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O E N

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Editor: Paul E. Szarmach
CEMERS
SUNY-Binghamton
Binghamton, New York 13901
607-798-2130

Associate Editors:

Rowland L. Collins
Department of English
University of Rochester
Rochester, New York 14627

Carl T. Berkhout
Department of English
University of Arizona
Tucson, Arizona 85721

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. With Volume 17 (1983-84) all individual subscribers must pay $3.00 for each volume but, in order to reduce administrative costs, they must 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 addressed 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.

The Old English Newsletter is a refereed periodical. Solicited and unsolicited manuscripts (except for independent reports and news items) are reviewed by specialists in anonymous reports.

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NEWS

I

1983 Annual Meeting of the MLA in New York City

The Modern Language Association will celebrate its 100th year at the 1983 meeting in New York City. To help mark the occasion the Executive Council of the Old English Division has scheduled three meetings. The main meeting of the Division will be:

Session no. 74: Wednesday, December 28, 8:30-9:45 a.m., Gramercy A, Hilton

"Old English Literature and Related Disciplines: Perspectives and Insights"

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

Papers:

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

   "Report from the First Meeting of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists"

2. K. Drew Hartzell (SUNY-Albany)

   "Music in Anglo-Saxon England: Continuations and Beginnings"

3. Linda L. Brownrigg (Oxford, England)

   "Tenth Century Scriptoria: New Evidence and Its Implications for Anglo-Saxonists"

The Executive Council has also arranged these special sessions:

Session no. 114: Wednesday, December 28, 10:15-11:30 a.m. Gramercy A, Hilton

"Cultural Aspects of Old English Literature"

Program Chairman: Linda E. Voigts (University of Missouri-Kansas City)

Papers:

1. Donald K. Fry (SUNY-Stony Brook)

   "Old English Celæs and Cellod: Decorated in Low Relief"

2. Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (Texas A and M University)

   "Moths and Mouths: Some Anglo-Saxon Meditations on the Technology of Writing"

3. Robert E. Bjork (Arizona State University)

   "Old English Saints' Lives, Anglo-Saxon Sensibilities"

Session no. 458: Thursday, December 29, 1:45 p.m.-3:00 p.m., Sutton North, Hilton

"Old English Literature in Manuscript Context"

Program Chairman: Joseph B. Trahern, Jr. (University of Tennessee-Knoxville)

1. Mary Catherine Bodden (University of Toronto)

   "The Context of Early English Education and Advanced Learning"

2. Kevin Kiernan (University of Kentucky)

   "The Blickling Homilies and Beowulf"

3. Seith Lerer (Princeton University)

   "Texts and Contexts: Reading the Exeter Book Maxims and Riddles"

The following sessions will also appeal to Anglo-Saxonists:

Session no. 604: Thursday, December 29, 9:00 p.m.-10:15 p.m., Room 524-26, Hilton

"'Subtractive Rectification': Unemending Beowulf"

Program Chairman: Raymond P. Tripp (University of Denver)

1. Kevin Kiernan (University of Kentucky)

   "The Legacy of Wiglaf Saving a Wounded Beowulf"

2. Alexandra Hennessey Olsen (University of Denver)

   "Wit, Unity, and Emendation: Some Remarks"

3. Robert E. Boenig (Rutgers University, New Brunswick)

   "Beowulf 1130a: Hengest's Decision to Stay"

4. Robert P. Creed (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)

   "Verse Lineation and Emendation in Beowulf"

Session no. 650: Friday, December 30, 10:15-11:30 a.m. Room 537, Hilton

"The Antiquarian Recovery of the Manuscript Remains of Medieval Britain (1500-1750)

Program Chairman: Richard W. Clement (Illinois State University)

Panelists:

James P. Carley (University of Rochester)

Wyman H. Herebdeen (University of Toronto)

Angelika Lutz (University of Munich)

Sarah H. Collins (Rochester Institute of Technology)

Milton McC. Gatch (Union Theological Seminary)

II

ISAS News

More than 125 members and guests attended the inaugural meeting of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists held at the Palace of Academies, Brussels, and at the University Club, "Het Pand," Ghent. Prof. René Derolez (University of Ghent), as President Pro-Tem, served as conference coordinator for the three-day event, August 22-24. The program featured seven major papers and eighteen shorter papers organized into five sessions. The British Consul hosted a cocktail party at the Palace of the Academies, while the Faculty Club in Ghent provided the conference dinner.

A number of the conference papers will appear in Anglo-Saxon England 13. That volume will also carry a Record of the Conference, including the Business Meeting, and a text of the Constitution as approved at the Brussels meeting.

At the meeting the membership approved as well a new slate of officers and an Advisory Board. The officers and advisors, who will begin their duties on January 1, 1984, and who will continue until December 31 of the year indicated in parentheses, are:

OFFICERS

President:	Peter Clemoes, University of Cambridge (1985)
First Vice-President:	Roberta Frank, University of Toronto (1985)
Second Vice-President:	Stanley B. Greenfield, University of Oregon (1985)
Executive Director:	Daniel G. Calder, University of California-Los Angeles (1989)

ADVISORY BOARD

Ashley Crandell Amos, The Dictionary of Old English, University of Toronto
Simon Keynes, Anglo-Saxon England, University of Cambridge
Paul E. Szarmach, Old English Newsletter, SUNY-Binghamton
René Derolez, University of Ghent (1985)
Helmut Gneuss, University of Munich (1985)
David A. Hinton, University of Southampton (1985)
Michael Lapidge, University of Cambridge (1985)
Fred C. Robinson, Yale University (1985)
Rosemary Cramp, University of Durham (1987)
Robert Deshman, University of Toronto (1987)
Henry Loyn, University of London (1987)
Bruce Mitchell, University of Oxford (1987)

The Second ISAS Conference will take place in Cambridge, England during the week beginning Monday, August 19, 1985. Abstracts (no longer than three pages) should be sent to the Executive Director by October 1, 1984.

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

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

Membership in ISAS confers discount privileges on Anglo-Saxon England and Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies.

III

Dorothy Whitelock Memorial

Newnham College, Cambridge intends to establish a Studentship to honor the memory of the late Professor Dorothy Whitelock (Litt. D., F.B.A.) and in recognition of her outstanding contribution to Anglo-Saxon studies. The studentship could be held either by a Research Student preparing a dissertation for a higher degree within the Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic Department in the University of Cambridge, or an Affiliated Student reading for the Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic Tripos, that is, a student with a first degree from another university either in the U.K. or abroad coming to Cambridge to take advantage of the unique specialist training which the Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic Tripos provides. The award would be tenable for two years and open to both men and women. The successful candidate, if a woman, would become a member of Newnham College, and if a man, a member of Emmanuel College.

Newnham College therefore asks for contributions to a Memorial Fund to enable the Dorothy Whitelock Studentship to be established. The College proposes to contribute to the Fund the bequest made to it under the terms of Professor Whitelock's will, for the encouragement of the field of study represented by the Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic Department in Cambridge. All contributions should be sent to, and covenant and banker's order forms may be obtained from, the Bursar, Newnham College, Cambridge CB3 9DF. Those resident in the USA or Canada should in the first instance however write to the Bursar, who will then advise them on how best to make their donations. Checks should be made payable to the Dorothy Whitelock Memorial Fund.

IV

Subsidia 9

The editors of the Old English Newsletter announce the publication of Volume 9 in the Subsidia series, Anglo-Latin in the Context of Old English Literature. Like its immediate predecessor in the series, The Bibliography of Old English (Sudsidia 8), this volume presents in revised form papers from a special session at the annual meeting of the MLA (Los Angeles, 1982). Edited by Paul E. Szarmach, the opusculum offers George H. Brown on "The Age of Bede," Allen J. Frantzen on "The Age of Alfred," and Colin Chase on "The Age of Ælfric." The 24 pages, plus two pages of introductory matter, sells for $3.00; order from OEN.

The series now has an International Standard Series Number: ISSN: 0739-8549.

V

Odense Conference

The Centre for the Study of Vernacular Literature in the Middle Ages at Odense University devoted its annual international symposium to "History and Heroic Tale" (November 21-22, 1983). The symposium focused upon the mythological introduction to some historical works belonging to different cultural areas of European culture. Of the seven major papers there were two directly devoted to insular matters: Donnchadh Ó Corráin (Cork) on "Irish Origin-Legends and Genealogy: Recurrent Aetiologies?" and Patrick Sims-Williams (Cambridge) on "Some Functions of Origin-Stories in Early Medieval Wales." There are plans to publish the Proceedings soon after the Conference; for further information write to:

The Medieval Centre (Middelalderlaboratoriet)
Odense University
Campusvej 55
DK-5230 Odense M
Denmark

VI

Special Volume of Studies in Medievalism

Studies in Medievalism is planning an issue on the Inklings and related figures, to be published in late 1984 or early 1985, and is soliciting manuscripts on the medievalism of J.R.R. Tolkien, C.S. Lewis, Dorothy Sayers, G.K. Chesterton, and Charles Williams, in particular. "Medievalism" involves the appearance or use of medieval ideas of art, religion, philosophy, etc., or medieval literary forms and conventions, in the works and ideas of figures writing in periods later than the Middle Ages, in this case the twentieth-century. Please send two copies of the manuscript to Professor Jane Chance, Department of English, Rice University, Houston, TX 77251, by March 15, 1984.

VII

Saxon Festival at Winchester Cathedral

Winchester Cathedral has announced plans for a Saxon Festival to take place at the Cathedral April-September, 1984. The Festival commemorates the thousandth anniversary of St. Ethelwold, who was Bishop of Winchester and who enlarged the Old Minster in the City near to where the present cathedral stands. A range of events will take place including exhibitions, lectures, dance, drama, music and special services. Among local organizations taking a close interest in the Festival are the Winchester School of Art and King Alfred's College. Students and lecturers from these are preparing special commissions including choreography, music composition, and even a puppet play based on the Beowulf stories. During the year, the Southern Cathedrals Festival takes place in Winchester and a concert "Bishop Ethelwold to Bishop John Taylor" will demonstrate the way in which church music has developed from the tenth Century to the present day. The Schola Gregoriana will also perform a concert of period music following a Monastic Day in the Cathedral when the Benedictine offices will be sung.

Of particular note will be a Calligraphy Competition, which will interest professionals and the rapidly-growing number of people whose hobby is lettering. One of the great illuminated masterpieces of Ethelwold's time was the Benedictional, crafted in Winchester by the Monks of St. Swithin. This book introduces a style of script on which the competition will be based. The priceless Benedictional will also be exhibited in the Cathedral library during the Festival.

Organized by the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral, the Festival will appeal both to scholars of the Saxon period as well as members of the general public and tourists.

During the course of the Saxon Festival there will be several exhibitions covering various aspects of Anglo-Saxon life and the influence of St. Ethelwold on tenth century England. In the North Transept of the Cathedral--the oldest part of the building--a specially-commissioned display will use simple graphic panels and illustrations to explain the Festival theme. Visitors will be able to walk around the three-dimensional exhibition and learn about the role of the church in the nation, the development of artistic and cultural activities and, in particular, the work of Winchester's craftsmen. The color scheme will reflect subtle shades of green, blue, and gold, which were used in the magnificent illuminated books of the period. Alongside the exhibition panels will be a scale model of St. Ethelwold's minster which shows the probable appearance of his church.

Of special interest to historians will be the exhibition of tenth century books in the Cathedral library. The centerpiece of this will be Ethelwold's Benedictional. This book, illuminated by the monks of St. Swithin's Priory in Winchester, is regarded as one of the most important works of the period. The form of calligraphy used by its scribes is probably the first example of Carolingian miniscule lettering, which is particularly associated with Winchester. For many years the Benedictional has been held in the British Library and this will be its first return to Winchester for centuries.

The work of tenth century craftsmen, other than scribes, will be included in the Cathedral Treasury exhibition. Many priceless items discovered during excavations in the City are to be displayed. Among them are: inscribed masonry, architectural sculptures, spoons, jewelry such as pins, buckles, brooches and strap ends, coins, floor tiles, and decorative plates. The famous Winchester ivory and the Winchester reliquary will also be shown.

The actual site of Ethelwold's minster, part of which lies under the present Cathedral, will be marked out in brick to show the ground plan as discovered by Dr. Martin Biddle's excavations in recent years. This outline will be prepared as a permanent feature, together with descriptive signs and a temporary viewing platform.

PROGRAM OF EVENTS

APRIL	29	Inaugural Service on Low Sunday in the Cathedral Sermon by Professor Christopher Brooke	10:30
		Opening of Exhibitions: North Transept; Cathedral Treasury; Library and Site of Ethelwold's Minster.	
MAY	4	Lecture: "The City and the Kingdom" by Dr. Martin Biddle in New Hall	20:00
	9	Puppet Show: Beowulf the Dragon Slayer	14:00
	10	in the Pilgrims Hall.	19:30
	11		19:30
	18	Lecture: "Anglo Saxon Art" by Professor C.R. Dodwell in New Hall	20:00
	23	Drama: Alfred the Great	19:30
	24	by the Cathedral Players in the	
	25	Cathedral Nave	
JUNE	1	Lecture: "The Sculpture of Wessex" by Professor Rosemary Cramp in Guildhall	20:00
	13	Performance of Contemporary Dance	19:30
	14	by Epsilon in the Cathedral Nave. (Further details to be advised)	
	15	Lecture: "The English Temper: The Lineaments of Anglo-Saxon Poetry" by Kevin Crossley-Holland in Guildhall	20:00
	29	Lecture: "Ethelwold's Minster" by Dr. Martin Biddle in Guildhall	20:00

July	6	Lecture: "Interpretation and Reconstruction of the Saxon Old Minster" by Mrs. Birthe Biddle in Pilgrims' Hall	20:00
	12 13 14	Exhibition of Calligraphy Competition in Priors' Hall	
	14	Cathedral Friends' Festival Procession to Saxon Site after Evensong	17:30
	15	Exhibition: by Students of Winchester School of Art at Art school until end of August	
	20	Lecture: "Kings and Bishops - Ethelwold and the Politics of Wessex in the 10th Century" by Dr. Barbara Yorke in Pilgrims' Hall	20:00
	26	Southern Cathedrals Festival Concert: Bishop Ethelwold to Bishop John Taylor in the Cathedral	14:30
	29	Lecture: "The Winchester Benedictines and their Books" by Murray Davison in New Hall	14:30
AUGUST	1	Holy Communion commemorating the Death of Ethelwold in 984 at the Saxon Site	18:00
	10	Lecture: "Ethelwold and His Age" by Patrick Wormald	20:00
	24	Conducted Parties led by Derek Turner to view Ethelwold's Benedictional in the Library	All Day
	24	Lecture: "The Benedictional of St. Ethelwold" by Derek Turner in Guildhall	20:00
	TBA	Poetry from the 10th Century in the Cathedral	
SEPTEMBER	7	Lecture: "What the Saxon Monks Sang" by Dr. Mary Berry in Guildhall	20:00
	8	Monastic Day: Schola Gregoriana in the Cathedral	All Day
	8	Concert: Schola Gregoriana in the Cathedral	19:30
	10	Holy Communion: Translation of St. Ethelwold in the Cathedral	08:00
	16	Thanksgiving Service for the Festival in the Cathedral. Preacher to be advised	15:30

VIII

Þa Engliscan Gesiðas: Caedmon Prizes

"The English Companions" is a non-political fellowship based in the Department of English at the University of Aberdeen that seeks: "To bring together all those with a common interest in the manifold aspects of the Old English or Anglo-Saxon period, its language, culture and traditions: thus to create a common fund of information and enthusiasm and to breathe new life into our native language, literature and art. To promote a wider interest in, knowledge of, and affection for all aspects of the Old English or Anglo-Saxon culture and tradition." All gesiðas can gain from the fellowship whatever their interests--literature, archaeology, social history, research, or pure leisure.

Founded in 1966, the ninth centenary of the Battle of Senlac, the organization follows the Anglo-Saxon social system. A member pays his gield (subscription), becomes a gesið (companion), and is known by his name, followed by his title, be it plain gesið, gerefa (secretary), hordere (treasurer) or scir gerefa (local co-ordinator). Each of the Old English kingdoms has a scir gerefa to arrange meetings and look after local members. Gesiþas keep in touch through a regular newsletter (ærendgewrit) and a quarterly magazine, Wiþowinde (Bindweed). A nominal fee is paid for contributions. The activities of the fellowship vary with the interests of individual gesiþas, and include the annual Feast, when gesiþas have a chance to dress in Anglo-Saxon costume, meetings and visits arranged from time to time by the scir gerefan, language studies, with a chance to learn the Old English language, and archaeology. Members in the United States and Canada are under the nominal supervision of the Eorl Scrælingalandes.

Þa Engliscan Gesiðas invite entries for the 1984 Leoþgaderung from which the Caedmon Prizes for Poetry will be awarded in the two categories:

(A) Old English poetry in the alliterative style.
(B) Modern English poetry in the Old English alliterative style.

The poems should not exceed fifty lines (shorter ones will be at no disadvantage in the judging). They should be clearly written or typed and sent in duplicate with a postal order or cheque for £1 (plus a stamped/addressed envelope for return of work) to: Malcolm Dunstall, bocere, Þa Engliscan Gesiðas, 30 Limes Road, Cheriton, Folkestone, Kent, CT19 4AU, England.

The two prizes each consist of:

1. £20 with an accompanying scroll.
2. Publication in Wiðowinde.
3. A ticket to the annual feast of Þa Engliscan Gesiðas where the winning entries will be read.

The entries will be judged by the Witan of Þa Engliscan Gesiðas, under the guidance of the Heahwita, Dr. Duncan Macrae-Gibson of the University of Aberdeen. In category (A) the judges will take account of accuracy of language and faithfulness to Old English poetic practice, but will give at least as much credit to poetic quality and response to the spirit of Old English poetry. In category (B) these latter qualities will be the basis of judgment; "the Old English alliterative style" may be taken to include whatever modifications of Old English practice its use for the modern language may prompt.

The decision of the Witan will be final. Closing date May 31, 1984.

For further information on "The English Companions" write to:

Dr. O.D. Macrae-Gibson
Department of English
Taylor Building
King's College
University of Aberdeen
Old Aberdeen AB9 2UB

IX

Max and Moritz Ride Again

Manfred Görlach has edited Max and Moritz in English Dialects and Creoles, which contains drawings, German original, and translations into the following historical and geographical varieties of English:

Standard English (Elly Miller) - Northumbrian (Roland Bibby)
Lallans Scots (J.K. Annand) - Glaswegian (Stephen Mulrine)
Northeastern Scots (J. Derrick McClure) - Shetland (Derick Herning)
N.Irish English (A.N. Seymour/Loreto Todd)
Jamaican Creole (Jean d'Costa) - Krio (Freddie Jones)
Cameroon Pidgin English (Loreto Todd) - Tok Pisin (Don Laycock)
Old English (Manfred Görlach) - Middle English (Manfred Görlach)

All the texts were specially written for the book; they are arranged in parallel order, in three groups, so that the German original, the standard English version and the six dialect texts can all be compared at a glance, as can the four creole translations, or the two historical versions. The editor's introduction provides a short survey of English dialects and pidgin/creole languages, and information on the authors and their translations. The texts are accompanied by glossaries to facilitate comprehension. A bibliography of all existing English translations of Max und Moritz is printed at the end of the book.

A set of two 90-minute cassettes containing four full versions (Standard English, Lallans, Glaswegian, Jamaican) and nine selections is also available.

The schedule date of publication is "early 1984," and the publisher is:

Helmut Buske Verlag
D-2000 Hamburg 13
Schlüterstrasse 14
WEST GERMANY

X

Computers and Beginning OE

Constance B. Hieatt and Brian Shaw (University of Western Ontario) are proposing to develop a computer program for use in instructing beginners in Old English. This will probably not be a complete course, but, rather, to be used as a supplement to the normal textbook(s) and classroom instruction. They will be assisted by the Director and staff members of the university's Computer-Assisted Learning Center. If funds applied for prove sufficient, they plan to explain necessary grammatical and phonological concepts and to demonstrate developments from OE to ModE visually on the screen, with appropriate use of text, simulated movement, and graphics, as well as (of course) drill-and-practice exercises. If anyone has any advice or suggestions to offer, they would be very grateful to have such. Write to:

Profs. Constance B. Hieatt and Brian Shaw
Dept. of English
University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario
CANADA NGA 3K7

XI

Anglo-Saxon England 12 (1983)

The contents of ASE 12 are:

Patrick Sims-Williams, "The Settlement of England in Bede and the Chronicle." Re-examines these accounts of the settlement, thereby showing that, while they can no longer be used as historical sources, they shed valuable light on Anglo-Saxon oral tradition and learned historiography.

Vivien Law, "The Study of Latin Grammar in Eighth-Century Southumbria." Through close analysis of the grammatical writings of Aldhelm, Tatwine, and Boniface provides a firmer basis for estimating what Late Latin grammatical texts were available south of the Humber in the eighth century and gives reasons for attributing to an Anglo-Saxon author of this time a hitherto unknown grammatical work.

Peter Kitson, "Lapidary Traditions in Anglo-Saxon England: Part II, Bede's Explanatio Apocalypsis and Related Works." Concludes the study begun in ASE 7 by identifying some previously unsuspected sources among those Bede used for his Explanatio Apocalypsis and by showing that, in its turn, Bede's work was used for a hymn of later, probably Anglo-Saxon, composition.

Michael Roper, "A Fragment of Bede's De Temporum Ratione in the Public Record Office." By publishing this newly discovered leaf from an otherwise unknown manuscript, provides new evidence for the early development of Anglo-Saxon square minuscule and for the circulation of the De Temporum Ratione in tenth-century England.

M.B. Parkes, "A Fragment of an Early Tenth-Century Anglo-Saxon Manuscript and its Significance." Publishes for the first time a leaf, recently noticed in the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge, and coming from an otherwise lost manuscript, and discusses it as an early specimen of Anglo-Saxon, specifically

Winchester, square minuscule and as early evidence of study of Martianus Capella in England.

M.T. Gibson, M. Lapidge, and C. Page, "Neumed Boethian Metra from Canterbury: a Newly Discovered Leaf of Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 5. 35 (the 'Cambridge Songs' Manuscript)." By publishing this leaf for the first time, throws valuable new light on musical notation in late Anglo-Saxon England and on one of the best-known collections of medieval Latin lyrics.

M.L. Cameron, "Bald's Leechbook: its Sources and their Use in its Compilation." On the basis of a thorough-going analysis of this neglected work of major importance demonstrates that the compiler, perhaps in King Alfred's reign, translated selections from a wide range of Latin texts in order to compose a well-organized treatise directed against the diseases prevalent in England in his time.

John Miles Foley, "Literary Art and Oral Tradition in Old English and Serbian Poetry." Recommends short epic poems in South Slavic Christian tradition as a model of oral poetry better than the Parry-Lord one of longer Moslem epic for comparison with the Old English lyrics.

Edward B. Irving, Jr., "A Reading of Andreas: the Poem as Poem." Regarding the poem straightforwardly on its own terms and comparing it at all stages with its Latin source, examines directly the workings of the poet's imagination.

Birte Kelly, "The Formative Stages of Beowulf Textual Scholarship: Part II." Completes the study begun in ASE 11 by listing all conjectures or emendations accepted by at least one editor from 1950 onwards, classifying them according to degree of acceptance and origin.

Bibliography for 1982. Systematically lists all books, articles, and significant reviews in all branches of Anglo-Saxon studies.

Beginning with this volume, without any change in form, ASE is being marketed as an annual periodical. Orders from outside USA and Canada for vol. 12 or any previous one, should be sent direct to Cambridge University Press, The Edinburgh Building, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge, England, CB2 2RU, and those from USA or Canada to Cambridge University Press, 32 East 57th Street, New York, NY 10022. The correct remittance must be sent with an order. The prices for vol. 12 are as follows (postage and packing included): £25.00 for institutions and £18.00 for individuals outside USA and Canada; for vols. 1-11 the prices are £25.00 and $59.50 per volume for institutions or individuals. Lower prices apply to members of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists who order through the Society's Executive Director on special forms sent to members.

Peter Clemoes

XII

Short Notices on Publications

Ruth Waterhouse has published The Triangular Clause Relationship in Ælric's Lives of the Saints and in Other Works for the Peter Lang series American University Studies, Series IV, Anglo-Saxon Language and Literature, of which the book is volume one. In three chapters Waterhouse discusses the theory and problems in triangular clause relationships, the data of patterns within the triangular clause relationship, and the triangular clause relationship as a stylistic marker. Thirty-six tables accompany the analysis. No price is indicated, but the book number is ISBN 0-9204-0007-6.

William Whallon's Inconsistencies: Studies in the New Testament, the Inferno, Othello and Beowulf studies literary anomalies in order to further comparative method. The essay on Beowulf considers the question "When in Beowulf is beer drunk, or mead, when ale or wine?" The book is published by D.S. Brewer and quoted at £15.00 (ISBN 0-85991-131-4).

Raymond F. Tripp continues his work on Beowulf with More about the Fight with the Dragon, Beowulf 2208b-3182: Commentary, Edition and Translation (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1983). Tripp aims to show the dragon in Beowulf to be an old king who would cheat death through the power of his hoard; this restored identity clarifies the thematic discussion of death and survival which unifies the poem. There are 490 pp. (ISBN 0-8191-3307-8). The prices are $29.75 hardbound, $17.50 paper.

Patrizia Lendinara and Lucio Melazzo have edited a collection of essays in memory of Augusto Scaffidi Abbate, Feor ond Neah (Palermo, 1983). There are twenty-four essays by various hands on the general theme of Germanic Philology. Essays by Claire Catalini Fennel on the Benedictine rule, Maria Amalia D'Aronco on BL Cotton Tiberius A.iii, Vittoria Dolcetti Corazza on OE læden, Nicoletta Francovich Onesti on the Peterborough Chronicle, and Patrizia Lendinara on Ælfric's Colloquy carry the OE theme. The volume is number 3 in the series Annali dell'Facolta di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Universita di Palermo, Studie e Ricerche.

The Manchester University Press has issued Donald G. Scragg's edition of The Battle of Maldon in paperback. The price is $5.95 (ISBN 0-7190-0838-7).

Thomas Finkenstaedt and Gertrud Scholtes have edited Towards a History of English Studies in Europe, the Proceedings of the Wildsteig-Symposium (April 30-May 3, 1982), as volume 21 (1983) in the series Augsburger I-&I-Schriften. Sixteen essays consider the teaching of English generally and the study of OE in particular. Eric Stanley, e.g., discusses "The Continental Contribution to the Study of Anglo-Saxon Writings up to and Including that of the Grimms," while Jacek Fisiak and René Derolez treat English studies in Poland and Belgium respectively.

The Simon Keynes-Michael Lapidge book Alfred the Great, a collection of sources on Alfred including a translation of Asser's Life, is now available in the United States from Viking-Penguin at $5.95 (ISNB 0-14-044-409-2). The book also contains selections from Alfred's own writings and various other documentary materials, e.g., laws, chronicles.

Readers of OEN outside of Britain, who have difficulty obtaining books and monographs in Anglo-Saxon studies, might wish to know of Oxbow Books, 27 Victoria Road, Oxford OX2 7QF (phone: 0865-57032). Oxbow, which is run by David Brown, a curator at the Ashmolean, aims to provide a distribution service from which all kinds of titles might be ordered: commercial hardbacks, learned society monographs, museum catalogs and guides, miscellaneous lectures from university departments, etc. For a sense of the range of offerings available readers may write directly to Mr. Brown for "Oxbow Booknews." The April, 1983 issue of "Booknews" is particularly strong in archaeology.

Fairleigh Dickinson University Press has published two important new books on Old English Poetry. Earl Anderson's Cynewulf (ISBN 0-8386-3091-X) studies the four signed poems of Cynewulf and describes the poet's "reflective" style. The 248-page book, which contains notes, bibliography, and index, is listed at $32.50. Martin Green has edited a collection of essays on The Old English Elegies (ISBN: 0-8386-3141-X). All but one of the essays is new. Contributors include the editor himself, Burton Raffel, Joseph Harris, Raymond Tripp, Roy F. Leslie, Marie Nelson, and Alain Renoir, among others. The 240-page book is listed at $32.50.

The October, 1983 list of new titles brought out by British Archaeological Reports announces one title in the British Series that may be of interest to Anglo-Saxonists: B.A.R. 118, Settlement in North Britain, 1000 BC-AD 1000, papers presented to George Jobey (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, December, 1982), ed. J.C. Chapman and H.C. Mytum. The 356 pages, with figures and plates, are priced at £15.00 post free (ISBN: 0-86054-224-6).

XIII

Computers and Such

L. Michael Bell was unable to complete the continuation of his Spring, 1983 article on "Typographical Resources" for the Fall issue. In his place the editors offer the contributions of Donald K. Fry and Milton McC. Gatch on their respective experiences. In variance with the usual OEN custom the Fry and Gatch pieces appear in the typeface of their respective word processors so as to illustrate their characteristics. The Spring, 1984 issue will, it is hoped, contain Bell's continuation and at least one other essay on the new wizardry.

XIV

Leeds Conference

The School of English at the University of Leeds will host a one-day conference "Towards the Sources of Old English Literature" on March 24. There will be two featured speakers:

J.E. Cross (University of Liverpool) on "New Sources for the Old English Texts and Ideas"

Malcolm R. Godden (Exeter College, Oxford) on "Ælfric's Sources"

The Conference, which continues some of the ideas discussed at the Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture at Kalamazoo last May, will include a general discussion on new possibilities on sources as well as J.E. Cross' proposal for a series Fontes Anglo-Saxonici. For further information, contact the local organizer, Dr. Joyce Hill, at: The School of English, University of Leeds, Leeds LS2 9JT (phone: 31751).

At the inaugural meeting of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, which they helped launch, Daniel Calder, René Derolez, Roberta Frank, and Stanley B. Greenfield pose for the first news photograph ever published in OEN. (Photo: Carol Braun Pasternack)

In Memoriam: Angus Cameron (1941-83)

A Remembrance by John Leyerle

Angus Fraser Cameron, Professor of English and Editor of the Dictionary of Old English, died of cancer on May 27, 1983. His career, although shortened by his untimely death, was one of uncommon accomplishments. He was warmly admired by his many students and by colleagues all over the world.

Angus Cameron was born in Nova Scotia in 1941. He graduated from Mount Allison University in 1961 and was awarded the Tweedie Medal for highest standing in arts. He was also awarded a Rhodes Scholarship, which he held at Jesus College, where he read the Final Honours School of English Language and Literature with specialization in early English studies and took a second B.A. in 1963. In 1965, after two years of teaching at Mount Allison, he returned to Oxford to complete a B. Litt.; his thesis was "The Old English Nouns of Colour, A Semantic Study." He defended the thesis in 1968 and accepted an appointment that year in the Department of English at University College, University of Toronto. Within weeks of his arrival he proposed the preparation of a dictionary of Old English to replace the one edited in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by Bosworth and Toller.

The proposed dictionary was planned in consultation with many of the leading Old English scholars at a conference in March of 1969. The proceedings of that conference, Computers and Old English Concordances (1970), provided a preliminary sketch for the project; from the very beginning the project reflected Angus Cameron's innovative approach by incorporating computer processing as a central part of its design. In 1973 a companion volume appeared, A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English, which set out the organization of the project in considerable detail. In the ten years following, Angus Cameron assembled all of the materials necessary for the writing of the Dictionary, built an editorial team, and supervised the drafting of entries for the letter d.

Some measure of his stature in the field can be seen in two recent letters to him. On April 15, 1983 Dr. R.W. Burchfield, Chief Editor of the Oxford Dictionaries, wrote that Angus Cameron's name was already in that "list of revered names, Bosworth, Toller, Sweet, and others, who have carried Anglo-Saxon lexical scholarship forward in an indispensable manner." On April 19, 1983, Professor Dr. Helmut Gneuss of the University of Munich expressed his admiration in the form of a question; "Who would have thought," he wrote, "when we first met twelve years ago, that so much could be done in such a short time, and that the DOE's office would become a place of pilgrimage for Anglo-Saxonists?" From 1969 onwards the project received major support from the Canada Council and its successor, the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada. One of the assessors for the SSHRC remarked of the Dictionary of Old English that it "...is the most important single scholarly project now in progress in the field of Old English studies." So highly was it regarded that it became the prototype of the Negotiated Grants Program of the SSHRC. In recognition of his stature as a scholar, Angus Cameron was elected in 1982 as a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada.

Angus Cameron's major focus was the Dictionary, but his work and influence were far-reaching in the University of Toronto and beyond. He served on many important committees of the Department of English and of the Centre for Medieval Studies. He played a key role in establishing the Canadian Institute for Advanced Research between 1979 and 1981. During the 1982-83 academic year, although his illness was becoming progressively more severe, he chaired the President's Working Group on the Faculty of Applied Science and Engineering; he completed the report of that group only a few weeks before he died.

During the 1982-83 academic year he was selected by a search committee to be the next Director of the Centre for Medieval Studies beginning on July 1, 1983; he accepted the appointment in hope that a period of remission would allow him to direct the Centre that he had done so much to foster and strengthen, but he did not live to take up that appointment.

Angus Cameron was always concerned to reach out from the academic community to the world beyond, interpreting his work so that a larger audience could understand it. He made a number of videotapes, spoke in schools and on the radio, and was never too busy to show someone around the Dictionary offices. He was a deeply religious man, and in the last weeks of his life gave a series of four lectures interpreting Northrop Frye's book on the Bible, The Great Code, to his congregation at the Rosedale United Church. At a memorial service for Angus conducted on May 30, 1983, the minister of the church, the Rev. Robert Wallace, remarked about the deep faith Angus had and the way in which it was interwoven with the early literature he loved:

> Finally, he came to depth early in life, through a deep love of God, begun before memory in his parents' home, but owned as an adult faith as he matured. This faith carried him over the last few fearful months, with gallantry. He had learned to say, with Boethius,
>
> > From Thee, great God, we spring,
> > To Thee we tend,
> > Path, motive, guide,
> > Original, and end.
>
> It seems to me we would want to say what Hrothgar said to Beowulf on seeing him, words which Angus knew well. "The wise God sent these words into your mind. I never heard a man so young in age speak more knowingly. You are strong in might, prudent in mind, and wise in words. The longer I know you, dear Beowulf, the better your character pleases me."

Angus is survived by his wife, Wendy, his daughters Susannah and Claire, his mother, Mrs. Graham Cameron, his brother, Ian, and his sister, Mrs. Jean Mason.

There are few in full career who have made so great a contribution to their discipline, to their university, and to their colleagues, and hardly any in a career cut short before reaching even its normal midpoint. Angus Cameron was perceptive and thorough as a scholar, effective yet gentle as an administrator, possessed of steady good judgment and an awe-inspiring capacity to take everything in stride, even his last illness. All who knew him will remember especially his good-humored laughter and his undiminished optimism.

Continued: the Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture

As a result of the interest shown at the Eighteenth International Congress at Western Michigan University, May 5-8, 1983 an ad-hoc committee of Anglo-Saxonists has sought to continue the initiatives begun by the Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture. Accordingly the committee has organized six sessions for the Nineteenth International Congress, May 10-13. The "Pre-session" described below will occur on the morning of Thursday, May 10 before the Congress proper so as to allow maximum participation by those interested in working towards a volume to replace Ogilvy's Books Known. Other sessions will take place as part of the regular Congress schedule. See the Fall, 1982 OEN (pp. 22-24), and the Spring 1983 OEN (pp. 12, 58-69) for information on 1983 activities.

The schedule for the May 1984 Symposium is:

A Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture

Pre-Session: A Catalog of Anglo-Saxon Literary Sources

co-chairmen: Thomas D. Hill (Cornell University)
Paul E. Szarmach (SUNY-Binghamton)

panelists: Carl T. Berkhout (University of Arizona)
James E. Cross (University of Liverpool)
Colin Chase (University of Toronto)
David R. Howlett (Dictionary of Medieval Latin)
Ashley Crandell Amos (University of Toronto)

Literary Sources I

chair: Paul E. Szarmach (SUNY-Binghamton)

James E. Cross (University of Liverpool)
"The Importance of Pembroke College Cambridge MS 25"

Colin Chase (University of Toronto)
"The Sources and Meaning of Felix's Life of Guthlac"

David R. Howlett (Dictionary of Medieval Latin)
"Biblical Style in the Parker Chronicle"

Literary Sources II

chair: Thomas D. Hill (Cornell University)

Earl R. Anderson (Cleveland State University)
"Queen Emma and the Battle of Maldon"

William Stoneman (University of Toronto)
"The Latin and Old English Notes in the Old English Illustrated Hexateuch (BL Cotton Claudius B.iv)"

Charles Wright (Cornell University)
"Vercelli Homily IX in its Insular Context"

Literary Sources III: "Bede the Interpreter: Exegesis and the Arts of Discourse"

Session Organizer: Martin Irvine (Wayne State University)

chair: George Brown (Stanford University)

Martin Irvine (Wayne State University)

"Bede the Grammarian"

Roger Ray (University of Toledo)

"Bede the Rhetorician"

David Ganz (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)

"The Reception of Bede's Grammatical Textbooks in the Carolingian Empire: A New Perspective on His Influence"

Interdisciplinary Approaches: "The Ninth Century: Archaeological, Art Historical, Linguistic Perspectives"

chair: Robert T. Farrell (Cornell University)

Mildred Budny (University College London)

"The Illustrated Royal Bible from St. Augustine's Abbey"

Paul Bauschatz (University of Maine-Orono)

"English and Latin in the Ninth Century"

Richard Bailey (University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne)

"Perspectives on Anglo-Saxon Art in the Ninth Century"

Research Tools I

chair: Catherine Brown Tkacz (Catholic University of America)

Jane Roberts (University of London King's College)

"A Thesaurus-Skeleton for Old English"

David L. Jeffrey (University of Ottawa)

"A Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature"

Catherine Brown Tkacz (Catholic University of America)

"Needed: A Motif-Index of the Bible"

Research Tools II

chair: Thomas H. Ohlgren (Purdue University)

Thomas H. Ohlgren (Purdue University)

"The Index to Iconographic Contents in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Progress Report"

Michael M. Gorman (Boston, Massachusetts)

"The First Quire of the Codex Amiatinus: Was it Copied from the Codex Grandior of Cassiodorus?"

Charles Wright (Cornell University)

"The Contribution of Helmut Gneuss' 'Preliminary List of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1100' to the Index to Iconographic Subjects"

Mildred Budny (London, England)

"Additions and Corrections to the Index to Iconographic Subjects"

Carl T. Berkhout (University of Arizona)

"On Constructing a Photobiliography for the Index to Iconographic Subjects"

Index to Iconographic Subjects in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Report #3

As reported previously in OEN 15 (1 and 2), a group of scholars in Anglo-Saxon art history, history, literature, and codicology is working on a one-volume inventory of and index to all-known Anglo-Saxon manuscripts containing iconographically-identifiable subjects. To date, the project group has provisionally identified, described, and indexed 223 manuscripts. In April, 1983, copies of the Draft Version were sent to twenty-five contributors and advisors. In addition, a paper on the project was presented at the NEH-sponsored Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture, held at the Eighteenth International Congress on Medieval Studies (May, 1983). Based upon responses received from the advisory group and from interested participants at the Kalamazoo meeting, several additional changes are now being made. First, upon the suggestion of Charles Wright (Cornell), the codicological information about the manuscripts is being changed to conform to the system used by Helmut Gneuss in "A Preliminary List of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1100" [ASE 9 (1981), 1-60]. The Index will follow Gneuss' method of listing titles, dates, and origins. In addition, we will use his system of plus-signs and asterisks to indicate when a text is in Old English; his dating scheme (ix in.; ix^1; ix med.; ix^2; ix ex.); and his use of parentheses to indicate Irish or Continental origin. The Index will include cross-references to Gneuss' list. Secondly, the iconographic descriptions of the 3000-plus illustrations are in the process of being completely revised according to the standards of the Index of Christian Art at Princeton. During the first week of August 1983 Thomas Ohlgren, the project director, redescribed many of the entries in the Draft Version using the files at Princeton. The resulting revised descriptions are now more accurate, consistent, and detailed. Thirdly, on the advice from Nigel Morgan, director of the Princeton Index, the index to iconographic subjects (one of the five indexes accompanying the inventory of manuscripts) is being revised to conform to the list of short titles in the Editor's File used at Princeton. Thus, the project will adhere closely to two important standards: Gneuss' Handlist and the descriptive standards of the Index of Christian Art.

A session on the project has been scheduled for the Nineteenth International Congress on Medieval Studies. A revised edition of the Draft Version of the Index to Iconographic Subjects in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts will be available soon. Inquiries concerning the project should be directed to:

Thomas H. Ohlgren
Department of English
Purdue University
West Lafayette, IN 47907

Word Processing for Anglo-Saxonists

Donald K. Fry

State University of New York, Stony Brook

Word processors save energy for writers, mostly by alleviating the drudgery of repetitive typing, especially for poor typists like me. The following paragraphs give some notions on selecting a word processor, admittedly biased advice. I assume that most Anglo-Saxon scholars compose larger documents, have little money to spend, and lack technical expertise or the desire to become computer buffs.

Word processors accept text from the writer by means of a **keyboard.** They display the typed text on the **screen** of a **monitor,** which looks like a television set. They store information by means of **disks, tapes,** or electronic **memory.** The writer modifies the text on the screen until satisfied with it, and then transfers it to a **printer,** which types the text on paper.

Most word processors can display the text in various **formats,** and can play magic tricks on the screen. The previous paragraphs appear with "justified" right margins, but this paragraph has "unjustified" or "ragged right" margins. The writer can specify various **fonts,** such as **boldface, shadow,** underlined, double underlined, superscript, subscript, and normal. The writer can manipulate the margins, making them smaller as in this example you are reading right now, or larger as in this line, which can go all the way out to 132 spaces, although I don't intend to take it out that far because my paper is not that wide, as you see.

Word processors make writing easy because of the simplicity of making changes on the screen. The writer can change a character by simply overtyping it with the correct letter or numbere. I can correct that last word by putting my **cursor** under the extra e and touching the **delete key.** (Notice that the margins have returned to right justified in this paragraph.) You can add letters or words simply by putting the cursor where you want it, touching the **insert key,** typing whatever you want to add, then closing up the text with one keystroke. You can also **insert** and **delete** sentences, lines, paragraphs, pages, and even whole documents. The machine can **search** for a word you want to find throughout your text, allowing you to change it as necessary. You can instruct it to **replace** the word with a different (correct!) spelling throughout the text. For example, if I mix the two spellings of "processor" (or "processer") in my text, I can tell the machine to **search and replace** each "processer" with "processor." You can also use a separate program to check your spelling, except it makes hash of Old English quotations.

Let's divide our discussion into **hardware** and **software.** Hardware means the physical machines involved, and software means the **programs** or electronic instructions for the hardware. First, the hardware consists of two parts: the **computer** and the **printer.** The **printer** is simply a fancy electronic typewriter, usually without a keyboard, which types whatever the computer tells it to. The two machines communicate by means of electronic cables between

them. The **computer** consists of a **processing unit, memory devices,** a **keyboard,** and a **monitor,** which includes a **screen.** Some computers have all these things in one cabinet, and some spread them all over your desk, with cables in between. The computer displays things on the screen, and gets most of its information from the writer at the keyboard. The processing unit does the electronic work. Memory devices feed software information into the computer, and receive information for storage from it. Memory devices come in various forms. Some memory resides inside the computer itself. Memory may be stored by a connected **tape recorder,** which keeps things on **tape.** Memory may reside on **a disk drive,** a kind of tape recorder; one might think of **memory disks** as tapes in flat round form. **Disks** come in two forms: **floppies** and **hard. Floppies** look like limp records in sleeves, and you insert them in **disk drives** to play them. **Hard disks** are like stiff records which cannot be removed from their players; they cost a fortune.

We describe memory in **bytes;** one byte equals one character or letter. For simplicity, bytes are expressed in thousands of bytes, or **kilobytes,** abbreviated **"K."** So 64K equals 64000 bytes. (Actually, a kilobyte is 1024 bytes, so 64K is 65536 bytes; not to worry.) Memory comes in two forms: **ROM** (Read Only Memory) and **RAM** (Random Access Memory). The computer's internal instructions are in ROM, and the writer nevers worries about it. RAM is working memory, the writer's tool, analogous to paper. The machine has RAM inside it, which it uses to manipulate text. Word processing can be done with very little RAM, but at least 64K allows sophisticated work. More memory means faster work. Tape and disk memory is RAM.

Printers come in two versions: **dot matrix** and **letter quality. Dot matrix** printers form letters by a series of almost connected dots; they are cheap, fast, and can be programmed for special letters, such as thorn or eth. **Letter quality** printers use fixed type on **thimbles** or **daisy wheels** to form letters. A daisy wheel printed this document, which looks typewritten. Letter quality printers cost more, are slower, and print beautifully. Few journals will accept a typescript in dot matrix printing. **Print speed** is expressed in characters per second (**cps**); a 40 cps printer will type a doublespaced page in about 45 seconds.

Software consists of **programs,** or electronic instructions for the computer. For example, a word processor program interacts with the computer to tell it how to handle instructions from the writer, how to accept and record external memory, and how to operate the printer. Word processing programs vary in complexity of functions, price, ease of learning and use, and compatibility with other programs. Scholars need a program suitable for complex page formatting, larger documents, and compatibility with data base management programs (i.e., searchable bibliographies).

Scholars need a **screen oriented** program rather than a **line oriented** one. **Screen oriented** programs show the text on the screen as typed, with such features as **word wrap,** i.e., automatic carriage return. Some programs display the text in exactly the form in which it will be printed, and others show the text with **embedded formatting commands** on the screen. I find the latter type maddening, especially for textual editing. The most popular

program, "Wordstar," has very powerful and handy features. But it is hard to learn, with hundreds of memorized commands, and it does not show on the screen exactly what will appear in the printed version. I prefer "Easy Writer II DOS," a friendly program for large documents, almost exact match of screen and printer, and easy commands in English. But all programs are wonderful.

How does all this stuff go together? Let's walk through one simple process, writing this piece you're reading. I turn on the machines, insert the **program disk** into one drive and a **data disk** into the other. The computer asks me the date, and presents me with a **menu** of things I can do. I select "**edit.**" I name a document "Word Processing for Anglo-Saxonists," and the computer presents me with a blank screen. I set the **ruler** for margins, tabs, pica, and single-space. I type the text, and make any corrections and revisions I want. I tell the machine which document I want to print, and how many copies. I insert the paper, and the printer types me a perfect copy. The machine stores this text on the disk until I erase it, and I can return to it later to revise it for updating, or for other purposes in other forms. You're reading the latest of ten revisions, but I only typed the whole text once.

What does all this machinery and software cost? You can do it with a Timex 1000, a tape recorder, a small printer, and cheap software for under $200; but the results are slow and primitive. You can do miracles with an Apple Lisa for about $11,000. You can purchase an excellent computer and a fast letter quality printer with a little clever shopping under $4000. For professors, the entire cost is deductible from income tax. But before you buy anything, read Peter Williams's Word Processing Book, try out a lot of machines and software (preferably in a friend's study with lots of leisure), and shop around. Everything is discounted heavily. At the moment (October 23, 1983), I would recommend the IBM Personal Computer with a C. Itoh F-10 printer (about $4000), the Epson QX-10 with RX-80 printer (about $3000), and the Kaypro II with Smith Corona TP-1 printer (about $2000).

N.B. I know of no daisy wheel with Anglo-Saxon characters available at the moment. The wheel printing this note is a Camwil WP Elite 12 (M2070), an Icelandic font I got from a friend in Reykjavík. Here are the relevant characters:

Ð ð Þ þ Æ æ Ö ö

Computer Print Wheels For Old English Text

Milton McC. Gatch
Union Theological Seminary

The word processor brings to the Anglo-Saxonist the same frustration that was experienced with the typewriter: the difficulty of obtaining the typefaces needed for Old English (and, for some of us, Anglo-Latin) text. Dramco Sales, Inc., in New York has recently cast special type and modified a print —or "Daisy"— wheel for a Radio Shack DWP 410 printer, which I use with Radio Shack's TRS-80 Model III Microcomputer and the SuperScripsit word-processing program. (The machinery is cumbersome to move from my winter to my summer work stations, but I have not experienced the fragility of which D. K. Fry complains in this line of computers.) The typeface employed for my print wheel is Courier (10 pitch).

The expense for special molds for extra type faces having already been met, students of Old English could now have 10-pitch Courier print wheels for most printers that use "daisy wheel" modified by Dramco at fairly reasonable cost. Modification of a "daisy wheel" to include ash [æ, Æ], eth [ð, Ð], and thorn [þ, Þ] would probably cost between $150 and $200. The modification recently performed by Dramco replaced umlauted a, o, and u (upper and lower case) with the Old English characters and also substituted hooked e [ę] for c with cedilla.

Scholars ordering special print wheels are required by Dramco to supply fresh wheels for use on their printers. Computers must be specially programmed to call up characters that do not normally appear on a typewriter keyboard, and (at least on the equipment discussed here) a code rather than the character to be printed appears on the computer display screen.

The following sample of OE text, the beginning of the Sermo Lupi ad Anglos, uses subscript 7 to approximate the ms. sign for and:

> Leofan men, gecnawað þæt soð is: ðeos worold is on ofste, ⁊ hit nealæcð þam ende, ⁊ þy hit is on worolde aa swa leng swa wyrse; ⁊ swá hit sceal nyde for fólces synnan ær Antecristes tocyme yfelian swýþe, ⁊ huru hit wyrð þænne egeslic ⁊ grimlic wide on worolde.

Inquiries about special orders should be directed to Dramco Sales, Inc., Suite 2800, 500 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10110. Ms. Madeline Brawer of Dramco has recently been the person responding to inquiries.

The Song of Hildibrand

I SING IT HERE as I've heard it sung,
how Hildibrand and Hadubrand, between hostile hordes,
baited one another to bloody fight.
Father and son fastened on war-gear,
donned battle-helms, buckled their swords
over hauberks, and hurried to their doom.
Hildibrand spoke first, the hoary war-smith,
old but in winters, and asked the other
fairly in few words who his father was
of heroes among the folk. "Is your household known?
Tell me of one and I can tally the others;
All the earls of these nations are known well to me."
Hadubrand answered, Hildibrand's heir:
"Trust-worthy friends have told me often--
warriors of past ages, wiser men than I am--
that he was Hildibrand. Hadubrand is my name.
From the fury of Odovacar he fled to the east
to Theodoric's camp and his trusted thanes.
He rode eastward bereft of his rights,
a friendless man, to fierce Theodoric,
who then flaunted the force of my father's steel.
Furious with Odovacar my father swore oaths
to stand by Theodoric then and forever.
Ever quick at the fight, ever first at the foe,
he stood tall in the eyes of the most terrible men.
Yet he left in this land, in the lap of a young mother,
in the bower of ladies, a boy still ungrown.
That was long ago. He lives no more."
To this Hildibrand sighed: "In heaven the gods know
that you have never cleft a kinsman so close."
From his arms he uncoiled curious wrist-bands
wrought of pure gold, gifts of his king,
the chief of the Huns. "Choose which you will."

Hadubrand answered, Hildibrand's heir:
"A hero takes gifts with a hardened edge,
a hilt for a hilt. You are a hoary Hun,
over-clever and cunning, a conniver with words.
You are afraid to fling forth your spear,
and so, weak and weary, you work easy lies.
Sailors from the west over the Wendels' sea
have told me again and again how he was trampled in fight.
Hildibrand is dead, Heribrand's son."
Hildibrand spoke, Heribrand's heir:
"I see by your arms you are set high in your land
by a ring-giving king who rewards you well.
You are no wretch run out of the realm.
Oh! mighty gods, how evil runs fast!
In sixty winters I have wandered far,
been first at the foe in front of the fight.
No man was my bane before any burg.
Now the son of my flesh would slash with sword,
slit with edge, or, I slay him first.
From a man old as I you might with ease
win an old armor, waste an old life,
if you have right with you and your youth overcomes,
if I were the turn-tail of the tribes of the east,
if I begged off battle before your boldness.
The winner in war will wear well his fame,
clad in war-won booty, wondrous spoils.
while the doomed lies dying, dragged from his war-sark."
Fresh ashen spears spring from right hands,
and sharp showers rained hard on shields.
Both stepped together and struck with their swords,
slashed and beat hard at sun-brightened shields,
until the covers were caved and broken,
beaten by brands....

Paul B. Taylor
University of Geneva

British Library, Cotton Otho A.viii, fols. 7-34

Before the 1731 fire in the Cotton library the Old English translation of Bili's Vita sancti Machutis (BHL 5116) comprised fols. 43-86 of MS. Otho A.viii,[1] of which fragments of twenty-eight remain: mounted, arranged wildly out of order, and foliated 7-34. Humfrey Wanley quoted the incipit, still preserved on fol. 7r, and the lost explicit: Ealle weorold gemæro. on his handa syndon Welan and wuldor and blisse. on him butan ende þurhwuniaþ. þæm is wyrþmynt 7 wuldor. on ealra weorolda weorold. AMEN.[2] The extant witnesses of the Latin source disclose the true order fols. 7, two-leaf gap, 9, 29, 8, 32, 24, 11, 30, 20, 28, 25, 27, 18, 17, 21, 23, 15, 13, 16, 33, 31, 22, 14, 26, 10, with 8-9, 16-17, 21-24, and 28 reversed. Nothing in the Latin matches fols. 12, 19, or 34. At least traces of anywhere from 20 to 24 lines survive on each page. The Latin indicates that most leaves once had 24 lines a side and that the eight consecutive fols. 18, 17, . . . 33 once had 22.

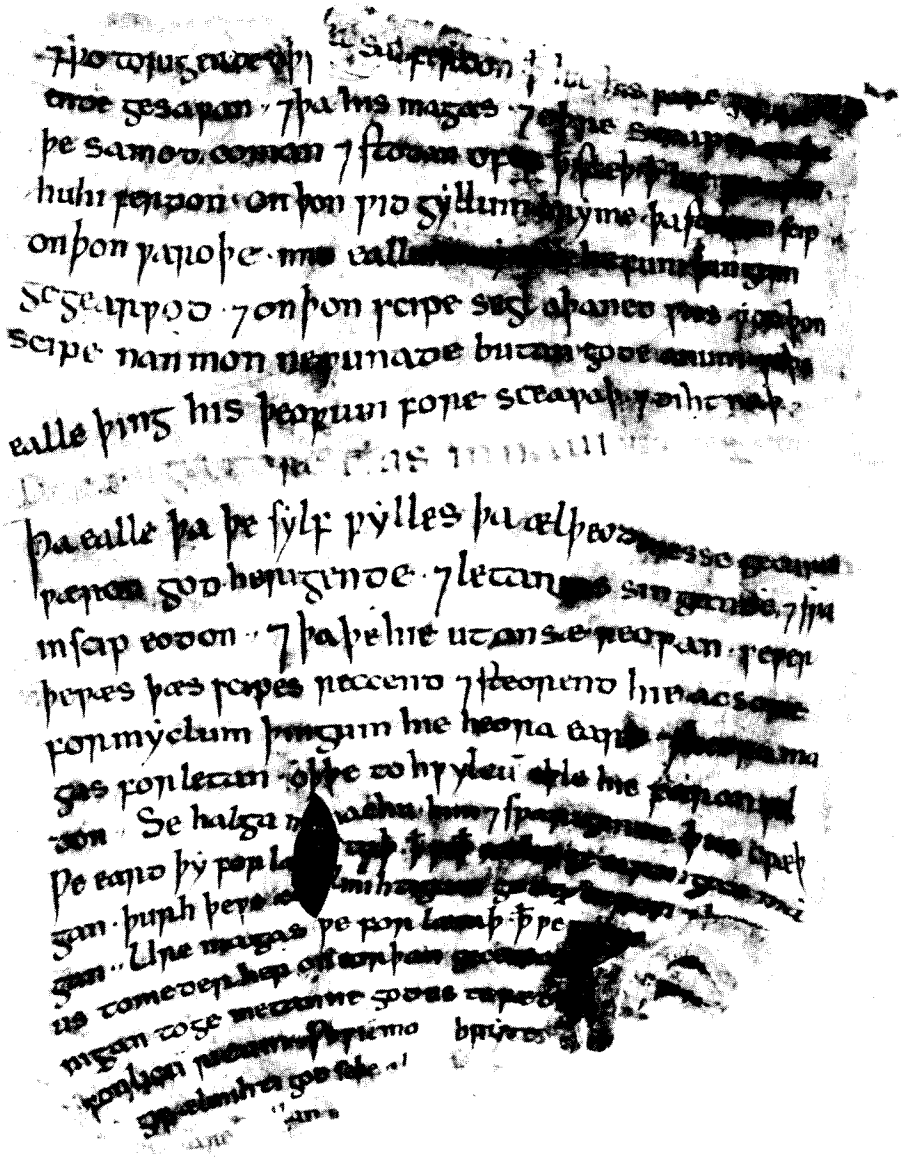
Neil R. Ker described the writing of fols. 7-34 thus: "A firm, rather square hand, perhaps of the first quarter of s. xi: high e is used occasionally in ligature with a following t [and once, in ætstandendra on fol. 13r, with a following n]: the second limb of r is often crooked, giving the letter a majuscule appearance (cf. no. 260 [British Library MS. Royal 8.C.vii, fols. 1 and 2]): the three forms of s are used, the low and the round s commonly and the long s before consonants: y is straight-limbed and usually dotted. The first letter of a sentence is filled with red or (f. 20 only) gold. The [(Latin) incipit and] titles of the chapters are in red, in rustic capitals or in the script of the text."[3] Punctuation consists of the medial point and for stronger breaks either the point followed by a (medial) comma or, beginning on fol. 31, the semicolon. Also, curiously, the scribe uses only þ, never ð, uppercase or lower.

David Yerkes
Columbia University

[1] A Report from the Committee Appointed to View the Cottonian Library (London, 1732), p. 48; rpt. in Reports from Committees of the House of Commons Which Have Been Printed by Order of the House and Are Not Inserted in the Journals, vol. 1 (London, 1803), pp. 464-65. Fol. 87 contained "Homiliæ in natali S. Machuti, Christi Confessoris; ita titulus se habet: sed desiderantur ipsæ, unico folio tantum relicto"; fol. 42, "De obitu Bedæ, Cuthberti, ejus discipuli, epistola" (ibid.; see a forthcoming issue of Notes and Queries). For the current fols. 1-6--once 3-4, 8, 15-16, and 39, with 2 and 5-6 reversed--from Goscelin's "Vita" and "Textus translationis sanctae Mildrithae," see OEN, 16 no. 1 (1982), 28-29 and Revue Bénédictine, 93 (1983), 128-31.

[2] Librorum vett. septentrionalium . . . catalogus (Oxford, 1705) [vol. 3 ("liber alter") of George Hickes' Linguarum vett. septentrionalium thesaurus grammatico-criticus et archæologicus], p. 232. Note the otherwise unrecorded compound weoroldgemære.

[3] Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon (Oxford, 1957), no. 168, p. 219.



Reproduced by permission of the British Library from an ultraviolet photograph of MS. Cotton Otho A.viii, fol. 20r; actual size 11 x 15 cm (pr. Gwenaël Le Duc, Les Dossiers du Centre régional archéologique d'Alet, B-1979 [Rennes], pp. 90 and 92).

THE YEAR'S WORK IN OLD ENGLISH STUDIES - 1982

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

In this sixteenth year of The Year's Work in Old English Studies, the year in which the International Association of Anglo-Saxonists first met in Brussels, the increase of important scholarly work on pre-Conquest England is even more impressive than it has been in the past. As scholarship increases, the need for assessing its coverage, its direction, and its value also becomes greater. And, alongside these developments, the difficulty of providing a rapid accounting of scholarly work on Anglo-Saxon England also increases. The more extensive the work, the greater the need; the greater the need, the more challenging the task.

But the task of reviewing a vast number of books, monographs, articles, and notes has been met with equanimity by twelve contributors, appointed annually by the editor of YWOES. While the editor also establishes reviewing procedures, the opinions of each reviewer are his own, not those of the YWOES staff or the editors of OEN. The editor tries to eliminate duplicate discussions of books and articles but sometimes coverage of a work of scholarship is necessary in more than one section of YWOES. Abbreviations for the names of journals conform, as much as possible, to the comprehensive list published in the annual MLA Bibliography. The 1980 list is still the authority, since it cross-lists journals and acronyms. Journals which are not listed by MLA (e.g., journals of history, theology, onomastics, art history) are either given in full or with a few unmistakable abbreviations. Books and articles which are reviewed but which were not listed in the OEN Bibliography for 1982 are marked with an asterisk (*). Each reviewer has appended a section of "Works not seen," but frequently dissertations, redactions, or works for children are silently omitted.

The hope in late 1982 that this year's YWOES would be produced on a fully-equipped word processor was not realized. YWOES 1982 was produced on an IBM Selectric II with an Icelandic "golfball." Fortunately, this difficult text was typed by Claire Sundeen, complete mistress of these arts, to whom the editor and contributors are altogether grateful. Thanks are also due Professor Sergei Nirenburg of Colgate University for help with Russian texts reviewed in section 2 and Professor Richard G. Newton of St. John Fisher College for help with Italian texts reviewed in section 3.d.

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

C. C.	Colin Chase, University of Toronto
J. D. C.	John David Cormican, Utica College
J. P. C.	James Patrick Carley, The University of Rochester
R. T. F.	Robert T. Farrell, Cornell University
D. K. F.	Donald K. Fry, State University of New York at Stony Brook
M. McC. G.	Milton McCormick Gatch, Union Theological Seminary
J. R. H.	James R. Hall, University of Mississippi
T. G. H.	Thomas G. Hahn, The University of Rochester
M. M.	Matthew Marino, University of Alabama
D. A. E. P.	David A. E. Pelteret, University of Toronto
J. B. T.	Joseph B. Trahern, Jr., University of Tennessee

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

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS

Earlier interest in our earliest literature seems to hold a growing fascination for contemporary scholars. The most striking demonstration of these concerns this year is Anglo-Saxon Scholarship: The First Three Centuries, ed. C. T. Berkhout and M. McC. Gatch (Boston: G. K. Hall). Michael Murphy's initial essay, "Antiquary to Academic: The Progress of Anglo-Saxon Scholarship" (1-17), presents a brief overview of research on OE language and literature from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries. He emphasizes that at the outset and often afterwards, such endeavors were regarded as a recapturing of the past as well as a commitment toward the future (often itself modeled on an idealized past). He serves up short assessments of the work of Archbishop Parker and his associates, of Nowell, Lambarde, Spelman, Selden, D'Ewes, Somner, Whelock, and some of the lesser luminaries from the close of the seventeenth century--Fell, Marshall, Elstob (William), Charlett, Nicolson, and Gibson. He considers Hickes, Thwaites, Wanley, and Elizabeth Elstob, and the hostilities toward antiquarianism that accompanied the eclipse of OE studies in the mid-eighteenth century. He concludes with a glance at the more "scientific" work of Mayo, Ingram, Conybeare, Rask, Thorpe, and Kemble. The essay breaks no new ground, but will stand as a compact guide to newcomers, and it does succeed in giving the impression of a collective effort to the work of these individuals.

Ronald E. Buckalew, in "Nowell, Lambarde, and Leland: The Significance of Laurence Nowell's Transcript of Ælfric's Grammar and Glossary" (Anglo-Saxon Scholarship, ed. Berkhout and Gatch, 19-50), produces a full and careful examination of the MSS of these texts and their relationships. The heart of the essay consists of a study of the peculiarities that identify those MSS used by Leland, Nowell, and, earlier, Robert Talbot. At length Buckalew shows that the two antiquarians worked from MSS of Ælfric that differed from one another and from all those now extant. He concludes that Nowell was an exceptionally learned and careful scholar, careful enough so that his transcript may serve as a witness to the OE text. Yet Nowell did compress Ælfric's Grammar, sometimes reducing the original by as much as seventy-five percent. Theodore H. Leinbaugh, in "Ælfric's Sermo de Sacrificio in Die Pascae: Anglican Polemic in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" (51-68), treats the textual history of Ælfric's Easter Homily in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century editions. These editions--Parker's Testimonie of Antiquitie (1566) and subsequent printings by Foxe, L'Isle, Guild, Ussher, and Whelock--hold our interest not as witnesses to Ælfric's text, but for the motives readers may have in reading a text. Leinbaugh provides an historical analysis of Ælfric's theology, combining positions of Paschasius Radbertus and Ratramnus of Corbie. But his indictment of these early editors' "editorial bias" or their guilt in "printing misleading or inaccurate annotations" mistakes, I think, their intentions: while their texts fail to meet modern standards of editorial practice, their excisions and emendations reveal different standards of truth, or a notion of truth that differs from ours. That Ælfric should, then and now, stand as a figure of controversy makes plain his power, both as a writer in himself and in the needs and interests of those who continually wish to go back to these texts.

In her essay on dictionary making and use, "The Recovery of the Anglo-Saxon Lexicon" (79-89), M. Sue Hetherington reviews the researches and procedures she set out in detail in her valuable study, The Beginnings of Old English Lexicography (1980). Her essay certainly belongs in such a volume as this, as much for its matter as for the sense of coherence it provides in surveying the relationships between these early scholars (Parker and Nowell to Somner). In her essay on seventeenth-century literature, "The Saxonists' Influence on Seventeenth-Century English Literature" (91-105), Sandra A. Glass indicates that academic and legal studies indeed had some effect on more popular and artful writing. She begins with the image of the Angles and Saxons in Camden and Verstegen, and shows how this affected Drayton's view in Poly-Olbion that "These noble Saxons were a Nation hard and strong." Drayton's poem carried a (somewhat skeptical) commentary by Selden as well. Thomas Deloney and William Slatyer similarly reflected the heroic image in their writings, and, as Glass remarks, Milton certainly knew about this, though whether he may have read Junius's edition of "Cædmon" remains a topic for speculation and debate. Moreover, Middleton wrote a play, Hengist, King of Kent, Anthony Brewer one on Canute, and, much later, Rymer composed "an heroick Tragedy" on Edgar (1677). A number of writers who debated theories of language, and poetical diction in particular, argued for a return to Saxon purity; Alexander Gil, for example, chastised Chaucer for corrupting the undefiled well of native English.

In 1982, three separate essays take as their primary subject the publications and activities of Elizabeth Elstob. Sarah H. Collins, in "The Elstobs and the End of the Saxon Revival" (107-118), places the most productive sector of Elstob's career in its proper historical and academic context during the first two decades of the eighteenth century. Collins points out that so much of this early research took the shape of underground activity, resulting frequently in unpublished (though sometimes much circulated) manuscripts; she discusses in particular William Elstob's editions of the OE Orosius (finally published in 1773) and of a collection of Anglo-Saxon laws (lost in the 1720's), and Elizabeth's edition of Ælfric's Catholic Homilies (both series). All of these texts were made ready for the press, and prospectuses, title pages, or partial runs were produced for several; yet none appeared in the authors' lifetimes. Collins quotes frequently from MS sources to illustrate the efforts of the Elstobs: Elizabeth's progress in copying Ælfric in 1711-1712 can be traced by the dates she inserted in her transcript, and during this same time she made a fine copy of the Textus Roffensis (now B. L. MS Harley 1866), imitating with remarkable success (as judged by Wanley) the insular hand. Elizabeth's edition (with partial translations) survives in six MS volumes, as do her Testimonies (printed) in favor of the edition and thirty-two pages of proof sheets of the Homilies. One hopes that Professor Collins will soon make more of these materials available in print.

Shaun F. D. Hughes, in "The Anglo-Saxon Grammars of George Hickes and Elizabeth Elstob," (119-147), uses Elstob's Rudiments of Grammar (1715) as a lens for focusing on some of its predecessors: Thwaites's Grammatica (1711) and in particular Hickes's Institutiones (1689) and Thesaurus (1705). Hickes's sources and methodologies in treating parts of speech and syntax, and in devising paradigms and presenting tenses, moods, vocabulary, and so on

constitute the real subject of this essay; his work is seen in the context of Renaissance grammatical theory and of earlier English and northern grammars. On this score, Hughes's essay makes a valuable contribution to the history of linguistics and rhetoric, but it also offers a clearer understanding of Elstob's distinctive achievement. Hers is not only the first grammar of OE in English, but, in Hughes's opinion, the best up to Sweet's Reader (1876). Her thorough assimilation of the earlier works enabled her to produce "not a slavish imitation" but her own clear guide for students, modeled partly on Ælfric's similar book. Her presentation of material outstrips Bosworth's grammar (1823) in "clarity, concision, and flair" (140), and, if more widely read, might have facilitated and encouraged Anglo-Saxon studies just at a time when they experienced a temporary decline.

Mary Elizabeth Green's essay, "Elizabeth Elstob: 'The Saxon Nymph' (1683-1756)" (Female Scholars..., ed. J. R. Brink [Montreal: Eden Press Women's Publications, 1980], 137-160), takes fuller account of the social context in which "the Saxon nymph" pursued her studies. The first half of the essay considers the prejudices, against antiquarian studies and against women, that encompassed Elstob's career, and a general account of this sort --cataloguing the opinions of the Elizabethans on scholarship, as well as the scorn Burton, Locke, Swift, Pope, and females for such learning--has its uses. The second half of the essay provides an overview of Elstob's life: this makes good use of perceptions of Elstob in private correspondence and anecdote, but it is based entirely on earlier published sources and, consequently, lacks the detail of recent work done on Elstob, based on documentary research. It offers one more fragment in a portrait that is now gradually being reformed.

Michael Murphy's article, "Humfrey Wanley on How to Run a Scholarly Library" (Lib Qtly 52, 145-155), begins with the account of Zacarias von Uffenbach of the state--disorganized and neglected--of English libraries in the early eighteenth century. Wanley, whom von Uffenbach does not mention, was the great exception, and Murphy provides a sketch of his life, as SPCK secretary and then librarian of the Harley collection. Wanley claimed during the first decade of the century that he was working seventeen hours a day, and from this effort came his great Catalogue. Wanley eventually took charge of acquisitions for Harley's collection, and suggested to his employer that a new depository, based on that of the Vatican Library, be designed for the collection. During his entire career Wanley concerned himself with the details as well as the philosophy of librarianship, and the draft letter Murphy prints discourses on the former: whether books should be arranged alphabetically or by size, precautions to be taken in circulation and use, relationships between employees, working hours (8 to 12 and 1 to 4 in winter, 8 to 12 and 2 to 5 or 6 in summer), admission charges, and the cultivation of benefactors (he advises ignoring those who give less than two pounds). Wanley's attention to every aspect of operation well represents the mind that produced the Catalogue.

Janice V. Lee, in "Political Antiquarianism Unmasked: the Conservative Attack on the Myth of the Ancient Constitution" (BIHR 55, 166-179), reveals yet another use of the Anglo-Saxon past in her study of political reformers and controversialists in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century England. Obadiah Hulme, John Cartwright, Thomas Oldfield, and George Ensor used antiquarian studies and their own researches on OE political tradition

to demonstrate a constitutional warrant for wider suffrage. The debate over the nature of the witenagemot and other issues between popular and aristocratic factions was carried on in reviews and books and pamphlets. It eventually involved Sharon Turner, who in his History (3rd edn., 1820) deprecated the attempt to create from Anglo-Saxon studies an historical or political precedent for democratic ideals. Lee does not mention explicitly any scholars of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, though these latter-day liberal Saxonists must have consulted the earlier published research. Richard C. Payne, in "The Rediscovery of OE Poetry in the English Literary Tradition" (Anglo-Saxon Scholarship, 149-166) turns his attention to approximately the same period studied by Lee (actually ranging from ca. 1750-1830) and the rediscovery that eventually succeeded the end of the Saxon revival in the 1720's. The new interest relied upon earlier scholarly publications, but owed its immediate inspiration to a new interest in Scandinavian antiquities. It began with the translations and imitations of eddic poetry by Percy, Gray, and James Johnstone and continued in minor works such as Richard Hole's Arthur, or the Northern Enchantment (1789) and William Taylor's play Wortigerne. At the turn of the century, new attention to OE texts in the scholarly writings of Turner and Conybeare--the Exeter Book and Beowulf in particular--provided a much greater possibility of literary influence on literary compositions.

Gretchen P. Ackerman, in "J. M. Kemble and Sir Frederic Madden: 'Conceit and Too Much Germanism'?" (Anglo-Saxon Scholarship, 167-181), casts some light on the careers and personalities of two important nineteenth-century Anglo-Saxonists. The account attends not so much to direct encounters or personal differences between these two, but upon divergences in training, as these appear in temperament and background. Kemble, as a student of Grimm, championed scientific methodology, while Madden took the side of the English school, whatever it stood for. Ackerman moves back and forth chronologically, through the thrusts and parries of the scholars' published comments and Madden's diary entries. Kemble, for example, wrote to Grimm that Madden was "conceited, jealous, backbiting & ignorant." At Kemble's death, Madden, with some justice, remarked, "His overwhelming sense of himself was the rock of offense on which he fell, and his language toward those who disagreed with him was quite unbearable." The precise sequence of events seems sometimes unclear in this essay, but what strikes one is how much fuller in this period (and particularly for the Kembles) are the materials for reconstruction. Taken as a whole, Anglo-Saxon Scholarship makes clear the richness and fascination of scholarly historiography, and as well the need and the growing possibility of writing a coherent narrative that allows each of these intellectuals his or her proper role.

A series of studies takes up matters related to scholarship and antiquarianism. Michael Murphy, in "Scholars at Play: a Short History of Composing in Old English" (OEN 15.2, 26-36), offers a short, instructive, and entertaining rehearsal of translations into OE verse and prose by non-native (or post-native) speakers. The first known instance is by Laurence Nowell who supplies an OE version of the Latin text of Athelstan's laws. In 1641 Abraham Whelock and his student, John Retchford, composed a praise poem for Charles I, in short lines rhyming aabb; while the work might not have been a crime against the state, it is surely literary malfeasance. Joseph Williamson of Queen's College, Oxford, wrote commemorative verses for a treaty in 1654, and William Elstob wrote three poems at the turn of the century, one on the

death of Prince William (1700) and one on the accession of King George (1714). Murphy prints both, with translations, and they are ingenious efforts. Finally, at the start of the nineteenth century, James Ingram chose to illustrate the Saxon qualities of modern English, and so "translated" the first great period of Paradise Lost into OE. Murphy prints this, and we might wish it were unattempted yet in prose or rhyme. Josias Conybeare, Ingram's successor in the chair of Anglo-Saxon, attempted a similar exercise, though he chose to translate OI to OE (an eddic lay), adding a modern rendering for both. Murphy prints part of this as well. Leaving aside the question of whether these texts prove the professors' original points, they make for intriguing, provocative reading.

In Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard, 1981), Reginald Horsman takes as his initial epigraph Thomas Jefferson's remark: "Has not every restitution of the antient Saxon laws had happy effects? Is it not better now that we return at once into that happy system of our ancestors, the wisest and most perfect ever yet devised by the wit of man, as it stood before the 8th century?" Horsman relies on Kendrick, Gransden, Adams, and other historians of scholarship, but he examines no primary source, either OE or early modern. Jefferson had read and corresponded with the English reformer Cartwright, to whom he wrote that he hoped Virginia would divide itself into wards that "would answer to the hundreds of your Saxon Alfred." Lee's essay on English constitutionalism (see above) thus identifies a strain of thought about OE culture that influences American political tradition as well. The remainder of Horsman's book retails the fascinating and sometimes disturbing mutations that Anglo-Saxonism endures in the nineteenth century. Hugh A. MacDougall's Racial Myth in English History: Trojans, Teutons, and Anglo-Saxons (Montreal and Hanover, NH: Harvest House and Univ. of New England Press) presents a list of authors and titles that touch on this topic, rather than an analysis of the subject with its attendant social, political, and intellectual ramifications. In treating the beginnings of "Anglo-Saxonism," he mentions, in succession, Leland, Bale, Foxe, Parker and his group, Camden, and Verstegen, though only the last receives more than a paragraph's or page's attention. Likewise, in the debates over ancient law and the constitution in the seventeenth century, he glances at the work of John Hare, Nathaniel Bacon, Richard Hawkins, Sir Winston Churchill (Marlborough's father), and Milton, but spends almost no time on the more academic antiquarians and jurists (Somner, Selden, D'Ewes, and so on). For the eighteenth century, he reviews Temple and Defoe's brutally funny debunking of racial myth:

> Of sixty thousand English gentlemen,
> Whose Names and Arms in Registers remain,
> We challenge all our Heralds to declare
> Ten Families which English-Saxon are.

He then surveys the opinions of Sharon Turner, Kingsley, Froude, Green, Dilke, and Bishop Stubbs. The final chapters examine Lord Acton's position, the "scientific" arguments for racial determinism, and the decline of this outlook. The book brings together just enough material to indicate the attractiveness and potential substance of the subject, but in this form it will serve mainly as an outline or bibliographical aid, not a conclusive investigation.

More literary offshoots of OE traditions show up in several other studies. Edward A. Stephenson, in "Hopkins' 'Spring Rhythm' and the Rhythm of Beowulf" (VP 19 [1981], 97-116) employs J. C. Pope's isochronous explanation of OE meter to account for G. M. Hopkins's sprung rhythm. Hopkins had begun to write in his characteristic verse form years before he encountered OE, but when he began systematic studies he immediately saw the resemblances: "I am learning Anglosaxon and it is a vastly superior thing to what we have now....[sprung rhythm] existed in full force in Anglo saxon verse and in great beauty; in a degraded and doggrel shape in Piers Ploughman." Stephenson discusses these as parallel rhythms in English, not as an instance of historical influence. The extent of OE influence in the case of Ezra Pound becomes much clearer as a result, first, of Pound's previously unpublished essay, "The Music of Beowulf," written around 1920 (Yale Lit. Mag. 150.1, 88-91). After a concert in London, Pound went back to his text of Beowulf and identified lines that fit the "heroic chant of the Gael" that he had heard, for he felt sure the essential features of Anglo-Saxon performance had survived in traditional song. The Pound Archive at Yale, which contains the original of the essay, provides essential material as well for Fred C. Robinson's article on the poet, "'The Might of the North': Pound's Anglo-Saxon Studies and 'The Seafarer'" (YR 71, 199-224). This essay begins by establishing the paradox that modern critics see Pound's "The Seafarer" at the center of the poet's work and yet view it as an incompetent or a facile effort. Robinson demonstrates the ways in which scholarship may correct or inform criticism by manifesting that, in this case, Pound was as much a scholar as a poet. Far from being a dilettante or a knownothing with regard to OE, Pound carefully studied the language and literature while an undergraduate at Hamilton College. Robinson produces comments from letters home in which Pound recounts his progress, and he even comes up with the student's copy of Sweet with line divisions, annotations, and vocabulary insertions, showing that this was the text from which Pound--quite carefully--made his translation. Robinson gives examples of earlier translations, paraphrases, and poems (one on Cædmon) that reveal Pound as a relatively accomplished Anglo-Saxonist. He also illustrates that Pound's changes (and "blunders") were conscientious and interpretative, based not on personal whim or "poetic biases," but on close reading of Sweet and Clark Hall, and on sound philological method. It seems odd to welcome Pound as a voting member of the academy, but Robinson's defense of the poet against Sisam and against other critics is instructive and entirely convincing.

Modern students of the language and culture are provided further means for learning in several ancillary studies. Maria Vittoria Molinari's La filologia germanica (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1980) is intended for students in an introductory course in historical linguistics, or perhaps as an accompaniment in an introductory course in one of the languages described (Gothic, OE, OHG, Frisian, OI). Though the book does not at all attempt literary or cultural history, the first four chapters expatiate on "Il germanesimo," offering some estimate of political, social, religious, and intellectual life among the peoples of northern Europe in the earlier Middle Ages. The continuing assumption is that cultural unity underlies linguistic relation. The section on OE (91-117) considers historical circumstances (settlements, migration, invasions), divides the literature into distinct periods and groups, examines Latin and Scandinavian influences on OE and its dialects, and glances quickly at phonology, morphology, and syntax. Brief excerpts--

usually no more than two lines--are cited as examples, and no texts are provided for study or analysis. Though Molinari writes for Italian students, English-speaking scholars might well see new things in approaching a familiar subject and familiar texts (L'errante, Il navigante) in new guise.

A. C. Partridge's A Companion to Old and Middle English Studies (London: Deutsch; Totowa, NJ: B&N) provides short literary assessments, some philological information and linguistic aid, but in the main offers a narrative history, chiefly political though touching on social issues and intellectual traditions. Partridge apparently has undergraduate students in literature in mind as his primary audience, for much of the detail he presents in this long book is elementary in nature. Yet what might be a useful handbook fails in its purpose through a number of deficiencies. To begin at the end, the bibliography is brief but unselective, and strikingly out of date. Within the text, the author often presents material in ways that obscure his points. Bede's accounts of OE poetry indicate that "He may also have been aware of the Church's plan to transform an early version of Beowulf" (55). The conspiracy theory of literature is abetted by the "Viking-Saxon Condominium," a chapter title that will sound odd, at least to American ears. Generalizations on temperament ring with a nineteenth-century note: "The Germanic mythology was earthy and close to nature" (56); "the Celtic aspect of OE poetry...is marked by a certain romantic tenderness in natural description" (197--attested by the Riddles and the Seafarer). Other remarks seem to emerge from a territory between the unknown and the bizarre: St. Augustine's interpretive strategies are "Father Hippo's use for literature" (200); Boethius, whose chief work is repeatedly "the Consolations," is "not a Christian, but a Senecan Platonist, who believed in Providence, and probably sympathized with the Christian martyrs" (118); because King Alfred's parents died while he was young, "The prince's education at court was so neglected that he was a poor reader until his adult years" (95)--yet he engaged in debate with his "intellectual superiors" and in this way "possibly he introduced the tutorial system" (99); in addition, "Alfred is believed personally to have made" the four great translations and to have contributed "detailed parts" of the Chronicle, though the latter "may owe no more to him than encouragement" (112). Anachronistic comments abound: "Wilfrid was a prelate who in many ways anticipated Cardinal Wolsey" (79). Inappropriate standards of judgment appear perhaps most notably in the evaluation of OE poetry as characterized by "superfluous periphrases, which may be taken as want of imagination... [,by] obscurity, artificiality and sometimes unwieldy syntax" and by failure of poets to "discipline themselves to economy of phrase, or...to exploit the most fecund use of metaphor, perception of the essential beauty of relationships" (215). These peculiar features in Partridge's presentation call into question the overall worth of the book.

Several authors discuss bibliographical issues, both practical and theoretical. Donald K. Fry "reviews" the Greenfield-Robinson Bibliography and the Venezky-Healey Microfiche Concordance in "OE Reference Books" (ELN 20, 11-20) by pursuing a particular problem in research: a study of Riddle 19 from the Exeter Book. This procedure allows him to show, in a way that is both illuminating and witty, the actual strengths and deficiencies of these reference tools. He makes several suggestions, both general and specific, for improving such aids, but, as he also acknowledges, research often involves such individualized problems that no volume, no matter how intelligent or magnificently complete, will satisfy all users all the time.

Those who work mainly in literature will find support and illumination in two publications that deal with related fields. As the volume accompanying the exhibition at the British Library on the Order and its books, The Benedictines in Britain, edited by D. H. Turner and others (London: British Library, 1980) includes frequent mention of OE monasticism, as well as a number of reproductions from texts produced in Anglo-Saxon England. Among the plates are the portrait of St. Benedict from the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold, the Leofric Missal, the Regularis concordia, the Arundel Psalter, the Hatton and Harley Rules, the Pontifical of Cotton Claudius A.iii, Ælfwine's Prayerbook, the Sherborne Chartulary, and other charters, psalters, and texts. The accompanying narrative is readable and informative, and the plates are attractive in their quality and selection.

Audrey L. Meaney, Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones (BAR, British ser. 96; Oxford, 1981) presents an encyclopedic study of surviving amulets: objects kept on one's person to avert evil or encourage good. She examines amulets first by examining documentary sources, including prohibitions of phylacteria, ligatura, and other items made of plaited hair, thread, or plants; attacks on graven images and other pictorial designs; and denunciations of the use of plants, medicines, or other magical aids. Meaney quotes Bede and the Martyrology to show that the use of charms and amulets was regarded as pagan superstition. The charms indeed make up the most notable and detailed literary evidence from the OE period of the nature and use of such amulets. Meaney discusses the charm "Against Dwarf" from the Lacnunga and the metrical charms against a stitch and against a wen. Several of these charms describe and show dependence on a particular amulet. Meaney considers as well inscribed amulets mentioned in prose charms against lesions, diarrhea, spring fever, and for the favor of one's lord; three finger rings engraved with runes; and a ME charm that quotes OE words, apparently for their efficacy. Meaney takes as her criterion for defining a grave object as an amulet that it be "associated with the body in such a way as to show that it was especially valued" (26), but not valued for beauty, costliness, or use, nor connected with burial ritual. Amulets appear most frequently in the graves of children, women, and particularly pregnant women; the burial sites of warriors rarely contain them. A Kentish woman interred around 550 wore a crystal ball with a sieve spoon, a silver ring with a spiral bezel, a necklace of 133 amber and seven glass beads, and six gold bracteates, along with other items. The sieve-spoon, clearly ornamental and not for use, might have been an amulet worn by a woman to show her status, just as Hildeburgh moves through the hall serving mead. At a number of other points in her study, Meaney uses literary texts and manuscripts--the Eadwine Psalter, the prose Salamon and Saturn, a Blickling Homily, Ælfric's homilies for the feasts of St. Stephen and St. Bartholomew, Wulfstan's laws--but only in passing, to evidence a particular point. Her monograph, with its profusion of illustrations, thus provides ample material from which others may profit in literary and cultural analyses.

Two essays take up problems of pedagogy and OE literature. William C. Hale, in "The Germanic Tradition in Medieval Literature" (Teaching the Middle Ages, ed. R. V. Graybill, et al. [Warrensburg, MO], 17-24), presents a rationale and practical recommendations for the teaching of the vernacular literature of medieval northern Europe in translation. He stresses mainly the eddic lays, OI sagas, and OHG materials, especially dealing with Attila

and the Volsungs. He considers a variety of appropriate courses for such texts: Beowulf seminars and surveys of OE literature, as well as broader literary and civilization courses. A short bibliography concludes the essay. Joseph Tuso, in "The Teaching of OE" (OEN 15.2, 18-19), prints a communication from Norma J. Engberg which describes the seventy-eight page booklet she prepared for graduate and undergraduate students in OE literature. It outlines rules and characteristics for sounds, verse form, word formation, syntax, and so on, but for purposes of demonstration, not study: "It does not teach them to pronounce, to analyze, or to translate Old English; rather it gently encourages them to watch while someone else performs these tasks." Engberg mentions that the booklet has successfully built enthusiasm among her students.

The Bibliography of OE, ed. Stanley B. Greenfield (OEN: Subsidia 8), presents three assessments of published materials that relate to the study of Anglo-Saxon culture and literature. In his essay on "The Past" (3-9), E. G. Stanley devotes almost all his attention to descriptive bibliography. He surveys the few extant accounts of the early books containing Saxon type or discussing OE literature, and finds these largely inadequate in their presentation of bibliographical particulars. He also points out that much more research might be done on the history of type used in OE books--on styles, variations, distinctive traits, on the physical whereabouts and uses of individual fonts, and on the production of particular books. He concludes with the suggestion that a bibliography--or a catalogue--might be produced of "association copies of books relevant to Anglo-Saxon studies" (5); this catalogue would help in tracing the history of latter-day scholarship on OE culture.

D. K. Fry's essay on "The Present" (10-14) repeats (or foreshadows) some of the general remarks made in his long review of bibliographical aids (ELN 20, 11-20; see above). He notes some of the inevitable difficulties attendant on all research and afflicting all scholars, and emphasizes how crucial will always be the guiding intelligence--and alertness to serendipitous information--of the individual investigator. He also makes several proposals for the practical improvement of these resources. C. T. Berkhout deals with the vaguest of the three categories, "The Future" (15-22), and yet he offers a number of concrete predictions and suggestions. He argues that the progress of specialization and technology in research methods will inevitably isolate the scholar within his or her own field, making interdisciplinary knowledge and personal resourcefulness all the more important. Berkhout foresees an increase in the intensity of study and the flow of publications within Italy, Africa, Australia, and Japan, but little growth or change in the traditional approaches to the literature. One area of study where technology opens new possibilities is philology, and Berkhout argues that a logical sequel to computer-generated concordances and dictionaries might be a listing of all emended forms. More advanced research on syntax, semantics, and other features of linguistics may help eliminate the publication of irrelevant or inappropriate articles, and Berkhout urges as well more work on Anglo-Latin writings and their context, and the production of bibliographical guides to subjects, themes, topics, and so on. He concludes with a consideration of the history of scholarship--a gap in historical studies partly filled by the volume edited by Berkhout and Gatch (see above)--and the philosophy of teaching. Taken as a whole, this volume offers a useful overview of what scholars have achieved, and of the variety of tasks that remain to be done.

A review so largely given over to consideration of the traditions of scholarship and teaching in OE may fittingly conclude with acknowledgment of the tributes paid to particular scholars and teachers: these include Aldo S. Bernardo's commendation of Bernard F. Huppé (Mediaevalia 6 [1982 for 1980], 1-9), and George Hardin Brown's bibliography of Morton Bloomfield's publications (The Wisdom of Poetry, ed. Benson and Wenzel [Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Inst.], 241-258), and the memorial tributes to Dorothy Whitelock by Cecily Clark (Nomina 6, 2), Peter Clemoes (OEN 16.1, 15-17), and Dorothy Bethurum Loomis (OEN 16.1, 14-15), to N. R. Ker by Carl T. Berkhout (OEN 16.1, 18-19), G. R. C. Davies (The Times [London], 25 August, 10), and P. S. Morrish (Library Hist. 6, 57), to Bruce Dickins by Kenneth Cameron (Onoma 24 [1980], 359-360), and finally to C. E. Wright by Ruth C. Wright (Archives 15, 152-156).

Works not seen:

Black, Pamela. "Some New Light on the Career of Laurence Nowell the Antiquary," AntJ 62, 116-23.

Campbell, James, ed. The Anglo-Saxons. Oxford: Phaidon; Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press.

Renoir, Alain. "The Survival of Old English: a Contextual Exhortation to Teachers." In Geardagum 4, 1-18.

2. LANGUAGE

a. Lexicon, Glosses

Once again the good news of the work on the Historical Thesaurus of English reaches us through a variety of reports and articles. M. L. Samuels, et al., in the "Historical Thesaurus of English: Annual Report 1981-82" (OEN 16, no. 1, 20-21), report current financial stability with some unmet future needs and on the working front the promise of the imminent completion of slips. The current principles of classification seem to be holding up well under the demands of the actual work. The addition of the OE materials, under Jane Roberts's editorship, will be a most interesting expansion to the OED slips. L. W. Collier and C. J. Kay, in "The Historical Thesaurus of English" (Dictionaries 3, 80-89) elaborate on some of the practical problems in producing a thesaurus. The changes in classification, the inclusion of the lexis of OE and ME, and the inclusion of other obsolete words and senses make the Historical Thesaurus a diachronic tool that is the equivalent of the synchronous Roget's Thesaurus. A restriction to the vocabulary of standard British English has made it possible to project 1987 as the publication date. Derivatives formed with affixes are included only when the affixing date is significantly different from the base form; obvious compounds are usually excluded; post-1700 specialized technical words are generally left out; grammatical words like articles are omitted, but figurative senses of words are included at the appropriate classifications. The OED has in general been the guide on questions of headword form, grammatical labeling, frequency labeling, and dating; but the occasional deviations on these matters are only done in the desire for clarity or improvement. Definitions will still generally be the provenance of the OED; the Thesaurus is of course intended to be used in conjunction with the OED. This unique experiment demands our attention and upon completion will need all our help to continue to improve since it is in essence an open-ended work.

A. C. Amos's "Dictionary of Old English: 1981 Progress Report" (OEN 15, no. 2, 12-14) is equally heartening. The year 1981 saw the beginning of the writing of entries. The already-published Microfiche Concordance to Old English by R. L. Venezky and A. di Paolo Healey is being followed by A. Cameron's and A. Kingsmill's list of OE word studies, R. L. Venezky's and S. Butler's concordance to 197 spellings excluded from the Microfiche Concordance, and A. di Paolo Healey's and P. Eberle's lists of lexical variants for OE texts, not entered separately. A. C. Amos, in "The Lexical Treatment of the Function Words in the Dictionary of Old English" (Papers of the Dictionary Society of North America, 1979, London, Ontario, 173-79), reveals the differences in treating function words and lexical items in the Dictionary. The sheer mass of the citations requires that a selective sorting system be created. The syntactic environment rather than the grammatical class is used for the preliminary sorting. Scholars concerned with such linguistic problems hope for a thorough analytic treatment based on the varied functions of the words; the Dictionary promises as full a set of definitions and classifications as is necessary to make very fine distinctions.

Two works that are independent of the two large-scale scholarly projects in OE lexis perhaps have some limited use for students of OE.

G. K. Jember's and F. Kemmler's A Basic Vocabulary of Old English Prose/ Grundwortschatz altenglische Prosa (Tübingen) is a short trilingual dictionary of OE to ModE and ModGer. Like most student short lists of important words, it is predicated on word frequencies in widely read texts in beginning courses. Each entry contains a headword (only the most frequent spelling), part of speech indicator, ModE translation, ModGer translation, and related forms. It has eleven groups of words in descending frequency, alphabetized within groups. Pronouns, articles, copula forms, and numbers are listed separately. The dictionary will be of most help to the monolingual German-speaking student of OE. Perhaps A. H. Borden's A Comprehensive Old-English Dictionary (Washington, D.C.) should not have been called a dictionary, at least within the Anglo-American tradition of lexicography. It is a word list, or more accurately an extensive glossary with the addition of a simple part of speech identifier (noun genders and verb classes are also included). As a work started before the fourth edition of Clark Hall (Meritt), it probably had some justification for its existence; it unfortunately now exists in the shadow of the Toronto Old English Dictionary Project and many other dictionaries and word lists. The compiler found "college students frequently bewildered in their search for a word in their texts"; teachers will still find them stymied if they are not using normalized texts. Borden's cross-references from alternate spellings are rudimentary, and there is virtually no consideration of the myriad of inflected forms. There is no claim to the incorporation of the scholarship surrounding individual items. Even if we assume that Bosworth-Toller and the future Toronto product are different classes of occurrence, I would select other works among the current word lists and concise dictionaries for specific purposes.

The title of N. F. Riabova's "Etimologicheskoe gnezdo kak mikromodel' razvitiia leksicheskoĭ sistemy (na materiale gold 'zoloto' i ego proizvodnykh v istorii angliĭskogo iazyka)" (Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta, ser. 9, filologiia 2, 77-82) suggests that the etymon of gold and its derived forms represent the development of a lexical system. The article is, however, merely an expository, dictionary-based study of the various reflexes of IE *ghel-. OE forms are traced from the adjectival Gmc *gulþa and the denominal verbal Gmc *gulþjan. Some of the forms are traced up to eModE. Affixing processes, analogy, and grammatical category shifts are examined; compounding is not considered. A little attention to the semantics of the dictionary entries leads to some systematic representation. The study is neither complete nor based on primary data, but it does gather together useful information for anyone studying the words related to gold. O. Grønvik's The Words for 'heir', 'inheritance' and 'funeral feast' in Early Germanic, Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi, II, Hist.-filos. Klass Avhandlingen, n.s. 18 (Oslo, Bergen, and Tromsø), is a straightforward study, which concludes from the semantic field that the specific Gmc institution of inheritance is as old as the language. The ON words are compared to other Gmc words, including OE ierfe "inheritance," OE irfan "inherit," and OE irfa, yrfe-numa, yrfe-weard "heir." J. Bennett, in "The Name of the Ring-Finger in the Germanic Languages" (Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik 17, 13-21), argues that Gmc languages have tended to standardize vocabulary for specific items. The usual form for ring finger in ModGmc languages is the language specific forms of the etymon in the title, but the earlier forms show a great deal of variation. The concepts like "gold-finger," "medical-finger," "heart-finger" and "nameless-finger" seem to have given way to the concrete function name, except in early modern and more obscure usages.

phonology and orthography. The index of Eng and AN words offers appropriate Ger translations. C. Milani's "Note su alcune glosse in antico inglese" (Rendicotti dell'Istituto Lombardo, Classe di lettere e scienze morali e storiche, 114, 70-84) offers limited material from Lat-OE glosses. The terms discussed are gronuisc, hymlic, and calma from the Corpus Glossary, the Cleopatra Glossaries, the Ælfric Glossary, and a wide variety of historical materials. M. Lapidge's "Some Old English Sedulius Glosses from BN Lat. 8092" (Anglia 100, 1-17) is particularly concerned with the OE glosses that accompany the text of Sedulius. The language and orthography of the lWS glosses seem to belong to the standard literary dialect of the "Winchester Group," with many of the lexical choices seeming to be influenced by Ælfric. The only item not attested elsewhere is OE splotting "splotchy." The glosses are printed in their entirety, but the footnote commentaries apply only to unusual linguistic situations. A. S. C. Ross's "Rare Words in Old Northumbrian" (N&Q 29, 196-98) represents the hapax legomena, that is words only occurring in the texts, and words occurring in the texts and only once outside them. He first examines Alfredian Lindisfarne Gospels and Durham Ritual and then the Lindisfarne-influenced Rushworth Two. It is with great regret that we note that this is the late Professor Ross's last work.

b. Syntax, Phonology, Other Subjects

As a habitual user of histories of the English language, this reviewer has found it useful to classify them into two categories: the structural and internal ones like Pyles's The Origins and Development of the English Language; and the historical and external ones like Baugh's (now Cable and Baugh) A History of the English Language. No text is purely one or the other, and both of these have a fair amount of the other in them. W. F. Bolton's A Living Language: the History and Structure of English (New York) is self-avowedly a book about language and also a history. Often the focus is social, historical, or literary; occasionally, the material seems anecdotal. It does less justice to the history of the English language than either Pyles or Baugh, but it might well be a text that would appeal to the teacher who is not a linguistic militant, for reasons of course level, course focus, or training. On the other hand, I find no reason for the existence of Cecily Clark's translation of Georges Bourcier's An Introduction to the History of the English Language (Cheltenham, 1981). The idea of a Gallic perspective on the history of the English language is interesting, if perhaps a little exotic in an introductory text; in fact, the intellectual and linguistic view has perfectly acceptable British sensibilities. The real problem resides in the oddly distributed information that is simply not thorough or systematic. A two-sentence reference to the Paston letters yields six direct bibliographic references, while the four pages on the Great Vowel Shift have few direct references to the complex questions (Dobson appears to be the sole source of information). Such a distribution is a representation of the personality of the book. C. Catalini Fennell's Lezioni di antico e medio inglese, Linguistica generale e storica 7 (Bologna, 1978) is of no interest except as a curiosity to students or scholars of OE; it must have been created for resolutely monolingual Anglicists in Italy.

S. Andreotti's, M. Grazia's, and M. Cometta's Dal germanico alle lingue germaniche (Milan, 1981) is basically a reference grammar for Italian students. It has the traditional representations of phonology and morphology, and no syntax or semantics. Information is usually presented with a PGmc form and equivalents

in Got, ON, and OS. Occasionally, particularly for strong verb classes, IE forms are cited. There is a small amount of text and citation translation in Italian. A. Scaffidi Abbate's Introduzione allo studio comparativo delle lingue germaniche antiche, Linguistica generale e storica 15 (Bologna, 1979) is more like a reference grammar than an introduction. Its weakness lies in what is probably meant by an introduction. The work does not concern itself with the multitudes of variations, exceptions, and confusions in Gmc. It must also be noted that it deals only with the more chartable characteristics of morphology and phonology. Syntax and semantics are beyond the pale of the text; the history and classifications are given scant representation. We are presented with a sensible grammar of PGmc in Paolo Ramat's Einführung in das Germanische, LArb 95 (Tübingen, 1981). The advantages and disadvantages of referring to it as an Einführung seem to be a lack of apparatus to justify the particular choices made. The structural/functional grammar serves as a clear synchronic representation of the abstract reconstruction. The structures presented will make a good textbook representation, but the scholar will not find that they lead either to elaboration or solution of the real problems. Despite the avowedly synchronic representation, the initial chapter considers tree and wave theories, periodization, and chronology; the last chapter considers language typology. Syntax is least represented, but questions of word order, conjugation, and simple sentence derivations are handled.

Much of H. F. Nielsen's earlier work has been integrated into Old English and the Continental Germanic Languages: A Survey of Morphological and Phonological Interrelations, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 33 (Innsbruck, 1981). The problem of positioning OE exactly among the other Gmc languages will always be with us. The first chapter yields a superficial but intelligent review of the scholarship dealing with the intra-Gmc relationships. The middle chapters deal with the exclusively linguistic evidence for classifications and relationships; syntax and semantics are not utilized as evidence. The pre-invasion agreements are found to be strong, while the OE dialectal correspondences with continental languages appear to be random. The sixth chapter examines the external evidence for correspondence and tries to explain why the internal claim of close relationship to OFris is not well demonstrated by external evidence. R. H. Bremmer, Jr., in "Old English--Old Frisian: the Relationship Reviewed" (Philologia Frisica Anno 1981, Leeuwarden, 79-91), presents his frustration through a review of the history of the scholarship on the OFris/OE relationship. He does a cursory examination of the phonological, morphological, lexical, and word group similarities that have been given, but he believes that the common features in the languages are retentions indicating that the pre-migration association of the languages was strong enough to create the duplicate changes, perhaps helped by some Fris complicity in the Gmc conquest of Britain. The simple argument is not compelling, but some hard data could make it more than the interesting idea that it is.

D. Hofmann, in "Zur Syntax der Zehnerzahlen mit Substantiv in den altgermanischen Sprachen, insbesondere im Altfriesischen" (Earefrissel foar Prof. Dr. E. G. A. Galama ta syn santichste jierdei = Us Wurk 31, 85-106), explicitly attempting not to invoke any grammatical theory, discusses the syntax of numerals (by tens) in noun phrases. A bewildering variety of combinations to carry syntactic markers, internal to the phrase and as functional

parts of clauses, divides basically into the noun carrying the marker or the numeral carrying it. The lower numbers show a wide variety of behavior in various languages. OE seems to be the most varied in responses to the possibilities. Both the numerals and the nouns seem to occur as headwords under many circumstances. OFris has on the other hand a mutually exclusive distribution of both types throughout the cases. J. B. Voyles's Gothic, Germanic, and Northwest Germanic, ZDL 39 (Wiesbaden, 1981), is a responsible attempt to first represent Got phonological and morphological structures, and then certain elements of Gmc and NWGmc problems in the context of the general and specific constructs in the Got chapter. A reasonably transparent set of morphophonemic rules is utilized for formalization. If the reader has the tolerance for this type of representation, I believe he will find more systematic information on Got phonology and morphology here than anywhere else. Most major phonological problems are discussed and given formulation in the second chapter; the last chapter is a more sporadic attack on selective problems in Gmc: umlaut and /e:$_1$/ and /e:$_2$/; reduplicating verbs in NWGmc. E. Rooth's Nordseegermanische Studien II, Filologiskt Arkiv 24 (Stockholm, 1981) is actually three articles and a note in a monograph form. "Zu den Westfälischen Bachnamen auf -ey, -egge, -au, -ögge, -ogge" deals particularly with low Ger. Some comparisons to OFris and Ger might be of interest to OE scholars where a wide variety of forms and meanings are substituted for the Bach-morph in names. "Nordseegermanisch *bensō 'Binse'" makes reference to OE beos but basically argues for diffuse origins that are complicated by borrowings. "Das sog. westgermanische ā im Altsächischen" has only the most indirect application to OE, but the ā (lengthened through Frankish) moved north. The final note is an appendix on disparate OS forms. The volume has minor information for Germanicists, but there is hardly any information for Anglo-Saxonists.

A. Aristar and H. Dry, in "The Origin of Backgrounding Tenses in English" (Papers from the Eighteenth Regional Meeting, Chicago Linguistic Society, April 15-16, 1982, ed. Kevin Tuite et al., 1-13), argue that some of the similarities in the forms of the tense systems of OE and ModE conceal different discoursal functions. The development of the progressive and a changed function for the perfective reflect the fact that OE used continuous and perfect forms for both reference time and event time. In ModE, simple past both foregrounds and backgrounds discourse; the perfective developed into the marker for event time that preceded reference time, and the developing progressive became the indicator of a frame for action. Although I. Rauch's "Inversion, Adjectival Participle, and Narrative Effect in Old Saxon" (Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung 104, 22-30) has little to do directly with OE, the observation that the interaction of the adjectival participle plus auxiliary syntagm with verb action can background the action shows discoursal application of syntactic facts. The complex idea that discoursal strategies have their effect on language change is becoming more and more evident in the scholarly literature. L. J. T. Brinton's dissertation, "The Historical Development of Aspectual Periphrases in English" (DAI 42A, 5105), examines the catenative markers (like begin, continue, or cease) of aspect that occur with complement infinitives or participles. These "auxiliaries" mark ingressive, continuative, iterative, habitual, and terminative aspects. Got, OHG, OS, ON, and OE are treated, with the interaction between the catenative and the main verb examined in detail for OE. There is an appendix on the aspects represented by verb-particle configurations. The conclusion that Gmc aspect is analyzable in logical terms (COME, ABOUT, END,

REPEAT, and CONTINUE) is dependent upon the faith that the study's chosen types of aspects are exhaustive. L. Goossens's "On the Development of the Modals and of the Epistemic Function in English" (Papers from the 5th International Conference on Historical Linguistics, ed. Anders Ahlqvist, 74-84) argues that OE had impoverished means to express epistemic meaning unlike the ModE epistemic modals. The speaker's qualification of the assertion, the epistemic function, is expressed in Halliday's (1970) ModE scale from "tentatively possible" to "certain." There should always be a hesitation about conclusions for OE that are predicated on a view that it is underdeveloped ModE.

T. K. H. Fraser's "The System of Verbs Involving a Speaker-Hearer Relationship: come/go, bring/take in Old and Middle English" (Papers from the 5th International Conference on Historical Linguistics, ed. Anders Ahlqvist, 54-61) starts from the well-known facts of the directionality of ModE come/go, bring/take (Fillmore) and describes the OE forms in terms of a speaker-centered discourse (Joly). He ends modestly by pointing out that OE be- might express movement away and that the borrowed ON taka replaced OE niman to solve the problem of directional representation. L. A. Brewda's dissertation, "A Semantically-Based Valence Analysis of Old Saxon" (DAI 42A, 3980) uses case-grammar framework to argue for the incorporation of semantic features into the syntactic analysis of verbs. OS verbs are of four types: basic, experiential, benefactive, and locative. Although the work does little to advance the fields of OS(OE) scholarship or case grammar, the exercise in classification points up the ever-growing attack on autonomous syntax.

K. Shields, Jr., in "The Origin of the Germanic Dental Preterite: A New Proposal" (LB 71, 427-40), attempts to present a theory of complex origins for Gmc dental preterite. The three types of theories based on the presumption of underlying dh-form, underlying t-form, or a laryngal origin are considered inadequate when taken in pure forms. He argues, with evocative rather than systematic evidence, that there is a dual origin in parallel IE *-t and *-dh, which are derived from the deictic particles IE *-ot and *-odh. D. Stark's The Old English Weak Verbs: A Diachronic and Synchronic Analysis, L Arb 112 (Tübingen) is a diachronic study of the weak verb from Gmc to eOE, with the synchronic analyses of eOE system as the starting point; lOE and dialectal variations are used for confirmation. The three-class system lies between the four classes of Got and the two classes of ME. Diachronic processes are both productive and non-productive, but the synchronic representation is more natural, concrete, and transparent according to the generative phonological model used. Eleven major rules that represent current work in generative phonology arise out of the recoverability of the diachronic information, but the eOE productivity is based on only three rules: j-formative; degemination; schwa-insertion. A. Bammesberger's "Der Optativ bei athematischen Verbalstämmen im Altenglischen" (Anglia 100, 413-18) argues that the simple, traditional representation of the preterite optative in OE as the phonologically regular derivation of the PGmc -ī-optative requires some modification. Few of the ī-markings are found, but the present æ becomes the general representative of optative. The falling together of the second sg optative of the preterite of strong verbs is answered by the new representation. The weak verbs follow forms of the strong verbs.

J. L. Greene's "Object-Verb and Verb-Object Sequences in Beowulf" (JIES 10, 71-115) argues that Beowulf represents the divergent transitional

existence of the labial fricative geminate [ff] and the voiced velar stop geminate [gg]. The decision to omit borrowed proper names, phonaesthemic sequences, and apparent graphic geminates that do not reflect phonological geminates simplifies the data. Only one eOE word and two more of lOE are not unassimilated loans or phonaesthetic forms of [ff]. He observes the gradual reanalyses from [bb] geminate of [f] into [ff] for [f], leaving the earlier forms even more marginal. Although the case of [gg] is more complex, the same set of circumstances leads to the conclusion that it too is a marginal member of the native system. Not so convincing from the evidence of this paper is that the phoneme /g/ should be /ɣ/. This regrinding of an old axe still raises the objection that a phoneme is an abstraction for which exact phonological form is not a relevant issue. In V. P. Syrokhvatova's "Razvitie palatalizovannogo shchelevogo [ɣ'] v drevneangliĭskom iazyke" (Lietuvos TSR Aukštuju Mokyklu Mokslo Darbal: Kalbotyra 32, no. 3 [1981], 140-43) the assumption of a fairly significant correspondence of the graphs <ȝ> and <h> to specific phonological manifestations under palatal conditions leads to the discussion of the allophonic distribution of [ɣ'] and [x']. The specific claim is that the voiced palatalized velar fricative, parallel to the phonologically similar [j], is present as an allophone to the end of the OE period. Graphic evidence of the allophonic possibilities is usually weak; in this case the evidence is only discussed in abstract terms. The title of the English abstract confusingly calls this a palatal fricative. V. Bonebrake's "Historical Changes of Original Labials before s as Exemplified in Germanic Variants of the Word wasp" (Dialectology and Sociolinguistics: Essays in Honor of Karl-Hampus Dahlstedt, ed. Claes-Christian Elert et al., Umeå, Sweden [1977], 47-55) shows that the rather radical Gmc phonological processes of occlusion, velarization, full assimilation, vowel insertion, metathesis, and admixtures of these processes on the IE *u̯obhsa "wasp" from IE *u̯ebh "weave" are the complex effects of auditory difficulty, derivational opacity, morphological structures, and Lat cultural influences. A. Stepanovičius's "Hierarchal Relations within the System of Distinctive Features (with Special Reference to English and Lithuanian)" (Lietuvos TSR Aukštuju Mokyklu Mokslo Darbal: Kalbotyra 39, no. 3 [1981], 50-62) has little to do with OE. The discussion of oppositional and hierarchical features owes much to Trubetskoy and does little more than superficially cover the complex questions on how one selects distinctive features.

H. Benediktsson's "Nordic Umlaut and Breaking: Thirty Years of Research (1951-1980)" (NJL 5, 1-60) contains a critical survey of Nordic umlaut scholarship. He observes the movement from data-intensive observations to structural and then generative theorization. He finds that the changes in scholarship have tended to leave the classic problems unresolved. The review will be of little help to OE scholars, as will the presentation of a methodology in H. Basbøll's "Nordic i-Umlaut Once More: a Variational View" (Folia Linguistica Historica 3, 59-86). The variational view would be that i-umlaut started as an optional phonetic rule characteristic of lower levels of speech, but this appears not to promise answers to the classic questions that Benediktsson sees perpetually emerging. I. B. Khlebnikova and V. I. Kolod'ko, in "K probleme peredvizheniia indoevropeĭskogo b v germanskoe p" (VJa 1982, no. 6, 115-22), perceive a problem in the limited distribution of the bilabial stop as opposed to a normal distribution of alveolars and velars in the first Gmc Consonant Shift. Since the dictionary evidence for non-borrowed words with initial /b/ in IE is very limited, it is not surprising that initial /p/ in Gmc is also limited in occurrence. They postulate that this "empty slot" in the set of stops was basically filled

by borrowing or that most of the extant /p/-initial words are obscure in origin. The article represents an intelligent, if loose, use of statistics and systemic reconstruction to suggest the force of overall phonological pattern. T. D. Griffen's "On the Position of Germanic in the Indo-European Sound Shift" (CollG 15, 1-16) gives phonological evidence that Gmc is not a sister language of the centum group, but rather that Germano-Armenian is the "conservative great aunt" of the others; Gmc is the "cousin who remained behind." The inversion of the traditional representation of the First Gmc Sound Shift is supported by some lexical correspondences (Bartoli) and comparative linguistics (Emonds). The paper is called the summary of a major research endeavor, but it is still in the class of an interesting suggestion.

Works not seen:

Ishii, A. "The Use of se and ðæt as Relative Pronouns in Old English Prose." Littera (Univ. of Okayama) 1 (1981), 111-20. [In Japanese]

Mirarchi, G. "Sintassi e stile delle proposizioni introdotte da swa nel Junius Manuscript." AION, filologia germanica, 24 (1981), 101-44.

Philippa, M. "Verwarring rond de velaarumlaut: een kwestie van terminologie." AbäG 17, 113-28.

Russchen, A. "Enige verbindingslijnen tussen Friesland en Angelsaksisch Engeland." Philologia Frisica Anno 1981. Leeuwarden, 54-64.

Sasao, K. "Some Consideration on Reduced Coordinate Structures." Stud. in Eng. Ling. (Tokyo) 9 (1981), 145-57.

van der Leek, F. "De syntacticus als anglist: de oudengelse onpersoonlijke constructie." Handelingen van het Zeven en Dertigste Nederlands Filologencongress. Ed. René Stuip and Wiecher Zwanenburg. Amsterdam and Maarssen, 149-58.

Westergaard, K. Skrifttegn og symboler: noen studier over tegnformer i det eldre runealfabet. Osloer Beiträge zur Germanistik, 6. Oslo, 1981.

M. M.

3. LITERATURE

a. General and Miscellaneous

Among the works of general interest, the most important to appear this year is perhaps the new edition of A Guide to Old English, by Bruce Mitchell and Fred C. Robinson (Oxford: Blackwell). Part One of this revised version of the handbook, first published by Mitchell in 1964, is virtually identical to the last edition; the main changes involve the updating of the bibliography, though even the original page numbers and section numbers remain largely unchanged, and the indices follow in their accustomed place. What is new is Part Two: this consists of ten prose texts, with brief introductions and apparatus, and a fifty-page glossary (a significant addition to a book of two hundred seventy pages). The initial three selections are normalized (the first consists of composed sentences); the fourth is regularized in part; in the last six, students are on their own. The texts are those common to other readers: the Preface and selections from Ælfric's Genesis, his Colloquy, Alfred's Preface to the Pastoral Care, the Cynewulf and Cyneheard episode and other selections from the Chronicle, Bede on Edwin and Cædmon, and, interestingly, parallel verse and prose narratives of the Goths in Rome from the OE Boethius. The addition of a "reader" makes this an extremely attractive and usable book; it is not as ample in treatment as some introductory readers and handbooks, but it is more accessible, stimulating, and practical than most, and may well become the standard introduction.

Joerg O. Fichte's Alt- und Mittelenglische Literatur: Eine Einführung (Tübingen: Narr, 1980) ideally fits a series that purports to provide students a solid footing in the study of a language and literature. The initial chapters of the book cover sound changes, orthography, grammar and syntax, and contain much material in compressed form (paradigms, diagrams, tables); attention is evenly divided between OE and ME. In the selections that follow, prose excerpts are provided from Ælfric's Genesis, the OE Matthew, Orosius, Gregory, Bede, Apollonius of Tyre, the Chronicle [449-473, 755], the Life of Oswald, and the Blickling Homily for Easter. These occupy fifty-four pages, as opposed to ninety-seven pages of excerpts from ME, beginning with the Peterborough Chronicle; the OE glossary at the end runs twenty pages. This book will serve as a useful first step for German students of OE, but it holds little that is new for scholars.

A number of studies explore literary context in terms of tradition and individual variation. In an essay that discusses poetical reactions to the world's inconstancy, "The Existential Mysteries as Treated in Certain Passages of our Older Poets" (Acts of Interpretation, ed. M. J. Carruthers and E. D. Kirk [Norman, OK: Pilgrim Books], 345-362), John C. Pope ranges over poems by Chaucer, Sidney, and Spenser, but concentrates on several passages in The Wanderer, The Seafarer, Beowulf, The Ruin, and a homily by Ælfric. Pope points out the scriptural and theological sources for Christian insistence on the transience of this world, but the essay returns repeatedly to the unvarying attractiveness of the things of this world or of the imaginative vision with which such transience is expressed. In Beowulf, Pope suggests that the sole survivor's speech is magnificent in itself, yet he does not speak for the poet or for Beowulf "who thought he had recovered something of great value to his people by his fatal encounter

with the dragon" (351). Pope carefully explicates the passage in which, just before his death, Beowulf enters the barrow and admires the craft that defies time and confers meaning, even to his own ebbing life. Likewise, in The Ruin, we find the poet celebrating not merely the passing of glory, but the genuine glory of the past as well.

Nicolas Jacobs, in "The Old English Heroic Tradition in the Light of Welsh Evidence" (Camb. Medieval Celtic Stud. 2 [1981], 9-20), proposes a comparison of Welsh and OE heroic traditions. From the former, he selects as key elements the praise poem and the position of the poet in society. Consequently, Jacobs finds little evidence in OE for direct comparison, for no documents delimit the role of the poet, and the texts that survive do not express "the Germanic tradition in its original form" (12). Maldon, for example, while it "appears to state in their purest form the values of heroic society," fails to meet proper criteria, for it is not a direct expression of heroic ideals, but "an examination of the propriety of heroic ideas and grand gestures in the context of a bloody war" (11). If reflectiveness makes a text unheroic, then heroic literature is a contradiction in terms. Jacobs prefers the Finnsburgh Fragment--"the story in its purer, more 'primary' form" and that closer to the Welsh material--to the Episode, which seems less heroic because "it is dominated by another motif: that of the conflict of loyalties and obligations" (18). In discussing OE poetry, Jacobs relies mainly on older studies (Sisam, Whitelock), and his most valuable remarks concern Widsith as a kind of self-advertisement by a scop, and Deor as a dadolwch or reconciliation-poem.

In a long and learned article, "To Hell and Back..." (Viator 13, 107-158), Jackson J. Campbell considers the various traditions and all the OE instances of the descent to hell by Christ. The most striking conclusion of the investigation is that, despite the vernacular popularity of the Gospel of Nicodemus--attested by three copies of the OE translation--no literary version of the descent depends directly on this text. Campbell discusses the entire complex of stories about the descensus, beginning with scriptural allusion and Greek and Latin narratives, reviewing commentaries by Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Gregory, Cassiodorus, and Bede, and emphasizing the homiletic Sermo diaboli, the pseudo-Augustinian Sermo de pascha, Gregory's Homily 22, and the Oratio in the Book of Cerne. He traces the influence of these texts in detail, first on prose treatments: Ælfric's initial Catholic Homily and the homily for Palm Sunday, Blickling Homily VII (which draws upon several sources and adds material), a related homily--though translated independently--in Bodleian MS Junius 121, Vercelli homily VIII, another anomalous version in CCCC MS 41, and the Mercian Martyrology. He then considers poetical versions of the descensus ad inferos, glancing at Riddle 55, Guthlac B, The Creed, Christ III, Elene, and discussing at greater length Christ II, the Advent Lyrics, the Descent into Hell from the Exeter Book, and Christ and Satan. Jackson's essay reveals a great deal, factually and imaginatively, concerning the erudition and complexity, the unity and diversity, of OE literary traditions.

Donald G. Bzdyl in "Prayer in OE Narratives" (MÆ 51, 135-151), demonstrates that prayers in OE writings contain a recognizable structure: this appears in Latin devotional prayers, carries over to the few devotional examples in OE, and characterizes those prayers that occur within narratives

as well. Bzdyl defines the purposes for prayer, and then the structure: invocation, petition, and doxology, or, in the case of penitential prayers, acknowledgment of guilt, enumeration of sins, and petition for forgiveness. The body of the essay examines specific instances of prayer within narratives, calls attention to variations in form, adaptation to specific context, the ways in which prayers may abet narrative or heighten character, and so on. Material is drawn from prose and poetical saints' lives and scriptural stories, and from more secular works like Beowulf and Maldon as well, though Bzdyl does not especially differentiate the latter or address himself to vexed critical questions such as what we are to think of Beowulf or Byrhtnoth in prayer. Nor does he compare the prayers to charms or other forms of calling upon the supernatural, though he points out that Ælfric views prayer as "an alternative to witchcraft" (137). Renate Haas, in Die mittelenglische Totenklage...(Frankfurt am Main, etc.: Lang, 1980), follows a similar methodology in dealing with a different kind of address within narratives. This Forschung begins with consideration of social responses to death, issues of method, genera and species of laments, and literary influence on ME writings from OE, the Bible, antique culture, medieval Latin traditions, French texts, and other ME genres. It is in this section that Haas discusses Hrothgar's words on Æschere's death and Wiglaf's on Beowulf, as well as laments in Judith and Guthlac B, finding that these OE texts show a particularly restrained portrayal of grief and mourning.

Dwight Conquergood, in "Boasting in Anglo-Saxon England: Performance and the Heroic Ethos" (LPer 1 [1981], 24-35), examines yet another form of address, formal boasts from Beowulf, Maldon, and other poems, and also descriptions and remembrances of boasts from these same poems and from a passage in the OE Orosius. He emphasizes particularly the social, performative, even theatrical aspects of such scenes, often relying upon modern rhetoricians and philosophers of language in so doing. Conquergood disputes, therefore, the tradition in criticism that sees boasting as essentially egocentric and a deficiency in the hero. He suggests that we may "think of boasting as a drama of living in which the actor-boaster performs an audience-supplied script" (30). Conquergood's concerns and conclusions take on more significance in the light of recent work on the social context of oral poetry by Jeff Opland and others. This approach to Anglo-Saxon culture, especially if pursued in historical and comparative ways, will surely lead to a fuller understanding of the poetry.

In a short article obviously based upon extensive statistical analysis, "The Cynewulf Question Revived" (NM 83, 15-23), S. E. Butler calls into question the methods, the evidence, and all the major conclusions of S. K. Das's Cynewulf and the Cynewulf Canon (1942). She shows that his stylistic criteria are confused, and, more importantly, that the statistical descriptions are misleading and the statistics garbled or simply wrong. Butler convincingly asserts that the entire question of the canon must be reopened. In this article she presents her own statistical analyses as a means of evaluating Das; yet clearly they might serve as a basis for generalizations about the signed poems, and one hopes that Butler will soon offer the positive results of her work. Joseph B. Trahern, Jr., in "An OE Metrical Proverb..." (Anglia 100, 419-421), identifies a sentence from the homily on the descent into hell (see Campbell, above) from Oxford, Bodleian MS Junius 121, as a proverb in metrical form:

Se ðe on oðres mid unrihte geræsð
se his agen þurh þæt oft forlyseð.

The OE version has Latin precedents, and a later version occurs in Caxton's Aesop; clearly the homilist was adapting a popular saying to his purpose.

A number of studies this year discuss metrics and verse forms. Angus McIntosh in "Early Middle English Alliterative Verse," considers once again the complex historical interconnections of OE and ME prosody as these affect the alliterative survival/revival debate (ME Alliterative Poetry, ed. D. Lawton [Totowa, NJ: Brewer/Biblio], 20-33). He points out, for example, that the Brut more resembles the prose of Ælfric's saints' lives than Maldon, that much prose exhibits phrase units seemingly governed by prosodic rules, that within the alliterative tradition--both OE and ME--so much margin for innovation exists that "tradition" becomes only an amorphous concept, that a poem like King Horn might be regarded as existing in long lines rather than short couplets. The system of "classical" OE verse has more connections with the poetry of the fourteenth-century revival than the poetry of either of these periods has with the reshaped system of the thirteenth century. McIntosh's conclusions are cautious, even negative, suggesting that much more linguistic and metrical research needs to be done before we can decide categories and connections with certainty. In an attempt to determine the relation between metrical form and meaning, N. Lindsay McFadyen, in "Reading Between the Lines: Patterns of Alliteration in OE Poetry," (Literary and Historical Perspectives, ed. P. W. Cummins et al. [Morgantown, WVA], 148-155), analyzes a group of poetical passages in which alliteration upon the same sound occurs in consecutive or alternating lines. As this happens much less frequently than random chance would dictate, it is almost certainly artful, and usually signals either synthesis or antithesis. Two passages receive special attention--From Christ I and Maldon--and McFadyen convincingly argues that these lines succeed in part by defeating our expectation of alliterative variety.

Two authors discuss metrical issues from a more theoretical perspective. Ida Masters Hollowell, in "On OE Verse-Rhythm" (ES 63, 385-393), suggests that verse analysis according to Sievers's five types has hindered appreciation of OE verse rhythm. She argues that, as a single unit, each half line contains a single primary stress, and that this falls on the first lift, creating a falling rhythm. Whatever the part of speech, syntax, or word order, there are, on this view, two, not four, primary stresses in each long line. Johan Kerling, in "Sievers and Scops: a Revaluation of OE Poetic Techniques" (Dutch Qtly. Rev. of Anglo-American Letters 12, 125-140), presents another case against the utility of the Sievers types for understanding the nature of OE verse. It is almost as if the categories fail by explaining or organizing too much: he points out that much prose can be rearranged in Sievers's lines. Even if we accept the categories, therefore, we are still in need of elucidating the character of the poetry. Kerling's argument "is, to put it crudely, that Old English poetry is the spoken language tidied up" (129). Kerling acknowledges the difficulty of adducing evidence for the spoken language, but he supports this common-sense approach with instances of modern verse and synchronic arguments from linguistics.

The nature and use of oral formulas constitutes the subject of several other essays. John Miles Foley, in "Field Research on Oral Literature and Culture in Serbia" (Pacific Qtly. Moana 7.2, 47-59) presents a report on work in Serbia, undertaken in 1975, which involves charms. Foley makes detailed comparisons with OE charms on the basis of social context, structure, diction, rhythm, the conditions and features of performance, and content. The discussion indicates that study of these two bodies of texts may be mutually illuminating, though the brief review here can be no more than suggestive. In his presidential address to the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, "Philology and the Oral Theory" (PCP, 17, 1-8), Mark Edwards evaluates the uses to which the Parry-Lord discoveries and theories have been put. He suggests that little coherent progress occurred until "the nineteen-fifties [when] Hellenists began to lurch further forward along the oral track, joined a few years later by a troop of Anglo-Saxonists waving Francis Magoun's famous article" (3). He estimates that classicists' work on formulas has outdistanced work by Anglo-Saxonists, whereas in work with type-scenes OE scholars have the lead. He concludes with a type-scene analysis of the final episode of the Odyssey. Finally, John Schwetman, in "The Formulaic Analysis of OE Poetry: a Linguistic Analysis" (LNL 5 [1982 for 1980], 71-109) reviews old controversies and then offers an analysis, based on transformational grammatical theory, of a representative body of verse. He argues that certain phrases that have passed for formulas are no more than common collocations; others arise from "the occurrence of a specific meaning within certain metrical conditions"; and still others are merely "surface repetitions" which reflect different deep structures. He concludes that analysis of the surviving written texts cannot demonstrate how the poems originated, but he implies that so-called formulas appeared as the result of neither poetical rules nor poetical art, but were "naturally generated by the grammar when the same metrical and semantic conditions coocur [sic]."

Two important anthologies of translations from OE poetry appeared during the year. Constance B. Hieatt's well-known "Beowulf" and Other Old English Poems has come out in an expanded second edition. It includes Hieatt's versions of Beowulf and the best known elegies, of Judith and Finnsburh, together with Tennyson's Brunanburh and Pound's Seafarer for comparison. This volume is an attractive and convenient and should see much use. S. A. J. Bradley's Anglo-Saxon Poetry (London: Dent) replaces R. K. Gordon's much used volume in Everyman's Library. One of the most palpable changes is that Bradley's volume contains 559 pages to Gordon's 334, yet it actually has fewer texts. This results not from more generous margins or larger type (the book is only slightly kinder to the eye than Gordon), but because Bradley includes formidable headnotes for each selection, so long indeed that they occasionally outstrip the poems translated. The Wife's Lament runs just more than a page, preceded by a two-and-one-half page introduction (done in smaller type as well); The Seafarer runs three pages of text to three pages of small type; The Ruin and The Wanderer also run head to head, while The Husband's Message, Riddle 25, Wulf and Eadwacer, and others are overshadowed by introductions. Moreover, Bradley arranges the anthology according to codices, and marks those poems he omits (most notably, in the Exeter Book) by a short summary comment. In brief, this is not merely a new collection of translations, but a new history of OE poetry as well. Moreover, a clear set of critical principles emerges from the headnotes: we are to understand that OE poems are first of all Christian,

that they are to be approached exegetically, that their primary context is scriptural and patristic thought. Thus, the headnote to The Seafarer contains six citations of Scripture and four of Augustine (some quotations running to almost a paragraph in length); The Wife's Lament shows eleven citations of Scripture, together with Augustine, Gregory, and more general reference to the Fathers, and the proposed solution to this riddle is "Zion, the soul" or "the Church"; and so it goes. The headnotes seem often intrusive and polemical, more suitable for journal articles (where a special position can be argued out in full, not merely asserted) than for introductory remarks in a popular anthology of translations for students. In his general introduction, Bradley observes, "Teachers of Anglo-Saxon literature are familiar with the disappointment students sometimes express when, having hoped to encounter the pagan, the mythological . . . they are pressed to acknowledge the Christian motivation and subject-matter of so much Anglo-Saxon poetry" (xvii). This is a book that presses readers hard, and I can imagine much confusion and misunderstanding, as well as disappointment. Another unfortunate feature of the headnotes is that Bradley insists on abbreviations rather than titles, so that he discusses Rui and Deo (not The Ruin and Deor), Sfr, Wan, Bwf, and so on. The translations, when one gets to them, are smoother, more subtle, and often more accurate than Gordon's (reflecting more recent scholarship), though less literal. All are in prose, and Bradley most helpfully provides line numbers. The arrangement by codex seems salutary and will affect our perception of the corpus, though doubtless students will read them in all different orders. Some necessarily are still set in arbitrary categories: Chronicle poems, maxims, and others at the end, Cædmon's Hymn, Bede's Death Song, and the Ruthwell Cross inscription at the beginning. In many ways this book offers more than did Gordon (including a detailed checklist of poetical titles, but only a brief bibliography), and it tries to do different things from what Gordon did; whether it will replace its predecessor remains to be seen.

Works not seen:

Ikegami, Tadahiro. "Some Characteristics of Medieval English Literature." Seijo-Bungei 99, 1-23. [In Japanese.]

Nucciarelli, Franco Ivan. "La formula dell'allitterazione in englese antico." Problemi di analisi linguistica, ed. Pierangiolo Berrettoni. Rome, 1980. P. 167-79.

T. G. H.

b. Individual Poems

i. Finnsburg, Maldon, and Brunanburh

Alan Bliss has edited J. R. R. Tolkien's Finn and Hengest: the Fragment and the Episode (London: Allen & Unwin. xii, 180 p.), based on Tolkien's lectures on Finn and Hengest delivered in the twenty years he held the Rawlinson and Bosworth Professorship at Oxford and again (in revised form) in the early 1960's. The book contains an introduction by Bliss followed by Tolkien's introduction, the texts of the Fragment and the Episode, an extensive and detailed glossary of names (more than fifty pages), textual commentary on both the Fragment and the Episode, translations, a reconstruction of the events in the poems, and three appendices: on the Danes, on the dating of Healfdene and Hengest, and on the nationality of Hengest. While Bliss takes credit only for the Editor's Introduction, the translation of the Fragment, and the last of the appendices, his editorial responsibilites have been considerable, since he has had to work with several different versions of lectures composed over a period of nearly forty years, most of it over fifty years ago. Bliss has chosen not to survey systematically the more recent studies of Finnsburg, but he does refer to recent work when it reinforces or amplifies points already made by Tolkien or when it shows Tolkien's view not to be seriously tenable. Most readers of this study will, I think, agree with Bliss that "if Tolkien's work had been published sooner, most of what others have written would not have been written at all, or would have been written differently." Conversely, much of what is here has been discussed (though sometimes not so well) in the scholarship of the last two or three decades. Even so, Professor Bliss has performed a valuable service in making the lectures available, assuming a difficult editorial task in a modest and self-effacing fashion which still allows his own erudition to show through on occasion to the enlightenment of the reader.

In his new edition of The Battle of Maldon (Old and Middle English Texts. Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1981, x, 110 p.), D. G. Scragg generously states that his "principal debt is to E. V. Gordon's edition of the poem, which only Time has eclipsed." Readers may indeed expect to find here much of what was in Gordon's edition and Scragg's later revision of it, but they will find as well an introduction far more reflective of the solid scholarship of the past decade. Scragg's introduction and his commentary are somewhat fuller than Gordon's, though on occasion one wishes he had incorporated a bit more from Gordon in order to avoid sending the reader back there quite so frequently for further information. Scragg's is now the best separate edition of the poem, offering an exemplary introduction, good textual and critical notes (the latter, regrettably, coming at the end of the text, probably for economy's sake), and a full glossary.

Heather Stuart, in "The Meaning of Maldon" (Neophil 66, 126-39), suggests "that Maldon has an underlying ironic structure and that its meaning, like that of some other heroic pieces, is ultimately antiheroic." Building upon several scholarly essays which could, but in every instance do not, lead to the same conclusion (especially Hill, Neophil 54, Cross, in England Before the Conquest, ed. Clemoes and Hughes, 1971), Robinson JEGP 75, and Gneuss, SP

73), Stuart views the poem as "a significant piece of literature...because it depicts, with sympathy and insight, man's ability to deceive himself." For her, it "portrays the later conduct of his [Byrhtnoth's] retainers as confused fatalism"; Eadric "is characterized almost as a heroic marionette"; Byrhtwold is "an old, loyal retainer who has become completely mesmerized by the tenets of the heroic code as it was formulated by his commander, Byrhtnoth"; by contrast, "in the eyes of at least some of the men, the retreating Godric must have appeared as an alternative Byrhtnoth-figure, who could lead them to safety rather than inevitable death." While many readers will not agree with several of the arguments set forth in the essay, they will profit from some useful discussion of structures of freedom and containment and from additional evidence for the ironic perspective which was for a long time neglected in Maldon criticism, but which has been advocated more convincingly in some of the other recent essays noted above. In "Maldon 189b: þe hit riht ne wæs" (N&Q 29, 106), Jane Roberts cites lines 507 and 630 of Andreas as evidence of examples of a reduced form þe for þeah and argues persuasively that "once þe for þeah is recognized as a not unparalleled form, a putative second instance must be advanced for The Battle of Maldon."

Maria Vittoria Molinari, in "Il 'Frammento di Finnsburg': Proposta di Rilettura" (AION, Filologia Germanica 24 [1981], 27-50), examines the meter and alliteration, rhetorical figures, compounds, parallelism, anaphora, and technical composition of the Finnsburg Fragment, makes a number of comparisons with the Hildebrantslied, and offers and defends a conservative text of the poem. R. I. Page's "A Tale of Two Cities" (Peritia 1, 335-51) is a review article on A. P. Smyth, Scandinavian York and Dublin: the history and archaeology of two related Viking Kingdoms (2 vols., Dublin: Templekieran Press, 1975-9), included here because of its rather detailed attention to The Battle of Brunanburh. Page is concerned mainly to show that insufficient attention to philological, lexical, and onomastic evidence can lead to erroneous conclusions concerning the dating and the historical details of the battle. In the course of his convincing argument, however, he not only corrects the book he is reviewing but makes several positive contributions to our understading of the poem.

ii. The Seafarer, The Wanderer, and The Ruin

In "The Seafarer: the Weir-Metaphor and Benedictine Silence" (Mediaevalia 6, 11-35), Charles Dahlberg suggests that the primary meaning for werum in line 110 of The Seafarer is "weir, dam," and that it and the other possible senses "men" and "pledges" probably reinforce one another. Taking his lead from Alfred's translation of chapter 38 of Gregory's Pastoral Care, Dahlberg constructs a persuasive case "for the idea that werum in Seafarer 110 may mean 'weirs' in the sense of restraints on the flow of speech." He goes on to argue attractively that the very concreteness of the metaphor reinforces the emphasis in the poem on the inner life and then turns to some of the larger patterns of the poem which receive support from this interpretation, concluding that the poem is consistent with the current of Benedictine thought in early England. While the essay concentrates on the metaphorical significance of a single word, it has implications not only for the rest of the poem but for several other poems (especially The Wanderer and The Dream of the Rood) as well. John P. Vickrey, in "Some Hypotheses Concerning The Seafarer, lines 1-47" (ASNSL 219, 57-77), asserts that the life described in lines 1-33 of the poem is a metaphor for the life of a sinner, using Anglo-Latin writers and the Alfredian

translations for evidence of Anglo-Saxon acquaintances with this use of the metaphor. He then develops the assertion to explicate lines 33-47 and suggests that "the dual meaning of seafaring, signifying in lines 1-33 the speaker's distress of mind but in lines 33 ff. the place, whether actual or figurative, of his pilgrimage, finds I believe a close parallel in the diction of the poem...The dual meaning of seafaring serves admirably to show the exchange by which the sinner becomes godly, because it admirably expresses the basic terms of the exchange: sorrow and joy, body and spirit." This is an important article--one which builds upon interpretations by Greenfield and Osborn but clarifies a number of ambiguous parts of several earlier interpretations and arrives at one of the clearest explanations I have seen of the early part of The Seafarer. In "The Seafarer 6b-10a and 18-22" (NM 83, 255-59), P. R. Orton uses Kuhn's "Law of Sentence Particles" to elucidate two passages in The Seafarer which have produced disagreement among editors. Kuhn's observations would dictate a full stop at the end of line 8 and the beginning of a new sentence at line 9 (following Grein), whereas recent editors end the first sentence after line 8a. Orton goes on to provide attractive evidence for reading caldum clommum in line 10a not as mere variation upon forste in line 9 but rather a depiction of the means of binding as opposed to the agency (forste). In lines 18-22, Orton notes that Kuhn's observations would lead to the placing of a full stop at the end of line 19 and beginning a new sentence with line 20, the procedure suggested by Ettmuller but abandoned by most modern editors. Orton goes on to suggest that line 19b might be a self-contained sentence, but rejects his suggestion because of the close analogy with Riddle 34:6 which he cites in support of hwilum yfelte song as an additional object of gehyrde in line 18. Others, one hopes, will follow Orton's example and go back to Kuhn for potential evidence for settling questions of syntax or punctuation. The results may not always be decisive, but it is almost always helpful when other evidence leaves a textual question undecided. Orton also addresses "'The Seafarer' 58-64a" (Neophil 66, 450-59), pointing to the complexities involved in the various recent treatments of the anfloga as the mind and arguing for the reinstatement of Mrs. Gordon's identification of it with the cuckoo. He states that if the hovering mind metaphor is to hold, then one must conclude "that the metaphor has got out of hand completely--that the poet has lost control, and that his figurative presentation of the hyge's travels has taken on a life of its own, transforming the hyge into more of a bird than a mind." However, "the identification of anfloga with the cuckoo has plenty to recommend it: it ought to be reinstated as a respectable solution to this difficult crux." In "Old English Sea Imagery and the Interpretation of The Seafarer" (YES 12, 208-17), Frederick S. Holton proposes "to re-examine the imagery of the first half of the poem in the light of patristic sources and to see how an understanding of patristic sea imagery increases the interpretative possibilities." He notes that the sea symbolism has both a positive and a negative aspect and that "this dualism increases the possibilities for appreciation."

Gerald Richman's "Speaker and Speech Boundaries in The Wanderer" (JEGP 81, 469-79) is an important contribution to the questions of the referents of eardstapa and snottor on mode in lines 6 and 111 and the boundaries of the speeches referred to in those lines. Richman argues persuasively, with abundant supporting evidence, that on mode ought to be construed with cwæð rather than as modifying snottor, thereby revealing that the wanderer's reflections are inward. He then turns to the swa cwæð constructions in the two lines under

discussion, and, again with convincing evidence from other Old English works, suggests that swa is a continuing word and that therefore "lines 6-7 and 111 can refer simultaneously backward and forward." This article may not have settled definitively both of the issues it addresses, but it comes close to doing so; and it deserves a prominent place among the essential articles on The Wanderer. William Alfred's "The Drama of The Wanderer" (in The Wisdom of Poetry, ed. Benson and Wenzel, 31-44, 268-70) describes the poem as "an agon, a tragedy in little..." which "enacts the struggle, moment by moment, by which mind moves from dead experience to live understanding," depicting that movement "as a play does, by making use of the devices of characterization, conflict, timing, patterned repetition and climax to trace an arc of decisive feeling from problem through crisis to climatic resolution." Alfred sees the poet as attempting a "dangerous sublimity" as he has the Wanderer struggle for his salvation against tristitia mundi. He explores productively the uses of maxims, aposiopesis, the shift from first to third person, polysyndeton, and the transfer from past to present tense to show how in the end the Wanderer "has won the battle against despair by transmuting the secular virtue of fidelity into the theological virtue of Faith, and by so doing has transmuted the past of memory into the Augustinian eternal present of the promise of salvation."

William C. Johnson, Jr., in "The Ruin as Body-City Riddle" (PQ 59, 397-411), argues that "the poem's poetic power derives from an archaic conception of existing in space or 'dwelling' in the radical sense recently revived by Heidegger." After examining several Old English examples of the symbolism of dwelling, Johnson looks at structural and functional parallels between human bodies and halls and suggests that "the poem's concluding link between body and city occurs in the description of the hot baths or springs, which in their functional centrality call into juxtaposition the human hearts of builders and former inhabitants and therefore the center of both city and man."

iii. Riddles

Craig Williamson's A Feast of Creatures: Anglo-Saxon Riddle Songs (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, xii, 230 p.) is a translation, with a learned introduction, copious notes, and a full bibliography, of the Riddles of the Exeter Book. Old English scholars who are familiar with Williamson's excellent edition of the Exeter Riddles may find little new here; but Williamson does a splendid job of introducing both the Exeter riddles and the riddling genre to an audience of non-specialists, providing at the same time a wealth of learning in the notes. The translations are careful and often sensitive, the double entendre riddles are explained attractively and fully, with the same sort of wit which pervades the originals (though there is, regrettably, no indication of how they function in the "index of solutions"), and the introduction should provide even the specialist with some new insights into how the modern reader can more fully appreciate the genre. In "Old English Riddle 18 (20): A Description of Ambivalence" (Neophil 66, 291-300), Marie Nelson accepts Shook's solution heoruswealwe, "sword-swallow," but goes on to attempt "to interpret the riddle as a unified presentation of an emotional state in which opposite feelings are balanced, a state we now call ambivalence." She discerns three possible levels of meaning in the poem: the life of a bird, the life of a warrior, and the life of a monk; and she points to several instances of apparently deliberate ambiguity which present a conflicting

situation for the subject, whether bird, human warrior, or miles Christi. Though she flirts from time to time with the Freudian perspective, Nelson couches her argument for the most part in the conventional language of historical criticism and builds skillfully on other critical interpretations to provide a fuller reading of this riddle than has hitherto been available. Stephen A. Mitchell, in "Ambiguity and Germanic Imagery in OE Riddle 1: 'Army'" (SN 54, 39-52), quotes Snorri Sturluson from the Skaldskaparmal on the problems of kenningar and metaphoric language for battle in support of an argument that the first Exeter Book riddle refers not to a storm but to an army. The storm and weather-related words, he argues, are used in periphrasing battle rather than in merely describing a storm. Alternatively, he suggests that the riddle may have two solutions, "storm" as the literal and "army" as the figurative one. Hans Pinsker's "Ein verschollenes altenglisches Rätsel?" in A Yearbook of Studies in English Language and Literature, ed. Siegfried Korninger (WBEP 78 [1981], 53-59), is a study of Riddle 86, which is generally associated with Symphosius's no. 95 and solved as a one-eyed seller of garlic. Pinsker suggests that the nature of this riddle is such that it might have been a reply to another riddle--that is, since this one asks for an answer to the bizarre question what has twelve hundred heads and one eye, there may have been a preceding version of a peacock riddle asking what has many eyes and a single head. Pinsker concedes that such a riddle, if it existed, has been lost (Anselm's De Pavone lacks the requisite details) but suggests that its existence might make the tentative solution to 86 less strained and less vexatious.

iv. Widsith and Deor

There are three solid articles on the elusive Widsith. David A. Rollman, in "Widsith as an Anglo-Saxon Defense of Poetry" (Neophil 66, 431-39) suggests that Widsith is "a poem about the powers of poetry itself, a celebration of the ability of art to influence life." Rollman asserts that the three vital functions of poetry--the didactic, the experiential, and the ability to endow immortality--govern the structure of the poem and determine the contents and form of the lists, as well as form the basis of the final plea for the poet's art. This is an attractive argument for viewing the poem as "a fine, almost seamless fitting of older material to a new purpose." Donald K. Fry, in "Two Voices in Widsith" (Mediaevalia 6, 27-56), argues "that the Anglo-Saxon poet used three ancient catalogues of Germanic kings and tribes, combined with a fictional scop, to present his view of the hierarchy of Christian values by burlesquing and superseding his own character creation, Widsith himself." Fry's thesis accounts nicely for the problem of the contrasting views of Eormanric (different voices of poet and fictional scop), the alleged interpolations, and the incongruities of time and place. He draws some useful parallels with The Wanderer ("both use two voices, the poet and a fictional wanderer; both plant a hint in the beginning; the elegiac wanderer details the disasters of earthly heroic life while the scop Widsith exults in its joys; and both supersede their middle sections with a notion of heavenly stability"), and he offers an attractive case for viewing Widsith as "a complex poem of juxtaposed dual moral visions" rather than "a clumsy and repetitious patchwork of old lists." Ian Whitaker's "Scridefinnas in Widsið (Neophil 66, 602-8) identifies the Scridefinnum of line 79 with the Lapps, the Scrithiphini described by Procopius and the Screfennae of Jordanes, who appear again a hundred and fifty years later in the Cosmography of the anonymous geographer of Ravenna and in the eighth century in Paul the Deacon's History of the Longobards, where their

English name, "sliding-Finns," is first elucidated with a reference to their hunting on skis--"they pursue wild beasts very skillfully with a piece of wood bent in the likeness of a bow." Whitaker concludes, persuasively, I think, that the list of tribes in the interpolation containing the "Sliding-Finns" "is an element composed in the medieval equivalent of a study, and added later to a poem which may contain both scholarly elements, and sections that have been spontaneously incorporated by court singers." Jerome Mandel, in "Audience Response Strategies in the Opening of Deor" (Mosaic 15, 4, 127-32), looks at the Welund and Beadohild section of Deor first from the perspective of an audience unfamiliar with the poem and then from the perspective of an audience who has heard it many times. To help with the former approach, he leads his readers through a piece of his own making which contains a similar structure and familiar, though different, allusions. He concludes that the referent of þæs in the Welund section is the physical misery described in the exemplum and that the þæs in the Beadohild section refers to her mental anguish or spiritual affliction, and that þisses refers not to Deor's misfortune but to those of the listeners.

v. Phoenix

Carol Falvo Heffernan, in "The Old English 'Phoenix': a Reconsideration" (NM 83, 239-54), examines several of the images in the poem in the light of scriptural and patristic writings concerning the Virgin Mary as Mater Ecclesia to demonstrate a Marian perspective in the poem, asserting "that some of the Anglo-Saxon poet's additions to and recrafting of the imagery is motivated by an intention to develop the Marian potential of the symbolism." She divides her discussion into three categories of imagery: the Virgin in the garden, Conception, and Birth, and offers a number of exegetical and iconographic parallels. Heffernan is careful from the outset of her study to state that her "exploration of this dimension of the poem is not intended to stand as the interpretation, supplanting currently held scholarly opinion," but that she is "merely following one of two parallel lines in the poem: Mary and Christ, Incarnation and Resurrection, coordinates in the drama of salvation." Within those commendably conservative limits, the essay offers some interesting insights into the poem and some equally interesting suggestions as to the process of its composition.

J. B. T.

vi. Genesis A and B, Exodus, and Judith

In "Doctrine and Criticism: A Revaluation of 'Genesis A'" (NM 83, 230-38), Nina Boyd once more takes up the cause against Christian symbolism in biblical verse: "Where Doane [edition, 1978] and others find figural meaning implicit in the text, there is not only no reason to suppose that it exists, but clear justification for the poet's choice of words and phrases to expose the literal meaning of Genesis." All or most of the passages discussed by Boyd make, as she argues, good sense on the literal level alone, and her further point that the poem reflects native Anglo-Saxon conceptions of wealth and friendship is well-taken. On the other hand, Doane does show, in both some of the passages selected by Boyd and many others, that the poet's modifications of the biblical text are often influenced by patristic commentary, even if specific evidence for a spiritual or figural interpretation is not compelling.

It is also evident that a poet who refers to the God of Noah as nergend, "Savior" (1285b), and who goes beyond the biblical source in casually referring to the Last Judgment in connection with the fate of Lot's wife (2571b-74a) is writing from a Christian as well as from a native perspective. Ute Schwab, in "Genesis A 2932 brynegield onhread" (AION, filologia germanica, 24 [1981], 7-26), considers a question in the offering of Isaac episode over which much ink as well as blood has been spilled. The larger passage, lines 2932-33, offers no fewer than four difficulties, but the one highlighted by Schwab is whether MS onhread should be interpreted as "reddened (with blood)" (with ahistorical h inserted into an original onread), or as "adorned," or as a pun on both senses. Schwab argues for the first reading, with support from ON and OE literature (including Andreas, Exodus, and Meters). The argument, in isolation, is reasonable; but to my mind we still await a satisfying solution to the problem of brynegield. Schwab's contention that the word, literally "burnt offering," may mean "place of sacrifice" or "sacrificial wood" is tenuous; her alternate solution--emending to brynegielde onhread, "reddened with (the blood of) the burnt offering"--yields excellent sense but adds another complication to a passage already freighted with critical assumptions.

In "Proskynesis und Philoxenie in der Altsächsischen Genesisdichtung" (Text und Bild: Aspekte des Zusammenwirkens zweier Künste in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit, ed. Christel Meier and Uwe Ruberg [1980], 209-77), Schwab occasionally refers to Genesis B, translated from the OS Genesis, in arguing that the OS poem appears to reflect elements of the ninth-century Frankish political situation. Otherwise, Schwab does not intend to add anything to her previously published remarks on Genesis B. Stressing that Adam and Eve, deceived by the devil's wiles, violated God's command unknowingly, Kathleen E. Dubs, in "Genesis B: A Study in Grace" (ABR 33, 47-64), contends that the poet presents them as sinning nonetheless because they relied too much on sense and reason and not enough on God's grace. The argument is reminiscent of Robert Emmett Finnegan's who, in "Eve and 'Vincible Ignorance' in Genesis B" (TSLL 18 [1976], 329-39), also draws upon Augustine in concluding that Eve is culpable despite her good intentions because she fails to use her God-given ability to discern the devil's advice as evil. One would have liked Dubs to have argued for the superiority of her analysis over Finnegan's, but his essay is not cited, and the reader must wade through the theological subtleties for himself. It seems to me that Finnegan's argument is preferable as less ambiguous and more consistent. Dubs, like Finnegan, observes that Eve did not properly use her capacity to recognize the tempter's suggestion as sinful (see, e.g., n. 13), yet Dubs also says that the fault lies with human limitations: "But covert evil cannot be detected--either by the senses or by reason. And since it cannot be detected, how can it be rejected? Can man reject what he does not perceive?" Despite Dubs's contrary assertion, this particular line of reasoning would appear to exculpate Eve and Adam; for, if they did not have the basic ability to detect or perceive even covert evil, they cannot justly be condemned for choosing it. In any case, Dubs makes some fine points on the nature of the tempter's sin, on the fall of man as an exemplum, and on Genesis B as "a celebration of [the] grace and goodness of God."

J. R. R. Tolkien's The Old English 'Exodus': Text, Translation, and Commentary, ed. Joan Turville-Petre (1981), is based upon lecture material largely from the 1930's and 1940's. Because Tolkien did not prepare the material for publication and because Turville-Petre prudently wished to leave

it as Tolkien's own in its essentials, it would be unfair to criticize him or her for the many inconsistencies among the book's three main parts. Still, it is just to say that the quality is uneven. On the one hand, Tolkien's philological notes (ranging, e.g., from comments on etymologies, morphology, and syntax, to remarks on formulas, meter, and style) are as learned as they are copious, and many are invaluable. On the other hand, Tolkien shows himself willing to introduce major emendations at the drop of a ðæt: George P. Krapp (1931), writing in the same era, found it necessary to emend the received text of Exodus about seventy times; Tolkien's emendations number well more than twice that. Even those for whom Krapp's treatment of MS forms is insufficiently imaginative may be alarmed to find Tolkien declaring, for example, that "the whole opposition hell/heaven" in line 46 is "a scribal fiction" and emending the devil out of the passage. The opposite editorial approach is embraced by Wilhelm G. Busse, who, in "Assumptions in the Establishment of Old English Poetic Texts: P. J. Lucas's Edition of 'Exodus'" (ArAA 6 [1981], 197-219), repeatedly faults Lucas for an over-eagerness to assume scribal errors and incorporate emendations. The proof of the pudding is in the editing: How well does Busse defend difficult places in the MS? Some of his efforts appear misguided, as when he argues for retaining ofer gar secges (345a) with the idea that the sun rose "as if it mounted up the spear of a single secg." He does, however, make a defensible case for retention of the MS at lines 246, 304, 340, 366, 401, 414, 467, 485, and 519. Less convincing are Busse's strictures upon admissible evidence, which would, for instance, oblige an editor to limit his citation of supporting material to texts strictly contemporary to the one in hand. In "A Reappraisal of Exodus 290B-291A" (Neophil 66, 140-44), William A. Kretzschmar, Jr., argues for keeping MS bring is areafod · sand sæcir span. In the first half-verse, bring is almost always altered to brim, with the clause equivalent to divisa est aqua (Ex. 14:21); in the second half-verse, span is variously emended. Kretzschmar understands bring as meaning "that which is brought," sand as "that which is sent," and the last three syllables of line 291a as comprising a unique compound, sæcirspan, "curly sea." He translates: "That which is brought [the Israelite people] is taken away; that which is sent [the Israelite people] (is taken away) from the agitated sea" (author's brackets). Although Kretzschmar does well to question the usual treatment of the passage--the supposed corruption of an original brim to MS bring is hard to explain palaeographically--"that which is brought" and "that which is sent" are odd terms for the Israelites, and do not fit smoothly into the context.

J. R. H.

In "Mansceaðan: Old English Exodus 37" (Neophil 66, 145-48), J. R. Hall agrees with Fred C. Robinson that mansceaðan alludes to the etymological interpretation of Aegyptii as affligentes. Hall also believes, however, that the first element of the word should be taken as both mān, "evil," and man, "man," with the latter sense contributing to a typological perspective on the tenth plague in which the Egyptians betoken devils--"man-harmers": "...for at the Harrowing of Hell Christ overthrew sceaðan who had afflicted man with mān since the time of Adam."

R. L. C.

Ellen E. Martin's main argument in "Allegory and the African Woman in the Old English Exodus" (JEGP 81, 1-15) is that the Afrisc meowle (580b) is a conflation of Moses' Ethiopian wife and his sister, with the first

symbolizing the Church and the second the Synagogue (and, paradoxically, the Church and the Virgin Mary as well), and with the combined, ambiguous figure emblematic of "that which cannot be understood immediately or literally, but only after interpretation, figuratively." A weakness in the argument is that Edward B. Irving, Jr. (Anglia 90 [1972], 323) has given good reason to think that þa wæs eðfynde, the predicate of Afrisc meowle, introduces a plural concept: there are evidently many African women rejoicing on the shore. Yet Martin offers some illuminating remarks on poetic allegory in Exodus, on the pillars of cloud and fire, and, especially, on line 7b (Gehyre se þe wille). In "The Mode and Meaning of the Old English 'Exodus'" (ESA 24 [1981], 73-82), Brian Green concludes, reasonably, that "...the poem's real meaning is to be found, not in its reduction to a typological allegory, but in [the] experience of the audience realizing their own spiritual nationality as Christians--separated from the world, having a holy lineage, and entering into an eternal inheritance." Although Green does not, I think, sufficiently distinguish between figural strands--implying, for instance, that the Israelites represent baptized Christians prior to the sea-crossing but then, without explanation, stressing that the crossing symbolizes baptism--his discussion of the literal/figural is generally sound. In both argument and presentation, the essay seems clearly Green's most valuable contribution to date in the area of biblical poetry.

R. E. Kaske, in "Sapientia et Fortitudo in the Old English Judith" (The Wisdom of Poetry, ed. Larry D. Benson and Siegfried Wenzel, 13-29 and 264-68), first briefly surveys the theme in verse saints' lives, then investigates the Judith poet's "broadly symmetrical arrangement" of the theme. In the initial part of the narrative, the poet emphasizes Judith's wisdom; after she decapitates Holofernes, he stresses her courage as well; his final reference to her wisdom "serves...as a kind of epilogue to the entire pattern." Kaske's argument is learned and enlightening. Alexandra Hennessey Olsen, in "Inversion and Political Purpose in the Old English Judith" (ES 63, 289-93), also discusses the heroine's fortitude but to a different end. Olsen contends that, in recasting the beheading episode of Scripture, the poet strove to portray "an ironic inversion of that realistic situation in which men reduce women to objects to be abused and that the decapitation of Holofernes is presented as the symbolic rape of a man by a woman," including "Judith's use of a sword as the inversion of the expected culmination of such a scene." Olsen further holds that the poet, whom she believes to be contemporary with Wulfstan, wished, like him, to inspire Anglo-Saxon women to resist the Danes' sexual violence, and to shame Anglo-Saxon men into defending their wives and daughters from assault. The twofold argument is quite plausible in context, but I do see why it need preclude, as Olsen suggests, other, less literal interpretations of this complex poem. In "Judith--eine westsächsische Dichtung?" (Anglia 100, 273-300), Franz Wenisch concentrates on diction to show that over half of the 900 words in the poem are to be found in works which he identifies, with certitude, as of Anglian origin (e.g., Beowulf, most biblical poetry, the Cynewulfian canon, saints' lives). In contrast, only hopian--which he believes a scribal substitution for an original hyhtan--may, according to Wenisch, be claimed as a West-Saxonism. This painstaking and far-ranging study has double significance. Not only does it cast great doubt on the view, predominant over the last three decades, that Judith is a Southern poem, but it challenges as well the frequent assumption that poets throughout England used a largely common poetic vocabulary.

vii. Christ and Satan, The Dream of the Rood, and Christ I

In "The Measure of Hell: Christ and Satan 695-722" (PQ 60 [1982 for 1981], 409-14), Thomas D. Hill notes that no one has yet discovered a source for the motif that, after the third temptation, Christ commanded the devil to measure hell as a punishment. Hill suggests that the episode is original with the poet and that it derives from wordplay: "Satan wished to usurp the place of the Meotod, the measurer, of all creation: Christ cast him down and in order to show him his true role, forced him to act as the measurer of the only realm that is truly his. The reversal of roles involves a kind of grim comedy; in Hell frantically measuring with his hands, Satan parodies the role of God, who as Meotod serenely measures space, time, and history." Hill's explanation is attractive, and enhances one's appreciation of this unconventional poet's craft and craftiness. Charles R. Sleeth's Studies in 'Christ and Satan' (McMaster OE Stud. and Texts, 3; Toronto, Buffalo, and London: Univ. of Toronto Press; [xv], 170 p. + ill.) contains five facsimiles of folios in MS Junius 11 (213, 214, 221, 226, and 228), five chapters, an appendix, and a single-sheet microfiche supplement. Sleeth opens with a fine survey of scholarship on the question of the poem's unity, then argues that the unifying principle is the contrast between Christ's caritas and Satan's cupiditas. As an argument for unity, the analysis is not compelling: the theme is so broad that one could make a comparable argument that Christ I, II, and III were written by the same poet; considered as a reading of the poem, however, Sleeth's analysis is instructive. In "Dialect and Date," the author--arguing from statistics, compiled from various poems, on the occurrence of Sievers A-verses with alliteration restricted to the second lift--concludes that Christ and Satan was composed at about the mid-ninth century. The attempt to date the poem with this instrument has little value. (Had Ashley Crandell Amos's book on dating, 1980, been available to Sleeth when he wrote, presumably he would have taken a different approach.) Of great value, however, is Sleeth's painstaking dialectal study, which clinches the case that the poem originated in Mercia. In "Sources, Influences, and Traditions," Sleeth rightly stresses that the poet assumed great freedom in handling traditional themes and subjects. Toward the end of the chapter, Sleeth interestingly challenges the usual view that the third part of the poem, the Temptation of Christ, was meant to serve as an exemplum for the audience on how to combat the devil. The fourth study, "An Hypothesis about the Genesis of the Work," occupies in effect only two full pages and is highly tenuous; the material would have been better abbreviated and absorbed into the first chapter. In "Christ and Satan in the Tradition of Old English Poetry," Sleeth investigates, in spectacular detail but with unspectacular results, the poet's Christian and heroic diction. The appendix, "Comparison of Sleeth's Text and Finnegan's Text," is very useful; here Sleeth not only points out differences between his very conservatively edited text and Finnegan's (1977) but also argues with considerable skill for the superiority of some of his own readings. Sleeth's text itself (photographed from typescript), together with a complete scansion of the poem according to Pope's system, is contained on the microfiche jacketed on the inside back cover. The inconvenience occasioned by needing a microcard reader in order to quote the text will give scholars pause before using it as the edition cited in published work. A better solution to the problem of publishing costs would have been to have omitted the scansion, to have reduced the length of the "studies" by at least twenty pages--the fifth chapter alone (71-111) could be compressed by that number without significant loss--and then to have printed conventionally

this very worthwhile text on another fifteen or twenty sheets (i.e., thirty to forty pages) in the body of the book. But this complaint obviously has nothing to do with Sleeth's scholarship, which, despite my occasional misgivings, places its author in company with Finnegan as one of the two most important students of the poem since Merrel D. Clubb.

The most ambitious essay on The Dream of the Rood is Éamon Ó Carragáin's "Crucifixion as Annunciation: The Relation of 'The Dream of the Rood' to the Liturgy Reconsidered" (ES 63, 487-505). Assuming that lines 78-156 of the Vercelli Book Dream of the Rood are a later addition to the poem inscribed on the Ruthwell Cross, Ó Carragáin asks whether religious tradition furnishes continuity sufficient to insure that late tenth-century readers of the Vercelli text would have interpreted it essentially the same as early eighth-century readers of the Ruthwell text. In an extremely complicated argument, Ó Carragáin answers yes. First, he points out that the comparison of the cross with Mary in lines 90-94 of the Vercelli poem "would have directed the attention of a tenth-century cleric to the feast of the Annunciation, which was believed to have occurred on the same date as the Crucifixion, thirty-three years earlier." Further, it is in Annunciation homilies--rather than in homilies for Good Friday--that one finds Christ described in heroic terms, Mary depicted in terms reminiscent of the cross in The Dream of the Rood, and Gabriel portrayed as a messenger reminiscent of both the cross and the dreamer. Finally, Ó Carragáin affirms that the Northumbrians who erected the Ruthwell Cross some two and a half centuries before the compilation of the Vercelli Book would have understood their text similarly, for "at the foot of the South face of the Ruthwell Cross is a panel representing the Crucifixion, and directly above it a panel representing the Annunciation." So Ó Carragáin. Consider, however, that each of the motifs which he finds in the Annunciation homilies occurs in other sources as well (nor is there anything striking in the second and third sets of his parallels); that it is critically unsound to argue that two audiences--whether separated by three centuries or three days--would have interpreted "the theme" of the Ruthwell and Vercelli poems as essentially the same when lines 78-156 (including of course the Marian analogy of lines 90-94) are not part of the Ruthwell text; and that the juxtaposition of Annunciation and Crucifixion scenes on the Ruthwell Cross need not entail the assumption that the author of the Ruthwell poem was inspired by the new liturgical feast of the Annunciation to compose a poem on the Crucifixion or even that the designers of the cross saw in the two scenes anything more theologically intricate than the beginning and end of Christ's life. For all this, Ó Carragáin's essay is a goldmine of scholarship that will repay the probing of anyone interested in The Dream of the Rood or its place in the Vercelli Book. In "Frames: Time Level and Variation in 'The Dream of the Rood'" (Neophil 66, 622-28), Carolyn Holdsworth finds that the poet chooses terms for the cross appropriate to each major chronological period described: "the cross's past [28-77, 87-94], in which it characterizes itself as an instrument of death until it undergoes a transition; the cross's present [78-86, 95-121], in which it characterizes itself as a religious symbol embodying aspects of both life and death; the dreamer's past [4-27, 122-26a], in which he reacts to the cross as an awe-inspiring portent and characterizes it with only positive variants; and the dreamer's present [1-3, 126b-56], in which he reacts to the cross as a religious truth and characterizes it by recognizing its paradoxical nature." W. F. Bolton, in "The Book of Job in The Dream of the Rood" (Mediaevalia 6 [1982 for 1980], 87-103), concludes in part that "...the Job passages that underlie portions

of the poem concentrate on the trope of personification, especially of a tree; on the image of contemplation as sleep or death; on the identification of the Cross with both the Dreamer and Christ, and by extension with Job; and on the spiritually favorable fulfillment of pessimistic passages in the Book of Job." Bolton's best parallel is the one which he notes between lines 1-3 in the poem--with their reference to a vision granted to a man at night while others slept--and Job 4:12-14 and 33:14-16, displaying the same motif. Bolton also gives an interesting defense of MS holmwudu as "sea-wood" (91a) on the basis of Job 29: 18-19. It is the argument of Dorothy M. Horgan, in "The Dream of the Rood and a Homily for Palm Sunday" (N&Q 29, 388-91), that "There are certain striking verbal similarities between the famous Old English poem The Dream of the Rood and an unpublished homily for Palm Sunday [MS Bodley 340, ff. 123-28; Ker, Catalogue, no. 309, art. 23] which suggest that the writer of the homily not only knew the poem but was so moved by it as to echo its wording. Later alterations made to the homily reflect attempts to eradicate echoes of the poem and to bring the wording of the homily more in line with the [West Saxon] gospel account." Horgan's evidence that a corrector modified some diction in the homily to make it reflect the West Saxon Gospel of Matthew is compelling; less certain, but still suggestive, is the evidence that the original homilist was occasionally influenced by The Dream of the Rood poet's phrasing. Yet the possibility intrigues and, as Horgan notes, is strengthened by the fact that the Vercelli Book and MS Bodley 340 share some of the same homilies, and that both codices appear to have been compiled in Kent in the same general period.

Ward Parks, in "Mystery and the Word: The Search for Knowledge in the Old English Advent Lyrics" (BSUF 23, 2, 71-79), discovers that "the poem's lyric power is rooted in a particular thematic concern: man's wonderment in the face of sacred mystery." The argument leads Parks to explore the unifying imagery of enclosure, which simultaneously unveils yet preserves the ineffable; poetic voice, which "speaks from whatever perspective best suits the lyrical needs of the moment" but is, predominantly, that of mankind confronted with divine mystery; and "the rhetoric of prayer," by which the poet employs invocation, name-variation, praise, and petition in attempting to fathom the unfathomable. Although I found it difficult to grasp the coherence of his argument, Parks makes a number of telling points. According to Thomas D. Hill, in "The Seraphim's Song: The 'Sanctus' in the Old English 'Christ I,' Lines 403-415" (NM 83, 26-30), the OE passage, an amplified paraphrase of the Sanctus, reflects the patristic tradition that the Latin hymn alludes to the dogma of the Trinity. Hill analyzes the passage into three parts: lines 403-7a repeat halig three times, use three epithets for God, and employ three sentences; lines 407b-10a use three epithets for God; and lines 410b-15 repeat þu three times and employ three sentences. Hill strongly supports his case that "the poet deliberately chose to translate the Sanctus as a song of 'threeness,' of trinitas" by noting that instances of threefold variation and repetition elsewhere in Christ I are rare, whereas the present passage evinces seven triads (counting the structure of the passage as a whole) within thirteen lines. In concluding, Hill observes that the numerological patterns which he discerns are based upon syntax and diction, and wonders whether the recent numerological studies of OE poetry predicated upon line-count are valid.

viii. Hagiographies: Guthlac A and Elene

In prose that, for its articulate intelligence and occasional wit ("With due respect to Guthlac the hermit, his speeches are noticeably long"),

is a pleasure to read, Robert D. Stevick ponders "The Length of Guthlac A" (Viator 13, 15-48). First, using conventional modes of literary analysis, he concludes that the two lacunae in the text--one after line 368, the other after line 541--probably involve losses of 66-69 and 2-6 lines respectively. To render these estimates more precise and, more importantly, to demonstrate that the OE poet composed with abstract quantitative patterning in mind, Stevick then applies, meticulously, "a relatively unfamiliar method of analysis for some medieval verse texts, the study of a text's mathematical proportioning" based upon the number of lines in MS sectional divisions. The practical results of Stevick's various computations are that 73 lines are missing from the poem, 69 at the first lacuna and 4 at the second, and that, consequently, the original text had 891 lines. As someone prone to light out for the Ole Miss Bar and Grill when it's time for the relatively simple arithmetic of tax-forms, the present reader is not equipped by temperament (to put it charitably) to verify Stevick's wizardry with roots, ratios, powers, and geometric figures. (Or, as Humpty Dumpty says of Alice's working out of 365-1=364: I'll check it when I have time.) But it does seem that Stevick is on to "the designer's game" and that "the binding of the poem's parts by their mathematical proportioning is beyond question."

"Cynewulf's Elene: The First Speech to the Jews" (Neophil 66, 301-12), by W. A. M. van der Wurff, is a circumspect stylistic study of lines 288-319: "...Cynewulf has deliberately manipulated his source-material for this speech. By adopting, adapting and adding several kinds of verbal strategy, and also by the more incidental alterations that we have noted, he has underlined its dramatic aim: to wake up the Jews to the position they are in, and prepare them for a renouncement of those erroneous ideas that have brought them into it." The analysis includes an instructive explication of MS woruld (304a), a reading which some scholars have found troublesome.

ix. Wisdom and Lore: Seasons for Fasting, Soul and Body I, The Grave, The Rune Poem, The Husband's Message, Solomon and Saturn, Charms, and Maxims

In "The Seasons for Fasting" (AION, filologia germanica, 24 [1981], 71-92), Maria Grimaldi briefly introduces the poem, reprints the text from ASPR VI, supplements Dobbie's notes with references to later scholarship (with heavy reliance on Holthausen's edition of 1952 and on Sisam's study of 1953), and translates freely into Italian. The author remarks that her translation is the first into any language.

In "The Body in Soul and Body I" (ChauR 17, 76-88), Allen J. Frantzen seeks to counteract two major criticisms of the poem, the first of which is "the apparent inversion of the soul and body hierarchy." Frantzen argues that the condemned soul's charge that the body is the cause of the soul's damnation is not necessarily the poet's own belief; that "within the framework of normative Christian thought, the body can be said to have responsibility for the soul's welfare"; and that the poet, more concerned with penitential practice than with theology, "exaggerates the body's responsibility in order to underscore the necessity of physical commitment to goals which the mind readily approved." It is difficult to accept the first two arguments as stated. As Frantzen acknowledges, not only the damned soul but both the poet (5b-9) and the saved soul (135-41) as well indicate that the body determines the soul's

destiny. Further, by my reading, the penitential texts cited show, implicitly or explicitly, that, according to "normative Christian thought," the soul--not the body--is responsible for its own eternal welfare; what these texts do suggest, however, is that certain penitential statements--taken out of context--might easily lead to the poet's over-simplification that the body governs a person's destiny. This reformulation supports Frantzen's third argument that the poet inverts the traditional hierarchy to emphasize the moral that salvation cannot be attained unless the flesh is mortified. Frantzen's second main point is that the condemned soul's hatred of the disintegrating body does not imply Manichean dualism. Rather, "the evil soul repeatedly refers to decay because physical corruption serves as an image of moral corruption and a prefiguration of the soul at Judgment" as well as an anticipation of the body's future sufferings in hell.

In "Il poema anglosassone 'The Grave'" (AION, filologia germanica, 24 [1981], 201-10), Cinzia Marino stresses that the poem does not belong to the body-and-soul tradition even though it displays some of the same imagery. The chief difference is that The Grave affords no Christian perspective but, by implication, affirms the value of natural human life itself--with its light and friendship and freedom of movement--prior to death. Agreeing with previous scholars that lines 23-25 are a thirteenth-century addition to the twelfth-century text, Marino divides the poem into three parts: lines 1-6, focusing on death as the universal human lot; lines 7-14, describing the uninviting confines of the grave; and lines 15-22, depicting the desolate life of the corpse. The Grave is no literary monument. Marino's analysis of its structure, imagery, irony, and verbal texture helps to show, however, that the poem deserves better than to be relegated to the dustbin of criticism.

Peter Nicholson's contention, in "The Old English Rune for S" (JEGP 81, 313-19), is that the s-rune, usually taken as meaning sigel, "sun," in The Rune Poem and in The Husband's Message, is better understood as segl, "sail." Nicholson argues that sigel is a rare OE word, that traditional but rare names for some runes "could be abandoned for a phonetic doublet if the context were clear," and that interpreting the s-rune as segl instead of sigel in the two poems produces a superior reading in each context. In The Rune Poem the interpretation enables Nicholson to clarify the grammar and meaning of lines 45-46, and in The Husband's Message it leads him to illuminate lines 49-53: "Together, the five runes that are carved on the stave read 'sail-road: earth-joy and man,' a message that we can expand with no difficulty at all: 'Take the path across the sea to find the joy of the earth with the man to whom you were betrothed.'" After discussing the implications of this reading for The Husband's Message as a whole, Nicholson concludes, rightly, that "the case for segl provided by these two poems is compelling."

I have a correction to make in my review (YWOES 1981) of Maureen Halsall's The Old English Rune Poem: A Critical Edition, in which I said, in part, that "My main reservation is personal but has demonstrably wider implications: Halsall seems to borrow more than half a dozen times from a paper of mine...without acknowledgment." Professor Halsall has sent me copies of some pages from a draft that she had written before reading my article, and it is now clear that the parallels between our two studies are coincidental. I apologize to her for my suggestion of unacknowledged borrowing from my paper. Another comment that I made in the review, that her book is "the single most valuable work of scholarship ever accorded the Rune Poem," needs no revision.

In "Mirabilia ags.: il Vasa Mortis nel Salomone e Saturno" (AION, filologia germanica, 24 [1981], 211-26), Gilda Cilluffo investigates the parentage of the vasa mortis, a creature described by Solomon as possessing a whale's body, a vulture's feathers, a griffin's feet, and four human-sized heads (253-81). In the only other study of the beast, Robert J. Menner (1929) concludes that the poet's source is a lost Latin work influenced by Talmudic literature. Criticizing Menner's study as partial and limited, Cilluffo looks for the creature's origins closer to home. The vasa mortis has various features in common with monsters described in The Letter of Alexander the Great to Aristotle, The Wonders of the East, and The Liber Monstrorum, as well as with Fama portrayed in the Aeneid (IV, 173-88). The first three works show that the Anglo-Saxons had a deep interest in marvels, an interest shared by the Solomon and Saturn poet, who apparently invented some details of his own to enhance the fabulous nature of the beast. Cilluffo does well to make a case for insular and Virgilian influence; but Menner's study, with (among other things) its explanation of why the vasa mortis is associated with the Philistines, remains important for understanding the creature's lineage.

Marie Nelson agrees with most recent commentators that the metrical charm entitled "Against a Dwarf" is, specifically, "An Old English Charm Against Nightmare" (GN 13, 17-18). Nelson's reading of the details is reasonable. But I do not see why she follows Dobbie in emending deores to dweores (13b) since the MS form is quite intelligible and, as she notes, does not conflict with her interpretation.

In "Understanding an Old English Wisdom Verse: Maxims II, Lines 10ff" (The Wisdom of Poetry, ed. Larry D. Benson and Siegfried Wenzel, 1-11 and 261-64), Fred C. Robinson considers whether MS swicolost (10a) in soð bið swicolost, "truth is most tricky," should be kept or emended to swutolost, yielding "truth is most evident." Robinson defends the MS reading on the grounds that it is the MS reading and that the statement, "truth is most tricky," claims parallels in OE and other literature. His third, and most provocative, argument is that lines 10b-11a--sinc byð deorost, / gold gumen gehwam--seem to explain, in part, why soð bið swicolost: "It may be then that 'truth is most tricky' because man's inordinate love of money is constantly inducing him to make falsehoods look like truth and truth like falsehoods. Money being as beloved by men as it is, truth is most tricky." One may add that points in Robinson's own essay offer a more positive illustration of the dictum: Contrary to one's expectations, most German scholars keep the MS reading, while most Anglo-American scholars emend; the seemingly less violent emendation of MS swicolost to switolost is, in reality, more difficult to defend than the emendation (with the same sense) to swutolost; and a statement in Blickling Homily XV that would seem to support emending the MS to read "truth is most evident" actually supports preservation of "truth is most tricky."

J. R. H.

x. Translations

Frederic C. Cassidy has translated The Wife's Lament in OEN 16, no. 1, 25-6; and Kevin Crossley-Holland has translated Wulf and Eadwacer as "Wulf" (Agenda 19, nos. 2-3 [1981], 12).

Works not seen:

Harada, Yoshio. "Some Observations on Epic Formula in The Phoenix and Beowulf." Kitasato Jnl of Liberal Arts and Sciences 15 (1981), 33-40.

Oda, Takuji. A Concordance to the Riddles of the Exeter Book. Tokyo: Gaku Shobo, vii, 293 p.

Pinsker, Hans. "Bemerkungen zum ae. Sturmrätsel." ArAA 6 (1981), 221-26.

Regan, Charles L. "Deor: Q.E.D." Inscape: Studies Presented to Charles F. Donovan, S.J. Ed. M. J. Connolly and Lawrence G. Jones. Chestnut Hill, MA, 1977 [1978], p. 146-48.

Wain, John, trans. The Seafarer. Warwick: Greville Press, 1980.

Ziegler, Waltraud. "Ein neuer Lösungsversuch für das altenglische Rätsel Nr. 28." ArAA 7, 185-90.

J. B. T.

c. Beowulf

This year scholars considered lexical, textual and historical questions more frequently than they probed the meaning of the poem, examined its aesthetic, or sought its implications in ethics, philosophy or the history of European sensibility. The ongoing Dictionary of Old English project, with its subsidiary editing, concording and word-studies activities, has been responsible for much of this altered concern, but some of it seems to me to represent an unreflective acceptance of the notion that a century of scholarly endeavor has accomplished little of lasting worth. I accept the ultimate authority of Cotton Vitellius A.XV but, before launching on a new reading, would like to know what Klaeber, Wrenn, Trautmann, Heyne, Lawrence, Müllenhoff, Heusler et al. might have thought about it.

The order of consideration here will be as follows: first, studies of the poem as a whole and of its hero; then, current discussion of the editorial tradition, and vocabulary, metre, sources and analogues, and date in that order; finally, comments on smaller sections or individual lines, taken in the order of their occurrence in the text.

Like any consistent translation, Stanley Greenfield's new rendition (A Readable Beowulf: the Old English Epic Newly Translated [Carbondale and Edwardsville, IL]) is also the translator's interpretation, and this is the book's greatest strength, for Professor Greenfield's balance and intelligence, which we have seen over the years in his many articles and books, are in evidence on nearly every page. Though I think the title a mistake, since there are several readable translations of the poem (and the original is, with a little coaching, arguably readable), still Greenfield has fulfilled his beot. This is a readable, often beautiful, translation. The "syllabic verse" he chose, ordinarily restricted to nine syllables "with occasional shortening to eight or expansion to ten" (p. 32), my ear was unable to hear as verse, but it makes effective prose. Alain Renoir's extensive introduction is accurate, comprehensive, and delightful. Though Eric Stanley could not have considered Greenfield's translation in his survey of Beowulf versions ("Translation from Old English: 'The Garbaging War-Hawk,' or, The Literal Materials from Which the Reader Can Re-create the Poem," Acts of Interpretation, ed. Mary J. Carruthers and Elizabeth D. Kirk [Norman, OK], 67-101), I feel sure he would have put it in the fine tradition of Anna Gurney, whose early nineteenth-century rendering of Brunanburh set the tone for elegant prose translations. Stanley's article is a bemused and amusing account of the vagaries of Beowulf translation, both those in the line of Samuel Henshaw's ignorant insolence (to which Tennyson's rendition of "grædigne guðhafoc," Brunanburh 64, as "garbaging war-hawk" must be assigned) and those in Anna Gurney's tradition, including E. Talbot Donaldson and, I suggest, Stanley Greenfield.

The only other book to deal with the poem as a whole is David Williams's Cain and Beowulf: A Study in Secular Allegory (Toronto), which argues that the Cain motif is thematically central, giving substance to "a secular, literary allegory of a profound social vision" (p. 4). In describing what he means by "secular allegory" Williams says that he does not intend "formal four-level allegory" but "the more usual literary form of the two-level structure, history

and allegory, or the literal and the symbolic" (p. 5). This seems to me a distortion. Though Williams appeals to Augustine throughout, he has equated what Augustine would have called the spiritual senses with the merely--or more generally--symbolic. In fact, I think Williams reads the poem as a moral allegory, part of Augustine's system of spiritual allegory but which Williams is more comfortable calling secular. Major sections of the book, bracketed by an introduction providing general background and a summarizing conclusion, deal with the Cain tradition, the fabulous elements, and episodes and digressions. The argument taken as a whole is not only interesting but, with the exception implied above, convincing. Mr. Williams does not follow the lead of allegorists such as Margaret Goldsmith and Marie Hamilton to make of Beowulf either a Christ figure or a greed-ridden victim of Satan's wiles, and he gives an especially cogent explanation of the relationship of the apparent digressions to the main story and its meaning. At the same time, I have encountered few books so consistently marred by errors of detail apparent typographical slips, mistranslations--some tendentious, but most merely careless-- and bibliographical inaccuracy. Such things, together with his ponderous style, will make it difficult for many to take his arguments seriously. My conclusion was that in spite of them it ought to be. Curiously similar to Williams's thesis is Thalia Phillies Feldman's comment on "Grendel and Cain's Descendants" (LOS 8 [1981], 71-87). Her examination of monster vocabulary in Beowulf shows that each member of the fifelcynn has pagan antecedents and therefore "there is nothing Christian about them, and very little Judaic beyond the reference to Cain himself" (p. 83). Like Williams she seems to search for a poem which is either Christian or pagan (as he looks for secular or religious values), without considering the possibility of religious syncretism.

Some articles consider the poet's aesthetic strategy. M. A. L. Locherbie-Cameron, for instance ("Structure, Mood and Meaning in Beowulf," Poetica [Tokyo] 10 [1978], 1-11), sees the very purpose of the poem to be defined by an overall shift from the heroic to the elegiac mood, as well as by the contrast between these moods within a given section, so that this contrast "is not simply a functional device of structural unity, but itself provides the poem's final meaning" (p. 11). E. G. Stanley considers "The Narrative Art of Beowulf" (Medieval Narrative: a Symposium, ed. Hans Bekker-Nielsen et al. [Odense, 1979], 58-81) and suggests, inter alia, that "[i]t is one of the patterns of narrative in Beowulf to build a structure of action out of a universalizing statement" (p. 77) and that delays, episodes and digressions are ways of binding the action of the poem to truth (p. 81). Though this thoughtful argument is too complex for ready summary, I should note that Professor Stanley here questions both Tolkien's opinion that "the poem was not meant to advance, steadily or unsteadily (p. 59; quoted from Publications of the British Academy 22, 271) and Chambers's earlier objection that the folk tale "has been allowed in Beowulf to usurp the place of honour" (p. 80; quoted from Beowulf, trans. A. Strong [1925], xxvi). Anne Leslie Harris looks at variation as the principal "Technique of Pacing in Beowulf" (ES 63, 97-108) and arrives at a clear, if somewhat rigid, definition of the device. Not surprisingly she finds that strict variation occurs less frequently in verse describing swift action.

Among studies concerned to relate the poem to its historical background is Robert T. Farrell's "Beowulf and the Northern Heroic Age" (The Vikings, ed. Farrell [London], 180-216). The intent is "to provide a context

for the apparent paradox of the Scandinavian centre of Beowulf" (p. 206), to accomplish which Farrell examines poetic texts--including Widsith, Deor, the Franks Casket, and pertinent sections of Beowulf itself--chronicle accounts of the death of Hygelac, evidence for the nature of warfare in early Germanic society, and evidence from archaeology. The overall conclusion is that "there is a cultural context in England from the settlement period through and beyond the Conquest which serves as a basis for [the] pro-Scandinavian bias of the poem" (p. 204). Such a conclusion supports one already reached by R. I. Page and Roberta Frank in articles reviewed here last year. An ambitious but only partly successful attempt is Joseph Harris's "Beowulf in Literary History" (PCP 17, 16-24). Harris considers the poem a summary of previous literary genres, several of which he identifies (e.g., the creation hymn, the heroic lay of Finnsburh, and the elegy of the father for his hanged son) and two of which he examines closely with accurate but indifferent results: the introductory genealogy (4-64) and the song about Beowulf (867b-915). The elegiac element gains the attention of James W. Earl ("Apocalypticism and Mourning in Beowulf," Thought 57, 362-70). To Earl the primary function of the poem is to deal in a healthy way with the loss of a way of life gone beyond recall, a process requiring identification and internalization. Essentially, "in Beowulf Christianity appropriates the mythic eschatology of the Germans by historicizing it " (p. 367), an eschatology which is itself a mythic account of loss and destruction. In The Hero and the King: an Epic Theme (New York) W. T. H. Jackson analyzes Beowulf along with several other classical and medieval epics (cf. esp. 26-36). To him the poem "shows that every kingdom needs a ruler who is aware of the first duty of a king, the protection of his kingdom against intruders" (p. 35). Jackson's title made me wonder why he did not make more use of John Leyerle's interesting article on his subject, "Beowulf, the Hero and the King" (ME 34 [1965], 89-102). Against previous work of Fred C. Robinson and Karl Wentersdorf, Stanley B. Greenfield argues for "A Touch of the Monstrous in the Hero, or Beowulf Re-Marvellized" (ES 63, 294-300). To do this he analyzes the Breca episode, Beowulf's descent into the mere, and Beowulf's return from the Frisian raid. The argument is too detailed to summarize, but I should perhaps note the concluding point, that "[a]t the least, I feel, Robinson's demarvellizing...is 'not proven'. One might query whether the burden of proof lies with those who assert or deny the marvelous" (300). Two articles in Literary and Historical Perspectives of the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the 1981 SEMA Meeting (ed. Patricia W. Cummins, et al. [Morgantown, WVA]) relate the poem to epochal shifts in human history. David G. Allen connects what he sees as "The Coercive Ideal of Beowulf" (120-32) with a release from the freedom implied in the traditional comitatus relationship, within which the king had to gain loyalty through kindness and generosity. Instead, the poem describes and advocates submission to "the more perfect order of holy coercion" (p. 126). Allen's interesting speculation on the meaning of the poem will be clearer if readers realize that on p. 121 he has reversed Ullman's identification of an "ascending" and "descending" social system. Randell Bohrer finds a connection between "Beowulf and the Bog People" (133-47), identifying meaningful correspondences between the "partisan, patriarchal spirit" which Beowulf displays (p. 133) and the sort of attitude which must have been widespread in fifth-century Scandinavia, when there was a shift from a society based on fertility worship and devoted to an earth goddess to one defined by a warrior cult. In the poem, Bohrer finds a stridently patriarchic culture terrified of the old worship, whose major figures have become demonized in Grendel, a remnant of the old fertility priesthood, and his mother,

a grotesque form of the ancient goddess. Finally, Jean Queval's remarks on "Beowulf" (NRF 339 [1981], 179-92) are sometimes inaccurate and contain nothing new for anyone who has read the poem, even in translation.

In an important general study, Birte Kelly focuses on "The Formative Stages of Beowulf Textual Scholarship Part I" (ASE 11, 247-74). A two-part essay, this section "lists all the readings proposed by 1857 and accepted in at least one edition published from 1950 onwards." The other will provide a "survey of all readings accepted in editions published from 1950 onwards" (p. 247). Particularly remarkable to me is the amount of early work that has stood the test of time, as, for example, in section V, which lists the "[e]mendations where a majority of editors from 1950 onwards believe that there have been scribal errors or omissions and all these accept the proposed emendations" (p. 267), that is, emendations proposed before 1857. For those who have never collated the MS perhaps the most illuminating insight will be the number of obvious errors editors agree to exist in the sole MS, even apart from emendations made necessary by the damaged state of the text. Such reflections make it more difficult to accept a theory of wholesale conservatism in editing Beowulf, though Paul Beekman Taylor enlists his readings of "Beowulf 1130, 1875 and 2006: in Defence of the Manuscript" (NM 82 [1981], 357-9) to show how editorial negatives added in those three places are unnecessary. In an article written later with R. Evan Davis ("Some Alliterative Misfits in the Beowulf MS," (Neophil 66, 614-21), Taylor suggests that by a gradual process the "authority of the manuscript has given way, in effect, to authority of the editors" (p. 614) and goes on to argue that we ought not emend an intelligible line of OE verse just to regularize the alliteration. The strongest examples given are still those involving h- (including the well-known HVNferth, Unferth set), but there are interesting additional ones as well (e.g., at 457, 461, 976, 1981a etc.).

In addition to the yearly comments on lexical items relating to brief passages, there is this year an unusual number of lexical studies concerned with aspects of vocabulary running through the poem. Caroline Brady, for example, has published an extensive study of "'Warriors' in Beowulf: An Analysis of the Nominal Compounds and an evaluation of the Poet's Use of Them" (ASE 11, 199-246) to go along with her earlier article on weapons, published in the same journal. Here, she analyzes 88 nominal compounds and 13 genitive combinations referring to military figures in Beowulf. While the information is in itself valuable, the treatment seems to me uneven. Readers are provided with full references to the most fundamental texts (e.g., Stenton) and told where to discover what an episode or digression in Beowulf might be, and yet the work of other scholars is often dismissed or discounted without argument (e.g., p. 221, n. 75, which dismisses most recent contributions to discussion of the meaning of þyle). In an article dealing with material of major interest to periti, she has an unfortunate tendency to pontificate as if to neophytes. Anne Leslie Harris considers the significance and poetic appropriateness of the names of Æschere, Hondscio, Wulf, Eofor, and Dæghrefn and connects each with one of the poem's dominant themes ("Hands, Helms, and Heroes: the Role of Proper Names in Beowulf," NM 83, 414-21). Thus Hondscio's name echoes frequent references to hands, fingers and arms early in the poem and suggests the hero's need for physical strength; Æschere, in a similar way, echoes head references and suggests sagacity; the idea behind the names Wulf, Eofor and Dæghrefn "stresses the tenuous peace achieved in a milieu dominated by war"

(p. 418). Bruce Redwine argues that in Beowulf haste had in itself a value for the poet and his readers which has not survived ("'Ofost is selest: the Pragmatics of Haste in Beowulf," SN 54, 209-16). Thus, the best and most formal occasions--gift-giving, formal invitations, even mourning--are accompanied by a kind of haste "which indicates the sincerity of one's intentions" (216). I was particularly pleased this year to receive a full summary of Hideo Sasabe's study of "Medu-dream in Beowulf" (Review of Eng. Lit. [Kyoto Univ.] 40 [1979], 1-18), an article originally written in Japanese which the author summarized for me in English. I would like to acknowledge the generous assistance of Professor Akio Oizumi of Doshisha University in Kyoto, Japan, who has for the past several years sent me many articles published in Japan and who asked his colleague, Professor Sasabe, to send me this summary. The purpose of the article is to analyze the vocabulary of hall-joy, particularly words such as medu-dream, sele-dream, gleo-dream and symbel-wynn, whose very variety suggests the importance of the "joy of the feast" in Beowulf. Sasabe concludes from the contradiction between 531, where Unferth is called beore druncen, and 1467, where in a recollection of the same incident he is called wine druncen, that acoustic effect is more important than meaning. Having examined the full associational context of each member of the compound medu-dream, Sasabe concludes that this image is part of a major pattern in the poem, contrasting joy and sorrow. At the conclusion the article focuses on the image of the cup, particularly at the end of the poem, where cups are described as both beautifully adorned objects of splendor and as dim, unpolished, rusting cast-offs. This juxtaposition stresses the futility of earthly treasure, a major theme of the poem. Another lexical study from Japan is Hiroto Ushigaki's article on "The Image of 'god cyning' in Beowulf--a Philological Study" (Stud. in Eng. Lit. [Tokyo], English Number, 63-78), including an Appendix of "Epithets Applied to the Three Major Kings in Beowulf" (p. 75-8). Among Ushigaki's interesting conclusions: "Epithets of generosity, wisdom and age, and renown are applied most often to Hrothgar, in contrast to those of endearment and prowess most abundantly used in reference to Beowulf...whilst those rare epithets of heroic pride or noble spirit are limited to Beowulf and Hygelac" (p. 68). This seems implicit support for Robert Kaske's identification of the theme of Sapientia and Fortitudo in the poem. Johannes Erben, in "Die Herausforderung der ur-hēttun im althochdeutschen Hildebrandslied" (ZDP 98, suppl. [1979], 4-9) argues that oretta at 1532 and 2538 together with oretmecgas at 481 provide the best evidence for the meaning of urhettun in Hildebrandslied. In each instance cited, the word is used to describe a person who has made a public boast that he will battle against an unusual enemy and either defeat or kill him. Interestingly, Caroline Brady makes a similar point about the meaning of oretta and oretmecgas in the article reviewed above (p. 210-11 and 214). Finally, in a note mentioned elsewhere (see sect. 2a), Alexandra Hennessey Olsen suggests a connection between the first element of OE aglæca and OE æ, "law," such that "the Anglo-Saxons would have considered an aglæca to be a person who plays or fights with the law" (p. 67).

Metre is the focus for a small volume of studies edited by Alain Renoir and Ann Hernández (Approaches to Beowulfian Scansion; Old English Colloquium Series, 1 [Berkeley]). As Renoir explains in his "Introdcution" (p. 1-6), the intent of this collaborative effort was to examine the Germanic linguistic context of OE versification, the critical implications of such study, and the usefulness of both computers and recent philological methods in carrying out metrical projects. Two papers deal with the first of these,

John Miles Foley's study of "The Scansion of Beowulf in Its Indo-European Context" (p. 7-17) and Winfred P. Lehmann's exhortation to "Drink Deep" at the well of Snorri Sturlason's reflections on meter (p. 18-26: the implication of the title that "a little learning" in this area "is a dangerous thing" is not pressed in the article). Foley examines recent developments in metrical studies to show that OE verse cannot be treated as if it were Greek or Serbo-Croatian, exhorting his readers to multidisciplinary rigor in the study of the verse forms of Beowulf. Unfortunately, an example of such lack of rigor is at hand in Hiroshi Yada's analysis of "'A and B' Construction in Beowulf" (Descriptive and Applied Linguistics [International Christian University, Tokyo] 14 [1981], 173-84). Though he begins on solid ground with Donald Fry's definition of a formula, Yada goes on to make an application of his five criteria so mechanical that it allows him to identify helm ond byrnan as a formula, without taking into direct account the h- word appearing in the a verse along with this phrase. Lehmann's study of Snorri has led him to realize the "fundamental importance of stave placement" (p. 20) for all native Germanic verse, what Snorri calls stafa-setnung. He is also dubious that Germanic verse was ever intended to be isochronous or that it was played to musical accompaniment. By contrast Robert P. Creed ("The Basis of the Metre of Beowulf," 27-35) uses a computer-based analysis of the poem's lineation to argue for both isochronous metre and musical accompaniment. To do this he has to deny that anacrusis ever occurs and to eliminate the significance of Sievers's types B and C. Though the other contributions to the volume seem serious efforts, Dolores Warwick Frese's reflections on "The Scansion of Beowulf: Critical Implications" (p. 37-46) do not, consisting principally of casual comments on the other contributions. This surprised me in view of the serious impact which both formulaic analysis and metrical studies have had on our critical perceptions over the past three decades. The volume concludes with a "Selective Bibliography and Suggestions for Further Reading" (p. 47-58) by Ann Hernández which is basically a "list of works mentioned" expanded with a few entries for the beginner and general scholar.

Scholarship concerned with the sources and analogues of Beowulf was more meager than in some years. Joseph A. Dane's correlation of "Finnsburh and Iliad IX: a Greek Survival of the Medieval Germanic Oral-Formulaic Theme, the Hero on the Beach" (Neophil 66, 443-9) is, as the title suggests, skeptical of the value of much analysis of oral tradition. The intent is to refute the general notion that there was "a continuous tradition of oral transmission in medieval Germanic literature" and to "question the validity of the label 'Hero on the Beach'" (p. 443). Unfortunately, while Dane's analysis may be more subtle than either Crowne's or Fry's, both of whom he attacks, it is also less intelligible. Bohumil Trnka seeks to link "The Beowulf Poem and Virgil's Aeneid" (Poetica [Tokyo] 12 [1980], 150-56) as other scholars have done before but without adding much of significance to the discussion. Trnka assumes that "Virgil's Aeneid was most probably [the poet's] chief model" (p. 156) but supports the suggestion with nothing stronger than the idea that Beowulf's recounting the Breca episode in Heorot recalls Aeneas telling his story in Dido's hall. Both more subtle and more convincing is R. McConchie's article on "Grettir Ásmundarson's Fight with Kárr the Old: a Neglected Beowulf Analogue" (ES 63, 481-86). After pointing to many similarities of detail in the two incidents (e.g., the comrades' disbelief, the solitary descent, the desertion of the

companions, the nearness of defeat, the decapitation, the splendid sword, and the appearance of light), McConchie takes as much pains illustrating the differences between the two accounts. He concludes with Whitelock and against Chambers and Müllenhoff that we ought not blame the poet for leaving out details present in some analogues. Finally, A. G. Rigg notes without further explanation a fascinating early thirteenth-century parallel to the description of the mere ("Beowulf 1368-72: An Analogue," N&Q 29, 101-2). The passage is from Alexander Neckham's De laudibus divinae sapientiae and describes a lake to which no wild animal will entrust itself, even "though the powerful stench of hounds press on" (p. 102).

Discussion of the date of composition of Beowulf has increased since the 1980 conference on the subject, whose proceedings were published as The Dating of Beowulf (Toronto, 1981), and since publication of Kevin Kiernan's Beowulf and the Beowulf Manuscript (New Brunswick, N.J., 1981), both reviewed here last year. As Robert Farrell pointed out in the article noted above, "The end result of the meeting was that the dating of Beowulf is more open than it was before the conference" (p. 208, n. 10) or before Kiernan's book. Patricia Poussa, however, could not have been influenced, since her article, "The Date of Beowulf Reconsidered: the Tenth Century?" (NM 82 [1981], 276-88) appeared nearly simultaneously with both books. One suggestion she makes which does not appear either in Kiernan or in the Toronto volume would explain the linguistic mixture in the poem on the basis of rapid Danish settlement in England which "could have resulted in older and younger speakers using different phonological forms of English words" (283-4). The OE poet, then, would have adapted his language to that of his intended audience. In much of the discussion so far the principal difference has been in where one believes the burden of proof to lie. Poussa, for example, concludes with the thought that "there seems to be no compelling reason to date the poem very much earlier than its manuscript" (p. 288), while R. D. Fulk, in an article reviewing both Kiernan and the Toronto volume ("Dating Beowulf to the Viking Age," PQ 61, 341-59), comments that even if it can be shown that Hrothgar's lineage owes something to Æthelwulf's family tree, "it cannot be concluded Beowulf is no older than the reign of Alfred," for "there is no compelling reason to believe the Danish material could not have been added long before Alfred's reign" (p. 342). In the absence of "compelling reasons" for either early or late dating, where would scholarly integrity require us to put the probable date until we get more evidence? Fulk seems to me to abandon the one piece of solid evidence we do have when he concludes that "there is no good reason to suppose the manuscript has anything to tell us about the date of the poem" (p. 347). We may not know when it was written, but we do know when it was written down. Those who would like a clear, firm evaluation of Kevin Kiernan's book, particularly of his linguistic analysis, should consult Ashley Crandell Amos's review article, "An Eleventh-Century Beowulf?" (Review [Charlottesville, VA] 4, 335-45). Frederic G. Cassidy's consideration of "Knowledge of Beowulf in Its Own Time" (REAL: the Yearbook of Research in Eng. and Amer. Lit. 1, 1-12) leads him to conclude that the poem was little understood by contemporaries and that its survival is due rather to "benign neglect" than fame (p. 10-11). This relates to the date of composition, for the earlier the date "the more time and reason for recopying there should have been if the poem was known and appreciated" (p. 10). Therefore, either the poem was not very well appreciated, or the date was very late. Horst Weinstock published a "Comment" (p. 13-25) on Professor Cassidy's paper in which he seems slightly to favor a late date on the basis of the poem's sophisticated use of

history and literary device (p. 23). This is surprising in view of the way he is inclined to assess the poem's relationship to history: "A hundred years after Heinrich Schliemann's verification of Homer's messages about Troy and Mycenae, epic texts should, with less hesitation, be taken at their face value" (p. 19). Michael Lapidge brings together "Beowulf, Aldhelm, the Liber Monstrorum and Wessex" (SM 3rd ser., 23, 151-92) to examine the possibility of a Southumbrian locus for the poem's composition, if it was composed in the late seventh or early eighth century, though Lapidge makes it clear from the beginning that he is not taking up the dating question as such. The article is an impressively detailed and balanced study of the subject, which cannot be adequately summarized. Perhaps his conclusions may be: Aldhelm was "arguably familiar" with OE verse about dragons; someone else, also at Malmesbury, seems to have known a legend concerning Hygelac which he put down in the Liber Monstrorum; people in the same area knew a tale about a monster named Grendel possibly connected with a hero named Beowa; Alfred had his royal pedigree extended backward to include Sceaf, Scyld, Heremond and Beaw; and all of this taken together indicates that some of the characters and perhaps the story of Beowulf were known in Wessex by the late ninth century at the latest, and possibly earlier (cf. p. 188-9). Roberta Frank analyzes "The Beowulf Poet's Sense of History" (The Wisdom of Poetry, ed. Larry Benson and Siegfried Wenzel [Kalamazoo, MI], 43-65, 271-77) to get a sense of his attitude toward heroic culture. Evidence that there was much more tolerance for the idea of the good pagan in England of Alfred's time and after than there had been before and that fond recollection of the pagan past was not common early and is common late leads her to conclude that the poem is more likely to have been written after the late ninth century than before. The article is convincing as it stands, though one could wish that she had dealt with the story of Gregory's tears and the soul of the Emperor Trajan, told by an anonymous Whitby monk between 704-14. There is some good evidence in early Anglo-Saxon England, particularly surrounding the tradition of Gregory's mission, for a ready willingness to accept the idea of the good pagan, though this is not the same thing as accepting the heroic ethic.

Some articles and many notes were concerned to provide new readings of individual lines or short passages, though sometimes with extended reflections on the implications of the new reading for the poem as a whole or for our view of its cultural context. Alfred Bammesberger provides "A Note on Beowulf 83b" (MN 83, 24-5) in which he argues that on syntactic grounds the word lenge cannot be a comparative adverb, reinterpreting it to be an adjective related to gelenge of Maxims I, 20, and translating "that it was in no way 'fitting' that the feud, which brought about the destruction of Heorot, should break out" (p. 25). Karl P. Wentersdorf reinterprets lines 170-88 (esp. 180-1) to substantiate the overall point that the Danes are not portrayed inconsistently as pagans in some places and Christians in others but as sometimes backsliding monotheists ("Beowulf: the Paganism of Hrothgar's Danes" in J. Wittig, ed., Eight Anglo-Saxon Studies [Chapel Hill, NC, 1981], 91-119). Central to his argument is a new understanding of the meaning of cunnan and witan in lines 180-1, such that "not to know" means "to reject or turn away from," a sense supported by many examples from OE homiletic literature and scriptural translation and paraphrase. The lines are translated: "They rejected the Creator, He who judges men's deeds; they turned away from the Lord God" (p. 112). The article is also a compendium of information on pagan practices throughout the pre-Conquest period. Stanley B. Greenfield urges a subtle

reinterpretation of lines 287-9, in which he argues that previous readers have ignored the meaning of gescad in the saying ("Of Words and Deeds: the Coast-guard's Maxim Once More," in Benson and Wenzel, ed., The Wisdom of Poetry, 45-51 and 270). His interpretation would put the lines in the social context of Maldon and The Wanderer with the meaning: "the sharp shield warrior must learn to tell the difference between 'empty' words and words which have the resolution and capability of deeds behind them" (p. 51). This explains the rationale for his translation of the lines in A Readable Beowulf, reviewed above, where he writes, "discerning / guardians of their land must learn to judge / empty words from words embracing deeds." J. G. Johansen considers the possibility that hilde-deor at line 834 refers to Grendel and not to Beowulf ("Grendel the Brave? Beowulf, Line 834," ES 63, 193-7), which would mean that lines 833-6 refer to Grendel's initial escape from Heorot and not to the placing of his arm in the hall. Hugh Magennis considers the image in "Beowulf, 1008a: swefeþ æfter symle" (N&Q 29, 391-2), pointing out that here the poet equates life with the feast, whereas ordinarily the feast is a heavenly banquet. John M. Hill provides us with a very subtle and--as theologians put it--nuanced reading of lines 1020-49 in his consideration of "Beowulf and the Danish Succession: Gift Giving as an Occasion for Complex Gesture" (Medievalia et Humanistica n.s. 11, 177-97). According to this interpretation, while Hrothgar has finally come by stages to offer Beowulf the very succession to his kingdom, Wealhtheow reacts negatively, offering Beowulf a "horizontal" relationship with her sons, involving counsel but not regency and certainly not succession. P. B. Taylor and P. H. Salus recommend that "Old English Alf Walda" (Neophil 66, 440-42) not be emended to Alwalda at line 1314, as is commonly done. The MS form should stand, perhaps with the meaning "Lord of elves" (p. 441). Similarly, Timothy Romano recommends retention of a MS form ("Beowulf 1. 1331b: a Restoration of MS hwæþer," Neophil 66, 609-13), since Hrothgar has demonstrated elsewhere that he knows where the mere is and is in these lines more probably wondering whether Grendel has devoured Æschere. Martin Camargo focuses on "The Finn Episode and the Tragedy of Revenge in Beowulf" (Eight Anglo-Saxon Studies, ed. J. Wittig [Chapel Hill, NC, 1981], 120-34), arguing that the function of the story "is to cast doubt on the revenge ethic at the very point in the narrative where such a code appears most glorious" (p. 132). The ultimate implication of this analysis is that Beowulf, though an exemplary pagan, "is as far removed from the true Christian as Grendel is from Beowulf" (p. 134). Edward B. Irving interprets Beowulf's return to Hygelac's court (ll. 1887-2199) as essentially a further test for the hero ("Beowulf Comes Home: Close Reading in Epic Context," Acts of Interpretation, ed. Mary J. Carruthers and Elizabeth D. Kirk [Norman, OK], 129-43). This article is a sensitive reflection of the kind we are used to from Professor Irving, showing that Beowulf answers his lord's tendentious questions with just the proper emphasis to demonstrate that he was very much in charge at Heorot and that his kinsmen need not have worried about his capacity to take care of himself. To substantiate "A Reconsideration of the Textual Evidence for the Existence of a Thief in Beowulf" (Tokyo Medieval English Literature Discussion Group [1981], 14-27) Raymond P. Tripp, Jr. examines several passages between lines 2200 and 2424. The reminder that our belief that there is a thief in Beowulf rests upon very slender textual evidence is salutary though not new. The rest of his argument--that there are not three characters, a last survivor, a dragon, and a thief, but only two, "an ancient race, not an individual, and an evil king, who...dies, to become a man-dragon who later steals a cup from Beowulf" (p. 14)--may be more difficult for some to accept, and "Third Thoughts

On Some Beowulf Readings" (In Geardagum 4, 56-7) may not improve matters. Here in addition to different alternate readings from the article of the year previous, Tripp reinterprets the section in question. He still believes there are only two characters but a different two: "the previous i.e. most recent, man-dragon and the one, the very last one, who kills Beowulf" (p. 56). Harvey De Roo asks a similar question ("Beowulf 2223b: A Thief by Any Other Name?" MP 79, 297-304) but reaches far less revolutionary conclusions. Since there is room for only three letters after the þ...at 2223b, the alternatives seem to be limited to þegn and þeow, as W. W. Lawrence and Frank Gaylord Hubbard had earlier argued. De Roo re-examines the lexical evidence offered by Hubbard in support of the þeow reading to show that none of the words analyzed is restricted in application to people of low position and that heteswengeas (2224b), implying sword blows rather than scourging, would more properly apply to a þegn. Thomas D. Hill relates "The Confession of Beowulf and the Structure of the Volsunga Saga" (R. T. Farrell, ed., The Vikings [London and Chichester], 165-79) in order to interpret the meaning of lines 2732-43. Hill's argument is that the reason Beowulf tells us he has not wasted his patrimony, sworn false oaths, sought aggressive wars, or slaughtered his relatives--modest enough accomplishments in themselves--is to present himself as an anti-Volsung, because these are precisely the things the Volsungs were known for. Bruce Mitchell examines "Beowulf, Lines 3074-3075; the Damnation of Beowulf?" (Poetica [Tokyo] 13, 15-26) not exactly to argue against A. J. Bliss's contention that the lines are proof of the hero's condemnation, but "merely to satisfy myself that he need not be right" (p. 25). To support this, he suggests some parallels not noticed by Bliss for an objective genitive usage in soðfæstra dom at line 2820 and argues in favor of the emendation of næs or næs he to næfne, with the translation, "...if he had not in the past seen and understood the gold-bestowing favor of God more clearly than had the dragon" (p. 24). Several scholars were concerned to shed light on the concluding lines of the poem. Roberta Adams Albrecht considers the funeral scene described in lines 3137 following ("Beowulf," Explicator 40.4, 4-6) to note connections between the vocabulary used there and that used to describe the action of the sea. Samuel M. Riley, in the same issue of the same journal, examines "Beowulf, Lines 3180-2" (p. 2-3), to suggest that the terms used to describe Beowulf are consistent with the poet's intent to portray "a hero who exemplifies the two best traits of an ideal Germanic ruler--generosity and bravery" (3). Paula Loikala looks at "Funeral Rites in Beowulf" (Quaderni di Filologia Germanica della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Bologna 2, 279-92) but adds nothing to our knowledge of the subject, as the article consists largely of misprints from Klaeber and summaries of the passages quoted, together with some inconclusive comparisons with the Sutton Hoo ship burial and incidents in Norse literature. In stark contrast is Roberta Frank's comparison of "Old Norse Memorial Eulogies and the Ending of Beowulf" (The Early Middle Ages: Acta 6 [Binghamton, NY], 1-19), which identifies a threefold structural pattern in the ON examples and in the poem, involving personal lament, praise of the fallen, and prediction of universal catastrophe. These things, together with several interesting Scandinavianisms she detects, suggests that Beowulf owes more to tenth-century Anglo-Danish relations than to a half-forgotten continental past. I will conclude by referring to perhaps the most memorable reflection on Beowulf to occur in this year's harvest, in an article not principally about the poem and therefore reviewed elsewhere (cf. sec. 3a). John Collins Pope includes Beowulf's thoughts before dying in his reflections on "The Existential Mysteries as Treated in Certain Passages of Our Older Poets" (Acts of Interpretation, ed. Mary J. Carruthers and Elizabeth D. Kirk [Norman, OK], 345-62; esp. 350-54). Particularly interesting to Pope is the

way in which the poets selected for comment seem to become fascinated with the beauty or even enduring quality of the very things that are being lost. Beowulf, for example, is mortally wounded and yet sits staring in wonder at the dragon's barrow, marvelling at "hu ða stanbogan stapulum fæste / ece eorðreced innan healde" (ll. 2718-19). "Instead of a lamentation over the mutability to which he himself is so painfully subject, we have admiration and awe at something time has not conquered" (p. 354).

Works not seen:

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Nickel, Gerhard, et al., ed. and trans. Beowulf und die kleineren Denkmäler der altenglischen Heldensage Waldere und Finnsburg, pt. 3. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, ix, 198 p. [Glossary volume, compiled by Jürgen Strauss]

Pàroli, Teresa. La morte di Beowulf. Testi e studi di filologia, 4. Rome: Istituto di Glottologia, Univ. di Roma, 132 p. + plates.

Sato, Noboru. "A Sound Symbolism in the Alliterative Thorn in Beowulf." Tamagawa Rev. 6 (1981), 82-93.

C. C.

d. Prose

If any single work can be marked as the most important publication this year on OE prose, it surely is Joyce Bazire's and James E. Cross's welcome edition of Eleven Old English Rogationtide Homilies (Toronto OE Series 7). Of all movable feasts of the Church, Rogationtide is the least accessible today, but Bazire and Cross, in this remarkable book, have gone far to bridge the gap. Their general introduction deals with the origins of the festival and with its introduction to the Anglo-Saxon church. Their account is, of course, directed toward the surviving homiletic literature, but on the way it brings together more information about this season in England than can be found in manageable form anywhere else. The texts seem first to have been "chosen as helpful texts for the lexicographer," but their presentation now amounts to a great deal more. First, they provide an impressive anthology of most of the surviving English vernacular literature on an important but varied topic. Also, these texts, closely related at least in theme, provide a remarkable source for the study of literary management and literary development of a set range of ideas. And, these texts make an exemplary group which should inspire similar studies of other themes in OE Christian literature.

The eleven texts are drawn from five manuscripts: CCCC 162, 302, 303; Camb. Univ. Lib. Ii.4.6; Bodl. Hatton 114. Each homily is introduced with an account of the manuscript source and the relationships among variant texts. Manuscript features are described in each introduction, as are the textual issues of each homily. Then there is "commentary on the composition and sources of [each]...homily." These sections go well beyond the usual expectations of scholars in such editions and offer much information for revising and completing a new literary history of this genre in this pre-Conquest age. The texts themselves are printed in the curious type face used by Toronto and are presented in modern punctuation. There are no translations and there is no glossary and no index.

This edition is unusual in its presentation of homilies on a single, albeit, rather large theme. They are not all from the same manuscript, though all such groupings by codex are maintained in the order of presentation. They are not all derived from the same source, although common sources are often apparent and always carefully noted. Most importantly, the collection opens research possibilities instead of completing them. The Blickling Rogation homilies are different from the ones presentd here; how and why do they differ? Caesarius of Arles is a frequent source for Rogation material; how wide and how deep was his influence? Did Rogation homilies develop literary patterns different from works on other feasts? These and other related questions can now be asked with readier hopes of finding answers.

There has been other important work on anonymous homilies as well. Helen L. Spencer, in "Vernacular and Latin Versions of a Sermon for Lent: 'A Lost Penitential Homily' Found" (MS 44, 271-305), uses two OE Lenten homilies in MS Bodley 343 (Ker 310, arts. 28 and 29), which were printed by Belfour in 1909, as a substantial part of the evidence for proving the one-time existence of a now lost Latin penitential homily from which several extant works, in OE, ME, OI, and Latin, ultimately derived.

J. E. Cross has discovered a likely Latin source for a Lenten sermon recently published by Prof. A. M. Luiselli Fadda; in "A Doomsday Passage in an Old English Sermon for Lent" (Anglia 100, 103-8), he publishes exemplary parallel texts and goes on to suggest the ways in which the Latin was adapted in the OE. The homilist seems to have echoed the specific use of Scripture in the Latin source as well.

In a sensitive essay, "Apotheosis and Doctrinal Purpose in the Vercelli Guthlac" (In Geardagum 4, 32-40), Alexandra Hennessey Olsen compares the hagiographical homily with its source in Felix's Vita Sancti Guthlaci to find that the OE writer's focus on the tempting devils moves beyond Felix's purpose of demonstrating Guthlac's sanctity to an emphasis on "salvation" as "a miraculous escape from damnation."

Barbara Picard presented Das altenglische Aegidiusleben in MS CCCC 303 (Freiburg, 1980) as her doctoral dissertation. Her welcome edition of this unique life of St. Giles (Ker 57, art. 26) is accompanied by careful commentary on palaeography, orthography, morphology, and the Latin sources, as well as by an interesting record of the place of this vita in larger aspects of literary history.

J. E. Cross introduces his extremely important essay, "Saints' Lives in Old English: Latin Manuscripts and Vernacular Accounts: The Old English Martyrology" (Peritia 1, 38-62), with a General Preface (38-41) which applies as well to P. H. Zettel's essay, reviewed below. Cross points out that "[d]etailed study of many of the vernacular saints' lives has been hampered, and critical comment has often been vitiated, by the lack of modern collated editions of Latin vitae and passiones for comparison." There are exceptions, and Cross notes them, but they are rare. Study of OE texts and their sources has, more often than not, stopped with the indication of a single printed text which most nearly approximates the vernacular. Cross illustrates the advantages of securing more than one relevant Latin text by giving full exposition, with texts, translations, and commentaries of questionable issues in four texts in the OE Martyrology: The Revelatio S Stephani (the OE martyrologist probably used a Latin source, such as Vienna lat. 420, which used elements of type A and of type B), the entries of St George and Alexandria (either the OE martyrology used a text which combined certain ideas and words [and two such Latin sources are now known] or he used two different texts), the Passio S Vincentii (the OE martyrologist seems to have used an early shorter version as his source), the notice of Vitus and Modestus (the source can almost surely be precisely identified). Attention to the details of Latin sources clearly yields much more precise information about the literary origins of hagiographic texts, whether the brief entries of the Martyrology or the longer saints' lives of Ælfric and the anonymous homilists.

In "Passio S. Eugeniae et Comitum and the Old English Martyrology" (N&Q 29, 392-97), James E. Cross presents a substantial body of information which demonstrates the complex background of the OE Martyrology in Latin texts. Cross has acquired wide and significant knowledge of these sources and illustrates the derivation of the OEM accounts for Eugenia (Dec. 25), Basilla (May 20), and Protus and Hyacinthus (Sept. 11) from "mixed" Latin sources not known by previous editors.

In "A Virgo in the Old English Martyrology" (N&Q 29.2, 102-6), J. E. Cross builds on an earlier discussion of a problematic aspect of the OE Martyrology entry for Arthemius (June 2). The name "Virgo" which appears there for Arthemius's daughter was once thought to be a simple error because the only known Latin source referred to her by the name "Paulina" as well as by the category "virgo." Cross has found two Latin manuscripts (and in a postscript lists two more) which show the origins of the Martyrology text much more closely; the author of the Martyrology, Cross now proves, was translating the Latin text accurately, not making a series of elementary errors.

Only a scholar with the broad reading and long memory of J. E. Cross could have summoned and arranged the evidence to set forth "A Lost Life of Hilda of Whitby: The Evidence of the Old English Martyrology" (The Early Middle Ages, Acta 6, 21-43). The martyrology account is obviously based on Bede's account in the Historia Ecclesiastica, but there are differences and added information. Cross argues convincingly that the author of the "martyrology would not have produced the differences by treating Bede alone so casually and that he blended information from two sources, Bede and a lost vita." When stated simply, the argument seems simple, but the kinds of treatment the martyrologist gives or does not give known or unknown evidence makes a confused but fertile field for investigation. Cross closes by suggesting that the lost life was "very likely" "composed...at Whitby where she was honoured."

In a companion piece to Cross's essay in Peritia, "Saints' Lives in Old English: Latin Manuscripts and Vernacular Accounts: Ælfric" (Peritia 1, 17-37), Patrick H. Zettel also presents an essay of singular importance. He identifies a "hagiographic compendium" which he calls "the Cotton-Corpus legendary" as the principal source of Ælfric's lives of saints in his Catholic Homilies and in his Lives of Saints. Zettel ties the Ælfrician canon not to published texts of sources but to actual manuscripts, in this instance to B. L. MS Cot. Nero E.i, CCCC MS 9, Bodl. Lib. MSS Fell 4, Fell 1, and Bodley 354, and Hereford Cath. MS P7.vi. The saints used by Ælfric are represented in this compendium and, almost always, in the particular form used by Ælfric. "[T]he collection provides some 50 of Ælfric's known sources, at least three previously unidentified sources, and, within all of these, countless individual readings manifestly closer to the Old English translations than anything yet in print. In short, it is in its own way as close to Ælfric as the homiletic collections of Paul and Haymo." While the full presentation of evidence in supporting this assertion is reserved for a later study, and while the problem of using a later group of manuscripts to suggest an earlier source for something in between the extant and the hypothesized is not wholly faced, a great deal of important evidence is outlined and the conclusions seem clear and convincing. Zettel's most important achievement is his identification of Ælfric's sources in particular tests in particular manuscripts and his analysis, at least in general terms, of the kind and degree of the relationship between OE work and Latin source.

In "Another Source for Ælfric's Second Epiphany Homily (CH II, 3)" (N&Q 29, 198-99), Jerome Oetgen identifies two sources in the homilies of St Gregory (7 and 20) for the passage which describes "the nature of the baptism administered by John the Baptist." The Latin and OE are not so close as many sources are to their English children but Oetgen explains these broad translations by suggesting that Ælfric was recalling the Latin from memory.

More precise knowledge of the Latin source of saints' lives proves to be important in "Another Look at Ælfric's Use of Discourse in Some Saints' Lives" (ES 63, 13-19). Here, Bernadette Moloney questions the conclusion of Ruth Waterhouse in "Ælfric's Use of Discourse in Some Saints' Lives" (ASE 5 [1976], 83-103), especially the finding that Ælfric equated direct speech with "good" characters and indirect with "bad." Moloney reviews Miss Waterhouse's evidence for the lives of St Alban, St Julian, and St Cecilia and finds that only the life of St Julian supports her conclusion and that even in this instance Ælfric might have had other dramatic reasons for choosing his narrative mode. An examination of the lives of four virgin martyrs: Eugenia, Agnes, Agatha, and Lucy, in OE and Latin, suggests that what may earlier have been recognized as "Ælfric's authorial intensions" (18) are probably those of the Latin authors.

In a brief article, "On Ælfric's Prose" (Ling. Science [Kyushu Univ.] 15 [1980], 36-47), Kazumi Manabe continues his efforts to keep OE studies a lively discipline in Japan. He concludes that the varieties of rhythm in Ælfric's highly wrought prose are devices of persuasion, not decoration.

Ruth Waterhouse has given us two detailed studies of aspects of Ælfric's literary art in his Lives of Saints. In the first, "Modes of Address in Ælfric's Lives of Saints Homilies" (SN 54, 3-24), she examines the use of pronouns in the doctrinal homilies in the Lives of Saints collection. She observes a skillful avoidance of the second person pronoun when speaking about sins and an emphasis on the first person plural when suggesting "heavenly rewards." Indeed, the first person singular and second person singular occur rarely and their absence contributes substantially to the overall pattern of tones in these homilies. Many of Ælfric's choices of pronoun seem to be his own, at least as far as limited comparisons to one source reveal. Her second article, "Structuring in Ælfric's Lives of Saints XII and XIII" (Parergon 32, 3-12), presents a careful and sustained application of structural analysis to two of Ælfric's homilies in the Lives of Saints. Mrs. Waterhouse's close reading allows her to explain Ælfric's use of exempla and their relationship to major ideas of the work, of metaphor and simile, of comparison, of balance, of parallelism, or linking devices. While the techniques and their application differ in the two works examined, both support the conclusion that "Ælfric's skill as a homilist is to be seen in the variety of methods he uses to make the structuring of his expositions an integral part of their total appeal to the audence." As attractive and persuasive as Mrs. Waterhouse's critical analyses are, they may well prove ripe for some modification when the study of precise Latin sources proceeds.

Judith Gaites, in "Ælfric's Longer Life of St Martin and Its Latin Sources: A Study in Narrative Technique" (Leeds SE n.s. 13, 23-41), attempts, with considerable success, a literary study of the structure of Ælfric's second hagiography of St Martin. Ælfric's didactic purpose in view of his audience and his need for brevity are controlling motives in arranging his material. So seems also to have been his desire to treat similar types of material in a unit, to maintain continuity, to avoid the extraneous, to advocate orthodox theology, and to assure ready comprehensibility. Gaites concludes with a skillful comparison of Ælfric's second life of St Martin with

Blickling homily XVII. (She calls this Blickling XVIII, as it was originally numbered by Morris; since 1890, when the fragment, first known as XVI, was recognized by Holthausen as a part of Homily IV, the last two homilies have been known by numbers lower by one.) Blickling XVII has the same subject matter, but the homilist uses none of the techniques so effectively employed by Ælfric.

Aleš Svoboda, in "Hyperthemes in Ælfric" (Folia Linguistica Historica 2 [1981], 115-124), pursues an analysis of Ælfric's Sermon on Epiphany (Thorpe 2, 36; Ker 15, art. 46) "to examine the diatheme in OE." The theory of language espoused in this essay is not accessible to this reviewer, but perhaps a summary can be achieved by quoting the reminder that "both themes proper and diathemes participate in constituting overt hyperthemes, i.e., thematic elements that several clauses have in common" (117) and the conclusion: "While overt hyperthemes are explicitly expressed or explicitly signalled by the grammatico-semantic structure of successive clauses, covert hyperthemes are present only implicitly: they underlie the semantic structure of the text, and their established-ness (sic) within the given text is a matter of degree" (124).

Two new dissertations deal with closely related works by Ælfric, the Grammar and the Glossary. Marilyn S. Butler, at Pennsylvania State University, presents "An Edition of the Early Middle English Copy of Ælfric's Grammar and Glossary in Worcester Cathedral MS. F. 174" (DAI 42A, 4443). She suggests that while the text was changed to accommodate a twelfth-century audience, the scribe (known as the "tremulous" Worcester hand) seems to have had his chief source in a manuscript which was "a common ancestor" of two OE manuscripts of the Grammar, B. L. Cat. Faustina A.x. and Royal 15B.xxii. R. G. Gillingham, at Ohio State University, provides "An Edition of Abbot Ælfric's Old English-Latin Glossary with Commentary" (DAI 42A, 4443-44). The commentary on "the 1,269 Latin-English entries" indicates Ælfric's revisions, the relationship of the Glossary to his Colloquy and Grammar, and its relationship to other early medieval word lists.

OE prose from the Age of Alfred also received important attention in 1982. Joseph S. Wittig, in "King Alfred's Boethius and Its Latin Sources: a Reconsideration" (ASE 11, 157-98), mounts an extended and detailed case to reject the persistent scholarly opinion that King Alfred used a Latin commentary on Boethius's De Consolatione Philosophiae in the course of preparing his translation. Wittig studies the passage of the Orpheus metre in great detail. Alfred omits sections which are difficult and which carry distracting allusions (165); he departs from the Latin to make his own "moralizing" comments; and Alfred's departures do not seem likely to have been derived from Latin commentaries. Other passages are also cited and discussed. Wittig concludes that while the translator of Boethius knew a fairly wide range of literature, notably the fourth Georgic, Æneid VI, Ovid's Metamorphoses X, and others, he did not use a Latin commentary to prepare his translation of Boethius. Perhaps a thorough examination of the whole text of the OE Boethius, as Wittig suggests, might suggest even more authors who were known in King Alfred's court.

At the end of the volume, Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence (Oxford, 1981), which Margaret Gibson edited to commemorate the fifteenhundredth anniversary of the birth of Boethius in 480, a section of

"Bibliographical Notes" is added. There are only two and the first, "King Alfred's Boethius" (419-424), by Malcolm Godden, reviews briefly the early knowledge (or lack of knowledge) of Boethius in England and suggests the kinds of "adaptation" Boethius received in Alfred's hands and some of the reasons for them.

One of King Alfred's best known literary works, at least to late-twentieth-century university students, is his preface to his translation of Gregory's Cura Pastoralis. In a boldly titled essay, "The Meaning of Alfred's Preface to the Pastoral Care" (Mediaevalia 6 [1980], 57-86), Paul E. Szarmach reviews previous commentary on this important "document," discusses Alfred's words in considerable detail, and then suggests cultural contexts (principally Augustinian) for some of Alfred's central ideas. Szarmach discusses Alfred's view of the past with much insight, always bringing to bear his sense of Alfred's language as it was used (or as it could not be used) to explain present, past, and future attitudes toward present, past, and future realities. But his chief contribution lies in relating a close reading of the text to a sense of Alfred as a thinker who clearly distinguished between sapientia, wisdom, and scientia, knowledge, and decided to pursue the former by means of the latter.

David Yerkes has given us an impressive volume, Syntax and Style in Old English: A Comparison of the Two Versions of Wærferth's Translation of Gregory's Dialogues (Binghamton, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies). The two OE versions of the Dialogues provide the scholar a unique opportunity to study the changes in the English language between the late ninth century and the hundred years just before the Norman Conquest. Yerkes here divides his findings into chapters on The Use of Parts of Speech, Repetitions of Phrase or Clause Elements, Word Order within Phrases or Clauses, and the Use of Phrases and Clauses. No one knows more about this subject than Prof. Yerkes, but the thorough and exacting scholarship is presented with a humane touch. The analysis is everywhere written in clear readable prose and leads toward a conclusion which places all the findings in context. While "the original translation was excellent," the work of the Reviser was executed "with great care and consistency." The Revision made "the translation more like present-day English" and shows "the Reviser's greater control and... altogether admirable wish to be concise." Both versions are close to the Latin. The latter version, after nearly forty different measurable kinds of change from the earlier, is, however, in "unaffected English," "the very idiom of [our] present-day" language.

Johan Kerling, in a brief but important essay, "A Case of 'Slipping': Direct and Indirect Speech in Old English Prose" (Neophil 66, 286-90), shows how one passage in the voyage of Ohthere, if punctuated differently by modern editors, could be understood as another very early example of the use of direct quotation in narrative form. He identifies the migration from indirect discourse to direct discourse by the term "slipping," first used by G. L. Schuelke, and marks its occurrence as a narrative technique popularly associated with the novel but also showing OE prose to be a clear part of the literary tradition.

Paula Loikala, in "I bjarmi di Ohthere" (Quaderni di Filologia Germanica della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Bologna 1 [1980], 175-86), uses a knowledge of Scandinavian geography and an acquaintance with the early literature of North Europe (including Finnish scholarship) to identify the river down which Ohthere sailed as the Dvina, not the Varzuga, as previously thought. She also adjusts previous ideas about the location of the land of the Beormas.

Cyril Hart, in "The B Text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" (Jnl of Med. Hist. 8, 241-99), demonstrates the extraordinary (and up-to-now little-recognized) importance of the B text. It is "the key text for our knowledge of the transmission of the chronicle" and it provides much information for solving the problems of the A text and the C text and for establishing the dissemination of the Chronicle. Hart's study is painstaking and thorough and he provides a full outline of the relationship between B and A, particularly for the years from 851 through Alfred's reign and that of his son, King Edward the Elder. The palaeography, chronology, orthography, and style of B are discussed by way of locating the B text at Ramsey between 977 and 1092. The relationship between B and A and C are examined by way of isolating those features of B which lead Hart to "suggest"..."that the B text is Byrhtferth's autograph."

J. L. Mitchell and Kellen C. Thornton report, in "Computer-Aided Analysis of Old English Manuscripts" (Computing in the Humanities. Ed. P. C. Patton and R. A. Holoien. Toronto, 1981. P. 105-12), on some extremely important work with broad implications for future research. The authors have "stored" all seven texts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in a computer, using "an efficient and flexible interactive editing system called TAGEDIT." With up-to-date knowledge of the origin of the seven texts, these two scholars studied the lexical variants of OE cyning: 925 occurrences and 8 variants, OE cyng (480 occurrences) and OE cining (160 occurrences) are "all but mutually exclusive" and "[t]herefore, even the homogeneity of the copied annals to 1121 can no longer be safely assumed." The possibilities of multiple sources or multiple copyists are considered throughout. This essay strikes me as a clearly worthwhile application of computer technology to literary research.

Anne W. Savage's new translation of The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles (London: Phoebe Phillips/Heinemann) makes excellent reading and very likely may bring the texts of the Chronicle into the experience of a broad new group of readers. Chronicle entries are interspersed throughout with retrospective historical accounts of the period and with handsome illustrations (many in color) of churches, manuscripts, architectural remains, the Bayeux Tapestry, sculptures, geographical remains, paintings, jewelry, mosaics, and miscellaneous artifacts. The translations themselves are presented inside handsome borders and are supplemented with genealogical tables as well as maps. The volume is extraordinarily handsome (even if the pseudo-antiquity of the type font does not always encourage the greatest ease of reading) and is a bargain at £14.95.

The title page notes that the texts were "translated and collated" by Savage. While she lists the manuscripts of the Chronicle, briefly characterizes their differences, and makes the point that these different

sources prompt her to cast her title, Chronicles, in the plural, the actual texts are neither distinguished nor identified in the Modern English text. The term "collated" is inaccurate and even in the introduction is abandoned for the more accurate "conflated." "This translation is a conflation of the four main chronicles, with additional information from the others." The book has, therefore, almost no value for the scholar beyond its clear worth as an attractive ambassador among the uninitiated.

Angelika Lutz, in "Das Studium der Angelsächsischen Chronik im 16. Jahrhundert: Nowell und Joscelyn" (Anglia 100, 301-56), examines the work of Laurence Nowell and John Joscelyn on the Chronicle in considerable detail and analyzes the accuracy and the extent of their copying of particular passages in particular manuscripts. This learned article should be read alongside the materials reviewed in section 1, above, although its thoroughness and the presentation of photographs of several of Nowell's copies (and imitations of hands) makes Lutz's work inevitably interesting to students of OE prose.

Scholarship on Byrhtferth of Ramsey has often been involved with controversy, especially in the canon of literary works attributed to him. Peter S. Baker's article, "Byrhtferth of Ramsey and the Renaissance Scholars" (Anglo-Saxon Scholarship, ed. Berkhout and Gatch. Boston. P. 69-77), allows a good bit of the blame for false ascription and lost works to fall on Renaissance scholars, particularly John Bale and John Leland. Baker proceeds to give an outline of the present state of knowledge about Byrhtferth before he enjoins his readers not to perpetuate the errors of scholars from the past.

Reginald Berry, in "'Ealle þing wundorlice gesceapen': The Structure of the Computus in Byrhtferth's Manual" (RUO 52, 130-41), analyzes the arrangement of the parts of Byrhtferth's Manual to support an argument that all parts cohere in a purposeful relationship as aspects of Creation, that all parts are ordered to reveal more fully the grandeur of God. This position contrasts with that of Cyril Hart who, according to Berry, called the manual a "simple textbook...badly constructed...[but] wholly professional." In spite of Berry's deft and tactful arguments and his skillful discussions of evidence, I wonder if the structure of the Manual is not more easily grasped from some perspectives than from others; one of these perspectives is probably closer to Byrhtferth's own than the others, however.

In a brief but important essay, "On the Two-Stress Theory of Wulfstan's Rhythm" (PQ 61, 1-11), Ida Masters Hollowell successfully challenges the notion, most notably advanced by Angus McIntosh, that Wulfstan's prose is ever marked by its two-stress rhythm. Hollowell presents examples which do not yield to such division and discusses the possible support for a less rigid rhythmic pattern from the punctuation in the manuscripts. I think Hollowell over-reads McIntosh's statement that in the manuscript punctuation "there was almost no clashing" with his two-stress units; she seems to think an announcement of little or no clashing constitutes an announcement of overt support. Nevertheless, it is interesting that she can prove that such overt support is not available. And it is even more interesting that she can state (with limited examples, to be sure) that "Ælfric's prose divides more satisfactorily into two-stress half-lines than does Wulfstan's into two-stress phrases" (7). She concludes that Pope, not McIntosh, has analyzed the rhythmic patterns correctly when he stated that "Wulfstan's prose, unlike Ælfric's, 'should be

grouped freely according to the overriding--and varied--syntax of the whole sentence or paragraph'"--not according to an abstract idea of stress which is lowered onto the corpus.

A. G. Kennedy, in "Cnut's Law Code of 1018" (ASE 11, 57-81), builds on the argument of Prof. Whitelock that the codes of Cnut were not written in 1027, as Liebermann believed, but in 1018 "in consequence of the meeting between Danes and Englishmen at Oxford." Once the date is thus adjusted and once the relationship of I-II Cnut and IV Æthelred is observed, the involvement of Wulfstan, "as Whitelock argued," becomes not only possible but likely. From this argument, Kennedy studies the laws in great detail and presents an edition with readable translation.

Hans P. Tenhagen, in his thorough edition of Das Northumbrische Priestergesetz (Düsseldorf, 1979), presents not only a new edition of the complete text (CCCC 201; Ker 49) and a German translation but substantial negative evidence about Wulfstan's possible authorship of these laws. While, as Dr. Tenhagen notes, Wulfstan has never been assigned this work and indeed has been dissociated from it, the reasons have never been clearly assembled. Now they are, and their force also leads Tenhagen to think that these laws probably had two authors who both were acquainted with Wulfstan's earlier work.

R. L. C.

Although J. E. Cross and T. D. Hill published their edition of The "Prose Solomon and Saturn" and "Adrian and Ritheus" only last year (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press), they give the date 1976 to their Preface; it is a pleasure to have this full edition of these curious works finally in hand. Solomon and Saturn appeared first in Benjamin Thorpe's Analecta Anglo-Saxonica (1834); the half-dozen subsequent editions reiterated Thorpe's errors in transcription (see p. 32, n. 42), and so no accurate text of this work, bound with the Beowulf MS, has emerged till now. The Toronto Press has produced a splendid volume, which contains a short introduction, a twenty-page glossary, and two indices; the texts occupy fifteen pages, while the commentary--the heart of this work, which furnishes translations, citations of sources and analogues, and detailed discussions--runs almost one hundred twenty pages. The texts present a series of short questions or demands with their answers; the subjects are miscellaneous, though they tend often to hexameral, scriptural, and apocryphal topics, quite likely the sort of high-flying speculation on biblical lore that so exercised Ælfric. The two OE collections resemble Latin question-lists (usually referred to as the Joca monachorum), though the OE collectors worked independently of one another and seem to have added entries of their own devising or based upon sources other than the surviving Latin lists. The commentary, encyclopedic yet discriminating in its learning, lives up to the expectations established by the publications of these two scholars. Professors Cross and Hill specify the precise sources and meaning of particular entries, and they indicate the relation between these and analogous versions (especially the ME Questiones [of]...the Maister of Oxenford, still another separate Englishing); perhaps most interesting of all, they suggest that the OE demands may reflect or rely upon Hiberno-Latin or Irish vernacular texts and traditions, as well as apocryphal materials available through this Irish connection. It is not too much to say, therefore, that the commentary makes up the most stimulating and notable feature of this edition.

This fullness of annotation leads to possibilities of criticism and scholarship that lay beyond the scope of the Cross and Hill edition. In particular SS and, to a lesser extent, AR invite attention to some crucial aspects of literary and intellectual history. These concern the relation of these prose demands to other genres: how do they resemble ancient and medieval dialogues, the disputatio (both dramatic and epistolary), questiones and catechisms, and/or Latin and vernacular riddles and colloquies? How do they depend on the various branches of biblical and patristic learning, including Greek texts, hexameral works, apocrypha like the Vita Adae et Evae, and other uncanonical writings? What is their connection with other--especially Irish--literary and theological traditions that draw upon wisdom literature or make use of natural science, contrasting pagan and Christian, natural and revealed truth, native and Latin elements? To what extent, in the choice of Saturn as interlocutor here and in the three other surviving dialogues, do these works draw upon classical tradition, including Virgil, Macrobius, the mythographers, and others? The sermons on false gods by Ælfric and Wulfstan expand their originals greatly just at the attack on Saturn; and the broad tradition of OE hexameral writings, from Cædmon's Hymn through Ælfric's translation of Genesis, his Catholic Homily I.1, his OE version of Alcuini interrogationes Sigewulfi...in Genesin, to the OE Hexameron, form a backdrop that clarifies the shape and interest of Solomon and Saturn especially. Professors Cross and Hill have performed a great service in making available a reliable text with extensive and enlightening commentary; it will stimulate, one hopes, others into reading these works more carefully and, eventually, into showing more fully their literary value and their cultural context.

T. G. H.

Pier Giorgio Negro, in "Nota sula 'Durham Admonition'" (Rendiconti del'Istituto Lombardo, Classe di lettere e scienze morali e storiche 114, 181-96), seeks to establish the date and dialect of the halsuncge passage in the Durham Ritual. He examines all sorts of linguistic evidence and focuses particular attention on the use of a rare preposition, fer. While the dating possibilities are somewhat earlier than those suggested by Ker, the dialect seems to be a rather pure West-Saxon, influenced by an older model.

O. Arngart continues his work with "Durham Proverbs 17, 30, 42" (N&Q 29, 199-201), adding details of interpretation from further examination of grammatical forms, analogies with other works, and relationships between the OE texts and their Latin translations. His study of Proverb 30 yields an interesting conclusion that "the final passage of The Seafarer, lines 103-24..." is "in all likelihood an integral part" of the poem, not part of another poem which was "accidentally bound up" with the elegy.

The glosses to the Canterbury Psalter are interestingly examined by Paola Tornaghi in "Osservazioni sul 'Canterbury Psalter' di Eadwine: Il Problema Delle Lezioni Alternative" (Rendiconti del'Istituto Lombardo, Classe di lettere e scienze morali e storiche, 113 [1979], 348-58). Harsley, in his E.E.T.S. edition of 1889, identifies some inscriptions as Anglo-Saxon glosses which Tornaghi concludes are Latin variants drawn from the Vespasian Psalter and other glossed psalters.

Tornaghi also, in "Osservazioni su alcuni errori di traduzione nel 'Canterbury Psalter' di Eadwine" (Rendiconti del'Istituto Lombardo, Classe di lettere e scienze morali e storiche 114, 19-40), examines the OE interlinear glosses to Psalms 61-90 and explains many of the erroneous and questionable glosses as products of the scribe's imperfect Latin, consequent misinterpretation of the text, and haste. After Tornaghi's work was completed, but before it was published, she learned of H. D. Meritt's classic, Fact and Lore about OE Words (Stanford, 1954), and was able to observe the particulars of their agreement and disagreement.

Maria Amalia D'Aronco, in "Il lessico monastico nella traduzione inglese antico della Regula Benedettina" (AION, filologia germanica 24 [1981], 51-70), reviews the history of the OE versions of the Rule of St Benedict and discusses St Æthelwold of Winchester and others in light of recent work by H. Gneuss and M. Gretsch. She examines specific word choices and observes variations according to location, across time, and in view of intended use by men or women. She thinks that the OE Rule is one of the most important documents in the history of the English language because the OE words are chosen against a varied but predictable background of Latin.

Patrizia Lendinara's account of the Eighth national convention of teachers of Germanic philology, Palermo, 1981 (Schede Medievale 2, 164-5), gives brief notices of papers by M. A. D'Aronco on the OE Benedictine Rule and by M. Canedi on the Rule in Germanic languages, as well as a summary of her Benedictine Rule and the Colloquy of Ælfric.

Scholars have long known that the OE Apollonius of Tyre lacks parts of the story which survive in extant Latin texts. Eichi Kobayashi, in "On the 'Lost' Portions in the Old English Apollonius of Tyre" (Explorations in Linguistics: Papers in Honor of Kazuko Inoue. Ed. G. Bedell et al. Tokyo, 1979. P. 244-50), suggests that the "missing" passages were not "lost" but deliberately mislaid. The passages constitute, at least in part, what Kobayashi calls a "brothel sequence" and were probably omitted because of the sensibilities of the scribe, a monk who put together the sizable homiliary, CCCC 201, and who also copied the Apollonius story into the manuscript.

Works not seen:

Kobayashi, Eichi, ed. "The Old English Apollonius of Tyre." Annual Report, Division of Languages, International Christian University, Tokyo, 3 (1978), 33-84.

Shippey, Thomas A. "A Missing Army: Some Doubts about the Alfredian Chronicle." In Geardagum 4, 41-55.

Tristram, Hildegard L. C. "Ohthere, Wulfstan und der Aethicus Ister." ZDA 111, 153-68.

R. L. C.

4. ANGLO-LATIN AND ECCLESIASTICAL WORKS

There are several interesting contributions on Alcuin to report, chief among them the edition published in the Oxford Medieval Texts series of The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York by Peter Godman. The volume sets a very high standard of thoroughness and detail for this straitened age of publishing. Some of Godman's conclusions about the poem will be known to readers of this section of YWOES, where his preliminary studies have been reviewed in recent years. The poem, he believes, belongs to the genre of opus geminatum, composed as a paraphrase of and rumination upon a work in prose, in this case Bede's historical prose. This "first major narrative poem on a historical subject" (lxxxviii) of the Latin Middle Ages achieves an epic tone in its highly selective "celebration of the united Northumbrian patria" (lviii), from which all unedifying incidents are carefully excluded. Historians and literary students will find the edition a mine of bibliographical information and of suggestions for further study in a number of aspects of their disciplines; but it is to be hoped that, aided by Godman's facing translations, some will come to the poem simply for the pleasures it offers--and they are many. Having heretofore only consulted the poem for its famous passage on the York library in the time of Alcuin's master, Archbishop Ælberht, I was charmed by its literary conceits as well as by its view of the history of Christianity at York. A few of the former demand to be cited: for example, the opening of the account of York's foundation by Rome with British assistance:

> Hanc Romana manus muris et turribus altam
> fundavit primo, comites sociosque laborum
> indigenas tantum gentes adhibendo Britannas (vv. 19-21);

or the proverb in the midst of an occupatio refusing to repeat what Bede had already paraphrased in verse geminated from prose:

> 'Tu ne forte feras in silvam ligna, viator' (v. 785);

and the introduction to a passage on the Anglo-Saxon missionaries:

> Nec gens clarorum genetrix haec nostra virorum,
> quos genuit soli sibimet tunc ipsa tenebat,
> intra forte sui concludens viscera regni,
> sed procul ex illis multos trans aequora misit,
> gentibus ut reliquis praeferrent semina vitae (vv. 1008-12).

The text edited and analyzed by Roland Torkar in Eine altenglische Übersetzung von Alcuins 'De virtutibus et vitiis', Kap. 20 (Liebermanns Judex)...(Texte und Untersuchungen zur englischen Philologie 7 [1981]; summ. in English and American Studies in German [a Supplement to Anglia, Tübingen, 1981], 31-33). Torkar's work is important not only for its treatment of the English text but also for its reassessment of Alcuin as an influence on OE writing and its study of the work of the sixteenth-century antiquarians, Nowell and Lambarde. An appendix contains an edition of Athelstan's legal codes II and V, drawing on the burned Cottonian ms and also on Nowell's transcript to produce a text more reliable than Liebermann's. John L. McEnerney has studied two of the Carmina of Alcuin, nos. 57 (see below, Works not seen) and 58 (Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch 16 [1981], 35-42). He finds the latter a skillful work, particularly interesting for interweaving quotations from Virgil and Horace (the latter via some intermediate source).

These allusions were, McEnerney argues, meant to be recognized by readers, probably pupils of Alcuin who had studied the original passages with him. In Unz in obanentig: aus der Werkstatt des karolingischen Exegeten Alcuin, Ercanbert und Otfrid von Weissenburg (Bonn, 1978) Paul Michel and Alexander Schwartz discuss Alcuin's exegesis of the Cana miracle in the John Gospel as an aspect of the background of Otfrid's treatment.

"The Tradition of Penitentials in Anglo-Saxon England" by Allen J. Frantzen (ASE 11, 23-56) is a complex and densely argued paper which does much to revise and clarify the history of the development of penitential literature in Anglo-Saxon England and which does not lend itself to easy summary. Frantzen distinguishes between the literature of the early period (Theodore, the Irish, Egbert and the "Bedan" documents) which became very influential on the Continent and the literature from the tenth century, when penitentials were reimported to England and transformed. Although the materials treating penance were developed and used in the reform period and the eleventh century, Frantzen thinks that their reintroduction in England may possibly be dated to the reign of King Alfred. A bibliographically helpful article--which fails in the end to be as illuminating a survey of its subject as is Frantzen's--on the difficult matter of medical history also appeared in ASE 11: "The Sources of Medical Knowledge in Anglo-Saxon England" by M. L. Cameron (135-55). Cameron begins in the eighth century surveying the work of Bede and others, studies Bald's Leechbook for the situation of the ninth and early tenth centuries, reviews Byrhtferth and the translated medical treatises for the period around the turn of the millennium, and discusses the Ramsey Scientific Compendium (Oxford, St. Johns College MS 17) and the St. Augustine's Classbook (Cambridge, University Library MS Gg.5.35) for the later eleventh century. After a useful catalogue of medical writings that might have been known in England by the middle of the eighth century, Cameron briefly surveys his sources for the several periods and concludes that "English physicians were using the same texts as were available elsewhere in Europe" (155), although he dismisses the medical practice advocated in the available texts as "debased and superstition-ridden."

In the autobiographical and bibliographical note at the end of the Ecclesiastical History, Bede listed a revision of a "librum vitae et passionis sancti Anastasii" which he had revised to correct a faulty earlier Latin translation from the Greek original. No manuscript attributes a Vita Anastasii to Bede, and the work had been assumed to be lost. Now, however, Carmela Vircillo Franklin and Paul Meyvaert in an article entitled "Has Bede's Version of the 'Passio S. Anastasii' Come Down to Us in 'BHL' 408?" (AB 100, 373-400) have conclusively identified the Latin text revised by Bede as the mechanical version--seemingly by someone whose primary tongue was not Latin--surviving uniquely in a Turin MS which was produced at Bobbio in the tenth century (Bibliographica Hagiographica Latina [BHL] 410b). To remedy the defects of this text--since Anastasius was widely revered in Rome and elsewhere in the West--"three serious efforts were made" (384). Of these BHL 408 seems to the authors of this article to have been done by a person "having a cast of mind very like that of Bede" (393). Thus, the monograph in preparation on the transmission of the Anastasius vita may identify an item of Bede's bibliography that had been thought lost. In an interesting article which was known to and cited by Vircillo Franklin and Meyvaert, Anna Carlotta Dionisotti reconsiders the assertion made by Gribmont in 1979 that Bede must have had

available a bilingual Greek-Latin dictionary when he wrote De Orthographia ("On Bede, Grammars, and Greek" [RB 92, 111-41]). Dionisotti reviews the matter of the sources of the work on spelling and concludes that Bede used far fewer volumes than has usually been thought: seven at most and some of those in compendia, so that the number of volumes involved was less than seven. She characterizes De Orthographia as a compendium of doubtful cases (comparing it with Fowler on English usage) for persons who knew grammar and were studying Christian texts. The audience, although learned, did not share the latinity of the Fathers, however, and needed Bede's work to cover ground assumed by the Fathers. Appendices deal with the text of De Orthographia which has not yet been satisfactorily edited, with its manuscripts, and with the issue of Bede's knowledge of Greek.

The mention of Greek may introduce two other notes. Lloyd W. Daly's "A Greek Palindrome in Eighth-Century England" (Amer. Jnl of Philol. 103, 95-97) treats several occurrences of Greek "magic gibberish" in B. L. Royal 2A.20 and identifies one Greek quotation with a Latin translation of a palindromic line of dactylic hexameter, perhaps concerning thatched roofing. A paper by E. Ann Matter on "The 'Revelatio Esdrae' in Latin and English Traditions" (RB 92, 376-92) adds to our knowledge of the English tradition--both Latin and vernacular--of a weather prognostication of Greek origin (see also section 5, below). We shall be hearing more in coming years about Greek in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and the knowledge of Greek in pre-Conquest England.

A miscellany of other articles on Bede may also be noted. Joseph F. Kelly's "Bede and the Irish Exegetical Tradition on the Apocalypse" (RB 92, 393-406) recalls that in 1966 Gerald Bonner demonstrated that much of Tyconius could be recovered from Bede's commentary on the Apocalypse. Kelly posits that similar (if less dramatic) work might be done on Irish sources in the work. Kelly's study, a preliminary and provisional one, concludes that Bede and the Irish exegetes were at least in touch with the same traditions and should be studied together. "Bede as Historian: the Evidence from his Observations on the Life of the First Christian Community at Jerusalem" (JEH 33, 519-30) is Glenn Olsen's examination of aspects of the treatment of the Acts of the Apostles and shows that Bede could bring some sense of historical development to bear on his explication of such aspects of early Christian life as the practice of celibacy. Bede is cited several times as a source for approaches to "The World Grown Old and Genesis in Middle English Historical Writings" (Speculum 57, 548-68) by James Dean. Edward F. J. Tucker points to Bede's passage in the Commentary on the Epistle of James on James i.6-8 and iv.7-8 (the source for the Glossa Ordinaria) as a source for January's "double-mindedness" in a short article, "'Parfite Blisses Two': January's Dilemma and the Themes of Temptation and Doublemindedness in The Merchant's Tale" (ABR 33, 172-81). "Bede's Life of Cuthbert" is treated by Joel T. Rosenthal as a work "Preparatory to The Ecclesiastical History" in an article in The Catholic Historical Review (68, 599-611). The prose vita, he concludes, may be compared in relation to the History to the Vita Nuova in its connection with the Divine Comedy. Donald K. Fry's "The Art of Bede II: the Reliable Narrator as Persona" (Acta 6 [1982 for 1979], 63-82) discusses the devices by which Bede authenticates his work for his audience, creating an aura of trustworthiness. Hans-Joachim Diesner's "Das christliche Bildungsprogram des Beda Venerabilis (672/73-735)" (Theologische Literaturzeitung 106

[1981], coll. 865-73) is a survey of Bede's literary career in monastic setting with reference to its cultural influence. The same author's paper, "Inkarnationsjahre, 'Militia Christi' und anglische Koenigsportraets bei Beda Venerabilis" (Mittellateinischen Jahrbuch 16 [1981], 17-34) reviews the criteria by which Bede judged rulers in the Historia Ecclesiastica.

The Mildrith Legend: A Study in Early Medieval Hagiography in England (Studies in the Early History of Britain; Leicester) is an important contribution to the study of hagiography by D. W. Rollason. The work is, in one sense, a case study "considering the extent to which English medieval hagiographical writings can be used as historical sources" (1) looking to the "political and social contexts in which they were written and read" to see what information can be gleaned about attitudes of those who disseminated and those who received such legends. Mildrith, an eighth-century abbess of Minster-in-Thanet and a member of the Kentish royal house, is the subject of a legendary tradition that survives in a number of texts--of which Byrhtferth's sections of the Historia Regum (on which see further below) include the earliest extant version. All the versions are summarized in an appendix, and two (from Bodley 285 and Joscelin) are edited. The legend arose in the kingdom of Kent and attempted "to demonstrate the prestige and sanctity of that kingdom's royal house" (41); and the saint may not have been the central figure in the earliest versions, which gave a great deal of attention to the Kentish royal genealogies. The disappearance of the house of Æthelbert makes it natural that the center of dissemination moved in the tenth and eleventh centuries. St. Augustine's, Canterbury, held Mildrith's relics, and it was from that center that later versions of the legend emanated, some emphasizing the sanctity of the traditions of the Anglo-Saxon church and others relating to a dispute between St. Augustine's Abbey and St. Gregory's Priory over which held the true relics of Mildrith. Both for its illumination of a little-studied hagiographical tradition and for its methodological reflections and contributions, Rollason's work is extremely valuable. It is to be hoped it will inspire new and fruitful studies in Anglo-Saxon hagiography. Less helpful (albeit the sources are of a very different character) is John MacQueen's treatment of pre-Conquest hagiography in "Myth and Legends of Lowland Scottish Saints" (Scottish Studies, 24 [1980], 1-21). The mythic element is MacQueen's chief concern, and he argues that the Lives he discusses (Nynia, Mentigern or Mugo, Servanus) are "specimens of living myth" whereas romances which adapted the same or similar materials and motifs are "poor, even poverty-stricken" in comparison.

Papers on the grammatical tradition have often been reviewed in this section of YWOES. Vivien Law has contributed a number of these, and now she offers a monograph surveying "the progress of the first large-scale attempt to teach a foreign language in the christian West" (p. xiii--the curious capitalization is Law's) as a volume in the Studies in Celtic History series entitled The Insular Latin Grammarians. After an introduction in which she contrasts Irish and Anglo-Saxon latinity (the former "modelled almost exclusively on the Bible and the Church Fathers" and the latter "on the available works of late Antiquity" in addition to patristic and scriptural texts) and insists on the distinctiveness of each, Law surveys the works of the Latin grammarians and their insular dissemination. Donatus was the pre-eminent authority until the ninth century, when scholars wanting

more elaborate treatments turned to the likes of Eutyches, Phocas and Priscian. Having surveyed the fifth-century adaptation of the grammatical curriculum and its texts, she devotes a chapter to Virgilius Maro Grammaticus, whom she regards as a parodist and whose Irish origin she doubts because of his almost exclusively English transmission. "Elementary" and "exegetical" or advanced grammars, based usually on Donatus's Ars minor and Ars maior, are treated in separate chapters. Among the former are the artes of two Anglo-Saxons, Tatwin and Boniface. Most of the latter have Irish associations, but none "can be proved to have been written in Ireland itself" (85). In addition to reintroducing Priscian, whose work was unknown in the insular tradition, the Carolingians at first continued "the old Insular pattern" of grammars (105). By the middle or end of the ninth century, however, the Insular texts ceased to be consulted or annotated. This splendid essay on a most difficult and important subject will be controversial among Celticists and is a welcome reference tool for Anglo-Saxonists. The grounds upon which the discussion of the extent of Irish influence on early medieval grammatical teaching and writing must be conducted are laid out clearly and persuasively in Law's "Notes on the Dating and Attribution of Anonymous Latin Grammars of the Early Middle Ages" (Peritia 1, 250-67). This article will be useful not only to students of grammar but also to all scholars considering the subtleties of attribution of insular provenance (i.e., Irish, Anglo-Saxon, or Continental centers under Irish or Anglo-Saxon influence).

Among articles treating other aspects of early medieval insular culture (some of which take positions with which Law would take issue) are two papers by Michael Herren; one, "Classical and Secular Learning Among the Irish Before the Carolingian Renaissance" (Florilegium 3 [1981], 118-57). By classical learning, Herren means direct study of the classical Greek and Roman literature; secular learning is "more or less identical with the liberal arts in which they were transmitted by handbooks to the early Middle Ages." The two became divorced in late antiquity, and the Irish scholars knew almost exclusively only the secular tradition, relying heavily on "handbooks, commentaries, and grammars" (130). In this, the Irish compare unfavorably with the English in the age of Aldhelm and Bede. Herren's other paper, "Insular Latin C(h)araxare (Craxare) and its Derivatives" (Peritia 1, 273-80) studies insular appropriations of a Greek loan-word as a synonym for scribere. Herren believes his case "tends to reinforce the older theory of a Celtic Latin culture spreading from Wales and Ireland to Anglo-Saxon England" (273). Since his case pivots on use of charaxare by Virgilius Maro Grammaticus, whose Irish provenance Vivien Law has doubted in the monograph reviewed above, Herren's theory may be subject to discussion and adjustment. The first part of Bengt Löfstedt's "Notizien zu Mittelalterlichen Grammatiken" (Bulletin du Cange, 42, 79-83 [at 79-81]) deals with the edition of Tatwine by Maria de Marco in Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 133, on which Löfstedt had written two pieces published in 1972. "The Hisperica Famina and Caelius Sedulius" by Neil Wright (Cambridge Med. Celtic Stud. 4, 61-76) examines the B-text of the Hisperica Famina and shows that, in addition to glossaries, the authors made heavy use of Sedulius's Carmen Paschale.

Among a number of articles on insular hagiography in volume 1 of Peritia 1, the new annual Journal of the Medieval Academy of Ireland, is a paper by Ian Wood on "The Vita Columbani and Merovingian Hagiography" (63-80), which attempts to define the sources and special interests of its

subject as a major saint to Irish, Northumbrian and Continental audiences. This interesting and stimulating paper will be important for students of Northumbrian history. Picard's second contribution to Peritia, "The Schaffhausen Adomnán--a Unique Witness to Hiberno-Latin" (216-49) treats the language of a manuscript of the Vita Columbae "written in Iona by a scribe contemporary with the author [which] is a rare example of the type of Latin written in Ireland at the end of the seventh century" (216). Assuming that written Latin reflects spoken Latin, Picard concludes that the manuscript is "surprisingly correct for a seventh-century text" (218), but its deviations (or "mistakes") show that Irish-spoken Latin was remarkably like Merovingian Latin. Thus Irish linguistic isolation in the seventh century may have been exaggerated in earlier scholarship. Joseph F. Kelly's contribution on "Hiberno-Latin Exegesis and Exegetes" (AnM 21 [1982 for 1981] is a review of the state of the question with a useful survey of the literature, characterization of Irish exegesis, and listing of opportunities for research.

The Toronto Med. Latin Texts series has issued editions of two important Anglo-Latin monastic texts closely related to the tenth-century reform. Gernot R. Wieland has edited The Canterbury Hymnal from British Library MS Additional 37517 (the Bosworth Psalter), the earliest exemplar of the Canterbury group of witnesses to the so-called New Hymnal, written some time between 960 and 990, perhaps for Dunstan himself. Helmut Gneuss's magisterial work on the hymns, summarized in Wieland's introduction, contains only an edition of the expositio hymnorum in other manuscripts, so this edition of the Bosworth hymnal is a useful tool both for teaching and research. John Chamberlin contributes The Rule of St. Benedict: the Abingdon Copy (from MS CCCC 57), a copy made around the millennium at a reformed house but apparently following the English textual tradition of MS Bodleian Hatton 48 rather than text obtained from Continental centers of reform. Both of these editions are welcome, although rather longer discussions of the entire contents of the manuscripts from which the texts are edited would have been welcome additions for those interested in the service books and collections of monastic materials that were made in English centers of reform.

Other liturgical studies may next be addressed as a group. First may be noted the very valuable volume 9 in the Toronto Med. Bibliographies, Richard W. Pfaff's Medieval Latin Liturgy: a Select Bibliography. As the title indicates, the references are restricted neither to the Early Middle Ages nor to England, but the citations will be a welcome and expert guide to the inhospitable territory of medieval liturgics for non-liturgists. A paper by Michael Lapidge has helped to define the genre of an Anglo-Saxon liturgical book: "The Origin of CCCC 163" (TCBS 8, 1 [1981], 18-28) shows that the codex is an ordo derived from the Romano-German pontifical (see also section 5, below). Reference is made to the late-tenth and early-eleventh century Anglo-Saxon pontificals as containing features which are anticipated in "The Church Dedication 'Ordo' Used at Fulda, 1 Nov., 819" by Daniel J. Sheerin (RB 92, 304-16). Patrick Zettel's "Saints' Lives in Old English: Latin Manuscripts and Vernacular Accounts: Ælfric" (Peritia 1, 17-37) not only identifies the major source of Ælfric's Lives of Saints but also introduces us to the manuscript tradition of the legendarium in the period of the monastic reform (see also section 3.d., above). The article of René-Jean Hesbert, "Les Antiphonaires Monastiques Insulaires" (RB 92, 358-75), although listed in the bibliography, does not touch the Anglo-Saxon period, from which

no monastic antiphoners survive (see also section 5, below). I have not yet seen Hesbert's earlier *"The Sarum Antiphonar: Its Sources and Influence" (Journal of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society 3 [1980], 49-55), cited in the RB article, but it should be mentioned here for the record as completing a survey of English medieval antiphoners. "Liturgy and the Medieval World" (in Literary and Historical Perspectives of the Middle Ages, ed. Patricia W. Cummins, et al., 228-29 [under my name in the bibliography]) reports on papers given at the Southeastern Medieval Association, Morgantown, WVA, 1981. Of these, the one germane to this section of YWOES, Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe's "Six Hexameral Blessings: a Curiosity in the Benedictional of Archbishop Robert" (now published in Medievalia et Humanistica, n.s. 11, 99-109) relates the blessings in question to motifs of the New Hymnal's vesper hymns.

Cyril Hart has contributed another important paper on Byrhtferth of Ramsey, "Byrhtferth's Northumbrian Chronicle" (EHR 97, 558-82). After a useful review of the establishment of Ramsey by Bishop Oswald of Worcester in 968 and of its connections not only with Fleury-sur-Loire but also with its great scholar-abbot, Abbo, Hart reminds us that Byrhtferth was the author of the Vita Oswaldi, which contains "a major review of English political history in the second half of the tenth century"--a source independent of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and in many ways unique. Now Hart, confirming a conclusion also reached by Michael Lapidge, sets forth Byrhtferth as the author of a Northumbrian Chronicle which forms the early sections of the Historia Regum, CCCC 139 at fols. 51^{v}-75^{r}. The Chronicle, which went through two recensions, was an effort to bring Northumbrian history since Bede's day up to date for a southern audience. The analysis of evidence for Byrhtferth's authorship of the Northumbrian Chronicle is too rich to be summarized here. Hart appends to this paper a set of corrigenda to Thomas Arnold's publication of the Chronicle in the Rolls Series as part of the Historia Regum.

In "Boethius in the Carolingian Schools," Trans. of the R. Hist. Soc., 5 Ser. 32, 43-56, Margaret T. Gibson points out that Cassiodorus seems to have known much of Boethius's work, except (most notably) the Opuscula Sacra and De Consolatione Philosophiae, both of which were available to Alcuin upon whom their medieval popularity apparently depends. Although Alcuin and other Carolingian scholars surely knew Boethius's writings on the quadrivium and on dialectics, the Boethius of the Consolatio "spoke most directly to his new audience: scholars who...were broadly Platonist..., concerned with the perennial questions of fortune and free-will, theists to the core and Christian theologians when the need arose--like Boethius himself." In the volume edited by Gibson to commemorate the 1500th anniversary of his birth, Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence (Oxford, 1981), Christopher Page mentions that ten of the metra from the Consolatio are pointed for singing in Bodleian MS Auct. F.I.15 and reproduces the neumes for one metrum, the setting of which also appears in an Italian treatise on music of almost the same date. For the sake of completeness, allusion might also be made here to Henry Chadwick's anniversary monograph, *Boethius: The Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology, and Philosophy (Oxford, 1981), which enhances the importance of the Opuscula Sacra and argues that the De Consolatione Philosophiae quite consciously excludes Christian allusion.

"Varia: II. Gildas and the Names of the British Princes" (Cambridge Med. Celtic Stud. 3, 30-40) is Kenneth Jackson's review of issues surrounding the naming of and invective against contemporary British leaders in Gildas's De Excidio Britanniae. Jackson shows that Gildas plays with the names of the princes to characterize them. Whether or not he was named in the original, Jackson contends Vortigern's name is played upon in the phrase "superbus tyrannus." In "The 'Six' Sons of Rhodri Mawr: a Problem in Asser's Life of King Alfred" (Cambridge Med. Celtic Stud. 4, 5-18), David Dumville reviews a problem arising from the transcription of the manuscript of Asser that was burned in the Cotton Library fire of 1731. For "sex" he suggests a confusion with "ui," not the number but "by force." Michael Lapidge's "The Hermeneutic Style in Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Literature" is the subject of a review by Henri Silvestre in Bulletin de Théologie ancienne et médiévale (13, 236-37).

Works not seen:

Brearley, Denis, and Marianne Goodfellow. "Wulfstan's Life of Saint Ethelwold: a Translation with Notes." Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa 52, 377-407.

McEnerney, John I. "Alcuin, Carmina: 57." Proceedings of the PMR Conference 4, 25-34.

Marenbon, John. "Les Sources du vocabulaire d'Aldhelm." Bulletin du Cange 41 (1979), 75-90.

Pàroli, Teresa. "L'incidenza della cultura benedettina sulla formazione della lerreratura germanica occidentale." Atti del 7° Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo. Spoleto. P. 701-49.

Riché, Pierre. "L'Etude du vocabulaire latin dans les écoles anglo-saxonnes au debut du x^{e} siècle." La Lexicographie du Latin Médiéval et ses Rapports avec les Recherches Actuelles sur la Civilisation du Moyen Âge. Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 589. Paris, 1981. P. 115-24.

_____. "La Vie quotidienne dans les écoles monastiques d'après les colloques scolaires." Sous la Règle de Saint Benoît: Structures Monastiques et Sociétés en France du Moyen Âge a l'Epoque Moderne. Hautes Etudes Médiévales et Modernes, 47. Geneva and Paris. P. 417-26.

Spitzbart, Günter, trans. Beda der Ehwürdige, Kirchengeschichte des englischen Volkes. Texte zur Forschung, 34. Darmstadt. 2v.

Van de Linsdonck, Maria Laetitia. Alcuins De Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae, vers 1-604: de bronnen van een carolingisch epos. Rotterdam, 1981.

M. McC. G.

5. MANUSCRIPTS AND ILLUMINATION

N. R. Ker produced one of the supremely important reference tools for Anglo-Saxonists in his Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon, a work to which he subsequently provided a supplement. Mary Blockley has now put together a short list of "Addenda and Corrigenda" (N & Q 29, 1-3). Blockley lists three more manuscripts, corrects an error in identification in Ker 414, supplies an omission in Ker 249, and calls attention to seven verse texts not identified as such. Her most interesting reference is to the approximately 40 fragments of an Ælfric manuscript, identified as belonging to the first series of Catholic Homilies, found in some seventeenth-century bindings in the National Record Office of Copenhagen.

Various articles examine individual manuscripts. M. B. Parkes provides "A Note on MS Vatican, Bibl. Apost., lat 3363" (Margaret Gibson, ed., Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence [Oxford,1981], 425-47). Produced in the Loire Valley in the mid-ninth century, this manuscript is one of the earliest surviving copies of the De Consolatione Philosophiae. There are a number of late-ninth-century interlinear glosses, which were added after it was imported into Britain: these suggest a location in Wales, South-West England or Cornwall. In the tenth century, the manuscript was in Southern England and it was then glossed by St Dunstan who, moreover, collated this text with other manuscripts. Further evidence of such copies and commentaries is afforded by MS Eisendeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 179 (482), which was made during the reign of an Anglo-Saxon abbot, Gregory. With characteristic thoroughness and ingenuity, Michael Lapidge examines "The Origin of CCCC 163" (TCBS 8, no. 1 [1981], 18-28). This manuscript is the most complete of several surviving copies of the Romano-German Pontifical written in Anglo-Saxon England. Lapidge shows that CCCC 163 (or its exemplar) was copied from a text which originated in Cologne sometime after 1021. It is also closely linked to BL Cotton Vit. E. xii. Both texts show strong associations with Ealdred, bp. of Worcester and York, who visited Cologne in 1054. Probably Ealdred brought a copy of the Romano-German Pontifical back from Germany and various benedictions were added that reflected his own interests. One copy of this is CCCC 163, and Cotton Vit. E. xii is another (if not a remnant of Ealdred's manuscript itself). It is not certain that CCCC 163 was written at the Old Minster, Winchester, as M. R. James assumed. In fact, internal evidence suggests that it was copied at, or for use in, a nunnery. The identification of the nunnery, however, awaits further investigation. N. P. Brooks also looks at a document which has been associated with the Old Minster, Winchester in "The Oldest Document in the College Archives? The Micheldever Forgery" (Roger Custance, ed., Winchester College: Sixth-Centenary Essays [Oxford], 189-228). This charter--a grant by Edward the Elder of 100 hides at Micheldever in 900--is, in present form, certainly an eleventh-century forgery. Brooks examines the bounds of six of the seven properties in the Old English section of the charter and includes maps (the seventh, Abbot's Worthy, does not have a perambulation). He concludes that the compiler took material from several earlier documents and that he must have had at least one text from Edward's reign before him; his purpose was probably "to justify the administration of a disparate group of estates as a single unit of 100 hides." In this aim the charter seems to have succeeded, since Hyde Abbey possessed the hundred of Micheldever throughout the Middle Ages. The charter, moreover, gives us some sense of the earlier royal "vill" of Micheldever.

Fred C. Robinson makes a small but important point in "Latin for English in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts" (John Anderson, ed., Language Form and Linguistic Variation: Papers Dedicated to Angus McIntosh [Amsterdam], 395-400). He suggests that scribes often used Latin forms to represent Old English words; in the Vercelli Homily, for example, dn̄s is used as an abbreviation for dryhten. It is a betrayal, Robinson concludes, for a modern editor to use the Latin term when that is not what the poet intended.

Much of our knowledge of Anglo-Saxon texts--even the survival of the texts themselves--is a result of Matthew Parker's work. R. I. Page gives a very precise, very detailed discussion of "The Parker Register and Matthew Parker's Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts" (TCBS 8, no. 1 [1981], 1-17). This catalogue, the composition of which Page dates to 1574/75, came with the books themselves to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, at the time of Parker's death. Page notes that 38 of the 41 individual Old English manuscripts listed by Ker at Corpus Christi College are from the Parker collection. Page prints these items and gives identifications. He discusses the incipits and why they do not all necessarily give the same information. In some of the entries, where there are errors or other difficulties, Page has made use of Thomas James's early catalogue along with various other clues. He deals as well with the problems of identification of Parker's collection of Anglo-Saxon homily books. In conclusion, his study shows that the Register must have been an inadequate inventory of Parker's manuscript collection and it could not have been properly used to check the books. The annual audits, therefore, could not have been stringent. It also seems clear that several manuscripts were in poor condition. Finally, it is doubtful that the College, or even Parker, knew which manuscripts should go to Corpus Christi, which elsewhere, and which should remain for his son John.

E. Ann Matter gives a very thoughtful and thorough discussion of "The Revelatio Esdrae in Latin and English Traditions" (RB 92, 376-92). The text, which purports to foretell the weather, had a widespread circulation geographically and chronologically in Greek, Latin and the vernaculars. The earliest surviving Latin version is ninth century; in England the first Latin version, which became very common, is eleventh century. In Appendix I Matter gives a list of Latin versions which take January 1 as a beginning date, although many more examples might well be buried in astrological and medical collections. Appendix II lists Latin versions, mostly from England, which take Christmas as a starting point. Appendix III contains a list of manuscripts of the vernacular English tradition--including two in Old English; appendix IV lists printed editions up to 1800 of the English tradition of Revelatio Esdrae--these ultimately blend into the world of the Farmers Almanac. The English tradition shows how material can change and be secularized; it represents the "translation of auctoritas from one cultural mode to another." The medieval Latin tradition, on the other hand, shows the importance of the legendary Esdras figure. In "Les Antiphonaires monastiques insulaires" (RB 92, 358-75), René-Jean Hesbert examines the differences in thirteen surviving, post-Conquest, antiphonaries. He concludes that in this area Great Britain underwent four colonizations from Continental sources: "L'une...partie de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, et introduite en Normandie...; une autre, dans la lignée du Bec, avec Lyre et Saint-Étienne de Caen; ...une troisième, venant de beaucoup plus loin...est passé en Normandie, ou on la voit attestée à Saint-Wandrille, à Sainte-Catherine-du-Mont et à Saint-Michel du Treport;

une quatrième enfin, qui n'a plus rien de norman, mais vient d'Ile-de-France par la Picardie...." Of a purely insular type the only known representatives at the moment occur at St. Mary of York and Muchelney.

In "Some English Drawings of the Tenth Century" (The Early Middle Ages. Acta 6 [Binghamton, N.Y., 1982 for 1979], 83-93) K. D. Hartzell writes about two hitherto overlooked English drawings on fol. 48 of MS 26 in the library of Rouen. Scholars have pointed out that the Christ crucified drawing is indebted to the Crucifixion drawing in the Sherborne Pontifical. It is also, however, similar to another English Christ, which, in turn, can be traced back to a recently discovered wall painting from the New Minster at Winchester. It is very much a completed figure standing alone on the page, in spite of all the surrounding material. The small--and later--figure of St John, situated to the left of Christ, can be dated to the last quarter of the tenth century. The big figure, therefore, must date to no later than the tenth century. What Hartzell has done, then, is to locate the drawings securely in the period of the tenth-century monastic revival, and to show that they must be executed by English artists. In "Moses-Darstellungen" (Werner Busch, et al., ed., Kunst als Bedeutungsträger: Gedenkschrift für Günter Bandmann [Berlin, 1978], 1-17) Adelheid Heinmann discusses the representation of Moses in two well-known English manuscripts. Heinmann has identified the iconographic traditions of Moses' final address to his people, his last conversation with God, and his death as depicted in the Old English illustrated Hexateuch (BL Cotton Claudius B. iv) and the iconographic tradition of Moses and the burning bush used in the Winchester Psalter (BL Cotton Nero C. iv).

Finally, C. R. Dodwell's beautifully illustrated Anglo-Saxon Art: a New Perspective (Ithaca, NY; Manchester, 1982) has as its goal "to search out information about Anglo-Saxon artists: to see if the distortions given to Anglo-Saxon art by a given pattern of survivals can be corrected by an examination of the comments made about Anglo-Saxon art whilst it was still in balance and still a normal part of mediaeval society." In his analysis of all the various forms of what we now call artistic expression, Dodwell makes a detailed and creative use of surviving written sources. He discusses the preponderance of craftsmen rather than outstanding individual artists. Several chapters are devoted to ecclesiastically related art, and there is an especially interesting section on stone crosses. Dodwell concludes that we know more about Norman art because the Normans worked in stone and expressed themselves in architecture. The skills of the Anglo-Saxons, on the other hand, were to a great extent in more ephemeral media: they worked, for example, in gold and gold embroidery. In this area we have some early surviving examples, but none they would have considered impressive from the later Christian period. Our knowledge of their art, then, is bound to be fragmentary and it becomes especially important to make use of written sources as well.

Works not seen:

Gelfer-Jørgensen, Mirjam. "On Insular Miniatures and Islamic Textiles." Hafnia: Copenhagen Papers in the Hist. of Art 6 (1979), 50-80.

Hart, Cyril. "The Mersea Charter of Edward the Confessor." Essex Archaeol. and Hist. 12 (1981 for 1980), 94-102.

Hassall, Averil. "Anglo-Norman Attitudes: an Eighth-Century Text with Early-Twelfth-Century Illustrations." Oxford Art Jnl. 2 (1979), 11-14.

Kaspersen, Søren. "Majestas Domini--Regnum et Sacerdotium. Zu Entstehung und Leben des Motivs bis zum Investiturstreit." Hafnia: Copenhagen Papers in the Hist. of Art 8 (1981), 83-146.

Kidd, Judith A. "The Quinity of Winchester Reconsidered." Stud. in Iconography 7-8 (1981-82), 21-33.

Mersmann, Wiltrud. "Das Fontispicium der Evangelien im frühen Mittelalter." Festschrift für Wilhelm Messerer zum 60. Geburtstag. Ed. Klaus Ertz. Cologne, 1980

Ó Cróinín, Dáibhí. "Pride and Prejudice." Peritia I (1982), 352-62.

Richards, Mary P. "A Decorated Vulgate Set from 12th-Century Rochester, England." Jnl of the Walters Art Gallery 39 (1981), 59-67.

Zarnecki, George. "The Eadwine Portrait." With additional notes by Christopher Hohler. Etudes d'art médiéval offertes à Louis Grodecki. Ed. Sumner McK. Crosby, et al. Paris, 1981. Pp. 93-104.

J. P. C.

6. HISTORY AND CULTURE

a. Texts and Reference Works

Hitherto those interested in William of Malmesbury's history of Glastonbury have had to depend on the early-eighteenth-century edition by Thomas Hearne of the writings ascribed to Adam of Domerham. In this they were fortunate, since Hearne was a remarkably accurate editor. Nevertheless, a new edition that disentangles the original text from later accretions has long been overdue and this has now been provided by John Scott in The Early History of Glastonbury: an Edition, Translation and Study of William of Malmesbury's 'De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie' (Woodbridge, Suffolk and Totowa, NJ, 1981 [1982]). The primary source for his text (for which he provides a facing translation) is taken, like Hearne's, from Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.5.33, but he also includes readings from two other manuscripts, although he is inclined to believe that the variants in the latter texts come from the Gesta Regum. Interlinear notes of the thirteenth century are embodied in parentheses in the text but later additions are placed in footnotes. This new edition was not to hand when I examined the Trinity manuscript a couple of years ago but in a sample check against Hearne's edition I noted that burbrice at the end of the text on p. 122 appears without comment, although Hearne reads burgbrice, and footnote f on p. 124 records Hearne's reading as firdbrice whereas, in fact, he reads firðbrice. Very full notes assist the reader in separating William's text from the additions that so soon expanded it, and to help the reader further, the editor has appended a reconstructed version of William's putative original form of what are now chapters 1-36. The Introduction explains how William was one of a number of twelfth-century historians who attempted to recover the Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical past, which was being overwhelmed by unsympathetic Norman overlords. He concludes that William went to Glastonbury to assist the monastery through his writings in its claims to sanctity and lands. One of its assertions was that it possessed the body of St Dunstan. William wrote a Life of the saint, as well as this history of the house with which Dunstan had been associated. His links with Canterbury precluded him from going further. Mr Scott observes, "It is difficult to believe that the Glastonbury monks, conscious of the attraction to pilgrims of the relics of St Dunstan, would have been satisfied with an account of his life or the history of their monastery which did not provide written proof of his translation to their abbey. The fact that such proof was soon added to the DA, at considerable length, shows that the monks were not satisfied with what William had done" (5). Their forgeries and interpolations are examined in a later chapter of the Introduction. The editor describes William's sources (which included the now-lost Liber Terrarum, a collection of charters dating from ca 670 to Æthelred's reign) and also his models, which included Bede's Historia Abbatum. He provides a sympathetic appraisal of William's skills as an historian, and concludes "Technically, the DA is the culmination of William's historical training" (24).

It is curious that prosopographical methods have only recently come back into favor in Anglo-Saxon studies, in spite of the early work of Searle and Round, the fine studies written in English by such classicists as Ronald Syme, Ernst Badian, A. H. M. Jones and, latterly, T. D. Barnes, and the substantial publications by German students of late Imperial and medieval Adelsgeschichte. The founding of the unpretentious journal Medieval Prosopography in 1980 will, one must hope, awaken Anglo-Saxonists to a technique that

can provide insights into the political, social, and diplomatic history of early medieval England. The problems are formidable: the absence of surnames, of a standard orthographic representation of personal names, and of satisfactory dating-clauses in many documents means that the precision attainable by classicists will never be possible. Nevertheless, a "Prosopographia Aevi Anglo-Saxonici" is now a reasonable goal that simply awaits a group of scholars possessed of energy and skilled in grantsmanship. There are the resources of both the British Latin and the Toronto OE Dictionary projects that can be tapped. What little recent scholarship exists is of a high order, as will be known to those familiar with the twenty-three studies published between 1970 and 1981 that Janet Nelson succinctly evaluates in her "Bibliography: Anglo-Saxon England, 1970-81" (Medieval Prosopography 3, 109-12). C. Warren Hollister's "Elite Prosopography in Saxon and Norman England" in the same journal (2.2 [1981], 11-20) comments on how the brilliance of the writings of F. M. Stenton, C. N. L. Brooke, and R. W. Southern have perhaps inhibited younger scholars but provides evidence that there are now a number at work, concentrating especially on the Norman aristocracy.

b. Historiography and Post-Conquest Scholarship

Bernard Guenée has started the worthy undertaking of examining all the prefaces to historical works produced in the European Middle Ages. His "L'Histoire entre l'éloquence et la science. Quelques remarques sur le prologue de Guillaume de Malmesbury à ses Gesta Regum Anglorum" (CRAIBL April-June, 357-70) is a contribution towards that end. In his studies up until now, M. Guenée has noticed a progression from prefaces whose themes are dictated by rhetoric to those where "l'historien prend conscience de la spécificité de sa discipline" (358). He sees the period 1100-1130 as "un moment de décisifs progrès" and William as the most important English historian in this period. He notes that in his first preface, to his Gesta Regum of 1120, William expresses a hope that his work will be "saltem industriae testimonium," a use of industria exactly paralleled by Justin. Justin produced in the third century A.D. an epitome of the work of Pompeius Trogus, who had been considered one of the four greatest historians of Rome (the others were Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus), and there is evidence that Justin was well known to William. William's preface is generally addressed, which is almost unparalleled in contemporary historiography, where the preface was usually a dedicatory letter to a patron. Again, Justin's influence is evident. In short, M. Guenée concludes that in his first work William wished to be "un nouveau Trogue Pompée et un nouveau Justin" (363). In his history of ecclesiastical affairs, his Gesta Pontificum, he echoes certain words used by Rufinus in his Latin translation of Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History. In his preface to the Gesta Regum William had followed a well-established tradition in making reference to his sources in his preface, though he went further than others in making explicit his principles: to render into Latin history that which after the reign of Edgar was extant only in the Old English Chronicle. This emphasis on sources is exhibited in his use of the word scientia, which M. Guenée shows designated not simply his knowledge of the sources but the very sources themselves. Unlike the ancient historians, his concern was not with eloquence but with industry; content was preferred over form; and technical skill took precedence over rhetoric. M. Guenée has provided us here in a very original fashion with a sensitive analysis of William's contribution to historiography.

Another aspect of William's historiographic skills is brought to light by R. Allen Brown in *"William of Malmesbury as an Architectural

Historian" (Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire médiévales en l'Honneur du Doyen Michel de Boüard, Memoires et Documents publiées par la Société de l'Ecole des Chartes 27; Geneva, 9-16). "Seldom does any prelate (especially), king or magnate appear in his pages without due note of the buildings and works for which he was responsible and, over and over again, the comment is informed" (10). Among the many gems of information William supplies is that both the abbeys of Malmesbury and Glastonbury had several churches within one enclosure, an ancient pattern; that Wilfrid brought masons from Rome to build his church at Hexham; that Alfred had buildings erected "of a wondrous type hitherto unknown in England" (Gesta Regum [Rolls Series] I, 133); and that the Old and New Minsters at Winchester were so close together that the singing emanating from the two buildings clashed. He is even more informative about the post-Conquest period when, as Professor Brown reminds us, all but two major churches were rebuilt according to the Norman style. This rebuilding started even before the Conquest: Westminster Abbey, which was consecrated in 1065, was built in the Norman fashion, as is evident from William's writings. Though William concentrated on ecclesiastical buildings, he also makes some remarks relevant to our understanding of burhs. Thus Peterborough Abbey had its name changed from "Medehamstede" to "Burgh" after Abbot Cenwulf (992-1006) built a wall round it and he records that Athelstan (924-939) fortified Exeter with towers and a wall. Professor Brown has here revealed a new source for architectural historians who might wish to follow the example that E. A. Dodwell recently set in the field of art. As Professor Brown says, "I have scarcely begun to apply these references to the detailed architectural history of the individual buildings concerned" (16).

T. D. Crawford indirectly tackles anew the vexed question of Geoffrey of Monmouth's "very ancient book in the British language" from the point of view of his knowledge of languages in his paper, "On the Linguistic Competence of Geoffrey of Monmouth" (MÆ 51, 152-60). Pointing to Geoffrey's reference to Latin as "lingua nostra," he observes that he wrote (and probably spoke) Latin fluently, which suggests that his native tongue was an allied one. He is reasonably persuasive in his suggestion that this was Norman French. More tenuous is his linguistic case that Geoffrey spoke, but did not read, English to any large degree. There is clear evidence that Geoffrey understood Welsh, notably in his seeming attempt at the etymology of Cymraeg as "curvum Graecum," as if it were related to cam Roeg. Elsewhere he represents Cymraeg as Kambro, suggesting that he was using Latin rather than Welsh orthography. Yet if this is indeed so, he is unlikely to have had any "very ancient Book" in Welsh, for he then would not have made this orthographic confusion. The possibility that Geoffrey knew Breton is satisfactorily disposed of by Dr Crawford. He suggests that Geoffrey may have been asked late in the composition of his History to translate a Welsh tract which became "The Prophecies of Merlin" and that this led him to invent "the very ancient book." Dr Crawford makes an intriguing case but I think the verdict will have to remain an open one.

Now to turn from historians of the Middle Ages to those of our present century. Peter B. Boyden's "J. H. Round and the Beginnings of the Modern Study of Domesday Book: Essex and Beyond" is one of several devoted to that great, if acerbic, historian in Volume 12 of Essex Archaeol. and Hist. (1981 for 1980). As he rightly points out, Round's views on the compilation of Domesday Book are now out of favor (though still worthy of examination), while his studies on England of the Domesday period have provided a basis for later research. His paper is devoted to these two aspects of Round's work. Round's views on the compilation of Domesday Book were shaped

by the document known as "Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis" (I.C.C.). Mr Boyden suggests that the I.C.C. is a copy of a document made by the Domesday Commissioners "under the mistaken belief that they were to produce a geographically arranged return. Having subsequently ascertained that a feudal document was required, they recast the data, and the exemplar of the I.C.C. was kept in the library of Ely" (14). He points to the need for a fresh examination of the relationship between Domesday Book, the I.C.C., and the "Inquisitio Eliensis." As for Round's contribution to Domesday studies, Mr Boyden draws particular attention to his essay on Essex in the Victoria County History (V.C.H.). This was so thorough that it has tended to inhibit subsequent research. Round was an accurate scholar (his strictures against others ensured that!) but he tended to overlook the implications of Domesday's statistics for 1066. Mr Boyden's findings show that the distinction between the large and small landowners lay at the level of those who owned four to five estates or more and those who had fewer. On this basis 4 percent of the landlords possessed 37 percent of the land in the county. He provides statistical evidence to show that the social composition of the landlords reveals that "sokemen were of a lower social standing than freemen" (21). Mr Boyden's paper thus succeeds in suggesting further avenues of research in Domesday Book as well as providing a sober appraisal of John Horace Round's contributions to historiography. I should have liked, however, to have seen him make some acknowledgement of Sally Harvey's work on Domesday (notably in English Hist. Rev. 86 [1971], 753-73, and see also ibid. 95 [1980], 121-33) in addition to his commendatory references to the work of R. W. Finn and V. H. Galbraith. W. R. Powell, in *"J. Horace Round, the County Historian: the Victoria County Histories and the Essex Archaeological Society" (25-38), reveals Round's sterling labors in support of that major historical enterprise. Mr Powell has promised to publish about twenty-five of his papers that are still in manuscript form. Those interested in Round the man may also care to peruse another paper in the volume, David Stephenson's *"The Early Career of J. H. Round: the Shaping of a Historian" (1-10), in which he discusses Round's admiration for and debt to Bishop Stubbs, as well as revealing that Round's excoriating criticism of E. A. Freeman appears to have arisen not out of personal animus or scholarly disagreement but because Freeman did not espouse Round's Tory politics. As medievalists, many of us may naïvely think that personal political views do not impinge on our study--though there is small reason for this, given the differences in interpretation of the Norman Conquest that have arisen more through the eddies of current politics than out of an objective appraisal of the sources.

While on this tack, it might be worth mentioning an article that in its acerbity (though not its political perspective) is in the Round tradition. Whatever our disciplines are, as Anglo-Saxonists we are probably all intrigued by the history of the speakers of the Indo-European languages, not least because the evidence is so scanty and ambiguous that the data can be manipulated in all sorts of ways to suit scholarly ingenuity. In the light of the misuse of this material earlier in this century for odious political purposes, it is well to be aware of Bernard Sergent's polemic, *"Penser--et mal penser-- les Indo-Européens" (Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations 37, 669-81), in which he reviews Jean Haudry's book in the "Que sais-je" series, Les Indo-Européens (Paris, 1981). Professor Sergent's judgment of this work is succinct: "ce livre est absurde" (673). His paper, which has a useful summary (from a French viewpoint) of the work of Indo-European scholarship in the past century, associates M. Haudry's work with other emanations from the "New Right" in France.

Those who have been puzzled by some of the submissions to the Journal of Indo-European Studies would do well to read his note 16 on p. 680.

Joel T. Rosenthal's "The Swinging Pendulum and the Turning Wheel: the Anglo-Saxon State before Alfred" (The Early Middle Ages, ed. William H. Snyder, Acta 6 [1982 for 1979], 95-115), seeks a new perspective on the relationship between the kingdoms of the early Anglo-Saxon period. In essence an attack on the Whig interpretation of history, Professor Rosenthal suggests that "we will get closer to the 'truth' as well as to the proper uses of historical explanation if we attribute the rise and fall of the early kingdoms, not to the mistakes and errors of their kings, but rather to material and institutional resources that were simply too feeble and too evenly distributed to enable any one state to suppress the others" (97). It was the advent of the Vikings that upset what was essentially an equilibrium that existed between Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex. Though he perhaps underrates the communications network in the country, his argument that the population density and the variety of peoples (including Celts) made it difficult to establish full control over territory bears thinking about. Thus, states and confederations "were personal affairs, resting more upon successful military exploits and the strength of personality than upon a solid institutional and material foundation" (102). He is at his most stimulating in his examination of kingship: "One of the desiderata for a king, and one of the criteria we can use to gauge his success, is longevity...the Anglo-Saxon royal record for non-survival is striking" (103-4). And, "While partible-royalty fostered intra-familial rivalry and hostility, it was a way of closing ranks against outsiders, of imposing a kind of peace within the feuding family" (107). When one reflects on these remarks, one can see that flexibility in the choice of a leader provided more security for tribes under threat from their neighbors than primogeniture would have, since the latter might leave a sudden leadership vacuum. (A possible modern analogy that comes to mind might be the military dictatorships of the Latin American statelets, where the army replaces the kin group as the source of the leadership pool.) Professor Rosenthal's paper prompts me to wonder what an anthropologist would make of his observations; perhaps he could supply an answer himself in a subsequent paper.

c. Settlement Period

David J. Breeze in The Northern Frontiers of Britain (London) provides, inter alia, detailed discussions of Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall, together with photographs, reconstructions of military installations, plans, and very clear maps. The transitional fifth century occupies but a page of his book for the simple reason that the present state of the evidence does not permit him to say more. He points out that while some troops may have been taken from Hadrian's Wall to augment the forces withdrawn from Britain by Magnus Maximus, Constantine III, and Stilicho, units from the area are still recorded in the Notitia Dignitatum of ca 408 and coins of the period 383-410 have been found in a number of forts. Once the soldiers' pay ceased to arrive, the military system would have collapsed. The soldiers may well have remained and merely have turned to farming--or banditry.

I. N. Wood's "Roman Britain and Christian Literature" (Northern Hist. 18, 275-8) reviews Peter Salway's Roman Britain and Charles Thomas's Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500. (On the two books, see YWOES 1981, OEN 16.1, 101-2 and 123 respectively.) He feels Dr Salway is incautious in

his use of the Vita Germani and the Passio Albani since they are hagiographical writings and not historical treatises. On the other hand, he believes that Professor Thomas could have made a stronger case for continuity. He digs out a nugget of information on Patrick which helps put him in the latter part of the fifth century: "Patrick refers in his letter to Coroticus to ransoms paid to the Franks; since they were not a notably aggressive people in the first half of the fifth century and since they only came to play a significant part in the invasions after 460, they might be regarded as providing a terminus post quem for Patrick's letter in that decade" (276). J. Carney, who overlooked this, has suggested A.D. 471 as the date of Patrick's letter. (His views are not mentioned by Dr. Wood.) The balance thus seems to be shifting in favor of the proponents of the late date for Patrick, away from scholars such as Bury and Hanson. Dr Wood believes in the genuineness of the Gallic Chronicle and that Gildas wrote around the beginning of the sixth century. To assess the validity of his assessments of these two works, we shall have to await the publication of his paper in a forthcoming book, Gildas: New Approaches, ed. M. Lapidge and D. N. Dumville.

Two further papers discuss the fragmentary historical sources for the fifth century. Philip Bartholomew's article, provocatively entitled *"Fifth Century Facts" (Britannia 13, 261-70), takes issue with Professor E. A. Thompson's interpretation of some of these sources in Britannia 8 (1977), 303-18. He starts by questioning two key passages in Zosimus. The first is the famous announcement that the cities in Britain (τὰς ἐν βρεττανιᾳ...πόλεις) should guard themselves (VI.10.2). Not merely does he supply textual and contextual evidence to suggest that Zosimus was referring to Brutium in Italy (which is referred to by Olympiodorus as βρεττία rather than βρουττία), he also gets rid of Honorius and puts Jovius in his stead. This last is only a conjecture, but at the very least it is clear that something has gone haywire with the text: it is unnecessary to employ a genitive absolute if its subject is the same as the subject of the main sentence, as is the case here. Professor Thompson would have us believe that Zosimus changed direction in mid-sentence but Mr Bartholomew observes that "this still does not alter the fact that his subject matter here consists only of Italian politics" (262, n. 9). He also suggests that the rebellions of A.D. 409 described in Zosimus VI.5.3 involved the expulsion of barbarian troops billeted in the cities, rather than an incursion of barbarians, as it is customarily interpreted. These troops, he suggests, were under the command of the Comes Britanniae; the expulsion spelled the end of his command. This revolt spread to certain Gallic provinces as well. He rejects Professor Thompson's view that the latter was a revolt of the Bacaudae that actually took place in A.D. 417. The latter uprising is dependent on an interpretation of Rutilius Namatianus, but he shows that this text is defective at a crucial point. Not content with eliminating a Bacaudic revolt, he even questions the authenticity of a part of the entry s.a. 452 in the Gallic Chronicle that reports a Saxon incursion. As a result of his paper, we now seem to know even less about the fifth century than before. A small compensation may lie in the paper by Ralph W. Mathisen, *"The Last Year of Saint Germanus of Auxerre" (AnBol 99 [1981], 151-9), in which he links a dedicatory inscription mentioning the payment of workmen involved in the building of the church at Narbonne (CIL XII.5336) with a brief reference in the Vita of St Germanus to his meeting some workmen when going to Italy. He suggests that Germanus died on 31 July 446 rather than in 445 or 448. It is only a conjecture but it does make better sense of the chronology of the 440s. He accepts Fr Grosjean's suggestion that Hilary of Arles went in

A.D. 444 to consult over Germanus's second visit to Britain but suggests that Hilary's visit preceded Germanus's trip, which he would date as taking place in the summer of 444.

Arnold H. Price's "Early Places Ending in -heim as Warrior Club Settlements and the Role of Soc in the Germanic Administration of Justice" (Central European Hist. 14 [1982 for 1981], 187-99) seeks to shed some light on the early Germanic invaders of England. This paper poses some problems for me. The author seems to be working in the German Stammeskunde tradition, one that has not been adopted into Anglo-Saxon scholarship (apart for a few possible exceptions like Chadwick and Jolliffe). I am not at home in either the methodology or scholarship in this field. The second problem is that he ranges over a large number of disciplines covering an immense chronological period. Tacitus, fifth-century Reihergräber, philology, fairy tales, and Anglo-Saxon law are all called into service in defence of his basic hypothesis: that early Germanic societies included in some tribes warrior clubs composed of free bachelors. They were characterized by a separate social existence and lived under leaders that were priests. This "hypothetical model" seems to have been developed from a 1927 book of Lily Weiser-Aall not accessible to me; it appears to be the only monograph on the subject. In an earlier article, entitled "Differentiated Germanic Social Structures," he suggested that the invaders of England consisted of a mother tribe (the Anglians), a tribal grouping that developed out of warrior clubs (the Saxons), and a tribe that did not have warrior clubs (the Jutes). The latter article functions at a level of generalization that does not recognize the complexity evident in current settlement studies. Mr Price states, "This model was tested successfully in regard to the Franks and Burgundians," citing another paper of his in proof of this (188). In the article under review he starts with a paper by Manfred Laufs in Geschichtliche Landeskunde 9 (1973), 17-68, in which he associates Reihergräberfelder (burial grounds with graves in rows) with certain fields containing the element -heuer/-heier/-haar and settlements nearby with a -heim element. Herr Laufs's article is exceedingly detailed in its presentation of evidence but I cannot grant that there is an etymological link between heuer and heim. Mr Price believes that such graveyards were warrior-club burial grounds and seeks to argue that -heim in place-names denotes settlements "founded not by existing village communities, but by warrior clubs" (194). From this he derives a meaning "warrior group" when it appears in the compound Heimsuchung (OE hamsocn) and concludes that hamsocn in origin was "soc administered by warrior clubs and without a hearing" (197). I find all this somewhat redolent of the scholarship of The Old Straight Track and America B.C.

Two important regional studies covering the Settlement Period have appeared in the past year. In Britons and Saxons: The Chiltern Region 400-700 (Chichester), K. Rutherford Davis has presented a logically coherent and challenging hypothesis that will help focus the research endeavors of both place-name experts and archaeologists in an attempt to test the validity of his views. He suggests that the area north of the Thames and south of the Ouse from Dorchester to Braughing was the territory of a British kingdom that survived up to the battle of Biedcanford (possibly Bedford) recorded s.a. 571 in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. On a priori grounds the theory is not improbable. At the end of the fourth century Britain had been settled by the Romans for several centuries, long enough for a diverse infrastructure to have developed.

This infrastructure would have been not merely economic in its towns, agrarian estates, roads, and defences; more significantly, there had been time enough for local élites to acquire the skills for running a complex society, whether at the functional level as technocrats or at the political level of organizing and focusing the skills available. Christianity, too, seems to have been sufficiently well-established to provide the possiblity of an ideology that could unify the locals against pagan outsiders. The late survival of the inland state of Elmet shows that, as we might expect, there were sufficient resources for the local Romano-British to survive for a long time in the face of the Anglo-Saxon invasions. Mr Davis suggests that this is just what happened throughout the fifth and much of the sixth centuries in the Chilterns. The focal point of this state, he suggests, was Verulamium, the present-day St Albans. He adduces evidence of both a positive and a negative kind in support of his general thesis, drawn from place-name and archaeological sources. He points to the existence of ten (and possibly thirteen) Celtic words that survive in over fifty place- and river names in the area. At the same time, there is a dearth of Anglo-Saxon place-names that contain elements which usually have been deemed to be early. That this could have been caused by the presence of forests or other uncongenial topographical features he dismisses, since there is plenty of evidence that the Chilterns was a fertile area which in better-recorded times has been well populated. There is similarly a paucity of Anglo-Saxon archaeological material; in general, the pottery and objects such as saucer brooches date from the latter part of the sixth century or even later. Such early Anglo-Saxon sites as there are, e.g., at Kempston and Sandy, are explained by him as the settlements under British aegis of foederati, located in these places in order to head off potential invaders from the east. He does not see the British as necessarily always embattled defendants. He offers as a possible explanation of the East Anglian dykes such as Devil's Ditch that they were an East Anglian response against the Chiltern Britons after the British victory at Badon.

En route to his new synthesis, Mr Davis takes issue with a number of hypotheses presented by others: with the aid of maps he effectively challenges Leeds's argument that the Icknield Way presented a path into the interior for the invading Anglo-Saxons (58-9); Barry Cox's case for the very early nature of -ham names is sharply questioned (71-3); and there is no room in his analysis for Peter Sawyer's suggestion that England had undergone full agricultural development by the seventh and eighth centuries. It must be recognized, however, that Mr Davis presents us with what is largely an argumentum ex silentio. His place-name evidence seemingly supports his case--but we have all learned in recent years not to make our case depend on such fickle material. Absent from his presentation is the comparative evidence from other areas in England from which to assess the validity of the data he supplies. Most serious for his case is the absence of positive archaeological data (except for S. S. Frere's findings at Verulamium; see p. 21-3). Mr Davis quite candidly faces this latter problem: he suggests that Christianity discouraged the deposition of material goods in graves (47); that Verulamium has been only partially excavated (47); and that excavators have concentrated on Roman villas rather than search for less durable post-Roman structures on the same sites (116). As this summary has attempted to bring out, Mr Davis has thrown down the gauntlet to place-name experts, archaeologists, and historians. His book has the considerable virtue of offering a cogent theory that will direct the researches of those who will undoubtedly seek to rebut him. As Martin Biddle says in the Foreword, "We shall do our best to ensure that Ken

Rutherford Davis has to bring out a second edition in a few years" (ix). When that time comes, he may well be able to present substantially the same picture.

The second regional study is on an area that has long cried out for a modern history to be written: the county of Kent. K. P. Witney has already produced a book on the Weald of Kent (The Jutish Forest; London, 1976) that does much to illumine its role in the economy and life of the Anglo-Saxons of the area. He now turns, in *The Kingdom of Kent (Chichester), to a survey of its Anglo-Saxon history from the fifth century up to its union with Wessex in the ninth. His first chapter is entitled "The Jutes." Compared with the rest of the book this chapter is a disappointment. He accepts that the forebears of the Kentishmen had the west coast of Jutland as their home. At an early point they started moving via the islands along the present-day German and Dutch coasts into Frisia, there "adapting themselves to the customs, and taking on the dialect, of that area, where they were also subject to the neighbouring influences of Franks and Warni" (29). When one looks at his notes, one finds the expected names of Jolliffe, Homans, Evison, and Myres. What is notably lacking here, however, is any reference to continental scholarship, not even to Boeles's now-dated Friesland tot de Elfde Eeuw. Most Anglo-Saxonists do not have the time, perhaps not the linguistic resources, and probably not the library facilities to keep abreast of the material published on Friesland, Lower Saxony, and the Rhineland. If one is going to have the temerity to discuss the early settlement of Kent, this awesome undertaking must be faced. As it is, one is left with a picture that is dependent in part on Myres's synthesis of 1969-70, but such is the pace of archaeological discoveries today that his views are due at least for a re-examination.

Nevertheless, I should not like this criticism to detract from the book as a whole, which presents a careful survey of both the primary evidence and current scholarship, to which Mr Witney himself has been no small contributor. In his chapter on the Conquest period (ca 450-500), he offers an ingenious interpretation of the name of Hengest's mysterious companion, Horsa, who was said to have been killed at Episford (Aylesford). The British word for a horse was Ebissa and he notes, "It is not impossible that Ebissa (or something like it) was the true name of Horsa, that being a nick-name acquired through connection with his brother Hengest, so we are dealing with a real, and not a purely mythical, figure" (42). His chapter on the settlement is particularly informative: "The institution which provided the framework for all else was the lathe, a province of the kingdom formed around one or another of the primary settlement areas--a river valley, say, or a littoral--typically containing within its boundaries tracts of downland pasture and of marsh, and having its own allotment of Wealden forest. Each of the lathes centred upon a royal court....There was a tripartite division of the land. First, there was the king's own demesne, kept and worked on his behalf; second, there was the inland, which was part of the royal estate let out to tenants, whom we have identified as the laets of Æthelberht's laws; and, third, there was the outland, occupied by the free ceorls in their own right" (52). His detailed explanations of the nine Wealden commons used to provide pannage and fuel for the lathes, and their break-up into "sub-commons" and then manorial dens as the lathes divided into lordships and then, in turn, into manors is very illuminating. (In this he is drawing on his earlier study of the Weald.) His analysis of the social structure of Kent is more controversial. In the

case of the læts, who appear only in Æthelberht's laws, his conjecture that they were the ones who worked the royal inland is unprovable; it is curious that if they were so important in the tribal economy, they have not left more of a memorial in the sources. His comments on the other classes of men in the society is again worth quoting verbatim: "The eorl, it seems, was an occupier of the outlands, like the ceorls, but one who had hereditary duties of attendance upon the king and leadership in war, a descendant, in fact, of one of Hengest's captains, or the head of a kin group of warriors, who had been rewarded with an especially large entitlement of land--perhaps three times as much as the ceorl, judging by relative blood-prices. Mostly, no doubt, this would be worked by slaves, who were the foundation upon which the wealth and freedom of all the other classes rested" (70). There is much else of value in this work, both in defining the limits of our knowledge (e.g., neither burials nor the evidence of place-names ending in -ham can be used as reliable indicators of the pace and extent of settlement of the region by the Anglo-Saxons--see p. 82-6) and for what we can learn from the sources, as is exemplified by the two chapters devoted to the long reign of Æthelberht. His account proceeds with a judicious blend of political, ecclesiastical, social, and economic history up to the submission of Kent to Egbert of Wessex in 825. There will be few (if any) who will not learn something from this book, whether it be the rôle of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Christchurch in the early history of the kingdom, the context of the rebellion and deposition of the unfortunate Eadberht Præn, or the economic development of the Weald and marshes of Kent.

d. General Anglo-Saxon History

Anthony Faulkes's "Descent from the Gods" (MScan 11 [1982 for 1978-79, 92-125) deals mainly with the nature of genealogies in Scandinavian sources in the Christian period but some of his observations draw on Anglo-Saxon evidence. In the Eddic poems some heroes are claimed to be of divine origin (goðborinn) but even as far back as Tacitus there was another tradition that some tribes descended from a progenitor who was the son of a god, this being a form of myth that dealt with the origin of things. Out of these he suggests developed a third tradition that saw claims to nobility being made by certain families on the basis of having gods among their ancestors. "Always when such genealogies are recorded by Christian writers (e.g., Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica I, 15), the gods that appear in them will have been interpreted euhemeristically, i.e. as great kings or heroes who came to be worshipped as gods after their deaths" (93). Since such gods were really mortals, genealogies could legitimately go back beyond them, perhaps even to Adam. He suggests that these gods interpreted euhemeristically were inserted after Christianity had been introduced. This would explain why so many genealogies clash, since there were no ancient traditions to define the relationship between gods and their offspring. Also Christianity would not have had to acknowledge the validity of the myths, which is why some myths and genealogies conflict. Many Scandinavian genealogies are late and show Anglo-Saxon influence. It would appear, however, that the Scandinavians had a somewhat superior ancestry to the Anglo-Saxons: their forebears included not only Germanic gods but also Trojan kings!

Because of the nature of our sources, kingship and the Church will always be subjects of historical investigation by Anglo-Saxonists. The two themes came together in a couple of papers last year. Nicholas Banton's "Monastic Reform and the Unification of Tenth-Century England" (Religion and

National Identity, ed. Stuart Mews, Stud. in Church Hist. 18; Oxford, 71-85) will be of interest as much to diplomatists as to ecclesiastical historians. He points out that in the first half of the tenth century West-Saxon kings were still mainly limited in authority to Wessex as evidenced by "their itinerary, their royal estates, and the distribution of royal charters" (72). Until late in Edgar's reign most reformed monastic houses were in Wessex. He links the desire for unity in monastic practice signalled by the Regularis Concordia with the idea of England as embracing a single kingdom. Early evidence for this can be seen in the royal style in a group of charters drafted for a short period after Athelstan's conquest of Northumbria in 927; this series included abbots as witnesses in the period 931-934 and the texts are written in the "hermeneutic" Latin style of the continental reformers. They "reveal an interesting link between the new monks and the political aspirations of the West Saxon kings" (72). After 955 abbots again appear as witnesses to charters, with a marked increase from nine in 969 to seventeen in 970. He concludes from this that the Easter meeting at which Edgar founded over forty new monasteries took place in the latter year. Furthermore, a number of foundations of uncertain date such as Ramsey may have been established then or very shortly thereafter and the community at Worcester may also have been reformed at that time. He points out that whereas such reforms occurred in Wessex only in the first decade of Edgar's reign, monasteries founded after 970 were in Mercia, and reforms may have spread to Northumbria at the same time. He dates one of Edgar's law codes to the period 970x975 because it is notable for being the first tenth-century code to embrace Mercia and Northumbria as well as Wessex. Edgar's claims to royal authority over the whole of England are evidenced from the same period by both documentary and numismatic sources: from 973, for instance, English kings were recorded on coins as "Rex Anglorum." That same year Edgar was crowned Rex at the new reformed monastery at Bath, located, as he points out, on the border of Wessex and Mercia. This coronation is the object of an extended treatment by Adrienne Jones, "The Significance of the Regal Consecration of Edgar in 973" (Jnl of Ecclesiastical Hist. 33, 375-90). She argues that "this anointing of Edgar had a dual purpose: the prestige and power of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy was to be increased both domestically and abroad" (376). In her interpretation of this coronation she differs from Dr Janet Nelson's views that the coronation ordo was an English development (though it may have had earlier Celtic or Visigothic roots) and that it necessarily involved anointing (see Dr Nelson's contribution to the Ullman Festschrift and her earlier writings there cited). The reason for the delay in the coronation lay in part in "the deep religious devotion of Edgar himself and the creative genius of Dunstan" (383): at thirty a person could be consecrated a bishop and Edgar was in his thirtieth year. She supports this viewpoint with a consideration of the liturgy and doxology of the consecration. She notes the significance of Whitsunday as the date for the ceremony in its associations both with the coming of the Holy Spirit and as a time of baptism in the ecclesiastical calendar, and highlights the parallels between royal anointing and the ordination of bishops. The debate over the origin and development of the English coronation ordo are far from over but this paper helps formulate some of the issues that must be resolved, such as the role of anointing and the links between the coronation service and episcopal ordination.

Various ecclesiastical matters have received coverage in the past year. D. W. Blake reviews the ambiguous evidence on the early bishops of Cornwall in "The Pre-Conquest Bishops of Cornwall" (Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries 35.1, 1-6). By the early eighth century the bishop of Sherborne

had jurisdiction over Cornwall. In 884 Asser, Alfred's biographer, acquired some jurisdiction but, so Mr Blake argues, only as an auxiliary bishop to the bishop of Sherborne. William of Malmesbury claimed that the first bishop of Cornwall was appointed in 904 but this was as a result of a misreading of a document still extant in the Leofric Missal. The first bishop was Conan, appointed in the reign of Athelstan, though he was probably still an assistant (chorepiscopus) to the bishop of Crediton. Only in 994 under Æthelred was the bishop of Cornwall accorded complete diocesan powers. The see was at St German's. Once more William made a blunder by suggesting in the Gesta Pontificum that it was at St Petrock's. Mr Blake offers a possible chronology of the bishops of the Cornish see. One should note that several bishops are recorded in the Bodmin manumissions, which are as yet inexactly dated: it may be possible to refine his list when more work has been done on identifying and correlating the dates of some of the witnesses to these manumissions.

The church at Winchester in the early centuries of the West-Saxon realm possessed little importance compared with the status it attained under Alfred and his successors. Barbara A. E. Yorke deals with one aspect of this early history in "The Foundation of the Old Minster and the Status of Winchester in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries" (Proc. of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeol. Soc. 38, 75-83). Apart from Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, most of the evidence on the minster is later. Dr Yorke believes that the minster was built for Wine when Cenwalh established a bishopric in Winchester in 660x663. The reasons for its location may have been because "Hamtun [forerunner of Southampton] may already have been operating as a local centre of royal authority when the Old Minster was founded in Winchester and the closeness of Winchester to Hamtun could have been a factor in the selection of the former as the new site of the West Saxon see" (80). Cenwalh's immediate family lost ground towards the end of the seventh century. The eclipse of this branch of the family may have worked to Winchester's disadvantage in the following century. (The only two eighth-century kings known to have associations with Winchester, as she points out, were Cynewulf and Cuthred; both names alliterate with Cenwalh and so they may have been kin.) A number of factors were to bring Winchester back into favor in the ninth century: Ecgfrith's wish for the Bishop's support; the acquisition of territory, which shifted the center of Wessex eastwards; Viking attacks on Southampton, which temporarily reduced its importance; and the potential usefulness of its Roman walls to Alfred, who was interested in having defensible urban strongholds.

There is a growing interest in the saints and hagiography of the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman periods among scholars, and several contributions to the elucidation of both the cults of saints and of texts about them deserve notice here. One of the reasons for the frequent changes in the royal hierarchies of England was that their members were murdered. A number of those who suffered this fate came to be regarded as saints. "Murder by fellow Christians for secular motives may seem to us an improbable qualification for sanctity" (1), and D. W. Rollason proceeds in "The Cults of Murdered Royal Saints in Anglo-Saxon England" (ASE 11, 1-22) to examine the evidence and reasons for this curious phenomenon, unparalleled elsewhere in early medieval Western Europe except for a couple of examples in Gaul. There are twelve such Anglo-Saxon saints attested, not all with equal historical plausibility, but Dr Rollason warns against "excessive scepticism" of the sources (12). Here he could perhaps have stressed the point that the belief in the existence of a saint can be as interesting an historical fact as his historicity:

sanctity and cult are really quite different historical issues. He suggests that there may have been "a consistent tradition of the veneration of murdered royal saints, originating in the seventh century, fostered in Mercia and Northumbria in the late eighth and early ninth centuries and transmitted to Wessex in the tenth" (12). In a number of cases churches were founded by the murderers, a form of expiation, he convincingly argues, designed to head off a feud whose protagonist would be God Himself. There were political advantages to be gained by royal figures who were associated with such saints and the Church also stood to gain by "attempting to limit the civil strife which was so potentially harmful to ecclesiastical interests" (16). Cults could also play their part in political conflict. Dr Rollason provides a wealth of detail about his subject, though I missed the informing vision and elegance of Peter Brown, who is not cited in this paper. (The latter's contributions to the study of sainthood, especially in Late Antiquity, have been so extensive in the past decade that his work demands acknowledgment, if not assent.) Dr Rollason has adumbrated a topic for future research in the differing forms that the cult of saints took in England and Western Europe, but perhaps more work like his should be undertaken before this larger topic is attempted. A. T. Thacker touches on the same territory in "Chester and Gloucester: Early Ecclesiastical Organization in Two Mercian Burghs" (Northern Hist. 18, 199-211), where he argues for the introduction of Mercian royal cults under Æthelflæd. He suggests that Chester in Sub-Roman times "probably included an important ecclesiastical centre, with its focus in the large extra-mural settlement to the south of the town itself" (200). Little is known of the origins of St John's and St Werburgh's, the Anglo-Saxon churches there. He observes, however, that the town "looks like an ancient and royal ecclesiastical centre" and that there is "the possibility that Chester was once the focus of a single parish, the extent of which, though now far from clear, was perhaps very considerable and determined by early royal estate boundaries" (206). As his own tentativeness suggests, his evidence is very flimsy and more archaeological work will need to be done if we are to elucidate the early history of the churches there. Gloucester had an early royal foundation, St Peter's, which was later supplemented by St Oswald's, named after the saint whose relics were translated thither by Æthelflæd in A.D. 909. Though some of the parallels between the two rest on rather uncertain evidence, the suggestion that there was the promotion under Æthelflæd, "Lady of the Mercians" and daughter of Alfred, of royal cults in Chester, Gloucester, and possibly Shrewsbury, towns that had royal connections and yet did not have bishops who could impede the development of a cult, is plausible, and his suggestion that the cults of Oswald, Werburgh, and Alkmund, all from beyond Mercia, were fostered because "Aethelflaed may have been anxious to remind her Mercian subjects of the reverence they had in the past accorded foreign royalties" (211) is ingenious.

Christine E. Fell continues her hagiographic studies with a careful examination of the evidence on "Hild, Abbess of Streonæshalch" (Hagiography and Medieval Literature: A Symposium, ed. Hans Bekker-Nielsen, Peter Foote, Jørgen H. Jørgensen, and Tore Nyberg [Odense, 1981], 76-99). Our main source on Hild is Bede, who is curiously reticent about the first half of her sixty-six years. Dr Fell conjectures that Hild was widowed at thirty-three and had perhaps been married to an unconverted pagan, hence Bede's silence. She points out that though she was identified with three foundations, none can be unambiguously identified. Dr Watts of Durham has suggested that the first monastery could either have been a forgotten site in what became Monkwearmouth or the village of Westoe, which he suggests could be derived from the OE gen. pl.

wifa (instead of the personal name Wifa/Wife) plus stow "a holy place." Dr Fell leans to the first explanation; in defence of the second, one should note the tendency among place-name experts now to favor common over proper nouns in the initial elements of place-names (see Margaret Gelling, *"The Place-Name Volumes for Worcestershire and Warwickshire: a New Look," Field and Forest: an Historical Geography of Warwickshire and Worcestershire, ed. T. R. Slater and P. J. Jarvis; Norwich, 59-78, at 74-5). A field archaeologist or aerial photographer might find it worth while to survey this village. The identification of the second foundation as Hartlepool is dependent on circumstantial evidence but appears to be sound. Streonæshalch, she points out, was associated with Whitby but only in the twelfth century, yet one would have to be hypercritical to doubt the identification after Dr Fell's analysis of the evidence. After reviewing the snippets of information in other sources, which suggest that her cult was not extensive geographically, Dr Fell turns to assessing the importance of Streonæshalch. She emphasizes that though only the eighth-century Latin Life of Gregory and a letter from Hild's successor is extant from this foundation, five members of her (mixed) monastery subsequently became bishops. The absence of literary materials is a sign of the ninth-century Viking destruction. She concludes with an examination of Cædmon's Hymn. She points to the analogy between Cædmon's adaptation of vernacular verse to fit new religious concepts with Snorri Sturlusson's treatment of poetry in Iceland some centuries later. Hild's ability to perceive that Cædmon's compositions had a didactic value reveals her intellectual vigor.

An alleged contemporary of Hild is discussed by John M. Todd, *"St Bega: Cult, Fact and Legend" (Trans. of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiq. and Archaeol. Soc. n.s. 80 [1980], 25-35). He takes an agnostic position on the existence of this local Cumbrian saint, supposedly an Irish virgin who was an anchoress at St Bees. Her name may have been Beghóc--but then equally possibly she may have been a bracelet (OE beag)! In the thirteenth century this was her principal relic, on which oaths were taken, following an ancient pagan custom. If she did exist, she may have flourished at the end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth century at the time of the Scandinavian settlement. Mr Todd prints on p. 31-2 a Latin hymn to St Bega from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS. C. 553, 111v-112v.

While on the theme of hagiography, it is convenient here also to mention J. B. Hall's *"Critical Notes on Three Medieval Latin Texts: 'Vita Gundulfi', 'Carmen de Hastingae Proelio', 'Vita Merlini'" (Studi Medievali 3rd ser., 21 [1980], 899-916). This technical article contains textual readings and emendations of several recent editions of these works. Since some may be using as a teaching text R. Thomson's edition of the Vita Gundulfi (Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 7; Toronto, 1977), they would do well to make the effort to insert the nineteen transcriptional errors recorded by Professor Hall. Though I did not have this summer the "few hours" to collate the manuscript (which is all one needs according to him), I have checked all Professor Hall's readings against B.L. MS Cotton Nero A viii and can vouch for the accuracy of his corrections.

Two quite different facets of monastic culture in Anglo-Saxon England have been briefly touched on. Anne F. Dawtry in "The Modus Medendi and the Benedictine Order in Anglo-Norman England" (The Church and Healing, ed. W. J. Sheils, Stud. in Church Hist. 19; Oxford, 25-38) is rather down on Anglo-Saxon medical practices. She might have been less so had she read M. L. Cameron's

"The Sources of Medical Knowledge in Anglo-Saxon England," which appeared earlier this year in ASE 11, 135-55. Her paper is useful for her discussion on the practice of medicine in the post-Conquest Benedictine monasteries, but the Anglo-Saxonist is better advised to read Professor Cameron's paper.

Charles Higounet, in "L'Ordre bénédictine et la terre (VI^{e}-XII^{e} siècles)" (Actes de l'Académie Nationale des Sciences, Belles-Lettres et Arts de Bordeaux 5th ser., 6 [1982 for 1981], 143-53), discusses the relationship between the Benedictines and agrarian development, concentrating largely on the continent, especially France. Between the sixth and ninth centuries monasteries became largely rural establishments, there being twice as many rural foundations at the beginning of the ninth century as urban or suburban ones. In England and Germania they were in the proportion of five to one (an interesting statistic, though not a particularly surprising one given the lower degree of urbanization there). He points out that a number of West-Midland abbeys were important from an agrarian point of view in that, although they were placed in part in areas that had long been cultivated, they also opened up areas with heavy soils and forests.

The exploitation of land is, of course, another large theme in Anglo-Saxon historical studies. One of the major developments in recent years has been the elucidation of tenurial practices and the control of estates at both a regional and a local level through an intensive study of documentary and other sources such as place-names. There have been several recent contributions to our enlightenment in this area. Della Hooke's Anglo-Saxon Landscapes of the West Midlands: the Charter Evidence (Brit. Archaeol. Reports, Brit. Ser. 95; Oxford, 1981) was listed in the Bibliography of OEN 16.2, but since it was reviewed in Section 8 of YWOES 1981, OEN 16.1, 125-6, I will not say more than that it represents a most significant addition to our knowledge of Anglo-Saxon land-usage and contains material of value to lexicographers, students of place-names and diplomatists. Those without the time or opportunity to consult her monograph might like to look at two of her papers that cover aspects of West-Midland geography which are dealt with in more detail in her book: *"The Anglo-Saxon Landscape" (Field and Forest, 79-103) and *"Pre-Conquest Estates in the West Midlands: Preliminary Thoughts" (Jnl of Hist. Geography 8, 227-44). Her work and that of G. P. Witney shows that G. R. J. Jones's theories that the organization of land-holdings in Anglo-Saxon England was often based on a pattern of multiple estates is now gaining currency. These are defined by M. W. Bishop in "Multiple Estates in Late Anglo-Saxon Nottinghamshire" (Trans. of the Thoroton Soc. of Nottinghamshire 85 [1982 for 1981], 37-47) as "networks of landholdings for which services or renders (or both) were owed to a lord at a principal place" (42). Using the half-dozen Nottinghamshire charters and the evidence of Domesday Book, Mr Bishop shows that there was an underlying structure of large multiple estates in the county, notably at Mansfield and Newark. Thirteen estates can be recognized in Domesday Book. The evidence suggests that all these were originally larger and that by 1066 the system was in a state of decay. By then certain manors, themselves the focus of multiple estates, had come into being that may formerly have been berewicks of a larger estate system. Some of these berewicks "may represent nodes in the network of services and renders of large multiple estates, serving as collecting points and local centres for the fulfilment of obligations" (45). Both large and small multiple estates were in a minority by 1066; most were simple manors, "which as a descriptive term is largely a reflection of reduced obligation to a superior" (46). He attributes this

fragmentation to the effects of the Danish invasion of 876 and its aftermath: the jarl commanding an army would not have needed such an extensive network of services because he controlled a smaller area and by the time of the reconquest in 924 by the Anglo-Saxons, "the fragmentation of multiple estates had probably become an irreversible trend" (46). Mr Bishop is obviously troubled by the presence of soke-holdings as part of the multiple-estate structure. His concern arises from Stenton's theory that sokemen derived their "free" status from their association with the Danish army. He suggests that the Danish "free" men may have been grafted onto an already-existing equivalent social class. This strikes me as very plausible and should be explored further. I wonder whether the sokemen may not originally have performed a role analogous to the ceorlas of Kent situated on the outlands, as described by Mr Witney. Mr Bishop's approach towards Domesday Book could be employed fruitfully for other counties. His description of berewicks as forming nodes in a larger structure could well be illuminated by comparative studies of continental estate structures. (I am thinking here, for example, of the paper by Dietrich Denecke of Göttingen on "Medieval Transportation Networks" delivered at Kalamazoo in May 1982.) All in all, this modest paper contains the basis for further research in a number of directions.

Some years ago C. C. Taylor showed what could be accomplished by an intense diachronic study of a small area in his papers on Frustfield in Whiteparish, Wiltshire. T. P. Hudson has undertaken the same sort of microscopic examination of another part of the south of England in "The Origins of Steyning and Bramber, Sussex" (Southern Hist. 2, 11-29). Of the two settlements Steyning has more interest for Anglo-Saxonists because Bramber was a Norman "new town." Steyning appears to have been the burial site of an obscure saint, Cuthman, where he is said to have established a church. Alfred's father was initially buried there. The manor of Steyning belonged to the West-Saxon kings; eventually it was granted by the Confessor to the abbey of Fécamp. The church there was then evidently a minster. The position of the settlement at the crossroads of two old routes encouraged its growth as a town (though this was probably not a very early development: an eleventh-century mint is the first evidence of its status). There is some indication that it may have been developed further through deliberate planning. The latter part of this very fully annotated article will not be covered here other than to mention Dr. Hudson's discussion of the Sussex rapes, which he holds to be of Norman origin in their present form, though "it seems possible that they replaced Saxon divisions of the county which were called by the same name" (17).

Little is known at present about the communications networks of Anglo-Saxon England. In some instances there is simply a lack of evidence, as appears to be the case with Northampton. A. V. Goodfellow mentions, in *"The Bridges of Northampton" (Northamptonshire Archaeol. 15 [1980], 138-55), that there may have been a crossing over the River Nene west of the present South Bridge and quotes a report mentioning a causeway discovered in 1889. Unfortunately the latter was not properly investigated and it could, in fact, have been of eighteenth-century date. More can be discovered if one examines a region. Cyril Hart takes this wider perspective in *"The Peterborough Region in the Tenth Century: a Topographical Survey" (Northamptonshire Past and Present 6 [1981], 243-5). He regards the building of a bridge over the Nene at Peterborough as central to the town's development. In the eleventh century the settlement seems to have been devoted to the needs of the monastery. Yaxley, five miles away, was the trading-centre with a hythe or landing-place

on its branch of the Nene and a routeway to the Midlands, a position it was to hold until the site silted up in the thirteenth century. As a monastic site Peterborough was linked by waterways to other ecclesiastical centers such as Oundle, Lincoln, Ely, and Ramsey; there may have been an early cart-track to Eye in Suffolk but Dr Hart feels that land routes were probably less important than the waterways in the Anglo-Saxon period. He believes that there was likely a road north to Deeping and another westwards that linked with Ermine Street. Norman Cross, a junction on the latter street south-west of Peterborough, is mentioned in a record of A.D. 971. The western arm of the junction to Oundle he feels is an old one, as is the eastern route through Yaxley and Farcet, both of which had hythes according to a charter of 956. He does not believe, however, that there was any early bridge or ford leading south from Peterborough across the Nene. His paper, as he stresses, is merely meant as a working hypothesis as to the nature of communications in the region. It should act as a stimulus to others to go back to the literary sources of the area to see what more can be discovered.

Underlying all these studies on land are more basic elucidations of the land charters and their bounds. Much work remains to be done on these. S. C. Morland's *"The Saxon Charters for Sowy and Pouholt and the Course of the River Cary" (Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries, 31, Part 316 [September], 233-5) seeks to identify some of the bounds of two Glastonbury charters. The writer supplies neither the Sawyer references (they are Sawyer, no. 251 = Cartularium Saxonicum, no. 143, and Sawyer, no. 253 = Cartularium Saxonicum, no. 147) nor national grid references, so the reader will experience some of the same frustration felt when trying to understand Grundy, whose work Mr Morland attempts to improve upon.

Charters can contain other incidental information of great value, as is illustrated by Tony Dyson's *"London and Southwark in the Seventh-Century and Later: a Neglected Reference" (Trans. of the London and Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. 31 [1980], 83-95). He points out that the very early charter of Frithuwald (A.D. 672x674; Sawyer, no. 69; Cartularium Saxonicum, no. 34; translated in Eng. Hist. Docs. I, no. 54) contains the first post-Roman reference to the "port" of London and possibly also "the first mention, though not by name, of Southwark" (83). He feels that there is "a fair chance that the 'London passage' is authentic" (86): there are no other references to Chertsey's having ten hides in Surrey and the passage is well integrated into the text. Some of his defences of the authenticity of the charter have a wider interest and are worth quoting: "More decisive, however, is the very absence of a distinctive place-name, and the presence instead of periphrastic references to readily recognizable land-marks. For this procedure is entirely characteristic of the early English charters in that even very large estates were often conveyed by no other name than that of a river by which they lay, or of some other prominent feature. The use of place-names obviously regarded as permanent only became common in the course of the 8th century, and routine by the 10th, as a reflection of an increasing density of settlement which called for a more precise and particular mode of definition" (87). He also observes, "Appended English bounds became common from the 9th and 10th centuries, partly as a response to damage and confusion caused by Danish raids and invasion" (94, n. 20). He suggests that Chertsey lost its ten hides through being destroyed by the Danes in the ninth century; Danish harassment of the area was renewed in the eleventh century. If his assessment of this charter can be accepted, we have an indication of the importance of London as an economic center that antedates Bede's evidence by sixty years.

The legal system of another society will always appear strange and irrational unless an attempt is made to understand the forces and assumptions that have operated to shape its laws. Two recent papers in particular have attempted to understand aspects of Anglo-Saxon law by examining them from within the value-system of that society. Rebecca V. Colman's "Hamsocn: its Meaning and Significance in Early English Law" (Amer. Jnl of Legal Hist. 25 [1981], 95-110) describes what was a serious crime for several centuries, though one that was obsolete in English law by the thirteenth century. The earliest definition of the offence is that supplied by the early-twelfth-century Leges Henrici Primi, which describe it as "an attack on a home." Professor Colman sees it as a crime associated with the use of terror. The penalty for hamsocn was severe: conviction could lead to loss of life and property. Professor Colman explains why the response to the crime was so forceful: "At the simpler levels of economic and technological development, such as prevailed over much of Western Europe for some centuries after the migrations, large-scale production and storage systems were unknown, and a village or isolated homestead would contain within its confines subsistence for its occupants from one harvest to the next. Persistent internal thieving could not, therefore, be tolerated, and a single raid from a marauding band of the kind mentioned in Ine's laws, could reduce a community to beggary" (106). With the growth of the monarchical state and of urbanization, personal security increased and the law became moribund--though it survived on the books in Scotland until 1887.

In keeping with Professor Colman's attempt to understand hamsocn in its social context, Paul Hyams similarly seeks to recapture how the ordeal made sense within the universe of medieval Man, not least because, as he notes at the beginning of his paper, "The functioning and demise of the old proofs actually shaped the classical common law in multifarious ways" (91). "Trial by Ordeal: The Key to Proof in Early Common Law" (On the Laws and Customs of England: Essays in Honor of Samuel E. Thorne, ed. Morris S. Arnold, Thomas A. Green, Sally A. Scully, and Stephen D. White; Chapel Hill, 1981, 90-126) draws on a wealth of learning, not just in medieval scholarship but also in anthropological literature. He finds that the ordeal is well-suited to small communities where the courts had the goal "as much 'to make the balance' and re-establish a workable peace within the community as to redress any specific grievance" (97). Leaving the final judgment to God in the form of an ordeal gave "the court's verdict a better chance of lasting acceptance" (98). He stresses that within a world where all in some measure had a religious belief, the ordeal was a rational procedure. It is heartening to see this interpretation being adopted. Dr Hyams argues that when this world changed and became less localized in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the ordeal became less suitable in judicial contexts, resulting in the Church's disapproval of the practice in the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. In its place came other types of proof using existing techniques such as factual inquiry, seen already, for example, in the Domesday inquest. Under the Angevins the jury became a central reform but he stresses that it may have been justified in its initial stages in a way other than as a means of processing information: it was "a new method of putting issues to God," "a new ordeal" (118). Though Dr Hyams's main purpose may have been to understand the reforms of Henry II's reign, he has much to teach about the ordeal in the Anglo-Saxon age. He has written a paper to be read, pondered, and re-read. And then there are the footnotes references to be followed up and the sources to be re-examined.

A second paper of interest in the same Festschrift is by A. W. B. Simpson, who bravely tackles a thorny text in "The Laws of Ethelbert" (3-17). His paper contains many sensible observations expressed with a pleasing lightness of touch. The preamble to the laws describes what follows as domas, which is "almost untranslateable....The nearest equivalent is 'judgments'" (5). The arrangement of the clauses he finds generally to be quite orderly: the first sixteen deal with compensations determined by the status of the victim, cc. 17-20 deal with aiding and abetting, cc. 21-6 concern killings and wergeld payable. He concedes that cc. 24-33 are "somewhat disorderly" (6). Clauses 33-72 set out the compensation for "an alarming list of possible acts of violence....With odd lapses we...move down the Anglo-Saxon human anatomy, reaching the fingernails by clause 55 and eventually the toenails by clause 72. One cannot but admire the dogged determination with which the laws attempt (but of course fail) to cover every possible form of mayhem..." (7). The collection then treats of family law (cc. 73-84), and finally deals with family retainers, servants, and slaves. These laws, he finds, are intimately related to the coming of Christianity, which introduced writing. He points to their similarity to penitentials and observes that this suggests Celtic influence at work in Kent. I find no difficulty in supporting these observations. The nub of his article, that "They are permissive laws only; their unreality reflects their idealistic quality" (15), may arouse more disagreement. What Professor Simpson deliberately avoids is dealing with textual matters. Yet the text, apparently dating from ca 601x605, edited under the aegis of Alfred, and extant only in a single version of ca 1120, bristles with textual difficulties. These will have to be taken into account in any explanation that seeks to be comprehensive.

Anne L. Klinck in *"Anglo-Saxon Women and the Law" (Jnl of Medieval Hist. 8, 107-21) questions the view that the status of women declined severely after the Conquest. She argues that in the earliest Anglo-Saxon law codes women are shown as possessions, with marriage being described in terms of purchasing a woman. She sees a considerable increase in the rights and powers of women in the Anglo-Saxon period, with there being a far greater difference in the status of women between the period of the early codes and the end of the Anglo-Saxon age than there was immediately before and after the Conquest. Thus in the late Anglo-Saxon period women of wealth and status could inherit and alienate property, although there is no evidence that a married woman could do the latter without her husband's consent. Women could engage in litigation, albeit usually with the assistance of powerful male supporters. (In this, in my view, they were probably no different from most men.) Women were never the legal equals of men: both Cnut's Second Code and the post-Conquest Leges Henrici Primi prescribe mutilation for adulterous women, whereas men were simply subject to a fine. This paper is a useful survey of the evidence but I should have liked to have seen some speculation as to why the rights and powers of women increased during the Anglo-Saxon era.

History is now a marketable commodity both economically and politically, as the various traveling museum shows and the demands of Ms Mercouri have illustrated. In 1980 Malmesbury in Wiltshire celebrated its 1100th anniversary, no doubt to the enrichment of its shopkeepers, but with no more validity than the claim to an Anglo-Saxon origin once imprudently asserted by certain Oxbridge colleges. Ralph B. Pugh, the general editor of the Victoria County Histories, patiently explains in "Malmesbury and 1980" (Wiltshire Archaeol. Magazine 74-5 [1981], 133-6) that the claim to being the "oldest

borough in England" is meaningless, that no Anglo-Saxon king granted a charter to a "borough," and that no event in Malmesbury's past can be ascribed to A.D. 880. As he sadly points out, "Had the people of Malmesbury waited but one little year they could have celebrated the 600th anniversary of the borough's first royal charter, bought in 1381 for 100s" (136). No North American town could have boasted such antiquity.

Marketable though History may be, if we cannot articulate our sense of the past to the general reader, we equally cannot expect the public to have much sympathy for Medieval Studies in an era of recession. It is pleasing, therefore, to see a coffee-table book such as The English World: History, Character and People, ed. Robert Blake (London) that counts among its contributors scholars such as Frank Barlow, who is set the awesome task of providing a potted history of the English from the fifth to the twelfth centuries in nine pages ("Who are the English? Migration, Conquest and the Mingling of the Races," 49-57). It is the sort of brief, literate chapter that you could give to a house-guest who is curious about what you do with your time, though the presence of this volume in your home might proclaim you to be an Anglophile. In contrast, Kenneth E. Cutler presents the kind of highly simplistic account that one does not want to see written for a popular audience in his "Aethelred the Unready Monarch" (British Heritage 4.3 [June-July], 22-34). The eventual overthrow of Æthelred's kingdom by the Danes is portrayed as being possible ultimately because of a "credibility gap" between him and his subjects arising out of the murder of his half-brother, Edward, a view that has been effectively rebutted by Dr Simon Keynes. In fact, it seems that Keynes, Dolley, Wormald and others who have drawn attention to the administrative, numismatic, legal and intellectual strengths of his reign have written in vain.

There are two books geared for a popular audience where the authors have done their homework. Geoffrey Ashe's Kings and Queens of Early Britain (London) recounts the history of Britain from its legendary beginnings to the end of the reign of Alfred. He is as much interested in legend as in historical fact, and not surprisingly in consequence Arthur receives a chapter of his attention. He believes that Geoffrey of Monmouth really did possess an "ancient book" which he used as a source when writing about this period. He also believes that the reference to a "King of the Britons" called Riothamus, who led an army through Gaul in the 460s, refers to Arthur. Last year I expressed reservations about this view but I should stress that in this book Mr Ashe presents the evidence very fairly, and makes it clear where he is engaging in conjecture. (See, for example, p. 136: "All this, of course, is speculative. The utmost it can do is to suggest that the traditions can be accounted for without bringing in another principal figure besides Riothamus. That might be the right answer, it may not. Future research may incline the balance one way or another.") Such scrupulosity is to be respected, especially in a book designed for a popular audience. Charles Kightly's Folk Heroes of Britain (London) does not limit itself to regal figures. Though both he and Mr Ashe relate the story of Old King Cole, their two books in general complement each other. Mr Kightly recounts in an entertaining fashion the folklore that has gathered round certain historical figures. Alfred and the burnt cakes, Cnut and the tide, Harold and his secret survival after Hastings are all present; so too is Edric the wild, who has variously become a mine-spirit haunting the lead-mines of Shropshire, a leader of the wild hunt of Germanic mythology, and a hero who reappears at times of national crisis. A chapter is also devoted to Hereward "the Wake."

Here is a cherry on the top to end this rather long section. One of the frustrations of our period is that we can learn so little of the rituals and beliefs of ordinary folk. Theresa Buckland's *"The Reindeer Antlers of the Abbots Bromley Horn Dance: a Re-Examination" (Lore&L 3.2, pt. A [1980], 1-8) provides a tantalizing glimpse into the past. Each September dancers bearing six reindeer-heads engage in a twelve-hour dance on a route round Abbots Bromley in Staffordshire. An annual rite since the 1840s, the practice was first attested in the late 1600s. A recent carbon-date for one of the sets of antlers is A.D. 1065 ± 80 years. As reindeer have been extinct in Britain since the end of the Pleistocene, the horns must have been imported, presumably from Scandinavia. The village was in the Danelaw in the Alfredian period. Ms Buckland is rightly cautious in her response to the age of the antlers: "The dating of the horn obviously does not determine if it was in use for ritualistic purposes from the eleventh century onwards, nor indeed does it establish the date of its arrival in Abbots Bromley" (6). But do we have in the dance a living ritual that rivals the antiquity of the English coronation?

e. The Period of the Viking Raids and Settlements

P. H. Sawyer has produced a most useful synthesis in his Kings and Vikings: Scandinavia and Europe AD 700-1100 (London and New York). Not the least of the virtues of his slim volume is that he renders so much Scandinavian, Finnish and Russian scholarship accessible to us: of the 182 pages, no less than 28 are given over to a bibliographical note and a bibliography. After a brief introduction he devotes a chapter to the twelfth-century Icelandic, Russian and Irish sources on the Viking Age. Since historical writing is always inextricably bound up with the period in which it is written, this is a necessary exercise in order to have some controls on the evidence. A second chapter discusses the contemporary sources, which include not only written documents but also coin hoards, place-names, and archaeological data. Professor Sawyer does not downplay the rôle of the Vikings as raiders, but he also sees them as contributing to Europe through colonization (he devotes a chapter to this) and through trade. Thus, with the re-emergence of markets under the Franks, there was a demand for walrus ivory (elephant ivory was scarce after the decline of the Roman Empire), furs, and amber. Archaeological evidence reveals an increase in goods from western Europe in Scandinavia in the eighth century and by the beginning of the ninth centers for long-distance trade such as Kaupang, Hedeby, Birka, Truso, and Staraja Ladoga were in being. He links the growth of raids with internal divisions within Frankia: Louis the Pious was temporarily deposed in 833 and Dorestad was attacked three times in the following three years. He notes, "There is no direct evidence of any connection between the attacks on Dorestad and nearby targets, and the more extensive raiding in the western parts of the British Isles, but it is likely that once the feasibility and profitability of such attacks had been demonstrated at Dorestad in 834 the news spread far and fast and encouraged much greater boldness and more recruits" (81). Attacks on Ireland followed, but they were relatively short-lived, possibly because Frankish churches offered richer pickings than Irish monasteries (see p. 85); only the building of defensive bridges under Charles the Bald in the 860s reduced the effectiveness of their assaults. Their attention then turned to England. After Alfred had brought a measure of control there, they were able once more to take advantage of the dissension following Charles's death in 877 and renewed their attacks on Frankia. By the early tenth century, western Europe had strengthened its defences: the only opportunities lay in Ireland, but now the Baltic offered more scope for their

endeavors. Through the river systems of Russia trade with Byzantium and with Islamic merchants grew, stimulated at the end of the ninth century by the discovery of abundant deposits of silver in Afghanistan. Large amounts of this ended up in Scandinavia in the first half of the tenth century. Professor Sawyer does not believe that it came through a favorable balance of trade: "[a] more satisfactory explanation...is that it was gained by violence, as plunder or tribute" (125). The amount of oriental silver declined after the middle of the tenth century because, he believes, eastern defences improved. It was replaced in the latter part of the century by silver tribute from England and coins of German origin, which he thinks were also acquired by force (128). Once Cnut was established in England, he was able to tax the country to extend his power in Scandinavia. Only when the Normans won control of England and tightened its defences was the Viking threat removed. As I hope this summary indicates, Professor Sawyer has managed to impose an intelligible pattern on the Viking raids. Naturally, many will find things to disagree with. I am less skeptical about the Scandinavian law codes as sources of information about Viking society than he is (see p. 40-5), but these texts have yet to find their Liebermann and their value must remain an open question. The same should apply to Scandinavian relations with Russia. But Professor Sawyer's writings are always provocative in a positive way in that they ask the right questions.

Professor Sawyer touches on some of the same themes in *"The Causes of the Viking Age" (The Vikings, ed. Robert Farrell; Chichester, p. 1-7). While he stresses that the paucity of our information makes it impossible to learn the full story and that to posit a single explanation is ridiculous, he sees the interaction between Scandinavian and western-European traders as being a vital factor. Trade encouraged technological advances in ships: the adoption of masts and sails, he suggests, was as a result of contacts with western Europeans and may have occurred in the seventh century. Unfortunately our knowledge of boats in this period is as yet inadequate. The western-European interest in products from the north was followed by an expansion eastwards as the Khazars were forced to permit Islamic merchants to pass up the Russian river systems. Those Scandinavians who were less successful in trade or politics could always turn to piracy, which was aided by the improved ships. In fact, "the competition between traders and pirates must have been a powerful stimulus to this technological development" (6). The symbiotic relationship between trade and technological advance strikes me as a sensible explanation. Now it will be up to the maritime archaeologists to find some more early boats.

David M. Wilson, in "The Vikings and Their Use of Wealth in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries" (SagaS, 252-61), questions some old assumptions about Scandinavian expansion, though his documentation is slight. Like Professor Sawyer, he sees the earliest contacts of the Scandinavians with Britain as trading ones and goods hitherto regarded as gifts, such as the Sutton Hoo silver, as possibly being the products of trade. He claims that "[a]t the root of all Scandinavian endeavour abroad was the search for wealth. No Scandinavian at this period travelled abroad for pilgrimage or pleasure" (253-4). This is unexceptionable as an assertion but I should have liked to have seen some reasons posited as to what economic conditions in the Vikings' homelands encouraged such dangerous ways of maintaining a livelihood. He emphasizes the wealth of early Anglo-Saxon monasteries such as Lindisfarne, but also points out that there is no reason to believe that secular sites

escaped unscathed. The loot was often melted down (he draws attention to the two stone ingot-moulds found at the site of Whitby, which was destroyed in the ninth century), although not all of it was metal: slaves especially were valuable booty. The volume of precious metal acquired by the Scandinavians in the ninth century was so great that it is curious that so little specie survives. He accepts Professor Sawyer's suggestion that much must have gone to capitalize settlement but adds some other tentative suggestions: there was no need to hoard in the ninth century because conditions were stable; much coin could have been melted down; and Danegeld might have been administered by the king or chief, who rewarded his followers in the form of land or property. I cannot say that I am convinced by all this. The Icelandic settlement does not suggest very stable conditions in Norway, at least, and I find it difficult to believe that leaders would not seek to recirculate in some form the precious metal that they acquired. There may, however, be some justification for his view that in the tenth century there was more control in Norway and Denmark over the importation of coin than in Sweden. I should have preferred, however, to have been provided with some background on the internal politics of the Scandinavian realms that would justify his views.

Though the Scandinavian visitors to the British Isles may have come largely from Denmark and Norway, their activities must have drawn adventurers from widely scattered communities in the Baltic. Evidence for one unnamed traveller to England from Sweden in the eleventh century is brought to light in the form of a fragmentary rune-stone by Sven B. F. Jansson, "Ein unbekannter Englandfahrer aus Torsåker" (Speculum Norroenum: Norse Studies in Memory of Gabriel Turville-Petre, ed. Ursula Dronke, et al.; Odense, 1981, 250-59). Mr Jansson has identified what appears to be a second fragment of the same stone; this and documentary evidence suggests that it came from a village only a few kilometers from the church where it is now housed in the northern coastal region of Sweden.

The Viking settlement itself is examined by Christopher D. Morris, who draws largely on archaeological evidence in "The Vikings in the British Isles: Some Aspects of Their Settlement and Economy" (The Vikings, ed. Farrell, 70-94). A survey of excavations of alleged Viking sites in Ireland, Scotland, England, and the Isle of Man leads him to caution us against making generalizations about the nature and purposes of the Viking settlements. Even the apparent contrast between the Vikings as urban traders in Ireland and as rural farmers in Scotland masks complexities. He stresses the variety of Viking settlement: "I see the quality of adaptation to circumstances as the overriding factor in the range of activities engaged in by the Vikings and in the variety of the nature of their settlements" (71). His paper provides a helpful synopsis of archaeological work that has been undertaken in northern Britain and Ireland. Most of the excavations have been of individual sites; he feels that area surveys in the future are likely to be more useful, especially in determining the relationship between the invading Scandinavians and the natives.

The basis for Professor Ralph Davis's study, "Alfred and Guthrum's Frontier" (English Hist. Rev. 97, 803-10) stems from his observation that Buckingham, seven miles from Watling Street and hence, according to the Treaty of Alfred and Guthrum of A.D. 886x890, inside English territory, was only captured by Edward the Elder in 914. Furthermore, a Bedfordshire charter (Sawyer, no. 396) reveals that up to 899x911 lands there were under Danish control, again territory that should have been in English hands from the time

of the Treaty. This leads him to conjecture that the boundary there collapsed sometime later, a notable event but one that receives no mention in the Chronicle because, in his view, Alfred had it compiled "for the specific purpose of persuading his subjects that, if they made sufficient effort, they were capable of winning victories which they had previously considered impossible" (805). He dates such a collapse to the period of the Danish campaigns between 893 and 895. He stresses that the significance of the Treaty is that Alfred was negotiating about territory that was formerly Mercian, notably the middle and lower Thames, including Buckingham. This has important implications for the dating of the Burghal Hidage: it lists Buckingham as the one burh north of the Thames but, though it also lists Southwark, London is excluded in spite of its being considered to be English territory in the Treaty. The logic of this leads Professor Davis to conclude that the Burghal Hidage dates from shortly before Alfred's occupation of London in 886, instead of being post-914, as has hitherto been believed. As presented by Professor Davis, the evidence appears convincing, though native caution urges me to re-read the sources for the period and examine the forthcoming book by the late Dorothy Whitelock on Alfred and that just published on Asser's Life by Simon Keynes and Michael Lapidge before granting assent to his conjectures.

f. Post-Conquest England

The peripatetic proclivities of the Anglo-Saxons did not cease with the Settlement Period nor were their wanderings limited to roads within England. Traders, pilgrims, ecclesiasts--even princes in the case of Edmund Ironside's two sons--travelled far across the European continent. After the Conquest some Anglo-Saxons even betook themselves off to the Byzantine court. Răzvan Theodorescu's "Marginalia to the 11th Century Anglo-Saxons in the Pontic Area" (Revue Roumaine d'Histoire 20 [1981], 637-45) discusses some implications of this migration, taking his inspiration from a 1976 Leiden dissertation by Krijnie N. Ciggaar entitled "Byzance et l'Angleterre. Etudes sur trois sources mal connues de la typographie et de l'histoire de Constantinople aux XI^{e} et XII^{e} siècles." One of these sources, the thirteenth-century Chronicon Laudunense, mentions that Anglo-Saxon emigrants arrived at the Byzantine court of Michael VII Dukas in 1075, whence some went up the Black Sea coast to a place called "Domapia." Mr Theodorescu's main interest is in their relationship with the Byzantine patriarch and the newly-established Roman Catholic Church in Hungary. The Chronicon records how some of the new settlers killed an imperial emissary who had come to collect tribute and to the emperor's further displeasure sent their clerics to the Hungarian Church to be consecrated as bishops. He points out that Edmund Ironside's son, Edward, resided at the Hungarian court from ca 1018 to 1057. There seem to have been grants of land to English settlers, and English coins dating from the elventh to the thirteenth centuries might also point to links between the two countries. The Hungarian and Anglo-Saxon Churches had things in common in terms of their practices: for instance, both opposed some of the Gregorian reforms such as the prohibition on the marriage of priests. On the other hand, the Anglo-Saxons may well originally have left Byzantium for the Pontic region because of the schism between Rome and Constantinople. I hope that those with the necessary linguistic skills will look further into these matters: archaeological reports from the western Black Sea area may well contain the key to the precise location of where the Anglo-Saxons settled. (Mr Theodorescu thinks it is in the Danube delta region of Roumania.)

In what promises to be a stimulating series of papers Professor J. C. Holt has published the first of his Royal Historical Society presidential addresses on the topic of "Feudal Society and the Family in Early Medieval England" entitled "The Revolution of 1066" (Trans. of the Royal Hist. Soc. 5th ser., 32, 193-212). He observes that there has been very little in the way of analysis of what family and kin meant among the Normans with the consequence that the effect of 1066 has been felt to be slight, since it has been assumed that "kinship had been overtaken and overborne by lordship and the authority of the king well before 1066" (195). In terms of aristocratic kinship, which he examines in relation to the property-holding of families, Professor Holt comes down firmly on the side of change rather than continuity after 1066. His paper provides a good illustration of the importance of onomastics in historical studies. Pointing out that "[t]he social conventions of the Anglo-Saxons allowed, even required, the testamentary distribution of land throughout the kin: the social conventions of the Normans did not" (198), he goes on to observe, "The plain fact is that the Anglo-Saxon aristocracy did not need hereditary surnames, least of all hereditary toponymic surnames. The Normans did. With them the toponymic was not just name but title, title to be preserved by all the descendants of the founder of the family's fortunes, only to be surrendered in the junior branches if some new title, the consequence of marriage or the accidents of succession, or the exercise of royal patronage, became available" (200). The contrast that he poses between aristocratic families in England on either side of the 1066 divide offers a fruitful area for further exploration.

Geoffrey W. S. Barrow is primarily interested in kingship well after the Conquest in "Das mittelalterliche englische und schottische Königtum: ein Vergleich" (Historisches Jahrbuch 102, 362-89). There are some snippets of interest to Anglo-Saxonists, though they will probably be known to many already, such as the range of kings that existed in the British Isles in the eleventh century (there was even a king of Cumbria in 1066; see p. 365), and the fact that it was not until Henry III's reign that Westminster Abbey became the royal burial place: between 1087 and 1189, for instance, the kings of England were buried in five different places on both sides of the English Channel.

The Bayeux Tapestry is one of our primary documents on the events of 1066. Richard D. Wissolik provides a possible solution to one of its problems in "Duke William's Messengers: an 'Insoluble Reverse-Order' Scene of the Bayeux Tapestry" (MÆ 51, 102-7). Following on his earlier studies in which he suggested that the designer drew on not just Norman sources but also written and oral accounts with an English perspective, he cites a passage from Eadmer which mentions that on hearing from someone sent by Harold, William despatched messengers twice to Guy of Ponthieu demanding Harold's release. Professor Wissolik suggests that this is why messengers are portrayed twice in the Tapestry. In explanation of the sequence, he states, "The designer chose, in this instance, to 'telescope' action, in a manner analogous to the 'simultaneous method' of classical artists" (103). Furthermore, the sequence has a careful balance, being framed by a scene in the courts of Guy and of William, an observation that reinforces P. E. Bennett's emphasis on the Turold portion of this same sequence (see YWOES 1981, OEN 16.1, 110). Professor Wissolik could have strengthened his case yet further by pointing to the contrasts between the two sets of messengers: the two messengers speaking to William carry shields and are evidently the same two in the (visually) preceding scene to the left, where a shield is also prominent. This latter scene

has the rider in the foreground galloping on a black horse with a red horse behind it. In the messenger scene that visually is to the left (and is thus the first in the visual sequence of three), no shields are evident and a beige horse stands in front of a black one. The contrasts in color, in motion and in the use of shields suggest to me that two sets of messengers are being represented.

The Chanson de Roland has a potential relevance to the study of the Bayeux Tapestry, not merely because of some possible borrowing by the latter, but also because its mode of story-telling might supply a key to an understanding of the iconography of the Tapestry. Another text that has to be considered by historians of the Conquest is the Carmen de Hastingae Proelio. D. D. R. Owen suggests that both authors were more interested in literary effect than in being faithful to the historical record in "The Epic and History: Chanson de Roland and Carmen de Hastingae Proelio" (MÆ 51, 18-34). The Chanson, he argues, was the product of a literate poet familiar with Einhard's Latin prose biography of Charlemagne and Ermoldus Nigellus's verse panegyric In Honorem Hludowici Christianissimi Caesaris. The latter work is extant in a single exemplar and a much later copy. The Carmen has been proved also to have borrowed from Ermoldus. Professor Owen proceeds to show convincingly that the poet of the Carmen derived this material from the Chanson, a deduction that lends powerful support to Professor Ralph Davis's view that the Carmen dates from 1125x1140. The Taillefer-episode in the Carmen bears a striking resemblance to Roland's advance before the start of the battle and his single-handed killing of the Saracen, Aelroth. The assistance to William by Count Eustace of Boulogne after the former's horse had been killed has elements in common with Archbishop Turpin's support of Roland. Perhaps most convincing is the account (found only in the Carmen) of Harold's mutilation by four knights, just as the perjurer, Ganelon, was despatched by four knights in the Chanson. All of these incidents, he suggests, are instances of epic distortion by the Carmen poet. The inspiration for this epic treatment lay in the Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers, where the latter claims that William would have provided suitable subject matter for Statius or Vergil. The link between the Gesta and the Carmen is well known. Mr Owen finds confirmation for his view that the Carmen is late--and so borrowed from the Gesta--in that "of the Carmen passages where I have suggested the Roland's influence, a number have no equivalent in the Gesta, while the remainder lack there the particular features reminiscent of the chanson de geste" (31). The Chanson de Roland is coming ever more fully into the ambit of Anglo-Norman studies. It will be interesting to see whether yet more influences of it on Anglo-Norman literature will be detected.

A second study emphasizing the Carmen as a literary artifact by John C. Hirsh, "Church and Monarch in the Carmen de Hastingae proelio" (Jnl of Medieval Hist. 8, 353-7), focuses on the theme of "God's protection of William's venture, and the sustaining importance for that venture of Holy Church" (35). His analysis does not strike me as very profound, though his skepticism about details of William's coronation should be noted.

Polyptychs and cartularies must be among the most obvious historical sources that can offer fruitful material for historians skilled in the use of the computer. Domesday Book is a primary candidate for attention: the Record Commission's highly accurate folio volumes might even permit the material to be accessed directly onto tape or disk with the aid of an optical scanner

without the (fallible) intervention of a typist. J. D. Hamshere and M. J. Blakemore were, so far as I know, the first to discuss the possibilities in their paper,*"Computerizing Domesday Book" (Area 8 [1976], 289-94), in which they gave some features of a project they were undertaking to computerize data contained in the first volume of Domesday Book on seven counties stretching from Middlesex westwards to Worcester. (Professor Warren Hollister announced at the Kalamazoo Conference in May of this year his intention also to put Domesday Book on computer.) Dr Hamshere has now published some of the early fruits of his project in *"A Computer-Assisted Study of Domesday Worcester" (Field and Forest, 105-24). Though some may scoff at the use of correlation coefficients and regression analysis--Round at the turn of the century had already discovered without the use of the computer the relationship between slaves and ploughs (see p. 108)--Dr Hamshere is correct in his criticism of "the statistical naïvety of so much Domesday work" (106). What I found impressive (though I freely admit my inability to test his geographic and mathematical data) was his division of Worcester into areas of woodland, peasant, demesne, and mixed economies, although the last category, as the author admits, could be further refined. As his paper reveals, the computer is a useful tool but one that will in no wise remove the need for the skills of the trained historian and geographer in the selection and interpretation of data.

Alexandra Nicol's *Domesday Book (Public Record Office Pamphlets No. 10; London, 1981) is a bit of a puzzle as it is not clear who the author considers her audience to be. Consisting of sixteen pages (one blank), the booklet devotes one page to a glossary of thirteen words. The definition of a villein as an "unfree peasant although sometimes with his own land" seems to beg more questions than it answers. Next to the facsimile of part of a Surrey folio is a reproduction of the corresponding page from the Record Commission diplomatic edition, which is simply identified (in a footnote) as "The 1783 transcript." Facsimiles of the Dorset and Kent folios might as well not have been reproduced as the printing process does not permit clear definition; to inflict them on a palaeography class would be cruel and unusual punishment. Three facsimiles of later documents referring to Domesday Book are left untranslated. The three pages of introduction do not breathe a hint that the mode of compilation of Domesday Book remains a matter of scholarly controversy. There is no bibliography. This booklet does a disservice to Domesday scholarship.

Two papers in Religion and National Identity, ed. Stuart Mews, Stud. in Church Hist. 18 (Oxford), deal with aspects of Norman ecclesiastical history. R. K. Rose, in "Cumbrian Society and the Anglo-Norman Church" (119-35), casts many a retrospective glance at the pre-Conquest period in the north of England. Indeed, as he points out, the Conquest was only completed as late as 1092 when William Rufus seized Carlisle. He moved into an area weakened by invasions, devoid of monasteries, "a political no-man's-land" (119). The population in the area consisted of Celtic, Norse, and English elements. The re-establishment of the Church, resulting in the creation of a see at Carlisle in 1133, was a means of asserting Norman power. The foundation of monasteries and parish churches by Norman lords was another aspect of this. There was some accommodation of the local aristocracy in the power structure and strong support for the Norman foundations was displayed by them (especially by Waltheof, son of the powerful earl, Gospatric). One by-product of the

ecclesiastical revival in the north was the growth of hagiographic writing: "The scepticism of the Norman churchmen regarding the place in heaven of many of the English saints encouraged a spate of hagiographers to take up their pens in defence of the offended holy men. The result...was to sell to the Norman conquerors the value of pre-conquest history and ultimately to give them a sense of continuity with the English past" (130). The importance of the Celtic element in the society was also a factor, as is evidenced from church dedications to Celtic saints. The paper collects evidence on an area which, because of its isolation from English centers of power, tends to receive little attention from scholars. The ecclesiastical culture of another part of the north of England is investigated by Anne Dawtry, who, in her slightly ambiguously-titled paper "The Benedictine Revival in the North: the Last Bulwark of Anglo-Saxon Monasticism?" (87-98), questions David Knowles's claim that in the north-east, especially Durham, the English form of monastic life remained sound into the Anglo-Norman period. While she agrees that the new Benedictine post-Conquest houses at Durham, Whitby, and St Mary's, York, derived much from Anglo-Saxon sources, they "were also linked politically and culturally with the Norman régime and with the continent as a whole" (98). The real Anglo-Saxon bulwarks were Worcester and Evesham. She cogently defends her thesis by pointing to the Norman links of the founders of Durham Cathedral Priory, the political power of the bishop of Durham as holder of the castle there, and the abbot of York as the sole judicial authority in his city. In the religious sphere, Durham never observed the feast of the Virgin Mary in the twelfth century, though Mary was widely venerated in Anglo-Saxon England and even came to be so in Anglo-Norman England as well. Cultural links with the continent distinguish Durham from the Anglo-Saxon houses, as is illustrated by the patristic works of interest to the reform movement and classical texts acquired from continental sources in its library, areas of weakness during the twelfth century in the monastic libraries of Worcester and Evesham. Ms Dawtry shows that Knowles's assessment was an incautious one, especially in the case of Durham.

Kenneth Harrison draws attention in a brief note, *"A Twelfth-Century Example of the Anglo-Saxon Calendar" (Yorkshire Archaeol. Jnl 52 [1980], 172), to a representation of the calendar on a porch of St Margaret Walmgate, York, formerly belonging to the Lazar-house of St Nicholas, which was demolished in the seventeenth century. The lunisolar calendar of the Anglo-Saxons required a periodic intercalated thirteenth month called Thrilidi, which was usually inserted in June-July; on the porch it is appropriately represented by a man scything. He conjectures that this unique piece of stonework may have been the product of an Anglo-Norman familiar with Bede's De Tempore Rationum.

g. The Celtic Realms

For Anglo-Saxonists interested in the Celtic past the most important publication during this past year is likely to be Wendy Davies's splendid volume, Wales in the Early Middle Ages (Leicester) in the attractive new series, "Studies in the Early History of Britain," edited by Nicholas Brooks. There has long been a need for a replacement for J. E. Lloyd's A History of Wales and few could be better qualified to provide a modern synthesis than Dr Davies. Her first two chapters are devoted to the land and the economy. As she shows, the landscape was of vital importance in shaping what was to remain distinctive about the society. With so much mountainous terrain, settlement tended to develop in the extremities of the country, resulting in

four major kingdoms, Gwynedd in the north-west, Powys in the north-east, Dyfed in the south-west, and Glywysing in the south-east. Both north- and south-east borders were open to attack from Anglo-Saxon territory. "By the eleventh century there was no noticeable trend towards urbanization, towards feudalization, towards the consolidation of monarchy nor the sophistication of administration. Such omissions are very curious and the lack of an adequately exploitable surplus, together with particular political factors like the consistent thrusts of English aggression, may have to be drawn into an explanation" (195).

The tentativeness observable in the last statement is characteristic of many parts of the book. Dr Davies has very few reliable sources to work with and she is properly cautious in the deductions she makes. Even with the seemingly strong evidence for the establishment of monastic foundations in various lands by Welsh saints such as St Samson, she points out its limitations: "Without early evidence of the process it is quite impossible to verify this, and indeed in many cases it is clear that dedications arose centuries after the supposed lifetime of the saint because of the popularity of his cult; in others it appears that the dedication pattern represents properties accumulated by the mother house of the saint. The likelihood is that only a very small proportion of dedications represents foundations directly associated with the saint. The pattern suggested by the Lives is in itself, however, a perfectly credible process" (146).

Welsh nationalists will be pleased that this book concentrates on Wales and pays little attention to England. The latter could not be ignored, of course; from the mid-seventh century Mercian incursions--these vastationes were "as much political as acquisitive" (113)--were a thorn in the flesh and lasted until the ascendancy of Wessex. Though the southern Welsh kings voluntarily sought Alfred's suzerainty for internal political reasons, the Anglo-Saxon desire for further control continued in the tenth century. In the last eighty years or so before the Norman Conquest, however, the Welsh seemed well able to use the English forces to assist them in their own political struggles. But though Wales retained its language, was never overrun by the Anglo-Saxons, and was to retain distinctive social features, it was by no means totally isolated from the rest of Europe. This is particularly evident in her chapter on "Christianity and Spirituality," in which many of the general traits of religion in Wales could be paralleled elsewhere in Europe. Those who know little about Wales will find this work an excellent introduction and specialists will also find much to interest them. Illustrated with both photographs and maps, it has an extensive bibliography and Dr Davies has also helpfully supplied in an appendix an essay on the sources.

In a very brief note, J. W. James points out in *"Fresh Light on the Death of Gruffudd ap Llewelyn" (BBCS 30, 147) that the report in the Annals of Ulster s.a. 1064 of the death of Gruffudd must indicate that, while seeking to evade the Anglo-Saxons in 1063, he was killed by Cynan ap Iago. Iago himself had been killed by Gruffudd in 1039, so that the latter's death at the hands of Cynan should not be seen as an act of treachery but rather of "filial revenge."

Nineteen eighty-two also was noted for the publication of the first volume of what promises to be a major historical endeavor in Irish studies, a "New History of Ireland," ed. T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, and F. J. Byrne.

The first volume to appear is, in fact, number eight in a projected ten-volume series, *A Chronology of Irish History to 1976: A Companion to Irish History, Part I. The price (£45.00) will put it beyond the reach of most non-specialist scholars but those Anglo-Saxonists straying into Irish territory will find it useful to check their dates against a library copy. Early Irish history is dangerous ground: critical editions of some important texts are lacking, many genealogical tracts are still unpublished, and often non-specialists are deterred by the vitriol of a (mainly earlier) generation of scholars. Now if the Anglo-Saxonist cites an Irish date, he will not merely be depending on the authority of the editors but he will also be secure in the knowledge that "[e]very entry is based either on primary sources or on reliable secondary works, and for every entry there is a corresponding index card, containing full references to sources and authorities, in the office of the New History" (1). One will not be absolved from choice, however; the editors wisely include both early and late dates for Patrick!

Works not seen:

Bethell, D. L. T. "The Originality of the Early Irish Church." JRSAI 111 (1981), 36-49.

Clearman, Chris. "The Influence of the Saxon-Norman Confrontation on the Formation of the English Jury and Law Enforcement Practices." Borderlands Jnl 5, 261-75.

Ellis-Alberda, Anneke Jan. "De contakten tussen Groot-Friesland en Angelsaksisch Engeland, vooral op het gebied van de handel." ItB 44, 49-72.

Rogers, L. "Anglo-Saxons and Icelanders at Byzantium, with Special Reference to the Icelandic Saga of Edward the Confessor." Byzantine Papers. Ed. E. Jeffreys et al. Canberra, 1981. P. 82-9.

D. A. E. P.

7. NAMES

One of the most significant publications in this year's bibliography is J. McN. Dodgson's The Place-Names of Cheshire V, i, 1-2 (London, 1981). Part V will be published in three volumes, only two of which are now available. Part V, i, 1, contains a section of addenda and corrigenda to Parts I - IV of The Place-Names of Cheshire and a section on the place-names of the city of Cheshire which includes those parts of the city parishes which lie outside the city walls as well as those within; it also includes city wall, tower, gate, building, field, and street names and the beginning of the index (a - g) of the Cheshire place-name elements other than personal elements. Part V, i, 2, continues this index (h - y), has a ten-page analysis of some characteristic Cheshire field-names, and concludes with a section on personal names in Cheshire place-names which is broken down into four categories: personal names classified as to ethnic origin, ME surnames and by-names, personal names and surnames in manorial affixes, and names of identified persons. Naturally, there is some overlap among these categories. Part V, ii, is to include, among other things, the linguistic notes, distribution of elements, and maps. Then Dodgson's monumental work will be complete. J. Field's Place-Names of Greater London (London, 1980), however, is written for a popular audience rather than for OE scholars. The two major sections of the book are a dictionary of Greater London place-names and a section on the street-names of Greater London broken down into sections such as "Aeronautical and railway names," "Memorials to philanthropy," etc.

In "Some Scandinavian Personal Names from South-West England" (NB 70, 77-93), J. Insley identifies forms of twenty-nine different Scandinavian personal names found in Cornwall and Devonshire in late OE and early ME vernacular records, on coins, and in documents on folios 4a - 7b of the Exeter Book of Old English poetry. These names show considerable Anglicization and Insley suggests that some like Osgood<ON Ásgautr should be described as "Anglo-Scandinavian." He explains that many of these personal names in South-West England are the result of the establishment of Scandinavian landowners throughout England during the reigns of Cnut and his sons, but he notes that Scandinavian personal names in southern England antedate Cnut's time too as the probable result of the movement of isolated adventurers of Scandinavian origin or descent. Insley also speculates that the persons with Scandinavian names in South-West England were persons of some importance since records indicate that they were involved in land transactions, functioned as moneyers, and were members of guilds. In "The Origins of the Wilton Surname in Cornwall" (Devon & Cornwall Notes & Queries 35, 26-33), R. Wilton examines his own surname which he traces back to the Wilton place-names found in eastern Cornwall as early as the twelfth century which referred to lands owned by the Abbey and Abbess of Wilton in Wiltshire. He concludes that his ancestral Wiltons were overseers of the nuns' possessions in the county but is uncertain whether they were Cornish or just Anglo-Saxons sent to Cornwall for that purpose.

P. T. H. Unwin argues, in "The Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian Occupation of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire" (Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc. 14, 1-31 [plus maps]), primarily from the personal names of the holders of manors in the two counties as recorded in the Domesday Book but also on place-name evidence, that the OE settlements began with -ham sites with good soil near rivers and then spread throughout the lowland areas, still relatively near the rivers, with

-ingas, -inga- sites, and later spread more widely with -tun sites. The Scandinavian settlement in the ninth century was primarily with the OE population, although place-names in -by tend to be away from the core of OE settlements but in areas once farmed in the period of Roman occupation. These -by settlements and the later -þorp and -þveit settlements were probably established as the population increased but after the Scandinavian and OE populations had become integrated. Unwin suggests that the Scandinavian occupation of Derbyshire was less extensive than that of Nottinghamshire and that there was a gradual spatial decrease in Scandinavian influence in the two counties by the time of the Norman Conquest. In "Onomasiologische Untersuchungen zum skandinavischen Lehngut im Altenglischen" (Sprachwissenschaft 6 [1981], 169-85), H. Peters examines the Scandinavian influence on OE vocabulary in several semantic areas, including words for seamen, ships, ships' havens, land masses, etc., as recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the Northumbrian Gospels, and various laws. He concludes that there were three types of influence: a new meaning to an OE word might appear because of the incorporation of a Scandinavian idea into an existing word; an OE word might assume a Scandinavian meaning completely; or both the OE and ON synonyms might remain current in OE.

I. A. Fraser, in "The Scottish Border - An Onomastic Assessment (Nomina 6, 23-30), examines the factors peculiar to the study of place-names of the Scottish Border (which he extends beyond the counties of Berwick, Roxburgh, Selkirk, and Dumfries to include Galloway, Lothian, and Strathclyde), surveys the work done on the place-names since 1930, and calls for future in-depth studies of the Border with particular emphasis on Scandinavian names. Among the factors making Scottish place-names studies different from English studies is the relative lateness of extant documents containing place-names; however, Fraser identifies the chartularies of abbeys and priories as sources of early place-name references and suggests that place-names not recorded until the twelfth century may still reasonably be placed back properly to the seventh or eighth century. W. F. H. Nicolaisen's "The Viking Settlement of Scotland: the Evidence of Place-Names" (The Vikings, London and Chichester, 95-115) shows how the two different types of Scandinavian place-names in Scotland reflect the two different patterns of settlement: the Scottish north and west with their place-names in ON staðir, setr. bólstaðr, and dalr are the areas of colonial occupation by Scandinavian seafarers, primarily Norwegians; the Scottish southwest with its place-names in ON þveit, bekkr, kirk, býr, and fell is simply the northernmost limit of the Scandinavian settlement of northern England. The essay includes eight good maps which Nicolaisen first prepared for An Historical Atlas of Scotland c. 400 - c. 1600.

In "OE walh in English Place-Names: an Addendum" (Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc. 14, 32-36), V. E. Watts and E. F. N. Prince suggest the addition to K. Cameron's corpus of place-names derived from OE w(e)alh of the lost field or minor name of Walworth in the southeastern part of the county of Durham. They derive this name from the OE compound wala-worð, "enclosure of the Welsh," and point out that it shares a number of characteristics of such walh names as described by Cameron: a small and insignificant settlement which was abandoned early on, located within but on a far edge of an important OE estate, and located on boulder-clay and thus a marginal farming site. In "The -inghope Names of the Welsh Marches" (Nomina 6, 31-36), M. Gelling examines seven place-names in the West Midlands in an area extending from the old Worcestershire/Herefordshire border into the former Welsh county of Radnorshire. She disagrees with F. Stanton,

J. Dodgson, E. Ekwall and A. H. Smith in various parts of the article in order to conclude that the elements -ing and -hop in place-names like Easinghope in Worcestershire are the connective -ing- used to join a personal name like Esi and the element -hop meaning "enclosed valley" or "enclosure in marsh."

In "Topography, Hydrology, and Place-Names in the Chalklands of Southern England: cumb and denu" (Nomina, 6, 73-87), A. Cole refutes R. Coates' argument (Nomina 5, 29-38) that cumbs were valleys containing flowing water while denus were dry valleys or at least had no flowing water. She does this by detailing how cumbs in the Chalklands of the South Chilterns, the South Downs, and in Dorset are more often dry valleys than they are valleys containing flowing water, and she notes that there are also -denus in valleys with flowing water. Cole's analysis of the distribution of cumbs and denus in the Chalklands lends support to M. Gelling's hypothesis that cumbs were shorter, broader, shallower valleys than denus and that denus were long and narrow valleys; however, Coles also adds that cumbs "are usually bowl- or trough-shaped with three fairly steeply rising sides" and that denus usually have "two moderately steep sides and a gentle gradient along most of their length."

R. H. Bremmer, Jr's "Frisians in Anglo-Saxon England: A Historical and Toponymical Investigation" (Fryske Nammen 3 [1981], 47-94), listed last year in "works not seen," can now be reviewed. Bremmer argues that the place-name evidence for the presence of Frisians in England shows that they were not a significant part of the first Gmc settlements in Britain. His map of twenty-four such names shows that they are distributed throughout most of England rather than clustered as one might expect if the Frisians were numerous and operated as an organized unit. Furthermore, the place-names tend not to be found on the most accessible sites as one might expect the earliest Gmc settlements to be, nor do they occur near pagan Anglo-Saxon burial sites. Bremmer also finds thirteen more "Frisian" place-names in England than Ekwall did in his 1953 article. In "De oudfriese persoonsnamen Liola en Siola" (Naamkunde 12 [1980], 175-79), H. T. J. Miedema derives the Old Frisian personal name Liôla from Liôlef, a metathesized form from Liudolf < Liud--"people" and -wolf and the Old Frisian Siôla from *Siôlva < *Siôlef < *Sêwolf or Sîwolf.

V. E. Watts, in "Some Northumbrian Fishery Names, I" (Trans. of the Architectural and Archaeol. Soc. of Durham and Northumberland, 6, 89-92), identifies some river-fishery names in Northumbria from OE *cūpe "a coop or basket," OE cȳpe "an osier basket for catching fish," OE gear "a weir or yair," OE stell "a place for catching fish," and OE wĭle "weel or basket." Of greater interest is Watts' list of thirteen medieval fishery names on the Wear in Southwick, mostly from OE gear; Watts observes that the fishery names clearly date from the OE period as reflected in their OE roots, traces of the OE inflectional system, and OE personal names. In fact, the OE word gear may be a Welsh borrowing as Holthausen suggested, and, thus, reflects a Celtic-English continuity.

In "'Old European' Names in Britain" (Nomina 6, 37-42), W. F. H. Nicolaisen reiterates an hypothesis he first put forth in 1957 that there were both speakers of non-IE languages and speakers of a kind of western IE that had not yet been differentiated into separate languages and which H. Krahe called "Old European." Nicolaisen lists fourteen different pre-Celtic IE roots and river names based on these roots found in England, Scotland, and Wales as hydronymic evidence for the existence of such an "Old European." He quite reasonably

suggests that such an "Old European" would have dialects, "earlier" and "later" stages that both reached Britain from the Continent and which developed in Britain, and that "Old European" probably absorbed certain non-IE features from various donor languages.

In "The Early Personal Names of King's Lynn: an Essay in Socio-Cultural History. Part I - Baptismal Names" (Nomina 6, 51-71), C. Clark continues her interest in women's names but as part of a broader study of twelfth-century names of Lynn, which, because of its trade with the Low Countries and with Northern German cities, had more different outside influences on its personal names than most English cities after the Conquest. Among men's names, she finds approximately 40 percent of the insular instances to be Scandinavian (primarily Danish) in origin; among women's names, the percentage is about half that, but this fits the general pattern in the twelfth century of women's name styles being about a generation "more old-fashioned" than men's names. Clark finds that about 50 per cent of the male name-stock is insular in the Pipe Roll of 1166; the remainder of the name stock she breaks down into French or Franco-Flemish and Continental-Germanic, the latter's influence being almost as strong as that of the former.

G. P. Cubbin, in "Dialect and Scribal Usage in Medieval Lancashire: a New Approach to Local Documents" (Trans. of the Philol. Soc., 1980, 67-117), focuses on the place-names of Lancashire from early ME to 1350 which are based on twenty roots with OE ȳ. The list is based on the names listed by Ekwall in his Lancashire Place-Names but excludes all names from the Lonsdale Hundred. The question, of course, is whether Lancashire retains the OE ȳ spelled <u> or <ui> or whether it has unrounded to ī. Cubbin proposes three tests for the reliability of the spelling of the names in the various documents that Ekwall cites: consistency, general accuracy, and local compilation. The consistency criterion can establish the unreliability of a document if the same name is directly contradicted in the same document, if a single place-name element has contradictory forms in two names that are close to each other, or if the develpment of one element contradicts the development of another such as -hull co-occurring with -hirst rather than -hurst in the same document. Using these criteria, Cubbin concludes that the Whalley Coucher Book is the most reliable of the documents, establishes the whole of South Lancashire as u- country and argues strongly that the Ribble River Valley is the dialect boundary.

E. Okasha's "A Supplement to Hand-List of Anglo-Saxon Non-Runic Inscriptions" (ASE 11, 83-118 + 5 unnumbered pages of plates) contains twenty-six entries that should be added to her Hand-List. These entries include eight OE personal names, one ON personal name, and three names of uncertain etymology. Each entry conforms to the pattern of the Hand-List entries. The article itself includes: Addenda to the Hand-List giving additional information on several Hand-List inscriptions, Corrigenda to the Hand-List, and Addenda to the Bibliographies of the Hand-List entries.

Works not seen:

Lazzari, Loredana. "La struttura sociale anglosassone e la toponomastica inglese." AION, filologia germanica, 24 (1981), 145-200.

McKinley, Richard. The Surnames of Lancashire. Eng. Surnames Series, 4. London.

J. D. C.

8. ARCHAEOLOGY AND NUMISMATICS

a. General

Cherry Lavall's Study of *"Publication: An Obligation" (Inst. of Arch. Bulletin, University of London 9 [1981], 91-125) provides a model exercise for any discipline. Archaeology has long had an ideal model, the publication by General Pitt-Rivers of Cranborne Chase in large, handsome and exhaustive format. While this model must still be employed, a lot of information in future will have to be preserved in a few copies in central libraries, or on microfiche. There are a few surprises in Lavall's report. First, despite appearances to the contrary, archaeological books are cheaper than other academic publications. Book prices in other fields have roughly doubled since 1975, but archaeological books have only risen by about half. Lavall sets four levels of pbulication, from active site records (level one), through "full" publication (level three) to synthesized reports for a broader audience. She lists a number of recently published titles which fall between three and four, so that neither the specialist nor the reader with broader interests is satisfied. As we will all have to learn to live with hefty changes in publication practice, it would be well to have Lavall's study at hand, and in mind, as decisions are made.

R. P. Wilcox's *Timber and Iron Reinforcement in Early Buildings (Occasional Papers, New Series, II, Society of Antiquaries of London, 1981) is a fascinating yet troublesome study. Wilcox draws mainly on Byzantine examples, showing that timber reinforcement was accepted practice in stone buildings, and he proposes:

> It is certain that iron and wooden reinforcement were established in Western Europe both in the earlier, basilican-type church and in later Byzantine-plan buildings by the latter part of the ninth century. It is almost certain that these usages were due to Byzantine influence in view of the fact that reinforcement was common in all kinds of churches in the Eastern Mediterranean and does not appear in Western Europe before the year A.D. 1000 except in buildings or areas where Eastern influences are suspected.

However, he has already pointed out that some timber-lacing occurred in early Scottish contexts, and that such sites as Burgh Castle in Suffolk and Bradwell-on-Sea in Essex made use of foundation timbers. The Old Minster at Winchester if, of course, extensively timbered. Do we see here an instance of the bias for the East which had so long a vogue in anthropology/archaeology?

Sean McGrail's very great energy and formidable learning are both well demonstrated in *Woodworking Techniques Before A.D. 1500 (National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, Archaeological Series No. 7, BAR International Series 129). The volume is a wide-ranging series of papers given at Greenwich in 1980; the edited comments of the conference participants constitute a much-appreciated bonus. J. M. Coles pulls no punches in his blunt assessment of the myopic vision of a large number of colleagues. His conclusion is a challenge, and a bit of a deserved rebuke:

> Dry archaeologists, or those who work on dry sites (the terms are not exactly synonymous) just do not comprehend the possibilities, the potentialities, for information from their few wooden remains. They have to be educated.

Coles has gained his more informed perspective by working with wet feet in peat bogs; I can only add from my most recent experience in underwater work in Ireland that the potential of Crannog sites for wood preservation is little short of amazing. There are so many first-rate studies here that a sampler must be rather selective; in general, the consensus seems to be that craftsmanship, skill, meaningful complexity and high standards are by no means rare in early medieval contexts. Two studies on boat-building are both important. The Wood Quay (Dublin) site shows high quality craftsmanship in doorways, posts and joins; vast amounts of wood evidence have come to light in York, not only in the past few years, but for a century, and tenth-century dwellings there are complex structures indeed. Most interesting of all, perhaps, is C. A. Hewett's study of "Tool-Marks on Surviving Works from the Saxon, Norman, and Later Medieval Periods" (339-348). Hewett demonstrates that Cuthbert's coffin was carved with two instruments, a U-section gouge (1/8 in.), and a knife which was used to produce V-cuts. "Both of these tools were razor-sharp and used with great skill and precision" (341). Anyone interested in the craft of working with wood will find this book a delight. The book suffers in one important respect, for the photographs can only be described as marginal to unacceptable. This is sadly typical of a number of recent BAR volumes.

In *Dark Age Economics: The Origins of Town and Trade A.D. 600-1000 (Duckworth, London), Richard Hodges presents an "essay in interpretation" and begins by "disputing the value of archaeology for reconstructing the economy of Dark Age western Europe in the period 600-1000 A.D." It is interesting to note that at least some of his interpretations are based virtually exclusively on archaeological material, especially in the following explication of the larger contexts of Sutton Hoo:

> Like the Kentish system, the route extending to East Anglia was maintained from the sixth century. The southern European switch in Mediterranean origin was significant only insofar as a different range of artifacts were shipped across the North Sea. The emergence of Quentovic and possibly Sarre is paralleled by the foundation of a mint at Dorestad on the Merovingian border with Frisia early in the seventh century (see Chapter 4 for a description of this site); and, as we have inferred in Kent, so in Suffolk there is accumulating evidence of a trading site to control the inflow of goods at an administered location. Excavations at Ipswich have recently identified an early seventh-century settlement broadly contemporary in date with the reign of King Redwald, remembered in all probability at Sutton Hoo. The debris left by the traders confirms their Rhenish origins and once more emphasises the two very different systems that divided somewhere in central France.

> But the Rhenish system was probably more concerned with trade to Frisia and further north to the Baltic than with the house of the Wuffingas. The number of middle Rhenish pots (probably products of the Vorgebirge kilns) in the late sixth- and early seventh-century contexts in Frisia is an eloquent manifestation of this trade route. The Vendel period glasses from central Sweden, products of the Rhineland glass houses, also seem to substantiate this already pervasive trading. Bruce-Mitford in his Sutton Hoo studies has drawn attention to the widespread contacts maintained by the house of Redwald. In particular, the artistic connections with south Scandinavia seem clear. The flow of goods around the North Sea in the early seventh century illuminates the multi-dimensional character of this great ship burial, as well as those equally rich assemblages in the contemporary Vendel graves in central Sweden.

Hodges produces a very useful summary in "A Gazetteer of Emporia: In Ottar's Footsteps," and he provides a refreshing perspective on the supposed predominance of Frisian traders in the period. Put the pottery finds at Ipswich and Hamwih against Dorstadt, and the English sites have far more evidence of foreign trade. Add to this the documentary evidence that the English traded at St. Denis fair about a century before the Frisians are mentioned, and the English were settled in Rome as traders fifty years before the Frisians. Hodges therefore proposes the plausible notion that the "monkish chroniclers were more likely to record the unusual [Frisian] traveller than the familiar [English] one." There is a significant error in the account of "Dark Age Argonauts and Their Craft," in which Hodges tells us that a replica of the Oseberg ship sailed to America in 1893. It was surely the Gokstad replica that was used on this venture!

Herbert Jankuhn provides yet another informative study of *"Trade and Settlement in Central and Northern Europe up to and During the Viking Period" (JRSAI 112, 18-50). This piece is particularly useful, for it covers a long span of time, and a wide geographic area. It is interesting to note that while western Norway was on regular trading routes in the fifth and sixth centuries, the trade of Frankish glass was farther eastward, with Old Uppsala as the major center. Norway, however, gained new importance in the Viking period because a warming trend made it possible to settle as far north as the Lofoten Islands. and reopen the routes in Arctic furs available there. This reviewer is a bit taken aback by Jankuhn's stress on the Mälar region, and by his credence in the population of Iceland in reaction to Harold Finehair: "a great migration of strong farmers from Norway to Iceland, for they could not face submission to a king" (p. 35). Just a trifle romantic. But Jankuhn is so very strong in many other respects. His conclusion, on the scope, trade and range of medieval trading, is well taken:

> In conclusion we can say that in the Viking period the pattern of trade was sharply differentiated: long-distance traders covered large areas and brought bulky essentials, such as building timber, flour and fish, as well as raw materials for production centres, such as iron ore and unwrought iron. Above all they brought luxury goods. The greatest gains could be made from the slave trade. The organisation of trade was partially regulated by agreements.

> Alongside this long-distance trade, which for so long has been the focal point of researchers' interest, there existed a local trading area around the bigger centres that is largely unexplored.

C. R. Dodwell's Anglo-Saxon Art: A New Perspective has its primary listing under manuscripts, but as it deals with a much broader span of evidence (in at least one sense), a brief comment here seems appropriate. The book is certainly a solid piece of scholarship, which does an immense amount of spade-work for anyone interested in the Anglo-Saxon views on Anglo-Saxon art; it is also a work which shows all too clearly how much has been lost to us: whole classes of objects, such as the lifesize or more than lifesize figures decorated in precious metals, of which no examples survive. But one wishes for more close connections with the hard reality of archaeological object study; there is a great deal more that could have been said about the splendid Tassilo Chalice which adorns the end-paper, for example. Despite this lack, Dodwell's study will be of great value for a long time to come, for all who wish a fuller understanding of the range of contemporary commentary on Anglo-Saxon art.

The Shire Archaeology Series has two new items of interest to medievalists this year, Sean McGrail's *Ancient Boats, and Christopher Taylor's *The Archaeology of Gardens. The latter book is more tantalizing than satisfactory; Taylor makes the valid if painful point that archaeologists see what they are told to, or expect to, see: probability is very firmly on Taylor's side in his interpretation of Pitney:

> The long narrow structures on two sides of the central courtyard of a Roman villa at Pitney, Somerset, have been interpreted as pigsties and slaves' quarters. The position of these, adjacent to and facing on to the splendid façade of the imposing villa, makes this unlikely, but the possibility that they were garden pavilions of some kind was never entertained. (p. 8)

Despite this level of perspicacity, however, one looks in vain for the extension of Taylor's refreshing perspective to such important early medieval sites as Yeavering, Cheddar, and Jarrow, to name a few. McGrail's book, on the other hand, adds to our already high admiration for the combination of practical perspectives and scholarly depth which marks his work; vessels of primary importance to the early medievalist are set into an up-to-date context, and in a clear perspective.

Three new objects were published this year; they are treated in order of importance, the best last.

M. Budny and James Graham-Campbell make a noble and learned attempt to deal with *"A Bronze Ornament from Canterbury" (Archaeologia Cantiana 97 [1981], 7-25). The piece is 2.4 cm long, and it is splendidly decorated with zoomorphic decoration on the front, "a single field, within a plain narrow border, containing a pair of confronted animals with interlaced bodies organized along a more or less vertical axis of symmetry..." (8-9). The piece may be unfinished, for it is ungilded (most bronze is gilded), and there is no way to suspend or attach it. It has affinities with mid- to late-eighth-century southern English art, particularly the Mavourne disc, and the embroideries now

at Maeseyek, Belgium. There are also affinities which link it with manuscripts, so many that the authors propose "It might have adorned the binding of a manuscript decorated with similarly interlaced animal ornament, so that the book and its cover displayed a consistent style, or been worn by the owner of such a manuscript" (25).

"The Canterbury Pendant" is given provisional study by Leslie Webster (Antiquity, 56, 303-4). The object was found in a Roman second-century cremation cemetery; it was unassociated, and appears to be a find from a disturbed Saxon burial. The piece is 4 cm in diameter, in gold, with inlaid garnets, "a piece of quite outstanding quality which is easily the most considerable jewel of its kind to be discovered since the Sutton Hoo 1939 Excavation." The "geometric elegance" of the piece is like, but more complex than that on the Wilton and Ixworth crosses. Ms. Webster sees the piece as cognate with the brooches of Sarre and Kingston, and therefore dates it to the early seventh century. This group must have been a product of a workshop which served the East Anglian court.

Peter Addyman, Nick Pearson and Demonic Tweddle write on "The Coppergate Helmet" (Antiquity 56, 189-194, + plates). This piece--only the third helmet of the Anglo-Saxon (or Anglo-Scandinavian) tradition--was bulldozed out of the earth on a site adjacent to the Coppergate excavations. The name of Andy Shaw--the operator of the vehicle--deserves respect, for without his alert and quick reactions, we would have no helmet. The helmet was lodged in a pit in the clay, which might have been a well. The helmet consists of four main elements: "The cap, two hinged cheek pieces, and a curtain of mail protecting back and sides of the neck." There is a retrograde inscription. The authors date the piece to "very late seventh or early eighth century," on comparison with the Bently Grange and Sutton Hoo helmets, and other examples of metalwork and other media of the period. All of the analysis is provisional, for the helmet has just now been fully cleaned and conserved.

Pearson, Tweddle and Jim Spriggs provide chatty, informative and well-illustrated accounts of all aspects of the helmet in *Interim 8:4, 3-36.

b. Christian

Christianity in Britain is a subject much under scrutiny these days, and *The Early Church in Western Britain and Ireland (Studies Presented to C. A. Raleigh Radford, ed. Susan M. Pearce [BAR British Series 102] 1) is a very significant contribution to the literature of the topic. The most impressive element of the book is its range, with third-century Carlisle, early Christian Ireland and Brittany, as well as a wide range of English, Scots and Pictish sites all being covered in twenty essays. It is impossible, and unfair, to sample such a collection as this, and the only appropriate survey judgment is to say that it is a fitting tribute to a man whose learning is great, but whose generosity is greater.

Since I reported on M. B. Parkes's Jarrow lecture for 1982, *"The Scriptorium from Wearmouth-Jarrow" (available from Jarrow Church) in "News and Notes," OEN, 16.1, 79-83, a brief notice here will suffice: Parkes makes a solid case for the way by which the Leningrad MS of Bede was composed and for the practice of a scriptorium which was both accomplished and practical.

R. B. K. Stevenson has produced a study of *"Aspects of Ambiguity in Crosses and Interlace" (Ulster Journal of Archaeology 44 and 45, 1981-2, available to me only in separately paginated offprint) which is as graceful as it is learned. The basis on which he builds a weighty case for seeing various "Geometric" and "Abstract" patterns in medieval art is clearly stated:

> the recognition of variously shaped crosses would be as natural for people trained or brought up to the relatively restricted repertoire of early Christian art, as for us to recognize an important word spoken in different accents or heard indistinctly. But the visually uneducated or less educated would have been expected to recognize only the most obvious forms.

I am convinced by Dr. Stevenson's arguments, particularly in manuscript study, which enriches even the interpretation of the sword-fittings too (as well as such traditionally Christian objects as the Coptic bowls from Sutton Hoo. The study is an education in the treatment of early medieval art and its relations, and Dr. Stevenson's conclusion is both powerful and eloquent; he sees these cross structures as evidence of

> a profound rationality, which acknowledges and demonstrates the mystery behind appearances, but by insisting on the accurate over-and-under of the strands symbolizes an underlying regularity such as the providential ordering of things; and by repeated Crosses, hidden and half-hidden as well as clear, insists on the all-pervasive presence of the victorious lifegiving Redeemer.

Another study addresses a "cross" emblem better known to Anglo-Saxonists, Paul Meyvaert's "An Apocalypse Panel on the Ruthwell Cross" (Med. and Ren. Stud. [Durham, N.C.] 9, 3-32 + plates). It has been traditional to identify the figure above Christ on the Beasts on this cross as John the Baptist, and there is good reason for doing so. But the traditional interpretation can no longer stand as absolute. Mr. Meyvaert undertakes a new examination of the rediscovery and re-erection of Ruthwell, and makes a formidable case for identification of the St. John panel as an Apocalypse, an identification the Reverend Henry Duncan made when first the much-mutilated fragments of the upper part of the cross were rediscovered at the bottom of a very deep grave. He buttresses his case with formidable knowledge of Bede's corpus, and thus studies the monument in more than a single iconographical or art historical context. The only aspect of his work which seems less than convincing is his virtual dismissal of the same face on the Bewcastle Cross, which has very strong similarities to that at Ruthwell. At the very least, Mr. Meyvaert's work should provide the spark for healthy and fruitful discussion of one of the most important objects to have come down to us from the Anglo-Saxon period.

James Lang studies "St. Michael, The Dragon and the Lamb on early Tynpana" (Trans. of The Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland, New Series 6, 57-60). The Dragon, Lang remarks, is very popular with stone carvers; "its form can easily accommodate to the required shape of the stone, its appendages can be organized to fill awkward corners,

and its capacity for violence offers opportunity for vigorous design full of movement" (57). Lang traces the examples of dragons with the Lamb and St. Michael, and shows how pagan Scandinavian melds with Christian tradition:

> Iconographically, the tynpanum's motifs pick up a traditional pagan dragon-combat from a local milieu and juxtapose a familiar struggle between a god and a dragon with eschatalogical implications of Christ in judgement. Pope Gregory would have approved of this slick transition from pagan to Christian iconography. The dragon slayer here appears in the guise of Thor, but who else would have the twin associations of contention with the dragon and the Day of Judgement but the Archangel Michael?

Lang's second contribution, *"Recent Studies in the Pre-Conquest Sculpture of Northumbria" (in F. H. Thompson, ed., Studies in Medieval Sculpture, Occasional Papers [New Series] 3, Society of Antiquaries, London, 177-189), is brief but full of meat. Starting with the very important works of R. G. Collingwood, Lang shows why earlier studies such as his are no longer satisfactory. Some areas have twice as many pieces now extant, and whole new ranges of function for stone carvings have been discovered, most particularly pieces which served as seats or lecterns. Richard Bailly has taught us that templates were used in carving, and in many areas central workshops have been identified, such as Allertonshire, Ryedale, Winsleydale and York in Yorkshire. Lang's characterization of how inspiration was passed on and flourished is most interesting.

> Works from a particular atelier are now being bunched together instead of spread evenly across a steadily evolving chronology. There is no way of telling whether or not the ateliers were operating concurrently, or what the duration of a particular workshop's activity was, or how long a template was kept in use. What does emerge is a development which consists of very productive bursts in some areas, and it is possible that all these local floruits of sculpture might have occurred within a short space of time with long periods of artistic sterility between them. This would be true for the Anglian period as it might be for the Viking Age, but for the later phase there is a curious piece of evidence which supports such a theory. Throughout Northumbrian sculpture there is no example of late Viking styles (Mammen or Ringerike), apart from the solitary, atypical piece at Otley. It is probable that most Anglo-Scandinavian carvings were therefore produced in the first half of the tenth century or, at the most generous estimate, between Halfdan's consolidation of his conquest of York about 876 and the death of Eric Bloodaxe in 954.

The paper ends with a caveat from Collingwood, for prospective workers in the sculpture field:

> They have to consider the examples, and all the examples. They have to conceive them in series and connection. They have to remember the conditions of the stone cutter's craft, the human circumstances which make it necessary to take that craft on its own terms....

c. Items Early and Late

P. J. Drury, N. P. Wickenden, et al. present their findings on *"An Early Saxon Settlement within the Roman-British Small Town at Heybridge, Essex" (Med. Arch. 26, 1-40). The place had five Grubenhäuser and perhaps one ground-level site, and a quantity of not very distinctive pottery and metalwork. The site is not far from Maldon; it would appear that the Saxon settlement was short-lived, and may have terminated with the sub-Roman settlement. It is the only known Saxon site in close association with a sub-Roman "small-town." The work of these Saxons seems to have been associated with the Port.

Klaus Düwell provides an interesting and potentially presupposition-shattering study in "Runes, Weapons, and Jewelry: A Survey of Some of the Oldest Runic Inscriptions" (Mankind Quarterly 22 [1982 for 1981], 69-91). Taking as his starting point a newly-discovered brooch from Meldorf, Suderdithmarschen, now in the repository of the museum at Schleswig, he places it at circa 150 "without any doubt," and interprets some of the design pattern as "proto-runic," transcribing them as ithwih, or iwih, which has no meaning. Dubious and problematic as this part of the study may be, Düwell's article deserves to be read in full, as the case he makes has interesting repercussions for archaeologists, runeologists, and epigraphers:

> The Germanic manner of scratching runes on weapons was adopted from a Roman custom. The inscriptions themselves, except for the magic-poetic spear-names, were not primarily magical as is often assumed. Their main function was rather to indicate the maker of the weapon, or its owner, as had been the intent of the Roman inscription and stamps on weapons. (91)

Warwick Rodwell studies "The Origins of Wells Cathedral" (Antiquity 56, 215-218), and finds a Roman mausoleum and a series of Anglo-Saxon chapels as well. This discovery is of very great importance.

> The sequence of sepulchral and religious structures uncovered at Wells has at last provided a foundation for the ancestry of an English cathedral comparable to that known or believed to obtain for many Continental sites. Several of the English cathedrals founded in former Roman cities may well have comparable histories; and there has always been good reason to believe that St Alban's Abbey overlies the Roman cemetery in which the martyrium of St Alban himself was erected; but Wells, with no previously recorded Roman ancestry, would never have been considered as a potential candidate for the discovery of the most fundamental cathedral development sequence yet known from Britain.

Walter Cahn's Romanesque Bible Illumination seems by its title to be out of our period, but it is important in that an excellent survey of Bible form and decoration is given in the first chapter, while important Anglo-Saxon documents such as Junius 11 and Ælfric commentaries on the Bible are dealt

with, as well as the expected Amiatinus. Curiously, no account of Irish or insular materials is provided.

Richard Gem and Lawrence Keen report on "Late Anglo-Saxon Finds from the site of St. Edward's Abbey" (Proc. Suffolk Institute of Arch. and Hist. 35 [1981], 1-30). Two classes of material are of primary importance: a large number of turned baluster posts in stone, and a grouping of glazed tiles. The baluster shafts are in a tradition related to Peterborough, the stone having come from Barnack quarries: the authors suggest that "moulded balusters might be produced in one workshop for use in buildings some distance from one another" (19). The tiles also have a Peterborough connection and this "early" (tenth-century) series may be "an important and short-lived example of an early attempt to produce decorative tiling" (26).

Lester K. Little's *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe (reissued as a paperback by Cornell) is a well-written and thought-provoking work, but insofar as the first chapter trades on early medieval practice and the transition "from gift economy to profit economy," much that is in fact established practice well before the millennium is seen to happen in the later period; this misplaced stress is unfortunate, for there seems little that stands in the way of placing the start of important cultural developments where they belong, rather than relying on symmetry in all things.

Alastair Service has produced The Buildings of Britain: Anglo-Saxon and Norman. The Anglo-Saxons are dealt with in 42 of 192 pages, with some noteworthy problems in the text. We are told that "Sculpture fluctuated a good deal in quality, sometimes showing a real if naive refinement" (8). While the Rushwell Cross is mentioned, there is no picture of any Saxon cross. As for architecture, we are treated to this extraordinary account of Jarrow:

> There are extensive Anglo-Saxon monastery remains around the church, their main date of c. 1030 indicated by one of the triangle-headed doorways so much enjoyed at that time.

The level of ignorance here is amazing, and it appears that the author is blissfully unaware of Bede et al., of whom every Durham schoolchild has knowledge.

P. N. Cameron's "Saxons, Seas and Sail" (Inter. Jour. Naut. Arch. 11, 319-22) is a valiant attempt to synthesize a great deal of what is known about the ship in early Germanic contexts. Cameron makes some good points, particularly in his study of the "English fleet" from Alfred onwards; he holds that the late, large Scandinavian vessels may stem from the class of large vessels built by King Alfred.

We turn to a book which deserves mention in the context of the evolution of the ship. It is *The Kyrenia Shipwreck, the first monograph on that important find, published by George Bass, et al., and issued through Texas A and M Press, College Station. This is a model report of a site--and a wreck--which is of the first importance both for methodology of excavation of early medieval material from an underwater context, and for comparison with shipping, ships and trade routes in the early medieval period. From every respect, the book is a testament to the dedication, skill and sheer tenacity of Professor Bass and his colleagues, who give us minute study of structure and detail of ship and cargo, looked at in the context in which such vessels sailed.

M. J. Swanton's *Crisis and Development in Germanic Society 700-800: Beowulf and the Burden of Kingship (Göppinger Arbeiten Zur Germanistik 333) is a survey of kingship among the Germanic peoples. He sees the institution as conservative: "In general, the character of government in early Anglo-Saxon England seems to have remained as faithful to primitive Germanic customs as contemporary societies on the Continent..." (24). The society is governed by a "fluid, open state of affairs, with rulers appointed from amongst the nobilitas, itself not a closed group but assembled from lower ranks of society" (34).

d. Particular Sites

John Williams's *Saxon and Medieval Northampton (available from Northampton Development Corporation, Cliftonville House, Bedford Road, Northants. NN4 OAY, 4.20) is an excellent and well-illustrated survey of an important city. With regard to the early period, Williams holds

> The arguments are considerable for Northampton being the head of a substantial royal estate with influence extending over a wide area from at least as early as the first half of the 8th century and probably from the 7th century. Some sort of administrative function is implicit and probably also a military role, if only as a rallying point. A deliberate policy of town plantation in Mercia, perhaps by Offa (757-96), has been suggested but there seems little basis for relating Northampton's foundation or growth to such a hypothesis which seems to rest on rather tenuous evidence. A somewhat more gradual and organic growth towards urban status is more appropriate to the evidence as yet available from Northampton.

During Scandinavian occupation it appears that "There was at least an incipient urban network growing up in the Danelaw probably during the last quarter of the ninth century" (27).

The Frontispiece for The Archaeology of Somerset - A review to 1500 A.D. is striking, one of the late Alan Sorrell's best compositions, a winter scene at the Saxon palace at Cheddar. M. Aston and Ian Burrow have edited the book, and they also provided a number of the essays. Since Glastonbury, Wells, South Cadbury and Bath are in Somerset, the survey is of the first importance. Phillip Rahtz, who excavated Cheddar, writes on the period 400-700 A.D., "The Dark Ages," mainly working in system analyses. In his treatment of the period 700-1066, David Hill concludes

> Here, within the bounds of the ancient shire, Somerset offers examples of most aspects of late Anglo-Saxon life, and should form one of the prime study areas for the period. In fact it could be argued that these studies and this period should be given a high priority for the next fifty years of Somerset studies for in those centuries Somerset stood at the centre of national trends and events.

The book is excellent. Not only is the text itself good, but the layout and illustrations (particularly a wonderful set of air photos) are first-rate,

and the bibliography is extensive, careful, and up-to-date.

The archaeology of Hampshire, and the remarkable archaeologists who have done brilliant work there over the past century are presented in S. J. Sherman and R. T. Schadla Hall's *Archaeology of Hampshire (Monograph No. 1, Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society, 1981). The Roman period is exciting, and the transition from Roman to Saxon most significant, but there is little in the way of criteria and standards yet established. In fact, one object, an applied disc brooch excavated at Portchester, is a token of continuity to one archaeologist, and of the lack of continuity to another. In the period of Anglo-Saxon Origins, Mr. David Hinton does his best with difficult evidence, and concludes that the diversity of the elements from which Hampshire grew "can be seen as another facet of the authority and the powers of organization of the kings of Wessex in the late 7th and early 8th centuries" (64).

*Excavation at Stamford, Lincolnshire, 1963-1969 (Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph Series for 1982, 9, London) by Christine Mahany et al. is a formidably technical work, and is the partial publication of sites excavated in the city by three archaeologists working in different areas. The primary evidence is for a flourishing manufacturing center, with an Anglo-Norman pottery kiln and an iron smelting site of the same period. It is interesting to note that Stamford was important not only because it was one of the Five Buroughs, but because it had a solid mercantile base:

> It is evident that by the end of the 10th century Stamford was a flourishing urban centre of commercial, military and political importance, a fact confirmed by the archaeological evidence of extensive iron-working and by the establishment of a mint, of which at least one moneyer operated S. of the river, in the reign of Edgar. By Edgar's time there was also a market. From the late 9th century Stamford also became the centre of production of exceptionally fine pottery, made from the local iron-free clays.
>
> At the time of the conquest Stamford was evidently well populated and highly organized. The intensive iron-working, so characteristic a feature of late Saxon Stamford, had given way to widespread quarrying of stone.

*York - Vol. 5 - The Central Area (Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England, 1981) is the last volume to deal with that rich city, save for the Minster, though study and publication by the York Archaeological Trust will of course continue. Such new fragments of sculpture as have come up are well illustrated in plates 21-23, along with comparative material.

*The Archaeology of York. The Small Finds, 17/3, "Anglo-Scandinavian Finds from Lloyd's Bank, Pavement, and Other Sites" by Arthur McGregor is a slim volume with some very important discoveries in it. The textiles of this site are of particular importance, for most other fabric remains of this period exist as mineral-replacement "ghosts" on metal grave-goods. There are a number of competent braids and twills in the collection, but a silk fragment is of greatest importance, first because it is evidence of trade with the Near East and second because Lincoln has yielded a piece of silk so similar that

"they may indeed have been woven on the same loom and have been cut from the same roll of cloth" (132). The silk dates to 9/10 centuries. Leather and bone manufacture are also important on the site. McGregor's picture of the Lloyds' Bank site and his assessment of its importance deserves quotation in full:

> Given that the premises on the Lloyds' Bank site, pervaded by the stench of decomposing flesh and stomach-turning de-hairing solutions, must have been among the most squalid in York, the range of (presumably) commercial contacts witnessed by the finds is truly impressive, and holds out the most exciting prospects for future work written on the city. (157)

e. Viking

Three essays from The Vikings (ed. R. T. Farrell, London and Chichester) are assigned to this section. Rosemary Cramp's "The Viking Image" (8-19 + plates), James Graham-Campbell's "Viking Silver Hoards: An Introduction" (32-41 + plates), and Leslie Webster's "Stylistic Aspects of the Franks Casket" (20-31 + plates). Cramp sets the mode of representation in Byzantine and Classical art as a baseline against which she compares images--mainly warriors and mounted warriors--in the Viking world. She also deals with possible Celtic influence, and with possible crossovers from Pictish and ecclesiastical art as well. She concludes

> The tendency to depict figures in non-classical costume had already begun before the Viking invasion, as we see in the two figures with hunting horns, their dress voluminous but short, on the cross from St Mary Bishophill Senior.... It could be that, before the Vikings took over, it had become the custom to portray people in an appropriate, contemporary costume, and to portray events in a contemporary guise as well. We know from the funerary stele in Gotland and from the Oseberg tapestry that death and burial had developed their own dramatic iconography by the end of the eighth/beginning of the ninth century. Moreover, we have seen how Irish and Picto-Scottic art could have contributed to models and motifs. The indigenous art of the Isle of Man would seem to have had little to contribute, and the expressions of Viking figural art from the area are best considered in context of pagan religious iconography.
>
> Werkmeister, in his discussion of Pre-Carolingian figure styles, has queried the assumption that the Christian artists of the British Isles in the seventh and eighth centuries directly confronted realistic models of high-quality Mediterranean art, which they understood as deprived of its representational qualities. I have tried to show throughout that the Vikings in their new homelands could sometimes have been confronted by representations of men in the best classical idioms. More often, however, they would have been confronted by images which had already

> been partly transformed into ornamental patterns. Moreover, work of high quality that had modernized classical tradition could exist in regional or even local schools.

Graham-Campbell's study is important because he shows how hoard material--particularly back-silver and other "non-coin" pieces--can yield a wealth of information not only for knowledge of the economics of the early Middle Ages, but for art history and culture as well. Mrs. Webster provides a valuable corrective for she resolutely avoids lengthy speculation on the runes and iconography of the piece, and treats the object as an item in a series of small ivory boxes. She examines the decoration of the piece in this wider context, and attempts to show why such a piece was made in eighth-century Northumbria. Her conclusion deserves quotation:

> The Casket is also the first surviving Anglo-Saxon attempt at extended narrative art. Whatever of wood or bone or textile in the native tradition may have vanished, thereby distorting the record, the Casket yet remains a remarkable fusion of cultures. And, so far from being a crude aping of Mediterranean sophistication, as has occasionally been suggested, the confidence and exuberance of its design and execution indicate both intellectual vigour and great technical skill. The particular combination of scholarship and artistic vitality which existed in Northumbria in the years around 700 was the ideal seed bed for such a creation.
>
> To sum up: only in such a milieu does it seem likely that the Franks Casket could have received the specific combination of influences seen in it. The Casket exhibits a dependence on late antique sources, transmitted through Mediterranean manuscripts and other portable media to Northumbria; it is indeed quite possible that a late antique casket may have served as a direct model at least for form and layout. Yet, as the elements of decoration reviewed in this paper show, the Casket's Northumbrian background is clearly revealed in its stylistic treatment. With date and provenance thus securely fixed on art-historical as well as linguistic grounds, the many remaining problems of the Casket may be more confidently confronted.

Finally, it should be remarked that the plates which accompany her piece are of particularly high quality, and show all aspects of the casket to full advantage.

R. T. F.

Yet a fourth essay in The Vikings concerns Anglo-Saxon archaeology. Robert T. Farrell's chapter, "Beowulf and the Northern Heroic Age," 180-216 (also noted above in 3.c.), reviews evidence for archaeological and literary connections in the poem, focusing on "current opinion on Scandinavian contact with England during the period 400-1100, as a basis for a better understanding of the literary text." He attacks the old problem of Scandinavian heroes in an English poem not from the usual pan-Germanic angle, but from "cultural and artistic exchange." He sees Beowulf as a model character in the poem, and notes that the other Scandinavians come off better in the English work than in contemporary native pieces. He surveys the Franks Casket, Widsith

(unfortunately supporting Malone's odd reading of wraðes wærlogan), the Finnsburh poems, Deor, Bede, Sutton Hoo, place names, linguistic influence, and sculpture, as evidence for a more favorable treatment of Scandinavians than chronicles suggest, and as documenting wide, early, and peaceful contact between Scandinavia and England. In these broader contexts, he weighs several possible areas and dates for the poem: early in the north, in seventh-century East Anglia, in Offa's court, and late in the south. He closes with the attractive idea that Beowulf might have served "as an almost perfect instrument for bringing Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon together, on the basis of a glorious shared past." Farrell evaluates whole strata of useful scholarship, and literary scholars wanting to catch up with recent archaeological finds and interpretation could use this piece as a table of contents.

D. K. F.

Kurt Schietzel's Stand der siedlungsarchäologischen Forschung in Haithabu (Neue Ausgrabungen in Haithabu, Bericht 16 [Karl Wachholtz Verlag, Neumünster, 1981, DM 40]) is an important contribution not only to Hedeby itself, but to the knowledge of early northern commerce as well. Schietzel certainly justifies his conclusion

> Die bereits erzielten Einzelergebnisse des weitgefächerten Forschungsprojektes und die daraus ermittelte Einsicht in übergreifende Zusammenhänge machen die Tragweite der weiteren Erforschung Haithabus deutlich. An keiner anderen Stelle im Norden Europas gibt es im frühen Mittelalter einen vergleichbar großen, archäologisch zugänglichen Siedlungsraum, in dem Wohnbebauung und Gräberfelder, Höhen- und Seebefestigungen, gestaffelte Landwehren, umfangreiche Hafenanlagen sowie Zeugnisse kirchlicher und weltlicher Herrschaft vereinigt sind.

Unfortunately, much must still be done:

> Auf der Grundlage des heutigen Forschungsstandes, der aufgezeigten Probleme bei der Auswertung des archäologischen Befundes und der Weiterentwicklung unserer Fragestellungen wird das Schwergewicht zukünftiger Arbeiten auf die großflächige Beherrschung der Siedlungsbereiche am Haddebyer Noor gerichtet sein. Ein solches Vorhaben wird nur durch langjährige, umfangreiche Feldarbeit realisierbar werden. Die Erfahrungen der zurückliegenden Jahre lassen es geraten erscheinen, derartige Projekte nur in Gang zu setzen, wenn eine ausreichende personelle Ausstattung und die langfristige Finanzierung gewährleistet sind. Siedlungsarchäologische Forschung wird zukünftig eher einen noch längeren Atem erfordern als bisher.

Signe Fugelsang, whose important study of the Ringerike style informed us three years ago, has written on the stylistic phases of *"Early Viking Art in the Eighth to Tenth Centuries" (Norwegian Institute at Rome, Acta Ad Archaeologian Et Artium Historiam Pertinentia, series altra in 8°, II, 125-73). She reminds us that many studies in this area are half a century old, and that it is not until circa 925 that coins give us anything like absolute dating. She sees the stylistic variation in Oseberg ("Baroque" and

"Academician") are probably contemporary, as opposed to consecutive, and that both are related to the famouns mounts from Broa, Gotland. The Borre style is particularly interesting, for many of the best examples are found in England, and masters in the Borre style were happy to incorporate general European motifs. As for the Jellinge style, we learn much about it by studying the Mann carvings, and the recent material from York. She says very interesting things about the tapestry fragments that have come down to us from Viking Scandinavia, and on the emergence of Christian art under such figures as Harold Bluetooth. Her conclusion is thought provoking.

> ...there is today general agreement that the innovations of form are mainly due to a development which was largely indigenous to Scandinavia. The very strong traditions in form and motifs may have depended on the patrons as much as on the artists and workshops. With the patronage of the Church and with the gradual conversion of the lay patrons from the middle of the tenth century onwards, Scandinavian art seems very gradually, and--it must be emphasized--very slowly to have changed its course in a direction where the European influence steadily increased.

Coleen Batey writes on *"The Late Norse Site of Freswick" (*Caithness: A Cultural Crossroads, ed. John R. Baldwin, pub. by Scottish Society for Northern Studies and Edwina Press, Edinburgh, 47-59). The site is currently threatened by erosion, and surveys have extended the area of Norse use enormously from that known in earlier excavations. The whole area and its context need to be restudied, "for at Freswick there is undoubtedly an unparalleled opportunity to study settlement in relation to its environment in the Late Norse period" (58).

*Icelandic Sagas, Eddas, and Art, the catalogue for the great manuscript exhibition loaned by the Republic of Iceland to the Pierpont Morgan Library, is an extremely useful survey of a number of topics in Icelandic studies, rather than a narrow account of the items on display. It would be a wonderful addition to an introductory bibliography in Old Norse or Medieval Studies.

R. Cramp's and R. Micket's *Catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon and Viking Antiquities (Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle-upon-Tyne) is a model of its kind, with good drawings, maps and photographs accompanied both by informative introductory essays, and concise yet clear descriptions of the various objects. This book would serve well as a kind of archaeological primer for an important area and material culture.

Karl Hauck's "Zum Zweiten Band der Sutton-Hoo Edition" (FS 16, 319-62) is a neat, interesting attempt to bring the various figural representations and "iconographies" in the Sutton Hoo material into association with a number of earlier Germanic figural pieces, most often the bracteates. Hauck has published extensively on these, and has made heroic efforts to link God and tribal figures in the material evidence with specific contexts in time and place. In the view of the present writer, Hauck is more hard-working and ambitious (in the best sense) than he is successful. His interpretations of the Sutton Hoo material are strained; he would have us link the "Wolf's-Son"

theme on the Sutton Hoo purse with the Wuffingas, and with a Caesar motif, then finally through the Beowulf "Bear-Son" on the Torslunda plates to the Valsgärde helmet impressed decoration, "mit denen wir bis zu der älterern gautischen Ursprungsschicht der Beowulfssaga vordringen." Surely, the evidence is pressed too hard.

Michael J. Enright provides "The Sutton Hoo Whetstone Sceptre: A Study in Iconography and Cultural Milieu" (ASE 11, 119-134). His work is valuable both for the new and reasonable stress on the essentially Celtic nature of the piece, its iconography, and its functions, and for the opening up of new territory for speculation. I am convinced by Enright's conclusions, to the effect that more questions are now open than were at issue when Bruce-Mitford wrote Sutton Hoo I and II. This is not to denigrate Bruce-Mitford in any way, but rather to point out how his work has served as an impetus for further study.

Michael Ryan offers *"Some Archaeological Comments on the Occurrence and Use of Silver in pre-Viking Ireland" (*Studies on Early Ireland: Essays in Honour of M. V. Diugnan [Belfast], 45-50). Though the use of silver is clearly in part encouraged by the abundant Norse supply of that material, Mr. Ryan believes--and offers evidence to support his contention--that "Traditional sources of raw materials would have continued to supply the needs of Irish metalworkers until trade began to be concentrated on emporia founded by the Norse" (45). The piece is timely--even perhaps prescient--for a large amount of silver in ingots turned up in the Irish midlands recently, and is now in the possession of the National Museum.

As Joe Kelly has briefly indicated the very great importance of the massive two-volume *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittealter (ed. Heinz Löwe, Stuttgart), only a few of the important pieces in it will be sampled here. The conclusion of Hermann Vogt's "Zur Spiritualität der frühen irischen Mönchtums" deserves quotation in full.

> Zusammenfassend ließe sich sagen, daß das fruhe irische Mönchtum, trotz seiner auf eigener Anstrengung beruhenden asketischen Höchstleistung, nicht pelagianisch, sondern ganz augustinisch gesinnt war. Die Wirksamkeit der göttlichen Gnade, die göttliche Erwählung und Vorherbestimmung werden bekenntnishaft ausgesprochen und in reichen Bildern erzählt. Die ungeheure Strenge, die Weltflucht, sind nicht Weltverneinung, sondern bezeugen die Bejahung der Schöpfung und all ihrer Güter. Selbst die Einsiedler lösen sich nicht so aus der Gemeinschaft der Menschen, daß Freundschaft und Seelsorge als Seelenfreund nicht mehr möglich wären. Irisches Mönchtum war nicht kulturfeindlich, oft war sogar der Abt der eigentliche Schreiber seines Klosters. Die Iren verwirklichten das, was dem Cassiodor vorgeschwebt hatte, was zu verwirklichen ihm jedoch nicht gelungen war, und was auch das später die kontinentale Kultur so stark prägende benediktinische Mönchtum um diese Zeit noch nicht gelernt hatte. Der besondere Ruhmestitel dieses frühen irischen Mönchtums scheint mir aber zu sein, daß es, gewiß auf eine paternalistische Weise, wie sie eben der Zeit entsprach, bei aller Weltabgeschiedenheit und