drama of separation in the syntactical and semantic structure makes *Wulf and Eadwacer* a little masterpiece of Old English poetry.

Wulf and Eadwacer was first edited by Benjamin Thorpe in *Codex Exoniensis: A Collection of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, from a Manuscript in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter* (London, 1842). The standard edition now is by George Philip Krapp and Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie, *The Exeter Book,* Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, vol. 3 (New York, 1936), pp. liv-lv, 179-80, 320-21.

The volume of critical comment on the poem is surprisingly large, considering its brevity. The most influential study (and perhaps the shortest) is a part of Henry Bradley's review of *English Writers: An Attempt towards a History of English Literature,* by Henry Morley, *Academy,* 33 (1888), 197-98. Bradley was the first critic to realize that the poem was about separated lovers. Interesting recent comment includes Kemp Malone, "Two English *Frauenlieder,*" *Comparative Literature,* 14 (1962), 106-17; Alain Renoir, "*Wulf and Eadwacer:* A Noninterpretation," in *Franciplegius: Medieval and Linguistic Studies in Honor of Francis Peabody Magoun, Jr.,* ed. J. B. Bessinger and R. P. Creed (New York, 1965), pp. 147-63; Ruth P. M. Lehmann, "The Metrics and Structure of *Wulf and Eadwacer,*" *Philological Quarterly,* 48 (1969), 151-65; Clifford Davidson, "Erotic 'Women's Songs' in Anglo-Saxon England," *Neophilologus,* 59 (1975), 451-62; James B. Spamer, "The Marriage Concept in *Wulf and Eadwacer,*" *Neophilologus,* 62 (1978), 143-44; Peter S. Baker, "The Ambiguity of *Wulf and Eadwacer,*" *Studies in Philology,* 78, no. 5 (1981), 39-51.

The diversity of interpretations of *Wulf and Eadwacer* is reflected in the many translations of it. Good ones include R. K. Gordon, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry,* 2nd ed. (London and New York, 1954), p. 83; Burton Raffel, *Poems from the Old English,* 2nd ed. (Lincoln, Neb., 1964), p. 64; Michael Alexander, *The Earliest English Poems* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1970), p. 116; James B. Spamer, "Wulf and Eadwacer," *Old English Newsletter,* 12 (Spring 1979), p. 30.

WULF AND EADWACER

Lēodum is mīnum   swylce him mon lāc gife;

willað hȳ hine āþecgan   gif hē on þrēat cymeð.

   Ungelīc is ūs.

Wulf is on īege,   ic on ōþerre.

5   Fæst is þæt ēglond,   fenne biworpen.

Sindon wælrēowe   weras þær on īge;

willað hȳ hine āþecgan   gif hē on þrēat cymeð.

   Ungelīce is ūs.

Wulfes ic mīnes wīdlāstum   wēnum hogode,

10   þonne hit wæs rēnig weder   ond ic rēotugu sæt,

þonne mec se beaducāfa   bōgum bilegde,

wæs mē wyn tō þon,   wæs mē hwæþre ēac lāð.

Wulf, mīn Wulf!   wēna mē þīne

sēoce gedydon,   þīne seldcymas,

15   murnende mōd,   nales metelīste.

Gehȳrest þū, Ēadwacer?   Uncerne eargne hwelp

   bireð wulf tō wuda.

Þæt mon ēaþe tōslīteð   þætte næfre gesomnad wæs,

   uncer giedd geador.

---

9 hogode] MS. dogode
16 eargne] MS. earne

EXPLANATORY NOTES

1. **Leodum . . . minum.** The possessive adjective is divided from its noun here and in lines 9 and 13.

2. **aþecgan.** A weak first-class causative from þicgan "to receive, take, eat, consume." The literal meaning is "to serve, feed" with accusative of the person served and dative of the things served, as we see in a medical recipe: "Gif mon þung ete, aþege buteran and drince; se þung gewit on þa buteran." "If one should eat poison, serve [him] with (i.e. feed him) butter and a liquid; the poison will depart with the butter" (Thomas Oswald Cockayne, ed., *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England*, Rolls Series [London, 1864-66], ii. 154). But in *Genesis A* 2001-02, -þecgan seems to be a fossilized metaphor meaning "kill": "him on swaðe feollon / æðelinga bearn, ecgum ofþegde / willgesiððas." (Cf. *Beowulf* 560-61, "Ic him þenode / deoran sweorde.") Very likely our poet had both meanings in mind for this line.

2, 7. **on þreat.** The probable meaning is "to (upon) a band of men." A less likely (though still possible) reading would be to take **on þreat** as an adverbial phrase meaning "violently."

3, 8. **Ungelic(e) is us.** "It is different with us." There is little practical difference between the usages with adjective and adverb. Perhaps the adjective describes a static state, while the adverb describes a course of events. See H. E. Kavros, "A Note on *Wulf and Eadwacer*," *English Language Notes*, 15 (1977), 83-84.

9-12. The syntax of these lines is difficult. Þonne in line 10 may mean "when" and be subordinated to line 9, and þonne in line 11 may mean "when" and be subordinated to line 12. Or line 9 may be a complete sentence, with lines 10 and 11 coordinated, "when . . . then." Or lines 10 and 11 may be "when" clauses subordinated to line 12. I prefer to read lines 10 and 11 as two parallel "when" clauses and allow them the ambiguity of being subordinated to both lines 9 and 12. This kind of construction is called *apo koinou*. See H. D. Meritt, *The Construction* ἀπὸ κοινοῦ *in the Germanic Languages* (Stanford and London, 1938).

9. **hogode.** MS. dogode is attested nowhere else in OE; the best solution proposed has been to emend to **hogode**: "I thought with hope of my Wulf's long journey."

11. **se beaducafa.** Probably Eadwacer, who will be mentioned by name in line 16.

15. **nales meteliste.** "Line 15b is best interpreted not as an arbitrary comparison, but as an implication that the woman had actually been compelled by her circumstances to go short of food" (P. J. Frankis, "*Deor* and *Wulf and Eadwacer*: Some Conjectures," *Medium Ævum*, 31 [1962], 172, n. 33).

16. **eargne.** MS. **earne** makes no sense. The only other plausible emendation is to **earmne** "poor, pitiful."

17. **wulf.** The common noun "wolf" fits best with the image of a cub being carried off to the wood, but OE MSS. make no distinction between proper and common nouns, and it is probable that a pun is intended here. It is unfortunate that modern editorial procedures force us to make distinctions that the poet may not have intended.

18. The line echoes Matthew 19:6, "Quod ergo Deus coniunxit, homo non separet." "What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder."

GLOSSARY

ĀÞECGAN wk. 1 'to serve, feed'; fig. 'to kill'. inf. 2, 7.

BEADUCĀF adj. 'battle-quick, battle-strong, battle-bold'. wk. m. nom. sg. -a 11.

BĒON 'to be'. 3 sg. pres. is 1, 3, 4, 5, 8; 3 sg. pret. wæs 10, 12 (2x), 18; 3 pl. pres. sindon 6.

BERAN st. 4 'to carry, bear'. 3 sg. pres. bireð 17.

BILECGAN wk. 1 'to surround, afflict' (the connotations usually are unfavorable). 3 sg. pret. -legde 11.

BIWEORPAN st. 3 'surround' (lit. 'throw around'). past part. n. nom. sg. -worpen 5.

BŌG m.'arm'. inst. pl. -um 11.

CUMAN st. 4 'to come'. 3 sg. pres. cymeð 2, 7.

geDŌN 'to cause to be'. 3 pl. pret. -dydon 14.

ĒĄC adv. 'also' 12.

ĒADWACER proper noun, m. nom. sg. 16.

EARG adj. 'wretched, vile, useless, cowardly'. m. acc. sg. -ne 16.

ĒAÐE adv. 'easily' 18.

ĒGLOND n. 'island'. nom. sg. 5.

FÆST adj. 'secure, enclosed'. n. nom. sg. 5.

FENN nm. 'fen'. dat. sg. -e 5.

GEADOR adv. 'together' 19.

GIEDD n. 'song, poem, tale'. acc. sg. 19.

GIF conj. 'if' 2, 7.

GIFAN st. 5 'to give'. 3 sg. pres. subjunctive gife 1.

HĒ (hēo, hit, hȳ) pers. pron. 'he (she, it, they)'. m. nom. sg. he

2, 7; m. acc. sg. hine 2, 7; m. nom. pl. hy 2, 7; f. dat. pl. him 1; n. nom. sg. hit 10.

HOGIAN wk. 2 'to think (about), to care'. 1 sg. pret. -ode 9 (with dat. wīdlāstum).

HWÆÞRE adv. 'however, nevertheless' 12.

HWELP m. 'cub, the young of an animal'. acc. sg. 16.

geHȲRAN wk. 1 'to hear'. 2 sg. pres. -est 16.

IC (wē) pers. pron. 'I (we)'. nom. sg. ic 4, 9, 10; acc. sg. mec 11, me 13; dat. sg. me 12 (2x); dat. pl. us 3, 8.

ĪEG, īg f. 'island'. dat. sg. -e 4, 6.

LĀC nf. 'gift'. acc. sg. 1.

LĀÐ n. 'pain, harm, injury, misfortune'. nom. sg. 12.

LĒOD f. 'people, nation' (usually pl.). dat. pl. -um 1.

MEC see IC.

METELĪST f. 'lack of food' (sometimes pl.). nom. pl. -e 15.

MĪN poss. adj. 'my'. m. nom. sg. 13; m. gen. sg. -es 9; f. dat. pl. -um 1.

MŌD n. 'mind, spirit'. nom. sg. 15.

MON indef. pron. 'one'. nom. sg. 1, 18.

MURNAN st. 3 'to be anxious or fearful'. pres. part. n. nom. sg. -ende 15.

NÆFRE adv. 'never' 18.

NALES adv. 'not at all, emphatically not' 15.

ON prep. with acc. 'to, toward' 2, 7; with dat. 'on' 4 (2x), 6.

OND conj. 'and' 10.

OÞER adj. 'another'. f. dat. sg. -re 4.

RĒNIG adj. 'rainy'. n. nom. sg. 10.

RĒOTIG adj. 'wailing, lamenting'. f. nom. sg. rēotugu 10.

SE (sēo, þæt) dem. pron. m. nom. sg. se 11; n. inst. sg. þon 12 (used adverbially: to þon = 'to that extent, to that point'); n. nom. sg. þæt 5; n. acc. sg. þæt 18.

SELDCYME m. 'seldom coming'. nom. pl. -as 14.

SĒOC adj. 'sick'. f. acc. sg. -e 14.

SINDON see BĒON.

SITTAN st. 5 'to sit'. 1 sg. pret. sæt 10.

geSOMNIAN wk. 2 'to collect, unite'. past part. n. nom. sg. -ad 18.

SWYLCE adv. and conj. 'as if' (with subjunctive) 1.

TŌ prep. 'to' 12, 17.

TŌSLĪTAN st. 1 'tear apart'. 3 sg. pres. -eð 18.

ÞǢR adv. and conj. 'there' 6.

ÞÆTTE (from þæt + þe, the relative particle) 'that which' 18.

ÞĪN poss. adj. 'your, of you'. m. nom. pl. -e 14; f. nom. pl. -e 13.

ÞON see SE.

ÞONNE adv. and conj. 'then, when' 10, 11.

ÞRĒAT m. 'band of men, army' (sometimes 'violence, cruelty'). acc. sg. 2, 7.

ÞŪ pers. pron. 'you'. nom. sg. 16.

UNCER dual poss. adj. 'our'. m. acc. sg. -ne 16; n. acc. sg. 19.

UNGELĪC adj. 'different'. n. nom. sg. 3.

UNGELĪCE adv. 'differently' 8.

WÆLRĒOW (from wæl + hrēoh) adj. 'slaughter-cruel'. m. nom. pl. -e 6.

WEDER n. 'weather'. nom. sg. 10.

WĒN f. 'hope, expectation' (usually pl.). nom. pl. -a 13 (with gen. of thing hoped for or expected); dat. pl. (adverbial) -um 9.

WER m. 'man'. nom. pl. -as 6.

WĪDLĀST m. 'long journey' (lit. 'far track'). dat. pl. -um 9.

WILLAN 'to wish, desire, intend'. 3 pl. pres. -að 2, 7.

WUDU m. u-stem 'forest, wood'. dat. sg. wuda 17.

WULF proper noun. m. nom. sg. 4, 13 (2x); gen. sg. -es 9. As common noun (?) 'wolf' nom. sg. wulf 17.

WYNN f. 'joy, pleasure'. nom. sg. wyn 12.