OLD ENGLISH NEWSLETTER

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A Guide to the Contents of this Issue

A Brief Report on the Angus Cameron Memorial Fund

(as of November 27, 1984)

The first step to start the Angus Cameron Memorial Fund was taken
shortly after Angus Cameron died; a request for donations and/or letters
of support for the Dictionary of Old English Project was addressed to his
family, his friends, and his colleagues. The goal, somewhat optimistic
in the view of many, was $50,000 from these individuals. Experience has
shown that the goal was conservative; to date gifts and pledges amount to
about $80,000 and range from $10.00 to $10,000.

A year ago the Howard Webster Foundation made a gift and pledge to
the Fund of $45,000 payable in three equal installments in 1984-86; the
first payment was made last September. This valuable commitment was
mainly the result of the interest in the DOE Project taken by Mr. A.J.E.
Child, who works closely with the Webster Foundation of Montreal.

Over two hundred letters of support reached me from Old English
scholars all over the world. This file is one of the most extra-ordinary
testimonials I have ever seen and constitutes a recognition for Angus and
his work that is deep and moving. The importance of these letters was
substantial; last spring I presented a selection of them to the Andrew W.
Mellon Foundation of New York in hope of persuading the Foundation to con-
sider an application on behalf of the Dictionary. Such persuasion was
necessary because the Foundation does not have a program of support for
lexicographical projects, because it rarely supports universities like the
University of Toronto that are funded mainly by tax revenue, and because
it makes grants infrequently outside the United States and then in rela-
tively small amounts. I would like to express here the debt owed to the
many colleagues who supported the ACMF in its crucial early stages of work;
without that support, the Mellon Foundation would probably not even have
accepted the application on behalf of the DOE project.

In July of this year the officers of the Foundation agreed to con-
sider an application, a decision that reflects the support in letters
from colleagues, to repeat the point for emphasis. The decision also re-
flects the helpful and cautiously realistic advice provided me by Mr.
James Morris, Program Office of the Mellon Foundation. Professor Ashley
Amos, Co-Editor with Angus of the Dictionary of Old English, and I pre-
pared an application; we requested a total of $300,000 in U.S. dollars,
or about $400,000 in Canadian funds. That amount is sufficient to pay
the salary, benefits, and related expenses of two additional full-time
editors for five years each. The application was sent to the Foundation
at the end of August over the signature of Dr. David W. Strangway, then
President of the University of Toronto. Fifteen Old English scholars,
both senior and junior, wrote in support of the project; a selection
from these powerful letters will be a part of the full report on the Fund,
which should be ready early in 1985. If the application were to be suc-

cessful, Dr. Strangway committed the University of Toronto to fund a continuation of support for two full-time editors for a further period of five years each (1990-95), subject to a favorable review of the project in 1988-89.

On October 3rd the Trustees of the Mellon Foundation approved the application and made an award of $300,000, the full amount requested. The award is a challenge grant that must be matched 1:1 by December 31, 1986.

During all the work of the Fund sketched above, Mr. Arthur Scace, a partner in the law firm of McCarthy and McCarthy, had been advising me and readying his own response to the appeal. He, like Angus, was a Canadian Rhodes Scholar at Oxford and has had an interest in the project of his friend almost from its inception in 1969-70. He encouraged me in all the fund raising and promised matching funds from the Henry White Kinnear Foundation of which he is a trustee; this commitment was the one that led the committee in August of 1983 to set the goal of the Fund at $1,000,000. On receipt of news about the award from the Mellon Foundation, Mr. Scace agreed on behalf of the Kinnear Foundation to match funds generated as gifts and pledges from all other sources to the extent needed to reach the goal. With that magnificent award, the Angus Cameron Memorial Fund reached the $1,000,000 goal.

The material above can be summarized in tabular form as follows:

1.	Gifts and pledges from family, friends, and colleagues:	$80,000
2.	Gift and pledge from the Howard Webster Foundation	45,000
3.	Award made by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation of $300,000 U.S.:	400,000
4.	Matching award made by the Kinnear Foundation:	475,000
	Total	$1,000,000
5.	In addition, the University of Toronto's commitment for 1990-95 has an estimated value of:	500,000
	Total of gifts, pledges, and commitments	$1,500,000

There is now, I think, realistic expectation that the Dictionary of Old English will be brought to completion in reasonable time. The project that Angus started so well will be completed and will stand as a monument to lexicographical scholarship and also as a monument to Angus.

John Leyerle
Chairman, Angus Cameron Memorial Fund
December 4, 1984

II

1984 Annual Meeting of the MLA in Washington

The Modern Language Association enters its second century with its annual meeting in Foggy Bottom. The Executive Committee of the Old English Division has scheduled three meetings. They are:

Session no. 69: Friday, December 28, 8:30-9:45 a.m., Woodley, Sheraton

"Æthelwold and the School at Winchester"

Presiding: Linda Voigts (University of Missouri-Kansas City)

Papers:

1. Allen Frantzen (Loyola University, Chicago)

    "Literary Evidence for the Early History of Winchester"

2. Mary P. Richards and Jane Stanfield (both of the University of Tennessee-Knoxville)

    "New Light on Winchester from the Old English Laws"

Commentator: Milton McC. Gatch (Union Theological Seminary)

Session no. 193: Friday, December 28, 1:45-3:00 p.m., Annapolis, Sheraton

"Narrators and Speakers in Old English Poetry: Three Perspectives"

Presiding: Daniel G. Calder, (University of California-Los Angeles)

Papers:

1. Ward Parks (Louisiana State University-Baton Rouge)

    "The Traditional Narrator and the 'I heard' Formulas in Old English Poetry"

2. Stanley B. Greenfield (University of Oregon)

    "The Petitions of the Advent Lyrics"

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

    "Amnesty for Unferth"

Session no. 451: Saturday, December 29, 1:45-3:00 p.m., Rockville, Sheraton

"Wisdom and Magic in Old English Literature"

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

Papers:

1. Elaine Tuttle Hansen (Haverford College)

    "The Wisdom of Widsith"

2. Lois Bragg (SUNY-Buffalo)

    "Wordsige and Weorcsige: The Modes of Anglo-Saxon Charming"

3. Lisa Weston (University of California-Los Angeles)

    "Marginality and the Marking of Boundaries
        in Maxims II and Wið Færstice"

The MLA Committee on Teaching and Related Professional Activities has organized the following session:

Session no. 519: Saturday, December 29, 3:30-4:45 p.m., Holes, Sheraton

"Teaching Beowulf: Problems and Progress"

Presiding: Robert F. Yeager (Warren Wilson College)

Papers:

1. Constance B. Hieatt (University of Western Ontario)
    "Teaching the Backgrounds"

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

    "Making the Most of the Visual Approach"

3. Alexandra Hennessey Olsen (University of Denver)

    "Teaching in Translation to Non-majors"

4. Stephen A. Barney (University of California-Irvine)

    "Beowulf in Mixed Undergraduate-Graduate Classes"

III

ISAS News

The International Society of Anglo-Saxonists continues to develop its plans for its Second Conference, which will be held during the week beginning Monday, August 19, 1985. The Program Committee is now making its choices of papers for the open sessions. The Second Conference will have a special focus on Southumbria, and will also feature excursions to such important sites as Sutton Hoo. Readers of OEN interested in joining ISAS and seeking further information about membership privileges (including discounts on Anglo-Saxon England) should write to:

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

IV

Eichstätt Conference

The University of Eichstätt played host to Anglo-Saxonists interested in "Problems of Old English Lexicography," October 1-3, 1984. Alfred Bammesberger, who organized the conference, will edit the proceedings volume of the same title, which is planned to be published in the Fall of 1985 by Pustet (Regensburg). The volume will contain some additional papers which, for different reasons, could not be read at the meeting. The volume will be dedicated to Angus Cameron. The papers read were:

Ashley Crandell Amos and Antonette diPaolo Healey:

"The Dictionary of Old English: Practical Problems of Entry-Writing"

Peter Bierbaumer

"Research into Old English Glosses: A Critical Survey"

Michael Korhammer

"Viking Seafaring and the Meaning of OE ambyrne wind"

Günter Kotzor

"Wind and Weather: Semantic Analysis and Classification of Old English Lexemes"

Helmut Gneuss

"Linguistic Borrowing and Old English Lexicography"

T.F. Hoad

    "The Reconstruction of Unattested Old English Lexical Items"

C.J.E. Ball

    "Homonymy and Polysemy in Old English: A Problem for Lexicographers"

R.I. Page

    "Gerefa: Some Problems of Meaning"

Roland Torkar

    "Einige Altenglische 'Ghost-Words'"

Janet Bately

    "Words for Time in Old English Literature"

Jane Roberts

    "Some Problems of a Thesaurus-Maker"

Fred C. Robinson

    "Metathesis in the Dictionaries: A Problem for Lexicographers"

Hans Sauer

    "The Representation of Compounds in a Dictionary of Old English"

H.J. Neuhaus

    "Design Options for a Lexical Database of Old English"

F. Wenisch

    "(ge)fægnian: Zur Dialektalen Verbreitung eines Altenglischen Wortes"

René Derolez

    "Aldhelm and the Lexicographer"

E.G. Stanley

    "Citations from very late Old English in a Dictionary of Old English"

V

Subsidia 10

The editors of the <u>Old English Newsletter</u> announce the publication of Volume 10 in the <u>Subsidia</u> series: a reprint of Janet Bately's <u>The Literary Prose of Alfred's Reign: Translation or Transformation?</u> The study is Prof. Bately's Inaugural Lecture, delivered on March 4, 1980 and previously printed by the University of London, King's College, where Prof. Bately holds the Chair of English Language and Medieval Literature. The reprint comes with <u>addenda et corrigenda</u>. The price is $3.00: order directly from <u>OEN</u>.

Volume 11 of the <u>Subsidia</u> series will come forth in Spring, 1985. It will be a reprint from <u>Mediaevalia</u> 7, J.D.A. Ogilvy's "<u>Books Known to the English, 597-1066: Addenda et Corrigenda.</u>" The price will be $3.00.

The editors are soliciting proposals for Volume 12 and subsequent numbers. The series aims to publish low-cost <u>ancillae</u>; proposers should understand that, whether reprints or originals, type-setting for volumes proposed must be no more than minimal. The series will no longer publish OE composition.

VI

Conference Activity: Future and Past

The Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies at SUNY-Binghamton will devote its Nineteenth Annual Conference to "The Bible in the Middle Ages: Its Influence on Literature and Art," October 18-19, 1985. The main speakers will be: Jaroslav Pelikan (Yale), Joan Ferrante (Columbia), John Alford (Michigan State University), Stephen G. Nichols (Dartmouth), Robert Calkins (Cornell), Nigel Morgan (Index of Christian Art), and Madeline Caviness (Tufts). In addition to this program of invited speakers a series of topically organized sessions will complete the program. Anglo-Saxonists are cordially invited to answer the call for papers (see p. 27 below). For the first time in the CEMERS series of conferences the committee will consider proposals for unified sessions organized on behalf of a group of scholars interested in pursuing special themes or topics. Those who wish to propose such organized sessions should contact the Conference Coordinator, Bernard S. Levy, c/o CEMERS, as soon as possible. The deadline for the submission of proposals for individual papers is May 20, 1985.

The Augustinian Historical Institute has issued a call for papers and an invitation to participate in its Tenth International Conference on Patristic, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies to be held at Villanova University.

September 20-22, 1985. Abstracts for prospective papers must be received by March 15, 1985; those who are interested in chairing a session should contact the co-chairmen and indicate their academic specialty. The organizers remind all that 1985 will mark the 1250th anniversary of the death of the Venerable Bede. Write to: Thomas A. Losoncy and Joseph C. Schnaubelt; The Augustinian Historical Institute; Villanova University; Villanova, PA 19085.

The Warburg Institute (Woburn Square, London) will sponsor a colloquium on "Boethius in the Middle Ages," May 24-25, 1985. Some thirteen lecturers will address this large topic including Joseph Wittig (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill). Further particulars on this colloquium will be available later from the Warburg on request.

Plymouth State College announces its Sixth Medieval Forum, to be held at the Plymouth, New Hampshire, campus on April 26-27, 1985. The conference committee is now in the process of selecting papers for the program, which has always featured a number of Anglo-Saxonists. Write to Prof. Manuel Marquez-Sterling; Director, Medieval Studies Council; Plymouth State College; Plymouth, NH 03264 (or call 603-526-1550, ext. 425 or 542).

The Ninth International Symposium, sponsored by the Center for the Study of Vernacular Literature in the Middle Ages at Odense University, focussed on "The Concept of Tradition in Ballad Research," November 19-20. Participants considered traditional balladry with a view to outlining the fields of reference of the term "tradition," and to determining how tradition may have influenced ballads and ways of looking at them. For more information write to the Centre at: Campusvej 55; DK 5230 Odense M; Denmark.

VII

Haskins Society News

The Third Annual Conference of the Charles Homer Haskins Society for Viking, Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and Angevin History took place at the University of Houston-University Park, November 9-11. There were three keynote speakers, including David Dumville on "The Vikings in the British Isles: A Question of Sources." There were fifteen shorter papers that ranged from the coming of the Saxons to England through the Angevin period. Papers of interest to Anglo-Saxonists included: Michael Jones (Bates College), "The Gallic Chronicle and a Date for the Adventus Saxonum"; Marc Meyer (University of Hawaii), "King Eadwig and the Church"; Richard Abels (U.S. Naval Academy), "The Organization of the Late Saxon Fyrd."

The Fourth Annual Conference of the Society is scheduled for November 8-10, 1985, in conjunction with the North American Conference on British Studies, which will meet in Houston, November 13-16. R.H.C. Davis will address both conferences through the generosity of the British Government. Abstracts for papers (about twenty minutes) should be sent by June 30, 1985 to Sally N. Vaughn; Department of History; University of Houston-University Park; Houston, TX 77004.

VIII

Gag Bag: <u>Beowulf</u> <u>Auctor</u>

With a worldwide readership of hardcore Anglo-Saxonists, <u>OEN</u> rivals the
CIA in its information network and consistently outperforms the KGB.
Recently one of <u>OEN</u>'s agents sent the following transmission, extracted
from a <u>Proceedings</u> sponsored by a not unfriendly power. The names have been
changed to protect the innocent:

> The question I would ask Professor X is this:
> When will the social sciences community...understand that,
> at some point, an effort must be made to stress certain
> themes in social science research? In our discussions
> with that community we are always accused of urging social
> scientists to conduct research that has application in
> [Terra Incognita], they are even forced to justify research
> on Beowulf. I have nothing against Beowulf; on the con-
> trary, I find his work extraordinary. However, I also
> feel that there is other research that could be done in
> [Terra Incognita] at this time, and that social science
> research applicable to [Terra Incognita] can be done...

IX

The Old English Colloquium

Bay Area Anglo-Saxonists can enjoy the activities of the Old English
Colloquium, based at the University of California-Berkeley. The group
sponsors a newsletter, lectures, and other events. On October 31 Raymond
Oliver gave a talk on "Anglo-Saxon Affinities in Hardy, Hopkins, and
Elsewhere," while David Gewanter also spoke on "Seamus Heaney and the Bog
People: Old Music and Modern Poetry." For further information on the
Colloquium write: The Old English Colloquium; 322 Wheeler Hall; University
of California; Berkeley, California 94720.

X

Medieval Sermon Studies

Although there will be no Autumn <u>Newsletter</u>, the Medieval Sermon Studies
group has issued its Report on the Fourth Symposium, held at Linacre College,
Oxford, July 11-13. There were eleven speakers at the Symposium in addition
to some 41 other participants. The Report contains abstracts of the papers
given, which include the following of interest to Anglo-Saxonists: Eugene
Green (Stonehill College), "Ælfric as Catechist;" J.E. Cross (University of
Liverpool), "Anonymous OE Homilies--Background and Themes." For more infor-
mation about Medieval Sermon Studies write to: Dr. Gloria Cigman; English
Department; University of Warwick; Coventry CV4 7AL England.

Computer Mailbag

The editors continue to receive a steady stream of articles, comments on articles, and general observations on the topic of OE and computers. Willy-nilly, the subject and the field have entered the computer age. OEN will, of course, publish a small number of articles that meet the standard of review, but here follow some more informal communiqués recently received from three Anglo-Saxonists. The first is from Edward B. Irving, Jr.:

> I wanted a daisy-wheel with OE characters for my
> (Japanese) Brother electronic typewriter. The Dramco
> firm in New York City wanted over $200 to make one, but I
> got one for almost $110 in England from Wilding Office
> Equipment, Ltd.; 531/535 High Road; Ilford, Essex IG1 1TZ.
> The result has so far been satisfactory. They add six
> characters (i.e., three, but upper and lower case) to
> your own printwheel.

William Kretzschmar, whose Journal of English Linguistics gets a notice on p. 30 below, sends along information on his Morrow computer with its Epson MX-100 printer:

> I can have any characters I want (incl. þ, ƿ, ȝ, etc.) at will with my Fancy Font printer-driver program, because any character in any font is modifiable. And cheap! The printer-driver program costs only about $150 and is available in compatible formats for most small computers though it must be used with Epson or Gemini printers (so far). This is the kind of copy I get for JEngL, and when it is shot down at 80% it looks even better. I do need such flexibility, when others might not, because of different phonetic realizations and the need for boldface and italics and many, many foreign characters, though the language of the journal is nominally English.

Here are sample lines of OE:

> þuhte me þæt ic gesawe   syllicre treow
> on lyft lædan,   leohte bewunden,
> beama beorhtost.

Whitney F. Bolton contributes the note below:

"Fancy Font" and "Word"

I wrote this note on Microsoft "Word" and printed it on an Epson FX—80 dot matrix printer with SoftCraft "Fancy Font," which produces high quality type and provides users with a virtually limitless number of special letters of their own design: I'm able to produce Old English words like ðæt, foreign language words like olé, Miró, papá, and as many more as I want. I don't have to give up any "normal" letters to get the special ones.

The version I'm using is generic; SoftCraft will soon, they say, have a version for the FX—80 that will produce results twice as sharp as this sample, and a version that will be directly compatible with "Word." "Fancy Font" runs slowly, but I have the normal speed of the Epson when I don't need the special appearance of "Fancy Font." As it is now, I can use "Word" for normal editing and for its automatic footnoting,[9] but I have to format with "Fancy Font." Again, when I don't need the resources of "Fancy Font" I can use the simpler and more versatile formatting capabilities of "Word."

The two programs together sell for under $400 discount; the Epson for about $500 ditto. Though it takes a while to get them to provide mutual aid, they make a versatile and powerful team.

XII

Anglo-Saxon England 13 (1984)

The contents of ASE 13 are:

Stanley B. Greenfield, "Record of the First Conference of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists at Brussels and Ghent, 22-24 August 1983." Includes the text of the Society's constitution agreed at the meeting.

Edward B. Irving, Jr., "The Nature of Christianity in Beowulf." Considers what kind of Christian material is included and what kind excluded, which parts of the poem it is found in, what patterns of meaning it forms, and how it is adjusted to dominating secular concerns.

Kevin S. Kiernan, "The State of the Beowulf Manuscript 1882-1983." Establishes that the manuscript has not deteriorated during the last hundred years (and probably not since 1845) and by use of fibre-optic light records between three and four hundred letters or parts of letters still surviving in the Beowulf text although not seen by Zupitza in 1882 (and many of them not by Malone in 1963).

Alfred Bammesberger, "Hidden Glosses in Manuscripts of Old English Poetry." Argues that textual critics should be more alert to the possibility of additional or substitutional glosses incorporated in our extant texts.

Angelika Lutz, "Spellings of the Waldend Group--Again." Concludes that the distinctive a-spelling in waldend, regular in poetry, is not to be accounted for by the role of the word as a nomen sacrum, as has been argued before, but by the "poetic potential" of the word as an agent noun in the "man," warrior," "ruler" class.

Mildred Budny and Dominic Tweddle, "The Masseik Embroideries." Shows, very significantly, that this highly important group of embroideries, here treated in detail in English for the first time, are southern English work of the late eighth or early ninth century.

Susan Rankin, "From Memory to Record: Musical Notations in Manuscripts from Exeter." Reveals through close analysis the characteristics and purpose of the neumatic notation in a group of manuscripts produced at Exeter in the third quarter of the eleventh century.

John H. Williams, "From 'Palace' to 'Town': Northampton and its Origins." Shows how a continuing center of authority and administration, evolving as social, economic and political forces changed, gradually acquired the functions we associate with a town.

Nicholas Brooks, Margaret Gelling, and Douglas Johnson, "A New Charter of King Edgar." Edits for the first time a newly discovered text of an otherwise unrecorded charter for an estate in Derbyshire.

Christine Fell, "A friwif locbore Revisited." Reconsiders the meaning of ch. 73 in the law code of Æthelberht, king of Kent, with interesting implications for our understanding of the status of women in early Anglo-Saxon England.

Carol Braun Pasternack, "Stylistic Disjunctions in The Dream of the Rood." Argues that the poet systematically used syntactic and rhetorical features to distinguish the parts of a poem designed as a whole to present the idea of the cross in several perspectives.

Barbara C. Raw, "The Construction of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11." Through detailed codicological analysis disproves some recent theories about the production of this manuscript and sheds new light on the relationship between the Old English biblical poems it contains.

Mary Clayton, "Feasts of the Virgin in the Liturgy of the Anglo-Saxon Church." Draws on both literary and liturgical evidence to demonstrate that an exceptionally large number of Marian feasts were celebrated and that some of them seem to have been owed directly to the Byzantine church.

Audrey L. Meaney, "Variant Versions of Old English Medical Remedies and the Compilation of Bald's Leechbook." Examines the hundred or so medical recipes extant in various manuscripts to discover the relationships between them, and in so doing throws light on the way medical collections were assembled and in particular on the native (as against the Latin) sources of the most important surviving compilation.

Bibliography for 1983. Provides the usual comprehensive coverage of the publications in all branches of study.

This is the first volume to include material emanating from a conference of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists: in addition to Professor Greenfield's "Record" the next six items are versions of papers read at the Brussels meeting.

As in the case of vol. 12, this issue, unchanged in form, is being marketed as a periodical: orders within USA or Canada should go direct to Cambridge University Press, 32 East 57th Street, New York, NY 10022, and those outside USA and Canada to Cambridge University Press, The Edinburgh Building, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge, England CB2 2RU. The correct remittance must accompany each order: for institutions in USA or Canada the price, including postage and packing, is $59.50 and for individuals $39.50; outside the USA and Canada the price for institutions is £27.50 and for individuals £6.00 to be added if postage by airmail is required). Back volumes, obtained by the same procedure, are priced at $60.00 and £27.50 each for institutions and individuals alike. Members of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists who use an order form supplied by the Executive Director of the Society benefit from a substantial discount both on the current volume and on back numbers.

Peter Clemoes, Simon Keynes, Michael Lapidge

XIII

Brief Notices on Publications

Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, which is the monographic publishing program of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, announces the publication of Bernard F. Huppé's The Hero in the Earthly City: A Reading of Beowulf. The book offers a view of the theme and structure of Beowulf in the context of the poet's Augustinian frame of reference, and a translation of the poem. The volume is no. 33 in the MRTS series, selling for $15.00 (ISBN: 86698-067-9). Order directly from: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies; LNG-99; SUNY-Binghamton; Binghamton, NY 13901.

The Early English Text Society has issued its Original Series vol. 286: The Old English Herbarium and Medicina de Quadrupedibus. Edited by Hubert Jan de Vriend,this volume with four illustrations discusses the manuscripts, sources, language, and various botanical and technical matters before presenting the texts of the two works with full apparatus, including glossary. The book was published with the help of a grant from the British Academy. It is the members' volume for 1984 for those who belong to the EETS; it is available to non-members through the Oxford University Press.

Jacek Fisiak has published two monographs in the series Seria Filologia Angielska, which is published by the Adam Miczkiewicz University in Poznan. They are: English Studies in Poland A Historical Survey (vol. 19) and A Bibliography of Writings for the History of the English Language (vol. 20). The serial number for the series is: ISSN 0554-8144. Both volumes came out in 1983.

Although the range of the book goes much beyond Anglo-Saxon England, readers of OEN will want to know of Jeffrey Burton Russell's Lucifer: the Devil in the Middle Ages. (Ithaca and London: The Cornell University Press, 1984). Russell provides a detailed treatment of Christian diabology in the Middle Ages, focussing primarily on Western Christian thought. He gives special attention to Anglo-Saxon literature. ISBN 0-8014-1503-9.

The University of Wisconsin Press has published Helen Damico's Wealhtheow and the Valkyrie Tradition. In this work Damico draws on literary, historical, and mythological sources to present the first systematic analysis of the character. Damico argues that Wealhtheow is a recognizable legendary type with clear-cut epic association and a solid literary importance of her own. ISBN 0-299-09500-2.

Reinhard Gleissner studies the double entendre and the riddles in Die "zweideutigen" Altenglischen Rätsel des Exeter Book in ihrem zeitgenossischen Kontext, which appears as vol. 23 in the series Sprache und Literatur (Regensburger Arbeiten). His wide-ranging six-part study includes consideration of the Latin tradition, the reception of the riddles, special studies of several riddles, and translations into German. The publisher is Peter Lang (Frankfurt am Main, Bern, New York, Nancy). ISSN 0172-1178/ISBN 3-8204-7450-1.

Alfred Bammesberger offers A Sketch of Diachronic English Morphology in Eichastatter Materialen 7 (1984). The emphasis in this book lies on accounting for the Old English morphologic system from the viewpoint of comparative grammar. Bammesberger discusses the development from Old English to Modern English in outline. Published by Verlag Friedrich Pustet, P.F. 110441, D-8400 Regensburg 11, the book sells for DM 19.80. ISSN 0722-1010/ISBN 3-7917-0931-3.

Michael Swanton has translated (with introduction) Three Lives of the Last Englishmen for the Garland Library of Medieval Literature vol. 10, Series B. The three lives are those of Harold Godwinson, Hereward the Wake, and Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester. A brief index and a select bibliography accompany the translations, which are published as offset, typed copy. ISBN 0-8240-9422-0.

Gildas Roberts has just published a verse translation of Beowulf through Breakwater Books Ltd. (P.O. Box 2188; 277 Duckworth Street; St. John's Newfoundland A1C 6E6). He says in his Introduction: "I have attempted to produce a poem that has the liveliness and vigour of Burton Raffel's poetic reworking of Beowulf and the fidelity of John R. Clark Hall's literal 'translation into modern English prose.'" ISBN 0-919519-64-4.

The Proceedings of the Illinois Medieval Association (Macomb, IL, 1984) contains papers from the first meeting of the organization held February 25, 1984. Two of the seven papers published are of direct interest to Anglo-Saxonists. They are: Robert V. Graybill (Central Missouri State University), "'The Dream of the Rood:' Apotheosis of Anglo-Saxon Paradox"; Richard W. Clement (Chicago, IL), "Codicological Consideration in the Beowulf Manuscript." The editors are: Roberta Bux Bosse, Mark D. Johnston, Robert L. Kindrick, Norman Hinton, David Wagner.

The British Series of British Archaeological Reports has added these volumes of possible interest to Anglo-Saxonists:

BAR 124 (1984): The Scandinavian Character of Anglian England in the pre-Viking Period by John Hines. ISBN 0-86054-254-8. Price £20.00 post free.

BAR 127 (1984): Sceattas in England and on the Continent (The Seventh Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History) ed. David Hill and D.M. Metcalf. ISBN 0-86054-266-1. Price £13.00 post free.

Collectors of early editions and early printed books in Anglo-Saxon studies may be interested to know that Rulon-Miller Books is offering for sale Elizabeth Elstob's The Rudiments of Grammar. For further information contact Ms. Barbara Walzer, Vice-President; Rulon-Miller Books; P.O. Box 2536; Providence, RI 02906 (401-351-6330). The asked for price as of December 4 is $1,000. This copy has been re-backed, and there is spotting in the text.

XIV

Harvester Microform announces the launching of a new open-ended series, Britain's Literary Heritage: The Original Manuscript Record, which will reproduce literary manuscripts, proof sheets, certain correspondence, prompt books, and other primary textual sources as well as certain key printed sources (such as periodicals). There are several sub-series in drama and theatre, but the sub-series that may interest Anglo-Saxonists is British Literary Manuscripts from Cambridge University Library. There are Three Parts: Part One, Mss. Dd-Ff ($1,900); Part Two, Mss. Gg-Ii ($2,000); Part Three, Mss. Kk-Add ($1,700). These Parts actually cover c. 1150-c. 1500, but Harvester promises future programs for other periods. For further information contact: Harvester Press Microform Publications Lts.; 17 Ship Street; Brighton, Sussex BN1 1AD.

The Cædmon Prizes 1984

þa Engliscan Gesiðas through its Witan have awarded the first Cædmon prizes in two categories: A) Old English Poetry in the alliterative style and B) Modern English poetry in the Old English alliterative style. The winners are Linda J. Clifton (Seattle) and Charles R. Sleeth (Clifton, NJ). Choosing from several strong entries, the judges saw Ms. Clifton's poem as the entry that made best use of Old English modes of thought and expression:

> At first it appears to offer a literal narrative of how a woman exiled by war saw on a headland a shining hall and dared to approach it, but the first half-line, in which the wound is clearly not literal, prepares the reader to look beyond the literal sense. In good Old English manner, there is no tidy allegory. This womanless hall, however, in itself bright but with grey men in it, full of contention, to which the protagonist, though unarmed as men see arms, yet gains an inner power to restore honour and harmony, can clearly be given an application to life in general. In the version now printed a few details have been adjusted after discussion with the poet (it was of course judged as received); a number of obscurities and puzzling forms appear to us to remain - but of what significant Old English poem can that not be said?

There was an equally strong field in section B, but the judges gave Mr. Sleeth the laurel:

> ...a notable demonstration of the vigorous poetic life the old metre can still show when the action of its varied rhythms is allowed to play unmuffled by too many unstressed syllables. Sleeth supplies a prose introduction setting the scene: this too can be accepted as a good Germanic practice, if Old Norse rather than Old English.

"The English Companions" give advance notice that the next Leoþgaderung will take place in 1986. Cædmon prizes will be awarded on the same basis as this year. See OEN 17 no. 1 (Fall, 1983), p. 11 for more information about the group. The winning poems in 1984 are:

Freoðuwebbes Sang

Wedbryce wund   on wergum mode
ic wod under wolcnum   wealaf guða,
goldleas, galgmod,   gomen-bedæled
þa biter wæs se beaduræs   bealosið longsum.

Fram nipendre niht   næshliðe seah
mondream scine,   æt sele þæm hean;
hringmæl hondwundor   hornreced leoda,
leohte gehroden   heah rixode.

Hwearf ic rihte   to rasianne steapne
winsele wera   wordrihtes stranges.
Dorste ic dream   dyrne þa fandian
þeah me duru dwelede   dryhtwelan breman.

Þa þas ic þristhydig   þurhbrecan mihte;
gewehte þæm leoman   ðære þe weaspelle ondhwearf.

Inne ic seah   in sele þæm ricum
bryne swa brune   blædlice glede,
ond healþegnas græge,   gehealdan rice,
æt symble sprecan   sacan in rune.

Ne modor ne mæden   þis meþel ne cuþe,
ealde, unrihte   unsnyttran gifstol,
ond we andgit,   þa þe are sohten
geæhtlan gecyndan,   geatwa næfdon,
wægum ond weorcum.   Wuldres bescierede;
wæs me nanwuht   wið niðwigum reþum
nefne þæm Wearde   wifgeþonces
guðmaðum glædum   þæm þe God sende
idese to frofre,   ecum Dryhtne,
Meotode wifcynnes   on wraðra dagum
--minum Frean ic þancode,   Ðæm þe þas gedælde,
gryregeatwe,   Þæt is god Wealdend!

Minre swiðmiltse   fela missera worhte
ond witan gewisse   wuldortorhtan,
holdan in healle   handþenglan trywan,
unfæcnan ond wloncan   ymb wigendum fand.

Nu ic geselda   ymb sinfream bide,
uppriht ond unforht,   utfus weaxan,
mærða tilian,   wið mælceare dugan.

Swa weaxaþ ond wride,   wið wrohtum æfre,
eadig ides.   Swa nu ic scyle
brecðe Frumfæge,   geflit endian;
cwenlice freoðuwære   mid cempan gedo.

Linda J. Clifton
Seattle, Washington

After the Flood

(Noah is discovered lying on his back on a double bunk bed
constructed of boards. It should not be hard to recognize him as
Noah: he is in every way the conventional figure of a patriarch, with
long hair and a full beard, both gray, and a simple loose robe of
coarse cloth, and the low narrow room in which he is lying can hardly
be anything but his and his wife's cabin in the Ark, with heavy beams
overhead, and just off the foot of the bed a small square window, now
open to show a patch of clear blue sky, but equipped with a square
wooden sidewise-sliding cover which in its closed position would
obviously make the window nearly watertight. Waking up, he stirs,
twists, mumbles, clears his throat, mumbles some more, then draws his
head up higher on the pillow, runs his open hands over his face,
opens his eyes, composes himself, and begins to speak, in a low voice
but audibly.)

My dreams are still   of the dry ages;
waking, I weep   for that world's drowning,
I, Noah, that knew   it could never last.

(He does in fact weep silently.)

What a fool I felt,   claiming foreknowledge,
Mad maunderer,   mediating
Visions and voices   for very truth
That everyone knew   were airy delusion!
As I preached, how prim   and proud everyone
Called me--they dubbed me   damned hypocrite!
They said I set   myself in judgment
Of their wills and their ways,   but well I knew
Soft life, liquor,   love, revelry.
I so dote on drink   that I dream this moment
Of grapes growing   in a great vineyard.
And my maid Miriam,   mother of Ham,
Her embrace in bed   made my beard tingle;
Losing her, I lost   my life, nearly.
No, I was hardly   holier than they,
But God's governance,   gravitating
From his sovereign seat,   singled me out.
Though I winced and wailed   as his will opened
Itself to my sight,   and insisted on
Living my life   as I liked, never
A move that I made   diminished his rule.
Free will's working   is wondrous strange.

Charles R. Sleeth
Madison, New Jersey

The Third Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture

An ad-hoc committee of Anglo-Saxonists has continued the initiatives of the Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture, originally begun in 1983, by organizing a Third Symposium in connection with the Twentieth International Congress of Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, May 9-12, 1985. The organizers have arranged a schedule of eight sessions. The schedule is:

Third Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture

Literary Sources I

    chair: J.E. Cross (University of Liverpool)

Joyce Hill (University of Leeds)

    "The Range of Evidence in Ælfric's Pastoral Letters"

James Earl (Fordham University)

    "The Rhyming Poem and the Hisperica Famina"

Michael M. Gorman (Harvard University)

    "The Role of Anglo-Saxon England in the Diffusion of St. Augustine's Major Works"

Literary Sources II

    chair: Thomas D. Hill (Cornell University)

J.E. Cross (University of Liverpool)

    "Insular Links of the Homiliary in Cambridge, Pembroke College 25"

Fred M. Biggs (Cornell University)

    "The Poem of Fifty Questions: Some Answers"

Literary Sources III

    chair: George H. Brown (Stanford University)

Roger Ray (University of Toledo)

    "Bede's Use of Augustine's Treatise On The Harmony of the Gospels"

Peter Baker (Emory University)

    "Computistical Sources for Byrhtferth's Enchiridion"

Charles Wright (Texas Tech University)

    "Ascetic Florilegia and Insular Literary Culture"

Post-Conquest Lives of Pre-Conquest Saints

      chair: Paul E. Szarmach (SUNY-Binghamton)

Gordon Whatley (Queens College, CUNY)

           "Introduction: the Post-Conquest Rehabilitation of
           Anglo-Saxon Saints"

David W. Rollason (University of Durham)

           "Saints' Lives, Property, and Privilege in Post-Conquest England"

Thomas D. Hill (Cornell University)

           "Odin, Rinda, and Thaney, the Mother of St. Kentigern"

Alcuin

      chair: Gordon Whatley (Queens College, CUNY)

William Stoneman (University of Toronto)

           "Alcuin's Interrogationes Sigwulfi Presbiteri and its
           Ælfrician Translation"

Paul E. Szarmach (SUNY-Binghamton)

           "Alcuin's Liber de Virtutibus et Vitiis and the Vernacular
           Tradition"

Whitney F. Bolton (Rutgers University)
           "How Boethian is Alfred's Boethius?"

Bede, the 1250th Anniversary

      chair: Thomas Mackay (Brigham Young University)

David Howlett (Dictionary of Medieval Latin)

           "The Cursus in Bede"

Martin Irvine (Wayne State University)

           "Bede the Grammarian as Exegete"

Roger Ray (University of Toledo)

           "A New Catalogue of Bede's Library"

      note: This session will have a brief panel discussion

Anglo-Saxon Literature and Art

    chair: Thomas H. Ohlgren (Purdue University)

Robert D. Stevick (University of Washington)

       "A Common Source of Form for Book-Art and Poetry"

Mildred Budny (Downing College, Cambridge)

       "The Image of the Ascension in Anglo-Saxon Art and Literature"

Carol Braun Pasternack (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

       "Trampling on Each Other's Territory or a Case for
       Cross-Disciplinary Studies"

Perspectives on Later Anglo-Saxon Art

    chair: Robert T. Farrell (Cornell University)

Richard Bailey (University of Newcastle upon Tyne)

       "English-Irish Interinfluence in Tenth Century Sculpture"

James A. Graham-Campbell (University of London)

       "The Viking Impact on Late Anglo-Saxon Art"

Leslie Webster (The British Museum)

       "Anglo-Saxon Metalwork and Sculpture of the Tenth and
       Eleventh Century"

Towards Computerized Teaching of Beginning Old English:
A Progress Report and Offer of Preview

Constance B. Hieatt and Brian Shaw, University of Western Ontario

Our report in the Fall 1983 issue of OEN prompted several colleagues to give us news of their own projects; one such colleague, O.D. Macrae-Gibson, offered to assist us, which offer we gratefully accepted. Since then we have completed a trial version of a basic text with exercises, and Dr. Macrae-Gibson has worked out computerized versions of six of our thirteen exercise sections. These exercises are designed for the Commodore PET, the computer currently available to students at UWO. The preliminary (trial) version of the basic text, part of which can function purely as a manual for the computer version, includes, inter alia, reading selections and a glossary. We intend to add a section of brief translation exercises from ModE into OE, which clearly cannot be effectively computerized but are keyed to the computer exercises.

Beginning Old English in its present form can be used as a basic "workbook" introduction to Old English; as such, it is being used in our introductory course at UWO this year. Transatlantic delays and technical problems made it impossible for our students to start on computerized exercises this fall, as we had all originally hoped, but Dr. Macrae-Gibson's own students in Scotland, who start Old English in the spring term, should provide a trial sampling of a class introduced to OE primarily by these means. We expect him to finish the PET version of the exercises in time for us to use it here next year.

Our text is, as the title suggests, meant for beginners, not for adepts in Germanic philology. Dealing, as we happen to, with undergraduates, we do not assume any familiarity with the finer points of grammar (or even all the vital ones, for that matter). Our exercises do not aim to raise neophytes to Olympian heights of expertise, but only to help students, however ill-prepared, to begin to read genuine Old English prose and poetry. We hope adepts will be pleased to find that all our examples of Old English sentences are drawn from genuine OE texts: although we have often shortened or rearranged sentences, most of the examples given for students should be familiar to their instructors.

Others may not find the PET an ideal instrument. Neither do we, and we have now been given funds which will allow us to develop further exercises for the IBM and/or Apple II. To complete and test a revision for either or both will inevitably take us a year or two more. When we have something we are all satisfied with, we shall be happy to offer it to others, together with the basic grammar now in use (corrected and revised as seems necessary) as a manual. Meanwhile, if anyone would like to see, or consider working with, the text in its present "workbook" form, we have a few copies available at the price it cost our department to run them off and bind them (in spiral binders). We will be happy to send one, with errata sheet, to anyone willing to pay the cost: including postage, this amounts to (US) $6.00. We may be able to provide a PET disk next year, but cannot promise that yet. And we would, of course, welcome corrections or any other suggestions.

Two positions are available as full-time editors on the Dictionary of

Old English at the University of Toronto. Appointments are as research

associates (an academic rank), with a status-only cross appointment to the

Centre for Medieval Studies as Mellon Professors. Appointments are for a

term of three years, renewable up to ten years. The University offers an

excellent benefits package, generous holidays throughout the year, and a

month of paid vacation. The starting salary will be at the 1985-86 floor

for an assistant professor, $28,000, or above, depending on experience. The

starting date is July 1, 1985.

Candidates should have a Ph.D. or equivalent thesis degree in Old

English language and literature, with a concentration in Old English philology.

A wide-ranging knowledge of the Old English corpus is required, and a

solid background in Latin and the cognate Germanic languages is essential.

Interest in linguistics, and in the use of the computer for lexicographical

work would be assets. The candidate should have a record of high accomplishment

and productivity and a demonstrated ability to work with others on a team

project; he or she should take pleasure in detailed, meticulous work.

In accordance with Canadian immigration requirements, preference will

be given to Canadian citizens and permanent residents of Canada.

Applications with three references should be sent by 1 March 1985 to:

Ashley Crandell Amos, Editor

Dictionary of Old English

Room 14285, Robarts Research Library

University of Toronto

Toronto, Ontario M5S 1A1

An Institute on

Anglo-Saxon England

June 24-August 2, 1985

at the

Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies
State University of New York at Binghamton

The Institute seeks participants who are full-time teachers of undergraduate medieval subjects at two-year colleges, four-year colleges, or universities in the United States. Participants may use the Institute to broaden their knowledge of Anglo-Saxon Studies or to develop Anglo-Saxon Studies as a new area for teaching and study. They will receive a stipend of $2,500, which is intended to cover travel, room, and board.

Guest faculty are:

Ashley Crandell Amos	*Simon D. Keynes*
Carl T. Berkhout	*Paul Meyvaert*
Rosemary Cramp	*Robin S. Oggins*
Donald K. Fry	*Joel T. Rosenthal*
Stanley B. Greenfield	*William C. Voelkle*
C. Warren Hollister	

The activities of the Institute will include informal seminars conducted by the guest faculty, colloquia, and occasional lectures, as well as field trips to the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City and the Dictionary of Old English at the University of Toronto. Participants, who will be Research Associates of CEMERS, will have full access to computer and library facilities.

For further information and application forms, contact:

Paul E. Szarmach, Director
Institute on Anglo-Saxon England
CEMERS
SUNY-Binghamton
Binghamton, NY 13901
(607) 798-2130, or -2730

CENTER FOR MEDIEVAL AND EARLY RENAISSANCE STUDIES

State University of New York at Binghamton

Nineteenth Annual Conference

The Bible in the Middle Ages
Its Influence on Literature and Art

October 18-19, 1985

The Conference will focus on the influence of the Bible on literature and art in the Middle Ages. The primary areas of investigation will include the influence of the Bible on art and literature, in all its manifestations, both sacred and secular, and will include the study of illuminations in medieval manuscripts, stained glass windows, architecture, sculpture, etc., and of all of the known medieval literatures, including Old English, Middle English, German, French, Italian, Icelandic, Spanish etc. It shall also consider the influence of scriptural tradition, including biblical commentaries, scriptural exegesis, sermons, etc., on medieval literature and art. In addition to a program of invited speakers who will address the topic from various perspectives, a series of panels will consider a variety of topics broadly related to the subject.

Call for Papers

For the various topically organized sessions the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies cordially invites scholars to submit short papers (20-30 minutes) for consideration. The Center welcomes submissions from various fields, including specialists in the Bible, drama, literature, art, architecture, scriptural exegesis, etc. Although abstracts will be considered, completed papers will be given priority over them. Submissions must arrive by May 20, 1985.

Information

The final program for the conference will appear in September, 1985. Please submit all inquiries, papers, abstracts, and suggestions to the Conference Coordinator:

Professor Bernard S. Levy
1985 Conference Coordinator
Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies
State University of New York at Binghamton
Binghamton, New York 13901

Telephone: (607) 798-2730 or 798-2130

A New Journal: Oral Tradition

In January 1986 the University of Missouri-Columbia will inaugurate Oral Tradition, a journal devoted entirely to the interdisciplinary field of research and scholarship on oral literature and tradition. This rapidly evolving consortium of disciplines (among them literary studies, folklore, anthropology, music, linguistics, and history) now touches on more than ninety language areas. Since 1960 more than one thousand books and articles have appeared on literatures as diverse as medieval English, French, Spanish, and German; ancient, medieval, and modern Greek; all of the major Slavic languages; a host of African traditions; and many more. Until now, however, there has been no central periodical through which scholars in this wide variety of specialties could communicate. Oral Tradition will strive to build and maintain bridges among disciplines in order to promote the healthy growth of the field as a whole.

The first annual volume of Oral Tradition will contain state-of-the-art essays on comparative perspectives (Albert Lord), ballad studies (D.K. Wilgus and Eleanor Long), medieval music (Leo Treitler), Old Norse (Joseph Harris), Old Irish (Joseph F. Nagy), Middle High German (Franz Bäuml), medieval Spanish (Ruth Webber), folk-preaching (Bruce Rosenberg), Middle English (Ward Parks), ancient Greek (Mark Edwards), Turkish (Ilhan Basgöz), and translation (Burton Raffel).

Contributions in all areas, including the influence of oral tradition on written literatures, are encouraged. Oral Tradition will publish, in addition to analytical essays, the following: reports of field research, detailed and cogent responses to essays in earlier issues (in a "Symposium" section reserved for extended commentary), and occasional transcriptions and translations of oral texts. All submissions, which must include a franked envelope for return or proof and which must follow the new MLA documentation format, should be directed to the editor at the address given below; they will be reviewed by at least one specialist reader and one member of the editorial board before a decision is made.

In addition, Oral Tradition will feature an annual annotated bibliography of research and scholarship in the field, and all authors are urged to send copies of their publications to the editor for bibliographical and reviewing purposes.

Subscriptions to Oral Tradition may be placed with the publisher at the address given below. The annual rate is $20 for individuals and $30 for libraries and other institutions.

The Henry Bradshaw Society

Henry Bradshaw, University Librarian in Cambridge and distinguished authority on early medieval manuscripts and liturgies, died in 1885. The Society named after him, and founded for the purpose of publishing rare liturgical texts, will celebrate its centenary in 1985. During its first century the Society has published some 100 volumes (vols. 102 and 103 are now in press). In order that the Henry Bradshaw Society may continue to flourish and to advance the study of liturgy, it is eager to advertise its existence and to invite new membership.

The Society and its publications will have an especial interest for Anglo-Saxonists. Many of its volumes--both published and planned--concern Anglo-Saxon England. Of the various HBS volumes in print, for example; the following are essential to Anglo-Saxon studies: The Portiforium of St Wulstan, ed. A. Hughes (vols. 89–90), The Claudius Pontificals, ed. D.H. Turner (vol. 97), and the Fulda Sacramentary, ed. G. Richter and A. Schönfelder (vol. 101). Francis Wormald's indispensable English Kalendars before A.D. 1100 (vol. 72 for 1934) will be reissued as a reprint later this year. The following volumes are in preparation and will be issued in the course of the next few years: "The Fleury Ritual," ed. A. Davril; "Anglo-Saxon Pontificals," ed. H.M.J. Banting (The Sidney Sussex and Egbert pontificals); "Pre-Conquest Monastic Liturgical Devotions," ed. B. Muir (Cotton Galba A.xiv and Nero A.ii); and "Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints," ed. M. Lapidge.

Annual subscription to the Society, which entitles the member to one copy of the book being issued for that year, costs £10.00. Furthermore, members are entitled to purchase back volumes at (greatly reduced) members' prices: thus the two-volume Portiforium of St Wulstan has a retail value of £4.40; the Claudius Pontificals is available to members at £2.20, but has a retail value of £22.00; and so on.

Applications for membership in the Henry Bradshaw Society should be addressed to the Society's Honorary Secretary:

> The Rev. D.H. Tripp
> The Theological College
> Drury Lane
> Lincoln, England
> LN1 3BP

A substantial increase in membership would facilitate inter alia the reprinting of the many important HBS volumes which have unfortunately gone out of print; applications for membership will accordingly be most welcome.

Michael Lapidge

Journal of English Linguistics

After editing JEngL since he founded it in 1967, R.A. Peters has now stepped down in order to pursue other interests. Beginning with Vol. 17 (1984) JEngL's new editors will strive to maintain the high standard Peters has set in publishing articles and reviews of books on "the modern and historical periods of the English language." The journal will, however, have a new look with computer typesetting, a new balance between historical and modern articles and reviews, and a new emphasis on coverage of scholarship on English conducted outside North America. Beginning with Vol. 18 (1985) JEngL will expand to an annual volume of two numbers; the second issue each year will be devoted to articles and reviews of books by scholars outside of the US and Canada.

The new editors would like to invite submission of articles appropriate to the mission of the journal. In the past JEngL has published work on subjects ranging from Old and Middle English to modern English grammar and American dialectology. Topics from comparative studies, language contact, pidgins/creoles, stylistics, and other such fields will be acceptable as long as the submission keeps its focus on the English language. The new editors will consider both synchronic and diachronic studies, prepared according to either traditional or neolinguistic methods. Articles normally have ranged from 10 to 25 pages in typescript. All submissions should conform to general standards of scholarly writing; either MLA or LSA style is acceptable. Notes and references should be typed separately and placed at the end of the article. Please submit the original typescript and one photocopy, and include a self-addressed envelope with sufficient postage to allow return of the manuscript. All submissions will be juried and the decision rendered within 90 days of submission; all decisions will be accompanied by a summary of readers' comments. Unsolicited reviews cannot be accepted for publication.

JEngL has an international readership. All articles and reviews are published in English. Vol. 17 (1984) will be available for $7 (US) until July 1984. Beginning with Vol. 18 (1985) JEngL will publish numbers in April and October. Subscription rates for Volume 18 are $10 (US) for individual subscribers, $15 (US) for institutions. Back issues, when available, are priced at the current individual subscription rate per issue.

European submissions and editorial correspondence should be addressed to the appropriate Consulting Editor: Guy Jean Forgue, CRECINA, Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle (Paris-3), 5 rue de l'Ecole-de-Médecine, 75006 Paris, France; Sidney Greenbaum, Dept. of English, University College London, London, England WC1E 6BT: Albrecht Neubert, Karl-Marx-Universität, Karl-Marx-Platz 9, 7010 Leipzig, East Germany; Hans F. Nielsen, Engelsk Institut, Odense Universitet, Campusvej 55, DK-5230 Odense M, Denmark; Wolfgang Viereck, Englische Sprachwissenschaft, Universität Bamberg, D-8600 Bamberg, West Germany. Books for review should be sent to the Associate Editor, Dept. of English, Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond, VA 23284. All other submissions and editorial and business correspondence should be sent to the Editor:

William A. Kretzschmar, Jr., Editor
Michael I. Miller, Associate Editor
Journal of English Linguistics
University of Wisconsin-Whitewater
Whitewater, WI 53190-1790

announces

The Hero in the Earthly City:
A Reading of Beowulf

by Bernard F. Huppé
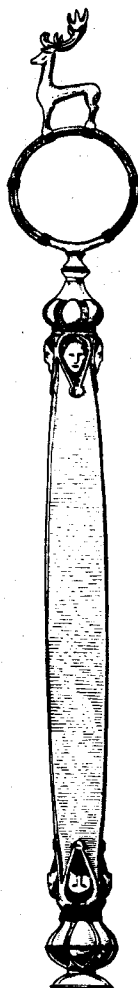
This book presents a coherent view of the theme and structure of *Beowulf* in the context of the poet's Augustinian frame of reference, and an authoritative translation of the poem. The intensive study and the lively, graceful translation offer both a deep appreciation of *Beowulf* as a poetic masterpiece and a stimulus to further study.

Huppé opens with a clear and full summary of the Beowulf story, then proceeds to a discussion of thematic polarities — Christian/pagan and Christian/heroic especially — and analyzes their antitheses, interaction, and reconciliation. The chapter on narrative polarities deals densely and richly with contrapuntal development seen in the use of words, points of view, narrative voice, and descriptions of nature within the poem. In a brilliant discussion of structure, Huppé reviews and then rejects solutions proposed by Klaeber and others in favor of a carefully worked out design which encompasses and resolves previous disparities and which illustrates the essential unity of the whole poem. He supports his structural argument by careful analysis of the parts, episodes, fitts, and paragraphs of *Beowulf*, and provides a chart to illustrate his points.

The last chapter is the translation itself, which is both the justification for and the end result of Huppé's study. Taken together, the study and translation provide a cohesive and compelling reading of *Beowulf* which, however controversial, will have to be taken into account in all future discussions of the poem.

Vol. 33   ISBN 067-9   208 pp. $15.00

Also available by **Bernard F. Huppé**:

A READING OF THE *CANTERBURY TALES*
Revised edition   256 pp. $10.00

British Library, Cotton Otho C.i, vol. 2, fol. 115r

The page shows characteristic work of at least two of the early active

readers of a copy of Werferth's translation of Gregory's Dialogues:

besides the Tremulous Hand's glossing and punctuating, an earlier chapter

title or summary added in the lower outer margin. Hans Hecht included

this page's marginal material in his critical apparatus ("am rechten rande

neben wytan, welʒrimra und ær steht BEÐ[ ]/ÐEAH[ ]/7 hv h[ ]/SVUG(?)[ ]/,

geschr. von anderer gleichzeitiger hd.," Bischofs Wærferth von Worcester

Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen, Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen

Prosa, vol. 5 [Leipzig, 1900], p. 292) and that on fols. 113v ("daneben am

linken rande: ÐE ME/[ ]S AFEDD (12. jhd.)," p. 289) and 132v ("am linken

rande schwache reste einer glosse neben -ʒeotan und Liconia: ett/[ ]he/

[ ]ÐE", p. 326) but not that on fols. 113r, 116r, or 131r--all six pages

from Book IV of Dialogues. The English titles or summaries do not seem to

translate the standard Latin chapter titles, but compare the insular set of

titles--witnessed in Latin, Old English (Hatton 76), and Anglo-Norman--for

Book I (see Revue Bénédictine, 89 [1979], 178-82).

David Yerkes
Columbia University
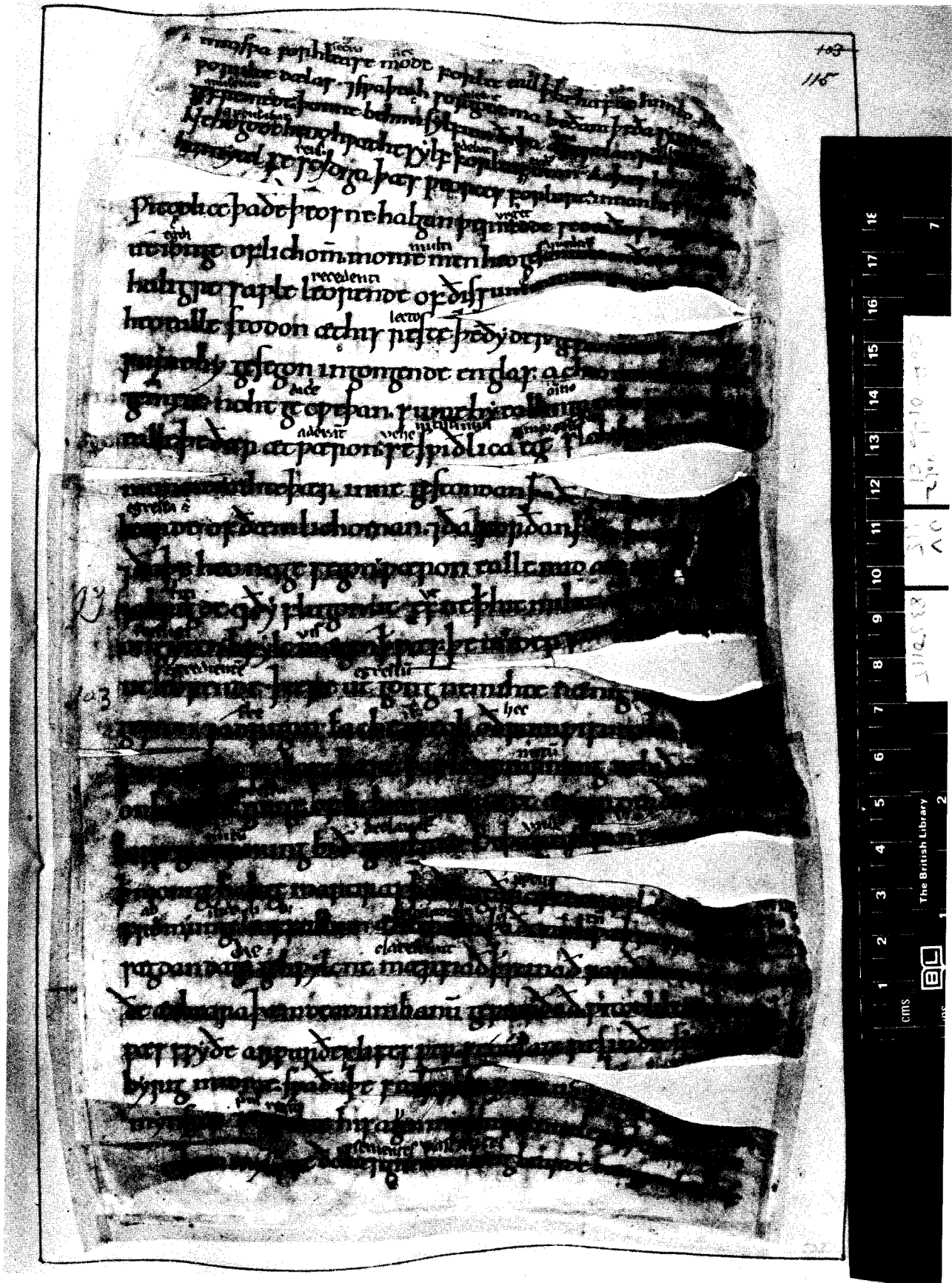
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THE YEAR'S WORK IN OLD ENGLISH STUDIES - 1983

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

Dedicated to the memory of Colin Chase
(1935-1984),

scholar,

teacher,

friend,

and, for many years,
a distinguished contributor to
The Year's Work in Old English Studies

"De Colores"

The Year's Work in Old English Studies - 1983 attempts to present a description, summary, and often an evaluation of the scholarly work published in 1983 on any aspect of pre-Conquest England. The intent is to be thorough, accurate, and prompt. As everyone knows, accuracy and speed are not happy companions but the editor and contributors have now for seventeen years made strenuous efforts to bring these natural enemies into viable concord.

While The Year's Work in Old English Studies - 1983 presents a unified front to the world, it is the work of twelve different reviewers working at eight different academic institutions located all over the eastern half of the United States and Canada. The general editor selects contributors and appoints them for a term of one year, but the opinions of each reviewer are fully independent and are not subject to any effort to achieve a uniform critical posture. There is a brief listing of "Works not seen" at the end of each section but an entry here may not mean anything more than that the journal was at the bindery when the reviewer wished to read a particular article. Usually, reviewers will pick up many of the "not seen" items in the new year's review. Some contributors, however, silently omit dissertations, works for children, and works written in Japanese without an English summary; others list them as "works not seen" but well may not review them in subsequent years. While contributors try to be thorough in their coverage, omissions do not necessarily mean a negative judgment. Since YWOES is based on the entries in the Old English Bibliography published in the spring issue of OEN, full bibliographical details are often not repeated.

Sadly, as I suspect one should say, the art of word processing has not yet been made available for the proper production of YWOES at Rochester. The present issue has been once again prepared on an IBM Selectric II with an Icelandic "golfball" and other attachments for Greek letters and additional symbols. The gratitude of the editor and contributors to the typist, Claire Sundeen, knows no bounds. She managed this long and complicated manuscript with good cheer, remarkable speed and characteristic accuracy. The editor also has special thanks for Nancy Hall, Administrative Assistant in the Department of English at Rochester, who arranged the logistics for this production with consummate skill.

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, late of the 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
M. McC. G.	Milton McCormick Gatch, Union Theological Seminary
T. G. H.	Thomas G. Hahn, The University of Rochester
J. R. H.	James R. Hall, University of Mississippi
M. M.	Matthew Marino, University of Alabama
D. A. E. P.	David A. E. Pelteret, University of Toronto
A. T.	Andrew Taylor, University of Toronto
J. B. T.	Joseph B. Trahern, Jr., University of Tennessee

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

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1. GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS

Several essays produced in 1983 attempt to characterize the psychic and cultural components of Anglo-Saxon England. In The Well and the Tree (Amherst: Univ. of Massachusetts Press, 1982), Paul C. Bauschatz undertakes a richly detailed and speculative assessment of some anthropological and literary features of early Germanic culture. He begins with ON descriptions of Urth's Well, and from these establishes a set of connections between the well and the world tree: these enact a binary opposition not merely as images, but, in terms of larger cultural patterns, as opposition of past and non-past (especially as these are expressed in tense and aspect of the Germanic verb systems). The tree and well define spatial and temporal dimensions of human action, and demonstrate the "fluidity" or interconnection between what is past and what is passing or to come--between permanence and change. These contrasts mark most meaningful cultural activities, including feasting, drinking, and boasting, as well as games and warfare. Bauschatz applies the set of terms he has developed to Beowulf in particular, stressing the connection between the action of the poem and the sources of events that lie outside human control. The monsters, the dragon, the funerals at beginning and end, the episode of swimming--all point up the fluid relation between the world of men and the other world beyond. Bauschatz's argument is that in all these features Beowulf typifies a Germanic perception and expression of human experience.

In a wide-ranging, stimulating, learned, and judicious essay, James W. Earl speculates on the interplay between social and religious ideals, institutional reality, and literary text in Anglo-Saxon England. Using a number of anthropological insights to modify a Freudian psychoanalytic model, Earl sets up productive oppositions between pagan and Christian, kinship and kingship, female and male, agriculture and warfare, and the village hut and the mead hall. Earl argues that developmental paradigms of personal and psychic growth offer analogies for cultural change; the coalescence of a number of ideological and material factors help on this model to account for the vigor and expansiveness of Anglo-Saxon culture. The transition from warlord to king as the controlling figure in a coherent and complex society was supported by the conversion to Christianity. The conversion represents "an internalization of the warrior life, a refocussing of the aggression of warfare and rulership inward upon the self, where the real enemy has been relocated, resulting in guilt" (154). In terms of the "personality" of Anglo-Saxon England, the superego projects a set of heroic ideals that remain impossible of fulfillment; the resulting sense of failure--in the form of guilt and repression--makes the development of a complex social order possible. Earl takes Beowulf as his central literary example, and characterizes it as a poem of mourning which--in larger cultural terms--acknowledges the separation from earlier stages of development (pagan, kin-based), and thereby offers to the reader, if not to the personages of the poem, an internalization of new values. Beowulf represents a relinquishment of the past at the same time that, as a literary event, it incorporates the past into the present. Such a complicated argument necessarily raises some doubts and confusions. Yet a brief summary such as this cannot do justice to the subtlety of Earl's presentation, which demonstrates that models of analysis from the social sciences may produce suggestive distinctions and insights with a minimum of distortion.

Donald Bullough (Ideal and Reality, ed. P. Wormald with D. Bullough
and R. Collins, pp. 177-201) considers the changes in mortuary customs and
patterns of burial from the patristic age to the ninth and tenth centuries.
The cult of the saints, veneration of the dead, and the status of ancestors
undergo a marked change in terms of social, political, and anthropological
factors; this is underway by the eighth century, as evidence from the writings
of Alcuin attests. Archaeological excavations have revealed that in Britain
and on the continent, cemeteries grow smaller in number but larger in size,
and in general the location moves from open field or an area beyond the boun-
daries of a settlement to a spot more centrally connected to communal activity
--within the walls of the settlement, within a churchyard, or a cathedral
precinct. The latter may have been "encouraged if not actually enforced by
the clergy" (185), though ecclesiastical or theological influence on such
changes do not rank first in importance. Ecclesiastical legislation does
not prohibit ceremonial burials for lay, clerical, or regal interments, and
Christian burial may have offered the opportunity for rituals of commemora-
tion and solidarity among kin. Penalties against grave robbery may, then,
reflect not a carry-over of pagan ancestor worship, but an exhibition of
public concern for the dead, based upon Roman law mediated by the Church.
The pattern that grows in the centuries before the year 1000 finds country
people seeking burial in urban and ecclesiastical centers. Cemeteries con-
taining the graves of rustici often have at their heart an early, extravagant
burial; one change that markes this period is that such examples of conspicuous
non-consumption cease, with the wealth of such families presumably going to the
Church rather than into the ground. And even the burial of non-noble and
non-affluent country people in urban/ecclesiastical cemeteries indicates signi-
ficant shifts in demography and the distribution of wealth. Provision for
these increasing numbers of non-well-to-do was made by consecrating ground
outside the Church or cloister, and so offering a more distant access to the
saints. Whether within or without the Church, clerics and lay people alike
might fight off anonymity and preserve their memory among the community of
the faithful through engraved and decorated tombstones, which also appear with
greater frequency in this period.

Treasures of Ireland: Irish Art 3000 B.C.-1500 A.D. (Dublin: Royal Irish
Academy) commemorates a comprehensive exhibition of objects, a great number of
which date from the central Middle Ages. The volume consists of a catalogue
of nearly a hundred objects, preceded by a series of essays that survey the
development of technique, style, and cultural context. Influence moved in
both directions between western Britain and Ireland from pre-Christian times.
Celtic decorative and organizational features appear in Northumbrian art and
institutions from the seventh century, and the motifs and technique of the
Tara Brooch bear comparison with the stylistic features of the Lindisfarne
Gospels. Other connections exist in the resemblances between one of the carpet
pages in the Book of Durrow and the decoration of several objects in the Sutton
Hoo burial, in the comments by Bede, Gerald the Welshman, and others on Irish
manuscripts (including their healing properties), and in changes concerning the
political and diocesan organization of the Church of Ireland. The book is
sumptuously produced, and its photographs offer appropriate tribute to the
richness of the objects it celebrates.

The study of such treasures and their context is the subject of Joseph
L. Kelly's compact survey of the culture of early Christian Ireland (fifth to
ninth centuries), intended especially for those concerned with Anglo-Saxon

England (OEN 16.2, 21-26). The overview of history, literature, religion, art, and the exchanges between the two island cultures takes the form of a heavily annotated bibliography, specifying the strengths and the interconnections of the various primary and secondary sources cited.

Brian Jewell's Conquest & Overlord (New York, 1981) presents detailed accounts and illustrations of the Bayeux Tapestry and of the Overlord Embroidery, the latter prepared (1968-1973) to commemorate the Allied invasion of Normandy in 1944. The volume includes many supplemental illustrations and maps; the commentary--which is filled with errors and confusions in syntax--offers some political and social background to 1066, though the main emphasis falls upon military strategy. J. A. Legget (Museums Jnl 82, 229-231) presents a brief account of the items gathered at the Bede Monastery Museum, and the connection of these objects with the lives and times of Jarrow monks in the eighth century. Finally, in a note that carefully scrutinizes one corner of Anglo-Saxon culture, B. B. Edmonds (BIOS, 6 [1982], 58-62) disputes several apocryphal assertions that would credit Pope Vitalianus or Theodore of Tarsus as having introduced church organs to England in the seventh century. He goes on to consider authentic references to pipe organs by Aldhelm, Dunstan, Æþelwold, Wulfstan, and to one at the Convent of Ramsey (the last four dating from the tenth century). Edmonds places these allusions in historical and musicological context.

The history of scholarly investigation of OE writings continues to attract the attention of modern students. Vivienne Sanders (JEH 34, 534-547) provides an overview of the activities and publications supported by Elizabeth's Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker. These set out justification of the Church of England by proving the antiquity of its tenets, and the thrust of these productions went against Rome rather than against other Protestant factions within the realm. A Testimony of Antiquity, from the late 1560's, well fits this pattern in making available in OE Ælfric's position on the Eucharist as well as other Christian scriptures in the vernacular. Although A Testimony appeared in a second edition, the lack of an outcry from Catholic apologists makes it difficult to estimate its effect as polemic. M. Sue Hetherington, in "Old English Lexicography: The First Eleven Decades 1550-1659" (Papers on Lexicography in Honor of Warren N. Cordell, ed. J. E. Congleton et al. [Terre Haute, IN: 1979], pp. 125-139), provides an overview of the activities of Anglo-Saxonists in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, touching on the work of Nowell, Joscelyn Wheelock, Dugdale, D'Ewes, and Somner. Her discussion of the motives of individual dictionary makers and of the intellectual and historical context marshals, in brief, the evidence set out in later more detailed studies by Hetherington herself and by other scholars. The essay appends a series of sample entries from the lexicographers mentioned above and, in addition, from James, Junius, and an anonymous glossary. The article presents an accurate and engaging summary of early philological research.

T. G. H.

Thomas G. Hahn, in "The Identity of the Antiquary Laurence Nowell" (ELN 20, 10-18), reviews the complex body of opinion on the identification of Laurence Nowell, Dean of Lichfield, as one and the same person as the scholar who was "a mainstay in...[the] circle of scholars" around Matthew Parker. While the personal evidence about the scholar is fragmentary, Hahn shows that even what there is does not fit well with the biography of the Dean. By looking coolly at the evidence pro and con, Hahn convincingly

advances a new conclusion that the antiquarian and the Dean were cousins (two Laurences in the same generation) and that the scholar "perished somewhat mysteriously in 1569" while the Dean survived until 1576. This careful and cautious essay adds significantly, if often negatively, to our knowledge of the patterns of OE scholarship in the Renaissance.

R. L. C.

The Humane Medievalist...(ed. Piero Boitani [Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1982]), which collects a number of writings by J. A. W. Bennett, prints two pieces on the history of Anglo-Saxon scholarship. One of these, "Hickes's Thesaurus: A Study in Oxford Book Production" (224-246) is reprinted from Essays and Studies (1948), while the other, "The Oxford Saxonists" (199-223), based on a lecture delivered in 1974, appears for the first time here. The former offers a detailed account of the publication of the Thesaurus, specifying the support and collaboration Hickes received from Wanley, Thwaites, and lesser figures such as Edmund Gibson, John Smith, and William Bowyer—though much of this background has been supplemented by the work of the last three decades, and in particular by research published in the last half dozen years. The essay on the Oxford antiquarians covers ground that more recent investigations have also made familiar to those interested in OE studies. Nonetheless, in surveying university interest in Anglo-Saxon philology from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, Bennett mentions a number of scholars whose work remains unfamiliar. These include Gerard Langbaine, Thomas Barlow, William Brome, William Marshall, William Nicolson, John Mill (who cited readings from OE in his edition of the Greek New Testament), Christopher Rawlinson (who first printed OE verse in metrical half lines), and, in the eighteenth century, Edwyn Sandys, Daniel Waterland, Edward Lye, and Elizabeth and William Elstob. The editor of this volume mentions that Bennett's death prevented his adding "a great deal of extra matter" (p. 12) to his treatment; one may hope that access to Bennett's own dissertation together with current research will remedy these omissions.

Richard L. Harris (Bodleian Lib. Record 11, 169-186) offers a detailed account of the vicissitudes in the scholarly life of the antiquary and philologist George Hickes. Letters by Hickes and his correspondents record his movements, his reading, and the progress of his work on the Institutiones (1689) and the Thesaurus (1703-1705). Hickes's debt to White Kennett, Vicar of Ambrosden, in the preparation of the Thesaurus, emerges with special clarity; the two entered an elaborate collaboration in 1696, while Hickes—"a dangerous and disaffected Man," pursued by the authorities as a Nonjuror—visited with his benefactor. Kennett's interests centered on local antiquities, etymologies, and on a plan for an extensive legal and ecclesiastical history of England, for which he hoped to have contributions from Hickes. The latter graciously acknowledged the help and support of Kennett, though religious and political antagonisms eventually overshadowed the scholarly interests that had brought the two men together. The methods and concrete realities of study appear strikingly in Milton McC. Gatch's reprinting of a memorandum by Humfrey Wanley, dating probably from 1698 (Bodleian Lib. Record 11, 94-98). This suggests to the curators of the Bodleian that manuscript fragments used as pastedowns in the library's printed books be removed and collected. The proposal typifies Wanley's care and acumen in preserving manuscripts, and in perceiving their usefulness as evidence for codicological study.

The effect of the texts, grammars, and dictionaries produced by individual antiquarians upon a wider public and upon institutional learning appears strikingly in the work of Thomas Jefferson, as Stanley R. Hauer shows (PMLA 98, 879-898). Jefferson did not himself have a course of study in Anglo-Saxon while at college, but took it up independently while reading the law, using as his text Elizabeth Elstob's Rudiments of Grammar (1715) together with Hickes's Institutiones. Jefferson eventually acquired for his own libraries more than a dozen volumes of OE texts, though these contained prose exclusively, and none of his linguistic texts drew upon the new philological work being done in Germany and Scandinavia. The extraordinary amounts of energy and time that Jefferson put into his study of Anglo-Saxon resulted most notably in his proposal that OE be incorporated into the curriculum of the newly founded University of Virginia. Jefferson regarded the historical study of English as essential to all those who used the language with care and precision, including businessmen, lawyers, and other professionals. Hauer shows that Jefferson continued to read and work in Anglo-Saxon until the last years of his life. In his Essay on the Anglo-Saxon Language, which brings together his characteristic views, he argues that the antiquarians, like Hickes, relied too heavily on Greek and Latin paradigms of grammatical structure, and that the study of OE might be radically simplified. Though Jefferson's ideas reflect an imperfect understanding of OE morphology and syntax, Anglo-Saxon was established as a regular course of study at Virginia from its beginnings in 1825, and his investigations and proposals paralleled and reinforced the work of other nineteenth-century American linguistic reformers.

The origins of the continental philological research that transformed Anglo-Saxon studies from antiquarianism to a systematic discipline make up the subject of E. G. Stanley's survey (Towards a History of English Studies in Europe, ed. Thomas Finkenstaedt and Gertrud Scholtes, Augsburger I- & I-Schriften 21 [Augsburg], pp. 9-38). Stanley's outline takes in mainly German scholarship from Conrad Gesner's Mithridates (1555) to the Grimms' shorter publications (up to about 1840). He includes notice of those who make use of Anglo-Saxon texts and excerpts, including Bonaventura Vulcanius's publication of Alfred's "Preface" to the Cura pastoralis (1574), Nicolaus Sevarius's printing of a proverb (1605), and religious and legal writings published by Marquard Freher (1609, 1610) and Marcus Zucrius Boxhorn (1650). Versions of Lord's Prayer in OE appear in collections brought out by Thomas Lüdecke (1680), J. F. Fritz (1748), Gustav von Bergmann (1789), P. Willenbücher and J. Birkenstock (1789), and Johannes Schilter, who gathered an additional set of religious texts. C. U. Grupen collected, from published sources, yet another group of sacred writings. Stanley discusses more fully the contributions of Junius and of J. R. Forster (with his English collaborator Daines Barrington). J. Langebek, P. F. Suhm, J. C. Adelung, and J. Oelrich receive brief mention as predecessors of the Grimms; a survey of the latter's work makes up the second part of the essay. Their publications demonstrate a knowledge of Anglo-Saxon language and literature from 1812 (the edition of Hildebrand), and their care for meter, verse form, and type fonts marks a new era of historical scholarship. Their citations of OE verse come mainly from Beowulf and the "Cædmonian" poems, and ordinarily illustrate as analogues some aspect of Germanic thought or culture. The quotations from reviews and occasional essays provided by Stanley offer a clear understanding of the progress of philological investigation and literary interpretation; these writings certify that, while Jacob may have had a leading part, both brothers exerted an influence on the study of Anglo-Saxon learning that continues to be felt.

A ten-page bibliographical appendix follows the essay; this lists early
modern European printed books containing Anglo-Saxon texts or commentary on
these writings.

The institutional sponsorship of OE studies forms the subject of Lenore
Harty's communication (OEN 16.2, 27-35), which gives a more recent version of
her 1964 survey on the teaching of OE in thirty-seven British universities.
She inquired about the nature and length of courses, about texts, about assign-
ments and examinations, and about degrees and certificates. The results indi-
cate that less emphasis is given to the study of OE within the curriculum, and
that fewer institutions are teaching full-scale programs; yet, at the same
time, most on-going courses of study involve examining for the same number of
texts as in 1964. Some historical perspective on how students approach such
study is offered by L. G. Whitbread's note (N&Q 30, 198-199), which reprints
the injunctions (accompanied by threats) to write well from Bodleian MS Hatton
20 (Alfred's version of Gregory's Pastoral Care) together with other similar
formulas in OE texts and with Bede's last words in Cuthbert's Epistola.

Some of the more technical features of OE studies, in particular the
resources for reproducing OE orthography in printed form, constitute the sub-
ject of several notes. L. Michael Bell (OEN 16.2, 13-17) offers a discussion
of those fonts and styles appropriate to the printing of OE that are available
for the IBM Selectric typewriter. He considers (and, in an appendix, illus-
trates) the advantages and deficiencies of Icelandic Advocate, Courier 10,
Courier 12, and Scribe, and he provides some technical discussion of why
special characters often appear light or broken, and of why such features vary
even on a single typewriter. Donald K. Fry (OEN 17.1, 24-26) presents an
introduction to the rudiments of word processing, together with an account of
how scholarly work on Anglo-Saxon England might profit from the capabilities
of a microcomputer. He also offers examples of characters from an Icelandic
printwheel, and information on how to shop and what machines (including
printers) to consider. Milton McC. Gatch (OEN 17.1, 27) supplements Fry's
information by providing a source for a printwheel that reproduces OE charac-
ters; the note provides name, address, and prices for those who wish to obtain
a modified wheel for their printers.

This review may conclude appropriately with acknowledgement of the
tributes to particular scholars and teachers of OE. These include Donald
Bullough's reminiscence on J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (Ideal and Reality, pp. 1-6),
as well as the memorial tributes to Angus Cameron by A. C. Amos (Dictionaries 5,
123-127), by J. Leyerle (OEN 17.1, 18-19), and in the two unsigned notices
(Medieval Society of Southern Africa Newsletter 10, 49-50, and The Times,
11 June 1983, p. 10); to N. R. Ker by C. R. Cheney (Archives 16, 86-87),
Ruth J. Dean and others (Speculum 58, 870-872), and in the anonymous notice in
the Bodleian Library Record (11, 64-65); to Dorothy Whitelock by Kenneth
Cameron (Jnl of the English Place-Name Soc. 15, 1) and C. Warren Hollister and
others (Speculum 58, 875-876); to Michael Dolley by Helen Wallis (Mariner's
Mirror 69, 113); and to Kikuo Miyabe by Yoshio Terasawa (Poetica 15-16, 1-6).

Works not seen:

Jankowsky, Kurt R., and Ernst S. Dick, eds. Festschrift für Karl Schneider.
     Amsterdam and Philadelphia, 1982.

Sasaki, Makoto. "Indos Studies of Anglo-Saxon Laws to William Lombarde," Komazawa Univ. Law Rev. 24 (1982), 53-88. [In Japanese].

Schäfer, Jürgen. "Alt-und Mittelenglisch in der lexicographischen Tradition des 17. Jahrhunderts," Festschrift für Karl Schneider (see above), 169-85.

Watanabe, Shoichi. "The Tradition of Grammatical Studies since the OE Period and Their Meaning in the Present Age," Festschrift für Karl Schneider (see above), 265-75.

T. G. H.

2. LANGUAGE

    a. Lexicon, Glosses

       A. Cameron's "On the Making of the Dictionary of Old English" (Poetica [Tokyo] 15-16, 13-22) states that the relatively uneventful external history of the DOE has been blessed with almost sufficient funding and a number of very useful scholarly by-products: lexicographical theory and method, bibliographies, a concordance, and text and edition lists. The internal history has been marked by a thorough examination of virtually all texts, editions, and scholarly works available. The texts have been turned into computer-based materials for which R. Venezky has developed LEXICO for basic lexicographic manipulation (concording and headword formation). There are complete concordances for Ælfric and Wulfstan, the poetry, Alfredian translations, and the charters. The other materials contain about 200 stop words of very high frequency; however, there is a microfiche concordance of even stopped spellings. After listing forms, selecting quotations, constructing and ordering definitions, and locating etymological materials, the editors hope to produce a 5000 to 6000 page dictionary in the next years. A. C. Amos's "Dictionary of Old English: 1982 Progress Report" (OEN 16, no. 2, 18-20) indicated that entries had been drafted for over half of "D" and part of "C"—full draft projected for the end of 1983. There is an attempt to find a method for organizing very common words, and a manual for entry writing is being compiled. Xerox Star has been chosen for entry writing. Thirteen omissions in the concordance were noted; most are glosses and runic inscriptions, but some are genuine omissions and recently discovered material. The microfiche concordance and the texts in electronic form are available.

       Old English Word Studies: A Preliminary Author and Word Index (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), compiled by A. Cameron, A. Kingsmill, and A. C. Amos, is one of the long-awaited and very useful products from the DOE project. It consists of two parts: an author index (the book) and a word index (microfiche accompanying the book). The author index is divided into three parts: 16th and 17th century manuscripts and dictionaries, general lexical reference works, and studies of individual words. The individual word studies are listed alphabetically by author and chronologically for each individual author. Titles in Slavic and Oriental languages are transliterated and translated. The word index is cross-referenced for some inflected forms and alternate spellings; citations by author, year, and page number are provided for each entry. S. Butler's "Problems with Headwords in Old English" (Theory and Method in Lexicography: Western and Non Western Perspectives, ed. L. Zgusta; Columbia, SC [1980], pp. 105-14) reviews some problems in previous OE dictionaries with headwords and alternate spellings and discusses the solutions to these problems arrived at by the DOE group. They are trying to reduce the number of main entries by extensive cross-referencing and citations. All of the headwords in the DOE will, where possible, be given WS spellings. Where that varies, the one "which makes etymological relationships clear" will be used. The problem of assigning text words to headwords is also discussed. Homophones must be done by hand rather than machine. Foreign words, plurals, and words which do not appear in other OE dictionaries present particular problems. After the computer assignments are made and other dictionaries are consulted, the final decisions will be made based on the slips themselves.

H. Gneuss's "Some Problems and Principles of Lexicography of Old English" (Festschrift für Karl Schneider, pp. 153-68) offers a discussion of the problems in OE lexicography in general and projections of the significance of the OE lexicographic work to those interested in OE history and linguistics. He outlines three areas he believes should be of concern to lexicographers: the etymological labelling of loans, noting stylistic and geographical terms, and distinguishing between meaning and simple translation. Some etymological information would be necessary for loan words because they have no OE context. However, the exclusion by the DOE project is termed sensible and legitimate. Regional and stylistic labels are feasible, but marking technical vocabulary and items associated with various schools is not necessary. The problem of simple translation versus a good definition is legitimate. Technical and conceptual terms no longer a part of our linguistic and social worlds are most in need of explanation as well as translation; however, it is opined that meaning should not be assigned on the basis of a literary critical comment.

D. E. Baron, in Going Native: The Regeneration of Saxon English (PADS no. 69, University, AL, 1982), presents a review and discussion of various attempts at different points in history to purge English of what were perceived to be foreign influences, substituting native terms for these contaminations. For each period--Renaissance, Neoclassical and Romantic, and 19th and e20th centuries--he includes a list of coined Saxonisms proposed to replace French and Lat terms. In each period foreign and native terms were both decried and praised. Advocates of the native terms proclaimed them simpler and clearer; Nathaniel Fairfax in the Renaissance, William Barnes in the Neoclassical and Romantic period and Elias Molee in later 19th century America were noteworthy advocates of resaxonizing English. Those who detested Saxonisms labeled them coarse and harsh. Citing Baker (1980), Baron concludes that a more moderate view in which both the foreign and native terms are useful and correct generally prevails, but Saxon terms are still considered less formal and less learned.

M. S. Butler's "Early Middle English budde--a Ghost Word" (N&Q 30, 104-05) argues that budde is a ghost word in the Clark Hall and Merritt dictionary and others. It arose from an error in the transcription of OE scearnbudda and never appears in the eME Worcester Cathedral Ms. Because of a transcription error it has been read as a compound. The other OED entry for budde is rejected also since it is tentatively related to the ghost form. The OED errs in its dating of the forms since the OE MSS of Ælfric's Glossary contain scernwibba or some form of it rather than scearnbudda. J. Rosier has two notes, "Old English egeswin" (ES 64, 344) and "Old English cofan, Latin cremium" (Die Sprache 29, 53-4). In the first he agrees with Napier (1906) that ege- in egeswin stands for or could be a substitution error for eg- a form of ēa "stream." He also suggests that it could be a confusion of ege referring to Vranoscopus with mereswin referring to "flying fish." In the second note he argues for cofan or incofan as a gloss for cremium on the basis of similar glosses in the Corpus Glossarium Latinorum, supporting one point of Edden's (1981) argument about the reading of cofan for cremium in the Vitellius Psalter. R. I. Page's "Four Rare OE Words" (N&Q 30, 208) presents discussions of the possible etymologies and meanings of flæþ, cimbiren, *cant(e)l, and *readlesc. It is suggested that flæþ as it occurs in Aldhelm's riddle most likely means "snowflake," not "nimbus" or "wool." For cimbiren a variety of

possible meanings are offered; this type of tool is most likely a cooper's tool, based on historical evidence. There is uncertainty about the meaning of *cant(e)l, but it probably indicates a corner or roof support of some sort. There is some ME support for the meaning of "reddened skin" for readlesce.

Even though A. Bammesberger's years of extensive work on a wide variety of Gmc matters have expressed themselves in a valuable flow of details, Englische Sprachwissenschaft: Ein Neuansatz in der Textkritik der altenglischen Dichtung (Eichstätter Hochschulreden 28; Munich, 1981) is not really a "new beginning." It is the expression of strong opinions about Genesis A 1546-8, Beowulf 62, Widsith 35, Widsith 114, Hildebrandslied 7, and Measure for Measure I.i.8. In "The Old English ambyre" (ES 64, 97-101), Bammesberger proposes that OE ambyre is a compound of a Gmc prefix an(a)- > am- "intensifier" and the OE adjective *byre "suitable." The phrase ambyrne wind means "favourable" rather than "unfavorable wind"; there is a second occurrence of the stem in amberlice in Ælfric's homily Feria VI. Ekwall's (1943) and(a)- and -byre is rejected as phonologically and lexically unsupportable. F. de Tollenaere's "Notizien zu germanische Etymologien" (ZVS 96, 141-5) engages Peeters's (1978) postulation that OE gāt should be *gæt because Got gaits is a fem i-stem. The expected i-umlaut is rejected because PGmc *ʒait-i-z is not verifiable but could be an athematic *ʒaits-s. Peeters's expectations of OE lēag as *lēage and ON laug as *lauga in the fem n-declension are unfounded because they belong to the fem o-stems. In "Nochmals ahd. sân(o), ae. sôna, got. suns" (ZVS 95, 309-10), Tollenaere rejects Peeters's (1970) objections to the treatment of ModE soon in the Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology because Peeters's observation that OE wēn should be a parallel is false. The etymology for soon given by the ODEE is essentially correct; OE sôna and Got suns are semantically alike so perhaps they are also morphologically related. Feist's statement that Got suns is isolated in the Gmc languages would be incorrect, but this cannot be satisfactorily proven.

T. L. Markey, in "English dog/Germanic hound" (JIES 11, 373-378), suggests that the domestic character of animals, particularly dogs, lends their designations to metaphoric use. The IE terms for dog/hound and related animals are reviewed, and their range of meanings is discussed. OE dog is attested only in the Prudentius Glosses. ME dog became the generic term while hound was reserved for hunting dogs. The origins of dog are uncertain but derived from continental *dok(k)a-*dog(g)a- Gmc *duþkô(n), manifested in an OE sense of "small" and "young." The intimacy of the term keys its metaphoric abusiveness. J. Hill, in "On the Semantics of OE cempa and campian" (Neophil 67, 273-6), supports with additional evidence Morrison's 1979 claims that cempa narrowed to "spiritual soldier of Christ" and Schneider (1978) erred in claiming it as a specialized military/heroic word. Schneider is rejected on two points. First cempa occurs in prose so it is not particularly heroic in nature, and second its frequency in homilies and hagiographies suggests that its secular meaning had disappeared. A similar explanation is offered for the shift in campian, supporting Morrison's position. Both terms are related to the miles Christi image. E. C. Pinkerton's "The Way of a Wag" (Verbatim 9, no. 3, 12-15) discusses cognates of wag and their etymologies. Such diverse words as wag, weigh, and trivia are related, but there is little commentary on OE other than a mention of the OE cognates of the words discussed: wægen, wægn, wæn "wagon"; wag "wall"; wegan

"to weigh"; wǣge, wēg "weight"; aweg "on the way"; (e)alne weg "all way";
wǣg "wave"; wicga "wiggler." All of the forms arise from IE *wegh-, and
the semantic connection is one of "carrying."

E. Fichtner's "The Origin of NE scads and oodles" (NM 84, 387-95)
discusses the many faceted derivations of scads and oodles. Scads is
ultimately derived from the merging of ON skattr and OE sceatt, while
oodles is from ON ôþal. Both terms were originally related to money,
tribute or value, but gradually lost this meaning through time and finally
acquired their American colloquial usage as "many" in the 19th century.
R. Lieber's "Frühgeschichtliche Zeugnisse der kelto-germ. Isoglosse
rēdā/*raiþō" (Festschrift für Karl Schneider, pp. 111-19) lays out some of
the facts surrounding Got rēda, ON reiþ, and OE rād, the word for the fifth
symbol in the futhark. The Lat (Caesar's) use of the term for a type of
wagon seems to have come from the Celt sources. However, in many of the
Gmc languages it seems to be purveyed mostly as the rune, exhibiting uneven
semantic treatment as a Celto-Gmc isogloss. J. Price's "Theatrical Vocabu-
lary in Old English: a Preliminary Survey (I)" (Med. Eng. Theatre 5, 58-71)
is a listing of Lat and OE words related to theaters and dramaturgy. The
terms are presented by their Lat cognates, and citations of their OE occur-
rences are given. The list was constructed from the DOE microfiche con-
cordance and Bosworth and Toller. The second portion, presumably forth-
coming, will elaborate on the meanings of the terms.

A. Niederhellmann's Arzt und Heilkunde in den frühmittlalterlichen
Leges: eine wort- und sachkundliche Untersuchung (Arbeiten zur Frühmittel-
alterforschung 12; Berlin and New York) is a good example of Gmc scholar-
ship. It begins with a fifty-page bibliography. It deals some with verna-
cular Gmc texts but mostly with native words integrated into Lat texts and
glosses on Lat texts. The scribal and dialectal variations add to the prob-
lem that many of the items are hapax legomena. The study is well circum-
scribed by the fact that only legal texts are used as the basis for the ter-
minology studied. Three major groups of Gmc laws from the fifth to the
ninth century were used: the West Gothic and Burgundean; Salic, Ripuarian,
Langobardic, Alemmanic, and Bavarian; Leges Francorum Chamavorum,
Thuringorum, Saxonum, and Frisionum. The general categories of words fall
under the hospital, the doctor and therapy, magic, pregnancy, castration,
body parts, bodily secretions, injuries, and disfigurations. There are a
few references to OE, but they are very rare because of the particular
sources that were chosen.

K. R. Grinda's "Englands Holzwerker in altenglischer und nachalt-
englischer Zeit: Beobachtungen an Schriftquellen und Wortgut" (Das Handwerk
in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit, Teil II: Archäologische und philogische
Beiträge; Göttingen, pp. 670-716) is an extensive attempt to define the
vocabulary and behavior of "woodworkers" in the OE and ME periods. As
detailed as some of the observations are, there is an admission that specific
terms for OE "carpenters" are rare, and when they occur they are problematic.
For instance, Alfred showed some sense of woodworking, but he was indirect
and even metaphoric when discussing the subject. Perhaps the woodworker was
not considered a special craftsman, to be valued as an artist like metal
workers. The best evidence for the matter seems to be in the Anglo-Latin
texts and the ME period. The Latinism carpentarius occurs early; OE smiþ
and wyrhta are obvious candidates for the translation of Lat faber. Both

have general senses, but wyrhta seems to be more closely associated with carpentry. Specialized words like OE wænwyrhta "wainwright," hrofwyrhta "roofwright," scipwyrhta "shipwright," and even treowyrhta "treewright" seem to be comparable to weallwyrhta "wallwright = mason" but are infrequent. Words for the processes and products are oblique expressions of the area, but the conclusion is that we have little knowledge of the limited semantic field.

H. Peters, in "Das mittelenglische Wortfeld 'schlecht'/'böse': synchronisch-diachronische Darstellung seiner semantischen Struktur" (Frankfurt am Main and New York), begins with a survey of the development of the theory behind structural semantic field analysis and goes to a survey of the particular word field studies for English. One hundred texts in ME were excerpted, beginning with The Peterborough Chronicle up through the fifteenth century. Some texts were excluded because of unclear dialectal characteristics or insufficient bases for analysis of the words in question. Dialect areas are defined as Northern, Northeast Midland, Northern Midland, Southeast Midland, Kentish, Non-Kentish Southeast, Southwest and Southwest Midland. Sources postulated and investigated are the OE legacy, Scan loan words, French borrowings, and ME coinages based both on native and loaned resources. It is a reasonable representation of the possible OE sources for many words, but there is very little investigation of the OE distribution: dictionary entries are presumably used for OE information. The dissertation's virtue of careful, bit by bit, analyses may also be its vice for some of us. The conclusion seems to be that the OE "bad" words have in general been replaced from a variety of other sources. There is little information for the Anglo-Saxonist. Appended to the work is a sketchy excursus on the development of the word field in ModE.

L. Kahlas-Tarkka's "On the Variation of the Words Meaning 'every' and 'each' in Old English" (Current Topics in English Historical Linguistics, pp. 279-89) attempts to illustrate the variation among gehwilc, gehwa, æghwlic, æghwa, and ælc. The conclusions of the study are based on an examination of seventeen hundred occurrences of the forms in prose works from various dialects and authors. Three environments were considered: the form as a simple substantive, the form in combination with and modifying a substantive, or the form as the head of a genitive construction. The frequency of the occurrences of the different forms varies among writers and dialects; æghwilc is most common in Angl, but ælc and gehwilc are most common in WS. The implication is that these terms might be useful in determining the dialect origin of the scribe or author of a manuscript or in solving problems of manuscript transmission.

J. De Caluwé-Dor's "Etymological Convergence in the Katherine Group" (Current Topics in English Historical Linguistics, pp. 211-23) attempts to discern which languages are the origin of some of the loan and foreign verbs in the Katherine Group in eME. The idea of convergent etymologies is suggested. The words for which convergent etymologies are proposed have a common ancestor with the words from which they developed. Two convergent etymologies are proposed: OE and Scan traced back to a common Gmc ancestor and French and OE from a Lat form. For the first etymology a set of plausible phonological changes is presented; for the second etymology, cognates and Lat are support. The situation is further complicated when triple convergent etymologies are proposed for eME gabben and teuelin.

The conclusions are questioned even after the detailed study because they fit too neatly with the history of the Katherine Group and the known conservatism of the "author." The words in question could be innovations by the writer in an attempt to keep foreign words out of the text. G. Kristensson's "Dialectology and Historical Linguistics" (Current Topics in English Historical Linguistics, pp. 29-35) argues that onomastics should play a more important role in OE and ModE dialectology. Literary texts, especially those in ME, are poor sources for dialect determination, particularly boundary drawing. Place names are more likely to retain local spellings and pronunciations as well as aid in locating boundaries of dialect areas. The Dieth-Orton Survey of English Dialects is hailed as the best work to date for ModE dialectology, but that work and others should be supplemented with material from onomastic literature of OE and ME dialect areas. The Lay Subsidy Rolls are suggested as a starting point.

F. Plank's "Coming into Being among the Anglo-Saxons" (Current Topics in English Historical Linguistics, pp. 239-278) investigates the AS concepts of physiological paternity and maternity and conception through a study of the related OE words. The assignment of OE cases should have semantic import; they are not simply morphological encodings of syntactic relationships or accidentally governed by various verbs. The verbs of conception variously take the dative, genitive, or accusative case. Case selection depends on the meaning. The difference between dative and accusative is one of relative opposedness, accusative having the highest degree of opposedness; genitive provides the middle of the continuum. The cases hold meaning in relation to one another, not on an absolute scale. The study is necessarily circular. Plank concludes on the basis of case occurrence that the verbs of procreation are more closely linked to those verbs acknowledging existence than those indicating creation or manufacturing. E. S. Dick's "AE. drēam: zur Semantik der Verbalbeziehungen in der Dichtung" (Festschrift für Karl Schneider, pp. 121-35) investigates the polysemantic nature of OE drēam in order to find the semantic distinction among elemental linguistic structures. Twenty wesan-types (dream as subject) and nineteen habban (āgan)-types (dream as object are examined in terms of the verbs used, the number, the modifiers, the participants/ time/place, and the content. The wesan-group's individual contents are isolated occurrences, while the habban-group's contents in the main constitute references to a particular value system within heavenly or earthly domains. The wesan-dreams tend toward the hope of fulfillment, with more emphasis on the earthly; the habban-dreams seem more heavenly, with a sense of resignation over and against searching for something.

R. J. Watts, in "The Conjunction that: a Semantically Empty Particle?" (SAP 15, 13-37), reviews and rejects traditional generative analyses of that in ModE and proposes that it is not semantically empty but has a meaning of "unmarked spatio-temporal deixis." He argues that this vagueness of meaning is supported by and supports the readily deletable nature of that. If þaet does not occasionally possess semantic content, the unpalatable path of entering separate, homophonous items (þæet$_1$ and þæet$_2$) in the lexicon must be taken. All OE occurrences of the particle þe and þæt are deictic pronouns even though their surface functions and environments may differ. For the historical portion of his study, Watts concentrates on the development of that as reflected in

The Peterborough Chronicle. The historical development sheds some light
on the current diverse uses of that and helps explain them as a part of
the larger phenomenon of deixis. He invokes Kiparsky (1968) and Peinovich
(1979) on simplicity and transparency in discussing the changes from þæt
to that and argues that the Chronicle illustrates a movement from opacity
to transparency back to opacity in the history of that. The conclusion is
that while historical evidence does not have to be considered in developing
synchronic descriptions of syntactic behaviors, its omission can lead to a
confused interpretation of the data. Such confusion is evident in current
generative descriptions of that.

R. Meyer's "The Relationship of the Medulla to the Earlier
English Glossaries" (Papers on Lexicography in Honor of Warren N. Cordell;
Terre Haute, IN, 1979, pp. 141-50) shows a connection between the Epinal,
Erfurt, Corpus, and Leyden glossaries and the Medulla. None has modern
alphabetical order, but the Medulla is more closely related to the
Epinal-Erfurt glossaries than the others in both spelling and ordering of
items. Since the Medulla is relatively normalized, it is perhaps the
first attempt at a usefully complete Lat-OE dictionary. J. Rosier's "Old
English Glosses in Norfolk Rolls 81" (NM 84, 329-330) presents the ren-
dering of ten OE glosses in the Norfolk Rolls with annotations as to their
possible readings, scribal problems, and origins. These glosses are flod,
ebbe, lencga, (s)ch:rw::el, flod of renae, tenel, Winsiue, helfter, Welke,
and blodsex--the colons indicate illegible letters. This is the first full
publication of the glosses as Ker (1957) lists only the first and last in
his commentary on the same manuscript. B. Merrilees, in "The Glosses in
the MS Oxford, Bodley 730: Addenda" (Arbeiten aus Anglistik und Amerikanis-
tik 8, 29-31), reviews and critiques the 1981 articles of Ziegler and Hunt
on the same glosses. He offers a list of some of the glosses discussed in
each article and notes the forthcoming volume of the glosses compiled by
Hunt. A combination of the two articles might have produced a satisfactory
single work. P. Pulsiano's "A New Look at the Anglo-Saxon Glosses in the
Blickling Psalter " (Manuscripta 27, 32-37) offers some unrecorded Lat
glosses of AS glosses of Lat lemma. One gloss "unique to the Blickling
Psalter," sciccing tui [fe]al[dum] is given in its amended form and dis-
cussed briefly.

G. Buti, in Glossario runico (secoli II-VIII) (Bologna: 1982),
presents an alphabetical glossary of the approximately 250 runic inscrip-
tions of the older futhark. Krause's (1966) edition is the basis for this
scholarly ordering of information. An extensive gathering together of
references yields many individual contributions to etymology. What was
undecipherable or without explanatory context is obviously not treated.
R. Derolez's "Epigraphical versus Manuscript English Runes: One or Two
Worlds?" (Academiae Analecta: Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie
voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der
Letteren, 45, no. 1, 71-93) points out that the fragmentary remains of
the English runes are not a good indication of continuous growth from
Gmc runes. Six features are postulated as the minimum knowledge necessary
to have runic lore transmitted to descendants or pupils. Limited epi-
graphical evidence supports four of the six points. There is an attempt
to reconcile the epigraphic and manuscript runic traditions and movement
away from the notion that the manuscript runes are somehow not real runes.

The two traditions cannot be systematically contrasted; the epigraphic preceded the manuscript. The copiers of the manuscript runes were far removed from the epigraphic tradition, and the English runes reimported the runic tradition to the continent.

b. Syntax, Phonology, and Other Subjects

M. Balmuth, in The Roots of Phonics: a Historical Introduction (New York, 1982), explains very little that will be of use to the OE scholar. While the discussion in the earlier chapters supplies some information about alphabets and their relationships to sounds, almost exclusively within the history of English, the later chapters discuss the history of the specific method of teaching reading through the matching of graphs to sounds. The matters on reading might inform a limited view of the subject; the historical and linguistic matters were uninformative, and barely grounded in introductory materials. Beyond the persistent generality and vagueness about graphic and phonetic relationships in the OE chapter, there are too many misleading statements: OE prefixes (all?) are not stressed; umlaut adopts(?) the sound in the adjacent syllable; voiceless(?) < þ, d >occurs between vowels; a generalized WS(?) orthography is chosen as the basis of discussion.

The most thorough variationist treatment of OE data to appear yet is T. E. Toon's The Politics of Early Old English Sound Change (New York and London). Incipient literacy and the still unconventionalized spellings are the sources of evidence for language change and dissemination in eMerc. The introduction and first chapter constitute a sensible and non-innovative survey of the culture and political structures of the era. The phonetics of the book is an extremely orthographic-sensitive traditional representation of the allophonic repertoire of earliest written OE. The assumption that statistically significant, freely distributed non-contrasting sounds (i.e., not the alternations of complementary distribution) represent change, seen synchronically, underlies the tracing of the political and cultural force of Merc subphonemic variation. The Vespasian Psalter and Epinal, Erfurt, and Corpus Glossaries, along with charters and glosses, constitute the major sources of graphic variations qua subphonemic variations. For example a > o of WGmc *a before nasals is first reflected as variability in a small lexical set and later diffused through the lexicon with some sensitivity to phonetic environments. WGmc *a before rC and lC, palatal and velar umlaut, smoothing, raising, second fronting, and other traditional OE sound changes become the proving ground for Merc variation representing a map of Merc cultural and political influences. The work also entertains the subtheme that literacy is a powerful political force in itself.

J. Milroy's "On the Sociolinguistic History of /h/-Dropping in English" (Current Topics in English Historical Linguistics, pp. 37-53) is not particularly about the OE variability of <h>, but it does imply some things about the treatment of orthography at any stage in the language. The variationist explanation of ME <h> postulates that mechanistic treatments based on the assumption of a lack of knowledge of English or the unreliability of the mixed scribal practices ignore the valuable contact situation evidence of a social diffusion of /h/-loss

from middle to lower classes, from politically and commercially important areas to less important areas, and from urban to rural regions. Nothing is made of Scragg's (1970) inconclusive evidence for OE /h/-loss; it is finally concluded that French influence is the most important factor—perhaps true, but certainly less interesting than taking the methods back through the OE period. B. S. Phillips, in "Middle English Diphthongization, phonetic Analogy, and Lexical Diffusion" (Word 34, 11-23), proceeds from the regular orthography of Orm (holographic and scribally attentive) to a relatively simple characterization of his ME diphthongs. The presumption of a class of sounds called semivowels (See either Lass or Colman in this review for the complexity of such a choice.) allows her to postulate a phonetically analogical spread of diphthongs from the "easy" preconsonantal environment to the more difficult final environment to any environment, with no distinctions between long and short diphthongs. The lexical diffusion of the difficult diphthongizations proceeded from the most to the least frequent words within classes. Conversely, the unrounding of diphthongs affected the least frequent words first. The ME work only hints at the application of variationist theory to social and diachronic diffusion in OE.

V. Kniezsa's "The Problem of the Merger of Middle English /a:/ and /ai/ in Northern English" (Current Topics in English Historical Linguistics, pp. 95-102) stands as the often-exercised caution that assumptions about WS are not necessarily the bases for making decisions for other OE dialects, here their reflexes in ME dialects. Murray (1873) originated the "myth" of the merger of ME i-diphthongs with long vowels in Northern English, postulating <i> as the digraphic marker of vowel length. The ai spelling could be an Anglo-Norman scribal innovation, not motivated by a ME phonological merger but by the spelling practice which had its source in the monophthongization of OF /ai/. F. Colman's "'Vocalisation' as Nucleation" (SL 37, 30-48) suggests that the non-syllable-initial allophones of the OE approximants /j/ and /w/ were close to /i/ and /u/ respectively. So-called vocalization, eventually expressed in <y> and <w> spellings for <g>, is defined as lenition (loss of consonantal features to the appropriate allophonic approximant) followed by nucleation (approximant moves into nucleus), which is followed by vocalization (creating a falling diphthong). The nucleation is invited by a high vowel and forced by syllabic structure, but the approximant will be lost if the language does not have a template for the structure—OE doesn't, ME does; ME regularly has diphthongs with high second elements through breaking and this nucleation/vocalization.

S. Suzuki's "Phonetic Values of Old English Vocalic Digraphs" (Linguistics 20, 323-38) postulates that the short vocalic digraphs of OE are monosegmental (equal in duration to short vowels), while the long diphthongs are parallel to long simple vowels. The generative position that an underlying difference of three types is neutralized on the surface (e.g., /eu/, /ee/, /e/ → [eu]) is dismissed on the basis of suspect evidence in lWS smoothing, OE monophthongization, and what are characterized as the necessities of language acquisition. The traditional view that a phonetic difference follows from a phonological one (e.g., /eo/ → [eo] and /ēo/ → [e:o]) is rejected on the basis that these particular manifestations don't necessarily follow from the evidence, that Gmc diphthong lengthening is ad hoc, and that the interaction of PreOE palatal diphthongization, PreOE high vowel deletion, palatal

umlaut, and h-deletion shows that the structural descriptions necessary for explanation are not present. The cake is that single, appropriate two-segment surface representations are used for long and short diphthongs, but the eating of the cake is in marking the short surface form with Andersen's (1972) "single segment" notational device (e.g., <io> = [⌐iu⌐] and [iu]). The notation suggests that <io> is either a short diphthong of length equivalent to a short vowel or a long diphthong with length equivalent to a long vowel.

T. Nakao's and M. Terajima's "The Trajectory Constraint on Vowel Change" (Poetica 15-16, 174-84) suggests the permissible paths that vowel changes can follow through phonological space. The argument is set in the context of general representations of the processes of raising, rounding, derounding(?), shortening, and lengthening. Basically vowels shift only one step away, violated only when the next step is empty or the intervening segment is "not sufficiently integrated." Vowels rarely move diagonally and the front/back boundary has no particular effect on movement. While vowels can undergo two feature changes, they do seem to resist undergoing both quality and quantity changes at the same time. The piece ends with an excursus about irregular rhymes in ME: they reflect almost all the vowel changes, but thirty percent of the time they are analogous and not historically endorsed.

S. J. Keyser's and W. O'Neil's "Exceptions to High Vowel Deletion in the Vespasian Psalter and Their Explanation" (Current Topics in English Historical Linguistics, pp. 137-64) utilizes a tree representation of syllabic structure which creates the environment responsible for the explanation of some puzzling facts about the phonology of the dialects of The Vespasian Psalter. The "onset" of the syllable is consonantal and the "rime" is a vowel plus either nothing, a consonant, or another vowel: i.e. [C [V (C/V)]]. The rimes are gathered into "feet" by an algorithm that requires that unary and binary trees be right-branching: i.e. [V V] [[V] [V C]] but not [[V V] [V]] [V C] for h e̲ a̲ f u̲ d u̲ m̲. A high, unstressed vowel is deleted when it follows a foot and is in an open syllable, resulting in heafdum. Using the syllabication structure indicated, rules for OE diphthongization that exclude breaking and back-mutation are discussed; digraphs that arise from these processes are considered to be monophthongs--historical and orthographic evidence is used to buttress the theoretical posture. Apparent exceptions in the application of the rule for verbs and nouns are explained: verbs never delete an inflectional [u], actually an underlying /o/; nouns are affected by restricted versions of open syllable lengthening and trisyllabic shortening (changing the syllabic structure), accounting for the "two" dialects of The Vespasian Psalter.

F. Colman's and J. Anderson's "Front Umlaut: a Celebration of 2nd Fronting, i-Umlaut, Life, Food and Sex" (Current Topics in English Historical Linguistics, pp. 165-90) examines the variations associated with the Merc second-fronting. Dresher's (1980) dialectal variation argument about the order of æ-raising, back umlaut and a̲-fronting is rejected because of his "too literal" reliance on the spellings in the texts and internal inconsistency. Both æ-raising and a̲-fronting are perceived as the same second-fronting, and u̲-umlaut is contemporaneous with it. The postulation of a dependency relationship description allows the conflation of the operation of Merc second-fronting and Merc i̲-umlaut into a

single rule; in doing this, a description is created that captures the similarities of i-movements and, perhaps most important to these particular theorists, shows that binary features would display the same information inadequately or awkwardly. C. J. E. Ball and P. Stiles, in "The Derivation of Old English geolu 'yellow' and the Relative Chronology of Smoothing and Back-Mutation" (Anglia 101, 5-28), reject the view that back-mutation took place before velar consonants in Angl and a later smoothing (monophthongization) counteracted the action to make the effects of the umlaut disappear. Luick's (1921) idea that back-mutation did not occur before velars is used, but it is pointed out that he was unable to determine the chronology of back-mutation and smoothing. The textual evidence indicates that smoothing preceded back-mutation; therefore, back-mutation simply did not occur before velars in Angl dialects. Early glossary evidence indicates that there was palatal diphthongization of restored a after sc- and that e underwent breaking before -lw. The chronology of texts is: earliest, mixed smoothing and no back-mutation; middle, completed smoothing and no back-mutation; latest, both completed.

R. Lass, in "Velar /r/ and the History of English" (Current Topics in English Historical Linguistics, pp. 67-94), disputes the traditional view that the history of the English /r/ is generally a movement from the OE alveolar trill (perhaps retroflex in breaking environments) to an approximant, finally being lost under some conditions. The comment about manner of articulation is that there is no particular evidence that it is trilled, but there is positive evidence that the point of articulation for the basic /r/ of English has always been velar. The paper concerns all periods of English, but a sketch of the OE evidence will be of interest. OE breaking occurs in back environments; retraction of /æ/ takes place in back environments; WS /y/ sometimes becomes /u/ between /w/ and /r/; Northum /iu/ and /eo/ from breaking become /u/ and /o/; lWS /eo/ becomes /u/ when no velar follows; 11th C /o/ followed by consonants becomes /u/; PreOE lowering took place before tantosyllabic /r/ < */z/; lWS rounding was in part before /r/. The OE evidence, plus many other examples, suggests that the velar approximant is the "primitive type" and that the other types are innovations. An appendix presents the alternative hypothesis of variable foci, entailing a triple articulation that has postalveolar, velar, and pharyngeal components— to which is added the possibility of labial and palatal components in English and perhaps uvular in some Gmc languages. Such a tactic would not fail because it anticipates any possible point of articulation, but postulating an everything articulation would seem to have little explanatory power.

L. A. Connolly's "Germanic r-Preterites" (JIES 11, 325-38) presents a revision of Lehmann's (1954) theory that r in Gmc preterites like OHG ana-steroz is laryngeal. The a-colored laryngeal has no comparable form in the IE base that could yield Gmc e-vocalism; therefore, the OHG form must reflect a newly formed Gmc preterite, the /r/ arising after a new front vowel. However, one must still conclude that the OE r-preterites like Angl reord do not contain a laryngeal reflex; they appear to come from reduplication. A. Bammesberger, in "The Weak Forms in the Germanic r-stem Paradigm" (JIES 11, 105-16), uses evidence from Skt, ON, and Got; however, OE r-stems are included in the conclusion that -ur < *-ur-az is a Gmc innovation. The current theory (Hoffman, 1976) that gen sg ON broþor and Skt bhratur provide enough evidence for a source in IE *-r̥-s is considered very weak. It is analogical spread that explains the -ur- from the dat pl IE *-r̥-mis to Gmc *-ur-miz; a parallel analogical spread is postulated for Skt.

J. Staun's "The Old English Obstruent System and Its History:
a Dependency Account" (SL 37, 9-29) is an attempt to give structural topo-
logical representations to the phonological characteristics of the OE con-
sonants. The more complex relations inside the phonological matrices allow
for a topology and hierarchy of consonant structure. The minor errors in
the article make it difficult for the uninitiated to follow the argument
for dependency phonology, and the strident rejection of particular choices
by generative phonologists seems irrelevant. However, some historical and
topological evidence is mustered to show that an ordered lexical (abstract)
to phonetic (sub-phonemic) structure can be predicated on the basis of inter-
nal complexity: voiceless stops simplest; voiced stops and voiceless frica-
tives less simple; voiced fricatives more complex; and voiced and voiceless
affricates most complex, although vaguely defined over and against each
other. The distribution of most of the phonetic realizations is conven-
tional; however, [tʃ, k] are postulated for /k/, [ɣ, j, g, dʒ] for /g/,
[ʃ] for /sk/, and non-bilateral [v, b] for /b/ and [v, f] for /f/. The
charge could be made that this dependency representation is only a nota-
tional variation on generative phonology, but the dependency model does
engage interesting phonological questions, particularly phonological
strength and categories, which have been slighted by other systems.

P. Stiles, in "Attestation of Early Old English wudu 'wood':
a Note on the Evidence for the Date of Combinative Back-Mutation" (NM 84,
415-18), demonstrates that combinative back mutation is present in Northum
before ordinary back mutation but simultaneous with it in Merc, thus
refuting those handbooks which assert that combinative back mutation is
always earlier. He bases his claim on the orthographic history of wudu
as adduced from the Leiden and Epinal-Erfurt glossaries compared with the
Leningrad and the Moore manuscripts of Bede's Historica Ecclesiastica.
He concludes that the difference in the order or timing of the occurrence
of combinative back mutation and ordinary back mutation is probably dia-
lectal. C. Sisam, in "Early Middle English drihtin" (Middle English
Studies Presented to Norman Davis in Honour of His Seventieth Birthday,
Oxford, pp. 245-54), questions why the -i- of eME drihtin is long and
refutes the general proposition that it is so from analogy with
ælmightigne, arguing that it arose from the shift of stress from the root
to the second syllable. She proposes the same source for the long i in
cristin, but notes that the two developed independently. No analogical
reformation took place. Had loan words been the source for analogy, the
final vowel would most probably have become a long e.

F. Cercignani's "The Development of */k/ and */sk/ in Old English"
(JEGP 82, 313-23) questions the variety of traditional explanations sur-
rounding the phonemic bifurcation of OE /k/ to /k/ and /č/ and OE /sk/ to
/sk/ and /š/ through the effects of processes like i-umlaut. A diphonemi-
cization to /k/ plus /j/ in most palatalizing positions containing original
front vowels postceded a palatal diphthongization (first falling, later
rising and phonemicized after the i-umlaut following the sounds [k], [sk],
and [j]). The i-umlaut created postpalatal but not palatal allophones,
thereby creating the appropriate environmental distribution for the later
phonemicization of [š] and [č]. The dating in the lOE period is tentative
but more convincing than earlier representations.

Caveat lector: scholars do read some general materials with enjoyment, but these following two works annoyed this reviewer for what he discerned as a lack of general quality; perhaps other readers would find them more engaging. F. E. Halliday's The Excellency of the English Tongue (London, 1975) is the kind of book that makes people feel that they can write books about any subject that interests them. Although the attitudes about language may be supported by a love of and fascination with English, they are unfortunately regressive and naive. There is some political and social information in the volume, but even that is neither extensive nor critical. It invites the study of language to conform to standard prejudices. The fifteen-item bibliography represents the book's level of engagement with this difficult subject. D. Leith's A Social History of English (London and Boston) purports to be a clear and simple short history of English which assumes no technical knowledge. One might hope from the acknowledgment of some fine linguistic scholars that there would be clear and simple substance. Although reading clever anecdotal or fundamental material can be interesting, from any point of view this book accomplishes very little. The first chapter about OE language contact and political/social structure yields little information about language or history. Later forays into scholarly topics touch on but do not make clear fundamental concepts. This putative sociolinguistics of the history of English is neither perceptive nor engaging--the qualities that such a non-scholarly book might have offered.

W. Nöth's "Systems Theoretical Principles of the Evolution of the English Language and Literature" (Current Topics in English Historical Linguistics, pp. 103-22) suggests the efficacy of a functional view of diachronic change that is expressed through remedial responses to imbalance in the system of language. The work barely mentions OE, but the theory is relevant for historical linguistics. Detractors of what originates in Jakobson's (1930) work base their objections on logical criteria that are valid for causal explanations and the lack of empirical testability as expressed in statistical methods. The presumption of homeostasis, effected by self-regulation through feedback, is the dynamic system model that is proposed. While the data and the ideas generally are other people's, there are good examples of how the equilibrium of the systems is maintained on the articulatory phonetic, the phonological, the lexical, and syntactic levels: the balance of the articulatory system shifts the long vowels of English; a homonymy conflict reorders the phonological control system; another homonymy conflict creates lexical substitution; and the loss of inflections creates ambiguities in the syntactic system that are remedied by reorganization. A parallel systems view is then worked out for a theory of literary evolution, with the exception that the conscious effort of the artist is to create large swings in imbalance. However, Tynjanov's (1929) four-step system is seen as being basically correct: a new principle, dialectically opposed to the automatic, arises; the principle is accepted; the application expands and eventually becomes automatic; new principles arise again in response to the new automatic.

S. Rot's Old English (Budapest, 1982) appears to have more to its 628 pages than it actually does. It purports to be an undergraduate textbook and has freely taken from earlier works, missing most of the more recent ones. Its problems reside in its failure to have what should

be in an introductory text; randomly motivated excessive details and insuf-
ficient treatment of other matters are hard to understand. The book makes
claim to modern methodologies, but the main strength is in the one-sixth
that is an historical introduction from IE to OE. The usual sections on
phonology, morphology, syntax, word formation, and vocabulary are almost
adequately treated in half of the book. An adequate reader, a quirky
glossary, practical exercises, and a selective bibliography complete the
book. The language infelicities suggest a non-native speaker; typographic
errors suggest a non-English publisher. It does nothing that has not
already been done well elsewhere. M. Görlach's Einfuhrung in die englische
Sprachgeschichte (Heidelberg, 1982) is meant to be used in a German univer-
sity proseminar on the history of the English language. The consequences
of such a limitation are many, but most of them mean that the book will be
of little use to other than German university students. It is written for
native speakers of German; it deals with nothing in detail; despite claims
to being grounded in modern linguistics, it is fundamentally structural in
approach when it has any methodological approach; it falls apart as is the
wont of Uni-Taschenbücher. The information is generally accurate; the
appropriate theoretical and methodological topics are touched on; its divi-
sions and presentations are appropriate; for a book this size, there are
extensive parallel texts; the bibliography fulfills the formal necessity
of giving full citations for works used but is far too selective to be use-
ful for further study.

The advent of T. Cable's A Companion to Baugh & Cable's History
of the English Language (Englewood Cliffs, NJ) is fortunate. Admiration
for Baugh's original text, basically an external history of the English
language, has been outweighed by a need for both a linguistically oriented
internal history and a workbook that would give first-time students a means
of engaging data. Cable's adjustments to Baugh's text have not made the
work "internal" enough, but it will now be possible to use the Companion
and the History, with some judicious supplementary information. As internal
history, the pair do not yet match the Pyles and Algeo pair, but the clean
prose and uncluttered presentations make this a desirable teaching tool for
an introduction to the history of the English language.

Y. Tobin's "Using Linguistics to Help Students to Read Old
English" (SAP 16, 181-89) utilizes a simple deep case analysis (Fillmore,
1969) and an expanded form content system (Diver, 1965) for directing the
students', particularly the English-speakers', attention to the notion of
case for the purposes of reading OE texts. Case grammar supplies an ele-
gant abstract notational system, disregards confusing surface order, and
analyzes complex sentences in terms of simple sentences. The form-content
analysis supplies the relative degree of contribution that a participant
(noun phrase) makes to the proposition. Any set of procedures that dis-
tracts the student from his language-specific misunderstandings of a new
language will help, but many of us have been doing these types of things
without formal models. This simple decoding model should not do any harm,
but it is not clear that students will learn to read OE either better or
more rapidly with it.

J. McLaughlin's Old English Syntax: a Handbook (Tübingen) has
its own particular biases about what syntax is and what should be explained,

despite its claim that it is a guide to OE syntax for students and scholars. Without particular attribution to generative semantics, the first chapter of the work utilizes a very loose conceptual framework of logical predicates and deep case semantics to express the relationships among case markings, syntactic functions, and semantic roles. It succeeds in perhaps giving a little more information than Quirk and Wrenn (1957). The second part of the book (eight short sections) expresses a variety of syntactic subsystems with vague 1965 transformational underpinnings: sentential complements (þæt, infinitival, participial), relative clauses (restrictive and non-restrictive, overt and covert), propositional conjoining (successive, correlative, contrastive, alternative) are starkly exemplified, with little explanation; interrogatives, negatives, imperatives and passives are exemplified in their simplest and most obvious forms. The last section represents OE as having an intermediate state between SOV and the newer SVO word order—without proof or even attribution to anyone. The appendix compares and gives appropriate but very spotty commentary on passages from a variety of periods in English. The bulk of the text is taken up with examples; limited explanations in the targeted areas omit almost entirely discussions of verb expansion, noun phrase structures, and reduced structures (partial clauses, prepositional phrases, etc.). The scholar or student with a reasonable knowledge of transformational grammar will understand the materials, probably finding them too sparse. Those without such training will find the explanations and assumptions at many points cryptic. The book begins to remedy the dearth of accessible information on OE syntax.

L. J. Brinton's "Criteria for Distinguishing the Non-Aspectual Functions of ME ginnen" (GL 23, 235-45) finds that the traditional criteria for separating aspectual from non-aspectual forms of ME ginnen, along with aginnen and biginnen, do not create clear categories. OE onginnan or aginnan, along with Got, OHG, and OS cognates, are mentioned, but the analysis differentiates the ME phenomena; "when ginnen occurs with a punctual verb or with durative or iterative adverbials, an ingressive reading is not possible," leaving aspect at least possible, if not demonstrated, in all other cases. The restriction of this construction to ME promises little information for the OE scholar. K. Sasao's "A Deletion Analysis of OE Split Constructions" (Descriptive and Applied Ling. [Tokyo] 15 [1981], 187-98) is a revised version of a paper that will appear in SEL no. 9. The split constructions under consideration are things like "Harry and Bill saw Jane." Transformationalists have debated whether this is an example of phrasal conjunction or sentence conjunction with deletion of duplicate sentence parts. The OE evidence suggests that the Sentence Conjunction Hypothesis is the more adaptable for the diachronic representation of English; normal identity deletion takes place but an optional regrouping rule (seems more like an idea than a rule) is added. It's hardly possible that any such general sequence of rules wouldn't be the more flexible for languages with different ordering constraints.

R. J. Reddick's "On the Underlying Order of Early West Saxon" (JL 18, [1982], 37-56) argues that Lightfoot (1977) and Malsch (1976) have utilized limited data in their arguments about the underlying order of OE sentences. Both Lightfoot's SOV-order with NP postposing and Malsch's VO-order with verb postposing are not supported by the eWS texts that the author has examined. In fact the data of that particular dialect dictate: that Malsch's VO-order should be assumed, but not the

verb postposing; that Lightfoot's SOV-order should be rejected, but that
the placement of deep sentential complements is correct and NPs must be
moved, but in the other direction. M. C. Bean, in The Development of
Word Order Patterns in Old English (London), creates a good primer on the
typologies and theories of word order change. Using primarily The Anglo
Saxon Chronicle and other scholars as the sources of data, the work picks
up the traditional arguments from Sapir (1921) to Vennemann (1974, 1975):
the changes were SXV-order to SVX-order because of the ambiguity introduced
by the loss of inflections. OE is neither a verb-second language nor a
topic-verb language even though both are possible interpretations of
sequences or post-verb movements in the Chronicle. Temporal and locative
adverbs also create a X'VS-order as a narrative device in the Chronicle,
but that is not considered a deep verb-second construction. The rejection
of Hyman's (1975) analysis of SXV-order to SVX-order representing the move-
ment of afterthought material and Li's and Thompson's (1974) reanalysis of
verbs as kinds of prepositions hardly seems worth a book which argues that
the process is not principally a rightward movement of the object. Many
of the hypotheses in fact are not necessarily mutually exclusive unless
argued in terms of unary causality.

S. Jacobson, in Preverbal Adverbs and Auxiliaries: a Study of
Word Order Change (Stockholm, 1981), argues for OE that the assumed
SOAdvVAux order's change to SAdvVAuxVO breaks the contiguity of the preverbal
adverb to the main verb, but that the language later restores it. Preverbal
adverbs are classified by type and position. Types are time, place, mood,
opinion, aspect, utterance form, validity, manner, degree, and the minor
classes. Positions are non-auxiliary mid, pre-finite auxiliary, post-finite
auxiliary, post-compound auxiliary, and inter-non-finite auxiliary. The
typological changes are characterized by three historically ordered movement
transformations; left movement of adverb, left movement of end auxiliary,
and left movement of mid auxiliary. There is dominance of first post-finite
auxiliary and then pre-finite auxiliary placement for a variety of adverbs.
In terms of frequency distribution there are only two categories of signi-
ficance, and they show little change in the OE period. The third movement
transformation is postulated as the normative state for ModE, whereas the
possibility of any series of these movements was normal for OE. O. C. M.
Fischer and F. C. van der Leek's "The Demise of the Old English Impersonal
Construction" (JL 19, 337-68) argues that the gradual and uneven loss of
the OE impersonal construction was not a syntactic reanalysis from OVS to
SVO but was rather a lexical reanalysis. The disruption of case markings
allowed the grammar only to assign one case through government; the sur-
viving impersonals were in fact some of the possible nominative construc-
tions. Lightfoot's (1979) unnatural analysis of the changes in seem are
replaced by the easier semantic reanalysis that requires either an empty
it-subject or an NP derived through raising. The lack of nominative
experience or cause explains why no personal construction survives for seem.

R. Waterhouse's The Triangular Clause Relationship in Ælfric's
'Lives of Saints' and in Other Works (New York, Frankfurt am Main, and
Berne) is the final avatar of a paper reviewed here in 1977. Although
there has been some reassignment of what the relationships among multiple
clauses are, A Grammar of Contemporary English (Quirk, et al., 1972) is
still used for the definition of OE coordination and subordination clausal
relationships. Despite some suspicion about using ModE syntax, the work

shows some statistically significant stylistic variations among OE writers.
The study is justified on the basis of the fact that earlier studies have
not attempted to analyze the interdependence and distribution of multiple
clauses, primarily two subordinated clauses and a head clause (the triangu-
lar relationship). The simple hierarchical gradient structures of clauses
is observed, but it is the intentionally concocted triangular relationships
that will yield the most discernible patterns. The intimate linking of
nominal, relative, and adverbial clauses is expressed in terms of preposi-
tioning and postpositioning to the head clause. Length of clause and
proximity of referent seem to be two factors that determine placement, but
it is argued that there is sufficient variation and pattern to utilize the
placements as stylistically significant. However, one might wish from a
long working paper turned into monograph six years later for more compel-
ling conclusions than an indication of a fruitful area for study.

M. Ogura, in "OE þa hwile (þe) and Its Equivalents" (Stud. in
Eng. Lit. [Tokyo] 59.2 [1982], 221-43), comes to a conclusion that will
surprise no translator of OE: "The semantic sphere of the OE temporal
conjunctive seems to depend on the context rather than [that] each con-
junction has a specific meaning." Mitchell's (1959) dissertation creates
the general guidelines for the study. Interlinear glosses are the key to
meaning so that Lat cum "when" and Lat donec "while" meet in Lat dum
"when, while." OE þa and þonne are seen as the equivalents of cum and dum;
the affinity of þa for past tense and þonne for present seems to reflect
Mitchell's categories of single completed act and frequentive act. OE mid
þy (þe) and equivalents like OE oþþæt seem to be independent of tense.
The durative senses (including Lat quandidiu and usquequo) are similarly
expressed by OE þa hwile (þe), the poetic þenden, and swa lange swa and
their close equivalents. The work is more an exercise in contextualized
translation than an explanation of syntactic possibilities.

E. S. Smith's "Relative that and as: a Study in Category Change"
(Diss. Indiana Univ.; DAI 43A, 2985-86) is a modest exploration of the
developing that and as as relativizers. The work complains of and is a
response to confused category membership, but in its own way perpetuates
the problem. Presumptions that OE þæt is a demonstrative, that relatives
are complementizers, that OE eall swa is either a relative/complementizer
or its precursor are all possible arguments, but the work ends showing
how difficult it is to unify matters. The level of abstraction in trans-
formational representations make it possible to approach these things,
but marginal surface phenomena are still not easy to classify. There is
relatively little on OE. H. Fujiwara's "The OE Relative Particle þe"
(Poetica [Tokyo] 15-16, 49-56) takes a limited, diverse body of data
(dangerously excluding what the author considers to be Latinate) to dis-
cuss word order patterns in relative clauses, after Reszkiewicz (1966).
The eOE verb final pattern is giving way, but the relative clauses seem
to be the most conservative. Treating þe as conjunctive like and and as
does not solve problems as the author claims, but it does suggest a
difference in functional effect: þe-relatives (conjunctive) tend toward
conjunctive word order because they are "subjectless," and se-relatives
(pronominal) move more quickly toward the newer word order.

W. Harbert's "A Note on Old English Free Relatives" (Ling.
Inquiry 14, 549-53) argues that an inverse-attraction (head of relative
construction follows the case of the relative pronoun) analysis allows
OE to require overt heads for relative clauses in all positions in terms
of Allen's (1980) claim that free relatives had demonstratives in head
position. P. Hirschbühler and M.-L. Rivero, in "Remarks on Free Relatives
and Matching Phenomena" (Ling. Inquiry 14, 505-20), generally "propose
that if a language has obligatorily matching free relatives in subcate-
gorization position and may have nonmatching free relatives in nonsub-
categorization position," a matrix accesses a node with Comp in it where
the wh-phrase is placed. A free relative (no surface head for the clause
to attach to) construction like I know what you know has been analyzed in
the deep structure by transformationalists as either being headless
(Comp proposal) with the wh-element in the Comp position or being headed
(Head proposal) with the wh-element in the antecedent position, followed
by an S. Dutch, Ger, Catalan, and French are considered, but for OE
there are four types of relatives. The headed ones have either demon-
strative or wh-head and must match the position in either category or
case; the headless ones need not match: e.g., a prepositional phrase may
occupy the object position. The restricted placement of these clauses
can be predicted in a modular grammar by noting that headless are
excluded from the subcategorization position, topicalized headless are
excluded because they are keyed from subcategorization, and left-disloca-
tion is possible because it is not a subcategorization position.

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M. M.

3. LITERATURE

    a.   General and Miscellaneous

        Michael Alexander's Old English Literature (London: Macmillan)
offers an introduction to the major writers, texts, and the characteristic
outlook and sentiments of the period, written especially for those who have
no knowledge of the language. The volume begins with general observations
and a sketch of cultural history from the fifth to ninth centuries; it then
apportions chapters according to genre, content, form, and so on, touching
on heroic, elegaic, wisdom, and hagiographical and religious poetry, and on
prose in the ages of Alfred and of Ælfric. These divisions are not exclusive,
however, for Alexander returns to a number of central themes at various points,
and the book therefore offers a coherent, individualized perspective on Anglo-
Saxon writings. In particular, Alexander calls attention to the difficulties
and uncertainties of reconstructing the context of OE literature, and proceeds
to concentrate on the signal and characteristic glories of selected texts.
In assessing and praising OE verse, Alexander takes as perhaps the most impor-
tant criterion the "impact of these poems on new readers, even via translation"
(p. 111). Some of the most appealing commentary comes in his account of his
purposes and strategies in translating The Wanderer more than twenty years ago,
and in his view of its connection to Pound's Seafarer--"a bravura realisation
of the effect of reading the original on a poetic sensibility with great sensi-
tivity to rhythm and language" (p. 117). As does Raffel (see below), this
translator feels that The Wanderer (together with its translation) "now appears
to me in a different light than in 1962," and the discussion of the possibili-
ties and limits of translation, and of the relation between original and
reworking, is provocative. Alexander's standards of literary evaluation emerge
as well in his decision to translate the latter part of The Dream of the Rood
in prose, and in his praise for the flamboyant verse of the tenth century, in
particular the "wonder" of "The Phoenix and the "bold" and "vivid" poetry of
Judith. Alexander's treatment of OE poetic language as "the game [that] half
conceals and half reveals the object" (p. 79) applies well not merely to the
riddles and wisdom poetry, but to other texts as well; direct and indirect
presentation in Beowulf--the "heroic world" versus "reflective moral commentary"
(p. 75)--lies behind the impression created by the poem, and scriptural narra-
tive, like Exodus, offers "not a retelling...so much as a rhetorical excursion
upon key incidents in the story" (p. 103). Alexander perhaps extends this view
too far in suggesting that, while the heroic idiom suits Old Testament narra-
tives, it contradicts, in vocabulary and spirit, the ethos of Christianity;
on this view, Andreas is deemed "incoherent," an "incomplete" synthesis of
"incongruous" styles (p. 163). Yet, as other scholars have shown, the military
and heroic outlook in this and other poems originates in patristic, not Teutonic,
sources. Cynewulf achieves greater success in large part because his verse is
more consistent and conventional; nonetheless, the most arresting elements in
the corpus are his projection of his own suffering and anxiety into his poetry
(p. 168). Similarly, the themes that make the elegies so touching have to do
not with consolation, but with "sorrow and loss" and "painful deprivation";
"they are fiercely sorrowful poems," filled with "formulas of exile, endurance,
separation, desolation and longing" (pp. 124, 130). Alexander's Old English
Literature succeeds best in passages such as this, where it affirms the residual
power of Anglo-Saxon poetry for latter-day readers.

While not in itself a formal history, Sources and Analogues of OE Poetry II: The Major Germanic and Celtic Texts in Translation, ed. Daniel G. Calder, et al. (Cambridge: Brewer), presents material of the broadest interest for scholarly commentary and interpretation. This forms a complement to Sources and Analogues: The Major Latin Texts in Translation (1976), though it differs from the first volume in presenting texts that are vernacular and (with one exception, from Egil's Saga) entirely poetic, and texts that chiefly constitute analogues rather than sources. The relationship of resemblance in form or content allows a wide latitude for choice, and the editors have attempted to offer examples that shed some direct light on OE writings, and to avoid shadowy correspondences. (The editors also choose to offer no analogues for Beowulf.) Although some of the translated texts post-date the OE poems, they serve the purpose of the volume in illustrating the confluence of tradition in vernacular, mainly oral poetry, and, at the same time, the divergencies embedded in that tradition. The analogues offer help to readers of OE writings not least in confirming the density and opaque elusiveness of particular genres, formulations, and individual utterances. The volume contains eddic and skaldic verse, OIr, Old Saxon, OHG, and Middle Welsh texts, of which translations have in many cases appeared elsewhere; yet bringing these together with helpful introductions and a full index, gives them a new, more direct bearing on OE poetry, and will be a service to students of Anglo-Saxon culture at any level of expertise.

Richard J. Schrader's general study, God's Handiwork: Images of Women in Early Germanic Literature, Contributions in Women's Studies, 41 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press) divides along geographical lines into sections on England, Germany, and Scandinavia; within these sections (especially the first two) he also classifies by the types of Eve and Mary, though the discussion throughout is governed by reference to established models and stereotypes. Elene, Juliana, Judith, and Beowulf receive the fullest attention as literary portrayals of women, though Schrader considers as well other poems, saints' lives, and homilies. OE writings in general present Eve more positively than does patristic commentary; yet through Eve sin entered the world, and one of the crucial aspects of Mary as counterpart to the first woman is her role as "equalizer of the sexes" (p. 13). In many religious texts, gender differentiation coalesces, so that militant Christians are all maidens, and female saints act "viriliter"; moreover, these exceptional cases influence the literary portrayal of more ordinary women. In his treatment of Beowulf, Schrader suggests that women appear consistently as victims whose presence in the poem censures "personal agony and social disruption in the name of heroism" (p. 36). Insofar as women are types here, they mirror the conflicts of society at large; even Grendel's mother is "a victim, an exile, a woman who has lost male protection" (p. 41). Yet she diabolically reverses the traditional female role—acting viriliter—in seeking revenge for her son. The sorrowful reversal of expectations concerning women's roles as peaceweavers within society forms the pattern for the other female characters in the poem, including Wealhtheow, Hildeburh, Freawaru, Hygd, and other nameless exemplars, like the grieving woman at the end. Schrader concludes his consideration of OE writings with an assertion that women constituted a substantial and sophisticated sector of the audience for literary texts; they might identify with the exploits of male protagonists, they possessed both social and literary models for acting viriliter, and, indeed, a woman might be imagined as author of Beowulf. Schrader has gathered and arranged his evidence in a way that strikes a new balance in the assessment of women's roles in Anglo-Saxon culture.

In Cynewulf: Structure, Style, and Theme in His Poetry
(Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson Univ. Press), Earl R. Anderson brings
together the traditions of learning and interpretation that surround the four
signed poems, and he adds considerably to the possibilities of a coherent,
interrelated understanding of this body of verse. He begins by dispensing
with the biographical "fantasies" built since 1840 upon the epilogues and upon
a certain amount of miscellaneous and disconnected research; he indicates that
while many of the "facts" in the signatures are rhetorical commonplaces, there
are lines that point to a monastic setting for the poems' composition. Then,
in the course of discussing each of the four poems at length, he emphasizes an
array of features that sets a context for the works taken together. These in-
clude the recurrent concern in the poems with the revelation of divine truth
to the community of Christ's followers, and the use of the topos of providential
translatio--of power, learning, and law--from one people to another in history;
an attentive concern for the wisdom of books, not only in terms of Latin sources
and Latin rhetorical figures but also in the employment of theological ideas such
as the contractual nature of the redemption, a monastic hierarchy of compunction,
and a concept of temptation and sin based upon moral choice; and a style that is
highly formulaic despite the patterns of Latin rhetoric, and that is consciously
didactic and reflective--mystical, according to Benedictine traditions--as
opposed to illuminative. Anderson does not argue for similarities in structural
unity among the four poems, but displays their individual features, along with
their connections to and differences from other OE writings, in his separate
analyses. The treatment of Elene makes up the heart of the book, occupying
about as much space as the discussion of the other three poems combined.
Anderson bases his arguments about ecclesiastical, political, social, and theo-
logical ideas mainly upon primary sources rather than upon more modern scholarly
authority, and he fully integrates his reliance upon these into the interpreta-
tion of the poems. The result is a sustained, coherent exposition that almost
every reader will find discriminating and enlightening.

In his introduction to The Old English Elegies: New Essays in
Criticism and Research (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson Univ. Press),
Martin Green offers a brief consideration of the factors that allow us to
consider these poems as a single body of writings. He identifies a set of
thematic elements as central to the group: these include the scrutinization of
various relationships--between lord and follower, woman and man, stability and
temporal change--especially as these are defined through disruption and in the
voice of the isolated, deracinated individual. Green traces the use of
"elegaic" as a generic term to J. J. Conybeare and especially to Germanic
scholarship at the end of the nineteenth century. Much of this earlier writing
attempted to connect the elegiac elements with the essentially "Germanic"
elements in the poems, and so sought to eradicate or discount Christian intru-
sions; as in other areas of Anglo-Saxon studies, later research has tried to
show the complex interrelationship of pagan and Christian elements, and has
focussed as well on other generic definitions--planctus, consolatio, wisdom
poetry--for these texts. More recent criticism has approached the issue of
genre more indirectly, concentrating on common patterns of images and associ-
ations, temporal perspectives, verbal effects, and syntax within the poems.
The second part of Green's essay places the individual essays in this volume
within this tradition of criticism, and suggests that, as a continuation of
the tradition, they too will generate further questions and response. At the
conclusion of the volume, Green presents a selected bibliography of studies
that usefully supplements Wm. Bruce Knapp's thorough bibliography of 1972.

Individual essays in this volume proffer additional answers to the
question of what makes an elegy, at least in OE. Joseph Harris, in "Elegy in
Old English and Old Norse: a Problem in Literary History" (The OE Elegies,
ed. Green, pp. 46-56), attempts to describe a "Common Germanic elegaic genre
just as we use comparative reconstruction in linguistics" (p. 47). The exist-
ence of such a genre assumes that this group of poems shares genetically
derived traits, and that Celtic, Latin, or Christian elements are "lateral
sources and influences" (p. 46), not direct ancestors. In reconstructed form,
such an elegy "was a dramatic monologue spoken by a figure from a known heroic
story who told in the first person about the joys and especially the griefs of
his life" (p. 48). The named heroic and historical figures who would have
populated the Common Germanic elegy have all but disappeared from the OE ver-
sions, and this has allowed the accommodation of other influences. Harris sets
out a typology of the elegy: the genre begins with specific allusions to heroic
legends (e.g., Wulf and Eadwacer), gradually loses its concrete details while
retaining story outline (Wife's Lament), moves to a still more generalized
autobiography (The Wanderer), and then finally presents mainly symbolic and
gnomic utterance (The Riming Poem, and, in a late phase, The Seafarer). Such
a typology applies to the elegaic poems of the Elder Edda, and from this com-
parative view other elements of the Common Germanic form may be postulated,
such as elegaic exaggeration and a "plural of grief" in lyric or descriptive
statements.

Burton Raffel, in "Translating Old English Elegies" (The Old English
Elegies, ed. Green, pp. 31-45), considers the problems surrounding renditions
in modern English of the OE elegies, and in particular the difficulty of
approximating elegaic tone. Raffel sets up a distinction between "the inevi-
tably distorting mirror of translation" and "the scholar's perpetual confusion"
that derives from an attempt to reproduce an "authentic" version of the origi-
nal. The latter course is a "translational fallacy that must forever be com-
batted...an ingrained stance of the scholarly mind" (p. 33). Raffel chooses
as his combatant Stanley Greenfield, and in order to illustrate the possibili-
ties and difficulties of translation, he chooses passages from The Seafarer
and The Wanderer together with translations by Pound, Richard Hamer, Kevin
Crossley-Holland, Michael Alexander, C. W. Kennedy, Greenfield, and himself.
The translator attempts, according to Raffel, to bring "into as close a
functioning equivalence as he can" two differing systems of meaning, and in
this attempt primacy must always be accorded to the translation; one other-
wise ends with "the substantive core, but not the passion" of an original,
which amounts to a non-translation. All translations necessarily lack philo-
logical exactitude, and one cannot presume, therefore, to use this as a stand-
ard for judging a rendition; a good translation is "evocative," conveying a
strong and accurate impression of the original and tapping the translator's
own and his "language's resources to find or to construct (or even to fake)
some sort of equivalent" (p. 41). Raffel specifies what he sees as "confused
rendering," "atrocious" word choices (with regard to Alexander's The Wanderer;
see above), the absurdities of "the so-called 'lift-dip' school," or "soggy
verse," and he offers his reasons for the methods and translations he prefers.
Yet about his own work he says, "I find this passage hard to defend," clearly
implying that a translation, like a poem, will succeed or fail with readers
on its own terms.

In the same collection, Raymond P. Tripp, Jr., argues, in "Odin's
Powers and The Old English Elegies" (The OE Elegies, ed. Green, pp. 57-68)

that behind the autobiographical assertions in many OE poems lies a tradition
of death-song, evidenced as well by passages in ON verse (and by parallels in
other cultures and religions). These in turn reflect the belief that the
dead might live on, beneath the ground or elsewhere, and might be raised to
retell their life stories by the powers of Odin (or of Christ). Bede's death
song is a literary version of such utterances, and finds counterparts in
The Seafarer, The Wanderer, The Riming Poem, Deor, and other texts; these
features suggest the ways in which, consciously or unconsciously, OE poets
incorporated elements from popular and pagan traditions. Following a separate
but connected path, Karl Reichl, in "Zur Frage des irischen Einflusses auf die
altenglische weltliche Dichtung" (Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter,
ed. H. Löwe, 2 vols. [Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1982], vol. 1, pp. 138-168),
examines both texts and scholarly tradition for traces of Irish influence in
Beowulf and nine of the elegaic poems in the Exeter Book. With regard to
Beowulf, the discussion centers mainly upon possible analogues and parallels
for the structure of the narrative, the nature of the monsters and the manner
of combat, the connection between Cain and the antagonists of the hero, and a
number of other separate details in the text. In his consideration of the
elegies, Reichl treats questions concerning generic integrity and definition--
elegy, lament, planctus, Klage--, formal elements (especially the use of
refrain), and motifs. Accumulated poetic evidence and commentary offer no
direct proof of Irish influence on OE writings, though the number of simi-
larities in form and outlook attest a common ambiance and possible connections
through oral tradition.

John P. Hermann, in "Some Varieties of Psychomachia in Old English"
(ABR 34, 74-86, 188-222), contrasts the depiction of heroic battle from
Germanic sources with Christian allegorical conflict. He takes as the fount
of this figure St. Paul's metaphors of spiritual warfare, and then offers a
lengthy account of the action of Prudentius's Psychomachia and its possible
interest to literary writers. In concentrating on the encounter between
Superbia and Mens humilis and on the reign of Peace, he points up the Christian
appropriation of pagan literary models. In the second part of his article,
Hermann offers as evidence of a psychomachia tradition in England the survival
of six manuscripts of Prudentius's Latin text with OE glosses (and several with
illuminations). He finds traces of this tradition in Latin works by Bede, in
the Life of Oswald, and in Aldhelm's treatise on the vices, though the latter
follows more closely the tradition of spiritual conflict established by John
Cassian, and seems independent of Prudentius's influence. Hermann contrasts
psychomachia with conflictus, an alternative literary genre used by Alcuin and
by Ælfric in one of his homilies. Finally, passages in the poetical Salomon
and Saturn, Elene, Beowulf, Juliana, Judgment Day II, and other texts are
cited as evidence of particular motifs connected to such allegorical conflict;
these include "the devil's missles," "the wounds of sin," and the portrayal
of Satan as the embodiment of the adversaries in the psychomachia tradition.
All these writings manifest the way Anglo-Saxon poets succeeded in "turning
a warlike poetry into a spiritual weapon" (p. 222).

Several other articles trace motifs through a series of texts.
Hans Sauer, in "Die 72 Völker und Sprachen der Welt: ein mittelalterlicher
Topos in der englischen Literatur" (Anglia 101, 29-48), surveys individual
uses and connections within the tradition of the seventy-two peoples and
languages in medieval English literature. He considers Latin texts as well
as Alfred's Boethius, three homilies by Ælfric and three of the abbot's other

compositions, homilies from the Lambeth, Vercelli, and other collections, the prose Salomon and Saturn, and a number of other works. At the conclusion of the article, Sauer provides texts and sources for comparison. Michael Murphy, in "North: the Significance of a Compass Point in Some Medieval Literature" (Lore and Language 3, no. 8, 65-76), discusses the connection between Satan and the north traditionally made in medieval writings. He mentions, in passing, the lines from Genesis A that affirm this relation and considers in more detail the passage in the Blickling Homilies describing the mere, recalling Grendel's mere in Beowulf. He compares the Blickling account with the portrayal of the old cave in Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, suggesting that the common tradition has produced both passages.

A number of publications this year consider aspects of composition, performance, and style. Carol L. Edwards, in "The Parry-Lord Theory Meets Operational Structuralism" (JAF 96, 151-169) offers a redefinition and reassessment of the Parry-Lord theory as concerns OE poetry. Drawing upon the operational structuralism of Jean Piaget, Edwards argues for a consideration of formulaic composition as a system (rather than as a set of texts), as process rather than product. Such an approach is implied in the work of both Parry and Lord, which at least in certain phases presents oral performance not as a collection of separate and distinct formulas but as a transformational system. The interest for scholars and audience then arises from the "structure [of the text, which] resides in the relations between and mutual interdependence of the formula system and any one formula" (p. 155). This structural approach closes the gap between idea or inspiration in the singer and expression or stock phrase in the text: the generative laws inherent in any transformational system explain the process of composition that results in a formulaic yet individualized text. Moreover, these laws may operate to enforce aesthetic or traditional norms, rather than according to a purely mechanical notion of "thrift" within a system.

John Miles Foley, in "Literary Art and Oral Tradition in Old English and Serbian Poetry" (ASE 12, 183-214), considers the models for criticism of OE verse provided by research on nineteenth- and twentieth-century Serbian poetry. The publications of Parry, Lord, and others insist that oral formulaic composition be accepted as a social and textual reality, and acceptance of this model entails acceptance of utility as the central feature of the compositional process. Many readers have tried to adjust the competing claims of utility ("thrift," in Edwards's presentation, above) and aesthetics, and Foley presents here a moderating argument based upon the archival collections of guslari songs. Critics of Anglo-Saxon poetry might take as the chief analogue of alliterative verse not the longer Muslim poems of Serbo-Croatian oral tradition, but the shorter poems dealing with Christian material, which have been less studied. As his sample, Foley chooses a cycle of poems dealing with the hero Marko; these manifest the patterns of ring composition, the possibility of deflecting the action of a stock motif, the poet's ability to vary, and even to invent, the elements in, for example, an arming scene, and other traits that show the poet simultaneously working from oral formulaic and literary-aesthetic motives. This complex of elements characterizes the shorter, Christian poems, and they make an apposite analogue to the carefully wrought shorter poems in OE--for example, the elegies and some riddles. Foley discusses both The Seafarer and The Wife's Lament in this light, suggesting that compositional procedure be understood not merely in terms of strictly defined formulas, but also in terms of formulaic systems and verbal/phrasal predispositions--"as a living tissue

of language with genetic associations" (p. 206). This model for composition, and for criticism, makes patterned diction and echoic repetition not the result of a rigid, rule-governed system, but of personal design by a literate artist: the outcome is "a seemingly impossible amalgam of convention and originality" (p. 211). Within this distinctive line of Serbian (and perhaps OE) poetry, the notion of a poet's "own oral traditional text" is not a contradiction.

Anne L. Klinck, in "Folces hyrde and poiména/-i Caon: a Generic Epithet in Old English and Homeric Verse" (Papers on Lang. & Lit. 19, 117-23), examines the similarities and differences in epithets for shepherd of the people in OE and Greek texts. This comparison clarifies the figurative use of the phrase in OE formulaic verse, for the Greek formula occurs only as a penult and ultima, and only in dative and accusative singular. The OE words occur in a much wider range of grammatical, metrical, and semantic contexts. This more flexible use blurs distinctions between literal and metaphorical, and so extends meaning in a way that enriches any individual context. Joseph Harris, in "Eddic Poetry as Oral Poetry: the Evidence of Parallel Passages in the Helgi Poems for Questions of Composition and Performance" (Edda: A Collection of Essays, ed. R. J. Glendinning and H. Bessason [Manitoba: Univ. Manitoba P.], pp. 210-42), reviews the formulaic and memorial elements in ON poetry, and pauses briefly for a glance at scholarship on oral composition and performance in OE writings, mainly Azarias and Daniel. Harris examines the premise that in parallel texts, identical or near-identical phrasing indicates memorial transmission, while variation suggests formulaic improvisation or composition. The evidence from ON poetry—eddic and skaldic—will not, however, sustain so polarized a distinction between deliberative and improvisational composition. In her study in the same volume, "The Revenge of Volundr"(Edda, pp. 187-209), Kaaren Grimstad offers brief comparative remarks on the portrayal of Wayland in OE and ON.

Finally, Mary Faraci, in "Phenomenology: Good News for Old English Studies" (Lang. and Style 15 [1982], 219-24), argues that a phenomenological approach to OE texts will not only help to resolve controversies, it "is guaranteed to teach us how to read" (219). The key notion here clearly is "read," which involves an acknowledgment of the constraints that interpreters agree to impose on a text. Such recognition entails in turn the admission that all readings—or at least all "valid" or "responsible" readings—constitute valid interpretations, and that readings that disagree one with another remain valid because "they share the larger constitutive constraints of OE studies" (p. 222). Within this context, interpretations may be cumulative, and critics "can begin, now, to read for pleasure" (p. 223).

Works not seen:

Blake, N. F. "Reflections on Old English Scholarship." In Geardagum 5, 77-83.
Collins, J. D. "Cynewulf or Cynewulfian?" The Ninth LACUS Forum 1982. Ed. John Morreall. Columbia, SC. Pp. 532-39.
Gribble, B. "Form and Function in Old English Poetry," Language and Style 16, 456-67.
Henry P. L. "Furor Heroicus," Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie 39 (1982), 235-42.

Hill, J., ed. Old English Minor Heroic Poems.   Durham and Fife.   104 pp.
Johnson, J. D.   "A Note on the Substitution of 'Door' for 'Beach' in
     a Formulaic Theme."   Neophil 67, 596-8.
Paroli, T.   "Aspetti cristologici nei poemi inglesi e tedeschi tra
     VII e IX secolo,"   La Cristologia neipadri della Chiesa.
     Convegno di Formia.   Rome.   Pp. 105-25.
Rathe, A.   "Tanzrunische Deutung altenglischer Strophenformen."
     Festschrift für Karl Schneider.   Ed. Jankowsky and Dick.   Pp. 405-15.
Strite, V. L.   "Semantic-Field Analysis for Old English Poetry:
     Using Computers and Semantic Features to Find Meaning."
     In Geardagum 5, 29-38.

T. G. H.

b. Individual Poems

i. The Wanderer, The Seafarer and The Ruin

J. L. Selzer, in "The Wanderer and the Meditative Tradition"
(SP 80, 227-37), asserts that The Wanderer "participates in a long tradition
of meditative exercises that was begun by St. Augustine and that extended
through the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius," and that "some of the poem's
most vexing difficulties--the number of speakers and speeches in the poem,
the places where those speeches begin and end, the structural relations
between sections, and ultimately the question of the poem's aim--are ameli-
orated if we investigate the poem as part of the meditative tradition."
With Louis Martz's The Poetry of Meditation (New Haven, 1962) as his point
of departure, Selzer notes that the tradition of meditation is ultimately
traceable to St. Augustine and that the three powers of the mind posited
in the De Trinitate (and already connected to The Wanderer, as Selzer notes,
by J. Doubleday in Neophil 53) "are present in the poem" and "are systemati-
cally applied in the course of the speaker's rune (l. 11), or 'meditation,'
in order that he, like Augustine before him and Ignatius after, might lift
himself by stages to God." Selzer offers a close reading, which differs
considerably from Doubleday's, to demonstrate that "the quest that began
in the past (1-57), through the use of memory, becomes fully cerebral in
the predominantly present-tense analysis, and is satisfied when the medi-
ator's soul achieves his Lord, not in time past or time present, but out-
side time and space in mental and theological union with the fæder on
heofonum." This is an impressive essay which builds upon some solid
earlier scholarship to produce a reading of the poem which should enlighten
even the most seasoned readers on a number of issues upon which some criti-
cal disagreement remains. I. M. Hollowell, in "On the Identity of the
Wanderer" (in The Old English Elegies, ed. M. Green, Rutherford, Madison,
and Teaneck, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press [hereafter cited as
Elegies, ed. Green], pp. 82-95), argues that "he is a specialist in the
category of seer or preacher-teacher, a position going back to pre-Christian
times," and that "an Anglo-Saxon would have identified him readily as a
woðbora or as someone in a similar calling. He has all the earmarks of
a 'pro.'" With comparisons from The Order of the World, she asserts that
the woðbora "is treated sympathetically in a number of poems," and that
"the old wisdom and the gnomic expression of it were popular with Christian
homilists during the Anglo-Saxon period."

R. F. Leslie's "The Meaning and Structure of The Seafarer" (in
Elegies, ed. Green, pp. 96-122), is a close reading of that poem (perhaps
the best one in recent years) which attempts to interpret the poem both
on the literal and allegorical levels. Leslie overly modestly says that
the essay should not, in fact, "be taken as an attempt to carry out this
task, but rather as a kind of feasibility study--a necessary preliminary
for it." It is a complex essay, but a wise one; it leaves several ques-
tions unanswered, but in almost every case it suggests better answers than
we have had heretofore. At the risk of oversimplifying the enlightening
close reading, suffice it to say that Leslie concludes that just as "the
two themes of the poem--the transience of human life on earth and the

transience of the earth itself--are really two aspects of the same theme, as Cross has shown," so also "the two roles of the seafarer, as exile on earth and as homilist, remain the same throughout the poem and give it structural strength and unity; everything else is built around that frame- work." At the conclusion of his essay, Leslie imagines two members of the Anglo-Saxon audience, one "too literal minded to recognize the seafarer as an exile in the metaphorical sense in the opening twenty-six lines" and a second man "who could and did turn almost any experience or phenomenon into a metaphor." Leslie concludes that his "two imaginary Anglo-Saxons are extremes, whereas the poet was almost certainly aiming at the majority in between who, by using the literal level to locate and inform the meta- phorical level, would come to a full appreciation of this poem that he constructed with such care." This essay will be quite useful to the modern "majority in between" in arriving at the same place. J. Richardson's "On The Seafarer, Line 34b" (MP 81, 168) argues against the translation of hean in the line [þæt ic hean streamas] as "high" or "deep," modifying streamas, suggesting instead that "Hean, meaning 'humble' has a strong nominative singular form which would agree with 'ic' to read 'I, being humble,'" While he asserts the authority of Sievers to argue that "the rules of syntax demand a strong form of the adjective" and calls Campbell's assertion that "verse admits a freer use of the weak adjective than prose" an "unsubstantiated exception to the rule," there are, of course, ample examples of the weak adjective where the strong is used in prose; hence, his contention that "if The Seafarer were prose, an alternative reading would be required" is beside the point. Nor are his "number of parallel phrases in Old English verse involving a pronoun immediately followed and modified by the adjective hean, 'humble'" completely convincing, since no one of them contains a following noun, the equivalent of streamas. On the other hand, Richardson offers an attractive defense of "humble" as a con- textually appropriate meaning; and although it may strike the modern reader as syntactically more awkward and hence less likely, it is an attractive alternative which ought at least to be kept in mind.

In "The Old English Ruin: Contrastive Structure and Affective Impact" (in Elegies, ed. Green, pp. 148-73), A. Renoir contends "that The Ruin produces its effect upon the modern reader through the structured juxtaposition of scenes of life and decay that are respectively but not in every respect correlated with past and present and that, unlike the other Old English elegies, it has no speaker, no actual action, no stated or clearly implied philosophical lesson, and no empirical or imaginary geo- graphic separation." Renoir then goes on to point out and comment on details in the poem to illustrate his argument, noting along the way that several of the contrastive details may produce in the modern reader a sense of temporary puzzlement not unlike that reversal of expectations found frequently in the poetry of Donne. He notes, too, that "the several contrasting scenes and techniques illustrate and emphasize what most of us already take for granted about the evanescence of human affairs...," inviting the readers, as it were, to become "the speaking voice's partners in witnessing the real stillness of the present as well as the imagined activities of the past." While aware of the shortcomings of "affective" criticism, Renoir suggests that "there is something to be said in favor of recognizing the fact that the same sequence of words often affects different and yet equally competent readers in totally different ways."

His examination of the poem's contrastive structure offers an attractive context in which competent readers can appreciate it without necessarily denying the objectivity of the text.

ii. Wulf and Eadwacer, Deor, The Wife's Lament, and Resignation

Two essays, clearly written independently and from totally different perspectives, arrive at strikingly similar conclusions concerning the ever-elusive Wulf and Eadwacer. D. W. Frese, in "Wulf and Eadwacer: The Adulterous Woman Reconsidered" (Notre Dame English Journal 15, no. 1, 1-22), offers a highly attractive argument, based on ample archeological and literary evidence, for reconsidering Wulf and Eadwacer in the light of the poetic topos of the mother-grieving-for-her-son. Frese notes at the outset that this theme occurs far more frequently in OE and other early Gmc literature than does that of the passion of a sexually tormented woman, citing examples from Beowulf, Deor, and The Fortunes of Men. Her thesis is too elaborate for full summary here, but it centers on a rendering of the term eadwacer as "some messenger or guide from the Christian spirit-world, appropriately addressed, as Michael the archangel frequently was, in the adjurative mode at the end of the poem's conclusion, as at the end of memorial epigraphy, with a petition concerning the conduct of the reception of the soul into the midst of the heavenly company." In this context, the poem "can be read coherently and far more consistently as the eloquent lament of a grieving mother reciting a formal giedd for her son whose death and/or burial may also have taken place on foreign soil, adding to the already grievous separation imposed by death itself. For a son whose name was Wulf, the very word that names him would summon up the coordinate image of animal predators carrying off the corpse. Such an image would resonate with literal and mythic poetic suggestion of the richest sort." Like Baker's recent article (SP 78), this one allows the reader to view the ambiguities in the poem as a deliberate part of the poetry. The second essay, M. Osborn's "The Text and Context of Wulf and Eadwacer (in Elegies, ed. Green, pp. 174-89), seeks first to "apply to this exemplary text the techniques of stylistics as A. Renoir did those of New Criticism, examining the physical appearance of the poem in the manuscript, the variations of syntactic and lexical forms, and the speaker's emerging realization," and then to "practice historical criticism to discover what meaning this poem might have had within its own cultural context." Along the way, she offers some interesting speculations on the three kinds of ambiguities she finds in the diction (words of clear but ambivalent meaning, words of uncertain meaning, and words that translate literally but may be complicated by a figurative meaning). Her contextual study leads her, like Frese, to conclude that "Wulf and Eadwacer depicts a drama constantly being reenacted in real life: the 'ancient destiny' of a mother, today as well as in former times, who must mourn for the children far-ranging from her side." While Osborn quite properly acknowledges an after-the-fact acquaintance with a conference paper by Frese on the subject, it is clear that these two pieces arrive at their similar conclusions through totally different methodologies. Taken separately, each advances our understanding of a difficult poem; taken together, their common conclusion about the theme is one which future serious scholarship on the poem will have to reckon with.

J. Luecke's "Wulf and Eadwacer: Hints for Reading from Beowulf and Anthropology" (in Elegies, ed. Green, pp. 190-203), suggests (after some interesting discussion of the Geatish family situation relating to Beowulf and his maternal grandfather) that some of the ambiguities in the poem might result from its origin in a matrilineal culture. She then turns to an examination of the system of exogamy, which "demanded that a woman or man procure a mate from another group or tribe," and finally offers some speculations concerning the relation of such words as aþecgan to the practice of totemism. She suggests in conclusion that a reading "implying a matrilineal culture would represent perhaps the earliest origin of the poem. In the transition to a patriarchal society, the relationship of a female speaker in the poem to Wulf and to Eadwacer would have shifted the listeners...," while "the monk who wrote down the Wulf and Eadwacer...almost certainly represented another cultural step and heard the poem allegorically." As a result, she asserts, "no one interpretation of the poem can be considered today as the single accurate one." In "Deor, Wulf and Eadwacer, and The Soul's Address: How and Where the Old English Exeter Book Riddles Begin" (in Elegies, ed. Green, pp. 204-30), J. E. Anderson expands upon a hypothesis set forth by P. J. Frankis (MÆ 31) that Deor and Wulf and Eadwacer represent two versions of an abduction told alternately by a man and a woman. Anderson claims not only that the minstrel who calls himself Deor is the same man the woman calls Wulf but also that the poem which precedes the two in the manuscript, Soul and Body I, was deliberately shortened by the scribe (omitting the final 44 lines of the version which appears in the Vercelli Book), producing three poems which "appear to be a long triple riddle that equates heroic abduction with spiritual death and exposes pagan heroism as bitterly unheroic in the end." The argument is a lengthy and complex one which cannot be dealt with here, but much of the evidence is conjectural and some of the rest is dubious.

P. S. Baker's "A Classroom Edition of Wulf and Eadwacer," printed as an appendix to OEN 16, no. 2, should be considered somewhat differently from the four new essays on the poem, not to disparage it (I have already stated my opinion that Baker's is one of the very best interpretive articles on the poem), but rather to acknowledge appropriately Baker's own statement in the prefatory note that the edition "does not aspire to the scholarly completeness of a critical edition." Many of us who have long wished to teach it but have been frustrated both by the criticism and by the lack of an edition with adequate apparatus will now have a serviceable text and a brief but sensible set of introduction, notes, and glossary to work with. While some who agree with Baker that many recent interpretations "require a rather too free handling of what is in fact a precisely worded poem," they may disagree with him on what we may assert with assurance that the poem actually says. But no matter. Baker states that his aim "has been to illuminate the immediate sense and some of the context as I understand it," and that his hope is "that my editorial procedures will enable the student to approach Wulf and Eadwacer less as a curious and somewhat antiquated puzzle than as the record of 'breathing human passion' it was at the time of its composition." In both these areas he has succeeded admirably, even if the "passion" turns out eventually to be of a different sort than that which he suggests.

Two solid essays on The Wife's Lament complement one another nicely in their discussions of the function of time in the poem. U. Böker's "The Non-Narrative Structure of 'The Wife's Lament': a Reconsideration of

its Lyric Elements" (in Festschrift für Karl Schneider, ed. Jankowsky and Dick, pp. 417-29) suggests that the poem manifests "a clear division into three parts, corresponding to a definite time pattern." The first of these (lines 1-5) surveys the contents of the poem and presents the reason for the lament. The second (lines 6-26), "which maintains more narrative detachment, deals with a few previous events that evidently have led to the present situation," while the third "concentrates almost exclusively on her immediate plight and describes the attendant circumstances of her pitiable fate." Noting the paucity of temporal, causal, or consecutive elements in the poem, as well as the absence of clear explanations of motives, Böker asserts that "previous events are not primarily recounted to motivate the present situation, but to prelude emotions which the speaker is now more than ever at the mercy of." Böker goes on to demonstrate how meter and sentence structure join with the treatment of time to heighten the lyric expressiveness of the poem, bringing the narrator into a vicious circle whereby "she arrives again in the end at those same unbearable emotions which first necessitated the lament." In a similar vein, M. Green, in "Time, Memory, and Elegy in The Wife's Lament" (in Elegies, ed. Green, pp. 123-32), asserts that "by obscuring elements of narrative or plot, the poem places emphasis squarely on the present circumstances of the speaker." Through an examination of metaphors and syntax, Green concludes that "the speaker exists in an interminable present; that present is all that exists, and her pain and suffering are as unrelenting as the summer-long day. But that unrelenting present is given its intensity by a past, fragments of which are 'present' in the memory of the speaker." Green proceeds from this point to mount an attractive argument that the style of the poem is "primarily appositional. The parataxis of lines 6-21 cuts the narrative into distinct segments, yet links them together in such a way that there is a strong suggestion of the rush of memory that is not necessarily sequential." Finally, he alludes to book 11 of Augustine's Confessions, noting that while the Christian soul withdraws from the temporal toward the eternal, "it is perhaps the failure of the speaker in The Wife's Lament to transcend her present that underscores the poignancy of her sad song and defines the poem's difference from the other elegies." W. C. Johnson, Jr., in "The Wife's Lament as Death-Song" (in Elegies, ed. Green, pp. 69-81), "looks at three kinds of evidence—lexical, literary, and homiletic—that suggest that the poet is adapting the Germanic death-song for religious purposes." After reviewing previous scholarship on the Wife as one of the "living dead" or the revenant of ballad tradition, Johnson examines the imagery of the poem as it relates to grave-dwelling, and points to what he argues are specific parallels between the poem and three Eddic chants in the context of ritual suttee by Sigrun, Guðrun, and Brynhildr. Although he concedes that "the absence of specific identities and definite narrative circumstances in the WL makes point-by-point parallels with these Eddic poems impossible," Johnson argues that there are enough similarities "to warrant the possibility that the poet is adapting a death-song." If so, he contends, the poem "may represent a poetic transvaluation of the Germanic death-song in which the poet exploits homiletic possibilities of postmortem states," providing "poetry in which the Germanic voice of the dead speaks a warning about what finally results when life is lived apart from God." In a disarming note, Johnson says that "the location of the narrative voice may require that we suspend our Newtonian coordinates and our humanism"; he realizes, I suspect, how difficult that is for some of us to do.

In "On <u>Resignation</u>" (in <u>Elegies</u>, ed. Green, pp. 133-47), M. Nelson offers a defense of the integrity of the poem. Although convinced by Bliss and Frantzen's demonstration of missing matter, she asserts that "the missing half-leaf need not have been, as Bliss and Frantzen believe, the end of one poem and the beginning of another." Her thesis, in brief, is that "both the prayer of part one and the consideration of exile in part two show a conflict between faith and fear." With particular attention to the speech acts in the first part of the poem and the metaphors in the second, together with a close examination of the brief third-person narration of lines 89-96 (in which she contends that the speaker "distances the emotions that accompany his efforts to come to terms with the thought of his own death"), Nelson views the poem as a penitential in which "his failure to depart is an act of confession, and the sin confessed is fear."

iii. Riddles

A. H. Stewart's "The Diachronic Study of Communicative Competence" (in <u>Current Topics in English Historical Linguistics</u>, ed. Michael Davenport, et al. Odense, pp. 123-36) examines four Exeter Book riddles (25, 28, 47, and 92) in the light of several recent linguistic theories, especially H. P. Grice's "'Cooperative Principle,' a sort of contract between partici- pants in a conversation," which "subtends a number of maxims which fall into four categories: quantity, quality, relation, and manner." Using the four categories of riddles set forth by R. Abrahams and A. Dundes in their well-known study, Stewart notes that each of the four categories represents an infringement on or disregard of or (to use the term Stewart employs most frequently) a "flouting" of the various maxims postulated by Grice, pro- ducing "conversational implicature," which "results when the speaker de- liberately disregards or 'flouts' one of the maxims for the <u>purposes of communication</u>, leaving it to his hearer to work out what he <u>intends to convey</u>." Because "the riddle is one of the few literary forms in which the roles of both speaker and hearer are included," Stewart believes that the genre provides an appropriate vehicle for testing modern theories of com- munication on earlier stages of the language. The essay will be, no doubt, of greater interest to theoretical linguists than to students of Old English literature, but it has some interesting implications for the further study of the Old English Riddles and of the riddle form in general. Here, the riddles are used to test theories, but there are some tantalizing suggestions as to how some of these theories, when thus validated, might give further insights into some of the more obscure of the riddles.

K. O. O'Keefe, in "Exeter Riddle 40: The Art of an Old English Translator" (<u>Proc. of the PMR Conference</u> 5 [1983 for 1980], 107-17), com- pares Aldhelm's "Creatura" and Exeter Riddle 40, noting that "the most striking stylistic device of the English poem, a highly individual adap- tation of the Old English poetic habit of generative composition, has a significant effect on the translator's result: as it renders Aldhelm's rich vocabulary by a deliberately and stylistically constricted lexicon, it results in a poem much starker and simpler in its contrasts than the Latin, but equally complex in rhetorical technique." While this article, resting as it does on an abundance of lexical and metrical evidence, defies summary, suffice it to say that ample evidence is presented and that the essay offers interesting insights into both the Latin riddle and

its vernacular counterpart. In "Two Spliced Riddles of the Exeter Book" (In Geardagum 5, 57-69), J. E. Anderson contends that "in the two paleographically spliced riddles of the collection, Nos. 42/43 and Nos. 47/48, intricate wordplay combines humble and lofty themes in order to attain a well-hidden spiritual end." What he calls the "full riddle" 47/48 is not, he asserts, mainly about the bookworm, whose identity is given at the outset, but a composite text in which "a single theme of religious drama displaces the older separate themes of worm, book, and hring and infuses the composite text with transcendent meaning and power... The abiding truth of the Word is the riddle lesson of Nos. 47 and 48 together, far loftier and more complex than the original 'answers' of the separate poems." For 42/43, Anderson asserts that "a text spliced by both poet and scribe carries the thoughts beyond such heanmode, 'low-minded,' 1. 16, beasts" as the cock and hen to the riddlic "brothers," the soul and the body, "who must part as they leave the bosom of the earth, their riddlic kinswoman who is both 'mother and sister.'" Anderson even goes so far as to assert that "virtually all the key words and themes of this riddle are also found together in the Guthlac poems," and suggests that Riddles 42 and 43 "seem to ask for the famous names of Guthlac and Bartholomeus." For a more thorough review of F. H. Whitman, Old English Riddles (Canadian Federation for the Humanities, Monograph Series, 3. Port Credit, Ont.: P. D. Meany, 1982) than would be possible here, see Roberta Frank, in UTQ 52 (1982-83), 404-06.

iv.   Charms

J. A. Vaughan-Sterling, in "The Anglo-Saxon Metrical Charms: Poetry as Ritual" (JEGP 82, 186-200), argues that "despite the scholarly energy expended in the anthropological study of the charms, these texts have been neglected from another viewpoint--their very close connection with Anglo-Saxon poetry." She suggests that "we must view them in close relationship to Anglo-Saxon poetry generally," and that "they may have been so viewed by the Anglo-Saxons themselves." In support of this attractive argument, Vaughan-Sterling begins by examining the manuscript context of a number of the charms, noting that at least one scribe saw some direct affinity between poetry and the ritual texts. She then proceeds to compare mythological and ritual allusions, theoretical utterances, and rhetorical techniques to demonstrate convincingly "that Anglo-Saxon ritual magic and established poetry are not so distantly related as scholars have supposed." M. Amies, in "The Journey Charm: a Lorica for Life's Journey" (Neophil. 67, 448-62), suggests that the charm is not only an invocation for a safer journey through the countryside or over the sea but "may also have been seen as affording protection against the buffeting of the storms of sin on man's journey through life, and, possibly, protection for the journey of his soul after death." With evidence from Ælfric and other vernacular homilists, as well as from Latin sources, and through close comparison with the Lorica of Gildas, Amies makes an attractive case for considering the work a "prayer or lorica" rather than a charm. In "Erce and Dew" (Names 31, 130-31), Robert Boenig argues that the Greek word for "dew," hersé, might, because of the "incomprehensibility of Greek among the less-educated clergy and the uneducated laity," possess "a magical value that the Old English deaw would not have had." Noting the connection between dew and Holy Water in the charm, Boenig suggests that dew "finds its ecclesiastical equivalent in Holy Water as the originally pagan charm becomes Christianized," noting

that "the magic erce, no longer recognizable as the Greek translation of deaw would, of course, escape the Christianizing into the hypothetical-- and nonsensical--halig wæter."

v.   The Battle of Brunanburh and The Battle of Maldon

Lamenting the general tendency of modern critics "to disregard plurilinear patterns and to dissociate these patterns, when found, from the larger thematic and syntactic arrangements to which they obviously correspond," J. C. Addison, Jr., in "Aural Interlace in 'The Battle of Brunanburh'" (Language and Style 15 [1982], 267-76), attempts to demonstrate a structure for the poem which derives from the related strands of alliteration, theme, syntax, and semantics. The plurilinear interplay of alliterants, he asserts, yokes both thematic and syntactic ideas, in patterns spanning as many as 46 lines. He concludes that "structure and continuity, then, often working on many levels simultaneously, are carried by the underlying design of aural interlace." In "On Dating The Battle of Maldon: Certain Evidence Reviewed" (Nottingham Medieval Studies 27, 1-22), C. Clark sifts scrupulously and thoroughly through enormous amounts of linguistic and lexical evidence to test recent assertions that the poem should be dated after 1020 and perhaps no earlier than 1030. Her conclusion is a cautious one--not that the evidence cannot support so late a date but that it cannot be taken as proof of post-Cnutian composition. She finds, in short, that "the whole question of dating The Battle of Maldon is reopened...," and those "who prefer the traditional early date are not debarred from that preference."

vi.   The Riming Poem

O. D. Macrae-Gibson's The Old English 'Riming Poem' (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1983) came to hand too late for any but the most cursory notice. It contains an enthusiastic but intelligent and balanced introduction, with sections on Manuscript, Date, and Dialect, Literary Form and Structure, Scholarly Treatments, and Rhyme in Old English; it has an appropriately conservative text, accompanied by a readable translation and an apparently exhaustive record of textual variants. The commentary is extensive, the glossary is adequate, and the bibliography apparently quite full. My guess is that a careful study of the edition would bear out this initially altogether favorable impression.

J. B. T.

vii. Cædmon's Hymn and Bede's Death Song

Ute Schwab's "The Miracles of Caedmon" (ES 64, 1-17) is a revised and compressed version of her Caedmon (Messina, 1972), written in Italian. The first miracle is that Cædmon, unable to compose, receives the gift of poetry through divine inspiration. The second is "the transformation of oral poetry into literature": for "he was unlettered, but able to clothe spiritual truths in vernacular alliterative verse; and this he does evidently without the otherwise obligatory harp, most probably by following the rules of liturgical recitation or chant (another

miraculous feature)." Schwab examines the Hymn itself from an "esthetic-numerical perspective" (in which 4 and 5 are the most crucial numbers), points out instances of verbal symmetry, argues that the variant eorđu barnum/eorðan bearnum has priority over æeldu barnum/ielda bearnum (5b), and suggests that tha (7a) is not the adverb but the accusative definite article modifying feminine middingard (otherwise masculine in OE). Along the way, Schwab offers instructive remarks on Aldhelm, Otfried of Weissenburg, liturgical music, Bede's Death Song, and Bede's "inaccurate" Latin version of the Hymn (which, with some modification, may be scanned in "rhythmic hexameters" and may antedate Bede's use of it in his History). Finally, Schwab rejects a Trinitarian interpretation of the poem. (For the opposite conclusion in an essay not cited by Schwab, see D. R. Howlett's analysis in LSE 7 [1974], 1-12). In "On Reading Bede's Death Song: Translation, Typology, and Penance in Symeon of Durham's Text of the 'Epistola Cuthberti de Obitu Bedae'" (NM 84, 171-81), Michael J. Twomey explains that some unique features of Symeon's version of the Epistola "serve to underscore the conventionality of what already has been shown to be an idealized deathbed scene by highlighting the penitential elements in the passage that contains BDS, so that the result is, in effect, a diptych portrayal of the saint's passing with penitential and hagiographic 'panels.'" Twomey's analysis leads him, most notably, to defend Symeon's Latin translation of the Death Song as competent but conditioned by his penitential emphasis and to argue that parallels between the final days of Gregory and of Bede suggest that Bede is portrayed as fulfilling "antitypally Gregory's wish to disseminate the word of God in England."

viii. Genesis A and B, Exodus, Daniel, and Judith

In "The Age of Iared: Genesis A (Lines 1184 and 1192)" (N&Q 30, 290-91), Frederick M. Biggs points out that the poet makes Iared 165 years old when he begets Enoch and 965 years old when he dies, whereas the Vulgate gives the numbers as 162 and 962. Because fif carries alliteration in each of the half-lines, the "mistake" must go back to the poet. Biggs cites, as parallels, the reading 165 among variants for Gen. 5:18 in the Vetus Latina, and the reading 965 in a poem of the Lebor Gabála Érenn and in MS B of the OE Heptateuch (where MS C has 962). Ute Schwab divides her essay, "Zum Verständnis des Isaak-Opfers in literarischer und bildlicher Darstellung des Mittelalters" (FS 15 [1981], 435-94), into two sections. The first, "Spuren jüdischer Tradition in zwei Denkmälern Niedersachsens: nochmals zur as. Genesis-dichtung und zum Halberstädter Abrahamsteppich" (pp. 435-63), contains much that may interest Anglo-Saxonists but only one major point of direct concern: that the scene in Genesis B in which Adam and Eve cover their nakedness and sit apart and the accompanying illustrations in MS Junius 11 have parallels in Byzantine iconography. Schwab's second main section, "Die Wasserlandschaft in der Isaak-Episode der ags. Genesis-Dichtung" (pp. 463-94), encompasses considerably more than the title suggests. Among other things, she discusses several details of Abraham's journey: his hasty obedience and his arming himself, the imagery of wasteland and light, the motif of the three-day expedition, the identification of the mountain of sacrifice, and the poet's apparent use of Sakralvokabular in the narrative. Along the way Schwab offers a comparison of the poet's account with Ælfric's and, more tellingly, with the Exodus poet's. Finally, she addresses the theme of her title by associating the

location of the sacrifice near water in Genesis A with the Germanic cultic practice of offering human sacrifices near the sea.

Mark Allen, in "Name-Play and Structure in the Old English Exodus (Lit. Onomastics Stud. 10, 301-13), makes two new valuable points: first, that the poet links together the beginning and end of the Noah-Abraham digression by diction and theme (lines 353b-55 and 445-46); second, that the reference to Isaac as hiht (405b) reflects the patristic etymology of his name as gaudium. Although Giovanni Mirarchi, in *"Esodo v. 145b: ymb an twig" (AION, filologia germanica, 25 [1982], 143-59), rejects John F. Vickrey's emendation of line 145b to ymb an[feald] twig in favor of the (unmetrical) MS reading, he accepts Vickrey's argument that twig refers to the "bunch of hyssop" of Ex. 12:22 (Traditio 31 [1975], 25-54). Mirarchi believes, however, that twig alludes as well to the rod used by Moses (and God) to afflict Egypt and thereby liberate Israel. Figurally, as the hyssop symbolizes the humility of the incarnate and crucified Christ, so the rod symbolizes the cross. Mirarchi sees his analysis as complementing Vickrey's, but it is difficult to reconcile his view that lines 146-47 refer to the Egyptians'/devils' attempt to recapture the Israelites/Christians with Vickrey's contention that the lines refer to the tenth plague and the redemption. A letter from Prof. W. G. Busse brings with it the welcome clarification of a point that he makes in his essay, "Assumptions in the Establishment of Old English Poetic Texts" (reviewed in OEN 17, 1, 73). Prof. Busse remarks that he would not, as reported, "oblige an editor to limit his citation of supporting material to texts strictly contemporary to the one in hand." What he objects to, rather, is "the use of later material in the explication of earlier texts, as e.g., using writings of Aelfric in order to elucidate Exodus, if one thinks that the poem in its present form originated in the 8th century."

J. R. H.

In "Exodus, Lines 194-196" (The Explicator 41, no. 4, 2-3), J. R. Hall adds to the usual lexicographical referents for the words ecan, establishes a simpler but more attractive reading for lað æfter laðrum, and concludes with a brief analysis of the rhetorical tradition which probably supported the profferred reading. Hall concludes with an idiomatic modern English translation, fully supported by his earlier presentations.

R. L. C.

In "Daniel 206, hearan: the Case of a Misplaced h" (N&Q 30, 386-87) John C. Pope suggests that a scribe, misled by surrounding alliteration, converted original earan, "are," into hearan, "lord." The scribe may have been a Southerner unfamiliar with Anglian earan, which occurs rarely in verse. Pope's solution both clarifies the meaning of the passage and straightens out the metrical sequence of the lines: the passage as emended consists of unexceptional hypermetric lines instead of a mixture of lines hypermetric and normal.

In "Adaptation of Biblical Detail in the Old English Judith: the Feast Scene" (NM 84, 331-37), Hugh Magennis shows that the poet uses a social "criterion which combines with that of Christian morality, by which the behaviour of Holofernes and his men can be judged. The Germanic feast

is an expression of admirable social order and cohesion: the particular
feast which is described in Judith is deliberately presented as a travesty
of such order and cohesion." Magennis observes that the poet departs from
the scriptural story by suggesting that drunkenness is a common practice
of Holofernes and by making it clear that Judith is not present during the
feast. Magennis concludes with a contrast between the Assyrian banquet of
joyless riot and the feasts characterized by a "sense of order and courtesy"
in Beowulf.

                ix. Christ and Satan, Dream of the Rood, and Christ I and II

        In "Christ and Satan" (Explicator 42, no. 1, 2-4), Charles R.
Sleeth, focusing on the characterization of hell as þes windiga sele (135b)
and windsele (319a and 384a, with superscript d added by the Corrector),
cites passages from Augustine and Gregory in which the damned are swept
away to hell by the great wind of God's wrath. Sleeth concludes that
"Even though Augustine and Gregory do not, like the Christ and Satan poet,
represent the wind as a torment of hell itself, blowing through hell after
the wicked have been brought there, their use of the wind motif appears to
furnish a useful framework within which to see the implications of the
infernal wind in Christ and Satan." (For related discussion of the matter,
see the works cited in OEN 16, 1 [1982], 65.) Giovanni Mirarchi's Cristo
e Satana (Naples: Liguori, 1982) is an edition of the poem for Italian
students of OE that includes a brief introduction, a bibliography, Krapp's
text, a translation, notes, and an analytic glossary. Mirarchi incorporates,
in abbreviated form, his previous work on the poem and takes into account as
well most recent Christ and Satan scholarship. Although he is careful to
note the few instances in which he departs from Krapp's text, Mirarchi does
not record Krapp's own departures from the MS; hence, a student approaching
the poem with Mirarchi's book would get the impression that the text is much
better preserved than it is. On the other hand, the introduction and notes,
despite their brevity, are lucid and thoughtful (see especially the note on
lines 597-603). This modest edition should well serve its author's purpose.

        In "Vidi aquam: the Liturgical Background to The Dream of the Rood
20a: 'swætan on þa swiðran healfe'" (N&Q 30, 8-15), Éamonn Ó Carragáin
argues that the image of the liquid flowing from the right side of "the
visionary symbol" (i.e., the cross) was inspired by the Vidi aquam antiphon
rather than by iconographic portrayals of the crucified Christ. The antiphon,
used in two different liturgical ceremonies on the continent and, presumably,
in England, both recalls Ezekiel's vision of water flowing from the right side
of the temple (Ez. 47:1-2) and alludes to the liquid issuing from Christ's
spear-wound, a figure of baptism. (On the last point, see also Clubb's note
to line 546 in his edition of Christ and Satan; on the antiphon, see also
Patrick W. Conner, JEGP 79 [1980], 187-90.) In "The Gospel of Nicodemus
and The Dream of the Rood, 148b-156" (NM 84, 338-43), Robert Emmett Finnegan
contends that the poet drew upon the Gospel for two details: that holy men
(apparently) as well as angels were present in heaven upon Christ's return
there with the souls whom he had rescued at the Harrowing and that even the
righteous souls suffered in hell prior to Christ's descent. (For the con-
flicting view that before the twelfth century the Gospel of Nicodemus exerted
no discernible influence on OE writers "if indeed they even knew of its
existence," see Jackson J. Campbell's essay in Viator 13 [1982], 107-58.)

In "Christ as Soldier and Servant in The Dream of the Rood" (Florilegium 4 [1982], 109-16), Anne L. Klinck argues that þenian (52a) should not be taken, as it usually is, as þenian, "to stretch," but as þēnian, "to serve": in the passage the cross is saying, "I saw the God of hosts strenuously serve," not "I saw the God of hosts grievously stretched out." Klinck observes that the active sense of "serve" accords with the poet's earlier portrayal of Christ as a hero controlling his own destiny, that the sense strengthens the parallel between lines 51b-52a and 33b-34a, and that the concept of service agrees with the theme of the willing servant in the Gospel accounts. More daringly, Klinck contends that if þenian (with a short root vowel) is read here, one would have to translate "being stretched out"—a sense inappropriate to the present context, in which a perfective sense is required—for "the infinitive in a passive sense...denotes an action in process rather than a completed state." This claim has not, to my knowledge, been made before. It would be interesting to see if the argument could be sustained in a more comprehensive study.

In *"Avvento, v. 11a: weall wið wealle" (AION, filologia germanica, 25 [1982], 61-91), Giovanni Mirarchi, urging a greater recognition of the poet's scriptural learning, stresses that the Advent antiphons thought to be the main source for the poem in reality explain very little. Mirarchi makes a good point. It is also true, however, that scholars have recognized the poet's deep indebtedness to biblical imagery and themes; for example, in Robert B. Burlin's The Old English Advent (1968), one finds citation of Scripture sufficient to gladden the heart of St. Gregory. Mirarchi's most notable point in his discussion of line 11a and its context is that the poet's very urgent plea for Christ to come and join weall wið wealle may be a response to a specific historical situation. Perhaps the poet is asking Christ to establish concord between the churches of East and West as well as among members of the church in England. Teresa Pàroli's "Dall'epica al dramma: la sezione VII de 'Cristo I' anglosassone" (Scritti in onore di Giovanni Macchia [Milan], II, 193-221) is a comprehensive study of the Mary-Joseph dialogue under six headings: 1) text and translation, with Mary assigned lines 164-67a, 176b-81a, 197-213, and Joseph the other speaking parts; 2) style; 3) structure, with emphasis on the intertwining of motifs; 4) sources, both canonical and Apocryphal; 5) the place of the dialogue in literary history in light of liturgical drama and of the later mystery plays; and 6) the dramatic structure of the episode viewed against the background of Aristotle's Poetics.

In "The Sea of Life and the Ending of Christ II" (In Geardagum 5, 1-12), Phillip J. Pulsiano observes that in lines 850-66 Cynewulf draws out the implications of his source, Gregory's Homily 29, making the sea imagery much more elaborate and concrete. Pulsiano sees Cynewulf's purpose as nothing less than an attempt to "resolve the epistemological complexities which arise when describing non-sensible phenomena.... Through language he creates a link, a verbum mentis, between theological realities and his audience; he devises a method which, as far as possible within the poetic framework, solves the problem of knowledge of God." In pursuing his argument, Pulsiano gives a valuable reading of Guthlac B 1326b-45a, in which the sea-journey suggests "the journey of the mind as it progresses from sorrow to understanding" and serves as "a metaphoric expression for the spreading of God's Word."

x. Wisdom and Lore: Rune Poem, Maxims I, Physiologus,
    Soul and Body, Solomon and Saturn I and II

The reader who believes in Tarot cards, I Ching, or astrology,
and who would like some extra help in constructing a "rainbow bridge
across the void" will want to read the whole of Marijane Osborn's and
Stella Longland's Rune Games (London, Henley, and Boston: Routledge and
Kegan Paul, 1982), wherein, assisted by Steven Longland's well-crafted
illustrations, he may learn how to integrate his psychic energies by
applying "meditative divination" to oracular games based upon the OE
Rune Poem. But the reader for whom finding his own space means nothing
more (or less) than discovering a quiet place in the library stacks will
be tempted to limit his study of the book to the first two chapters,
which offer an "historical introduction" to the poem, with stress upon
thematic unity and upon special relationships among the various stanzas.
The analysis, without footnotes or the consideration of differing points
of view, is highly speculative; but medievalists will know how to sepa-
rate the wheat from the chaff.

In a humane and somewhat personal essay (reminiscent of his
Beowulf article in SAB 44 [1979], 80-98), James W. Earl briefly intro-
duces, then translates "Maxims I, Part I" (Neophil 67, 277-83), which he
rechristens "A Man Steers With a Strong Mind" (from line 50a). Although
stressing that this "interesting and lovely poem...is not a neglected
masterpiece, not even a minor one," Earl finds it attractive because of
its concern with "the real world of the poet" and with human communication,
because of its dramatic metaphors and crafty transitions, and because
"...the poem as a whole encourages us to look beyond cultural forms to
a universal social order, and see ourselves as part of a larger community
of wise men governing the world God has given us." In "The English
Proverb: Definition--Determination of Age--Models" (Poetica [Tokyo] 15-16,
23-48), Karl Schneider, finding previous definitions of the proverb unsat-
isfactory, compounds his own that runs to twenty-three lines. Among the
illustrating quotations, he includes several OE "proverbs," most of them
from Maxims I. When Schneider comes to discuss rhythmic structure, he
remarks that "...the OE proverbs show, without exception, a rhythm in
4/4-measure determined by the prevailing dynamic stress accent which
leads to a triple stress gradation of syllables." His rhythmic system is
similar to Pope's. In the second part of the paper, Schneider employs
"contents criteria" or "language and form criteria" to claim that many
later English proverbs date from the OE period. "Birds of a feather flock
together" (1545), for example, was once *Birdas (Fuglas) ānre feðre
flocciað tōgædere.

In "The Old English Physiologus" (Explicator 42, no. 1, 4-6),
Bruce Ross notes that in OE Christian poetry stenc, "fragrance," frequently
connotes sanctity, as it does in the Panther. But in the Whale, the poem
immediately following the Panther in the OE Physiologus, stenc betokens
the pleasant aroma by which the whale/devil lures people to their doom:
"...by undermining, in this singular incidence, the traditional imagery
associated with fragrance, the beast conclusively violates the idea of
salvation itself."

Douglas Moffat's purpose in "The MS Transmission of the OE Soul and Body" (_ME_ 52, 300-02) is to support P. R. Orton's argument (_ME_ 48, [1979], 173-97) that the two versions of the poem--one in the Vercelli Book, the other in the Exeter--were transmitted from written exemplars, not from memory, as contended by Alison Gyger (_ME_ 38 [1969], 239-44). Moffat cites an instance in which the Vercelli scribe wrote acenneda and in which the Exeter scribe initially wrote acenda; in the latter case, however, the original scribe or another added a small superscript n (a^{n}cenda), altering the form to the expected reading. The omission of the n in the Vercelli text and in the first stage of the Exeter transcription suggests that the common error arose from the omission of a macron over a (ācen-). If so, it is more likely that the error goes back to a written exemplar from which the Vercelli and Exeter versions ultimately derive than that two scribes, copying from memory or dictation, happened to omit the macron in exactly the same place.

In "Magie und Mythos als Argumentationsmittel in den ae. Dialoggedichten Salomon und Saturn" (Festschrift für Karl Schneider, ed. E. Dick and K. Jankowsky [Amsterdam and Philadelphia, 1982], pp. 387-403), Günter Kellerman and Renate Haas see the poems as displaying native Germanic traditions reinterpreted from a Christian perspective. The authors examine the Pater Noster runes in Solomon and Saturn I in light of Augustine's discussion of heathen gods and God in De civitate Dei; similarly, they see the discussion of fate in Solomon and Saturn II as transmuted largely by the Christian concept of divine order and providence.

xi. Hagiographies: Andreas, Guthlac A and B, and Elene

Edward B. Irving, Jr., in "A Reading of Andreas: the Poem as Poem" (ASE 12, 215-37), shows that the poet repeatedly departs from the presumed Latin source to give the story a strong heroic cast. Here and there Irving's analysis is provocative, as when he suggests that the Mermedonians are depicted in mock-heroic terms or that the devils are presented as comic figures. Irving also defends the poet from charges of occasional ineptitude. (In one such instance, one might strengthen Irving's case that the poet does not blunder in making Herod responsible for the Crucifixion: in Acts 4:26-27 Herod is linked with Pilate as one of the two leaders who, with their followers, were "assembled" against Christ.) In "The Sphragis as Apotropaic Sign: Andreas 1334-44 (Anglia 101, 147-51), Thomas D. Hill identifies the cross on Andreas's face as, specifically, the sphragis, the seal made on the forehead of baptismal candidates, which is said to make them terrifying to demons. The miracle at this point in the poem, according to Hill, is that the sphragis becomes visible. After acknowledging that the scene appears in the Latin narrative tradition as well, Hill remarks that "There is no reason to suppose that the Andreas-poet failed to understand the larger implications of the episode in which Andreas defeats the demons in prison; but even if he did, there is no reason we should." With meticulous attention to detail, Charles D. Wright, in "Matthew's Hebrew Gospel in Andreas and in Old English Prose" (N&Q 30, 101-04), first investigates the Greco-Latin tradition that Matthew wrote a gospel in Hebrew for his fellow-Jews before leaving to preach to the Gentiles. Then, after showing that the tradition was widely known to the Anglo-Saxons, Wright finds that in lines 11b-13 of Andreas the poet alludes to the tradition--found in no other version of the story--for three reasons: to indicate that Matthew did not

leave his Hebrew flock uninstructed, to stress that the news of salvation was intended for both Jews and Gentiles, and to suggest "at the same time that the New Israel was to replace the Old."

Wright also, in "The Three Temptations and the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit in 'Guthlac A,' 160b-169" (Traditio 38, 341-43), develops Abbetmeyer's suggestion (1903) that in the passage the poet alludes to Guthlac's victory over the three temptations of I John 2:16: "concupiscence of the flesh, concupiscence of the eyes, and the pride of life." Citing the poet's mention of wisdom and fear of the Lord, Wright also finds in the passage a reference to the gifts of the Spirit, of which these virtues are the first and last. "The juxtapositon of these biblical motifs, furthermore, creates a parallel with the life of Christ, for the seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost and the three temptations were traditionally associated with His baptism and temptation in the wilderness." Arthur Groos's "The 'Elder' Angel in Guthlac A" (Anglia 101, 141-46) concerns the half-verse hafað yldran had (4b), with which the poet describes the angel who comes to greet Guthlac's soul and conduct it to heaven. Groos views the expression as intentionally ambiguous: taken as "(he) had an older state," the reference is to the belief that angels were created before men; taken as "(he) had a nobler rank," the reference is to the belief that angels are superior to men now but only until the blessed souls of men receive back their bodies. For Groos the two senses evoke not simply the creation of angels and men, the resurrection of the dead, and the final equality of angels and men in the beatific vision, but the fall of the wicked angels and of Adam as well, together with the redemption.

In "Type as Prophet in the Old English Guthlac B" (Viator 14, 44-58), Sally Mussetter explains how the poet, sometimes expanding on and sometimes adding to Felix's Vita, presents the saint as a prophet in the Pauline sense—one who instructs, edifies, consoles, and exhorts the faithful—and as a figure of "Adam's fallen, suffering, and redeemed race." The author's analysis includes several supporting or related themes: martial imagery, the "onomastic prophecy contained in guth-lac," the spiritual gifts of I Cor. 12:8-10, the epiphany of marvels on the saint's death-day, and the character of Guthlac's servant. Finally, Mussetter speculates that the poet might have been contemporary with Boniface and have written with him in mind, "recasting the holy life of another voluntary exile into the wilderness as the life of a prophet to complement God's mission to the Germans with proof that he also sent his oracles to the English."

Robert D. Stevick, in "A Formal Analog of Elene" (Stud. in Med. and Renaissance Hist. n.s. 5 [1982], 47-104), tenders the hypothesis that "a geometric model may have been used in laying out the plan for the lengths of the poem and its divisions." After explaining the stages used in designing two carpet pages in the Lindisfarne Gospels, Stevick presents a series of thirteen comparable steps, each requiring two to five operations, that create a quasi-geometric analogue to Elene when the spatial dimensions are correlated with a numerical scale. (A graphic display in which "one millimeter would produce the integer lengths given in the analog" would require a surface area of about 39x48 inches; sophisticated instruments like those used at Lindisfarne could reduce the area perhaps by half.) Stevick is able to generate, though not in narrative sequence and not without intermediate derivations, the line-count of each of the

first fourteen MS sections of the poem; the fifteenth section, preceded
by the scribe's "Finit" and not part of the story proper, stands outside
the analogue. It is important to note, however, that "The analog of
Elene,...while it has repetition of ratio and re-use of certain measures,
is not comprehended as a recursive pattern. The pattern that it repli-
cates is not that of something that someone set going and then traced its
path, but rather is something that someone would have had to work out as
a series of discrete choices or decisions." At three points Stevick is
obliged to alter the received text (each time plausibly). One of these
alterations--the positing of a one-line loss between lines 1044-45--is
crucial to Stevick's starting point because it permits the total number
of lines in sections VIII-XIIII to be calculated at 618, matching the
same number in sections I-VII, and permits subsequent operations to be
based upon the Golden Section (1.618).

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

Works not seen:

> Bundi, Ada, ed. and trans. Il sacrificio di Isacco nell'Exodus
> anglosassone (vv. 380-425). Quaderni di filologia germanica,
> 2, no. 2. Messina: EDAS. 65 pp.
>
> Foley, John Miles. "Læc[e]dom and Bajanje: a Comparative Study of
> Old English and Serbo-Croatian Charms." Centerpoint 4, no. 3
> (1981), 33-40.
>
> Ortoleva, G., ed. and trans. Il sacrificio di Isacco nella
> Genesi A anglosassone. Quaderni di filologia germanica, 2,
> no. 1. Messina: EDAS, 1980. 82 pp.
>
> Stewart, Ann Harleman. "Double Entendre in the Old English Riddles."
> Lore and Language 3, no. 8, 39-52.

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

c.   Beowulf

This year saw the publication of several full-length studies
of Beowulf, two of which are likely to prove especially controversial:
John D. Niles 'Beowulf': the Poem and Its Tradition (Cambridge, MA, and
London) and Raymond P. Tripp, Jr., More about the Fight with the Dragon:
'Beowulf' 2208b-3182, Commentary, Edition, and Translation (Lanham, MD,
New York, and London). Many scholars this year drew upon anthropology
and cultural history to illuminate the poem, while relatively few
attempted close aesthetic criticism. A recurring theme, approached from
a number of perspectives, was the difficulty of establishing at the most
basic and literal level what the text means.

The discussion below deals first with books devoted exclusively
to Beowulf and then in turn with articles dealing with textual cruxes,
lexicography, grammar, metrical grammar, formulas, the codex, the Thorkelin
transcripts, and the problems of translation; then, with articles of more
purely literary criticism; and, finally, with works which place Beowulf in
its social or cultural context.

John D. Niles sees the poem primarily as an oral performance
grounded in the traditional art of the Germanic scop and designed to appeal
more to an aristocratic than to a monastic audience. Rejecting the view
that Beowulf is a product of Latin learning, Niles offers a damaging survey
of the various attempts to find models for the poem in the Thebiad, the
Aeneid, or the works of such early Christian authors as Lactantius,
Prudentius, Boethius, Gregory, or Augustine, concluding that there is
"little or no evidence that the poet knew Latin letters directly" (91).
In support of a tenth-century date for the poem Niles offers a number of
arguments which, as he acknowledges, have largely been anticipated. Niles
adopts a model first suggested by Donald K. Fry and applies it more rigor-
ously with striking results, finding nearly two out of every three verses
in the poem to be members of identifiable formulaic systems. The book's
wide-ranging discussion of the poet's aesthetic includes the suggestion
that the numerous anomalies in the plot (e.g., the Danes falling asleep
before Grendel attacks or Beowulf's allowing Hondscioh to be devoured by
Grendel) can be attributed to artistic conventions which did not demand
the coherence and mimetic plausibility of naturalistic fiction. This sug-
gestion is not new, but Niles's rejection of overly naturalistic reading
is the most aggressive to date. The book concludes by examining the
familiar problems of the poem's "controlling theme" and "fatal contradic-
tion." For Niles, "the poem's controlling theme is community: its nature,
its occasional breakdown, and the qualities that are necessary to maintain
it" (226) and Beowulf exemplifies these qualities. Niles's defense of
Beowulf as an exemplary hero is the weak point of his fine book: his treat-
ment of the opposing arguments is too cursory to be fully persuasive and
the justification he offers for Beowulf's single-handed attack, that it "is
based on an accurate assessment of the dependability of his thanes" (251)
seems an unfortunate lapse into the very kind of overly-naturalistic inter-
pretation that Niles so convincingly rejects.

In More about the Fight with the Dragon Raymond P. Tripp, Jr.,
pleads for a re-examination of the text of the poem and reveals what he
aptly describes as "the virtual abyss of possibilities" (34) that such a
re-examination may yield. Tripp's painstaking paleographical analysis
cannot be readily summarized, and we will only mention the broad lines of
the story established by his emendations. Expanding a suggestion advanced
in two articles reviewed here last year, Tripp argues that there is no
thief, that þeofes cræfte (2219) refers to the dragon's cunning in attack-
ing Beowulf, and that the man who flees into the cave is a king who turns
into a dragon. As Tripp puts it: "We have thus a totally new picture, not
of a thief dashing in and out in the theft of a single cup, but of an evil
king fleeing from his people and violating a barrow and remaining there as
a dragon" (53). More tentatively, Tripp suggests that this man-dragon may
be Heremod. Unfortunately the line which might have described this
crucial metamorphosis (2229) is virtually illegible except for the last
word. Although Tripp's emendations often seem even more speculative than
those they replace, he has once more provided a salutary reminder that
many of our most cherished readings rest on slim textual evidence.

The need for such a reminder can be seen in J. D. A. Ogilvy's
and Donald C. Baker's Reading 'Beowulf': an Introduction to the Poem.
Its Background, and Its Style (Norman, Oklahoma). This book is designed
as a guide for students approaching the poem for the first time and it
shows an impressive sense of their needs, but it is marred by an apparent
indifference to the poem's anomalies, ambiguities, and textual problems.
The book contains clear and succinct introductory essays on the topics
of date, author, codicological context, Old English versification, and
the oral-formulaic question; a short history of Beowulf criticism stres-
sing the pivotal role of J. R. R. Tolkien in recognizing Beowulf as
first and foremost a poem; and a précis of the entire poem with commen-
tary. The authors presuppose no prior knowledge of Old English, Anglo-
Saxon culture, or complex critical terminology--the use of the terms
"gnomic-elegiac" (58) and "anacrusis" (114) without accompanying expla-
nation is a rare lapse--and they draw numerous analogies to modern cul-
ture which are often illuminating. Unfortunately, in their efforts to
overcome the strangeness of the poem, Ogilvy and Baker end up rewriting
it. Anyone reading their commentary and précis who had not yet read
Beowulf itself would emerge with the impression that the poem was much
like a realistic novel, that it dealt with a straightforward and uncom-
plicated hero, that its plot could readily be followed, that--once cer-
tain obviously silly exegetical critics were dismissed--the poem's moral
concerns were obvious, and that there was no particular difficulty in
knowing what the words in the poem meant. The book's indifference to
linguistic concerns was for us its most dangerous failing: rarely does
it mention the sheer difficulty in so many passages of figuring out
just what is going on or confront the ambiguous syntax and apparent
non sequiturs which are such a shock for a student reading the poem
for the first time.

Another book also designed for students, Howell D. Chickering,
Jr.'s 'Beowulf': a Dual-Language Edition (Garden City, NY), has been re-
issued with the useful addition of glossaries listing both words and
their grammatical function for eight passages. These notes will en-
courage students to move by stages towards reading Beowulf itself, and

will lessen the danger, inherent in any dual-language edition, that the student will really only read the translation.

M. J. Swanton's Crisis and Development in Germanic Society 700-800: Beowulf and the Burden of Kingship (Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 333. Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1982) is the only other full-length book devoted exclusively to Beowulf to be reviewed this year. Swanton favors an eighth-century date for Beowulf and argues that this century saw a major shift in Germanic concepts of kingship which is reflected in the poem. In Swanton's view, Heorot as a folcstede represents the older demo-cratic society in which the king was chosen by his people and depended on their consent, a society now weakened and incapable of meeting the chal-lenge posed by Grendel, while Beowulf as a vicarius dei like Charlemagne or Offa of Mercia represents the new feudal pattern in which a hereditary king was set above his people by divine grace, commanded absolute obedience, and ruled according to the promptings of God rather than his witan. The distinction between these two political systems seems much sharper in Swanton's book than in the poem itself.

Several articles published this year challenge prevailing inter-pretations of individual passages. J. J. Anderson argues, in "The 'cuþe folme' in Beowulf" (Neophil 67, 126-30), that it is not the hand of Grendel which his mother snatches on her way out of the hall but the "hand," i.e., the body, of Æschere. Anderson points out that, if the hand is that of Grendel, the incident stands out oddly in the narrative since it is never subsequently referred to, although one would expect Beowulf at least to comment on its disappearance. Anderson also points out that the exchange mentioned in line 1304b (Ne wæs þæt gewrixle til) would seem less loosely worded if it were taken to refer not just to Æschere's death but to the actual snatching of his body, a literal exchange. Anderson concludes by suggesting that the parallelism of the exchange shows both sides to be caught up in "a futile cycle of retribution" (128) and that the poet may have had a Christian disapproval of feuds. Paul Cavill, in "A Note on "Beowulf, lines 2490-2509" (Neophil 67, 599-604), challenges the common interpretation that these lines refer to Beowulf avenging the death of Hygelac by killing Dæghrefn and suggests instead that they may refer to Beowulf and Dæghrefn fighting early in the battle as champions. Cavill observes that nothing in the text forces us to conclude that Hygelac is dead at this point, that it was Dæghrefn who killed Hygelac, or that the frætwe that Dæghrefn was wearing when Beowulf killed him was the same piece of jewellery that Beowulf gave to Hygelac. Cavill offers an alternative conjectural reconstruction of the episode which, while highly speculative, fits the facts as well as the older reading. S. M. Riley, in an overly ambitious article which is too compressed to be persuasive, offers "A Reading of Beowulf 168-69" (In Geardagum 5, 47-56) based on the sugges-tion of A. G. Brodeur that in this notorious crux it is Hrothgar who cannot approach the gifstol. Riley interprets the passage in the light of the contrast between Beowulf's understanding of Fate which is "decidedly Germanic" (49) and Hrothgar's Christian understanding, shown in his offer-ing thanks to God for Beowulf's arrival. The article includes the inter-esting suggestion that the difference between these two attitudes may indicate the reworking of an older, oral, pagan version of the poem by a Christian writing it down.

Four articles deal with what may loosely be described as the poet's vocabulary: two with individual words, one with synonyms for "beer" and "wine," and one with the formula heard under helme. Frederick J. Heinemann, in his article,"Ealuscerwen-meoduscerwen, the Cup of Death, and Baldrs Draumar" (SN 55, 3-10), examines the much-discussed question of whether ealuscerwen (Beowulf 769) and meoduscerwen (Andreas 1526) mean ale depriva-tion or ale distribution. Heinemann finds evidence for the ritualistic association of drink with death in the description found in Baldrs Draumar of the mead prepared in Valhalla for Baldr, and suggests on this basis the meaning ale or mead distribution as a metaphor for fear or distress. In "Searoniðas: Old Norse Magic and Old English Verse" (SP 80, 109-25),Paul Beekman Taylor draws attention to the paradox that while Beowulf claims on his death-bed that he "ne sohte searoniðas" (2738), the poet praises him after his death by saying "Biorges weard / sohte searoniðas" (3066b-7). Taylor examines the element searo, tracing its history from the Iliad through Latin and various 'Germanic languages to OE and tracing the corres-ponding shift in its meaning from "link" to "chain" to "cunning." In his efforts to associate searo with the magic treasure of Eormanric, Taylor descends into what he himself admits may seem a network of "conspiratorial associations" (117), but his conclusion--that in the compound searonið magic reinforces hostility to suggest "consummate malice" (124)--is convincing enough, although hardly surprising. Setting himself firmly against the tendency to see each near-synonym in Beowulf as subtly different, William Whallon asks the question, "When in Beowulf is Beer Drunk, or Mead, When Ale or Wine?" (Inconsistencies: Studies in the New Testament, the Inferno, Othello, and Beowulf [Woodbridge, Suffolk and Totowa, New Jersey], pp. 82-97, 100). After examining the forty odd passages in Beowulf, Whallon concludes that the poet chooses among beor, ealu, medu, win, and their compounds on the basis of alliterative needs alone. Whallon supports his case by an analogy to the mistranslation of Biblical passages caused by distinguishing between words that were really intended to function as synonyms. Carlo Alberto Mastrelli similarly takes examples from a number of languages in his examina-tion of different versions of such formulas as "under a helmet" or "under a shield ("La formula germanica: "sotto l'elmo" [a.isl. und hjálmi, ags. under helme, m.a.ted. under helme]," Studi Nederlandesi, Studi Nordici, AION 22 [1979], 177-93). Mastrelli argues that formulas of this kind reflect an archaic mentality found in many cultures according to which armor has a magic or religious significance and a warrior is said to be "under it" in the sense that he is guided or protected by the armor.

Grammatical concerns attracted less interest than lexicographical ones, although Bruce Mitchell did provide "A Note on Negative Sentences in Beowulf" (Poetica [Tokyo] 15-16, 9-12) in which he suggests that in line 949 ("Ne bið þe ænigre gad") ænigre be emended to nænigre for the sake of the alliteration. Mitchell admits that there is no syntactical parallel in Beowulf for this particular double negative, but points out that it would be acceptable in prose.

Calvin B. Kendall, in a highly technical but equally lucid article, "The Metrical Grammar of Beowulf: Displacement" [Speculum 58, 1-30], examines the mechanism by which words are displaced from their normal order in the metrical grammar of the poem. Kendall argues that the metrical grammar of Beowulf is traditional and can be shown to follow the two laws formulated by Hans Kuhn which relate the incidence of sentence particles to the syn-tactically closest dip, rules which persisted in poetry because they were

preserved in half-line formulas. Kendall's argument, which cannot be
detailed here, deals authoritatively with several apparent anomalies in Kuhn's
laws when applied to Beowulf. If Kendall's argument is accepted, then several
a-verses must be rescanned. Furthermore, while Kendall is careful not to draw
any conclusions as to how the poet composed, his analysis does suggest that
the poet was at the very least deeply versed in a tradition of formulaic
composition. In contrast, Valerie Krishna, in her article, "Parataxis,
Formulaic Density, and Thrift in the Alliterative Morte Arthure" (Speculum 57,
[1982], 63-83), draws attention to the ways in which Beowulf is more typical
of written poetry. Although this article presents no new approach to the
oral-formulaic question, it does draw together information from a number of
sources and offers a useful summary of the methods of analysis that have been
developed. Krishna finds that Beowulf in its high incidence of enjambment,
low incidence of whole-line repetitions, and low incidence of metrical thrift
is in the "written" range of poetry in contrast to the Alliterative Morte
Arthure which is in the "oral" range, but stresses that this does not tell us
how the poems were in fact composed.

Both the codex and the Thorkelin transcriptions were the subject
of articles this year. In "Beowulf, Monsters, and Manuscripts: Classical
Associations" (Res Publica Litterarum 5, no. 2 [1982], 41-57), William E.
Brynteson locates the Beowulf codex in the tradition of encyclopedic "monster
books" such as the Marvels of the East or the Liber monstrorum. Brynteson
rejects what he terms the "prevailing view" (41) that the codex is a tran-
script of an earlier edition and argues that the scribe or compiler deliber-
ately intended to put together a book about monsters and other wonders of the
East. As Brynteson acknowledges, this suggestion is not new, but his
detailed examination of the manuscript tradition of several other monster
books gives it added authority. Kevin S. Kiernan, in his article,
"Thorkelin's Trip to Great Britain and Ireland, 1786-1791" (The Library
6th ser., 5, 1-21), tells a fascinating story of the trials and tribulations
of eighteenth-century scholarship and offers a plausible explanation of why
Thorkelin, having already commissioned one transcription of Beowulf, made a
second transcription personally. Kiernan's careful examination of the evi-
dence shows that Thorkelin's transcription dates from sometime between 1788
and 1791, and not 1786 as Thorkelin claimed. Kiernan suggests that
Thorkelin may have made the second transcription while he was trying to
decide whether to return to Denmark or stay and work for the British Museum.

The problems of translation attracted some attention this year.
Raymond P. Tripp, Jr., addresses the problems peculiar to translating
Beowulf in his article, "'Like It or Lump It': Thematic Remarks toward
an Accurate Translation of Beowulf" (In Geardagum 5, 13-28). He begins with
the premise that "the poet's eleventh-century language is already "Middle
English" and that he wrote in "a period of extraordinary phonological
change" (13) which encouraged word play. Tripp then examines the problem
of translating the passage "þa him alumpen wæs / wistfylle wen" (733b-34a)
without sacrificing the poet's punning word play. Tripp suggests the trans-
lation "within him swelled an ugly hope / of lumping down a lively fill of
food" but admits that this may strike some as making the poet too "preco-
ciously Joycean" (21). Tripp's article for all its eccentricities has the
advantage of focusing closely on one passage. In contrast, Jan Verdonck
("Beowulf vertalen," Handelingen der Koninklijke Zuidernederlandse
Maatscappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis 36 [1982], 239-58)

deals with the problems of translating ancient texts in general and does not manage to advance beyond generalities. Verdonck mentions many familiar problems, e.g., the translator making explicit what the text only suggests or the imposition of punctuation on poetry that was originally delivered orally, but this does not seem sufficient to achieve his stated goal of provoking a wider and more systematic discussion of the process of translation.

Surprisingly few authors confined themselves to purely literary criticism. Lana Stone Dieterich drew on the techniques developed by Stanley Greenfield in his analysis of Grendel's approach to Heorot to offer a "Syntactic Analysis of Beowulf's Fight with Grendel" (Comitatus 14, 5-17). Dieterich shows that Beowulf and Grendel are linked by their evenly-matched fighting abilities, their mutual rejection of weapons, by alliteration, and above all by the ambiguity of the syntax in such lines as "fingras burston" (760b) which make it hard to tell one fighter from the other. The syntactic analysis is solid, but does not provide sufficient grounds in itself for the highly tendentious conclusion that this linking "taints" Beowulf (16). A serious lack of critical precision weakens the analysis of both Elizabeth Liggins ("Irony and Understatement in Beowulf" [Parergon 29 (1981), 3-7]) and Ruth Waterhouse and John Stephens ("The Backward Look: Retrospectivity in Medieval Literature" [Southern Rev. (Adelaide)16, 356-73]). Liggins describes a number of instances of irony in the poem and argues that the contrast between the hopes and plans of men, women, and monsters and what actually happens, and the constant use of understatement give the poem a duality of perspective which is brilliantly reinforced by giving Beowulf an ironic point of view as well. Waterhouse and Stephens deal with the principles of "retrospectivity" or "retrospective modification," the principle that "as we read later lines of a poem we must constantly look back to what has preceded to see how the new material complements or modifies the earlier information" (356). According to the authors, Beowulf demonstrates the use of "cumulative retrospectivity" as new information forces us to rethink our attitudes to Beowulf and Unferth and to such themes as vengeance. Zacharias P. Thundy argues, in "Beowulf: Meaning, Method, and Monsters" (Greyfriar: Siena Stud. in Lit. 24, 5-34), that the real purpose of the Beowulf poet is "to retell the rise, decline, and possible fall of Germania with a view to discourage war for the sake of the survival and restoration of the nation" (16). Central to Thundy's reading is an allegorical interpretation of the monsters: Grendel is "not Rome, but the Roman legions which came out of Rome and laid waste Germanic lands in Europe" (20); Grendel's mother is the she-wolf Mother Rome, her home Rome itself; and the dragon is another great enemy of Germania, "British power in general and the Welsh in particular" (30). On a more general level, Fritz Peter Knapp examines the aesthetics of medieval epic in which native material is shaped by the conventions of higher learning ("Levens-u. Ausdrucksformen des germanischen und romanischen Heldenepos des Mittelalters," La représentation de l'antiquité au moyen âge, ed. Danielle Buschinger and André Crépin, Wiener Arbeiten zur germanischen Altertumskunde und Philologie 20 [Vienna, 1982], pp. 375-98). Knapp's article uses a relatively sophisticated critical vocabulary to make a series of familiar points, e.g., the role of the epic in preserving historical tradition in an illiterate or largely illiterate culture. This year also saw the republication of J. R. R. Tolkien's famous address, "Beowulf: the Monsters and the Critics" (The Monsters and the Critics and Other Essays, ed. Christopher Tolkien [London]).

For convenience of discussion, the books and articles which interpret Beowulf in the light of early Germanic society and culture have been divided rather arbitrarily into the following three categories: 1) works which attempt to identify particular characters or objects; 2) works which offer interpretations of individual passages; and 3) works which offer interpretations of the poem as a whole.

In her article "Sörlaþáttr and the Hama episode in Beowulf" (Scandinavian Stud. 55, 222-35), Helen Damico argues that the Hama episode in Beowulf 1197-1201 refers not to the legend of Heimir and Eormanric of Þiðreks saga but to the myth of Loki's theft of Freyja's necklace, the Brisinga mere which he carries to Oðinn. The ingenious bilingual puns which justify this identification are delightful, but,as Damico points out, the audience might well fail to recognize such puns, while they would certainly have heard of the Gothic king Eormanric. Damico raises several objections against earlier explanations of the passage, but none seem as cogent as the objection she raises against her own. Annelise Talbot ("Sigemund the Dragon-Slayer," Folklore 94, 153-62) suggests that Sigemund can be identified with the Batvian chief Civilis who lead a rebellion against the Romans in A.D. 69. The strongest point in favor of this identification is the parallel between Sigemund's destruction of the dragon which dissolves in its own heat and the burning of the Roman camp by Civilis.

Three investigations of early Germanic culture shed light on specific passages in Beowulf. In "The Ride around Beowulf's Barrow" (Folklore 94, 108-12), Martin Puhvel finds numerous parallels in nineteenth-century Europe to the circling of Beowulf's barrow by the twelve retainers. In view of the ubiquity of the custom, Puhvel suggests that the similarities between the funeral rites for Beowulf and those for Atilla described in Jordanes's Getica may well be fortuitous. William Ian Miller's extensive investigation of the history of the bloodfeud, "Choosing the Avenger: Some Aspects of the Bloodfeud in Medieval England and Iceland" (Law and History Review 1, 159-203), includes an account of a ceremony in which part of a corpse or a belonging of the corpse is shown to a reluctant avenger to compel him to take vengeance. Miller sees two examples of this ceremony in Beowulf: Hunlafing's placing the sword in Hengest's lap and Weohstan's presentation to Onela of the armor of Onela's nephew Eanmund. The latter act, Miller argues, is in fact a ceremony of forgiveness in which Weohstan enacts the ceremony that would normally oblige Onela to take vengeance so that Onela can "formally and publicly release his claim against his ideal retainer" (202). A similar interest in Germanic customs is seen in Stephanie Hollis's "Beowulf and the Succession" (Parergon, New Series, No. 1, 39-54). Hollis maintains that in the fictional world of the poem, "the bequeathing of the king's armour is a recognized means of signifying the heir to the throne" (40), and on this basis offers a political analysis of the subtle and devious motives that lie behind Hrothgar's bequest and Beowulf's response.

In support of her interpretation of Wulf and Eadwacer, Janemarie Luecke offers an analysis of the matrilineal and matrilocal aspects of the society in Beowulf: "Wulf and Eadwacer: Hints for Reading from Beowulf and Anthropology" (The Old English Elegies, ed. Green. pp. 190-203). Luecke finds that the society of Geatland is the least advanced toward patriarchy and shows signs of confusion about lineal succession: as a child, Beowulf

is taken back to his <u>mother</u>'s tribe by his maternal <u>grandfather</u>. In the course of her analysis, Luecke makes the important point that the poem does not directly reflect contemporary experience but rather the experience of many generations filtered through poetic tradition.

Three scholars with radically different methods attempted to uncover the basic mental attitudes that are reflected in the poem. Bernard F. Huppé takes as the starting point for his discussion of "Nature in <u>Beowulf</u> and <u>Roland</u>" (<u>Approaches to Nature in the Middle Ages</u>, ed. Lawrence D. Roberts. Med. and Renaissance Texts and Stud. 16 [Binghamton, NY, 1982], 3-46) John Leyerle's comparison of OE poetic structure and the interlace patterns in Hiberno-Saxon illumination. Huppé argues that in both <u>Beowulf</u> and the <u>Book of Kells</u> Nature is hostile, dark and filled with lurking monsters which are only kept in place by exorcizing power of the sacred word (which literally displaces the monsters into the margins in the <u>Book of Kells</u>) or by divine power. Huppé sees this as a reflection of a common primary level of social experience during the missionary period of Christianity, which he contrasts to the incipient crusading spirit reflected in <u>Roland</u> and the Bayeux Tapestry where nature is reduced to a mere framing device. This article was originally presented at a conference and includes a response by George D. Economou which raises a number of objections to Huppé's argument. Economou protests that Huppé, by defining Beowulf as a member of fallen mankind rather than as a hero, has diminished Beowulf's role; that the shared sensibility between <u>Beowulf</u> and the <u>Book of Kells</u> is not so marked as Huppé suggests; and that the natural imagery in <u>Beowulf</u> buckles under the burden of such concepts as "postlapsarian nature." James W. Earl, in his article, "The Role of the Men's Hall in the Development of the Anglo-Saxon Superego" (<u>Psychiatry</u> 46, 139-60), analyzes the ritual space of the hall and its function in Anglo-Saxon society using strict Freudian psychoanalytic anthropology. The article, which covers not only <u>Beowulf</u> but the complete psychological development of Anglo-Saxon society, makes three major points: 1) in Anglo-Saxon society there was an uneasy tension between two social orders, one based on kinship ties, agriculture, and the hut (female), the other based on oaths between men, war, and the hall (male); 2) the hall was the ritual space which embodied the heroic ideal of the male social order; and 3) the rapidity with which Christianity was accepted and the cultural flourishing that followed was owing to a large extent to the similarities between the values of the hall (the old superego) and the values of Christianity and Benedictine monasticism (the new superego), both of which rejected kinship ties in favor of a militant masculine group. Earl sees Grendel's mother as a symbol of the threat that women and kinship ties pose to male society and, developing a point raised in an article reviewed here last year, sees the poem as a lament for the lost heroic past, an act of mourning which is an essential stage in the development of the superego. Despite his claim that psychoanalytic anthropology is both "universal and particular" (142), Earl is quick to dismiss particular literary problems if they clash with his general theory. Having classified Beowulf as an "ego ideal," for example, Earl dismisses the question of whether Beowulf's behavior at the end of the poem is in fact ideal as being "beside the point" (152). Paul C. Bauschatz's <u>The Well and the Tree: World and Time in Early Germanic Culture</u> (Amherst) is an ambitious and often baffling attempt to uncover the early Germanic conceptual system. Bauschatz argues that Germanic culture was dominated by its conception of its own past, represented in Germanic mythology by the relation between the World Tree <u>Yggdrasil</u> (growth, life, the present) and Urth's Well (containment,

nourishment, the past). Bauschatz finds signs of the Germanic sense of wyrd, the force of the past, in Germanic burial customs and feasting and in the absence of a morphologically distinct future in the Germanic languages. In his analysis of Beowulf, much of which can only be understood in the context of his book as a whole, Bauschatz argues, among other things, that the description of the dragon's case with steam swirling from it suggests the iconography of Urth's well and that the dragon represents the past, Beowulf the present.

Finally, in a brief note, Thomas J. Mooney poses the intriguing question, "Is Bigfoot the Star of Beowulf?" (Fate 33, no. 1 [1980], 72) and suggests that Grendel might have been a bigfoot driven by human encroachment to acts of hostility uncharacteristic of this reclusive species.

Works not seen:

Kelly, Birte. "The Formative Stages of Beowulf Textual Scholarship: Part II." ASE 12, 239-75.

Sato, Noboru. "Beowulf and Gregorian Chant." Otsuka Rev. 18 (1982), 85-100.

_____. "Beowulfian Aesthetic Suggested in the Assonance and the Rhyme." Tamagawa Rev. 22 (1982), 285-302.

Tajima, Matsuji. "Gnomic Statements in Beowulf." Stud. in Eng. Lang. and Lit. (Kyushu Univ.) 30 (1980), 83-94.

Wellman, Don. "So For Then Also the Dragon: a Working of the Funeral Passages from the Old English Beowulf." Translations: Experiments in Reading. Ed. Wellman. O.ARS, 3. Cambridge, MA. Pp. 57-59.

C. C. and A. T.

d.   Prose

The most important publication this year in scholarship on OE
prose literature is surely Simon Taylor's edition of the B-text of
The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (Cambridge). This volume is marked number 4,
although it is the first to be published of the "collaborative edition,"
projected for at least twenty-two volumes under the general editorship
of David Dumville and Simon Keynes. The general plan of the edition is
to make all texts of the Chronicle available to scholars and it is parti-
cularly appropriate that manuscript B, which has received very little
attention up to now, should be the first to be published. The form of the
edition is "semi-diplomatic"; it sets forth the manuscript forms with respect
to "spelling, chronology, and detailed content, but introduces modern punctua-
tion, capitalisation, and annalistic layout." An elaborate introduction
describes the manuscript carefully and traces its history; the theories of
Cyril Hart (noted in YWOES-1982), however, reached the editors too late for
account to be taken of them but the general editors record their fundamental
disagreement. After a careful analysis of the text and in particular its
relationship to C text, Taylor proceeds to a detailed commentary on the
language of the B-text. In addition to statements on editorial procedures
and a bibliography, there are indices of "personal names," "people-names,"
and "place names." This volume suggests convincingly that this ambitious
series is not only well launched but carefully directed toward making a
permanent contribution to our knowledge of the Chronicle.

Ruth Waterhouse, in her thorough article, "Stylistic Features as
a Factor in Detecting Change of Source in the Ninth-Century Anglo-Saxon
Chronicle" (Parergon 27 [1980], 3-8), analyzes in particular the initial
clause of each year's chronicle entry. These differences possibly suggest
different archetypes for recognizable groups of entries.

King Alfred's justly famous preface to his translation receives
valuable and sustained attention from P. R. Orton in his article, "King
Alfred's Prose Preface to the Old English Pastoral Care, 11. 30-41"
(Peritia 2, 140-48). Orton's concern is especially directed to understanding
exactly which group of people is indicated by the references which Alfred
has his predecessors make to "ure ieldran." Other general terms, such as
"Godes ðiowa," and "ciricean" are also examined in the course of showing
Alfred's superb tact in his ability to set forth a plan for reform without
alienating otherwise loyal ecclesiasts.

J. E. Cross's painstaking and important investigation of the
sources for the various entries in the OE Martyrology have brought us four
additional learned essays during 1983. In "Cosmas and Damian in the Old
English Martyrology (N&Q 30, 15-18), Cross modestly suggests that the author
of the OE entry "saw a text very similar to that in...Zurich" Zentralbiblio-
thek MS Car. C. 10i fols. 192v-195v. Similarly, in "Euphemia and the
Ambrosian Missal" (N&Q 30, 18-22), Cross outlines all of the known manuscripts,
confirms the accepted derivation from Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina 2708,
but goes on to suggest that the textual differences between OEM and its source
can probably be explained by the availability of "a version of the Ambrosian
Missal" to the martyrologist. In "Columba of Sens in the Old English
Martyrology " (N&Q 30, 195-98), Cross confirms Herzfeld's choice of Biblio-
theca Hagiographica Latina 1892 as the basic source for the entry on Columba

but he analyzes the textual deficiencies in considerable detail. The principles which have guided Cross's intense dedication to the discovery of exact Latin sources for OE texts are somewhat more fully exposed in his "The Passio S. Laurentii et aliorum: Latin Manuscripts and the Old English Martyrology" (MS 45, 200-13) than in his other articles published this year. From a detailed comparison of nine sequential entries in the OEM (Abdon and Sennen [30 July], Pope Sixtus II [6 August], Romanus [9 August], Lawrence [10 August], Hippolytus [13 August], Irenaeus and Abundius [26 August], Tryphonia [18 October], The Forty-Six Soldiers [24 October], and Cyrilla [28 October]) with Latin sources, "it is clear that the English martyrologist read a 'long version' of the Passio S. Laurentii et aliorum and abstracted phrases from it rather more closely than the printed texts allow us to suspect."

In "'Hel Our Queen': An Old Norse Analogue to an Old English Female Hell" (Harvard Theological Rev. 76, 263-68), L. Michael Bell analyzes the appearance of the apparently feminine form, "seo hell" in the OE Gospel of Nicodemus. Bell outlines a variety of possible relationships to Old Norse forms, discusses the possibility that the genders of hell and its Latin translation, infernus, are "merely grammatical," and proposes a thorough new study of all these forms.

Raymond J. S. Grant has edited a useful volume, Three Homilies from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41 (Ottawa: The Tecumseh Press, 1982). These three: on the Assumption of the Virgin, on St. Michael, and on the Passion of the Lord have never before been published in full, and the first two are recovered from the margins of the principal text of the codex, the Old English version of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica. The third is at the end of the volume and seems to have been added "as an afterthought." Grant's introduction outlines the opinions on the date of the manuscript and the relationships between these homilies and other texts, both others in MS 41 (there are also OE homilies on soul and body, doomsday, and Easter) and also homilies in other manuscripts. The homilies published by Grant are nos. 2, 5, and 6 from MS 41 but are, of course, renumbered 1-3 for this edition. The arrangement of materials is designed to be useful for students. The OE texts are printed on the verso of each leaf with a modern English translation printed opposite. The paragraphs are adequately spaced so the reader can maintain a rough parallelism. After each text, there is a series of textual notes and then a separate series of "explanatory" notes; because of the translation, there is no glossary. Grant also provides a separate introduction for each homily, clear straightforward essays which will prove useful for both scholars and students. I have not compared the transcription of the OE texts with the original so I cannot judge the accuracy of the OE text. However, a letter-form like a capital "thorn" is used for the OE w and seems more confusing than comforting. The translations are vigorous and forceful.

The tradition of OE homilies is discussed by Jerome Oetgen in his article, "The Trinity College Ascension Sermon: Sources and Structure" (MS 45, 410-17), as a background for explaining the order and techniques of an early Middle English manuscript, Cambridge, Trinity College MS 335 (B.14.52). The arrangement according to the liturgical calendar (and starting with Advent) and the use of various sources for unified sophisticated instruction make this Middle English homiliary a "not unworthy successor to the earlier tradition."

Eric John's learned and well-written article, "The World of Abbot Ælfric" (Ideal and Reality...; ed. P. Wormald, D. Bullough, and R. Collins. Blackwell, 300-16), gives us a succinct view of the state of learning about Ælfric and his work. He enumerates the editions now available but makes clear that a much fuller knowledge of the texts of all OE homilies will be necessary for final assessment of the place of Ælfric's work. Special care is given to Ælfric's intention in writing the Catholic Homilies and Lives of Saints and the probable relationship between intention and prose style. Ælfric's place among the church reformers is then outlined in some detail. While John began his article with the comment that "no overview of [Ælfric's] work and importance has been attempted," he provides us with an intelligent framework for the desirable book or books which are yet to come.

With thorough support from Ælfric's texts, Ruth Waterhouse advances a cautious thesis which says a good bit about Ælfric's carefully planned style. In her article, "'If you Can Talk with Crowds': Ælfric's Placement of Gif-clauses in Lives of the Saints (AUMLA 59, 48-65), Waterhouse documents the placement and matter of clauses introduced by gif. She treats the texts as verse and analyzes "the placement of the conditional clause" both in relation to grammatical and logical necessity and also to fulfill the poetic form.

William Schipper, in "A Faust Analogue in Ælfric's Lives of Saints (ELN 21, 1-3), demonstrates the similarities between aspects of Ælfric's life of St. Basil with the narrative line of the Faust legend; he concludes that "Ælfric's translation [of his Latin source] is...the earliest version in English of this story."

Richard Kenneth Emmerson, in "From Epistola to Sermo: the Old English Version of Adso's Libellus de Antichristo" (JEGP 82, 1-10), compares the OE version of the Libellus, "possibly commissioned by Wulfstan," with the Latin original. These comparisons shed "light upon the working methodology and goals of the Old English authors." The rhetorical techniques and moral emphases of the sermon involve not only a shift in tone but also changes in details. "The sermon's treatment of Enoch and Elias, therefore, reflects not only the interest in the popular legend that is typical of vernacular accounts of Antichrist, but also the homilists' desire to add eschatological urgency lacking in the Latin original....It is, in many places, a close rendering of the Latin, but in its differing tone and in some significant modifications, it is an original work well suited to the homilists' purposes."

Douglas Alexander Moffat's Western Ontario University dissertation, "A New Editing of the Worchester (sic) 'Soul's Address to the Body'" (DAI 43A, 2682), is, first of all, an edition of the late OE poem found in MS Worcester Cathedral F. 174. But an important "section on prosody investigates the relation of the poem to both Old English verse and rhythmical prose and concludes with a discussion of rhyming lines in the work."

Jerold Coleman Frakes advances the theory, in his dissertation at the University of Minnesota, "Fortuna in the Consolatio: Boethius, Alfred and Notker (DAI 43A, 2661), that fortuna is the "grantor of worldly goods" as well as a contrast to other Boethius terms: providentia, fatum, and homo. In the final analysis, the role of "fortune" is "that of the soul's guide to heaven."

Another important dissertation is that offered by Phillip J. Pulsiano, from the State University of New York at Stony Brook, "Materials for an Edition of The Blickling Psalter. [Latin Text]" (DAI 43A, 3590). While it is hard to tell from the abstract just how much attention is given to the numerous OE glosses (from "the late eighth or early ninth and tenth centuries"), the bracketed "Latin Text" in the title would suggest not much. Nevertheless, in Pulsiano's published article, "A New Look at the Anglo-Saxon Glosses in the Blickling Psalter (Manuscripta 27, 32-7) (reviewed above in section 2a), he shows careful and extensive knowledge of the OE glosses (including correction of previous readings). This knowledge of the OE suggests that his dissertation is probably an important work for more than further study of the Latin text.

Jan Hombergen, in "Some Remarks on the Spelman Psalter" (Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik 19, 105-37), presents his plea that "an exhaustive examination of relationship between the English psalters themselves" be "brought to a good end." For many reasons, the edition of the psalter by John Spelman has enjoyed considerable authority over the years, although it has long been recognized as full of errors. Hombergen's work was originally written as an introduction to his dissertation, an edition of the Spelman Psalter, and an edition of the first ten psalms is appended to the article. The goal of this study, presumably, is to make possible a full examination of Spelman's worth as an editor.

O. Arngart, in "Durham Proverb 23, and Other Notes on Durham Proverbs" (N&Q 30, 291-93), continues his analyses noted here in years past. The present contribution involves considered emendation of the Latin of Durham Proverb 23 in such a way that it is more congruent with Wanderer 68.

M. L. Cameron, in Bald's Leechbook: its sources and their use in its compilation" (ASE 12, 153-82), presents, in considerable detail, the textual background of this "oldest English medical work to survive in anything like complete form" and "the oldest to survive in a European language other than Greek or Latin." Cameron illustrates derivations from six separate Latin sources, outlines several other "possible" sources, and discusses two fragments which aid our understanding of those English sources (no longer surviving) which the compiler probably used. The problems and techniques of translation are discussed and lead toward his conclusions that the compiler had an at least relatively rational approach to medicine; he included only sixteen charms. His knowledge of disease ranged widely and he had access to written sources in English and Latin. He also knew allegedly curative ingredients from a wide geographical area.

Works not seen:

Cilluffo, Gilda. La versione anglosassone della Visio Pauli. Schede Medievali 4, 78-83.

D'Aronco, Maria Amalia. "Il IV capitolo della Regula Sancti Benedicti del ms. Londra, B.M., Cotton Tiberius A.III." Feor ond Neah. Ed. P. Lendinara and L. Melazzo, Palermo. Pp. 105-128.

Fiocco, Teresa, ed. and trans. Il sacrificio di Isacco nella traduzione ags. di Aelfric. Messina, 1980.

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Hoffstetter, Walter. "Zur lateinischen Quelle des altenglischen
    Pseudo-Dioskurides." Anglia 101, 315-60.
Kabouchi, Tadao. "A Note on Prose Rhythm in Wulfstan's De Falsis
    Dies (sic)." Poetica 15-16, 57-106.
Lendinara, Patrizia. [Summary of 1981 conference at Palermo on
    OE and OHG translations of Benedictine Rule.] Schede Medievali 2
    (1982), 164-5.

R. L. C.

4. ANGLO-LATIN AND ECCLESIASTICAL WORKS

Continuing to make extremely useful contributions to and revisions of
our understanding of the medieval practice of penance, Allen J. Frantzen has
published a monograph, <u>The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England</u>
(New Brunswick, NJ). He opens his study with a lucid and sensible chapter
on "Ireland and the Origins of Penance," a discussion of its roots in monastic
discipline and its extension to the laity. The system developed in Ireland,
Frantzen concludes, "differed from earlier forms of reconciliation more in
practice than in theory [and reflected] characteristics of the native culture
without being heretical" (p. 59). Archbishop Theodore seized upon the peni-
tential tradition as "an instrument for setting and maintaining disciplinary
standards" (p. 63), Frantzen states early in a chapter on "Penance in
Eighth-Century England." The so-called penitentials of Bede and Egbert are
also touched upon in this chapter, but Frantzen treats them more completely
in an article on "The Penitentials Attributed to Bede" (<u>Speculum</u> 58, 573-97),
a major contribution to the textual history of penitentials on the Continent.
Although it does not answer conclusively the question of Bede's authorship of
a penitential, the article casts new doubt upon the likelihood of Bede's
authorship and argues that it is unlikely that both (if, indeed, either) of
the "Bedan" and "Egbert" penitentials were English in origin. There are,
however, two short texts attributed to Bede that seem relatively free of
influence from either the Egbert or other sorts of continental influences.
Perhaps the most original part of the chapter on the eighth century in
Frantzen's monograph is the survey of evidences of the influence of the
penitential system in other kinds of documents than penitentials themselves:
laws and devotional prayers.

Frantzen next surveys the history of penitentials in the ninth century,
particularly on the continent, where the tradition was refined and trans-
formed by the Carolingians. Again his survey touches on devotional litera-
ture as well as the penitential materials, more strictly defined (which he
had also surveyed in an article in <u>ASE</u> 11 [1982], 23-56, reviewed here last
year). Given the exigencies of the ninth century, it is not surprising
that "genuinely English penitentials had ceased to exist in the ninth century"
(p. 121); but the story Frantzen tells of the revival of the penitential
tradition as developed by the Carolingians is all the more striking for its
place in this new, clarified context. Starting with the reign of Alfred and
proceeding through the tenth century, Frantzen traces the development of a
large vernacular literature for instruction of the clergy in the administra-
tion of penance. If the English reformers were "backward-looking in their
choice of sources," they were, in their use of the vernacular, "among the most
far-seeing churchmen in early medieval Europe" (p. 150). In addition to sur-
veying the prose literature for confession, Frantzen also considers penance as
a motif of OE poetry. This study is a major contribution to a neglected but
extremely important aspect of early medieval and Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical
history with special emphasis on its literary ramifications and occasional but
telling glimpses on its utility for the study of social history. His command
of the documents and their transmission as well as their content enables
Frantzen to make genuinely new points.

Kate Dooley's paper, "From Penance to Confession: the Celtic Contribution"
(<u>Bijdragen: Tijdschrift voor Filosofie en Theologie</u> 43 [1982], 390-411) lacks
that command of the documentary history, although it makes not unuseful

observations that set Celtic penance in a somewhat wider tradition and help to correct the overemphasis on Irish insularity that has characterized earlier studies. Yet another study of penitentials examines their teachings, usually in the context of discussions of gluttony, on dietary matters. Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli recognizes, in "Norme di comportamente alimentare nei libri penitenziali" (Quaderni medievale 13 [1982], 45-80), that the norms laid down are more often established by tradition than by the needs or abuses prevalent in the society to which the penitentials were addressed.

In ASE 7 (1978), Peter Kitson published the first part of a study of "Lapidary Traditions in Anglo-Saxon England," treating patristic and medical lapidaries, later glosses and traditions about jewels, and the OE lapidary, which he also edited. Now, in ASE 12, 73-123, Kitson has produced "Part II: Bede's Explanatio Aposalypsis and Related Works." Kitson believes the passage on the twelve stones of Apoc. xxi. 19-20, much longer and more detailed than the treatments of other commentators was intended "by deliberately transcending the limitations of his form [i.e., commentary commaticum] to write an extended tractate on the jewels which would form the climax of his commentary" (p. 75). At some length and with admirable details, Kitson studies Bede's sources and method of working in this crucial passage of his earliest exegetical treatise. He next treats the passage De Duodecim Lapidibus from the so-called Collectanea Bedae, probably of Irish origin. Its author, he concludes, is "a 'Virgilius Maro' of lapidary authors, using his learning with deliberate intent to mock and mislead: to mislead his readers and to mock some at least of his fellow-scholars" (p. 109). Bede used the work "seriously"--a fact that would have "delighted" its author. Finally, a hymn Cives Celestis Patriae, probably of tenth-century Anglo-Saxon provenance, is edited and discussed. It is "a versification of Bede's jewel passage" (p. 120), which Bale attributed to the Anglo-Latin hermeneutical poet Frithegod. Kitson's two-part study is a valuable and learned gathering together of all the materials related to the lapidary tradition from a limited area and period: pre-Conquest England. Its usefulness as a resource for scholarship will transcend the bounds of Anglo-Saxon studies.

Vivien Law continues her studies of Latin grammatical texts in pre-Conquest England, addressing herself to "evidence for the study of Latin grammar south of the Humber up to the time of its best-known manifestations," the eighth-century grammars of Tatwine and Boniface ("The Study of Latin Grammar in Eighth-Century Southumbria," ASE 12, 43-71, at p. 44). The first object of her study is the seventh-century work of Aldhelm on metrics and metric feet. De Metris, Law concludes after a source study that supersedes all earlier work, incorporates materials not only from such standard authors as Audax and Donatus but also from Aldhelm's recollection of the teachings of Hadrian at Canterbury-- a conjecture that finds confirmation in Aldhelm's letter to Leuthere. For De Pedum Regulis she suggests a number of sources but declares a new edition and continued study of sources are needed. Law turns next to what she calls "elementary grammars," an Anglo-Saxon genre stressing accidence and developed to meet the needs of students who had little or no contact with native speakers of Latin. Tatwine's work by its sophistication implies precursors. His work and that of Boniface both show knowledge of the Artes of Donatus and Priscian's Institutio, but they are otherwise remarkably independent in sources, structure and transmission. Law closes with a call for more study, which it is hoped will be answered--not least by herself. Unusual because it is a study of Latin glosses on Latin texts is Gernot Rudolf Wieland's The Latin Glosses on Arator

and Prudentius in Cambridge University Library, MS Gg. 5.35 (Stud. and Texts, 61). Wieland attempts, using a portion of this famous teaching manuscript, to describe "a typical Latin lesson for Anglo-Saxon students" (p. 192). The study is a resourceful departure from the usual sort of study of bilingual glossed texts and will be of interest to historians of pedagogy as well as linguists.

Patrick Sims-Williams's O'Donnell Lectures for 1982 are published as "Gildas and the Anglo-Saxons" (Cambridge Med. Celtic Stud 6, 1-30) and "The Settlement of England in Bede and the Chronicle" (ASE 12, 1-41). The former treats Gildas as a prophet and the De Excidio Britanniae as a moral judgment of Gildas's people. The Britons are treated as a unity, but Gildas propounds neither nationalism nor a view of Christianity as an international, unifying force. At any rate, the Britons, and not the Anglo-Saxons settlers or invaders, are Gildas's subject. The latter paper carries matters forward to Bede and the Chronicle. Bede, Sims-Williams concludes, has little of value to add to Gildas. Where Bede's sources survive, we should judge them on their own merits; where his sources are no longer available for analysis, we should be very cautious about them. The Chronicle is even more problematical. In the accounts of the settlement in both Bede and the Chronicle, the only value lies in "the light they shed on early Anglo-Saxon dynastic, heroic and topographical tradition and learned historiography." For the rest, he agrees with Kemble's judgment of 1849: "the genuine details of the German conquests in England [are] irrevocably lost to us (ASE 12, 41). In a note, "A proposito del termine conquestus tramandato nel titolo dell'opera gildaica" (Quaderni catanesi di studi classici e medievali 8 [1982], 451-56), Cecilia Braidotti argues that conquestus was used with its classical signification "lament," "complaint," rather than its later sense of acquisition by means other than purchase. The argument is an attractive one, made the more compelling by a quotation from Alcuin that under-girds the sense of Gildas's work not as history but as complaint over the down-fall of the people of Britain. I take it that Braidotti's position would not conflict with the argument made by Sims-Williams. Neil Wright shows that on the two occasions when Gildas uses the unusual word lanio he employs it, in its etymological sense of "one who tears," as a grander and more effective synonym for lupus, "wolf" ("A Note on Gildas's 'lanio fulve'," Bull. of the Board of Celtic Stud. 30, 306-09). He adduces slight precedent for the usage, but he shows that the glossator of Cambridge University Library MS Ff. I.27, Bede, and Geoffrey of Monmouth understand his meaning.

Two volumes of Bede's exegetical works appeared in 1983 in the Corpus Christianorum Series Latina. The first (fol. 119B) includes the commentaries on Tobias, Proverbs, the Canticle (all ed. D. Hurst) and Habacuc (ed. J. E. Hudson); the second (vol. 121) gathers editions of the commentary on the Acts of the Apostles with the retraction and index of place names in Acts (ed. M. L. W. Laistner and first published in 1939) and the commentary In Epistolas Septem Catholicas (ed. David Hurst). Each text has, as one expects in the series, little or no introduction, full apparatus criticus and indices of scriptural and other citations. Roger Ray's essay, "What Do We Know About Bede's Commentaries?" (Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et médiévale 49 [1982], 5-20) states well (if not with absolutely new insights) the truth that Bede regarded himself above all as an exegete and teacher of his people. It is a useful article: a precursor, one hopes, to more detailed studies that will be made possible by the appearance of new editions of the methods of the commen-taries and their originally intended audiences. There being no manuscript

evidence that the full text of Cassiodorus's Expositio Psalmorum was known in England in the eighth century, Richard N. Bailey analyzes "Bede's Text of Cassiodorus' Commentary on the Psalms" to determine from internal evidence whether he may have used only the epitome of Cassiodorus known to have circulated in Northumbria and surviving in two mss., one of them Durham Cathedral B.11.30. He concludes Bede almost certainly had the Cassiodorus complete. (There is, incidentally, apparent disagreement between Bailey at p. 191 and Kitson, ASE 12, pp. 94-99, on Bede's source for the description of topaz in the Expositio Apocalypsis.)

In 1963, D. P. Kirby suggested Bede made an error in dating the year of Ecgfrith's accession and thus threw out all earlier regnal years. Susan Wood argues for accepting Bede's dates as correct in "Bede's Northumbrian Dates Again" (EHR 98, 280-96). She rehabilitates Levison's view that Bede "'considered the whole of the year of the Incarnation, in which a king died as his last year and reckoned the next year of the Incarnation as the first year of his succession'" (p. 281). In a revisionist paper in the same issue of EHR entitled "Bede, Eddius Stephanus and the 'Life of Wilfrid'" (pp. 101-14), D. P. Kirby doubts the author of the "Life" can have been Eddius and argues it is best "to name him simply Stephen" (p. 104), a person who relied on other witnesses rather than first-hand recollection. Comparing the vita with Bede's account, he also argues that "Stephen" wrote later than has usually been posited and that his Northumbrian connections were closer to Ripon than to Hexham. "Historical Martyrologies in the Benedictine Cultural Tradition," John M. McCulloh's contribution to Benedictine Culture 750-1050, ed. W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst (Medievalia Lovaniensia, ser. I: Studia IX, pp. 114-31) is an essay on the effort to understand authors of martyrologies as literary and historical figures. In his study of Notker and Hrabanus as representative writers of martyrologies, McCulloh deals at some length with their selections from works by or attributed to Bede.

Georges Tugène contributed a long and thoughtful paper, "L'Histoire 'ecclésiastique' du peuple anglais: reflexions sur le particularisme et l'universalisme chez Bède" to Recherches Augustiniennes 17 (1982), 129-72. In the first part, Tugène studies the relation in HE of national history to universal ecclesiastical history and finds Bede remarkable (compared, say, to Fredegarius) in the manner in which the particular case of the Anglo-Saxons is "impregnated" by the universal history of the church. And in a second section he studies the manner in which Bede treats incidents of temporal history as manifestations of the atemporal, of the history of salvation. Much is written annually about Bede's historiography. Few of these writings are as fresh and stimulating as this. A lengthy paper by Jan Davidse in SM 23 (1982), 647-95, analyzes "The Sense of History in the Works of the Venerable Bede." Stimulated by the essays edited by Gerald Bonner as Famulus Christi (1976), Davidse addresses himself to "the relation between time and eternity and the relation between Christianity and History" (p. 651). He feels that, despite cultural and educational differences Bede maintained a fundamentally Augustinian view of time and eternity. Time was "part of God's creation" whose meaning "is connected with penance and can only be found where eternity manifests itself in human history" (p. 673). As an historian, Davidse believes, Bede was original in that "he wrote a history of his people from the perspective of the monastic vision of history": a conversion was a true "turning-point" in which the eternal impinged upon and transformed the temporal (p. 695).

In "Bede and Vergil" (Romanobarbarica 6 [1981-82], 361-79), Neil Wright takes up the argument of the late Peter Hunter Blair that Bede lacked first-hand knowledge of Vergil (and that Ælbert, archbishop of York, therefore, must have introduced Vergil to Northumbria after Bede's death). Hunter Blair disregarded the metrical Vita S. Cuthberti, however, and his analysis of Bede's intermediate sources for snippets from Vergil was not adequately critical. Thus Wright thinks it clear that Bede knew a number of Vergilian works quite well, even though the substitution of biblical for Vergilian examples in De Arte Metrica displays a commonly held distrust of the classical poets. Lia Coronata expounds "La dottrina del tetrametro trocaico in Beda" in Romanobarbarica 6 [1981-82], 53-62. The definition in De Arte Metrica is peculiar, and its peculiarities are traced not to a source but to Bede's analysis of the Hymnum dicat turba fratrum as an example of trocaic tetrameter. In a paper on a favorite theme of OE criticism, "Cædmon and Christian Poetry" (NM 84, 163-70), P. R. Orton argues that the miracle of Cædmon's composition of religious verse in OE is (as it were) a confection to distance Christian poetry from the pagan tradition. It was, Orton guesses, Bede's awareness that Cædmon's diction has direct antecedents in earlier, non-Christian verse that led him to suppress the OE text by substituting the Latin paraphrase. Alcuin's fulminations against pagan subject-matter in verse sung by monks in the eighth century suggest to Orton that Bede may have been correct to be suspicious of the corrupting potentials of pre-Christian vernacular prosody. For the sake of completeness, cross reference is made to the articles in the same issue of NM by Raymond J. S. Grant on the Cædmon Hymn and Michael W. Twomey on Bede's Death Song, both treated above in section 3 (c and b, respectively). In "Cædmon und Muhammed" (ZdA 112, 225-33) Klaus von See notes the similarity (which he finds quite remarkable) between the account of Cædmon's vision in Bede's Historia ecclesiastica and the account of the call of Mohammed. "Sources for the Ormulum" other than Bede are surveyed by Stephen Morrison in NM 84, 419-36, an article that points convincingly to Orm's knowledge of two twelfth-century biblical commentaries.

An article by Claudio Leonardi, "Alcuino e la rinascita culturale carolingia," appears in Schede medievali 2 (1982), 32-53. It celebrates the cultural accomplishment of Alcuin and his confreres in developing a hegemony between classical and Germanic cultures, but it is concluded that the achievement was fragile and ephemeral, even though it foreshadowed the more lasting cultural hegemony of the time of the first pope from the North, Gregory VII. Similar themes are struck in another paper of Leonardi's on Alcuin for the 27th in the series of Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo in Spoleto (1981): "Alcuino e la scuola palatina: le ambizioni di una cultura unitaria" in Nascita dell'Europa ed Europa carolingia: un'equazione de verificare, I, 459-506. Peter Godman's conclusions concerning the authorities for the text of Alcuin's "Versus de...Sanctis Euboracensis Ecclesiae" are refined somewhat by François Dolbeau in "La Tradition textuelle du poème d'Alcuin sur York" (Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch 17 [1982], 26-30). Temporal exigency prevented Dolbeau from knowing Godman's final statement on the matter in his edition of 1982, and vice versa. In "Alcuin's Liber Contra Haeresim Felicis and the Frankish Kingdom" (FS 17, 222-23), Gary B. Blumenshine attempts to correct the traditional view that Alcuin's theology in this early anti-adoptionist document, which has "apparent structural and analytical weaknesses" (p. 223), is best understood as politically motivated and designed to undergird the claims of Charlemagne as well as theological orthodoxy.

The title of Thomas H. Bestul's article, "St Anselm, the Monastic Community at Canterbury, and Devotional Writing in Late Anglo-Saxon England" (Anselm Studies 2, 185-98), is misleading if one expects a firm connection between Anselm and late Anglo-Saxon piety or a considerable new literature from Canterbury. Bestul does, however, survey the private prayers (often contained in Psalters) in Canterbury mss of the period as background for Christ Church when Anselm first visited there in 1079.

Jean-Michel Picard's paper, "Une Préfiguration du latin carolingien: la syntaxe de la Vita Columbae d'Adomnan, auteur irlandais du VIIe siècle" (Romanobarbarica 6 [1981-82], 235-83), argues that the Latin of the vita is a second language, well learned and well used. It is not a debased "colonial" language, such as Gildas wrote and prefigures, therefore, the conservatively correct language acquired by Carolingian and later medieval authors who learned Latin in the ecclesiastical context.

More fully noted in Sect. 6, below, is Cyril Hart's paper on the so-called Chronicle of Florence of Worcester, the early parts of which he ascribes to Ramsey under Æthelred the Unready, but not to the hand of Byrhtferth ("The Early Section of the Worcester Chronicle," Jnl. of Med. Hist. 9, 251-315). Also noted in Sect. 6 (and curiously lacking a cross reference in the Anglo-Latin section of the 1983 bibliography) is Simon Keynes and Michael Lapidge's Alfred the Great: Asser's 'Life of King Alfred' and Other Contemporary Sources, which (in addition to being the best introduction to Alfred's life and work available until Dorothy Whitelock's posthumous study appears) contains a complete translation with important notes of the Asser--which Allen Frantzen called "the great Latin monument" of the so-called age of Alfred (Szarmach, ed., Anglo-Latin in the Context of Old English Literature, p. 7).

In his series, Studies in the Early History of Britain, Nicholas Brooks has edited a volume of essays on Latin and the Vernacular Languages in Early Medieval Britain (Leicester, 1982). The first essay in the collection, a long, difficult and important paper by A. S. Gratwick entitled "Latinitas Britannica: Was British Latin Archaic?" (pp. 1-79), re-examines the widely accepted view of K. H. Jackson that British Latin (by which he meant not "'all the Latin spoken in Britain'" [p. 6] but "the brand of Latin spoken by the putative British 'squirearchy' and their heirs in the Lowland Zone from the time of Agricola to the Time of Vortigern" [p. 5]) was archaic, aristocratic and pedantic. The argument cannot be summarized or evaluated here, but the conclusion is that British Latin is indistinguishable from that spoken at the same time in Gaul and Spain. The contribution of Wendy Davies, "Clerics as Rulers: Some Implications of the Terminology of Ecclesiastical Authority in Early Medieval Ireland" (pp. 81-97) makes interesting observations on the tensions between the clerical and royal spheres in early Christian Ireland (and vice versa) and the ultimate accommodation. Like Gratwick, she implies at the end that the rivalry of royalty and clergy in Ireland may not have been sui generis but similar to conditions on the Continent. Michael Lapidge and R. I. Page contribute a two-part piece on "The Study of Latin Texts in Late Anglo-Saxon England," Lapidge writing on "The Evidence of Latin Glosses" (pp. 99-140) and Page on "The Evidence of English Glosses" (pp. 141-65). Lapidge's quest is to discover "what the glosses in so-called 'classbooks' have to tell us about the manner in which Latin was studied in Anglo-Saxon England" (p. 99), and his conclusions about this group of manuscripts are rather different from those of Wieland (reviewed above). Lapidge begins with

comments on the paucity of evidence for the teaching methods of Anglo-Saxon schools and a brief examination of the one document, the Colloquy of Ælfric Bata, that gives a glimpse of the classroom. He then turns to an examination of glosses in portions of five works used as set texts in Anglo-Saxon schools: the Disticha Catonis, Prosper of Aquitaine's Epigrammata, the Libri Evangeliorum Quattuor of Juvencus, Sedulius's Carmen Paschale, and the De Actibus Apostolorum of Arator. Concluding that the evidence indicates that these glosses came to England from the Continent--i.e., that, if they are evidence of pedagogy, it is of Carolingian, not English, provenance--he urges caution in use of the term "classbook" and suggests the manuscripts may more likely have been related to the requirement that every monk read privately one book each year than to classroom pedagogy. Whether these books are to be called "classbooks" or monastic "library books," he concludes, they are in any case vital evidence for forming "any estimate of the way Latin culture was absorbed by the Anglo-Saxons" (p. 127). This is a brilliant essay which, by re-examining the primary evidence, challenges a number of venerable scholarly assumptions. Professor Page addresses glosses which have been called "occasional" by Angus Cameron; "casual interlinear glosses in the vernacular," Page calls them (p. 141), and he demonstrates both the difficulty and the necessity of approaching glosses not simply with an eye to their lexical utility but also for their relevance to the text to which they are attached and the other glosses (often in other languages) of the manuscript. His longest and most useful discussion is of the glosses in a portion of Sedulius's Carmen Paschale in MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 173, part 2, which has inked and dry-point glosses in both Latin and OE. Compared with other Anglo-Saxon glossed copies of the Carmen, they suggest not a transmitted tradition of glosses on Sedulius as part of a pedagogical programme but "individual attempts to clarify the text" (p. 160). Although it is hardly a history of interrelations between the study of Latin and the vernacular languages of early medieval Britain, Brooks's collection presents four highly varied essays on aspects of the subject which make substantive contributions to the subject.

Another volume, published as OEN Subsidia 9, presents three papers on Anglo-Latin in the Context of Old English Literature, edited by Paul E. Szarmach. By its title it seems at first to be related to the Brooks collection. It is far less weighty, however, and is dedicated to a review of secondary scholarship rather than to primary or philological research on its subject. George H. Brown passes lightly over "The Age of Bede" (pp. 1-6), wondering what Bede has to do with Beowulf but not displaying curiosity about Bede and other English poetry of Gospel translations, nor about Ingeld and Christ or riddles, Latin and vernacular. Allen J. Frantzen managed to say more about the "state of the art" (Brown's phrase) in his survey of "The Age of Alfred" (pp. 7-15). If the OE context of Anglo-Latin was enigmatic in the so-called Age of Bede, it is equally more so in the so-called Age of Alfred. Displaying healthy skepticism about the supposed Mercian precursors of Alfredian OE and about Alfred's view of Latin learning in his own lifetime, Frantzen points to manuscript and source studies as areas through which we may be able to learn a bit more about learning and letters in the period before the monastic revival. Finally, the late Colin Chase addressed the question of "The Age of Ælfric" (pp. 17-24), speaking first of the tendency to despair engendered by the great mass of Latin material that remains to be treated from the period. He suggests hagiography as a particularly fruitful area for study and, after surveying a number of areas in which progress has been made in recent years, also suggests that studies of Latin glosses on Latin texts ought to have high priority for the

light they may shed on the vernacular vocabulary and texts.

Finally, attention may be called to three papers on Bede in the Festschrift for J. M. Wallace-Hadrill edited by Patrick Wormald, et al., Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society (Oxford). Judith McClure studied "Bede's Old Testament Kings" (pp. 76-98). She argues that the commentary In Primam Partem Samuhelis is an essential part of the background of the standards for kingship revealed in the Historia Ecclesiastica. Wormald himself writes on "Bede, the Bretwaldas and the Origins of the Gens Anglorum" (pp. 99-129), concluding that the notion of '"Englishness'" comes less from the supposed emergence of the West Saxon house as kings of the English out of a tradition of overlordship than from Gregory's vision of the Anglo-Saxons' "unity before God" (p. 129). "Bede's Ideal of Reform" (pp. 131-53), argues Alan Thacker, was based on the writings of Gregory the Great and sought to encourage churchmen in three roles: rector, doctor, prædicator (p. 142). Thacker also touches on Bede's teachings on secular leadership and his influence among the Carolingians.

Works not seen:

Martin, Ronald H. "Alcuin on Style." Proc. of the Leeds Philosophical and Lit. Soc., Lit. and hist. section, 18, no. 1 (1982), 25-37.
Stobo, Marguerite. "The Dates of the Seasons in Middle English Poetry." Amer. Notes & Queries 22, 2-5.

<div align="right">M. McC. G.</div>

5. MANUSCRIPTS AND ILLUMINATION

Several scholars this year give perceptive analyses of the political
function and sometimes almost symbolic role of certain books with charters
or ordinances in them. Dafydd Jenkins and Morfydd E. Owen examine addi-
tions to a holy text from a much earlier period in "The Welsh Marginalia
in the Lichfield Gospels" (Cambridge Med. Celtic Stud. 5, 37-66). There
are eight different sets of later marginal notation and these contain,
inter alia, the first known example of written syntactical Welsh. The
marginalia also make it clear that the Lichfield Gospels should be viewed
as a liber vitae to which a cartulary has been added. In other words,
Jenkins and Owen conclude, this is the "oldest surviving example of a
secular record in a vernacular language, written into a book whose sacred
character and location were likely to preserve it as evidence for ever and
ever of the facts to which it testified." Alexander R. Rumble discusses
"The Purposes of the Codex Wintoniensis" (Proceedings of the Battle Con-
ference on Anglo-Norman Studies, IV - 1981, ed. R. Allen Brown [Woodbridge
Suffolk, 1982], 153-66, 224-32). This text, a composite manuscript origi-
nally written during the second quarter of the twelfth century but
containing additions through the fourteenth century, is one of the most
lavishly produced of surviving English cartularies. The contents and
arrangement suggest that it was intended both as a convenient edition
of the varied and numerous separate documents of title to the whole Anglo-
Saxon endowment of the cathedral and as a solemn witness to the antiquity
of the endowment. The book, then, demonstrated to the world at large, and
to the king in particular, the extent of the pre-conquest territory of the
church at Winchester. The additions augmented the existing body of refer-
ence material and the aura of authenticity of individual items was also
increased by the direct physical association with an important volume of
evidence. C. R. Cheney looks at another post-conquest text and discusses
"Service-Books and Records: the case of the 'Domesday Monachorum'" (Bull.
of the Inst. of Hist. Research 56, 7-15). He notes that a certain ordi-
nance by archbishop Hubert Walter (the original of which is now lost) is
known to have been copied into a Gospel book, which also contained a
survey of Christ Church lands and wonders if the "Domesday monachorum"
(Canterbury, Christ Church Lib. MS E. 28) might not be the survey. Cer-
tainly the size of this document indicates that it was originally prepared
as a section of a larger and more substantial book--although, unlike
Bibles, the surviving evangeliaries of the period do not reach so great a
size. If Christ Church Library, MS E. 28 is not the survey to which the
ordinance was appended (or intended as an appendix), then there must be a
lost survey which was itself attached to a large Gospel book.

Barbara Abou-El-Haj looks at "Bury St Edmunds between 1070 and 1124:
a History of Property, Privilege and Monastic Art Production" (Art Hist. 6,
1-29). She suggests that both the devotion to the patron and art produc-
tion itself at Bury during this period was a response to the Norman threat
to traditional immunities. Indeed, the new pilgrimage church stood as a
defiance to episcopal ambitions and its important shrine illustrated that
the monks were the exclusive caretakers of the saint. Soon after 1121
when Anselm was appointed abbot, moreover, Herman's text of the miracles
of St Edmund was rewritten for an elegant altar book (which also included
Abbo's Passio of St Edmund and various ecclesiastical items) based on the
new St Albans style. A large number of the miniatures (8) demonstrate

St. Edmund's protection of his community against violation, and their presence shows how events in the text itself could metaphorically reflect recent grievances. The cycle ends with an illustration of Edmund crowned, balancing with the coronation illustration: "The picture of Edmund, saint and king, projects the ideal ruler on whom the ruling king was expected to model himself. And when he didn't, the convent could claim to heed the ideal rather than the imperfect reality which it resisted."

Robert G. Calkins has produced an accurate and beautifully illustrated survey of Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages (Ithaca, 1981). His aim is to look at the material outside an isolated context and to see medieval manuscripts as coherent functional objects. He examines his selected manuscripts "from the point of view of the aesthetic impact of the manuscript as a whole, of the visual effect of the two-page display of the opened codex, of the relationship of decorative accounts to major divisions of the text, and of the sequence of illuminations which builds, as one turns the pages, into an appropriate decorative program for the particular kind of book." The section on Insular Gospel books (with full accounts of the Book of Durrow, the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Book of Kells) will be of especial interest to Anglo-Saxonists. In an appendix Calkins gives a full list of the contents of each manuscript and he also provides a survey of scholarly discussions. Yet another elegantly produced and wonderfully illustrated volume (no. 21) has come out in the Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile series: An Eleventh-Century Anglo-Saxon Miscellany. British Library Cotton Tiberius B. V., together with leaves from British Library Cotton Nero D. II (Copenhagen). This manuscript, which probably originated at Christ Church Canterbury and which was at Battle Abbey by the twelfth century, was one of the most lavishly illuminated secular manuscripts of the early Middle Ages. The range of material, for which the principle of selection seems to have been only a desire to include in one volume a copy of well-known illustrated material, is very great: it includes geographical, scientific, historical and ecclesiastical texts. All these categories are separately and fully discussed in the introduction, which also has information about the make-up and history of the manuscript and a note on post-conquest additions. This book is a delight both in terms of visual presentation and scholarly contents. The editors, P. McGurk, et al., warn us, however, that financial considerations dictate that future volumes in the series will be on a more modest scale.

Several pieces contain discussions of the illustrations in specific manuscripts. In a closely argued and technically complex article Robert D. Stevick provides new information about "The Design of the Lindisfarne Gospels folio 138v" (Gesta 22, 3-12). The design of the cruciform figure on this geometrical carpet page is not, as most commentators hold, based on a system of squares. Instead, there is a paradox of forms which creates a cruciform shape that looks square when it is not and two modules at right angles that appear identical when they are not so. This effect is produced by combining the principles of two irreconcilable geometrical configurations—a double golden-section rectangle and a square set symmetrically within it—and both configurations are developed from one dimension in common. Interestingly, too, the ornamental projections at the corner of the frame also assert the incompatibility of the two principles informing the cross and frame, openly displaying the mismatch inherent in the separate derivations of the frame and subject. Rolf Hasler's "Zu zwei

Darstellungen aus der ältesten Kopie des Utrecht-Psalters (British Library, Codex Harleianus 603)," (Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 44 [1981], 317-399), continues the work of Judith E. Duffey's 1977 University of California at Berkeley dissertation, The Inventive Group of Illustrations in the Harley Psalter (BM Ms. Harley 603). Hasler's subjects are the title illustration of the Trinity on fol. 1r and the illustration to Psalm 119 on fol. 64r of the Harley Psalter. These two examples are illustrations which the illustrators, Hands E and F, did not take over from their exemplar, the Utrecht Psalter. While Hasler has reservations about Duffey's assumptions, particularly those concerning the origin and provenance of the Harley Psalter, these reservations do not affect his presentation of important material for the study of sources, parallels and function of the two illus- trations in the manuscript. Lawrence Nees qualifies the conclusions of earlier scholars in "The Colophon Drawing in the Book of Mulling: a Supposed Irish Monastery Plan and the Tradition of Terminal Illustration in Early Medieval Manuscripts" (Cambridge Med. Celtic Stud. 5, 67-91). The crosses inside and outside the circle do make it seem plausible that the drawing was associated with a monastery surrounded by crosses. The naming of the crosses, however, seems to be restricted to prominent saints and the un- paralleled typological pairing of the four Evangelists and the four major Prophets (similar to that in the Vivian Bible written at Tours c. 845-6) make it clear that the drawing cannot represent a normal monastery plan. On the other hand, it is certainly not simply a miniature based on a Caro- lingian model. Rather it seems that it is connected with the abbreviated phrases of the 13 prayers (probably constituting the morning office for the monk in his cell) which appear above the drawing. The drawing appears to be a pictorial doubling, a concrete visual evocation of the divine majesty invoked in the prayers in order to protect both the scribe and community. The scribe, then, has interpreted a Carolingian miniature in the context of the sacred spot of his monastery. Its greatest inter- est, therefore, lies not in the archaeological clues it provides but in the manner in which it gives a closer approach to the spiritual life of a nameless Irish monk.

Two articles examine chronological developments in the illustrating of manuscripts. In "Some Attitudes toward the Frame in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries" (Artibus et Historiae 5 [1982], 31-42) Herbert R. Broderick notes that even in the art of the seventh and eighth centuries the frame was part of the world it sought to enclose, and that by the tenth and eleventh centuries this role became even more pronounced. There are many examples of the tangible frame-- such as creatures biting or holding the frame. The inhabited frame, too, shows the development of earlier manuscript illumination. Finally, the frame was used as a method of narrating events or separating them in time. "Far from an inert boundary, then, the frame in later Anglo-Saxon art is an animated zone that often plays an important narrative and expressive role, providing an especially vital link between the earlier Hiberno-Saxon aesthetic and the fully developed High Romanesque." Madeline H. Caviness discusses "Images of Divine Order and the Third Mode of Seeing" (Gesta 22, 99-120). In Romanesque and Gothic works the stasis and symmetry of heavenly figures, she observes, contrasts with the disharmony of temporal imperfection. To express peacefulness and self-sufficiency artists used various formal means. Heaven, for example, was often portrayed through

architectonic order. Geometric schemata (such as cohesive trees, rotae, even palindromes and other verbal devices) were used to diagram knowledge. Autonomous figures--such as the evangelists and personifications of philosophy and wisdom--were also created according to the same principles of order and symmetry. To understand how these "perfected" forms relate to the imperfect temporal material it is convenient to refer to medieval theory, especially Richard of St. Victor's four modes of seeing. The third mode, where we discover the truth of spiritual things through corporeal means (that is, through symbolism), most closely corresponds to the representations of divine order. Corporeal seeing, that is modern naturalism, is on a lower level, whereas the highest level would, in theory, produce much more abstract material.

Two articles treat the question of Irish influence in the Insular tradition. David H. Wright discusses "The Irish Element in the Formation of Hiberno-Saxon Art: Calligraphy and Metalwork" (Die Iren und Europa, ed. Löwe, I, 99-100). Among motifs, the Irish contributed the spiral and the trumpet and their elaborations; as a creative style the Irish aesthetic tradition emphasized rhythmic curvilinear design. These same elements had characterized ancient Celtic art and were revived by Irish metalworkers in the sixth century and elaborated by Irish scribes early in the seventh century. The English, on the other hand, brought Germanic animal ornament, certain geometrical motifs and a general proclivity for rectilinear construction and clearly balanced compositions. Although the classical and oriental traditions made some contribution, they were fundamentally opposed to the more abstract and decorative approach which was typical of Hiberno-Saxon art. Wright also gives a brief history of the development of the two styles and points out that in the Book of Durrow, for example, both traditions stand separately side by side; only with the Lindisfarne Gospels does a full synthesis take place. In a very technical and very tightly argued piece which defies brief summary, T. Julian Brown examines "The Irish Element in the Insular System of Scripts to circa A.D. 850" (Die Iren und Europa, ed. Löwe, I, 101-19). After providing a number of concise definitions backed by many examples of Irish and Anglo-Saxon texts arranged in a chronological sequence, Brown suggests that: "If...there was a continuous tradition of Phase I miniscule in Ireland between the second half of the seventh and the first half of the ninth century, if simplified miniscule was not confined to the latter half of the same period, and if both types are sometimes found in the same manuscript, then the scope for refined dating and localisation of Irish books by their handwriting alone would seem to be restricted. The survival of Phase I miniscule, which must have been Irish in origin, testifies to an element of native conservatism; but the use in liturgical books of some Phase II half-uncial, which was invented at Lindisfarne, testifies to an influence from across the sea." Brown also establishes that the beginnings of Anglo-Saxon cursive of Phase II may have been inspired by an aspect of seventh-century Irish practice which failed to develop in Ireland. What is puzzling, though, is why Phase I miniscule survived as a literary script in Ireland.

A number of pieces this year deal with individual manuscripts. Three of these concern Exeter material. Michael Lapidge continues with an analysis he first undertook in "The Origin of CCCC 163" in "Ealdred of York and Cotton Vitellius E. XII" (Yorkshire Archaeological Jnl. 55,

11-25). As Lapidge earlier established, these manuscripts are closely related. The main part of Vitellius E. XII is made up of a copy of a Romano-German Pontifical acquired by Ealdred of York during his visit to Cologne in 1054. Ealdred, who was known as a great administrator and reformer, was responsible for the transmission of this text in England. He also had various other liturgical pieces added on the last quire of the manuscript, and these items were, it seems, a sort of personal supplement for Ealdred's own use. The hand, moreover, can be identified with that of a scribe who was known to have spent time at Exeter. Probably this scribe, Lapidge concludes, had first been a member of Ealdred's household, but after Ealdred's death he found employment in the household of Leofric and took Vitellius E. XII with him to Exeter where it then served as an exemplar for other manuscripts copied at Exeter. A. C. de la Mare describes "A Probable Addition to the Bodleian's Holdings of Exeter Cathedral Manuscripts" (Bodleian Lib. Record 11, 79-88). This manuscript, Bodleian, Lat. bib. d. 10, is an eleventh-century deluxe Gospel book in Caroline minuscule and is almost certainly written in the same hand as the second hand of Bodl. 691, which belonged to Exeter in the late-eleventh century. There are similarities in the coloring of illumination with another Exeter manuscript of the period. The scribe can be shown to be a Norman, but Ker--who studied the manuscript--was unable to determine on which side of the Channel it was produced or whether it was made for Exeter. Chapter headings were added in the fourteenth century and these seem to be in the hand of John Grandisson, bp. of Exeter, 1327-69. D. S. McGovern has discovered "Unnoticed Punctuation in the Exeter Book" MÆ 52, 90-99). This consists of a large number of dry-point vertical and oblique lines between half lines of verse, most of which occur in Guthlac A. Not fully systematic and seemingly at least partly metrical in design, they appear to complement or even replace old punctuation and may be connected with reading the texts aloud. McGovern suggests, moreover, that further investigation of other examples of this type of scratched punctuation might reveal new information about the use of manuscripts containing Old English during the eleventh century and later.

Two articles deal with Cambridge manuscripts. M. T. Gibson, M. Lapidge and C. Page undertake a masterly piece of detective work in "Neumed Boethian Metra from Canterbury: a Newly Recovered Leaf of Cambridge University Library, Gg. 5. 35 (the 'Cambridge Songs' Manuscript)" in ASE 12, 141-52. Frankfurt Stadt- und Universität bibliothek, Fragm. lat. 1. 56 consists of a single detached leaf in Anglo-Caroline minuscule, containing a number of neumed metra from Boethius De Consolatione Philosophiae and is a rare witness to the independent treatment of these metra in Anglo-Saxon England. It was written by Scribe A of Cambridge, U. L. Gg. 5, 35, of which it is a detached leaf, probably fol. 442 in the late-fifteenth-century foliation. It was still in the manuscript in 1839, but when Theodor Oehler saw the manuscript in 1840 it probably slipped out and into his papers. Dr. Powitz of the Frankfurt library has now most generously returned the leaf to Cambridge. The metra were included in the original Cambridge songs and provide evidence that the remaining Latin poems in the quire copied by "C" were also part of the collection. An investigation of the musical notations themselves suggests that they might simply be a kind of commentary on the metra, probably composed at St Augustines Canterbury. They would, moreover, leave the singer free to improvise ad fin. "In performance, apparently, the Boethian metra were considered equivalent to hymns;

where no oral tradition was available to inform the imprecise neumes such equivalence was tantamount to the meaning of the notation." M. B. Parkes discusses "A Fragment of an Early-Tenth-Century Anglo-Saxon Manuscript and Its Significance" (ASE 12, 129-40). This fragment, which is the fifth specimen in Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys Library 2891 (Pepys' collection of manuscript fragments), consists of thirty-two lines from a commentary attributed to Remigius of Auxerre on Martianus Capella's De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii. Parkes examines the handwriting and concludes, very tentatively, that although it resembles the late-ninth- or early-tenth-century house style of Nunnaminster, it is probably the work of an unknown scribe who was influenced by the reforms at Nunnaminster but who was working in one of the other two Winchester centers at the time of Edward the Elder. The text itself belongs to the intellectual milieu first established by Alfred, who had made efforts "to bring teaching methods in England into line with those practices which had been developed on the continent during the third quarter of the ninth century, when intellectual contacts had been interrupted by the presence of Viking longships in the English Channel."

Richard N. Bailey and Rima Handley look at "Early English Manuscripts of Cassiodorus' Expositio Psalmorum" (Classical Philology 78, 51-59). Through their analysis of physical details they establish that a fragmentary leaf of this text in the University Library at Düsseldorf cannot, as has been suggested, once have formed part of Durham Cathedral, MS B. B. II 30. There must have been, therefore, two manuscripts containing the abridgement of Cassiodorus' commentary produced in Northumbria in the eighth century. Cambridge, St. John's College MS Aa. 5. 1, which seems to have some links with the Durham manuscript, can be shown to have come from the Southwest in the ninth century. If these links exist, this suggests that the fine abridgement of the Durham manuscript may have been a product of English scholarship.

Michael Roper describes "A Fragment of Bede's De Temporum Ratione in the Public Record Office" (ASE 12, 125-28). The script of the fragment (now SP 46/125, fol. 302) is an Anglo-Saxon square minuscule of the tenth century (probably the first quarter) and certain abbreviations suggest that the scribe was either using an early exemplar or basing his script on early models. Of the variants only two appear to be significant and these are listed. The fragment was later used as a cover for William Fulwood's The Castel of Memorie, most likely in the 1573 edition. In 1947 the Boston Public Library bought Phillipps MS 13842, which has been carefully examined by Michael M. Gorman in "The Oldest Latin Manuscript in Boston: a Unique Carolingian Homiliary for Lent from Clermont" (Manuscripta 26 [1982], 157-66). The manuscript, which was written in the first third of the tenth century, probably at the Benedictine abbey of St Allyre near Clermont, includes an otherwise unknown homiliary for Lent with selections from Alcuin, Bede and Jerome. There is also a second section (fol. 73-93v), which is written in more than one hand, and which resembles another manuscript from St Allyre.

In the last few years damaged fragments from the Cotton library have been made to yield important bits of information. One of these, Cotton MS Otho A.VIII, contains Goscelin's Vita and Translatio sanctae Mildrithae, on which David Yerkes writes in "Earliest Fragments of Goscelin's Writings on St. Mildred" (RB 93, 128-31). Yerkes collates this fragment with

Cotton Vesp. B. XX and compares it with the other two surviving copies of
the Translatio. He concludes that the first and main scribe is the same
as the scribe of two St Augustines Canterbury manuscripts of the last
quarter of the eleventh century.

In a whole different area George T. Dempsey reconsiders the question
of "Legal Terminology in Anglo-Saxon England: the trimoda necessitas
Charter" (Speculum 57 [1982], 843-49). Henry Stevenson's suggestion that
this charter, which records a large grant of land to bp. Wilfred by
Caewalla of Wessex c. 685, must be spurious since the term "trimoda
necessitas" is clearly an antiquarian legal term has generally been
accepted by subsequent scholars, but Dempsey argues that Aldhelm's role
as scribe makes this point less obvious than Stevenson claimed. Theodore
seems to have brought some sort of legal text to England with him, to
which Aldhelm makes reference and from which Aldhelm could have picked up
a misuse of the term "necessitas." "Trimoda," moreover, is just the kind
of scholarly expression which was being used in Aldhelm's rhetorical
milieu and, therefore, "trimoda necessitas might well have flowed from
Aldhelm's dictation without a second thought."

Two individuals deal with penitentials. In "The Penitentials
Attributed to Bede" (Speculum 58, 573-97) Allen J. Frantzen provides a
schematic diagram of the five classes of manuscript containing peniten-
tials attributed to Bede, all of which are significantly different from
Egbert's penitential. The major source for both, however, is the peni-
tential written by Theodore. Logic and chronology, moreover, seem to
reduce the probability that both are English, since it does not seem
likely that two independent penitentials would have been written by
student and teacher. Only the shorter texts of the Bedan penitentials
(Classes 1 & 3) do not show the influence of Egbert. The later versions
cite Bede as author at a time and place remote from his own. On the con-
tinent we see the transformation of a small handbook into a repository of
penitential decisions, a source book rather than a service manual.
Finally, during the Benedictine reform, handbooks of penance reappear in
England and Theodore, Bede, and Egbert become once again major influences.
This article provides more detail than Frantzen's book (reviewed in sect.
4) where this subject is dealt with on pp. 69-77 and 107-110. An article
parallel in purpose to Frantzen's is Franz Kerff's "Das Paenitentiale
Pseudo-Gregorii III: Ein Zeugnis karolingischer Reformbestrebungen"
(Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte 100, kan. Abt. 69,
46-63). Kerff discusses the manuscript and printed book tradition of the
penitential attributed to Pope Gregory III.

In "The Making of King Aethelstan's Empire: an English Charlemagne?"
(Ideal and Reality, ed. Wormald, 250-72) Michael Wood elaborates and ex-
pands points made by J. Armitage Robinson more than a generation ago when
he suggests that Aethelstan was an extremely powerful ruler who continued
Alfred's Kulturpolitik and ecclesiastical policy. He seems to have had
around him a tight circle of clerics who were "farmed out" to positions
of local responsibility while still retaining a close connection with the
king. His court school depended in considerable measure on foreign con-
tacts and there was a strong German influence. He also imported Frankish,
Irish and Breton manuscripts and his own scribes became adept in the re-
pair and production of books (as in the case of Corpus Christi College,

MS 183). His patronage to art and learning, then, was very important and his reign shows a continuity between Alfred and the later monastic reformers. Aethelstan seems to have fostered Carolingian associations and "It may not be fortuitous that in the 920's a Frankish poet and Frankish potentate both implicitly compared Aethelstan with Charlemagne, or that William's lost Gesta called him Magnus Adelstanus."

Works not seen:

Muller, Jean-Claude. "Linguistisches aus der Echternacher Kloster-bibliothek." Hémecht: Zeitschrift für Luxemburger Geschichte 35, 381-403.

Rabel, Claudia. "Autour d'une copie anglosaxonne du Psautier d'Utrecht." Bulletin Monumental 140 (1982), 347-48.

Revel-Neher, Elisabeth. "La Double Page du Codex Amiatinus et ses rapports avec les plans du tabernacle dans l'art juif et dans l'art byzantin." Jnl of Jewish Art 9 (1982), 6-17.

Swanton, M. J. Bibliography of Medieval Art in Britain. London, 1981.

Wilson, Eva. Early Medieval Designs from Britain. London.

J. P. C.

6. HISTORY AND CULTURE

    a. Texts and Textual Studies

Tacitus divided the early Germans into Ingaevones, Herminones, and Istaevones. His Germania was, however, little known in Antiquity and the Middle Ages. It is striking, therefore, that a genealogical table that exists in eight different versions should go back to this Tacitean source. Its interest to Anglo-Saxonists is that the ninth-century Historia Brittonum contains one of these versions. Walter Goffart, in a characteristically thorough investigation, has sought, in "The Supposedly 'Frankish' Table of Nations: An Edition and Study" (FMAS 17, 98-130), to identify the background and date of this document, as well as provide a reliable text. This he does in the form of parallel versions, since the document is a "texte vivant," i.e., subject to scribal emendation. The original version of ca 520 he believes to have been of Byzantine origin, reflecting "the range of interest in western affairs that Justinian's conquests conspicuously exemplify" (128). This reported the Goths, Visigoths, Vandals, and Gepids to be the offspring of Erminus. Two centuries later a Germanic-speaking scribe substituted Walagothi ("Foreign" Goths) for Visigoths and added the Saxons. He cites other examples of the migration of Greek sources to the Frankish kingdom in the sixth and seventh century and observes, "Along with Procopius and the equally Byzantine Jordanes, it would help to remind us how profoundly the modern image of the barbarian invasions and settlements has been conditioned by informants from the East Roman Empire" (128). Only the writer of the Historia Brittonum version can be said "to [have] put its information to constructive use" (127): in that text it provides an alternative genealogy for Brutus, who is portrayed as the forebear of the Britons.

The scanty historical sources for late-fourth- and fifth-century Britain have been thoroughly raked over by a succession of historians. Our main gains in the future are likely to lie in being able to place our sources in a better historiographical context and in obtaining a better sense of western European events at that time. For these reasons *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire: Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus, ed. and trans. by R. C. Blockley, Arca: Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs 6 and 10, 2 vols. (Liverpool, 1981-3) is much to be welcomed. In his first volume Professor Blockley examines each historian in turn so that we can understand more fully the views they brought to bear on events. In Volume II he collects the textual fragments anew, rearranging them and including material omitted from older editions. For those whose Greek, like that of the reviewer's, has suffered a decline with the passing of time, he provides a translation, supplemented with notes.

Ask a person of average education to name an Anglo-Saxon king; if an answer is forthcoming, it will almost invariably be Alfred "The Great." Yet Alfred has not been particularly well served in recent decades. Douglas Woodruff did publish a popular biography some years ago but there has been no translation of Asser's Life of the monarch since 1908, apart from extracts in English Historical Documents c. 500-1042, a work that has become prohibitively expensive. A translation of writings from the Age of Alfred would thus be welcome in principle; when it takes the form of Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources (Harmondsworth), published in the Penguin Classics series in the much-improved large format by two

scholars who are at the forefront of diplomatic and Anglo-Latin studies, Simon Keynes and Michael Lapidge, there is cause for much rejoicing. For US $5.95 one is offered an embarras de richesse. There is a lengthy historical and literary introduction to Alfred's reign, complete with maps and genealogical tables. This is followed by translations of Asser's Life, Chronicle entries from 888 to 900, excerpts from Alfredian vernacular translations such as the Pastoral Care and the Consolation of Philosophy, and a range of sources that have a bearing on his reign, such as his will, Archbishop Fulco's letter sanctioning the transfer of Grimbald of St Bertin to England, and the Burghal Hidage. As might be expected, the translations are fluent (except for Æthelweard's Chronicle, where this would give a false idea of the state of the text). There is much in this edition to attract the attention of the general reader, ranging from Alfred's association with "Rule Britannia" (48) to the story of the burnt cakes (Appendix I, pp. 197-202). More importantly for readers of this newsletter, a far-sighted publisher has permitted the translators to append a considerable commentary to their texts (260 notes for the Asser translation alone), as well as a wide-ranging bibliography. There is much to interest scholars in these notes, such as the list of some of the manuscripts that Grimbald might have brought with him to England (214, n. 26), and the editors' suggested readings for cruces in Æthelweard's Chronicle (335-8), which should be consulted by anyone using this text. (Of course, their translations are also interpretive documents in themselves.) The volume is attractively produced with a color reproduction of the Alfred Jewel on the cover, but it merits republishing in a casebound edition with more durable paper for institutional libraries.

Attention should also be drawn to a new edition in the same series of *The Age of Bede (Harmondsworth). Originally comprising Bede's Life of Cuthbert, Eddius Stephanus's Life of Wilfrid, and The Voyage of St Brendan translated by J. F. Webb, this edition has been supplemented with a translation of Bede's The Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow made by D. H. Farmer, who also provides a general introductuion.

Penitential literature is at last receiving the serious attention it deserves. A fundamental precondition for any lasting literary and historical understanding is that sound texts be established and, just as important for a genre whose texts underwent frequent revision, that the relationship between the various versions be ascertained. One penitential gains particular significance for Anglo-Saxonists from its being included in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 718 (2632), once the "commonplace" book of Archbishop Wulfstan of York. The text of this version is, in fact, a composite one in four books, the first being the Poenitentiale Pseudo-Egberti, the remaining three being Books Two to Four of the penitential known as the Quadripartitus (not to be confused with the Latin text of the Anglo-Saxon laws of the same name). The closest extant textual relative with which the Bodleian version shares a common ancestor is an eleventh-century Italian manuscript; the latter, however, preserves all four books of the original text. This is both an indication of the wide dissemination of the Quadripartitus and the "living" nature of the text. All this evidence forms part of an admirably thorough analysis of the penitential by Franz Kerff in the monograph Der Quadripartitus: Ein Handbuch der karolingischen Kirchenreform. Überlieferung, Quellen und Rezeption, published in a new series entitled "Quellen und Forschungen zur Recht im Mittelalter" (Sigmaringen, 1982). I have included the study under the rubric of "Texts" because it

is evidently the prolegomenon to a forthcoming edition in the series "Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis" (85). Dr. Kerff concludes that the text is a product of a period of ecclesiastical reform, being composed in the second or third quarter of the ninth century in the ecclesiastical province of Rheims—and, most likely, in Rheims itself (78, 83). The compiler, who on the basis of present knowledge cannot be identified (81), must have had access to a considerable library that contained writings by Church Fathers, monastic rules, and collections of canons and penitentials. Dr. Kerff devotes a general chapter to the sources and in a tour de force also provides an appendix that identifies in detail the sources of the catena of citations and paraphrases that go to make up the penitential. Undoubtedly much more could be done on its literary shape and its influence, but Dr. Kerff has now provided the essential foundations on which this superstructure can be built.

Another example of fundamental research is a paper by Cyril Hart, who continues his pursuit of documents compiled at the Ramsey Abbey scriptorium with a study of the Latin chronicle attributed in the past to "Florence" of Worcester entitled "The Early Section of the Worcester Chronicle" (Jnl of Med. Hist. 9, 251-315). This Latin version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is of value because it preserves information found in no other sources. Dr. Hart's view is that the early part of this Latin chronicle up to 1017 was compiled at Ramsey. This viewpoint is supported by textual evidence from the version in Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 157. (Several facsimiles are included in the paper, which are adequate to sustain his arguments, but further criticism would require a direct examination of this manuscript.) He also provides convincing support for a Ramsey provenance based on its Latinity. This paper is both a tantalizing and an exciting study. Tantalizing, because it represents work in progress and several papers are promised that will add greater weight to his arguments—or possibly modify them (cf. pp. 272, 280, 285, 301). Exciting, because it opens up so many opportunities for further exploration. To start with, there are the manuscripts. Dr. Hart had to use a photocopy of Dublin, Trinity College MS 502, the version copied at Worcester in 1131, and he was able to spend but four days with the Oxford manuscript. "As many weeks would scarcely suffice for a really thorough examination folio by folio" (255). The Latinity opens up further possibilities, not merely of determining the provenance of other Latin texts composed in England, but also of discovering sources, textual or cultural (e.g., through Abbo of Fleury), of Continental origin. A major part of the study is his examination of the so-called "Appendix" to the chronicle, a name which he retains, though "Preface" may have been better. This contains episcopal lists and royal genealogies, which are very imperfectly reproduced by Thorpe in his 1848-49 edition; some rather indistinct facsimiles are supplied in this paper. Dr. Hart notes that these must draw on an Old Testament map showing the descendants of Noah and he reproduces an unfinished example of late-tenth-century date (hitherto unprinted) from Exeter, Cathedral Library MS 3507. Several lines of investigation might be followed up here. It would be interesting to know the degree of geographical knowledge present in England in the late tenth century. Alfred nearly a century before had displayed a lively curiosity about the world. The order of the regnal lists in the "Appendix" reveals a basic geographic order, though it is puzzling why East Anglia is mentioned after Kent rather than Essex (see p. 276). Exeter MS 3507 was written by the same scribe as copied Oxford, Bodley MS 718 and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Lat. 943: a search for his scriptorium may

or may not prove relevant for such a quest. It might also be relevant to consider Oxford, St. John's College MS 17, an early-twelfth-century computistical manuscript (mentioned by Dr. Hart on p. 275) that contains an Old Testament map on fol. 6^r. There is also, of course, the map from ca. 1000 that appears in British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius B. v.

Not the least valuable part of Dr. Hart's study is his diligent quest for the sources of this chronicle. Some of his findings will be controversial and, as he no doubt recognizes, he may have to amend his views in the light of the specialist studies of others. Thus, the information on St Swithun s.aa. 827 and 837 may be from a lost Vita of the saint or, if it is derived from a post-Conquest version as Dr. Lapidge believes, the two entries may be interpolations by the Worcester redactor in the twelfth century (see p. 294). His views that the Worcester Chronicle derived from both the A version (or its precursor) and the B text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle up to 975, and a precursor of the C text for Æthelred's reign will no doubt draw a response from others working on these texts. We also should note his comments about one of the Worcester Chronicle's sources that survives only in copies, since the sole complete text was almost totally destroyed in the Cotton fire of 1731: "What is needed now is a new edition of Asser in which the interrelationship of these various transcripts is explored more fully than in Stevenson's pioneer work" (288). Included in an appendix is biographical material about Northumbrian and West-Saxon royalty that was excluded from Thorpe's edition. This paper will have to be consulted by anyone interested in the texts of the Chronicle, especially because of the inadequacies of the nineteenth-century editions. In view of the importance of this study, the following typographical errors, which Dr. Hart marked in the copy of the paper that he kindly sent me, should be noted: p. 261, col. 2, line 36, read "sancti" for "suncti"; p. 309, Appendix 2, in the column under "WC Appendix" read "Sceadwala" for "Ceadwala" and in Appendix 3 s.a. 644 under "HE chapter" read "3.24" for "5.24"; p. 311, Appendix 5, under "Vita Oswaldi p. 435" read "(perti)muerunt eum" for "(perti)muerunteum"; finally, on p. 312 transfer the three lines s.a. 992 "ut credi libet./ Paradisi civibus/ allectus..." to the next column to precede the words "Wintoniensis/ episcopus/ Ælfheh...."

Another dimension of the Chronicle is opened up by Kenneth Harrison in "Wessex in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" (Wiltshire Archaeol. and Natural Hist. Magazine 77, 71-6). He argues that certain early Wessex records in Æthelweard's Chronicle were derived from a very early text. Some of the discrepancies between Æthelweard's version and the vernacular texts can be explained as being due to a displacement caused by the insertion of entries in the wrong nineteen-year Easter cycle, a mode of computation that could have been introduced to Wessex by Bishop Birinus (634-ca. 650). He suggests that the original chronicle may have been compiled at Malmesbury, perhaps by Aldhelm. Drawing on D. P. Henige's The Chronology of Oral Tradition (Oxford, 1974), he argues that since the pagan Anglo-Saxons possessed a calendar, they were capable of maintaining reasonably accurate regnal lists, uncontaminated by other traditions because of their isolation.

b.   Historiography and Post-Conquest Scholarship

Janet L. Nelson's paper "The Church's Military Service in the
Ninth Century: A Contemporary Comparative View?" (The Church and War, ed.
W. J. Sheils, Studies in Church Hist. 20 [Oxford], 15-30) is more directed at
Frankish than Anglo-Saxon historians. She points to a seemingly unparalled
early-medieval example of comparative history in the form of an observation
made in 857 or 858 by Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, that English bishoprics
and monasteries, being poorly endowed with land, did not have to provide mili-
tary services, the costs of which were supplied out of the public purse. In
his country, on the other hand, a portion of ecclesiastical income had to be
used to support military men. Unfortunately Hincmar seems to have been misin-
formed on every count as far as England was concerned: monasteries such as
Canterbury, Winchester, and Worcester were well endowed with land; the Chronicle
mentions several ninth-century bishops who went into battle; and warrior service
was dependent on the hidage of inherited land. Hincmar's inaccuracy is ex-
plained by the nature of his source, which turns out to be the responses of
Gregory the Great to Augustine. recorded in (though not necessarily derived by
Hincmar from) Bede! She sees the comparison as having arisen out of Hincmar's
discomfort at the wealth of the institutionalized Frankish Church: he found
his justification for this wealth on the grounds that "[the] income [of
churchmen] was required to enable the Church to perform its military service to
the kingdom that defended it" (27).

Hagiography is a complex subject requiring great subtlety for it to
be usefully interpreted from either an historical or a literary-critical per-
spective. In fact, both approaches must be employed in tandem, as is evident
from Robert Bartlett's study "Rewriting Saints' Lives: The Case of Gerald of
Wales" (Speculum 58, 598-613). He stresses that the genre was one of remark-
able stability, yet Lives are also "the products of individual circumstances
and environments" (598). He compares the Life of David, originally composed
by Rhygyfarch of Llanbadarn probably in the 1090s, and the Life of Ethelbert,
written by Osbert of Clare in the mid-twelfth century, with versions of both
works penned in the 1190s by Gerald of Wales, who studied in Paris and subse-
quently had close associations with the see of St David's in Wales. Gerald's
revisions of Rhygyfarch's Life betray a strong antifeminist streak. His style
displays a rhetorical elaboration that reveals his scholastic training as do
his attempts "to amalgamate the dramatis personae of Welsh, Irish. and Anglo-
Saxon hagiography and legend into one cast" (607). So too with his revisions
to Osbert's work, where the latter's biblical rhetoric is replaced by a more
even tone in which classical sources play a greater part. Osbert was influ-
enced in his account by the practice of biblical exegesis whereas Gerald was
predisposed by his training "to reflection upon the relationship between the
natural world and its creator" (610). Dr. Bartlett has here pointed to a
number of literary aspects that could prove useful in the historical interpre-
tation of the Lives of Anglo-Saxon saints extant in post-Conquest versions.

To determine the geographic range of a saint's cult is always a
fascinating exercise. In one of two contributions to the Festschrift für Karl
Schneider, ed. Kurt R. Jankowsky and Ernst S. Dick (Amsterdam and Philadelphia,
1982), detailing the vagaries of Anglo-Saxon history in medieval Germany, Karl
Heinz Göller's "König Oswald von Nordhumbrien: von der Historia Ecclesiastica
bis zur Regensburger Stadtsage" (305-23) traces how the veneration of the
martyr-king spread from England to Germany. The main source for his life is

Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica, from which two Regensburg monks extracted a biography in the twelfth century. Other versions in English sources are to be found in the OE Martyrologium, Ælfric, and the Vita by the twelfth-century monk Reginald of Durham, the first to move beyond Bede to include numerous visions. An Aachen version of ca. 1170 is responsible for subsequent German minstrel tales that have Oswald as their hero. In this version Oswald wanted to marry to ensure the throne. He was advised to marry a heathen from abroad and after various adventures he led her home. A far cry indeed from Bede's Oswald: "Durch die Anwendung dieser Mittel wird aus dem Sankt Oswald ein Weltkind" (313). He speculates that the Scottish monks from the monastery of St James in Regensburg were responsible for the introduction and popularization of the cult in south Germany. He does note, however, that the feast of the Invention of the Cross was important for the spread of the cult both in England and on the Continent since Oswald was seen as a champion of the Holy Cross. Alcuin introduced the feast into the Frankish liturgy and we know Bishop Adalwin of Regensburg spent many months with him in 801. The feast-day of the saint is found in the first Regensburg calendar. From that city the cult spread over Germany to the Alps region and the Balkans. In Regensburg cathedral he is portrayed as one of the Fourteen Helpers in Need and in Bavaria he became the patron saint of peasants, although this role has now been forgotten.

Hartmut Beckers draws our attention in the same Festschrift to a little-known Low German world chronicle in a paper entitled "Der Bericht des niederdeutschen Chronisten Dietrich Engelhus über die angelsächsische Landnahme in Brittanien" (289-303). Engelhus (1362-1434) was a rector scholarum who compiled a Latin chronicle in 1420, which was revised in 1433. These texts were printed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries but the Low German version that he completed in 1424 remains unpublished. This paper prints a parallel Latin text (from the second recension) and the Low German version (which differs from the Latin in several respects) in the form of five extracts relating to the early settlement of England by the Saxons. His main source was Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia regum Britanniae (1136), but he also used the Pantheon of Gottfried of Viterbo (1185), the Speculum Historiale of Vincent of Beauvais (1250), and a portion of the Cosmidromius, a world chronicle of a fellow Low German, Gobelinus Person (1405). Dr. Beckers concludes that Engelhus had this interest in the Anglo-Saxon settlement of Britain because he saw it as intertwined with the earliest history of his own Saxon people, an interest also exhibited in the early fifteenth century by Person and by the Eastphalians Conrad and Hermann Bote.

For well over three decades Michael Wallace-Hadrill has been a leading interpreter of the Merovingian and Frankish kingdoms to the English-speaking world. His œuvre, recorded by Ian Wood as "A Bibliography of the Historical Writings of J. M. Wallace-Hadrill" in the Festschrift dedicated to him, Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, ed. by Patrick Wormald (Oxford), 317-29, happily shows no sign of cessation: The Frankish Church, listed as forthcoming, was published this year. Certain characteristics stand out when one examines the range of his publications. Not merely are there the major editions and monographs that one would expect from the sometime Chichele Professor of Mediaeval History at Oxford--the text and translation of the fourth book of the Chronicle of Fredegar, the 1970 Ford Lectures on Germanic kingship, the two sets of collected papers--but also he has not spurned writing for an intelligent popular audience, most notably with The Barbarian West, 400-1000, which

has introduced many to early medieval Europe through three editions and several translations (though he once modestly claimed that he had not expected its perennial popularity). He has served Cleo faithfully in other ways. Year after year since 1947 he has mediated to frequently linguistically lazy Anglophone scholars the fruits of French and German scholarship through the medium of reviews, long and short. Another significant service receives no mention in the Bibliography, though it is referred to in passing in Donald Bullough's "Appreciation" (1-6 at p. 4): his co-editorship from 1966 to 1974 of the English Historical Review, an exacting task that merits our praise.

c. Settlement Period

Rosemary Cramp's chapter "Anglo-Saxon Settlement" in Settlement in North Britain 1000 BC-AD 1000: Papers Presented to George Jobey, Newcastle upon Tyne, December 1982, ed. by J. C. Chapman and H. C. Mytum, Brit. Archaeol. Rep.,Brit. Ser. 118 (Oxford), 263-97, gives the status quaestionis with respect to settlement studies in northern England. Deira, west of the Pennines and south of the Tees, seems to have been settled by peasant farmers who differed little, socially and economically, from the Romano-British rural population. In Bernicia, north of the Tees, settlement seems to have been less intensive and later. The British kingdoms of Elmet, Rheged and Craven to the west may only have been settled by Anglo-Saxons ca. 650 to 670, and then by a small number of conquerors, not unlike the south-west of England. Archaeological evidence aided by pollen analysis and aerial photography has been used to supplement this picture and it reveals "no emptying of the sub-Roman countryside" (265). Like Gloucester in the south, towns shrank and were converted to more rural purposes but they continued as a focus. Deira may have been penetrated by the end of the fifth century by Germanic peoples but other specialists have seen this mainly as "infilling." As for burials as indicators of settlement, by the mid-sixth century inhumation cemeteries contain evidence of Anglo-Saxon burial customs, especially in the environs of Roman forts, which she suggests could also have acted as focal points for settlement (267). She rejects Professor Alcock's suggestion that the analysis of Bernician grave goods can be used as an indicator of social class and concludes that "it is very difficult to speculate with any precision on the numbers and status of the invading English as well as of surviving Britons in the North" (270-1). As for Christianity, Cumbria and the border country show some signs of its survival. There is a dearth of place-names indicating Anglo-Saxon pagan worship in Northumbria. As far as secular settlement is concerned, she draws attention to the presence of enclosures at sites such as Yeavering; these are mentioned in the earliest laws and point to a more organized society. As for monastic settlement, "the close relationship of the pre-Viking monastic foundations to the presumed areas of secular settlements is...noteworthy" (278)--they were perhaps "twinned," as in the case of Lindisfarne and Bamburgh. Monasteries were important for lay power, both in providing markets and promoting trade: they needed wine and oil for their rites, and many were located next to good harbors. In this regard she notes, "The trading connections of Northumbria in the pre-Viking period is a seriously neglected subject" (280). These are just a few of the insights Professor Cramp provides from the researches of herself and others. In spite of the work that has been done, the picture is still unclear.

A. C. Wright's South-East Sussex in the Saxon Period (Southend-on-Sea Museums Service, 1981) is a totally unpersuasive account. Most of it is

fanciful ("Life by the 8th century had become peaceful, pre-ordained and ordered in the continuous service of agriculture and the creation of wealth" [26]), speculative (signalled by a liberal and eccentric use of question marks), methodologically unsound (notably the discussion of Anglo-Saxon pagan religion in terms of Scandinavian mythology, complete with references to trolls, Sleipnir and Ragnarǫkr), or just plain confused (e.g., the description of Anglo-Saxon social structure). Mucking, Bradwell-on-Sea, Greensted Church and sundry archaeological finds made in the county merit an attempt at the kind of regional study recently published by Mr. Witney for Kent. Unfortunately this booklet fails to direct the specialist to gaps in our knowledge and will merely misinform the general public.

    d.   General Anglo-Saxon History

       There are studies of kings in the early Middle Ages aplenty but regrettably few about their consorts. The evidence is undoubtedly there; the failure to exploit it indicates a bias amongst historical investigators that we might hope will be rectified in the years to come. Pauline Stafford, therefore, has a rich and absorbing topic to discuss in her Queens, Concubines and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages (London and Athens, GA). Yet I found this book disappointing, partly because it seems to be the product of a card index and partly because so many questions are not explored. As an example of her style, let us take the following:

> Where a woman's family had suffered defeat and death,
> she rarely forgot their fate and might change from peace-
> maker to vengeance-wreaker. After Radegund had been
> repudiated by Clothar I she was to ask Fortunatus to
> write in memory of her family and their achievements,
> destroyed by her former husband. Swanhild never lost
> contact with her Bavarian relatives. On the death of
> Charles Martel she fought to support her own son against
> his half brothers, seeking help from Bavaria, conniving
> at the marriage of her stepdaughter Hiltrud to Duke Odilo.
> Swanhild was not taking revenge, but turning naturally to
> her own kin for aid in her need.
> Rosamund's is a simple story of a wife's vengeance...(45).

Here we start with a fairly obvious statement ("she rarely forgot their fate"); this statement is followed by what could be the topic clause, which is, however, given some ambivalence by the word "might." The two examples that follow illustrate only the first half of the initial sentence; in fact, we are specifically told that Swanhild (who lived in the eighth century) was not taking revenge. Only with the next paragraph do we get to the matter of revenge in the person of Rosamund, queen of the Lombards in the 560s. This failure to maintain a clear line of argument and the leaping about from country to country and century to century make it exceedingly difficult to retain in one's mind what has been read.

       As for missed opportunities, we might consider her section on images. She observes, "The sources of early medieval history leave an overriding impression of antifeminism" (24). Now this is potentially a very interesting theme. Antifeminism is not a manifestation of a single impulse nor does it take a single form. Early medieval culture drew on several societies in creating the attitudes toward women that find expression in the literary

sources--sources which were largely composed by men. The attitudes of the
Old Testament patriarchal society was modified by Jesus, who, for instance,
associated with and was compassionate toward prostitutes; on the other hand,
Paul had the more traditionalist view of women held by the religious élite of
which he had been a member. The Bible containing these varied views was then
adopted as the written basis of the state religion of Rome, a society where
the powers of the male were entrenched during the imperial period in legal
codifications. The late imperial period seems to have been one of sexual
anxiety, at least among the literate, and this finds eloquent expression in
such Church Fathers as Augustine and Jerome. This amalgam was projected onto
societies such as Anglo-Saxon England, which, with its bilateral kinship
structure, its record of powerful women in church and state ranging from Hild
to Æthelflæd of Mercia, and the evidence of the (admittedly late) wills, seems
to have sanctioned considerable powers for women within, let it not be forgot-
ten, an overriding patriarchal structure. The analysis of these cross-currents
sweeping over several centuries would be a taxing endeavor that this reviewer
would not relish undertaking. Dr. Stafford is sensible of some of these com-
plexities but they are dealt with in a scant eight pages. The depth of her
analysis may be seen from her discussion of Mary:

> Christian thinkers have always seen in Mary the mother of
> Christ a type of womanhood. But Mary has had many faces.
> She could be the meek, self-effacing housewife of Ambrose,
> his antithesis of Eve, the virgin-mother who never experi-
> enced sexual pleasure, an anti-woman, idealized especially
> in this way in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Yet
> she could receive the attributes of a fertility goddess,
> and was prayed to in the ninth and tenth centuries by the
> sterile and those who longed for children. By the tenth
> century she was also Maria Regina, Queen of Heaven, crowned
> and sceptered, ruling with her son. The iconography of
> Mary as queen was strong in Ottonian Germany and in late
> tenth-century England, illustrated in Bibles and books
> produced in the court circle or presented to the royal
> family. Where earthly queens ruled and were powerful,
> they could be given a heavenly model (27).

Here I shall only focus on the image of Mary as Queen of Heaven. A reason for
the rise of this image is briefly alluded to but not explored (a few more
details are given on pp. 127 and 133). That the iconography and doctrine can
tell us what was regarded as significant about queenship is not even considered,
though the groundwork has been laid by Ms. M. Warner and Professor Robert
Deshman, who are cited in her bibliographical notes. I think Dr. Stafford
has tried to paint too broad a canvas, both geographically and temporally.
She usefully mentions that monogamy, which could enhance a queen's position,
was increasing in the eleventh century (92); that "[s]uccession politics
provided the widest opportunities for women" (173) and that as dowagers espe-
cially they could wield power, since they could influence the succession (142);
that many were predeceased by their husbands and ended their days in a nunnery
(Chapter 7). But there is such a variety of factual detail that no very clear
picture emerges.

Bede is such a satisfying historian that it is only in comparatively recent years that we have learned not to accept him at his face value. The Synod of Whitby is a case in point. So central to Bede's ecclesiastical and chronographical interests (though, ironically, hard to date on the basis of his information), it is only through the work of scholars such as Henry Mayr-Harting, David Kirby, and Eric John that we are ready to stand back and seek to explain the Synod as an exercise in Realpolitik. This is Richard Abels's perspective in "The Council of Whitby: A Study in Early Anglo-Saxon Politics" (JBS 23, no. 1, 1-25). In essence he sees its causation as lying in the weakening of Oswiu's position as Bretwalda and the potential threat posed by the aspirations of his son, Alhfrith, subregulus of the southern Northumbrian kingdom of Deira. A central argument in his thesis which may not gain universal assent is that Deusdedit, archbishop of Canterbury, died just before the Synod. If one concedes his chronological arguments (and they are strong), then one can see the logic of Oswiu's position: pressed by his son to hold a council that would advance Alhfrith's protégé, the Romanist Wilfrid, he took the wind out of his son's sails by conceding the Romanists' case. This meant that he had to lose the services of his personal bishop, Colman, but he compensated the Celtic party by making Tuda, who had been consecrated by the Irish, Colman's successor, and Eata, who had been expelled from Ripon, abbot of Lindisfarne. His potential gains were far greater. By publicly asserting his Roman orthodoxy, he could retain the support of the kings of Wessex and Kent and, more importantly, gain the possibility of papal support for his own candidate for the archbishopric of Canterbury. Unfortunately, the mutual choice of himself and the king of Kent died of the plague, as did Tuda. Oswiu then permitted Wilfrid to be consecrated--but only as Alhfrith's bishop. In Professor Abels's view, Wilfrid went to the Continent for this because of the vacancy at Canterbury. His prolonged absence led, according to the sources, to Oswiu's appointing Chad in his place to the see of York. For this seeming usurpation of Ahlfrith's right of appointment, there is a simple but plausible explanation: Ahlfrith may have rebelled against his father in late 664 or early 665. This would explain his disappearance from the sources and the subsequent events. "Wilfrid 'lingered abroad' out of prudence, for while in Gaul he may well have learned of his patron's fall. When he deemed it safe to return to his homeland, he retired to Ripon rather than contest Chad's right to the see of York, because in a very real sense Chad had not usurped his position. Wilfrid had not merely been expelled from his intended see: his office had been abolished, for he had been consecrated bishop for Alhfrith and his people, but now Alhfrith was dead or in exile. In his place, Oswiu ruled directly, and Chad was his bishop" (19). To assert his rule, Oswiu may well have transferred his court to York in order to control Deira. This reconstruction certainly provides an explanation for a number of puzzling features in the Synod of Whitby story.

Several early Anglo-Saxon kings chose a different path from the politically astute Oswiu. Clare Stancliffe's "Kings Who Opted Out" (Ideal and Reality, 154-76) offers illuminating treatment of the curious Anglo-Saxon phenomenon of the seventh- and eighth-century kings who abdicated in order to become monks or pilgrims. Six decided to become monks, five went to Rome on pilgrimage, and two others intended to do so. Yet only two Continental rulers did this. Carloman gave up his position as Mayor of the Palace in 747 in order to travel to Rome, where he was tonsured; two years later Ratchis, king of the Lombards, followed a similar course of action, becoming a monk in the

same monastery as Carloman, Monte Cassino. Carloman may well have been influenced by St Boniface, who would have known of the abdication for religious reasons of three West-Saxon rulers, and Ratchis probably followed Carloman's example. Ireland most likely provided the models for these actions: Irish evidence for kings entering monasteries starts in the sixth century (i.e., well before Sigebert, the first Anglo-Saxon monarch to do so) and increases two centuries later. As for their motives, some were reaching the end of a long life (e.g., Ine of Wessex) and thoughts of penance might have been uppermost. This was not the case, however,for Cædwalla and Offa. Here Dr. Stancliffe points to the presence of the theme of "the transience of former heroes" to be found widely in Anglo-Saxon poetry. "This can be traced back through Latin Christian authors to its biblical roots; but what is significant is that the Anglo-Saxons seized on these particular themes to develop, and that they did so in vernacular verse which might have been sung in the great halls of kings. This meant that English kings could have been reminded of mortal man's fate and the need to turn to God not simply by what they heard in church, but by the forceful rendering of such ideas in vernacular poetry" (167-8). The same themes are also to be found in Irish literature and, of course, both penance and pilgrimage were important aspects of Irish religious life. Ireland was also more receptive to the idea of opting out than the Latin West, where the indigenous clergy viewed kingship as a means of promoting Christianity. "[Ireland's] best-known missionary, Patrick, took his ideas from the Bible, not classical tradition, and showed more concern for his converts as a group than for the role of the Christian ruler" (173). The phenomenon of abdication died out in the ninth century through a "more positive attitude to kingship eventually making itself felt" (175) and because of a decline in monasticism. Once more Wilfrid and Bede enter the picture: Wilfrid was the first to go as a pilgrim to Rome and Bede is our major source--and a sympathetic one--about kings who adopted the religious life. Yet both were Romanists. Of Bede, she observes that "perhaps, for all his readiness to acknowledge his debts to Gregory and Rome, while passing lightly over those to the Irish, his Northumbrian spirituality owed more to the Irish than we realize" (176). Wilfrid and Bede as products of Irish spirituality: there is scope for further investigation here.

Henry Mayr-Harting pursues a seemingly unpromising aspect of Wilfrid's life in "Saint Wilfrid in Sussex" (Studies in Sussex Church History, ed. M. J. Kitch [London, 1981], pp. 1-17)--an episode recounted by Eddius and Bede, as he observes, in a total of 1100 words--and finds that "on closer inspection the evidence for Wilfrid in Sussex exemplifies many of the major problems of missionary method in the early Middle Ages.... The problems...are political and social ones" (2). Before discussing these, he makes the important point that there was a strong religious foundation to Wilfrid's career: never a member of a king's fighting retinue, he spent his adolescence in a monastery and at eighteen went on pilgrimage to Rome. "His behaviour later on, his friendship with many kings, his great gathering of followers, his showy generosity, the conflicts of loyalty in which he was involved, may have been the stuff of Heroic Age politics; but the aim to which it was all primarily directed was the holding together in several kingdoms of a great confe[de]ration of monasteries united by high observance" (3). Central to this was an interest in missionary enterprise that he shared with his near contemporary Egbert, an interest reinforced by his contacts with Kent, Rome, and Gaul. He was in Sussex from 680 to 685x686, where he was instrumental in converting the South Saxons. Dr. Mayr-Harting suggests that they saw him as restoring contact for them with a wider world; he was acceptable since he was not a Mercian overlord, as the converter of their own king had been. This king was subsequently killed by

Cædwalla in the course of his rise to power in Wessex. Wilfrid threw his
support behind Cædwalla and, whatever the reason for this seeming treachery
toward his hosts, it reveals that he had to be aware of political changes that
could affect his estate at Selsey, which supported his exiled followers. The
value of powerful royal supporters for missionary endeavors was shown often
enough on the Continent, notably among the Frisians, who were great traders
that did not eschew the traffic in slaves. Dr. Mayr-Harting underlines the
importance of slavery for manning the early Church through men it ransomed
and subsequently trained for the priesthood. He observes that Wilfrid "stands
out amongst his ecclesiastical contemporaries for his great resources of man-
power" (13) and reminds us that on being given the estate at Selsey he freed
all 250 slaves on it. He concludes with a consideration of Wilfrid's preaching
methods, which he illumines from modern anthropological studies of the conver-
sion of pagans to Christianity. One feature of this was Wilfrid's association
with the cult of St Oswald, already pointed out by Professor Kirby, but for
which he notes there was also evidence in Sussex and Frisia. This proves his
greatness as a missionary since the cult of the martyred king provided a model
for other kings, whose support he needed in his task of converting their subjects.

Wilfrid was not the only bishop to be discussed last year. Guy Lanoë
investigates the social and ethnic background of the first bishops in England
after the conversion of Kent and the traditions they embodied in "Les évêques
en Angleterre (597-669)" (MA 89, 333-55). He derives most of his information
from Bede. He observes that throughout the period the bishops were monks and
until 644 were foreigners. He is surprised (337 n. 12) by the lack of aggres-
siveness of the early monks. I should not have thought it was particularly
surprising, given the urban context of much European Christianity—even the
architecture of the Anglo-Saxons must have discomforted the first missionaries.
We should remember that the Celtic form of episcopate was much better suited to
Anglo-Saxon tribal conditions and there were probably far more Celtic bishops
than our sources record (cf. the two unnamed bishops who assisted the only
Romanist bishop, Wine, in the consecration of Ceadda). He notes that it took
forty-eight years for the first Anglo-Saxon bishop to be appointed. Against
this may be put Stenton's surprise expressed in his Anglo-Saxon England that
after only twenty years of evangelization in Wessex (undertaken by a bishop
with a Germanic name, which M. Lanoë does not mention), a West-Saxon, Deusdedit,
became archbishop of Canterbury. But then M. Lanoë makes rather heavy weather
of the apparent contradiction between the Chronicle entry for 690/692 that
claims that Berhtwald was the first Anglo-Saxon archbishop and Bede's explicit
statement that Archbishop Deusdedit was a West-Saxon. Plummer had no difficulty
in interpreting the Chronicle entry as meaning that Berhtwald was the first in a
succession of native primates. We might also note that Thomas of Elmham records
that Deusdedit had an Anglo-Saxon name, "Frithonas." The form is garbled (the
second element may have been nāþ = nōþ "bold," "daring") but Frithu- was a
regular first element in names, appropriately denoting "peace." There was
a pope called Deusdedit from 615 to 618, who could quite possibly have been
the incumbent of the papal see when Frithonas was born. (Professor Abels's
suggestion in his article discussed above that he may have been a slave who
adopted his Latin name on being freed is very speculative.) It may be recalled
that the Anglo-Saxon missionary Wynfrith was later also to adopt a papal name,
that of Boniface.

Richard Kay contributes to our knowledge of episcopal _fasti_ in "Wulfsige and Ninth-Century Northumbrian Chronology" (Northern Hist. 19, 8-14) by adducing presumptive evidence in support of a revised chronology for the four archbishops of York in the ninth century. The Northumbrian annals stopped at the year 802 and the Viking incursions thereafter permit us only a very imperfect picture of the century. Drawing on earlier numismatic work of C. S. S. Lyon, Professor Kay suggests that Archbishop Wulfsige had a very short reign from ca. 835 to sometime before Christmas 836. One of the reasons for this postulated short reign is that Wulfsige issued no coins (as can be confirmed from the Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles), yet one coiner struck coins for both his predecessor and successor. On this chronology Eanbald II had a very long reign, from 796 to ca. 835 (five years longer than is suggested in the Sylloge volumes). Slight adjustments also need to be made to the dates conventionally assigned to the reigns of Archbishops Wigmund and Wulfhere.

David Blake continues his researches into the ecclesiastical hierarchy of south-west England in three studies. "The Development of the Chapter of the Diocese of Exeter 1050-1161" (Jnl of Med. Hist. 8 [1982], 1-11) examines the contents of the enlarged role of Chrodegang in C.C.C.C. MS 19. This may have been the personal property of Leofric, who transferred his episcopal seat to Exeter in 1050. Chrodegang's was a rule for secular canons. It sets down their mode of life, means of discipline, and the rôle of the bishop in the community. Unfortunately, there is little evidence about Exeter's organization in the time of Osbern (1072-1103) and the clear indications of a more complex administrative structure to be found by the 1090s in some other English cathedrals appear in Exeter only in the twelfth century, with two archdeacons being recorded in 1121x1122 and four in 1133, a precentor from 1127 onwards, and a treasurer from 1133. In fact, the influence of its Anglo-Saxon communal organization seems to have carried on until the thirteenth century; income, for instance, was still being shared in common in the first half of the twelfth century. It did not remain unchanged, of course. The strictness of the rule declined: probably during the time of Bishop Warelwast (1107-37) the common dormitory disappeared; private property began to be acquired, and by the mid-twelfth century the communal refectory was no longer. The exact composition of the chapter in the mid-twelfth century is uncertain. A few family groups appear to have been influential and relatives of the bishops were included in the community, yet it seems not to have been used for royal patronage appointments. Mr. Blake suggests that "[l]argely because of the continuing influence of the rule, Exeter's constitutional arrangements were idiosyncratic" (10). This is probably only part of the story and is not sufficient in itself to explain Exeter's conservatism. The chapter was still composing documents in Old English into the 1130s, as an examination of the Exeter Book will show. Curiously, though Mr. Blake makes good use of the unpublished documents in the Exeter Cathedral Library and the East Devon Record Office, he makes only passing reference in this paper to the Exeter Book texts, which contain many references to various members of the chapter and provide various insights into the relationship of the cathedral with the surrounding community. A contributory factor in this conservatism lay in the personality of Leofric's successor, a Norman who, Mr. Blake convincingly argues, had been a chaplain under Edward the Confessor and who William of Malmesbury mentions was sympathetic to English ways. *"Osbern Bishop of Exeter 1072-1103" (Trans. of the Devonshire Assoc. 114 [1982], 63-69) offers what biography is possible for this shadowy figure. Possibly because of ill health he witnessed few royal documents and thus may have remained in his diocese for most of the final decade of his tenure.

He got into a wrangle with the monks of St Nicholas in Exeter and may not have been sympathetic to monasticism. Unlike other Norman bishops, he did not rebuild his cathedral but he did endow it with some rich lands. All of this, together with Exeter's relative isolation, it might be observed, helped to preserve the stability that has kept one of the great Anglo-Saxon literary treasures, the Exeter Book, in the chapter library that has been its home since 1072. Because of this association, readers may be interested in his second paper in the same journal, *"The Bishops of Exeter 1138-1160" (71-78), where he discusses the two Roberts who succeeded William Warelwast as bishop in the period 1138 to 1160. The first was probably William's nephew, who had formerly been an archdeacon there. One should note thus that right through to 1155 the bishops of Exeter either had Anglo-Saxon associations (Leofric, Osbern) or had been members of the Exeter chapter (William, Robert I).

The search for the origins of English urban history continues apace. T. R. Slater examines "The Origins of Warwick" in Midland Hist. 8, 1-13. The town was established in 914 by Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians as the sixth of nine burhs designed to win back Anglo-Saxon territory from the Danes. Was it a greenfield site or had it already acquired urban characteristics? In an attempt to answer this question Dr. Slater first delves into its territorial position. Its seeming importance as the focus of the shire diminishes when one recognizes that the Mercian shires underwent a redefinition, probably early in the eleventh century. There is more likelihood that it was founded on a boundary "to protect and secure the north-east flank of the old Hwiccan sub-kingdom by controlling the mid-Avon valley" (3). The Domesday record reinforces this interpretation in showing that the 26 contributory burgesses in Warwick came from Hwiccan territory. It also reveals through the large percentage of houses subject to the king and the manors adjacent which were then or formerly in demesne that the burh had been a villa regalis, the center of a royal estate. It was extra-hundredal and since hundred boundaries were developed by the middle of the ninth century, this suggests that older realities were preserved here. Less convincing is his tentative identification with Warwick of the Mercian place-name, Werburging, which is attested in early ninth-century charters. More plausible is his derivation of Warwick from wær "a treaty," appropriate for a boundary trading place. Two of the parishes embracing Warwick encompass an unusually large area for this part of the country. One included the Church of All Saints, which he argues was the mother church, perhaps with minster status, of what originally had been one parish. Significantly, four of the surrounding parishes have churches with the same dedication, which is characteristic of daughter churches. Archaeological evidence so far is lacking, though the site appears to be located at what had been the intersection of various routeways up to the Romano-British period. One thus cannot say whether it was yet an urban site when Æthelflæd established her burh but it seems to have possessed the antecedent conditions necessary for it to flourish as an urban center. The value of this kind of paper is that it provides a focus for further research endeavors, which, in this case, will largely have to be the responsibility of archaeologists.

Because of Bede much of our early historical information is about Northumbria, yet the bulk of Anglo-Saxon research has concentrated on the Midlands and the South. With able and active historians and archaeologists now at places as as Glasgow, St Andrews, Newcastle and Durham, it is likely that our knowledge of the North will increase substantially in the next few years.

Scotland, in particular, may be expected to come within the purview of Anglo-Saxonists, just as Ireland, the Isle of Man, and Wales have done. A step in that direction is taken by Brian Dicks in his survey "The Scottish Medieval Town: A Search for Origins" (Scottish Urban History, ed. George Gordon and Brian Dicks [Aberdeen], 23-51). He states that "there can be little contention that in terms of urban traditions Scotland was both a late and protracted developer, for prior to the twelfth century there is little direct evidence, archaeological or documentary, to indicate any settlement that could qualify for the description 'urban'" (26). It has been argued that urban life started as a consequence of the establishment of burghs in the twelfth century, notably from the reign of David I (1124-53) on. But such burghs were essentially legal entities granted that status because their tolls and rents were lucrative; they may well have been social and trading centers in the eleventh century before the acquisition of their legal status. Though it would be pointless to seek the ancestry of a burgh in a Roman foundation, he notes that the view that "[Roman] military advances did little to alter the general way of life and economy of North Britain should now be accepted with far less enthusiasm, especially when European research has indicated the extension of Rome's influence far beyond the mere physical defended limits of the Empire" (31). The careful geographic siting of some of the Roman forts meant that it was almost inevitable that they would be reoccupied at a later time. Native centers such as Dumbarton, Edinburgh, and Dunbar (all containing the name element dun "a fortified place") also offered the possibility of becoming urban nuclei, though frustratingly there is often little evidence between their first mention in sources and their emergence as burghs. In the case of ecclesiastical sites, so important in England and on the Continent, "the extent to which Christian foundations acted as quasi-urban forms still awaits archaeological clarification" (40). As with Warwick, therefore, the historian is dependent upon future work by the archaeologist to understand the nature of Scottish urban development. The example of the growth of Perth after its acquisition of burghal status suggests, however, that "its urban roots pre-date its growth as a burgh" (48) and that towns were not simply places developed in Scotland under Anglo-Norman influence.

Peter Sawyer has published two papers recently that have a bearing on both urban studies and on the countryside. He points out in "The Royal Tun in Pre-Conquest England" in the Wallace-Hadrill Festschrift (273-99) that "it was in the royal palaces and villae that contemporaries witnessed the routines of royal power" (273). Hitherto the absence of a comprehensive survey has rendered the study of the English evidence difficult. He has sought to rectify this by providing a ten-page list of pre-Conquest royal vills, which should provide the same incentive to scholarly enterprise that his earlier Anglo-Saxon Charters continues to do. He reviews the criteria for establishing the location of royal vills (including, for instance, that most gatherings of the witan had royal residences as their venue), and, noting that some royal lands remained the property of kings for centuries while other parts constantly changed hands, he suggests that "some land was thought to belong to the crown in contrast to the king's personal property, whether inherited or acquired in other ways, which could be disposed of more easily" (279). Royal vills served as collecting centers for food rents, as in eighth-century Mercia, and when this practice declined, they continued as centers of government under royal reeves. Professor Sawyer brings forward evidence to suggest that these estates "reflect arrangements of great

antiquity that survived centuries of alienation and illegal seizures" (285).
In his second article he turns to a cognate subject, "Fairs and Markets in
Early Medieval England" (Danish Medieval History: New Currents, ed. Niels
Skyum-Nielsen and Nils Lund [Copenhagen, 1981], 153-68). Unlike the coastal
trading centers that attracted merchants from abroad, thus being reported in
written sources and frequently leaving archaeological traces, early English
local markets and fairs have attracted little attention from scholars. He
believes that many of these "were very ancient indeed, and that our sources
are silent about their early development because originally they were not
under royal protection or control" (155). He argues that this control de-
veloped from the ninth century onwards. Domesday Book records sixty markets.
It is evident, however, that many were not recorded in this compilation.
Associated with markets is the taking of royal tolls, which developed in the
ninth century. His conjecture that "names in wic, and the custom of collecting
tolls at them, both derive from Roman arrangements" (158) will give aid and
comfort to the proponents of institutional continuity, though it is in the
nature of things that this can only be a suggestion. Churches were good
locations for markets and many of the important ones in the eleventh century
are to be found in the major religious centers (cf. Professor Cramp's remarks
in sub-section c. above and Professor Bethell's in sub-section f. below on
the rôle of monasteries in trade). Sunday trading was common and was only
to cease in the thirteenth century. He enters the debate over the function of
early medieval coins by suggesting that the early sceattas were used by traders
and that the existence of hoards of pre-Viking stycas "suggests that...North-
umbria had a more sophisticated system of small change than has commonly been
recognized" (163). He might perhaps have added that the considerable sums
raised to buy off the Vikings in the late tenth century and the regular
recoinings that occurred towards the end of the Anglo-Saxon era are powerful
presumptive evidence of a well-developed exchange economy.

    T. H. Aston's "The Origins of the Manor in England" is a classic
paper that has worn well. He has reprinted it in Social Relations and Ideas:
Essays in Honour of R. H. Hilton, ed. T. H. Aston, et al. (Cambridge), 1-43,
together with "A Postscript" that takes the last quarter of a century and his
own further investigations into account. His original paper, which appeared
in Trans. of the Royal Hist. Soc. 5th ser. 8 (1958) need not be rehearsed here.
The formerly orthodox view his article sought to rebut that the manor was a
late development stemming from the subordination of a formerly free peasantry
no longer finds favor. In his postscript he is more concerned with high-
lighting the transformations in manorialism during the Anglo-Saxon period than
in discussing its origins. He suggests that the value of bookland is that it
offered a means of countervailing the universal tendency towards partibility.
The surviving wills with their wholesale division of property give only a
partial picture; the will "also allowed one to keep one's inheritance together
...by leaving it or the major part to a single heir against the otherwise obli-
gatory descent by partibility" (28). He is inclined to feel that the different
patterns in landholding between southern and central England on the one hand,
and the Scandinavianized regions and Kent on the other, lay in the existence of
partible inheritance in the latter areas. Another factor in the transformation
of manors lay in population increase. Manors developed, he believes, in
various ways: "the outgrowth of a sprawling or discrete manor, the establish-
ment of new and independent manors and the manorialization of an erstwhile
individual farmstead in the course of expansion" (39). The growth of popula-
tion, however, need not necessarily have led to manorialism. Thus the

landholding patterns of the Danelaw may be the product of "humble, land-hungry peasants first creating, out of the superabundant wastes and marshlands, new smallholdings for themselves which grew gradually into the settlements we later find" (42). This untidy picture of the development of manorialism is likely to possess far more elements of the truth than a simple and universal explanation.

Just before 903 the muniments of ealdorman Æthelfrith were destroyed by fire. He was permitted to rewrite them and Edward the Elder and the Mercian witan confirmed them. Among the estates was Monks Risborough, a Berkshire parish possessing considerable rights in the High Middle Ages. In another of a series of papers he has published in the past five years on the charters of Berkshire, Arnold H. J. Baines offers in "The Bounds of Monks Risborough" (Records of Buckinghamshire 23 [1983 for 1981], 76-101) an edition and translation of the document concerning this estate (Sawyer, no. 367). He considers the extant text to be a tenth-century West-Saxon copy of the Mercian document. He then makes a detailed analysis of the vernacular bounds, supplemented by a map that differs in a few details from that given by Margaret Gelling in The Early Charters of the Thames Valley (Leicester, 1979), p. 179. This section contains much of incidental interest, including several words of lexicographical value. I am a little troubled by his translation of the abbreviation þ (= þæt) with the strained sense of "So as (to come, arrive)"; in his second paper discussed below he notes: "In charter bounds þ frequently means 'after that'" (14), which is more plausible. He traces the history of the estate and argues that a purported re-conveyance of the estate to Christ Church and the Archbishop of Canterbury in 995 (Sawyer, no. 1378) is partially genuine. This is important as it provides an insight into the nature of Anglo-Saxon mortgages. Monks Risborough is characterized by an extensive hedge, which is mentioned in the charter of 903. In an appendix Mr. Baines attempts to date this by using Dr. M. D. Hooper's system of counting the number of plant species in the various sections of the hedge. Dr. Hooper's ideas have been questioned recently (see, for example, John Hall, "Hedgerows in West Yorkshire--the Hooper Method Examined," Yorkshire Archaeol. Jnl 54 [1982], 103-09), so this section of the paper should thus be treated with some circumspection. In a second contribution to the same issue of Records of Buckinghamshire, "Turville, Radenore and the Chiltern feld" (4-22), Mr. Baines provides an edition of a grant of Turville, Bucks., by Ecgfrith, king of Mercia, to St Alban's Abbey in 796 (Sawyer, no. 150). He shows that the witness clause is consistent with its purported date and suggests that once we exclude the clause granting total immunity (an eleventh-century addition, he believes), we have a basically genuine charter. The place-name in the charter is Thyrefeld, which he argues consists of the words þyrre "dry, lacking in water or moisture" and feld in the sense of "a tract of open country" (cf. Afrikaans veld, formerly veldt). The village of Turville is actually in a valley in a well-wooded area but it is an appropriate designation for Turville Heath. He believes that the name originally applied to this area and that this was subsequently bestowed on a royal estate now coterminous with the parish of Turville. He suggests that "the Anglo-Saxon settlers recognized the Chiltern plateau, and that where it was not wooded, or when it was cleared, they called it feld" (7). He points out that the shape of the parish associates it with Watlington to the west; the latter abuts it through a narrow stretch of land. He believes that Watlington is derived from an offshoot of a tribe mentioned in the Tribal Hidage. Here he draws on Dr. Cyril Hart's study in Trans. of the Royal Hist. Soc. 5th ser. 21 (1971), 133-57, but suggests that this tribe was to be found between

St Albans and the Great Ouse. Watlington and Turville were thus in his view settled by Middle Anglians and the memory of this could explain why the area was granted to St Alban's Abbey. Contiguous parishes are Pyrton, Pishill, and Stonor. These were collectively called Radenore, whose limits are recorded in a charter of 759 (Sawyer, no. 104), with another version in the form of detached bounds in Heming's Cartulary (Sawyer, no. 1568), dating from ca. 1070. These bounds are examined in detail and, like the first paper, are illustrated by a detailed map.

There has been disagreement amongst historians as to the degree of power that Edward the Confessor wielded over his kingdom. Robin Fleming tackles this question in a highly original way in *"Domesday Estates of the Kings and Godwines: A Study in Late Saxon Politics" (Speculum 58, 987-1007) by seeking evidence on the nature and extent of their respective landholdings. The Godwines were, apparently, parvenus who first rose to prominence under Cnut and whose fortunes ended in a field near Hastings in 1066. Domesday Book reveals that T.R.E. the value of Godwine's holdings exceeded the king's by over £1500; before Tostig's rebellion in 1065 they were worth over £550 more. Such land charters as survive show that earlier some were ecclesiastical holdings; others--notably those rendering the firma unius noctis--had been royal estates; and yet others, ealdormanries that became part of comital holdings. Ms. Fleming suggests that "Cnut accompanied his creation of the earldom [i.e., Godwine's] with a fundamental rearrangement of comital landholding, dictated by the needs of defense" (998). Many of the estates can be found close to Roman roads; others included Iron Age hill forts. Both, she suggests, are indicative of the military significance of many of the family's estates. They held substantial properties on the coast near Southampton and the Isle of Wight, in Essex, and in Herefordshire: all were areas subject to attack, either by the Vikings or by the Welsh. It made sense for eleventh-century kings to purchase support outside Wessex with land grants but Edward's mistake lay in giving the Godwines power and wealth throughout England that exceeded his own. In the process Harold was able, it appears, to turn comital into personal holdings. She concludes: "If the Confessor approved of the family's rapid aggrandizement, he was a fool; if he acquiesced, he cannot have been in full control of his kingdom. Thus Domesday Book offers damning evidence against the stability of the Confessor's regime. It also suggests that the decisive power shift between the English monarchy and aristocracy occurred not in October 1066, at Hastings, but in January 1066, when the accession of King Harold united the bulk of the Godwine lands with the terra regis" (1007). Ms. Fleming has shown that the sources still have much to reveal to us about landholding and power politics in eleventh-century pre-Conquest England.

Two papers of rather diverse quality dealt with aspects of Anglo-Saxon law last year. William I. Miller's "Choosing the Avenger: Some Aspects of the Bloodfeud in Medieval Iceland and England" (Law and History Rev. 1, 159-204) is an engagingly written and very absorbing account, which should be read by all those who have an interest in the phenomenon of the feud, whether as literary critics, philologists, legal historians or anthropologists. Professor Miller's interests are informed by the insights of all four specialties. His starting point is the scene in Eyrbyggja's Saga, Chapter 27, where Vermund tells the wife of the slain Vigfús to sever the head from the corpse and take it to her maternal uncle, Arnkel, in order to force him to take vengeance on Vigfús's killer. As Professor Miller points out, the bilateral kinship structure of Anglo-Saxon and Icelandic society meant that people could be

drawn into a feud, not because they had any direct interest in the killing, but because of "kinsmen who care about the corpse" (163), such as Arnkel, whose niece was the widow of Vigfús. The process by which the prosecution of a feud is transferred to another party and the limitations on this process are the focus of this paper. Because of the abundance of circumstantial detail in Norse literature, he naturally concentrates on the Icelandic world. (He is, incidentally, sensitive to the, fact that he is using literary evidence but notes [176, n. 75]: "The feuding and disputing process the author describes will, if the writer has any intention of being comprehensible to his audience, accord with the way things were done in his time or an earlier time whose procedures were still remembered.") He does, however, provide an explanation for the dynamics of the feud in the Finn episode in Beowulf (and in the process offers a defense for the hapax legomenon "woroldrædenne" in line 1142). Also discussed is the history of Wiglaf's sword, which the latter inherited from his father Weohstan. Within a few lines this sword, we are told, was both "forgiven" to Weohstan and "given" to Wiglaf. He observes: "The Weohstan-Onela episode is remarkable in that the acts of handing over the spoils and regranting them are legally significant gestures in some three or four different legal contexts. Announcing a killing, granting the lord his spoils, paying the heriot, charging the lord to take vengeance, and requesting a release from incurring the feud are all enacted by Weohstan's handing over the sword and armor. Rewarding a retainer, waiving the heriot, and forbearing to take up the feud are all enacted by 'forgiving' the sword and armor to Weohstan" (203).

Neil McLeod's "Parallel and Paradox: Compensation in the Legal Systems of Celtic Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England" (StC 16-17 [1981-82], 25-72) is a surprising paper. One reads on the second page, "The Anglo-Saxon occupation of England began in AD 449 with the arrival of the Jutes in the Isle of Thanet" (26), a claim based on the reassuring authority of W. S. Holdsworth. No authority is supplied for the statement on the next page: "The Celts came to Ireland around 500 BC and with remarkable harmony absorbed the Pictish population that had been the land's inhabitants through the Bronze Age" (27). Mr. McLeod's view is that "[b]oth Celtic Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England commenced as compensation-oriented systems; the English system was eventually replaced by one of penalties exacted by the state" (25). The paradox as he sees it arises out of the views of many writers "that Ireland was in a state of anarchy, its crude legal system stretched to the limit simply in moderating violence, without time or sophistication enough for abstract ideas such as justice.... These views have no basis in fact" (26). The differences between Ireland and England lay, he believes, in "the comparative dominance of the state in English law." According to him, "[b]y the end of the Anglo-Saxon period the legal system of that society had been choked and overgrown by the emergence of the manorial courts and the inclination to punish rather than to redress wrongs. The obverse side of the paradox is that in Ireland, that land where civilization and justice should have been able to find no foothold, a system of law survived intact until the English invasions of the twelfth century" (26). Something of Mr. McLeod's nationalist predispositions are apparent in these quotations. Curiously he chooses to attack, directly or indirectly, several eminent Irish scholars in the course of his paper. Thus he considers the view that Irish society was tribal to be a "distasteful belief" and a "fallacy"; "'Tribe' was originally used of the Irish to excuse the invasion by the British as a missionary inroad by civilization" (30 n. 6). Now, most historians would recognize that "tribe" is an imprecise term (see, for example, A. W. Southall,

"The Illusion of Tribe," Jnl of Asian and African Stud. 5 [1970], 28-50).
Its value in describing early Ireland has, however, been very ably defended
by F. J. Byrne. But then Mr. McLeod has evidently not read the latter's
paper, "Tribes and Tribalism in Ireland" (Ériu 22 [1971], 128-66).
Dr. Binchy, whose alleged scholarly weaknesses are pointed to several times
in this paper, "appears to have overlooked" an item of evidence that appears
in the law tracts (38), an assertion that requires some courage to make.
The courage is perhaps explicable by the fact that Dr. Binchy's six-volume
edition of the laws finds no mention in this paper. The curious can search
out such statements as "all of the written Anglo-Saxon laws are king-made.
The state as a legislative institution was far more evident in England."
Or, said of some unspecified period of European history, "The democratic
institutions of the assembly-parliament and the assembly-court withered.
Aristocratic dictatorship ensued." Here one can refresh one's memory of the
views of Henry Adams and Charles Oman; discover what Pollock and Maitland
"overlooked" (52); learn of the inadequacy of Sir Henry Maine's views on
Irish justice (36). I assume this paper was not submitted for peer-review
before being considered for publication.

Several recent papers have examined dealings between Anglo-Saxon
England and the Continent. Two of these have discussed the relationship be-
tween Frisia and England. Rolf H. Bremmer's "Frisians in Anglo-Saxon England:
A Historical and Toponymical Investigation" (Fryske Nammen 3 [1981], 45-94)
was reviewed in YWOES 1982, OEN 17.1, 148, from an onomastic perspective.
His paper also covered historical and archaeological questions, which might
appropriately be mentioned in this section. He observes that the only firm
historical evidence for Frisians in England stems from Procopius's report
on Brittia. This was based on information derived from Frankish emissaries
to the Byzantine court, who had a vested interest in exaggerating the numbers
of Frisian settlers because this would enable them not only to claim suze-
rainty over Britain (as they were seeking to do) but also over the Frisians
on the Continent. He reviews the evidence for Frisians in England from the
seventh century on. Not surprisingly, they are portrayed largely as traders
or shipmen. From the period of the Viking settlements seven place-names
consist of the Frisian element compounded with a Scandinavian one. He sug-
gests that these are the product of individual marauders or those who had
been dragooned into fighting with the Viking forces. It should be noted,
however, that several of the forms could represent "the village of the
Frisians" (Friseby < ON *Frisa-by), which to me implies a band of people.
I should also have liked to see him consider the possibility that these
forms are translations in whole or in part into Scandinavian of an original
Anglo-Saxon place-name: on present evidence this can be neither supported
nor rebutted but at the least we cannot be certain that they are evidence
of late settlement by Frisians, individually or collectively. Students of
Beowulf might note in the ninth section of his paper (80-84) his obversa-
tion that to the Anglo-Saxons Frisia was one country ruled by a single king
and was not divided into East and West Frisia, as has been suggested. His
overall conclusion is that our current information does not permit us to
consider that settlements mentioning Frisians date from the earliest invasion
period. I have some difficulties with the implications of this. If the
Frisians were not a factor in the earliest period, why then did they only
acquire an interest in England after the first settlements when the Angles,
Saxons and Jutes north of them and the Franks to the south decided to settle
in the island so much earlier?

A. J. Ellis-Alberda's "De contakten tussen Groot-Friesland en Angelsaksisch Engeland, vooral op het gebied van de handel. Een onderzoek aan de hand van geschreven bronnen en archeologische vondsten" (It Beaken 44 [1982], 49-72, available in the Newberry Library, Chicago) agrees with Dr. Bremmer that the early Frisian settlements in England are likely to have been in the great trading centers rather than in remote areas. She provides an illuminating map on p. 66 that shows there is no correlation between archaeological find-spots or places with Frisian associations--notably Norfolk, the area between Cambridge and Oxford, and Hamwih--and place-names with the fris- element. Even in Kent the three place-names are quite distant from any places with Frisian links. She does not offer an explanation for this discrepancy. She does point out that, of course, if find-spots of materials such as Rhenish glass, for which the Frisians acted as middlemen, were included, the interpretation might be very different. Her paper starts with an historical background, in which the importance of the Rhine as a focal point for trade to the north, south, and west is stressed. From the eighth century it was a routeway from the East via the Alps for luxury goods (notably silk) that could no longer come via southern Gaul. Mainz was the center for these eastern goods. Items were shipped from there downstream to the Frisian trade center of Dorestad. Thereafter goods went via Rijnburg on the Old Rhine and, after 800, when that was no longer navigable, via Domburg on the Lek to England. An illustrated discussion of ornaments from both sides of the North Sea having stylistic links with each other then follows. Notable here is a clasp from Wijnaldum that displays affinities with the Sutton Hoo buckle. Coins reveal clear associations between the two countries, especially sceattas, which were struck both in Frisia and in England. (A list of Frisian coins found in England is provided on p. 59.) The most important trading item from the Rhine area itself was wine, which was shipped in earthenware amphoras. Fragments of these have been found at Hamwih (Southampton), London, York, Norwich, Ipswich, Thetford, Winchester, and Whitby, the last being an early type that she considers to be a result of the Anglo-Saxon mission to Frisia. Glass was another luxury product. From the Eifel mountains came querns and millstones: the eighth-century mill excavated at Tamworth (see ASE 6 [1977], 15-37) got its millstone from this area. Goods exported from England included cloth and quite probably wool, as well as copper, tin, and perhaps lead and silver. She regards it as likely that the Frisians participated in the export of these items.

Karl Leyser begins his paper on "Die Ottonen und Wessex" (FMAS 17, 73-97) with the observation that Anglo-Saxon England had more in common with the East Frankish realm in the tenth century than at any other time in their respective histories. They both embraced different ethnic groups; each acquired an imperium; both collected relics of warrior saints and Christian rulers like Constantine; and they shared a sense of their common origin. The shifting nature of the relationship between them during the tenth century and into the eleventh is his subject. The two kingdoms were brought into close association with the marriage of Edith, daughter of Edward the Elder and half-sister of Athelstan, and Otto, eldest son of Henry I by his second marriage. To the Liodolfings this brought some considerable advantages; they were now allied to a royal family as old as the Franks and, as Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim noted, Edith had descended from the martyr-king Oswald. Or as Mr. Leyser, using the words of Widukind, puts it, "Die Prinzessin und spätere Königin verkörperte und brachte zwei Familieneigenschaften mit sich:

Sancta religio und _regalis potentia_"(78 and n. 22). This West-Saxon link weakened, however; Edith died in 746 and Otto married again. Seven years later, Liudgard, Edith's daughter, also died, to be followed to the grave by her husband in 755. When links were renewed under Edgar, the balance had shifted. The latter was now seeking to establish his _imperium_ and sent an embassy to the Salians. In the eleventh century, when the old West-Saxon dynasty had lost power, all memory that Liudgard had been a progenitor of the Salian line had been forgotten. Gunnhild, daughter of Cnut and Emma, re-established dynastic links by marrying Conrad II's son and successor, Henry III, in 1036. She died but two years later, yet the bonds remained; Henry sent an embassy and gifts on Edward's succession in 1043. The relationship between the two powers was not just limited to marital ties between the ruling families; as Mr. Leyser points out, it extended into other spheres of society. A number of minters under Edgar the Elder seem to have come from the Frankish realms and in the area of trade, as he explains, the ten pounds of pepper required from "subjects of the Emperor" at Christmas and Easter according to Æthelred's Fourth Code finds an explanation in the observation made by the Jewish trader and convert to Islam, Ibraham ibn Ja'kub, that pepper was especially evident among the goods from the Far East traded at Mainz when he visited there in ca. 973.

We need to recognize that late Anglo-Saxon England was a highly developed state relative to much of Europe of the time (the successive re-coinages are just one example of the degree of organization of society). Contacts between England and the major power in Eastern Europe, Byzantium, would thus seem not merely possible but probable. This hypothesis is explored in a carefully researched article in _Anglo-Norman Stud._ 5, 78-96 by Krijnie Ciggaar, *"England and Byzantium on the Eve of the Norman Conquest (The Reign of Edward the Confessor)." She concludes that indeed it is likely that there were relations between Edward the Confessor and Byzantium, though these cannot be proved. She finds the report of an embassy of enquiry about the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus sent to the Emperor by Edward to be the most persuasive indication of such contacts. Another suggestive piece of evidence is the pectoral cross with which Edward was buried; lamentably, however, this appears to have been destroyed in the seventeenth century. (Her account of its discovery and subsequent loss make interesting--if distressing-- reading.) The extant information about this cross seems conclusively to point to its being what was known as an _encolpion_ (art historians might have more to say on this); it may well have been an imperial present, possibly "either as a remuneration for the sending of mercenaries or in order to persuade the sovereign to send them" (95). To my mind another hypothesis should also be explored. Byzantine relations with the West were particularly complex in the middle of the eleventh century: at the same time the Normans were seeking lands in Byzantine territory, East Rome's associations with the Roman Church were tense. Dr. Ciggaar's comment, therefore, that England did not have "any political influence upon Byzantium's enemies" (95) is not quite accurate, given the contacts that Edward's court had with both Normandy and Rome. Hungary was of interest to both Rome and Byzantium--and England also had contacts with this country, as she mentions. These links between Hungary and England in the eleventh century are due for a reappraisal, with the religious dimension being taken into account (the last article I am aware of is that by Fest in 1938). While England thus may have been of interest as a source of mercenaries, Byzantium also had ecclesiastical reasons for seeking friends in western Europe.

It is appropriate to discuss here a paper on the same theme that focuses on post-Conquest England. After mentioning a couple of examples of where Icelandic literature might contain some genuine information about Norse experience of the East, Leslie Rogers, in "Anglo-Saxons and Icelanders at Byzantium: With Special Reference to the Icelandic Sage [sic] of St. Edward the Confessor" (Byzantine Papers, ed. E. Jeffreys et al. [Canberra, 1981], p. 82-9), discusses the evidence from Edward's Saga that some Anglo-Saxons migrated to Byzantium after the Norman Conquest. Dr. Ciggaar in her 1976 Leyden dissertation published extracts from the Chronicon Laudunense that confirm this account. Christine Fell discussed the relationship between the two works in ASE, vols. 1, 3, and 6, where she concluded that Edward's Saga dated from the fourteenth century and drew on the Chronicon. Mr. Rogers observes that "the best arguments now advanced for dating the saga so late are derived from its presumed sources and analogues, and an alternative explanation of them could require an alternative date of composition" (84). The main manuscripts containing the Saga also include early texts and one of the sources used in the Saga, Gizurr Hallsson, died in 1206. It is to be hoped that Mr. Rogers will embark on a reappraisal of the dating of Edward's Saga to ascertain whether indeed it could have been compiled before 1300. The Chronicon itself is unedited as a whole and, as Mr. Rogers points out, "systematic work on the sources of the Chronicon remains to be done" (86). Codicological, textual, and source-critical studies evidently need to be undertaken. Furthermore, both Mr. Rogers's conjecture, made in 1956, of a possible French or Anglo-Norman source for some of the Saga material and Ms. Fell's suggestion that we should search Icelandic material for further evidence of the dissemination of the Chronicon (see "Anglo-Saxon and Icelanders at Byzantium," pp. 86-7, 89, n. 21) present a challenge. Mr. Rogers's paper ends on a cautionary note: we must not "overlook the probable historical deficiencies of universal chronicles assembled from diverse sources a century or more after the supposed event" (87). These two papers on England and Byzantium point to possibilities that could keep a number of doctoral candidates occupied for several years. Much work remains to be done before we rewrite the textbooks.

Anglo-Saxonists would probably have had no more interest in Normandy than, say, Flanders had it not been for the events of 1066. Hitherto it has been difficult to get the Conquest into a perspective because we have been lacking a history written in English that is devoted to Normandy itself. David Bates has now filled that gap with a splendid monograph entitled Normandy before 1066 (London, 1982). The period of the earliest settlement of Normandy is not unlike that of early Anglo-Saxon England in its dearth of historical information. Archaeology, however, has yet to be widely exploited: there has not, for instance, been a dig at Rouen. The evidence of the place-names "seems to be indicative of a heavy settlement during the first decades of the province's history" (19), yet, in contrast to the situation in the Danelaw, the Scandinavian language did not long survive. This decline was partly because of its being swamped by the totally different French tongue, partly because the colonists were mainly male (and children tend to learn a language from their mothers), and partly because immigration fell away in the late tenth century. The Norman impact on patterns of rural organization does not seem to have been large; rural estates, for example, do not seem to have changed in nature and form with their coming. It is apparent that, though Normandy did develop its own regional character, most of its expansionary force dates from ca. 1050 on, when William consolidated his ducal authority. The roots of this change lay in the first half of

the eleventh century. The Church is a case in point. Monasteries were reformed under the aegis of William of Volpiano, who became abbot of Fécamp in 1001. In 1026 there were six abbeys; by 1070 there were thirty-three. These drew on the practices and personnel of the houses reformed by William. "Norman monasticism was..., in a contemporary context, highly unusual in the exceptionally coherent way in which it evolved" (218). Furthermore, these houses sought to be in touch with the latest ideas, a trait less evident in the English Church: "The specific contribution of monks to the development of the Church in Normandy was, in the early eleventh century, to bring in ideas, techniques, and organisation from neighbouring regions" (225). The Church as a whole had a close relationship with secular authority and "[i]t must be correct to think in terms of the Norman Church acquiring most of its individuality from c. 1050 onwards" (226-7). Dr. Bates does not seek to minimize the Norman achievement, but he accepts the existence of the "Norman myth." To dispel this myth, inter alia, "requires the rejection of the specific notion that the Normans possessed a special and exceptional aptitude for war" (245) and the recognition that "another supposedly innate Norman characteristic, the capacity to organise their conquests, must be regarded as the product of long experience of living in the best organised and most stable of the northern French territorial principalities" (248). This most stimulating book is essential reading for all Anglo-Saxonists who wish to understand the events of the mid-eleventh century.

e.   Post-Conquest England

Two recent surveys of post-Conquest England nicely complement one another. One is by an historian; the other, an archaeologist. M. T. Clanchy's England and Its Rulers 1066-1272: Foreign Lordship and National Identity, in the "Fontana History of England" series (London), devotes about a third of the volume to the Norman dynasty of William the Conqueror. In keeping with the style of the series, his book concentrates on the rulers of England; a separate volume by H. E. Hallam is devoted to rural England. He begins by placing England in its European context, pointing out that the English had acquired a sense of identity very early. The Normans were to build on and strengthen institutional forms such as taxation and the writ system that were already in place. He is distinctly mugwumpish when it comes to assessing the impact of the Conquest. He surveys some of the views of other historians (47-52) but avoids committing himself to a personal stance, which is perhaps a pity, though it can be justified, I suppose, on the grounds that students should learn to think for themselves. On another controversial subject, the purpose of Domesday Book, he does support R. H. C. Davis's view "that William needed the Domesday survey because the process of the conquest and redistribution of lands had been chaotic" (63). As we might expect of the author of From Memory to Written Record, he stresses the importance of records and presents the best description in brief compass of the workings of the Exchequer that I have seen (77-80).

Trevor Rowley's The Norman Heritage 1055-1200, in the series "The Making of Britain 1066-1939," has, as might be expected, a bias toward material culture. Thus, he has chapters on the castles of the Conquest, the English landscape, the towns, and forests, parks, and woodland. As is appropriate in an introductory work, he is temperate in his stance on controversial issues. For instance, he draws on H. C. Darby's fine "Domesday Geographies" but does not hesitate to mention the grounds on which the series

has been criticized (63). Nor does he shirk trying throughout the book to
assess what was the specifically Norman contribution to England. He admits
that archaeology does not reveal a dramatic change in the patterns of people's
lives after the Conquest. The Normans did, however, impose Forest Laws and,
as far as the Church was concerned, "[i]t would be impossible to exaggerate
the regenerative power of the great Benedictine Norman abbots and priors of
the first and second generation" (124). This book should appeal to students
since it is well illustrated with photographs and maps. The value of aerial
photography is admirably portrayed. The views of towns are enhanced by maps
of the same scene, enabling one to interpret the photographs. My only quibble
is with the bibliography, which lists but a single journal article. One would
have expected the former Honorary Secretary of the Council for British Archae-
ology to have listed the journals of some of the county antiquarian societies,
which have done so much over the past century and more to advance our under-
standing of English history and archaeology.

Frank Barlow's Kleine Schriften display the kind of scholarship
that many of us would like to emulate: the earliest of his papers in
The Norman Conquest and Beyond, Hambleton Press, History Series 17 (London)
was published in 1936, the year of his first academic appointment; the latest
dates from 1981--but the publication of his monograph on the Anglo-Norman
Church in 1979 and the appearance last year of his major study of William
Rufus reveals that retirement has led to no slackening in the quantity or
consistently high quality of his endeavors. The title of the volume is
slightly misleading. As the editor of the Vita Edwardi and the biographer
of that king, he has published a number of papers ancillary to those larger
works. As always, it is instructive to trace the directions of a scholar's
interests and the influence of his personal circumstances. His interest in
the sources of the Confessor's life led him on through Goscelin the hagio-
grapher to question the historicity of Cnut's alleged second pilgrimage to
Rome. ("Two Notes: Cnut's Second Pilgrimage and Queen Emma's Disgrace in
1043" [49-56]). The attention he paid to post-Conquest sources led him to
argue, in "The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio" (189-222), that this was the work
of Guy, bishop of Amiens (a view on which the jury is still out, as the notes
added in this edition indicate). His recent concentration on the life of
William Rufus brought into being a paper on "Hunting in the Middle Ages"
(11-21) (members of the Anti-Blood Sports League will be relieved to know
that his interest in the subject is only biographical and that his own hunting
proclivities are solely concentrated against those predators of the produce in
his garden). His royal biographies and his Chair at Exeter resulted in a
paper on "The Holy Crown: Medieval Kingship" (1-10) as part of an Exeter lec-
ture series celebrating Queen Elizabeth's silver jubilee; and the nine-hun-
dredth anniversary of the death of Leofric of Exeter was the occasion for his
"Leofric and His Times" (113-28). All in all, these papers have made a con-
siderable contribution to our understanding of the eleventh century in England.

Janet L. Nelson argues, in "The Rites of the Conqueror" (Proceedings
of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies IV--1981, 117-32), that
"[t]he Consecration of Christmas Day, 1066, was planned and executed to
further Norman objectives in England because it conformed to English expecta-
tions" (118). In other words, by becoming King, William legitimized his power
in the eyes of the English and thereby advanced the interests of his own fol-
lowers. The coronation service that was employed, she believes, was the
so-called Third Ordo. Her arguments, which draw on both manuscript and

literary evidence, need not be rehearsed here. Dr. Nelson presents a case for the services having been written by Archbishop Ealdred of York; certainly he could have had the opportunity to see an antecedent version of the Ordo in a visit to Cologne in 1054. She suggests that he used this Third Ordo at the coronation of Harold on 6 January 1066 (she here prefers "Florence" to William of Poitiers, who claimed that Stigand officiated), and that he used it again for William's inauguration. She furthermore argues that William's triumphant Easter celebration at Fécamp in 1067 was marked by the singing of the laudes regiae, which might originally have had the purpose of associating the Norman church with his success, but which he used later to good effect on public occasions in England. The same use of impressive ceremonial is to be seen in his regular crown-wearing, for which there is no evidence from Normandy, where monarchy was not so highly regarded. There is much that is speculative in this paper but there is an impressive marshalling of supporting evidence. It can best be evaluated by that select band, the liturgists. Sadly, John Brückmann, one of that group who is frequently cited in this study, is no longer with us.

One of the frustrations in the study of early medieval history is that we do not know the size of the population at any given time. Josiah C. Russell has devoted considerable energies over the years to the elucidation of these figures. In "The Demographic Aspects of the Norman Conquest" (Seven Studies in Medieval English History and Other Historical Essays Presented to Harold S. Snellgrove, ed. Richard H. Bowers [Jackson, MS], 3-20 and 177-80), he examines "not only the demography of the leaders of the country, but also the demography of the cities and countryside in the post-Conquest years" (3). He estimates that the total population of the ten largest towns in England in 1066 was 160,400 and the population of the whole country to have been about 1,105,000. Thus about 5.47 percent of the total population lived in the large towns. On the eve of the Black Death in 1348 this percentage dropped to 4.5—in numerical terms, only 170,000 people in the ten largest urban areas. He estimates that immigration into England after the Conquest was no higher than 65,000—"and this is probably a high estimate" (14). He believes that this invasion was responsible, however, for substantial population losses. In the boroughs, this total loss may have been 8,000 to 10,000 persons, caused in part by the building of castles. Much of the ruling class must have left: some to Byzantium, southern Italy and Scandinavia, other to Wales, Ireland and Scotland, where their presence may have promoted the growth of such cities as Glasgow. "The study of the flight of the English deserves much further study. Cursory consideration leads one to conclude that much of Anglo-Saxon England's shipping may have left permanently" (17). His very rough estimate of this emigration is 30,000, a relatively small number but representing the élite of the society. With the exception of Bristol, the Normans favored the countryside rather than the cities. This would account for the relative decline of towns and the fact that, other than London, these did not attain under the Normans the power that secondary cities on the Continent did. Professor Russell asks some interesting questions. I do, however, have some hesitations about his data. Martin Biddle and D. J. Keene, for instance, consider Winchester to have grown to its largest size in the Middle Ages in the mid-twelfth century. Excluding the St Giles Fair area, the extent of the city and suburbs was 168.8 hectares in 1148 and the population in excess of 8,000 (Winchester in the Middle Ages, pp. 484 and 440), assuming a household size of 4.5 persons. Professor Russell's estimate for Winchester in 1066 is 70-80 hectares and a population of 6,500-7,000, assuming a household

size of 3.5 persons (6). Both the figures and the conclusions drawn are thus significantly different, even when one takes the eighty-year passage of time into account.

Sally P. J. Harvey contributes to our understanding of post-Conquest economic history in "The Extent and Profitability of Demesne Agriculture in the Later Eleventh Century" in the Hilton Festschrift (45-72) by asking a question that has been begged by others. She observes that with regard to the management and cultivation of land in England "even historians who broadly agree on the twelfth-century trends start from different or obscure assumptions about the eleventh century" (46). In seeking to interpret the eleventh-century evidence, she turns to Domesday Book to see what it has to tell us about the manorial demesne. First she has to clear up some of the confusion surrounding the Domesday word firma and the associated Old English word feorm. Much of the vocabulary of Domesday Book needs to be subjected to this kind of analysis. As for the demesne itself, she uses the number of plough-teams recorded as the indicator of demesne activity. She notes the degree of variability in the ratio of demesne ploughs to peasant ploughs. Here the mean for an area is an inappropriate measure: in Buckinghamshire, for example, the ratio of demesne to peasant ploughs is approximately 1:2, yet only 24 out of the 348 manors actually display this ratio. One can discern, however, some patterns visible over several counties. Manors with the demesne close to an institution such as an abbey or the seat of a lord would, as expected, have large demesnes. Winchester and the Earl of Montgomery had such demesnes; with them went a large number of slaves. Three large royal names, Leominster, Berkeley, and Tewksbury, show that non-servile personnel such as reeves, bailiffs, and riding-knights were also needed. These are not always in evidence in the records but the sub-tenants attached to the demesne perhaps performed their functions. She feels that "[d]emesne agriculture was worthwhile when the holder was frequently in residence and could supervise it himself" (63); when the manor did not have rents of woodlands and fisheries, it was worth developing the demesne with the help of a labor force of slaves. She notes a geographic distribution of such demesnes, especially in the case of royal manors: "extensive demesnes were characteristic of royal lands largely in the west and south-west, in the north, east and south-east, royal lands provide good examples of manors which were largely due-paying centres" (63). She does not speculate on the reasons for this, but one might note their proximity to the Celtic lands of Cornwall and Wales, which through raids and conquest provided the Anglo-Saxons with a convenient pool of foreigners who could be enslaved (hence the semantic development of wealh from "foreigner" to "Celt" to "slave"). The royal manors of the east and southeast show that revenues "came not from their demesne production but from the rents of rights in meadows, pasture and woodland, the profits of jurisdiction in the hundreds attached, and the appropriation of the more independent freemen and sokemen into holders at rent within the manor" (65). This prompts her to examine peasant profit margins. She suggests that pannage dues payable by peasants must have been a highly profitable form of income for overlords, since the pig was a form of livestock well suited to a small producer. Her overall findings point to the conclusion that, in general, demesne farming was not all that attractive in the late eleventh century: it required much personnel and its profits were not so great as could be realized in other ways. To absentee Norman lords labor services were not particularly valuable, while as conquerors they could fairly readily extract rents from freeholders. This certainly provides an explanation for the

manumission of slaves, though Dr. Harvey does not go into the question of why ecclesiastical institutions were not more flexible. One might suggest that this was because of the Church's unwillingness to alienate its property (which is what slaves were). Dr. Harvey has provided a very satisfying general picture of manorial development in the late eleventh century that should prompt many detailed studies to test her well-documented hypotheses and refine them to account for local conditions.

Chris Clearman's "The Influence of the Saxon-Norman Confrontation on the Formation of the English Jury and Law Enforcement Practices" (Border-lands Jnl 5 [1982], 261-76) reads like a student's lecture notes, complete with misunderstandings, logical inconsequences, unconventional spellings, and important words underlined. A sentence taken at random, recounting the nature of Norman England, illustrates the quality of the article: "Under this aristocracy, the great masses of Anglo-Saxon commoners were divided into lesser social classes: criminals, vagabonds, yeomen, tradesmen, merchants, and gentry" (262).

Professor J. C. Holt continues his erudite series of addresses to the Royal Historical Society with "Feudal Society and the Family in Early Medieval England: II. Notions of Patrimony" (TRHS 5th ser. 33, 193-220). Here he is primarily concerned with the development of ideas of inheritance after 1066 in England. Succession comes into the discussion but is not central to it. He traces back these ideas to pre-1066 Normandy rather than to Anglo-Saxon England. His paper, therefore, will mainly be of interest to Normanists and post-Conquest legal historians.

f.   The Celtic Realms

A colloquium held in Tübingen in 1979 has resulted in a two-volume work entitled Die Iren und Europa, ed. Heinz Löwe (Stuttgart, 1982). Composite volumes of this kind are frequently like the curate's egg but this volume maintains a generally high standard, though there is inevitably some repetition. A number of papers have relevance to our understanding of Anglo-Saxon culture. The Celtic practice of peregrinatio is placed in a wider context by Arnold Angenendt in "Die irische Peregrinatio und ihre Auswirkungen auf dem Kontinent vor dem Jahr 800" (52-79). Dr. T. M. Charles-Edwards some years ago pointed out the association between Irish law and religious peregrinatio. The former prescribed two levels of exile: separation from one's tribe and expulsion from the island. The idea of separation struck resonances with the Bible, such as the injunction to separate from one's family and the call of Abraham to leave his homeland. He notes that Irish religious exiles often sought an island, both in Britain and on the Continent: Lindisfarne, Noirmoutier and Reichenau are examples. On the Continent this radical separation by water from the homeland could take a different form: the barrier of the Alps performed that function both for Europeans from north of the mountain chain and for Italians. This does not seem to be connected with the Anglo-Saxon contribution of the idea of pilgrimage to Rome—or, at least, it is not so connected in this paper. Dr. Angenendt also explores various qualifications to the main features of peregrinatio given above. The wind and the water were taken as tokens of God's commands. Thus a storm caused Egbert of Northumbria to abort his planned mission to Friesland. The separation from kindred was by no means always complete: Fursa took his brother to England and the Continent and

made him abbot of his monastery, and even returned to his family to preach
to them; Wynnebald went back to England to try to persuade members of his
family to follow him. Peregrinatio did not necessarily mean continuous
travel; one could also be a peregrinus within a monastery. This paper is
useful for its coverage of Continental sources as well as for its references
to monographs and papers in German publications.

Donald A. Bullough discusses "The Missions to the English and Picts
and Their Heritage (to c. 800)" (I, 80-98) in a paper that reveals his wide
knowledge of primary and secondary sources. He points out that "[w]ithout
Columba's establishment of a monastic community on the island of Iona...there
might have been no northern Irish element on the large Isle to consider and
assess" (81). Its impact on England became evident after Oswald regained
Northumbria in 633. Having been converted while in exile in Dalriada, Oswald
called on the assistance of Iona when he gained the throne and it responded
by sending Aidan. Unfortunately, other than the record of his death s.a. 651
in the Irish Annals, we are wholly dependent on Bede for an account of
Aidan's life. Peregrini with Irish associations were important christianizing
influences in Aidan's lifetime: Fursa went to East Anglia in the 630s, the
Gallo-Frank Agilbert, who had studied in Ireland, became the second bishop of
Wessex in 650 or 651, the clergy of Bishop Finan, Aidan's successor, worked
among the East Angles, and Cedd brought the East Saxons back into the
Christian fold. As for the Picts, the only extant Pictish text is a king
list, and the Annals have little to say about Iona's role in Pictland. Iona
itself finally adopted the Romanist views on Easter under the influence of
Egbert in 716. The process of healing the divisions between Romanist and
Scottic foundations had begun after Whitby; important in this process is
what Professor Bullough calls "the literary canonisation of Cuthbert of
Lindisfarne...in the two generations after his death in 687" (94). Cuthbert
had been brought up in the tradition of Aidan but he had accepted the Roman
forms in 664: he thus could be seen as "the great unifier" (94). We cannot
assess precisely the contribution of the Irish to England and Pictland but
he agrees with Sir Frank Stenton that they were integral to the christiani-
zation of England.

Michael Richter tries to escape the pervasive influence of Bede,
on whom we are so dependent for much of our information on the Continental
missions, in "Die irische Hintergrund der angelsächsichen Mission" (I, 120-
37). He is not altogether successful in that he undervalues Wilfrid's
missionary intentions in Frisia; he might have written on this a little
differently had he had access to Dr. Mayr-Harting's paper on Wilfrid dis-
cussed above. He points out that we have to take the artistic shape of the
Historia Ecclesiastica into account when interpreting the missions. Book I
treats of history before the Anglo-Saxon conversion. Books II-IV deal with
the christianizing of England, which reached its conclusion with Wilfrid's
conversion of the South Saxons in 690. The final book is not very satis-
factory because this unifying theme of the conversion of the English is no
longer present. Bede places great emphasis on Egbert as the initiator of
the missions. He points out that Egbert had lived as a peregrinus in Ireland
from 664 and that the conversion of the Germans was really the fulfillment
of this role. Of those who went to the Continent, Witbert, one of his com-
panions, returned to Ireland after two years among the Frisians; two priests
martyred by the Old Saxons had spent time in religious exile in Ireland;
Willibrord had also been there and was in contact with Egbert before his

departure for the Continent; and Switbert was from Willibrord's circle.
He concludes "dass man für den Beginn der Festlandsmission an einen anglo-
irischen statt einen englischen Hintergrund denken muss" (127). Peregrinatio,
especially the late development of associating missionizing with ascetism,
was an important reason for the Continental ventures and also helps explain
its inauguration: with the conversion of the South Saxons Europe offered
the opportunities for religious exile that were no longer possible in England.
He stresses how much Bede emphasizes the Roman influences on English church
history, yet Gaul, Wales, and Ireland all had an impact as well. In fact,
after 635 Irish influence was dominant and is to be seen in such things as
the pervasive forms of monasticism, insular script, and the Hisperic Latin
of Aldhelm. His conclusions offer us a corrective to Bede's portrayal:
"Schliesslich gilt es zu bedenken, dass eine strenge Scheidung zwischen
'römischem' und 'irischem' Christentum in England, die Beda so vielfältig
suggeriert, nicht der Wirklichkeit entspricht. Die Kirche in Irland war
im siebenten Jahrhundert eng mit Rom verbunden. Dass es lokale Eigenheiten
gab, darin steht die irische Kirche im Frühmittelalter nicht allein.
Umgekehrt wäre es verfehlt, die von Beda betonte Romtreue der englischen
Kirche in jener Zeit ungeprüft zu übernehmen" (137).

In an article that seems to have a higher proportion of footnotes
than text (299 notes in all), Matthias Werner discusses "Iren und Angel-
sachsen in Mitteldeutschland: zur vorbonifatianischen Mission in Hessen
und Thüringen" (I, 239-318). Earlier scholarship had felt that there were
Celtic predecessors of Boniface in Hessen. There existed, for example, in
Büraberg in the north of Hessen a parish church dedicated to St Brigid.
He offers an exhaustive survey of church dedications to St Brigid and con-
cludes that it is unlikely to have been a foundation dedicated under Irish
influence. "Für Hessen...lässt sich die vor allem von der älteren
Forschung vertretene These einer lebhaften irischen Missiontätigkeit in
vorbonifatianischen Zeit nicht bestätigen" (277). In the case of Thüringen,
older scholarship had similarly sought to add to the Frankish and Anglo-
Saxon forerunners of Boniface a third group, Irish missionaries. Through
indirect arguments they had claimed that St Kilian's mission to Würzburg
in 689x690 extended to Thüringen as well. He does not find that these
arguments hold water; the most important bearers of Christianity were the
dukedom of Radulf at the time of Dagobert I and the native aristocracy,
who were subject to Frankish influences. They were followed by Anglo-Saxon
missionary endeavors under the leadership of Willibrord at the beginning of
the eighth century. Finally, he examines the charter of Abbot Beatus of
Honau, near Strassbourg, dating from 778, in which the abbot transferred
eight churches in Mainz and Upper Hessen. In the document he gives his
property to the monastery of St Michael at Honau, its patron, and the
"pauperes et peregrinos Scotorum." This shows the presence of wandering
Irish in the Frankish realms--but we already know of St Kilian's presence
there in the previous century. He argues, however, that the charter cannot
be used to support the view that there had been an Irish-led mission to
establish an ecclesiastical organization in Hessen. Any Irish influences
lie in the spiritual training that Willibrord and Boniface had derived from
Irish sources.

"The Originality of the Early Irish Church" (JRSAI 111 [1981],
36-49) is the final public lecture of the lamented Dennis Bethell, who
dedicated it as a memorial to another scholar, Kathleen Hughes, whose death

also robbed the world of learning of one who had the potential to offer us
much more. Professor Bethell points to two cultural frontiers in Europe:
that between the Greek-speaking East and the Latin West, and that between
the Latin world and the non-Latin. The latter divided Northern Europe
from the south along a line that runs roughly from the Loire to the Alps.
Through Patrick and his followers we find the ordinary dress and language
of the Romans becoming the vestments and ecclesiastical language of a
Celtic people. The use of Latin for worship among a people who did not
speak it required in compensation ritual (the lighting of a fire on Easter
Saturday), gesture (such as genuflection--a practice, as he points out,
unknown in Rome and the East), and the composition of vernacular hymns and
devotional poems. "It is a tribute to Patrick's earnestness and zeal that
this whole programme was entirely successful" (43). This success lay in
utilizing the offspring of the rulers to become monks and nuns, thereby
ensuring the economic basis necessary to supply the parchment for a religion
of the book, and the imported wine and olives of its rituals. These monastic
centers remained under the control of the kindred in whose power landholding was
vested, and in a country without cities and towns were of considerable ser-
vice to kings as trade, craft, educational, and entertainment centers.
Roman ways had to be adjusted, of course, to Irish society, as can be seen
in the art and, in terms of future impact, more particularly in law. In a
fine couple of paragraphs, Professor Bethell points out how penance--
including that of exile--and the table of penances are in accordance with
the idea of compensation worked out by those professional arbitrators who
proceeded according to the tenets of customary law. This society was, he
insists, "very like that of other northern peoples. That is why, among
the other northern peoples, they were so immensely influential" (45).
In England this meant that "everything we know about the English mission...
suggests that the focal centre for it before 669 was not Canterbury but
Northumbria" (46), where Irish influence was significant. Indeed the
Church in northern Europe was shaped by the Irish in that it remained
primarily monastic rather than episcopal until the twelfth century. This
is a crass and inadequate summary of an elegant lecture showing deep sen-
sitivity to the implications of a wide range of sources. It is also a
ballon d'essai that invites a response from ecclesiastical historians.

Works not seen:

>Campbell, James. Essays in Anglo-Saxon History. History Series 26.
>   London.
>Scharer, Anton. Die angelsächsische Königsurkunde im 7. und 8.
>   Jahrhundert. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für österreichische
>   Geschichtsforschung 26. Vienna and Cologne, 1982.

A number of important works of 1983 have come to hand since the compilation
of the annual bibliography published in Spring 1984. Although the reviewer,
for unexpected family reasons, was not able to cover these publications,
they are listed here for the convenience of readers. It is hoped to review
them in a future issue of OEN.

>Applebaum, Shimon. "A Note on Ambrosius Aurelianus." Britannia 14, 245-6.
>Barlow, Frank. William Rufus. English Monarchs. Berkeley and
>   Los Angeles.

Barrow, Geoffrey. "Sources for the History of the Border Region in the Middle Ages." The Borders. Ed. Peter Clack and Jill Ivy. CBA Group 3. Durham. Pp. 1-7.

Bennett, Matthew. "Poetry as History? The Roman de Rou of Wace as a Source for the Norman Conquest." Anglo-Norman Stud. 5, 21-39.

Bernstein, David. "The Blinding of Harold and the Meaning of the Bayeux Tapestry." Anglo-Norman Stud. 5, 40-64.

Charles-Edwards, T. M. "Bede, the Irish and the Britons." Celtica 15, 42-52.

Corner, David. The Earliest Surviving Manuscripts of Roger of Howden's 'Cronica'." English Hist. Rev. 98, 297-310.

Darlington, R. R., and P. McGurk. "The Chronicon ex Chronicis of 'Florence' of Worcester and Its Use of Sources for English History before 1066." Anglo-Norman Stud. 5, 185-96.

Dumville, David. "Some Aspects of Annalistic Writing at Canterbury in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries." Peritia 2, 23-58.

Green, Judith. "The Sheriffs of William the Conqueror." Anglo-Norman Stud. 5, 129-45.

Gregson, Nicky. "The Multiple Estate Model: An Adequate Framework for the Analysis of Early Territorial Organization?" The Borders. Ed. Clack and Ivy. Pp. 49-79.

Hill, Thomas D. "Longinus, Charlemagne, and Oðinn: William of Malmesbury, De Gestis Regum Anglorum II, 135." Saga-Book 21, Parts 1-2 (1982-3), 80-4.

Jenkins, Dafydd. "The Medieval Welsh Idea of Law." Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis 49 (1981), 323-48.

Lebecq, Stéphane. Marchands et navigateurs frisons du haut Moyen Age. Vol. I: Essai. Préface de Michel Mollat. Vol. II: Corpus des Sources Écrites. Lille.

Mahany, Christine, and David Roffe. "Stamford: The Development of an Anglo-Scandinavian Borough." Anglo-Norman Stud. 5, 197-219.

Meaney, Audrey. "D: An Undervalued Manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle." Parergon n.s. 1, 13-38.

Muhlberger, Steven. "The Gallic Chronicle of 452 and Its Authority for British Events." Britannia 14, 23-33.

Oxley, J. "Nantwich: An Eleventh-Century Salt Town and Its Origins." Trans. of the Historic Soc. of Lancashire and Cheshire 131 (1982 for 1981), 1-19.

Smith, Ian M. "Brito-Roman and Anglo-Saxon: The Unification of the Borders." The Borders. Ed. Clack and Ivy. Pp. 9-48.

Thompson, E. A. "Zosimus 6.10.2 and the Letters of Honorius." Classical Quarterly 32 (1982), 445-62.

Wood, Ian N. The Merovingian North Sea. Occasional Papers on Medieval Topics 1. Alingsås, Sweden

D. A. E. P.

7. NAMES

The only book in this section of this year's bibliography is
N. Wrander's English Place-Names in the Dative Plural (Lund). The volume
was originally a dissertation under the supervision of G. Kristensson and,
as such, is thorough. It examines around four hundred names, about half
of which are treated as tentatively containing OE or ME dative plural forms
in -an, -am, -en, or -e. The other half are unambiguous names ending in
-um. Wrander provides lists of elements in the dative plural from OE charters,
divided into appellatives and tribal names, of elements forming place-names in
the dative plural, and of English place-names in the dative plural arranged by
counties. The book also has a place-name index and a distribution map, the
latter showing that place-names in the dative plural are found most frequently
in the northern counties. Wrander suggests that the place-names were origi-
nally OE but that they were probably reinforced by the same type of Scandina-
vian place-names used by Vikings in northern England.

There are five articles dealing with individual place-names.
O. Arngart proposes, in "The Place-Names Weybourne and Wooburn" (Jnl of the
Eng. Place-Name Soc. 15, 5-8), that both place-names mean the same thing,
i.e. "stream with a weir, mill-dam and mill pond" or a "river dam" but that
they come from different sources. He accounts for all of the attested forms
of Weybourne from *Wærburna or *Warburna by suggesting that the first r would
be subject to dissimulation and either disappear or, through Anglo-Norman
influence, be changed to l. Wooburn, on the other hand, Arngart derives from
OE *Wāhburna or *Wāgburna where OE wāh, wāg, means "wall." He then suggests
less convincingly that there might have been a wall running from one bank of
the stream to the other creating a "river dam" and thus a weir like the one
at Weybourne. In "Thurstable Revisited" (Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc. 15,
9-19), L. J. Bronnenkant rejects G. Turville-Petre's interpretation of
Thurstable deriving from þunres stapol "Thunor's pillar" and referring to the
site of a pillar sacred to the god Thunor. Instead, Bronnenkant argues that
this place-name in Essex comes from *þures stapol "Thur's pillar" where Thur
is an Anglo-Scandinavian personal name. Bronnenkant shows that there was
significant Scandinavian influence in the northeastern section of Essex where
Thurstable is located and that the loss of n before r necessary for Turville-
Petre's interpretation does not occur in other Essex place-names incorporating
the name Thunor such as the 1086 reference to Tunresleam (Thunderley).
In "The Slighting of Strensall" (Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc. 13 [1980-81],
50-53). R. Coates proposes that this place name which he reconstructs as
*Strēoneshalh for sites in Worcestershire and the North Riding of Yorkshire
and as a weak equivalent *Strēonanhalh for another site in Worcestershire
should not be derived from the personal names Strēon(a) and halh "corner,
nook" but from OE (ge)strēon "gain, the reward of labor" which by early ME
also meant "offspring" so that the name actually referred to a "begetting
corner" or "secluded spot for lovers." The same meaning would be suggested,
according to Coates, if the second reconstructed form above were the result
of confusion of strēon and strēne (-an; gen sg.), an attested form of strēowen
"bed" and thus a folk-etymologized form of the name for a "loving corner" or a
"begetting corner."

Further, in "The Origins of Baldock and Its Name" (Hertfordshire's
Past 12 [1982], 19-21), K. R. Davis rejects the "bald-oak" derivation of

this Hertfordshire place-name and supports F. Stanton's contention that
Baldock was founded in the twelfth century by the Knights Templar and that
the name itself is the Old French form of Baghdad. However, Davis notes
that there was an old Romano-British town just east of the present site and
wonders if it had disappeared completely by the time the Knights Templar
established the present town or whether they were building on an already-
existing proto-Baldock. The location of Baldock in the junction of the
Icknield Way with three other Roman roads upon which the traffic would have
continued to flow even after the Roman times suggests that a small town might
well have survived to serve travelers, perhaps as a subsidiary of Weston manor.
In "The Place-Name Hindrelac" (Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc. 15, 3-4),
V. Watts suggests a probable etymology for this place-name in the North Riding
of Yorkshire, now the site of Richmond. Watts argues convincingly that
Hindrelac means "the hind's clearing, glade, or woods" where the -re- is a
reflex of the ON genitive singular -ar inflection on ON hind "female deer"
and the -lac is a variant of the OE lēah found in other northern place-names
in the Domesday Book which he explains as an Anglo-Norman pronunciation of
the late Northumbrian lāh, shortened in the final syllable.

D. Hooke has two topographical articles in this year's bibliography.
In "Burial Features in West Midland Charters" (Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name
Soc. 13 [1980-81], 1-39), she examines pre-Conquest charters and boundary
clauses from Worcestershire, Warwickshire, and Gloucestershire for reference
to burial sites in order to help date the time of the origin of such features
of archaeological interest. Hooke shows that OE beorg and hlǣw or hlāw as
well as Primitive Welsh crüg were used more frequently than previously
believed to refer to specific burial features such as mounds or tumuli rather
than to refer to just natural hills. She lists the place-names with each of
the three elements and includes seven maps at the end of the article. In
"'Landscape History' and Current Trends in Landscape Studies" (Jnl of the
Eng. Place-Name Soc. 15, 33-52), Hooke reviews the first two volumes of
Landscape History, the journal of the Society for Landscape Studies, and
provides a short history of the work of landscape historians in the twentieth
century. She cites the "Domesday Geographies" under the direction of H. C.
Darby and the "Agrarian Histories" under the leadership of R. H. Tawney and
H. P. R. Finberg as indications of the growing recognition that landscape
history must be approached from a multi-disciplinary point of view combining
both history and geography (and sometimes archaeology and economics). Of
course, the place-name scholars and the landscape historians now appreciate
the work done by people in the other field because they have been using the
studies done by the other scholars since the EPNS began the systematic analy-
sis of place-names county by county nearly sixty years ago. However, his-
torians and archaeologists have been the primary scholars dealing with land-
scape history in the last twenty years and, after having found more "lost"
settlement sites, are now getting back to trying to determine when and why
such settlements were made. Meanwhile, major place-name scholars have been
applying geographical techniques to the study of place-names for nearly
thirty years. Hooke's review of Landscape History, volume 1, which includes
nine papers presented at the first annual conference of the Society for
Landscape Studies at Leeds in 1979, concludes that it does a good job of
collecting together in one place a discussion of various techniques used
by scholars in different disciplines in their study of the landscape but
that it provides little new information while summarizing the present state

of the study of landscape history. M. Faull's paper, "The Use of Place-Names in Reconstructing the Historic Landscape: illustrated by Names from Adel Township," is cited as an example of how place-name study is an essential part of the interdisciplinary approach needed in the contemporary study of landscape history. Hooke is even more laudatory in her review of volume 2 of Landscape History since the articles in the second volume make new contributions to the study of landscape history as well as continuing the multi-disciplinary approach. She concludes her long article by pointing out the obvious fact that the study of landscape history and the study of place-names are clearly interconnected disciplines because the names of places often reflect the impressions that the earlier inhabitants had of the particular landscapes which they named.

In "A Celtic Dialect Line in North-West England" (Studia Celtica 16-17 [1981-82], 175-82), G. P. Cubbin argues on the basis of place-name evidence from Lancashire, Cumberland, Worcestershire, and Cheshire that a regional variant of Brittonic developed during the end of the Celtic occupation of the West Pennine area in which the Brittonic t became similar to a /θ/ and was so pronounced by the Anglo-Saxons in Celtic loans such as Penrith whose second element derives from Brittonic *rit- and Culgaith whose second element derives from Brittonic *kaito-. The weakest part of Cubbin's argument is that the th spellings are not recorded until ME, rather than in OE.

G. Fellows Jensen reviews R. McKinley's The Surnames of Lancashire (London, 1981) and R. W. Morris's Yorkshire Through Place Names (Newton Abbot, 1982) in "Lancashire and Yorkshire Names" (Northern Hist. 19, 231-37). Having been educated in Manchester, Fellows Jensen is particularly interested in the first book and generally concurs with McKinley's observations, including the fact that locative surnames are more important in Lancashire than any other type of hereditary surnames although hereditary surnames from patronymics increased in the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries. Fellows Jensen praises McKinley's genealogical approach to surnames, particularly his citing of alternative interpretations and his recognition that the derivation of the surname in one area may not be the same as the derivation for the "same" name in another area. On the other hand, Fellows Jensen considers Morris's book readable but not reliable, praising his discussion of place-names in light of the geographical background, his description of the scenery of Yorkshire, and his use of sketch maps, but faulting him for misunderstanding of linguistic and onamastic evidence and for being unfamiliar with recent scholarship, including that of Fellows Jensen.

In "The Runic Inscriptions of Monte S. Angelo (Gargano)" (Academiae Analecta: Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, 45, no. 1, 97-130), R. Derolez and U. Schwab discuss the OE personal name Eadrhid saxso found among the Latin inscriptions from the seventh to the ninth centuries on the "Ruler's Pillar" in the excavations of the oldest parts of the sanctuary of the Archangel Michael of Monte Sant'Angelo on the Gargano promontory on the eastern coast of Italy. They offer several inconclusive interpretations for the spelling of this particular name. The runic inscriptions referred to in the title are four names which the authors argue are also OE from the late seventh to the middle of the ninth centuries.

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Derolez and Schwab make a convincing case for her͡eber͡ehct, wigfus, and herræd being OE, but the fourth inscription, the remaining parts of which they transcribe as s mægu or s mægy, is too incomplete for them to label it OE definitively.

Work not seen:

Fellows Jensen, G. "Scandinavian Settlement in England: the Place-Name Evidence." Nordboer i Danelagen. Ed. H. Bekker-Nielsen and H. F. Nielsen, Odense, 1982. Pp. 9-32.

J. D. C.

8.   ARCHAEOLOGY AND NUMISMATICS

     a.   General

          David A. Hinton's *Twenty-five Years of Medieval Archaeology
(Department of Prehistory and Archaeology, Sheffield and the Society for
Medieval Archaeology) is an essential book.   P. Rahtz and Richard Hodges
there urge a reconsideration of old standards and practice in two essays
on "New Approaches to Medieval Archaeology"; they propose that investi-
gators should work more in terms of "morphological, anthropological,
ecological and geophysical paradigms" (p. 14, quotation from David Clarke).
The Introduction to the volume comments, perhaps wryly--"New Archaeology
has not been without its opponents," even among young field archaeologists.
Tania M. Dickinson has a much easier though somewhat more thorny path in
her account of *"Anglo-Saxon Archaeology: Twenty-five Years On" (33-47).
She admits to less experience in later Anglo-Saxon antiquity, but despite
this her brief and lucid paper is essential reading for anyone who wants
to survey the field.   Peter Sawyer accomplishes a great deal in his very
brief essay on *"English Archaeology Before the Conquest--A Historian's
View" (44-47).   We should not depend on anecdotal information from
archaeologists in mid-dig; the incredibly slack discipline in publication--
all too frequently non-publication--of sites must be improved.   Absolute
dating techniques are more satisfying.   Sawyer points to two instances in
which dendrochronology has resulted in radical changes in thinking.   The
Danevirke was erected long before the reign of Gotfred, and the ship from
Askarr--dated much earlier by typology--is actually a product of the
tenth century.   Most important of all, Sawyer points out that the dating
and authority of even the few dates in "literature" or "history" have
been called into question.   Cross-disciplinary research stands very much
in danger of circular argument, and the uncritical acceptance of one or
another can lead to disaster.

          Leslie Alcock reviews *"The Archaeology of Celtic Britain,
Fifth to Twelfth Centuries A.D." (48-66).   He points to the great diffi-
culties in dating by pottery or C 14 dates, and stresses the astonishing
accuracy of dendrochronology.   Only crannogs (artificial islands, common
in Celtic tradition) can yield appropriate timbers, and these have been
much neglected for a hundred years.   In his conclusions, Alcock holds that
there is a great deal of continuity from sub-Roman Britain to pagan
England.   He also stressed the unfortunate lack of communication between
Anglo-Saxon and Celtic studies even in the conference which produced his
paper: instead of solos, Alcock would have preferred "harmonious duets."
Mrs. Alcock contributes an important bibliography to the essay.   Wendy
Davies provides *"A Historian's View of Celtic Archaeology" (67-73)
which is a must for all students of the early Middle Ages.   She surveys
the information base and state of Celtic history, and provides a list of
questions which need to be answered.   John Hurst provides a useful sum-
ming up, with a brief account of the founding of the Society and Journal
for Medieval Archaeology.

          Richard Hodges and David Whitehouse lay to rest the Pirenne
thesis in an information-packed and weighty little volume under the
title *Mohammed, Charlemagne and the Origins of Europe.   The book is
particularly useful because it deals with the whole of the early medieval

world, rather than a British Isles point of view. In the course of the
introductory chapters the methodology of "New Archaeology" is clearly
defined. The chapter on "The Abbasid Caliphate" is particularly refreshing,
for we get a much fuller understanding of Ibn Fadlan's mission, of which
only the account of a Rus burial is generally known. A crude synopsis of
the four hypotheses presented in their conclusion runs as follows:

1)   "The Roman social, political and economic systems
did not collapse completely in the early fifth
century; Mediterranean civilization persisted
until the sixth century" (169).

2)   The Carolingians were isolated, but they were
not totally cut off, for "a world empire was
replaced by a patchwork of chiefdoms or ranked
societies, which in the seventh and eighth
centuries formed fluid polities" (171).

3)   During the period in question, the Carolingians
increased production in pottery, glass, and
querns.

4)   "By removing the critical role of Islam in the
Mediterannean in the formation of early medieval
Europe we have demolished one of the planks with
which Pirenne constructed his historical model.
We might therefore conclude that both Mohammed
and Charlemagne were products of the collapse of
Rome. That Islam was interested in the Roman
Empire is improbable, but Charlemagne and his
court were transfixed by the world of antiquity.
We might, therefore, regard the creation and
subsequent collapse of Charlemagne's empire as
a vital force in the making of the Middle Ages.
The ninth-century collapse, in particular,
proved to be the catalyst to dramatic changes
which have ultimately conditioned our world.
In the shadow of Charlemagne the towns and
villages of medieval Europe were founded and
a new economic strategy was launched."

But this summary does not fully deal with this important book,
which is must reading for the understanding of the early medieval world.

Michel Parisse has produced an extremely beautiful volume
*The Bayeux Tapestry: An XI Century Document (Paris). The tapestry is
presented in two crisp double foldouts and almost every feature of the
"document" is discussed in conjunction with the first-rate line drawings.
The author uses a plural first personal pronoun, presumably including the
illustrators, J. Thouvenin and Christophe Parisse. They propose an
unusual perspective on the tapestry, one which in the opinion of this
reviewer works very well indeed:

The study which you are going to read now differs from
the preceding ones in two ways: it includes illustrations
from early drawings of the narrative, allowing a more
careful analysis of the narrative and its documentary
aspect; secondly, we intend to analyse the structure
and the action of the narrative using cinematographic
techniques. This "comic strip," as we could call it,
is much more than that. It links its scenes together
in a completely original way.

Richard Morris provides a stimulating treatment of *The Church
in British Archaeology (CBA Research Report 47), offering "a discussion
of the academic purpose of the archaeological study of churches" (vii).
A most impressive wheel-of-fortune-like diagram (p. 20) sets forth what
can be recovered from churches as archaeological sites. The treatment
is intended to be comprehensive: a short history of church archaeology
in Britain is provided in the opening chapter, and Appendix I is a
review of church archaeology in Britain, 1955-80.

While "no building which can be unequivocally identified as a
Roman British church has yet been found" (p. 12), the list of villas
which are Christian or "potentially crypto-Christian" art at Roman villas
is long, and increasing. Morris describes this evidence as "substantial,
though far from overwhelming" (p. 17). As for the period from 400-700,
Morris sets his doubts clearly in the chapter heading dealing with this
period, "Coincidence and Continuity" (p. 19). In sum, the book is a must
for all interested in any aspect of the development of the Christian
church in Britain. The losses and the lacunae in the archaeological
record are dramatically presented in the 1823 drawing of Eccles Next the
Sea Norfolk, and the photograph of the vestiges of the structure left to
us today, mere traces in the sand. These serve as the front and back
cover the book.

Another excellent book on churches is P. F. Ryder's Saxon
Churches in South Yorkshire (Barnsley: South Yorkshire County Council,
1982); (£1.20 by sea, £5.25 by air) available from South Yorkshire County
Council, County Council Offices, John Vernon House, 70 Vernon Road,
Worsbrough Bridge, Barnsley, South Yorkshire S70 5LH. The text is
clear, the drawings first-rate and the churches are fascinating, parti-
cularly St. Peter's Conisburgh (which had its origin as an eighth-century
minster), and what are described as "overlap" churches, having Saxon and
Norman features. In addition to full treatment of seven churches, there
is a gazeteer, with brief but illuminating descriptions. A final chapter
deals with Pre-Conquest Sculpture in South Yorkshire; some two dozen frag-
ments remain, divided among fourteen different churches. This successful
report could and should serve as a model for local publications: while it
cannot be described as elegant, both text and drawings are much better
than those in some major series such as the useful and important BAR
series, which on occasion has had less than adequate illustrations.

W. and K. Rodwell provide us with a fascinating and broadly-based
piece, "St. Peter's Church, Barton-Upon-Humber: Excavation and Structural
Study, 1978-81" (Ant. J. 62 [1982], 283-315). The history of the site from
prehistoric times through to the nineteenth century is covered, and site,

use, architecture and structural details are all treated in detail. Over thirteen hundred graves were excavated, from Early Saxon to at least the eighteenth century. Remarkable coffins of the Saxon period survived. Five of these are "clinker built," i.e., made with iron clenches and roves, like the Sutton Hoo ship. The boards (probably bark-boards) were very thin, circa 15 mm. One of the coffins may have been triangular in form. The late Saxon Church is of very great interest, and was studied stone by stone. Wood is occasionally used in the structure, as in the oak slab in the double-splay window in the west wall. For a fascinating introduction to Christian Anglo-Saxon England, this is a first-rate study.

George Jobey has a fitting tribute in *Settlement in North Britain 1000 BC-AD 1000 (ed. J. C. Chapman and H. C. Mytum, BAR British Series 118). Chapman provides a most useful introductory survey, in which the important shift of world power "from the near eastern heartlands with their circum-scribed environmental resources toward temperate Europe, whose more uniform soils with higher mean arable potential, were capable of supporting higher population densities" (i).

Julian Bennett writes on *"The End of Roman Settlement in Northern England" (205-220), starting with the very clear admission that "There is virtually no evidence available for the subject" (205). While "There is good botanical evidence that settlement continued adjacent to Hadrian's Wall after the formal end of Roman administration" (213), the indigenes were "little affected by the Roman invasion and occupation, which brought about, for a relatively short period, an intensification of agriculture and the importation of a settlement pattern based on a number of small, but nucleated, population centers" (219). Eleanor Scott writes on *"Romano-British Wheat Yields" (221-232), based on the work done on the Butser experimental Iron Age farm. This farm yields in excess of one ton per acre without fertilizer, but 3 tons with fertilizing enrichment. Earlier commentators have estimated yields of 2-3 cwt to 11.5 cwt per acre. This revised estimate on the basis of practical experi-ments has far reaching implications. We must now entertain notions of higher population, and we now understand how the economy supported vast amounts of beer. Rosemary Cramp reviews "Anglo-Saxon Settlement" (263-298), discussing the burials, sacred and secular sites and place-name evidence. She proposes that a number of new sites be undertaken, as "We are only at the beginning of the discovery of the varied types of sites which can occur in Anglian Northum-bria and are a very long way from the determination of their social hierarchy or morphological development" (282).

No fewer than four very useful studies of pre-Conquest sculpture are found in *Studies in Medieval Sculpture, edited by F. H. Thompson (Occasional Paper [New Series], III, Society of Antiquaries, London). George Zarnecki reminds us that "Medieval art in England has suffered more from deliberate destruction as a result of religious conflict than in any other country." Therefore Zarnecki tells us, "It requires a certain sophistication to appreciate and enjoy such mutiliated pieces" (cxi).

Rosemary Cramp served as chairperson for the pre-Conquest group, and in that capacity she provided an interesting overview, stressing what has been accomplished, including the new Corpus under her editorship, and pointing out what problems are still unsolved: "the origins and continental

links with Anglo-Saxon sculpture; the reason why there seems to be a
fruitful interchange and stimulation of new ideas involving Northumbria
and its Celtic neighbors but not Wessex and its Celtic neighbors; the
development of regional schools, and the nature of their patronage" (p. 2).
Following the lead of Richard Bailey who discovered that Anglo-Saxon
sculptors used templates to lay out their carving, Nancy Edwards provides
*"Some Observations on the Layout and Construction of Abstract Ornament
in Early Christian Irish Sculpture" (3-17). Edwards makes the following
points:

> It seems possible to demonstrate the importance of
> constructional grids to the successful planning of
> a scheme of geometric ornament. Secondly, unlike
> the Northumbrian sculptural interlace, which seems
> to have been constructed exclusively on a horizontal/
> vertical grid of squares (Adcock 1974), these three
> groups of Irish sculpture seem to have made use of
> both horizontal/vertical and diagonal constructional
> grids. Thirdly, it is possible to show that, within
> a group, monuments may be linked not only by their
> repertoire of ornament but also by the dimensions of
> the constructional grids used for their execution.
>
> The importance of constructional grids to the
> successful planning of geometric ornament is best
> shown by examining the layout and decoration of the
> North Cross, Ahenny. The sculptor's mastery of
> design may be illustrated by the complex spiral
> patterns which form the background ornament round
> the bosses on the crosshead on the east face (pl. Ia).
> Kilbride-Jones (1937, 394), in his study of the Tara
> brooch, was certain that such a skilful piece of
> metalwork, must have been planned in advance 'on
> paper' and Robert Stevenson (1955, 113) has also
> suggested this with reference to the sudden appear-
> ance of the early Class II monuments of Pictland
> in their fully fledged state. A similar sense of
> forethought must account for the confidence with
> which this spiral design is executed.

For example, the North Cross, Ahenny "has been planned on a horizontal/
vertical grid of squares.... The distance between these grid lines is
approximately 2.5 cm and the distance may be called the "unit measure"
(p. 50).

Dominic Tweddle writes on the very important group of "Anglo-
Saxon Sculpture in South-East England Before c. 950" (18-40). Tweddle
re-evaluates the important drum-built round-shaft cross from Reculver,
which he sees as close in design and decoration to early tenth-century
material, most particularly the Athelstan Psalter and the St. Cuthbert
stole and maniple. The Reculver monument, Tweddle further proposes, has
marked Carolingian influence. The Ballye-Dingnbat cross is not mentioned
in his account. Jeffrey K. West discusses "A Carved Slab Fragment from
St. Oswald's Priory, Gloucester" (41-53). Current excavations on this
site have yielded a very large collection of carved stones. The fragment
in question can be either part of a piece of church furniture, or a grave
slab. It too has affinities with the Cuthbert relics, in this instance

the second maniple, and also with Barnack fragments, and the Alfred Jewel. His conclusion is exciting:

> In view of the similarities between the decoration of
> the St. Oswald's slab and the Cuthbert embroideries,
> it is interesting to speculate on their possible sig-
> nificance. The familial relationship between
> Aethelflaed, founder of.St. Oswald's, and Aelfflaed
> who commissioned the embroideries, suggests in the
> light of the comparisons drawn between the slab and
> the second maniple that they also shared a common
> artistic taste. Admittedly both pieces employ foliate
> motifs in common with other early tenth-century objects
> and yet the second maniple displays the earliest
> extant use of the eastern derived blossom known to
> me in English ornament. The inclusion of such an
> innovatory motif in the decoration of the Gloucester
> slab suggests, if not a direct connection between
> these works, then a common source of ornamental motifs
> which may in all probability be attributed to work-
> shops associated with these two patrons. One might
> perhaps air the largely overlooked suggestion made
> by C. F. Battiscombe in the publication of the Relics
> of St. Cuthbert, that the embroideries might alter-
> natively be attributed to Aethelflaed of Mercia, even
> though no documentary evidence can be cited to demon-
> strate that Aethelflaed either used, or was referred
> to, by the name Aelfflaed, embroidered into the end
> panels of the stole and the first maniple.

James Lang provides an important addendum, "Recent Studies in the Pre-Conquest Sculpture in Northumbria" (177-189), reviewed last year from an undated offprint.

Two new Shire Archaeology guides are available, Miranda Green's *The Gods of Roman Britain, and Rosemary Margaret-Luff's *Animal Remains in Archaeology. Green's piece stresses the heavy Celtic influence on Roman life in Britain, and provides an extremely useful survey of Christian material in Roman contexts. Luff's work provides a few interesting insights on the Anglo-Saxon period--Viking Buckquay (Orkney) yielded bones of the red seabream, now limited to Mediterranean contexts; this is probably an indication of higher sea temperatures in the early medieval period. Some Danish wools are finer than Roman wools. This should not surprise us, as some of the Sutton Hoo wools were so fine that they were identified as silks until microscopic analysis was undertaken.

George Henderson of Cambridge gave the third Garmonsway memorial lecture in York, under the title *"Losses and Lacunae in Early Insular Art," and the lecture was published as number 3 in the University of York Mono- graph Series for 1982. The list is staggering. We have no decorative and valuable book cover remaining. Many of the stone crosses were lost to us very early on, re-used as building stones; those which remained suffered the furious visitations of the seventeenth-century iconoclasts. Samuel Pepys had a collection of manuscripts, and was sent a snippet of Durham

A. II. 17., as a fragment to add to his collection. Save for one or two
pieces such as the Canterbury Gospels, Dr. Henderson tells us "almost
everything imported [into England] has passed into oblivion." Dr. Henderson
surveys the splendid remains of codices purpuri, and views these as late
examples of imperial taste. He goes on to speculate: "One wonders how far
gold and garnet regalia like the Sutton Hoo epaulets and sword mounts
fulfilled this taste for aurum et purpura" (p. 25). A large part of the
paper speculates on what might have been in the manuscripts lost to us,
with suggestions worked out on the basis of surviving examples. The
recently discovered St. Ninian's Island hoard provides light on manuscript
traditions, as Dr. Henderson proposes. His final point is positive and
looks toward the archaeologists to provide new finds which "increase our
appreciation of the beauty and variety of Celto-Saxon art" (p. 31).

When Ernst Kitzinger brought out his *Early Medieval Art in 1940,
it was an essential introduction to a problematic period. The third
edition, reworked in some parts by David Buckton, is as valuable. The most
successful part of the book in this reviewer's opinion is the way in which
the transition from classic ("Naturalistic") art to early medieval
("stylized, non-representational") is dealt with. At least some artists
in the first and second centuries were making stylized and schematic pieces,
and such objects as the limestone tombstone from Carthage, had already
proceeded to stylization. The transformation was in large part internal,
and "was largely the result of a complete transformation within the Roman
empire" (p. 20). The point is made more clearly on p. 24; sub-antique art
had clear development of the supposedly "medieval" tendency for art to be
didactic, and oriented toward the spectator.

> The rigid solemnity [inherent in some sub-antique
> compositions] eventually materialised in the figures
> of Christ in Majesty enthroned over the porches of
> Medieval cathedrals. The motionless impersonal
> faces monotonously arrayed in the upper zone of our
> carving had as their successors the rows of saints
> in Medieval paintings and reliefs. Roman art of
> the third and fourth centuries initiated this move-
> ment, and therein lies its greatest significance.
> It should be noted that the decisive turn took place
> at a time when there was still very little Christian
> art. Classical art became 'medieval' before it
> became Christian: the new creed was not a primary
> cause of the change. The art which the Christians
> took over from their pagan contemporaries was
> already on its way towards the Middle Ages.

The chapter on the success of Carolingian art, both in its search
for naturalism and contradictory respect for and use of abstract ornament,
is brilliant; sadly, the assessment of ninth-century art in England is not
at all in accord with recent research, which tells us of strength and con-
tinuity in stone sculpture and manuscripts:

> Carolingian art had not found a ready response in
> Anglo-Saxon England, and the arrival of the Danes

had meant that for nearly a century English art had con-
sisted of a mixture of debased Carolingian motifs and
Scandinavian animal ornament, found on the West Saxon
crosses of the period, for instance. It is difficult
to say why the flame was so suddenly kindled in the
late tenth century; while St. Dunstan's monastic reforms
had prepared the ground, they do not account for the
artistic invention which, within little more than a
decade, evolved a new and original style so mature and
elaborate that it would seem to have been the result
of a long and gradual development.

There is a wonderful first reported in one of the most recent
volumes of East Anglian Archaeology: The Archaeology of Witton, near
North Walsham, Norfolk (A. J. Lawson, et al., EAA 18, available through
the Norfolk Archaeological Unit, Union House, Gressenhall, Dereham,
Norfolk NR 20 4DR). The site is extraordinarily rich, with substantial
evidence of early use (late stone age, for example, has yielded more than
1,600 artifacts) through the early and late Saxon strata. Important as
the evidence is, the mode of its discovery, recording and preservation is
more so, for the farmer who owned and tilled the land has been field
walking and recovering material from his land since 1960. The authors
of the present report make clear their great debt to John Owles, and see
his work as the first archaeological survey carried out by a farmer, inso-
far as eastern England is concerned. This work is most important, for a
number of important sites (the environs of Sutton Hoo included) have
suffered from a less enlightened appreciation of archaeology by landowners.

As a perspective on the nature of conflict between Christian
kingdoms, Jan Hallenbeck's study of *Pavia and Rome: The Lombard Monarchy
and the Papacy in the Eighth Century (trans., The American Philosophical
Society 72, part 4, 1982) is invaluable. There was conflict between the
papacy and civil authority throughout the period; it is clear that strife
did not always begin with Viking attacks.

b.   Scandinavian, pre- to post-Viking

F. Donald Logan's study of *The Vikings in History is valuable
in that it covers the topic very broadly indeed, and because the author
writes with concision. The problem with the book stems from the range of
the work, for there is little that is new in fact or perspective, and
there are very great assumptive jumps in the presentation of evidence.
It is hard to posit an appropriate audience for such a book, though it
will perhaps be useful as a general introduction for undergraduates, if
they will follow up with more detailed analysis of the major questions
raised but not answered in Logan's book.

Marten Krogstad and Erik Schia provide a useful *Vandring i
Gamlebyen for Oslo (1982). Not much of Viking Oslo is left, save for the
earliest stages of St. Clement's.

James Graham-Campbell gives us *"An Unpublished Gold Finger-Ring
of Viking-Age Date from the Isle of Skye, and New Light on the 1850 Sky
Hoard" (Proc. Soc. Antiquaries of Scotland, 111 [1982], 568-70).

He discusses the ring as part of an assemblage of "three hoards and three single-finds of silver and gold (to which might possibly be added the Hebridean hoard of gold finger-rings) [which] together constitute a notable concentration of such wealth and form a significant amount of the small body of archaeological evidence that is known for the Norse presence in Skye, most recently reviewed in part by Small (1976)" (p. 570).

R. Avent and V. Evison provide an important survey of a singularly unappealing class of object, "Anglo-Saxon Button Brooches" (Archaeologia 107 [1982], 77-125). Åberg in 1926 knew nineteen such brooches; the present authors survey 118. All show a stylized face, very often chubby; it is not certain whether their figure is pagan or Christian. The majority of these objects are cast in bronze and gilt, though one example from Mucking is cast in silver. The conclusions drawn about these brooches are fascinating and important, as light is provided on a cross-cultural exchange:

> This investigation has shown that the form of button
> brooch was introduced to this country by Saxons arriving
> via the Icknield Way and the Thames in the early part of
> the fifth century, and production continued for a time
> in a desultory manner in the upper Thames area, Wilt-
> shire, Hampshire, Sussex and Kent. Towards the end of
> the century technique improved and the maximum produc-
> tion spread to Kent, where contact was made with effi-
> cient local craftsmen and newly arrived influences from
> south Scandinavia. The area of distribution in the
> fifth century is the same as that noted for the quoit
> brooch style buckles and brooches, and the comparably
> high standard of craftsmanship, together with the use
> of the same stamps, suggests that the button brooches
> could have been a line taken up by the quoit brooch
> makers in the fifth century and continued at the same
> centres into the sixth century when the more Roman
> forms and techniques were abandoned. These products
> were of excellent quality and some were exported to
> France. By the middle of the sixth century production
> of this line stopped as the new fashion came in for
> larger and more sumptuous jewelled disc brooches.

Another Evison contribution is equally interesting. Contact and possible trade and/or limited exchange of goods is also evidenced by the distribu-tion of "Anglo-Saxon Glass Claw-beakers" (Archaeologia 107 [1982], 43-76). Professor Evison reviews all the instances of this object, which found its origin in Roman glasses decorated with stylized dolphins. There is evi-dence of a Scandinavian connection in these objects:

> The present evidence...suggests that Kent was a source
> in the middle of the seventh century, and as the only
> other claw-beakers which belong to later contexts were
> found in Sweden and are developed from Kentish types,
> it follows that there must be some kind of connection
> between the two countries. As there are no examples
> of late seventh-century Kentish products, it is a
> plausible thesis that the Valsgärde glasses were

imported from England, or alternatively that it was
the craftsman himself who emigrated. One or the
other must surely be true, as some of the slightly
earlier Swedish claw-beakers have all the Kentish
characteristics, and should be imports (57).

There is a much more significant inference on the basis of these
objects in Evison's conclusion:

> In this scantily documented period we have perhaps
> been misled once more by inferences drawn from historical
> record, for the main reason for assuming that there
> was no glass production in pagan Anglo-Saxon England
> was the record that craftsmen had to be sought abroad
> for the making of glass in Northumbria in the seventh
> and eighth centuries. However, there is no need to
> assume from this Northumbrian deficiency that there
> were no craftsmen in Kent, a point which has been
> emphasized by Dr. Harden. Further, comparisons show
> that an earlier assumption that there is an overall
> similarity in the claw-breakers and no particular
> difference between Anglo-Saxon and continental types
> is patently not true (59).

In an important article not noticed before, S. C. Hawkes and
Mark Pollard study *"The Gold Bracteates from Sixth-Century Anglo-Saxon
Graves in Kent, in the Light of a New Find from Finglesham" (FS 15 [1981],
316-70). The extent of Scandinavian influence they find is very great
indeed, and they "detect in Anglian England in the sixth century a Nordic
'look' so pervasive and dominant, that it is hard to explain except as the
result of an actual immigration from West Scandinavia" (p. 317). What is
more, some gold bracteates seem to have been re-exported to the continent,
as the cemetery from Herouvillette (near Caen) yielded one such piece from
the same mould as one from Sarre (Kent) grave 90, and another bracteate
from (?) Canterbury.

The full extent of the influence from Scandinavia is made clear
in their conclusion (352):

> We have seen that the first gold bracteates in Kent
> were brought by aristocratic settlers of Jutlandic
> ancestry, and that they, throughout the first half of
> the sixth century, continued to acquire more of these
> evidently precious amulets, until the Jutlandic pro-
> duction ceased with the failure of the gold supply.
> We have noticed how examples of the elegant and coher-
> ent early Jutland Group I bracteates were treasured
> amongst Kent's aristocratic families in the sixth
> century. And it must be obvious that the renaissance
> of the gold bracteates in Kent, at the end of the
> sixth century, with animal ornament now in Style II,
> was not just an artistic whim but a response to a
> genuine demand for them from the leading families in
> the kingdom. The strength of the bracteate tradition

in Kent says much for the strength of the Scandinavian
connexion, which survived the 'Frankish Phase' and
found new expression in the seventh century. After
all, Kentish Style II also had its origins in Scandi-
navia, so the Kentish bracteates are northern in design
as well as spirit.

Vera Evison studies "Some Distinctive Glass Vessels of the Post-Roman
Period" (Journal of Glass Studies, 25, 87-93). A recently discovered single
blown claw of emerald-green glass found at Loveden, Lines, parallels in color
and style glass beakers from Gotland and Pavíken has a distinctive blue beaker
which parallels Kentish materials so closely that it is to be explained either
by export, or perhaps migration of a skilled glass blower. Recently discovered
glass from Brundon in Suffolk that parallels Valsgärde grave goods leads
Professor Evison to postulate that what we have is English export of glass to
Sweden. Her conclusion, based on the disposition of glass (much of it as yet
unpublished) appears to the present reviewer to be conclusive (92-3):

> ...other recent work is beginning to show that the
> British Isles were not merely a marketing area for
> glasses manufactured on the Continent during this
> period. Indications are that some types of glass
> vessel--e.g., the Kempston-type cone beaker and also
> claw beakers--were made in Kent from the fifth century
> onward. By the seventh century new and brighter colors
> were evident in the claw beakers, other vessels, and
> window glass. While England participated fully in the
> widespread market for polychrome glass common to north-
> western Europe and Scandinavia in this later period,
> there is evidence for the persistence of at least a
> proportion of independent, insular production. Some of
> this work and the innovations may be due to the setting
> up of seasonal industry in the summer months by a glass-
> blower and his assistants transferring activities from
> northwestern Europe or even further afield, but continu-
> ity of products from the fifth to seventh century indi-
> cates an early and definite Anglo-Saxon participation in
> the business.

Karl Hauck provides us with a thought-provoking study of what may
be called the iconography and iconology of pre-Christian Scandinavia in
"Dioskuren in Bildzeugnissen des Nordens vom 5. bis zum 7. Jahrhundert.
Zur Ikonologie der Goldbrakteaten, XXVIII. Jahrbuch des Römisch-germanischen
Zentral-museums Mainz 30, 435-64. A wide range of materials is examined,
from early bracteates and incised stones to the later examples in Vendel
culture, and decorative elements in the Sutton Hoo burial. The present
reviewer is not convinced by the precise explications of the symbolism in
these compositions, but at a more general level Hauck definitely links
together decorations and motifs throughout Scandinavia which are very signi-
ficant evidence of cultural range; valuable insights are given us in his
summary comments, as in this summation of the evidence on the centrally
important island of Gotland:

Unsere Auswertung der Dioskurenmotive der frühen
Bildsteine in ihrem Programmkontext erhellt, daB
sie auch da zum himmlischen Gefolge des Kriegs-
und Totengottes zu rechnen sind. Die Götternamen
die sich auf Gotland in sakralen Ortsnamen erhalten
haben, bereiten uns nicht auf diese Einsicht vor,
da sie sich offenbar aus anderen Zeitschichten her-
leiten, als aus jener Epoche, in der Götterfürst
auf Gotland zumindest in der Gräbersymbolik der
Bildstein überaus erfolgreich war. Daher is es
bedeutsam, daß auf der großen Insel im 5. und 6.
Jahrhundert goldene Gotterbild-Amulette entstanden,
die ebenso an der Ikonographie der sudskandinavischen
zentralen Kultorte teilhaben, wie Sondervarianten
aufweisen und dort langer und eigenartiger fortdauern
als anderwärts (449).

Hauck treats motifs and figures from the Sutton Hoo find, linking
them with materials from Kent and from Scandinavia. His conclusion takes a
very broad perspective indeed:

Die hier analysierte Beispielauswahl von Dioskuren-
bildern des Nordens wurzelt in der Epoche der
römisch-germanischen Symbiose, die Konstantin d. Gr.
intensivierte. Das spiegelt sich am unmittelbarsten
beispielhaft in der Wecheslbeziehung zwischen dem
Decennalienmedaillon des Kaisers in der Rolle des
irdischen secundus Castor...und dem goldenen Götter-
bild-Amulett aus Aschersleben.... Zu erheblich
älteren Dioskurenbildern im Norden in der frühen
Romischen Kaiserzeit vorzundrigen, muß im Lichte
der Germania des Tacitus, Kapitel uber den alci-Hain,
aussichtslos erscheinen, nachdem es dort mit solcher
Entschiedenheit heißt: nulla simulacra. Selbst wenn
man das für die Kultstätte der Naharvalen gelten laßt,
braucht das noch nicht auszuschließen, daß die Dinge
in anderen Teilen der Germania libera ganz anders
lagen. Fur diese Auffassung lassen sich nicht nur die
Dioskuren-Felsbilder der Bronzezeit sowie die weiteren
Denkmäler, die E. Kruger erortert hat, ins Feld führen
sodern auch Neufunde jedenfalls von germanischen
Götterbildern und Götterstatuen-Halsringen, die erhellen,
wie luckenhaft unser Wissen in jenem Horizont ist. (463-4).

Hauck also discusses *"Ein Schmiedeplatz aus Alt-Ladoga und der
praurbane Handel zur Ostsee vor der Wikingerzeit" (Munstersche Beitrage z.
antiken Handelsgeschichte, Bd. II, S. 3-64, pp. 3-64). In this very
important piece, Hauck provides an outline of trade and manufacturing in
the early medieval period which is particularly important both as a summary
of a most important aspect of the economies of these early middle ages,
and as an extension on the basis of that evidence. Hauck sees Old Lagoda
as one of the most far-flung examples of the kind of place that would be
visited annually by Scandinavian trader-craftsmen whose main purpose was
trade. The Old Lagoda example dates to circa 760; there was a forge and

workshop, with evidence of metal working of several kinds. It is inter-
esting as well to see the extensive evidence Hauck points out in his map
of the fur trade. Finally, Hauck's map of sixth- to seventh-century examples
of Anglo-Saxon finds outside England shows a surprisingly wide distribution,
particularly up the coast of modern-day Norway, though some of the examples
are copies of Anglo-Saxon material. All in all, Hauck's piece carries
further the discussion of trade in the early medieval world, within a very
broad context.

Hillary Murray provides an account of Viking and Early Medieval
Buildings in *Dublin: A Study of the Buildings Excavated Under the Direction
of A. B. Ó Riordáin in High Street, Winetavern Street and Christchurch Place,
Dublin, 1962-63, 1967-76 (BAR British Series, 110, Oxford). It is a very
great pleasure to be able to report that both the drawings and the photo-
graphs are very well done, and BAR has taken a great step forward in quality
of illustration. The conclusions of this piece are most interesting:

> the basic elements of the 4-post tradition appear to have
> originated in NW Europe, brought into Ireland by Scandi-
> navian settlers in the Viking Age. The adaptation of the
> plan to the foreshortened Dublin form may have taken place
> there in the 9th or 10th century, but this cannot yet be
> demonstrated archaeologically.
>
> Many of the closest structural parallels appear to be
> in Denmark, S. Sweden and N. Germany, rather than Norway,
> the area from which the original wave of settlers are
> historically said to have come to Dublin. This may
> reflect the later influx of S. Scandinavian Vikings but
> can be more simply explained in environmental terms.
> Dublin, Denmark, S. Sweden and N. Germany are all within
> a 53-56° band of latitude, with less native pine and far
> more ash, oak and other deciduous trees. The Irish his-
> torical sources show how much the native Irish used wattle
> and while this need not suggest an immediate and direct
> copying of techniques, it does emphasize that suitable
> materials were readily available. The structural parallel
> with S. Scandinavia, may equally be the result of environ-
> ment dictating the use of similar materials rather than
> direct influence. Similar adaptations to other building
> materials were common in the Viking Age throughout all
> the areas of Scandinavian settlement.
>
> Future work on the artefactual material from these
> excavations and the publication of the Fishamble Street
> sites will reveal more detail of the balance of cultural
> elements in the settlement. Excavation and synthesis of
> results of both native Irish and Scandinavia sites will
> perhaps show more clearly where traditions may have
> originated.

Egon Wamer's *Some Ecclesiastical and Secular Insular Metalwork
Found in Norwegian Viking Graves" (Peritia 2, 277-306) is in many ways a
very useful piece, as the recent work by Bakka, C. Blindheim and others is
reviewed, and a survey of a large number of pieces of recently discovered
or identified as Irish is provided. The classes of objects in these graves

are various; pieces of chalices, patens, crosses, and harness mounts are
included in the group; two-thirds of these objects have been altered to
serve as pins, brooches, weights, or containers. As one would expect, the
distribution of these objects is centered in the Bergen-Tromsø west coast,
though there is one find in the Oslo area. Unfortunately, Wamer draws no
general conclusions, as Bakka and C. Blindheim did, so the piece remains a
tantalizing but unsatisfying catalogue of pieces which attest the strong
influence which Irish objects held for the Vikings who appreciated them,
no doubt, in ways never dreamed of by their creators.

Sir David Wilson writes on *"The Art of the Manx Crosses in the
Viking Age," in The Viking Age in the Isle of Man (Viking Society, 175-187)
He tries to identify the Viking Age stones, to discover the origins of
stones of this type, to understand the cultural and artistic impetus on
the stones and their relation to one another, and to identify the icono-
graphy of the scenes on them. None of these stones seems to be in its
original setting. It is clear that a corpus of inscribed stones existed
before the Viking Age, and it is difficult to date any Viking stone before
the tenth century. Wilson can find no direct influence of these stones on
the rest of the Viking world. The pagan iconographies are difficult to
identify. Wilson's conclusions are well taken:

> It is clear to me that the Manx sculptured stones are not
> so homogeneous as is often thought to be the case by our
> Scandinavian colleagues. If we can try to differentiate
> both styles and chronology within the Manx series, we may
> also be able to differentiate and date some of the Scandi-
> navian art-styles. While the Manx series, therefore, are
> important in our understanding of the history of the Isle
> of Man, they are also of considerable importance in a
> Scandinavian context.

c.   Celtic Perspectives

As many readers of this review article will be aware, the Irish
Exhibit which was immensely popular at the Metropolitan Museum half a dozen
years ago has been kept together (for the most part) in the National Museum
of Ireland. It can thus be studied in conjunction with the splendid objects
in the Derrynaflan Hoard. A catalogue, *Treasures of Ireland, is available,
published by the Royal Irish Academy, with Michael Ryan, Keeper of Irish
Antiquities, as editor and principal contributor.

This book betters in every respect the catalogue produced for the
Metropolitan. The illustrations are lively with correct color casts; the
text is engaging, and the very physical structure of the book is meant for
wear, now show. The most valuable new information is the brief but exciting
new Derrynaflan hoard in the context of eight- and ninth-century metalwork.

Volume 14 of *Monastic Studies (Mount Saviour Monastery and the
Benedictine Priory of Montreal, available through Laurence Freeman, OSB,
1475 Pine Avenue W., Montreal, Quebec, Canada H3 G1B3) is devoted to
Celtic monasticism. Not all the pieces in the volume accord. Derek Smith
points out in his Foreword how fundamentally different are the views on
Irish contact with the Eastern tradition of monasticism.

Opinions in our articles range from 'virtually no connection,'
to 'a definite connection with Egyptian monasticism,' to
'a definite connection with Syro-Palestinian monasticism,'
to 'a definite connection with both Egyptian and Syro-Pales-
tinian monasticism.' These are not small matters. If there
is no connection with the Desert tradition, then we must
look elsewhere for the origins of the elaborate ascetic and
penitential practices of Celtic monasticism. If there is a
connection with the Desert tradition, perhaps via Gaul,
then one feels compelled to ask why there is no clear evi-
dence that early Celtic monks practiced asceticism of an
eastern sort, and why, for example, there is very little
mention of such asceticism and practices of renunciation
in documents associated with such figures as St. Patrick.
If the advent of asceticism in the Celtic tradition came
later, then what are its sources and connections and how
are they to be demonstrated? If it flourished only later
(i.e. 6th to 11th centuries) is there any connection to
Celtic pre-Christian practices? Questions abound.
Opinions abound.

K. R. Darks's review of *"Celtic Monastic Archaeology: Fifth to
Eighth Centuries" (17-29) admirably follows upon the 1974 Scottish Archaeo-
logical Forum (5) which dealt with the same topic. Identification of monastic
sites in the entire Insular tradition is difficult, for the "typical early
Christian site tends neither to be the great monastery nor the eremetical
eyrie, but the enclosed or unenclosed cemetery with a focal grave or perhaps
a church" (18-19). We know very little about Scotland, most particularly
Northern Scotland, but there well may be very early communities in Wales and
the West of England. Reask in Ireland is clearly sixth-century, but the
possibility of fifth-century houses cannot be discounted. The situation in
Brittany is particularly interesting, and we await with great interest the
work of Dr. Davies and her colleagues in that area.

Ciaran O Sabhaois, O.C.S.O., provides a thought-provoking study of
*"Irish High Crosses and a Hunger Cloth from Haiti" (50-62). It is the con-
tention of the author that "The cloth [made in 1982] and the Irish high
crosses are remarkably close in their representation of Biblical motifs"
(p. 52). It is singularly interesting that the hunger cloth has at its
center Christ trampling over evil, which is central not to Irish crosses,
but to the Saxon crosses at Ruthwell nad Bewcastle. Desert symbolism is
common to 'Anglo-Saxon, Irish, and Haitian examples. It is perhaps justified
to provide the conclusions from Eoin de Bhaldeaithe (O. Cist.) piece on
"Obedience—the Doctrine of the Irish Monastic Rules" (63-81), as it bears
on cultural tradition and transmission. Ireland's tradition differs from
that of the rest of Europe in that it is conservative, and eastern in origin,
reflecting the uses of Basil and Cassian. Significantly, neither the early
Eastern nor Irish traditions is in favor of begging, a clear contrast with
later western uses. Cynthia Bourgeault writes on *"The Monastic Navigatio
of St. Brendan" (109-121). The author provides a broader context for the
Navigatio, one of the genre immrama, or voyage narratives. She sees two
main traditions of study of the text one via the history of exploration,
the other appreciation of the work as a great example of literary art.
She sees the Navigatio as structured around a meeting point of temporal and

eternal time, essential for a work in monastic contexts. She further proposes of the Navigatio (116-7):

> The goal is not simply to dissolve the tension, either into
> nautical miles or literary allusions, but rather, to recog-
> nize it as the hallmark of a characteristically (perhaps
> even generically) monastic orientation towards life. It
> establishes the poles upon which a peculiar kind of proces-
> sing of the world goes on. The scene is set, as Panikkar
> would characterize it, for that dialogue, or open channel,
> between the temporal and the eternal, between the times and
> places of this world and their larger infusing divine
> reality. And in the interplay between the two is to be
> found the milieu in which the Navigatio ultimately unfolds.

She concludes:

> The key to the 'realism' of the Navigatio will ultimately be
> found to lie not only in the plausibility of its sailing
> routes...but in the authenticity and vitality of its monastic
> vision--which at least on an impressionistic level seems
> to be squarely within the Desert tradition at its finest.
> In its verve, common sense, compassion, and above all, in
> its refusal to collapse that dynamic synchronicity of ascesis
> and grace into a causal relationship, the Navigatio bears
> the stamp of an unmistakably vital (and unfortunately, all
> too fragile) monastic self-understanding. To attempt to
> locate this self-understanding as precisely as possible
> within the chronology of Celtic monasticism might yield
> a valuable second line of bearing upon a work whose fasci-
> nating paradoxes will continue to reverberate far beyond
> their immediate scholarly continuum.

Geraldine Caiville studies *"The Road from Camus to Moone--Advance a Step Each Day," an expression of Celtic Monasticism, in which she surveys sites and artifacts from Early Christian Ireland. Her statement on the eastern references on the cross at Moone is perhaps overstated:

> Celtic monasticism had its origin in Egypt and Gaul; the
> Moone High Cross has many Egyptian references too. It
> depicts Daniel in the Lion's Den, Abraham's Sacrifice,
> S.S. Paul and Anthony in the Desert, The Twelve Apostles,
> The Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes, The Nativity,
> The Flight into Egypt, The Children in the Fiery Furnace
> and The Crucifixion. So many Egyptian Biblical scenes on
> a High Cross is unique as are the animal carvings, some
> of which resemble giraffes. How may we ask, could the
> Irish monks have known about these animals? When we look
> at the panel of The Multiplication of the Loaves and the
> Fishes, we see a more extraordinary phenomenon.
> The fish on the left hand side has a distended
> jaw and both fish have their mouths in contact with each
> other. This is a typical illustration of cichlids such
> as the Egyptian mouth breeders.

Still her study of the "Stranded Debris" of a springtide of a monastic development is vigorous.

James Graham-Campbell provides an interesting if brief survey of *"Irish Monastic Art--Fifth Eighth Centuries" (225-245), which is of particular interest because of his treatment of the Derrynavlan hoard. Michael Henty's *"The Buildings and Layout of Early Irish Monasteries Before the Year 1000" (247-84) is very important for it considers not only enclosures, ground plans and buildings, but also the high crosses. Henty sees crosses as having their origin perhaps as early as <u>700</u>, and holds that they might be associated with the accession of Pope Sergius, who "popularized the renovation of the Cross in the western Church" (The Sergius Connection has relevance to English high crosses, as has been shown in the work of Ó Carrigáin on Ruthwell). The Henty piece is both packed with information and well illustrated.

From the Stone Age to the 'Forty Five is a series of studies intended to honor R. B. K. Stevenson, who in his long tenure as Keeper of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland not only maintained a comprehensive knowledge of all of Scotland's past, but also gave advice, help and encouragement to countless colleagues through his keepership. Isabel Henderson writes on *"Pictish Vine-Scroll Ornament" (243-268) and lists fifteen examples of vine-scroll ornaments in the corpus. Two early and ambitious pieces--those at Hilton of Cadboll and Tarbat--are seen as derived from the "inhibited undulating vine scroll of the Ruthwell Cross." Her discussion of the relation of the Pictish decoration to the entire tradition of English art, and indeed world art is both stimulating and important enough to quote in full:

> The oriental background of the English vine-scroll motif has been convincingly expounded by Professor Cramp. The versions at Hilton of Cadboll and Tarbat preserve vine-scroll at a stage which cannot be paralleled exactly in surviving English sculpture but which can be accounted for satisfactorily in foliage and fauna in English manuscripts, ivory and metalwork of the late 8th and early 9th centuries.
>
> The unique ivy-tree of St. Andrews does suggest independent use of foliage designs, but while not wishing to rule out entirely the possibility of independent Pictish acquisition of foreign models, it must be assumed that this model too came to Pictland from Northumbria. While the student of the Picts must frequently protest against lack of evidence being used to support a negative conclusion, the silence cannot be a license to claim that any contact needed to support a thesis could have occurred 'for all we know.' On the other hand there is much in Pictish art that could be a response to Oriental and Mediterranean models brought to Northumbria in the 7th century but not used by Northumbrian sculptors. (The Franks Casket itself comes into this category, showing knowledge of models not felt to be appropriate to crosses.) For example, the exotic animals of the Midlands and Northumbria are not the exotic animals of the early Pictish cross-slabs, and only one model is needed to account for all the Pictish hunting scenes (1967, 137).

Although the sarcophagus alone provides evidence for a truly independent response to a foliage model, the fact that the Picts used it, and modified it, and were at the same time producing competent versions of vine-scroll in fashionable taste demonstrates the receptive but essentially first-hand nature of Pictish art.

Professor R. Cramp re-examines *"The Anglian Sculptures from Jedburgh" (269-284), and sees them as revealing both Scottish and Viking traditions:

> If one accepts that the shrine fragment is really from Jedburgh..., then one has a very strong link in about the late eighth century with Northumbrian monuments deriving their ornamental repertoire from Jarrow. Even if one accepts Radford's supposition that the shrine originally came from Melrose, then one still has the fragment with vinescroll which must surely date before Ecgred's gift of land and which is closely related to the Tyne Valley and Hexham. The large cross base with paired birds and beasts is also dependent on Northumbrian inspiration, but treats the motifs more freely and is closely linked with Pictish art such as Meigle. This could well reflect the cultural links of the area in the first half of the ninth century. After the collapse of the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria and its partition between the Bamburgh earls and the Scandinavians, the Jedburgh area became debateable land between the Scottish and English kings; and after Malcolm's defeat of the English in 1018 this area seems to have been effectively under Scottish control.
> This increasing Scottish influence is interestingly reflected in the fragments of the figural cross (fig. 119).

Charles Thomas provides a more detailed study of *"The Double Shrine 'A' from St. Ninian's Isle, Scotland" (285-92), and through photographs, drawings, models, and study of similar remains from Papil that there were two such shrines on St. Ninian's Isle, and four at Papil. Thomas proposes:

> is...clear that the composite stone shrine was, in a brief period between the introduction of Christianity and the uncertainties of the 9th century, widely adopted in these remote islands. There are two such on St. Ninian's Isle, and apparently four rather than three at Papil; nor is it likely that this represents the sum total, or that others may not be revealed in future excavations.

Leslie Alcock studies *"The Supposed Viking Burials on the Islands of Canna and Sandae, Small Isles" (293-309). The objects to be seen at present have passed into the literature as burials, and more particularly as ship-like burials. Alcock makes a clear and convincing case, showing them to be shieling huts for occasional use as shelter.

James Graham-Campbell sets up an important distinction regarding *"Some Viking-Age Penannular Brooches from Scotland and the Origin of the

'Thistle Brooch'" (310-323). First, Graham-Campbell sees the class of which there are 140 examples as "ball type," and he proposes that thistle brooch be used "to refer solely to those penannular brooches which have globular terminals with criss-crossed bramble terminals." Graham-Campbell provides further evidence for Celtic influence in these objects:

> The conclusion is that the 'ball-type' brooch, in the form of simple 'thistle-brooches,' first developed in Ireland during the second half of the ninth century at a time of exceptional diversity in brooch manufacture. It is impossible to identify the precise sequence of development or to date it more closely. The brambled ornament appears to be of native Irish origin, whereas the stimulus to the fully-rounded terminal seems to have been in part, at any rate, an influence from the late Pictish brooch tradition. It is therefore logical to suppose that the actual origins of the 'thistle-brooch' are located in the native Irish brooch tradition, however rapidly the fashion was adopted by Norse settlers, elaborated by them and transmitted back to Norway where further development and copying took place. The products of this fashion were ultimately, during the tenth century, to be disseminated from various sources as far as Iceland in the west and Russia in the east. It remains unclear whether their manufacture ever became established in Scotland, there being only the two occurrences of such silver brooches, both in the Northern Isles, and the one bronze example from the Hebrides. It is more unlikely than not because, as I have pointed out elsewhere...., the Scandinavian settlements in Scotland appear to have been poor in silver in comparison with Ireland, as also with northern England, the two areas where these extravagant and ostentatious silver brooches are best represented.

Tom Fanning writes on *"Some Aspects of the Bronze Ringed Pin in Scotland" (324-342) and makes the suggestion that "Present indications are that the form originated in Ireland in the fifth century A.D." (p. 330), though we must await a further study of the objects Fanning has in hand. As a kind of gracious gesture toward the non-specialist, Fanning gives an explication on how these pins would function in fastening a cloak. He follows R. B. K. Stevenson's suggestion that a loop of string would "have had a similar function to a bow on a fibula" (p. 332). D. M. Wilson follows the same line of argument for "a bone pin from Dunrosness" (Shetland), 343-349, and provides an illustration for use (p. 348). Wilson further postulates that at least some Anglo-Saxon objects taken to be styli may well have been pins.

d.   Sutton Hoo

Rupert Bruce-Mitford gives us *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial, vol. 3, in 2 pts.: Late Roman and Byzantine Silver, Hanging Bowls, Drinking Vessels, Cauldrons and Other Containers, etc. Angela Care Evans edited the volume.

The final part of this publication is every bit as important as the two published earlier; though the Table of Contents lists a number of apparently disparate items, the reader should not account Volume III as a kind of catch-all. In fact, it may well be said that the more ordinary objects, cups and containers in wood, chain suspension system for cooking, and cloth display the same remarkable range of accomplishment and variety as do the gold regalia and armaments. The silver items are particularly splendid, and unique in Germanic contexts. While the normal find of silver is in the main chips and fragments reduced to a worth-by-weight function, Sutton Hoo has what can only be described as a cosmopolitan collection of functional objects. The hanging bowls are of very great interest; one of the three on the ship-burial is generally taken to be the finest example yet discovered, and Sutton Hoo is the only site at which more than a single such object exists. Dr Bruce-Mitford deals in a masterful way with the interesting interrelationship between Celtic and Germanic traditions in these objects, and shows conclusively that these splendid pieces could only have come into being in a society which valued both cultures highly. The wooden containers in maple and burl walnut are stunning. We have a very clear example of the tremendous care which Anglo-Saxon craftsmen took, through a long period of time in the production of the maple drinking vessels. A Canadian lumber company contributed 10 kiln-dried blocks for the manufacture of the replicas; six were unusable because they were so badly checked, and two were so shrunken as to be useless. When work began on the last two, liquid ran from the center when they were drilled. The conclusion is obvious—the craftsmen of Sutton Hoo air-dried their timber, and did so for a number of years. The chain suspension system for the cauldron stands out not only in comparison with sub-Roman examples, but with the modes of treating metal that were used in the splended torcs of earlier centuries. The fragments and "ghosts" of cloth preserved in metal decomposition deposits display both a wide variety of weaving techniques, and a rich array of colors. So fine is the fabric of some of the woven pieces that they were taken to be silks, until microscopic examination showed them to be wool.

Rupert Bruce-Mitford took quite some time to complete his research and to marshall into order the tens of contributions by colleagues and experts in a staggering variety of specialties. He has been attacked for delay, with the most outstanding critic being Joachim Werner, in a review article *"Das Schiffsgrab von Sutton Hoo" Germania 60 [1982], 193-209. With all due respect toward the formidable Professor Dr Werner, he appears not to have read Bruce-Mitford's Sutton Hoo work with sufficient care, and he has chosen to launch a pretty nasty cheap attack. It is absolutely unfair and uncalled for to pat Chiflet on the back for publishing the grave of Childeric exactly one year after it came to light on 27 May 1653. To compare an early anti-quarian to a modern archaeologist is rather like comparing wheelbarrows with Rolls Royces. Still, it must be admitted that forty years is rather a long publication lag. Though YWOES is not the venue in which to account for the delay, it must be said that there were compelling reasons for it, not inanition on Dr Bruce-Mitford's part. In fact, it can be said that the delay was rather a good thing, for had the find been published even ten years earlier, the information base in many areas would not have been as strong. Over the past fifteen years, important new information on phosphate analysis (which gave a fairly good indication that a body was laid to rest in the boat), on the coins (essential for dating) and in the fabrics has come to light. Not

satisfied with the Chiflet analogy, Dr Werner attacks from another direction, urging that not four, but _five_ volumes on Sutton Hoo be published.

This implication seemed to be that Dr Bruce-Mitford was packing it in early. The fact of the matter is that the Trustees of the Museum had made the decision to end off with volume III. They held that the fact and primary accounts of the find had been presented, and the interpretations would be appropriately presented in other contexts. Insofar as he was permitted to do so, Dr Bruce-Mitford did his job, and did it very well; he deserves the thanks and the respect of all those interested in the early Middle Ages. One of the cornerstones of modern archaeology was General Augustus Henry Lane-Fox Pitt-Rivers' exhaustive compendium of Excavations in Cranbourne Chase (London: 1887-98). It is certainly more appropriate to cite Pitt-Rivers as a parallel for Bruce-Mitford, for Sutton Hoo is in the grand tradition, and the series is almost the very last to be turned out in full printed detail. The library or archive deposition of all dig materials, and extensive use of microfiche are upon us.

Sutton Hoo studies flourish: a five-year program for excavation and seminars at English universities is in progress, and scholarly responses to Bruce-Mitford's three volumes are coming out at a good clip. Each of the first two issues of the occasional journal Anglo-Saxon Studies in History and Archaeology had a major piece on Sutton Hoo. Unfortunately, some very interesting materials are appearing in the rarified and hard-to-find publications so numerous in the British Isles. Volume 10 of Journal of the Arms and Armour Society (1982), has a spirited exchange on the military equipment, Dr Ortwin Gamber challenges Bruce-Mitford's views in *"Some Notes on the Sutton Hoo Military Equipment" (208-216). Dr Bruce-Mitford defends his interpretation in *"The Sutton Hoo Helmet Construction and Sword Belt" (ibid., 217-74). One final point needs stressing, the _cost_ of the volume, and indeed of all three in the series. The price of vol. 3, pts. 1 and 2 is a round one hundred pounds; in the introductory pages, it is quite clear that this is viewed as a very large price. In the current market, the price is small potatoes indeed. Cambridge University Press is a leader in the pricing of books; the volume in memory of Kathleen Hughes is a fitting tribute, but it is in size and format only an ordinary octavo volume, with a few illustrations, $95.00 is the CUP price. Pound for pound, or dollar _per_ pound, Rupert Bruce-Mitford's massive volumes are a steal.

e.   Miscellany

J. J. Winterbothan's brief note on "An Anglo-Saxon Carved Stone from Hackness, Yorkshire" (AntJ 62 [1982], 357-58) deals with an important fragment of stone sculpture recently discussed by M. L. Priestley. The fragment of millstone grit approximately 33 x 20 cm has a quatrefoil design cut in very low relief, and finds its closest parallels in metalwork. It is _unique_ among the sculpted stones in Yorkshire. The design is very similar to metal strapends from Whitby Abbey, and in the C. 875 Trewhiddle hoard. It is particularly significant, Winterbothan tells us, because it "bears witness to the continued existence and activity of the monastery at Hackness after its foundation by St. Hilda of Whitby in 680" (358).

Leslie Webster gives us more detail on "An Anglo-Saxon Seventh-Century Pendant from the Old Westgate Farm Site, Canterbury" (AntJ 62 [1982],

373-5 and plate). This unassociated find is the equal of some of the Sutton Hoo jewelry, though it is closer in style to early disc brooches from Gilton, Sarre I and II, and Kingston. Mrs. Webster dates the piece to the first third of the seventh century. The piece is also important for Canterbury, we are told, and "implies the existence of a hitherto unknown cemetery of considerable status, reusing, like so many east Kentish cemetaries, an unknown earlier burial ground."

E. J. E. Pirie's Catalogue of the Early Northumbrian Coins in the Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle Upon Tyne (1982) is valuable for philologists, as the objects show how liberal was the orthographic practice of moneyers. The following series all appear to refer to the same person: AEÐILRED, AEDILRER, EDFLRED, AEILRED and EDELREDR.

A. J. Scrase studies "The Medieval Chapel at Southover in Wells, and its Possible Anglo-Saxon Origins" (Somerset Archaeology and Natural History, 126 [1983 for 1982], 107-10). On the basis of dedications, he concludes that pre-Conquest Wells had "a Cathedral, a parish church, and a chapel." He goes on to broader implications:

> St. Etheldred or Etheldreda must be an Anglo-Saxon
> foundation by a chain of arguments that has already
> been used for St. Cuthbert's. No self-respecting Norman
> bishop would have selected such a barbarous figure. By
> the time attitudes were easier to them a minor saint
> like Etheldreda would have been largely forgotten. The
> inference must be that pre-conquest Wells had a Cathedral,
> a parish church and a chapel. The chapel at Southover
> might have served a semi-independent hamlet but no other
> trace of it survives. So the more probable deduction is
> that Wells was already a substantial settlement. Continu-
> ity is now the fashionable hypothesis and certainly the
> old picture of the sequence at Wells from the isolated
> minster of A.D. 705 to the Cathedral and village of 1066
> with urban status gained about 1160 seems more and more
> doubtful. The recent excavations by the Cathedral have
> hinted at a Roman Wells. Now Anglo-Saxon Wells seems to
> be becoming more substantial. Perhaps Bishop Robert's
> charter did no more than recognise a long established
> status.

Peter Clemoes gave the Jarrow Lecture for 1983, dealing with *"The Cult of St. Oswald on the Continent," a cult which grew to heroic proportions in the later Middle Ages, and even on to the Baroque. Clemoe's conclusion is thought-provoking:

> We need not be surprised that the Oswald Bede portrayed
> provided so many ages and places with a model Christian
> king. The image was a seminal one, capable of meeting
> numerous needs and adapting to various tastes. Its po-
> tential Bede would have granted readily enough, but he
> could have no inkling of the transformations it was to
> undergo. He would have been astonished at the diverse
> response the cult figure was to evoke. He lacked any

means of foreseeing the range of spiritual, political, social and cultural experience it was to involve. And what would he have made of our estimate of Oswald as a Christian today, when, so far as the continent is concerned, the cult survives in only a handful of remote Alpine villages cut off from its historical origin? I fear he would have shaken his head sadly. We would fall short of what he would think proper. We divest Oswald of sacral kingship, dynastic advantage, predisposition towards the miraculous in seventh- and eighth-century interpretation, and Bede's own idealization. We see only a royal convert to Christianity who established his religion at the centre of Northumbrian politics by energetically proselytizing his people and by being personally devout. Oswald the king we respect for a politico-religious initiative with consequences which are still with us a millenium and a third later. Oswald the Christian we honour among the many who, through the centuries, have lived and died in the faith. His religion was the inspiration as well as the instrument of his rule.

There are two brief but important notes on ships of the Anglo-Saxon period. D. M. Goodburn writes a corrective "Comment on 'Saxons, Sea, and Sail' (P. N. Cameron, IJNA 11:319-332)," in IJNA 12, 173-4. Goodburn holds that the author of "Saxons, sea," etc., is lacking in practical experience and thus misjudges some early vessels, and is also not quite accurate in his use of maritime terms.

Valorie Fenwick, whose investigations of the Graveny boat are a landmark in maritime archaeology, studies "A New Anglo-Saxon Ship" (IJNA 12, 174-75). She deals with a newly-discovered penny of King Athelstan I of East Anglia (c. 827-841), which has on it a ship. She sees this coin as influenced by the deniers of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, and as a kind of numismatic celebration of the East Angles from Mercian domination. The type of ship--a hulcas is known to have existed because tenth-century English harbor clues on them, but the coin points to a ninth-century date, and is, therefore, "a most important addition to the iconography of Anglo-Saxon ships."

P. Lyth provides us with a delightful expositio of "The Southwell Charter of 956: An Exploration of its Boundaries" (Trans. of the Thornton Soc. of Nottinghamshire 86 [1983 for 1982], 49-61, ill.). The place names in many cases are the same, and some of the few remaining hedgerows also date back 800 to 1,000 years. The only aspect of this piece which makes one uneasy is that Mr. Lyth assumes that present watercourses are the same as in the late Saxon period. While the assumption is not necessarily invalid, there is clear evidence in the British Isles for change in watercourses and water level in the past thousand years.

f.   Coda

In "Secondary Cancer in an Anglo-Saxon Female" (Journal of Archaeological Science 10, 475-82, ill.). K. Manchester gives the rather horrific results of a pathological examination carried out on a skeleton from Eccles, Kent. The remains almost certainly were buried after 650;

the woman had a particularly nasty cancer of the cranium, with <u>ante-mortem</u> perforations of the skull. The diagnosis is that they probably arose through metastic carcinoma, possibly from a primary carcinoma of the breast. There is a kind of bleak distinction for the poor woman as "metastatic carcinoma is a rare finding in the skeletal remains of earlier people" (480).

R. Bailey, H. D. Briggs and Eric Cambridge report on *"A New Approach to Church Archaeology: Dowsing, Excavation and Documentary Work at Woodborn, Ponteland and the Pre-Norman Cathedral at Durham" (<u>Arch. Aeliana</u>, sec 5, XI, 79-100). Bluntly put, this study makes a reasonable case for a technique which most scientists refuse to credit. But the evidence put forward in this piece makes reasonably certain that particular problems in plotting churches can be served by dowsing, <u>without</u> excavation. It is at least <u>possible</u> that dowsing can be effective in recovery "robbed" features, by imprint. Such may be the case at Ponteland Church, where three independent dowser surveys yielded the same readings.

For those deeply interested in the technique, the article provides a great deal of practical, useful advice. The conclusions are put forward in a modest and conservative mode:

> Further verification tests are in hand but the results are
> sufficiently encouraging to suggest that dowsing offers a
> valid means of recovering evidence. Like more conventional
> remote-sensing devices, of course, it has its weaknesses
> and, like them, its results need rigorous evaluation. In
> this connection it should be noted that "open-area" dowsing
> surveys at Jarrow and The Hirsel, Coldstream, have yielded
> ambiguous results which will be reported by Professor
> Cramp in her publication of these excavations. Within our
> narrower concern with church archaeology, however, the
> technique does seem to offer the hope of recovering plans
> rapidly, non-destructively and with minimum expense. If
> the phenomenon of imprint can be convincingly established
> then dowsing holds out the additional possibility of
> obtaining information which would not be available through
> conventional excavation. But, we would stress, the tech-
> nique does not provide an effortless solution to the
> problems of a building's history. Frequently, indeed, it
> poses further difficulties. What can be recovered through
> dowsing needs careful and cautious analysis and the evi-
> dence needs to be integrated with information drawn from
> other sources. But, at very least, as a means of obtaining
> access to material which would otherwise remain untapped,
> the technique deserves investigation and discussion.
>   Archaeologists have, rightly, been on their guard against
> extravagant claims flooding in on them from the wilder
> shores of the occult. Their training, again very properly,
> has led them to reject evidence whose source and methodology
> cannot be explained. Dowsing, for them, consequently repre-
> sents a suspicious activity. All we suggest at the moment
> is that they would be equally misguided if, through fear of
> the scorn of their fellow professionals, they ignored what
> might (in this particular area of study) be a tool of
> great value.

R. T. F.