

OLD ENGLISH NEWSLETTER

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Subscriptions. The rate for institutions is \$6 US per volume, current and past volumes, except volumes 1 and 2, which are sold as one. The rate for individuals is \$3 US per volume, current and future volumes, but in order to reduce administrative costs the editors ask individuals to pay for volumes 21-25 at one time (= \$15). All back volumes are available to individuals at \$4 US each, except Volumes 1 and 2, which are sold as one.

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

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

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

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I

A Time to Renew

It is now time for individual subscribers to OEN to renew their subscriptions. Almost all individuals have subscriptions through volume 21 (this volume), and many have subscriptions beyond this current volume. The editors are asking that all individuals subscribe through volume 25. It is simply easier to ask for \$12 once than it is to ask for \$3 four times.

The editors are continuing the individual rate of \$3 per volume on the expectation that the gods of inflation will allow this rockbottom price into the next decade. Since OEN receives direct and indirect subsidies from SUNY-Binghamton, the University of Tennessee-Knoxville, and the University of Arizona, as well as the contributed services of the editors and their associates, the subscription rate essentially underwrites some production and mailing costs. OEN is mailed at the cheapest rate possible to the targeted destination. In the United States this rate is the bulk rate, which does not guarantee forwarding. To compare costs: vol. 20 no. 1 (165 pp. and 15 ounces) cost \$0.28 bulk rate, but would have cost \$2.40 first class. To compensate for some rise in costs it is likely that institutions will face a higher subscription rate before too long. The Modern Language Association does not support OEN.

By now individuals have received their notice of subscription due.

OEN announces Fall and Spring issues, but the sober realities are that the issues are generally Winter and Summer. Rather than vex libraries and bibliographers, the editors allow this concept of the seasons to stand.

Copy deadlines for OEN are generally November 15 and April 15 for the Fall and Spring issues respectively. Articles (as opposed to announcements or reports) are customarily sent out for review. The editors are pleased to accept diskettes in Wordperfect 4.1 (or better) as well as hardcopy.

II

MLA by the Bay

As reported in the Spring OEN, the Modern Language Association will move to San Francisco for its annual meeting, December 27-30. The Old English Division will sponsor three sessions, the maximum number allowed by the MLA Program

Committee. Program Chairman Edward B. Irving, Jr. has organized the following meetings:

Session no. 242: Monday, December 28, 3:30-4:45 p.m.

"Beowulf: Critical Contexts"

Presiding: Edward B. Irving, Jr. (Univ. of Pennsylvania)

Papers:

1. George Clark (Queen's University)

"Tolkien and Consequences"

2. Nicholas Howe (University of Oklahoma)

"The Geographical Digressions"

3. John D. Niles (University of California-Berkeley)

"Toward an Anglo-Saxon Oral Poetics"

Session no. 430: Tuesday, December 29, 12 N-1:15 p.m.

"Aspects of Oral Tradition in Old English Poetry"

Presiding: George Clark (Queen's University)

Papers:

1. Alexandra Hennessey Olsen (University of Denver)

"Andreas, Oral Tradition, and Arator's De Actibus Apostolorum"

2. Seth Lerer (Princeton University)

"The Hero as Reader in the Old English Daniel"

3. Gail Berlin (Indiana University of Pennsylvania)

"Concepts of Narrative in Old English"

Session no. 517: Tuesday, December 29, 3:30-4:45

"Old English Short Poems: Three Ways In"

Presiding: Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe (Texas A & M
University)

Papers:

1. Betsy Bowden (Rutgers University)

"A Folkloristic Perspective on the Exeter Book Riddles"

2. Sarah Lynn Higley (University of Rochester)

"Storm and Mind in Anglo-Saxon Poetry: A Hard Lesson"

3. Carol Braun Pasternack (Univ. of California-Santa
Barbara)

"Traditional Dynamics and The Wanderer"

III

ISAS: An Invitation

The International Society of Anglo-Saxonists invites all scholars interested in the literature, languages, history, and culture of Anglo-Saxon England to become members. Benefits of membership include discounts for the journal Anglo-Saxon England, eligibility to submit papers, and to attend the biennial meetings of the Society, and a copy of the ISAS Directory. Through participation in the Society, members have the opportunity to establish contacts with scholars from around the world who share similar research and teaching interests. The 1989 meeting will be held in Durham, England, and will include visits to Anglo-Saxon archaeological sites.

Dues are \$10 or £7 sterling annually. Colleagues from the United Kingdom are encouraged to file a standing order mandate with Midland Bank. Forms for this purpose are available from the Executive Director. All inquiries and payments of dues in dollars should be sent to:

Prof. Mary P. Richards
Executive Director, ISAS
Department of English
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, TN 37996
USA

IV

Subsidia 13

The Editors of the Old English Newsletter announce the publication of Volume 13 in the Subsidia series, Anglo-Saxon History: A Select Bibliography, by Simon Keynes. The bibliography was devised in the first instance for the guidance of students at the University of Cambridge, where it is updated and revised annually. Copies of the Bibliography were distributed at an Institute on Anglo-Saxon England, held in 1985 under the auspices of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies at SUNY-Binghamton and sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities. The Subsidia volume carries through 1986. The camera-ready copy was produced at Trinity College, Cambridge.

The price for the 48-page volume is \$3.00, available from OEN directly.

V

Interdisciplinary Approaches to Anglo-Saxon Culture:

Studies in Methodology

Contributions are being sought for a projected volume focusing on interdisciplinary approaches to Anglo-Saxon culture in the fields of literature, art history, archaeology, and history. Within these general categories essays may address specific topics in the study of folklore, oral-formulaic theory, manuscript studies, numismatics, the history of ideas, etc. Submissions of not more than 40 pages should combine the study of two or more disciplines while addressing the broader question of the viability of an interdisciplinary approach to the field, or the problems associated with particular methodologies. Inquiries for additional information should be directed to:

Prof. James Hala
Dept. of English
Drew University
Madison, NJ 07940

VI

Robbins Library

The Rossell Hope Robbins Library at the University of Rochester's Rush Rhees Library is available for use by scholars working in Medieval Studies, and especially in Middle English Literature. The Library contains about 10,000 volumes and about

5,000 offprints and unbound publications, offering comprehensive holdings in medieval English literature with supplemental materials in the fields of Old English, and Anglo-Norman, French literatures; medieval history, philosophy, and theology; and manuscript studies. Through the annual Helen Ann Mins Robbins Fellowship, the Library will eventually support a female pre-doctoral fellow for a year's research at the University of Rochester. The opening of the Library was celebrated on September 16 with a lecture by Malcolm Parkes (Keble College, Oxford) on "Book Provision and Libraries in the Medieval University at Oxford." For additional information about the Robbins Library write to: Prof. Thomas Hahn; Dept. of English; University of Rochester; Rochester, NY 14627.

VII

Conferences: Advance Notice

The Burghal Hidage. The Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies will sponsor a conference on the Burghal Hidage, May 12-14 1989. The conference will examine and discuss the language and textual history of the document, its purpose and administrative context, and the most significant of the associated archaeological remains. Proposals for papers to be given at the Conference, together with an abstract not exceeding 500 words, should be sent to the organizers before the end of September 1988. Write to:

Dr. D.H. Hill and Dr. A.R. Rumble
Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies
University of Manchester
Manchester, England M13 9PL

Maldon. The University of Essex in Colchester will host a conference to mark the millenium of the Battle of Maldon in 1991 the week beginning August 5. The conference will cover all the aspects of the battle and the background to it. The organizers will publish an advertisement for papers at a later date, probably 1989. For further information write to:

Dr. Janet Cooper, Editor
Victoria History of Essex
Old Court
17 Arbour Lane
Chelmsford, Essex, CM1 5RG
England

VIII

Old English Colloquium at Berkeley

The Old English Colloquium at the University of California-Berkeley, which is an interdepartmental group of graduate and

undergraduate students interested in Old English literature and culture, is planning a two-day symposium March 26-27 with panel topics tentatively including Old English and Latin Studies, Old English and Other Contemporary Literatures, Women in Anglo-Saxon Culture and, of course, further investigations into Oral Formulaic Literature. On October 30 the group sponsored talks by Berkeley graduate students: Laura Morland on "Cædmon's Hymn and the Germanic Tradition" and Andrew Galloway on "Beowulf and the Varieties of Choice." The officers for the 1987-88 academic year are:

Chair	David Baggott
Treasurer	Robert Rennicks
Secretary	Gayle Henrotte
Officers	Laura King
	Mary Harmon
	Brigette Wilds

IX

Westfield College M.A. in Medieval Studies

Westfield College offers a course leading to the University of London M.A. degree in Medieval Studies. The course is for full-time students and affords the possibility of both comparative and interdisciplinary study within the range of disciplines taught by the Arts Faculty of the College. Entrants will normally be expected to hold a good first degree in an Arts subject, but all applications (including those from mature students) will be considered on their merits. Westfield College offers to graduate students the advantages of a small, compact campus and a closely-knit Faculty of Arts combined with access to the vast resources of both London and its University.

The curriculum is divided into three sections:

A. A medieval language which has not been studied at the undergraduate level;

B. Methods and Techniques in Medieval Studies;

C. Two Special Options drawn from a list of six or more Options published annually by the College. The Options available in any one year will be drawn from, and in some cases combine, the following areas of expertise within the Faculty of Arts: History, History of Art, Medieval Latin, Icelandic, Old English, Middle English, Old High German, Middle High German, Old Saxon, Old French, Old Provencal, Old Spanish, Galician Portuguese, Catalan, and Italian. Candidates choose their Options with the advice and approval of the relevant

teachers, but will be asked to give a provisional indication of their preferences at the time of application.

All inquiries should be addressed to:

The Registrar
Westfield College
(University of London)
London NW3 7ST
England

PHONE: 01-435-7141

·X

Newberry Library Programs

The Center for Renaissance Studies at the Newberry Library (Chicago, IL) is a consortium of twenty-five midwestern universities, which contribute to its administration and oversee the planning of programs through representatives on the Executive Committee. Among its wide range of activities in 1987-88 is a Consortium Seminar offered by Allen J. Frantzen on "Anglo-Saxon Literature and History in Post-Renaissance England." This course studies Anglo-Saxon poetry and prose by examining the process through which English scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries identified, edited, and interpreted Anglo-Saxon sources and shaped them to create Anglo-Saxon literature and history. The seminar is intended for those who have had an introductory course in Anglo-Saxon literature and language. The course runs Friday afternoons from January 8 to March 11.

XI

Nomina

Nomina is a journal published by the Council for Name Studies in Great Britain and Ireland that seeks to further all aspects of onomastic research relevant to England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. Nomina includes material of significance to many different disciplines--from philology to historical geography, from genealogy to socio-economic history, and from source-criticism to archaeology. It publishes papers from the Annual Conference of the Council for Name Studies as well as other articles and notes bearing upon the subjects of place-names and personal names, including surnames. An extensive annual bibliography is supported by reviews of the chief new publications in the field. A news section reports on the activities and works-in-progress of both individual scholars and institutional bodies. Nomina is published annually, in the spring following the titular year. The joint editors are:

Gordon Anderson
13 Church Street
Chesterton
Cambridge CB4 1DT

Conybeare Volume

XIII

Linguists' Software has announced "LaserFrenchGermanSpanish," which is a character set for over 77 languages in one font for LaserWriter(TM) printing in MacWrite(TM), Microsoft(R) Word(TM) etc. One of the languages is Anglo-Saxon. There are 41 overstrike accents and diacritical mark keys each having automatic non-deleting backspacing for fast typing over any letter or symbol (even of other fonts like Times and Times italic) and in any combination. The set is complete with laser-adjusted screen fonts in 10, 12, 20, and 24 point sizes, mini space bar, the new LaserWriter software, User's Manual, laminated keyboard layout sheet and Postscript(TM) Laser font (56K on disk). Plain, bold, italic, underline, shadow, subscript, super- and subscript combinations. The package is not copy-protected: copyrighted by P.B. Payne in 1986. A LaserWriter sample follows:

abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz ‘ ’ “ ” ‘ ’
 ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ
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 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 ^{ao} * * æ Æ œ Œ α ω ε ι € E E D B L 1 ß † ø Ø p p ® ™ © , . ' °

The price is \$99.95. Order from:

Linguists' Software
106R Highland St.
South Hamilton, MA 01982
PHONE: 617-468-3037

XIV

Conferences Future and Past

The Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies at SUNY-Binghamton announces its Twenty-Second Annual Conference on "Oral Tradition in the Middle Ages," October 21-22, 1988. Major participants will include: John M. Foley (University of Missouri-Columbia), Carl Lindahl (University of Houston-University Park), Albert Lord (emeritus, Harvard University), and Joseph F. Nagy (University of California-Los Angeles). Papers are invited on all aspects of the topic, which has been chosen as a tribute to the centenary celebrations of the American Folklore Society. Participants may therefore wish to coordinate their attendance at this conference with the annual meeting of the American Folklore Society in Boston, October 25-30, 1988. Although folklore will obviously be of central importance to the CEMERS conference, papers are welcome on as many facets of "Oral Tradition in the Middle Ages" as possible in order to present a broad spectrum of approaches and ideas. For planning purposes, brief abstracts should be submitted not later than March 1, 1988. Completed papers must be received by June 1, 1988. Papers must not exceed twenty minutes, reasonable delivery time. For further information write to the Conference Coordinator:

Prof. W.F.H. Nicolaisen
Dept. of English
SUNY-Binghamton
Binghamton, NY 13901
PHONE: (CEMERS) 607-777-2730

As announced in the last issue of OEN (p. 9) A.N. Doane and Carol Braun Pasternack have organized a conference on "Con-Texts: Orality and Textuality in the Middle Ages" at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, April 15-16, 1988. For the final program write to: Prof. A.N. Doane; Department of English; University of Wisconsin-Madison; 600 N. Park Street; Madison, WI 53706.

The Augustinian Historical Institute has issued a call for papers for its XIIIth International Conference on Patristic, Mediaeval, and Renaissance Studies to be held at Villanova University, September 23-25, 1988. Abstracts for papers on all aspects of the Conference periods are welcome. Please send

abstracts in duplicate--only one paper will be accepted per person, indicating how the paper will make an original contribution or significantly rework old materials. Abstracts must be received by March 15, 1988, with notification by May 25. Forward abstract and all Conference communications to:

Dr. Thomas A. Losoncy
or
Rev. Joseph C. Schnaubelt, OSA
PMR Conference
Villanova University
Villanova, PA 19085

The Center for Renaissance and Baroque Studies at the University of Maryland, College Park has asked OEN to announce to its readers a symposium on "Aging and the Life Cycle in the Renaissance." The symposium, to be held April 20-22 at The Center of Adult Education, University of Maryland, College Park, will explore concepts of the life course in the Renaissance as reflected in social structures, cultural forms, and medical-biological conditions of life. Major speakers include David Herlihy, Christiane Klapische-Zubert, and Barbara Mowat. The sponsors are the Center for Renaissance and Baroque Studies, the Center on Aging, and the Classics Department, UMCP. Contact the Center for Renaissance and Baroque Studies, 1120 Francis Scott Key Hall; UMCP; College Park, MD 20742, or phone 301-454-7492 for more information.

"The Anglo-Saxon Helmet" was the focus of a day-long program at the Sheffield Museum (in conjunction with Sheffield University), November 21. Speakers included Angela Care Evans on the Sutton Hoo helmet, Dominic Tweddle on the Coppergate helmet, Martin Murphy on the replica of the Benty Grange helmet, and Geoff Lester on the poetic and literary evidence. On the Benty Grange helmet see pp. 34-35 below.

XV

Brief Notices on Publications

Basil Blackwell has published the fourth edition of Bruce Mitchell and Fred Robinson's A Guide to Old English (1986). The new edition has added nine verse texts to the nine prose texts of the third edition. The fourth edition has also been revised and reset throughout to offer a fully integrated textbook for undergraduate and graduate students. All texts are accompanied by full explanatory notes at the foot of the page and in the glossary. ISBN 0-631-13625-8.

Kevin Kiernan's The Thorkelin Transcripts of Beowulf, *Anglistica* 25 (1986), documents Thorkelin's discovery of Beowulf, identifies Thorkelin's anonymous scribe, and furnishes new evidence on the chronology of the two copies. The book provides a record of restorations and collations revealing the relative accuracy of the transcripts. The publishers Rosenkilde and Bagger have set a price of 315 Danish kroner. ISBN 87-423-0476-8.

The York Gospels (London: the Roxburghe Club, 1986) is a facsimile of the codex at York (since the second decade of the eleventh century) taken there by Wulfstan, whose hand N.R. Ker recognized in additions to the book. The facsimile has introductory essays on palaeography (Patrick McGurk), text (Patrick McGurk), illumination of the Gospels (J.J.G. Alexander), Old English additions (Simon Keynes), and history of the book (Bernard Barr), edited by Nicholas Barker. The Old English additions include surveys of the archiepiscopal estates, three homiletic tracts by Wulfstan, Cnut's letter to the people of England, an inventory of the treasures at Sherburn-in-Elmet, bidding prayers, and a list of Ælfric's festermen.

P.H. Breuker's Orientatie in de Frisistiek 2nd ed. (Ljouwert/Leeuwarden: Fryske Akademy, 1986) gives a useful bibliography of recent work on Frisian. The 49 pages cite several articles of interest to Anglo-Saxonists and offer lists of periodicals and series as well as maps.

Josef Klegraf has edited Die Altenglische Judith (Stuttgart: Helfant Edition, 1987), which is volume three in the Helfant Texte series. The eight sections of the Introduction, which includes a select bibliography, discuss briefly manuscript, versification, contents, style, and features of language, as well as the question of "oral poetry." The text has a facing German translation; the editor offers a general commentary line-by-line. Barbara Fay Verlag (Stuttgart) is the publisher. ISBN 3-925184-03-1.

Wilhelm G. Busse investigates current theories of the dating of Old English literature, arguing for later composition closer to the time of the manuscripts. His study is: Altenglischen Literatur und ihre Geschichte, Studia Humaniora, Dusseldorfer Studien zu Mittelalter und Renaissance 7 (1987). Droste Verlag (Dusseldorf) is the publisher. 316 pp. Price: DM 78. ISBN 3-7700-0808-1.

Heather O'Donoghue has edited fourteen articles by the late Rosemary Woolf in Art and Doctrine: Essays on Medieval Literature (London: The Hambledon Press, 1986). The collection presents Woolf's contributions to books and periodicals over thirty years and specifically studies in Old and Middle English as well as in Latin. Essays on The Dream of the Rood, Genesis B, Judith, Maldon, and some of the elegies are only a few of the studies bearing on Old English. Pp. xiv + 248. Price: \$35.00. ISBN 0-907628-53-2.

In Memoriam: Stanley B. Greenfield (1922-87)

A Remembrance by George H. Brown

After a distinguished career as teacher, scholar, bibliographer, and literary critic, Stanley Brian Greenfield, professor of English at the University of Oregon, one of the founders of Anglo-Saxon England and of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, died on July 30, 1987. Throughout his career, from 1951 to 1987, he wrote primarily on Anglo-Saxon topics, though he was well versed in later English literature as well, particularly poetry. His death is a major loss to OE studies, though his notable contributions form a consoling legacy. Fortunately he was honored while still alive with a festschrift, Modes of Interpretation in Old English Literature, edited by Phyllis Rugg Brown, Georgia Ronan Crampton, and Fred C. Robinson (1986).

Greenfield was renowned for his fierce loyalty to the literary text; he insisted on "the necessity of going back again and again to the text as source for interpretative strength." He carefully noted and deeply explored the OE poetic corpus, pointing out important meanings and qualities that had gone unnoticed. His literary interpretations are marked by their insightful, sane, and sensitive readings; and his writing is notable for clarity, wit, and sureness. Indeed his devotion to the literary work of art, his love of truth, and his forthright honesty sometimes caused him to be sharply critical of interpretations and methodologies that he perceived as straying far from the text. This same fidelity to the text is the reason why he never hesitated to modify or correct his own earlier incomplete understanding and interpretation. He constantly reconsidered Beowulf and the OE elegies so that his later essays build upon and augment the earlier ones. He always found more and deeper treasures in the OE works.

Most students of Anglo-Saxon literature have become acquainted with Greenfield's writing through his widely acclaimed and popular A Critical History of Old English Literature (1965), now superseded by A New Critical History of Old English Literature (1986), co-authored with Daniel G. Calder and with a survey of Anglo-Latin literature by Michael Lapidge. More advanced students know Greenfield's The Interpretation of Old English Poems (1972) and his Bibliography of Publications on Old English Literature to the End of 1972 (1980); and students of Beowulf have a beautiful translation in his A Readable Beowulf (1982). His important writings on OE literature that have not been incorporated in his books have just been published under the title Hero and Exile: The Art of Old English Poetry (1987), edited by George H. Brown.

Greenfield is survived by his wife Thelma and his children Sayre and Tamma.

Exodus

translated by

Stanley B. Greenfield (1922-87)

<Editors' note: through the kindness of Thelma Greenfield and with the assistance of Daniel G. Calder the editors of OEN are pleased to publish Stanley B. Greenfield's last work, an unfinished translation of Exodus.>

XLII Listen! we have heard the testament
of Moses proclaimed widely on mid-earth
to generations of men, just laws
and wondrous deeds for the blessed to win
5 salvation after fearful voyaging,
long-lasting counsel for all alive
who heed and care. Let him hear who will!
The Lord of Hosts, the righteous and all-
ruling King eternal, exalted
10 Moses in the wilderness, His might
endowing him wonders to perform.
Loved by God was that valiant leader
of his people, a wise and prudent
folk-commander. The race of Pharaoh,
15 God's foe, he bound with punishing rod
when the God of victories gave to
that brave leader his kinsmen's lives,
and a homeland to the sons of Abraham.
Great that reward, the Lord gracious to him:
20 weapon-control countered terror from foes;
by battle he obtained authority
over hostile tribes. The God of hosts
conversed with him then for the first time:
there he told him many true wonders,
25 how the wise Lord created the world,
this earthly circuit and sky above,
made clear His Kingdom and known His name,
of which sons of men, wise ancestors,
had been ignorant, though knowing much.
30 So had He strengthened and exalted
with true powers the prince of the people,
Pharaoh's enemy, for his journeys forth.

Then the native host, greatest of nations
was plagued to death with dire punishments:
35 their treasure-wardens felled, bereft of wealth,
hall-joys slept--souls of woe rose on high--
at midnight had God annihilated
those persecutors, slain their first-born
cut down their defenders. Death's angel,
40 hateful, struck widely, stifled the land
with corpse upon corpse--the troop departed.

Weeping was widespread, worldly joys few,
 the laughter-smith's hands locked helplessly,
 when the people, the departing host,
 45 went their hateful way, to Pharaoh's woe.
 Heaven came there, destroyed the hellish shrines,
 the idols. That was a glorious day
 on mid-earth when the multitude set out.
 Thus one accursed Egyptian crew
 50 endured confinement ever after
 because they thought they would ever thwart,
 if God consented, Moses' kinsmen's
 dear journey that was so long yearned for.

The army was made ready, active
 55 the bold leader who led their nation.
 He passed with that folk many a fortress,
 the habitations of hostile men,
 through narrow defiles, on unknown paths,
 till they reached the warlike borderers
 60 whose lands lay covered by protecting clouds.
 Beyond these mainland dwellings Moses
 led his army then through many lands.

XLIII Then two nights after they had escaped
 their foes, he bade his glory-filled force
 65 encamp on the outskirts of Etham,
 with noise and clamor echoing
 among that huge military host.
 Perils had forced them on northward paths:
 south lay the Ethiopians' land,
 70 burned hillsides, a race of people browned
 by blazing sky-coals. There holy God
 shielded them against the scorching heat:
 spread a ceiling over the searing sky,
 a holy veil over the hot air.
 75 The cloud had divided evenly
 earth and sky with its wide-flung cover;
 it guided the troop, extinguishing
 the bright flames' heat. The host gazed amazed,
 most joyous folk. The day-shield journeyed
 80 across the wide sky; the wise God had
 unfurled a sail against the sun's course,
 whose halyards men could not hope to see,
 nor whose sailyard possibly perceive,
 nor understand in human way
 85 how fastened was that fabulous tent
 when He so glorified with His grace
 that loyal troop. The third camp became then
 a comfort to the band: they observed
 how the holy sails towered high there,
 90 bright wonders of the air; the Israelites
 perceived that in that place the Lord,
 God of hosts, came to mark out that camp.
 Before them proceeded fire and cloud

95 in the bright sky, two pillar-beams which,
in high service of the Holy Spirit,
divided equally by day and night
path-guidance for those great-hearted men.

Then at dawn, I heard, defiantly
they blew their trumpets with loud voices,
100 portent of glory. The group all arose,
a mighty force eager to set forth,
as Moses, their renowned commander,
bade the Lord's folk. In front they saw
their life-guide lay out salvation's path;
105 the sail led the way, the seamen followed
on the ocean path. Happy that people,
loud the army's cry. Each evening arose
a heavenly light, second high-sign,
which settled in when the sun had set:
110 a gleaming beam aglow with fire
above the people. Bright rays of light,
as protecting shields, shone brilliantly
over the soldiers. The shadows shrank:
the deep night-shades could not keep hidden
115 their dark corners. Heaven's candle burned:
this unheard-of night-guard had great need
to shield the troops lest the desert terror,
grey heath-panic, in its sudden grip
should snatch their lives in violent storms.
120 That forerunner had fiery locks,
blazing beams; it threatened to burn up
that band with baleful fire, hot flame,
in the wasteland unless those warriors
were brave in heart and obeyed Moses;
125 it shone brightly clad--and shields glistened.
The troops followed the true path led by
the sign above, until the sea-barrier
at land's end impeded their progress,
eager though they were. They pitched their camp.
130 Weary, they were refreshed with food served
by noble stewards, their strength restored.
When the trumpet sang, the sailors spread
their field-tents in the hills: there the fourth camp
for the warriors' rest, by the Red Sea.

XLIIII 135 Then dread tidings spread among the troops--
pursuit from inland, fear of slaughter
stalked the warriors. The exiles awaited
the hostile pursuer, who long assailed
and oppressed them with dire punishments
140 when they were homeless, not honoring
the pledge made by the elder Pharaoh....

<gap in text>

XLV Then the custodian of the treasure

of the Egyptians greatly prospered.
 But the inland race forgot all that,
 145 turning hostile in later times:
 they committed crimes against his kinsmen,
 stirred up strife, scrapped the bygone treaty.
 Warlike surges welled up in their hearts
 mighty passions; with false promises
 150 they wished to requite good with evil
 so that Moses' people would have spilled
 blood for that day's work if mighty God
 had favored that destructive force.

Then in spirit the warriors despaired
 155 when they saw surging up from the south
 the feared power of pursuing Pharaoh:
 boar-spears on high, horsemen's lances set,
 shield-ornaments shining, horns sounding,
 battle-ensigns flashing, formation
 160 after formation treading on their track.
 In the sky the horny-beaked raven,
 black carrion-feaster, croaked loudly,
 and dewy-feathered eagles eagerly
 anticipated war. The wolves howled
 165 their dire evening-song, scouting their prey:
 those pitiless beasts, bold for the kill,
 followed the track waiting the warriors' fall.
 Their screams pierced the appalling night:
 the Israelites felt fated, hemmed in.

At times proud thanes pranced their horses
 170 out from the pack along the broad path.
 The royal leader, ruler of men,
 flourished the standard in front of the troop;
 the hosts' warlord fastened his helmet,
 175 readied his cheek-guard for the battle-rush
 --the warrior gleamed--rattled his mail-coat,
 ordered his chosen force to hold fast
 their battle line--the Israelites watched
 with hateful eyes that land-hosts' approach.
 180 Around Pharaoh fearless moved warriors,
 hardened sword-wolves welcomed warfare,
 loyal to their lord and violence.
 As unit-commanders he had chosen,
 according to custom two thousand
 185 illustrious men of noble lineage
 who were kings and fast-bound kinsmen:
 each accordingly had conscripted
 every available male warrior
 he could find on that occasion.
 190 The land-men's kings rode all together
 in his retinue. Repeatedly
 the horn commanded where in that horde
 the young war-troops should take their arms.
 So forth surged the dark host, foe after foe,

195 a multitude of the nation's might
 in their thousands, thirsting to be there.
 They had meant with their mighty forces
 to annihilate the Israelites,
 with dawn-drawn blades to avenge their brothers.
 200 Therefore was there weeping in the camps,
 a dire evening-song; their armor
 gave no defense against fears--brave vans
 fled in the uproar. The foe advanced
 war-bright, until the mighty angel
 205 guarding the people repelled these proud ones,
 so that the enemies might no longer
 see each other; they stood separated.

The hard-pressed exiles had a night's respite,
 though on either side destruction loomed:
 210 war-force at sea; they had no other course.
 Despairing of the hoped-for homeland,
 they sat among the hills garbed in distress,
 awaiting woe; watchful together
 the company of kinsmen abode
 215 the greater force, till in dawn's grey light
 Moses bade heralds with brass trumpets
 assemble the folk, soldiers arise
 and don mail-coats, think of their courage:
 signal the band in bright armor
 220 to gather on the shore. Swiftly then
 the band heard and obeyed, heeded
 the trumpets' sound; the seamen moved
 in haste from their tents over the hills.
 They numbered twelve brave-spirited tribes
 225 against the advancing enemies'
 vicious hate; their vigor was aroused.
 In each, fifty companies composed
 of noted warriors of noble kin
 bore shields in that distinguished band;
 230 and each foot-troop of the famous host
 contained one thousand spear-carriers,
 warriors whose glory was widely known,
 veterans of mettle. The commanders
 did not welcome the weak among them,
 235 the young who could not yet defend
 hardily against the hostile foe
 their ringed mail-coats beneath ringing shields,
 or had not experienced in spear-play
 the blows and scars of body-wounds
 240 across the shield's rim; nor could the old,
 heroes sere with age, serve in battle
 if their might as fighters had diminished.
 But they chose that war-force by fitness:
 how their courage would acquit them
 245 with honor for the people, and how
 powerful was their grip upon the spear.
 Thus they formed a formidable force,

eager to set forth. The ensign rose,
brightest of beams; they all abided there
250 till that guide, glittering over their shields,
broke through the air-barriers by the sea.

XLVI Then the herald rose before those hordes,
the bold war-summoner raised high his shield,
ordered chieftains to quiet the army
255 while the multitude heard Moses' speech:
Their Kingdom's keeper wished to advise
the hand-picked troops with his holy voice.
The army's leader spoke to honor's point:
"Be not fearful, though Pharaoh has brought
260 vast forces of fierce sword-warriors,
innumerable men. All of them
the mighty Lord wishes through my hand
on this day to reward for deeds done,
so that living no longer may they
265 aim miseries at the Israelites.
No need to dread troops as good as dead,
bodies fated to finish now
their transitory life. God's teaching
has left your breasts: I give better counsel,
270 that you praise the Prince of Glory,
and pray for grace from the Lord of Life,
for victories wherever you go.
This is Abraham's eternal God,
creation's Lord, ever powerful,
275 who guards this band with his great hand."

manchester centre for anglo-saxon studies

21

The Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies continues the interdisciplinary initiatives launched in the Fall of 1985 <see OEN 19.1, 17>. The first three years of the Centre's existence have seen a regular series of public lectures by established scholars from many parts of the world attended by audiences drawn from throughout the north of England. Topics have included archaeology, art history, dress, history, language, literary criticism, medicine, palaeography, palaeopathology, and prosopography. The Centre has established a series of seminars for graduate students working in any area of pre-Conquest study; the seminars are open to all graduate students in northern universities within reach of Manchester. The Centre now welcomes applicants to the degrees of M.Phil. and Ph.D. in the fields of Anglo-Saxon language, literature, textual and manuscript study, and it offers a two-year part-time course leading to an M.A. in Anglo-Saxon Studies, which includes a study of texts, documents, and artifacts against a background of the history and archaeology of the period. See the announcement immediately following.

The Centre rests on a long tradition of scholarship and research in the whole range of Anglo-Saxon Studies. Anglo-Saxonists who were formerly based at Manchester and who helped build up the substantial collection of primary and secondary materials in the John Rylands University Library include T. Northcote Toller, E.V. and Ida Gordon, G.L. Brook, F.E. Harmer, F.T. Wainwright, and more recently Eric John and J.J.G. Alexander. Anglo-Saxonists working in Manchester today (with their areas of interest and research are):

Elizabeth Coatsworth	(Anglo-Saxon art and sculpture)
Marilyn Deegan	(Anglo-Saxon medicine)
David Denison	(Old English language and syntax)
C.R. Dodwell	(Art history, manuscript decoration)
John D. Hamshere	(Anglo-Saxon historical geography)
Nicholas J. Higham	(Anglo-Saxon landscape and settlement)
David H. Hill	(Anglo-Saxon archaeology and history)
Richard M. Hogg	(Old English language and phonology)
Helen Maclean	(Old English; Old Icelandic)
Gale Owen-Crocker	(Old English; Anglo-Saxon art and archaeology)
Alexander Rumble	(Palaeography; Anglo-Saxon charters; place and personal names)
Donald G. Scragg	(Old English language and literature)
Joy Watkin	(Old English literature)
Patricia Williams	(Celtic language and literature)

Two projects of the 1986-87 session have resulted in publications, which are now available from the Centre:

Medicine in Early Medieval England, four papers from a conference held in the Centre on 20 June 1987:

Stanley Rubin, "The Anglo-Saxon Physician"

Marilyn Deegan, "Pregnancy and Childbirth in the Anglo-Saxon Medical Texts: A Preliminary Survey"

Keith Manchester, "Medieval Leprosy: the Disease and its Management"

Brian Moffat, "Investigations into Medieval Medical Practice: the Remnants of some Herbal Treatments on Archaeological Sites and in Archives"

Price: £2.50

Manuscript Layout and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, by Janet Bately. The first of an annual series of T. Northcote Toller Memorial Lectures, reprinted from the John Rylands Bulletin.

Price: £3.00

Requests for copies of either publication should be accompanied by payment in sterling or by sterling equivalent with charges paid.

The Centre also gives notice of two conferences to be held in Manchester:

25 June 1988: "Superstition and Popular Medicine in Anglo-Saxon England"

Proposals for papers accompanied by a 500-word abstract should be received by the Director by 25 February 1988

12-14 May 1989: "The Burghal Hidage"

See p. 7 above.

For further details of any of the Centre's activities contact:

The Director
Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies
The University of Manchester
Manchester M13 9PL
United Kingdom

The officers of the Centre are:

Director: Donald G. Scragg
Assistant Director: Alexander Rumble
Secretary: Mary Synor

University of Manchester: M.A. (part-time) in Anglo-Saxon Studies

The Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies and the Department of Extra Mural Studies of the University of Manchester invite application for admission to a new course leading to the degree of M.A. in Anglo-Saxon Studies.

The course (covering the period c. 850-1066) will be one of part-time study over two years, commencing in October, 1988. It will be an interdisciplinary combination of lectures, seminars, and visits that will seek to place the surviving material remains (archaeological, literary, artistic, and documentary) in a secure social and cultural context. To assist prospective students, a preparatory course is being run during 1987-88 to provide basic skills in Old English, Medieval Latin, and Early Medieval Palaeography. For further details, applicants for the M.A. course are invited in the first instance to contact:

Dr. A.M. Rumble
Director, M.A. in Anglo-Saxon Studies
Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies
University of Manchester
Manchester M13 9PL
England

Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture

The Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture <SASLC> is a collaborative project that aims to produce a reference work providing a convenient summary of current scholarship on the knowledge and use of literary sources in Anglo-Saxon England. Departing from J.D.A. Ogilvy's Books Known to the English, 597-1066 and incorporating more recent scholarship, the SASLC work will include contributions from specialists in the various sub-fields of Old English studies. The projected SASLC volume is intended to complement other research tools which are either completed or in progress, viz. the Dictionary of Old English, the Greenfield-Robinson Bibliography of Publications on Old English Literature to 1972, and the Fontes Anglo-Saxonici.

Because evidence for the knowledge and use of a source comes in different forms, entries in SASLC will to some degree vary. Basic information will appear in summary form at the beginning of each entry under five headings: first, the manuscript evidence; second, the mention of a work in relevant medieval library catalogues; third, the existence of an OE translation; fourth, significant citations by Anglo-Saxon writers; and fifth, specific references to an author or work.

SASLC entries will also include less clearcut evidence such as allusions to unnamed sources. SASLC entry-writers will not attempt to present new research on source problems and related questions but rather they will offer in summary form the consensus of current scholarship. Often source questions will be left open to differing opinions and future work. Each SASLC entry will end with a select bibliography.

When completed, the work of SASLC will exist in multiple forms: codex book, diskette, and loose-leaf binder. The rationale for these different forms is to encourage a continuing process of revision and correction.

SASLC is a direct outcome of the 1983 Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture, held at the Medieval Institute, Western Michigan University, which was co-sponsored by the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, SUNY-Binghamton, and granted major funding by the National Endowment for the Humanities, Division of Research Programs. The proceedings of this first Symposium appear as Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture, Studies in Medieval Culture 20 (Kalamazoo, MI, 1986). The Symposium continues into its sixth year.

SASLC has a triple institutional base: Cornell University (editorial activities), Brigham Young University (computer

facilities), and SUNY-Binghamton (editorial activities and general administration). The National Endowment for the Humanities, Division of Research Programs has given SASLC a major two-year grant to begin its work.

The Project Committee members are:

Administrative Committee:

Frederick M. Biggs, Research Associate
 Thomas D. Hill, Principal Investigator
 Thomas Mackay, Principal Investigator
 Paul E. Szarmach, Project Director

Advisory Committee:

Janet M. Bately (Univ. of London King's College)
 Carl T. Berkhout (Univ. of Arizona)
 J.E. Cross (Univ. of Liverpool)
 Antonette di Paolo Healey (Univ. of Toronto)
 Michael Lapidge (Univ. of Cambridge)
 Mary P. Richards (Univ. of Tennessee-Knoxville)
 Donald G. Scragg (Manchester Univ.)
 Gordon Whatley (Queens College, CUNY)
 Joseph Wittig (Univ. of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)
 David Yerkes (Columbia University)

The Administrative Committee has general responsibility for the implementation of the plan of work, while the Advisory Committee reviews and comments on various aspects of the new reference tool.

SASLC works closely with Fontes Anglo-Saxonici, its various sub-committees, and its collateral projects, e.g. the Source Archive at King's College London. Communication between SASLC and Fontes is assured through mutual meetings and common advisors.

For further information on SASLC write to:

Prof. Paul E. Szarmach
 Project Director, SASLC
 CEMERS
 SUNY-Binghamton
 Binghamton, NY 13901

PHONE: 607-777-2730

November, 1987

1988 Cædmon Prizes

The Witan of Da Engliscan Gesipas invites entries for the 1988 Leobgaderung from which the Cædmon Prizes for Poetry will be awarded. The prizes for poetry are in two categories: (A) Old English poetry in the alliterative style; (B) Modern English poetry in the alliterative style. The poems should not exceed 50 lines (shorter ones will be at no disadvantage in the judging). They should be clearly written or typed and sent in duplicate with a postal order or check for £1.00 (plus a stamped/addressed envelope for a return of work). The two prizes will each consist of: 1) £20 with an accompanying scroll; 2) publication in Wipowinde (the group's magazine); 3) a ticket to the annual feast, where the winning entries will be read. The entries will be judged by the Witan under the guidance of the Heahwita (Dr. Duncan Macrae-Gibson). In category (A) the judges will take account of accuracy of language and faithfulness to Old English poetic practice, but will give as much credit to poetic quality and poetry. In category (B) these qualities will be the basis of judgment: "the old English alliterative style" may be taken to include whatever modifications of Old English practice its use for modern language may prompt.

The Witan also invites entries for the Cædmon Prizes for Illuminated Manuscripts. The manuscripts will be in the Old English style and will consist of at least four lines of poetry, which can be in Old or Modern English. Entries should be accompanied by a postal order or check as above. The prize will consist of : 1) £20 first prize, £10 second prize, with an accompanying scroll; 2) publication in Wipowinde; 3) a ticket to the annual feast where the winning entries will be on show. The entries will be judged by the Witan under the guidance of an acknowledged expert in the field of illuminated manuscripts.

All entries should be sent to

Gil Burn, Ealdor
32 Grange Avenue
Woodford Green, Essex
England IG8 9JT

The decision of the Witan will be final. Da Engliscan Gesipas will have copyright of the winning entries.

DEADLINE for all entries: May 31, 1988

The Sixth Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture

The ad-hoc coordinating committee will offer the sixth edition of the continuing Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture at the Twenty-Third Congress on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, May 5-8, 1988. The organizers have arranged these six sessions:

Literary Sources I

chair: Charles D. Wright (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)

Thomas N. Hall (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)

"Apocryphal Themes in the Old English Sunday-Observance Sermons"

James W. Earl (University of Oregon)

"King Alfred's Poetry"

J.E. Cross (University of Liverpool)

"A New Wulfstan Text in a Twelfth Century Manuscript"

Literary Sources II

chair: Thomas D. Hill (Cornell University)

Ruth Wehlau (University of Toronto)

"Heafod Healle Mærre: God as Architect in Three Old English Poems"

Marilyn Deegan (University of Manchester)

"Pliny the Elder and Anglo-Saxon Medicine"

Clare A. Lees (University of Liverpool)

"De Duodecim Abusivis Saeculi: Ælfric and Later Recensions"

Orality, Literacy, and Sources

chair: Paul E. Szarmach (SUNY-Binghamton)

commentator: TBA

Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe (Texas A and M University)

"The Written Remembered: Residual Orality and the Question of Sources"

Seth Lerer (Princeton University)

"Literacy and Power: Reading and Writing in Old English Literature"

Theory and Method in Anglo-Saxon Studies: New Voices in the Text

chair: Deborah Vander Bilt (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

Helen T. Bennett (Eastern Kentucky University)

"Revising the Germanic Tradition of Lament to Interpret the Female Mourner at Beowulf's Funeral"

Paul Acker (University of Michigan)

"Horror and the Feminine in Beowulf"

Glory Dharmaraj (Loyola University of Chicago)

"Beowulf and Bakhtin: A Study in the Interplay of Voices"

Anglo-Saxon Art

chair: Carol L. Neuman de Vegvar (Skidmore College)

Carol A. Farr (University of Texas-Austin)

"Tyconius' Liber Regularum and Anglo-Saxon Images of the Temple in Jerusalem"

Kathleen M. Openshaw (University of Toronto)

"The Battle Between Christ and Satan in the Tiberius Psalter"

Mildred Budny (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge)

"The Portrayal of Authors and Texts in Anglo-Saxon Art"

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Archaeological Perspectives on Anglo-Saxon Culture: Pict, Viking,
and Saxons in the North

chair and commentator: Robert T. Farrell

Christopher Morris (University of Durham)

"Native and Norse in Orkney and Shetland"

Colleen Batey (University of Leeds)

"Picts and Vikings in Caithness/Sutherland, North Scotland:
Interaction or Reaction?"

Friday, May 6 will see the annual gathering of Anglo-Saxonists at the Black Swan Restaurant for dinner. As he has in the past, Robert T. Farrell serves as organizer for this ever-growing event. At this writing Farrell is making final arrangements. Anglo-Saxonists who wish to join the group--all are welcome--should write to Farrell for final information:

Robert T. Farrell
Dept. of English
Goldwin Smith Hall
Cornell University
Ithaca, NY 14853

The fixed price of \$25.00 includes tax, tip, food, and wine.

Anglo-Saxon England 16 (1987)

The contents of ASE 16 are:

Roger Ray, "Bede and Cicero." Points out that some passages in Bede's exegetical writings that reveal an approving attitude to rhetoric (hitherto not explored in this way) seem to echo points made in Cicero's De Inventione.

J.D. Pfeifer, "Early Anglo-Saxon Glossaries and the School of Canterbury." Demonstrates that an English family of materials common to ch. xlvii of the "Leiden Glossary" and the Epinal-Erfurt and two other Erfurt glossaries has its closest counterpart in glossaries of southern Italian provenance, and deduces that a glossary similar to these Italian examples came to England in Theodore's and Hadrian's baggage.

Ward Parkes, "The Traditional Narrator and the 'I heard' Formulas in Old English Poetry." Interprets the presence of these formulas as evidence that a concept of the narrator that was formed under primarily oral conditions persisted whether composition was actually oral or in writing.

David J.G. Lewis, "The Metre of Genesis B." Furnishes an exhaustive analysis and concludes from it that the author was an Anglo-Saxon applying his native practices with some concessions to his Old Saxon material.

William A. Kretzschmar, Jr., "Adaptation and Anweald in the Old English Orosius." Attributes the Anglo-Saxons' interest in Orosius' world history and the translator's thorough-going reworking of it to conviction that the sweep of past events manifested a succession of deeds worthy of imitation, a providential pattern, and a lineal descent of authority ordained by God.

David N. Dumville, "English Square Minuscule Script: the Background and Earliest Phases." Provides a pioneering, thoroughly documented account of how this script began as attempts at calligraphy by scribes working under King Alfred and developed towards canonical status by the 930s.

Julia Crick. "An Anglo-Saxon Fragment of Justinus's Epitome." Publishes a newly recovered leaf and, by way of background, discusses criteria for distinguishing between English and continental origin for manuscripts written in eighth-century Anglo-Saxon script and considers in detail the textual history of this abridgment of Pompeius Trogus' Historiae Philippicae.

James P. Carley, "Two Pre-Conquest Manuscripts from Glastonbury Abbey." For the first time links the manuscripts in question with detailed entries in a Glastonbury book list of 1247-48 and in one

of these two cases, that of Cambridge, University Library, Kk.5.34, uses the information to reconstruct the original form of the fragmentary remains.

Gernot R. Wieland, "The Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts of Prudentius's Psychomachia." Deduces from a thorough study of the text, illustrations, captions, and glosses in the ten surviving copies that their differences indicate a much larger original distribution.

Veronica J. Smart, "Moneyers of the Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage: the Danish Dynasty 1017-42." Systematically lists all the moneyers' names on this coinage, showing how the Old English, Scandinavian, and continental Germanic types are distributed geographically.

Bibliography for 1986. Comprehensively covers the year's output in the various branches of study.

Peter Clemones, Simon Keynes, Michael Lapidge

A Further Note on the IBM Quietwriter:

or, What Your Software Manual Probably Didn't Tell You

Constance B. Hieatt, University of Western Ontario

Robert Boenig's remarks about the usefulness of the IBM Quietwriter for those of us who need Old English letters (OEN 19:2) did not mention the matter of length marks, and while these may not be needed for most scholarly purposes, those of us who get together materials for distribution to beginning students should be aware that this printer gives a superior choice in this respect, too. Nor need we settle for the Icelandic accent: a macron appears in the position of ASCII 206, or, if we are using a program that allows an individual character to be superscripted, the hyphen may be used as a macron.

Users of some programs (I believe WordPerfect is an example) may have been instructed by their manuals in a method of calling for any desired "accent" with each vowel on which they may need to use it. Other manuals give no real hint. Nota Bene, which I use, gives no suggestion at all of how to use "accents" other than those they have included as "dead" accents in the program, which do not include the possibility of æ or capital letters such as Ā. It took repeated consultation of the Nota Bene manual's section on customizing the printer table (an exercise in which I did not succeed, despite detailed letters of inquiry to Dragonfly Software, but that's another story) plus further contemplation of the table of ASCII characters to make it clear that the key is the use of ASCII 8, for a backspace, to conjure up a properly placed macron, or, with the Quietwriter's "Icelandic" fonts, an acute accent wherever it may be needed.

Whatever other tactics may be necessary or preferable for those using other programs, in general anyone who is using a Quietwriter with an "Icelandic" font can call up a macron or acute accent by first typing the relevant vowel, then--separately and in this order--putting in the ASCII numbers 8, for backspace, and 206, for macron (or 208 for acute accent). With Nota Bene at least--no doubt with some of the other programs which are compatible with a Quietwriter--one can use a superscript hyphen instead of ASCII 206 for a macron closer to the top of a lowercase vowel. On the other hand, if one wishes a higher level over a capital, one can use superscript mode with either a macron (ASCII 206) or an acute accent. As samples, I append two versions of Brunanburh 56, in the spelling of the Pope edition. The first has the macron (206) superscripted over the capital I and at normal height over the lowercase vowels; the second uses the macron at normal height over the capital but substitutes a superscript hyphen over the other vowels.¹

(1) eft Īra land æwisc-mōde;

(2) eft Īra land æwisc-mōde.

¹This page was printed on a Quietwriter with a Courier 12A font (reorder no. 1340813).

ANSAXNET

As announced in the Spring 1987 OEN (p. 25) Patrick W. Conner is organizing the first ever electronic directory of Anglo-Saxon scholars on BITNET, a worldwide, inter-university computer network composed of educational and research computer centers.

The ANSAXNET directory now has twenty-four entries for Anglo-Saxonists and Anglo-Saxon projects in Australia, Canada, Great Britain, and the United States: Ashley Amos, Frederick M. Biggs, Ronald E. Buckalew, Donald G. Bzdyl, Patrick W. Conner, Terry E. Hoad, Howell D. Chickering, Brenda Cornell, Robert Hasenfratz, Antonette diPaolo Healey, Joan Holland, Kevin S. Kiernan, David McDougall, Ian McDougall, Tom Mackay, Bernard Muir, DOE (Dictionary of Old English), Nancy Porter, Mary P. Richards, John Ruffing, Paul E. Szarmach, SASLC (Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture), Pauline Thompson, and Joseph Wittig. Arrangements are beginning to be made with major libraries so that members will be able to contact their communications personnel too.

Scholars who have access to their institutions' computer systems are, in all probability, connected to BITNET, and can easily become members of ANSAXNET. Simply send a BITNET message to Patrick Conner (VM47C2@WVNVM) including your name, your university or college mailing address, and your BITNET account number and node. Conner will return a file to you over the system with all of the electronic addresses received to date. Periodically, you will receive an updated directory. You may then use your university's BITNET system to contact anyone on the list. Because BITNET has electronic connections called "gateways" to systems all over the world, it is equally possible to communicate with colleagues in the international community. Therefore, non-US scholars who want to join ANSAXNET and who are connected to BITNET through one or more gateways should send the full electronic address with all of the appropriate gateway extensions included.

If you do not have a BITNET account yet, contact the person in charge of faculty computing at your computer center. Anglo-Saxonists should find that even if they use the home campus' system for nothing else, the availability of BITNET alone will more than repay the effort of establishing an account.

The Anglo-Saxon Helmet from Benty Grange, Derbyshire

Martin Murphy of Chesterfield has reconstructed the famous boar-crested Anglo-Saxon helmet from Benty Grange, now in the Sheffield City Museum. Using authentic material (iron, horn, silver, garnet, and bronze) and, wherever possible, traditional techniques, the new helmet gives an impression of magnificence that would hardly be guessed at from the rust-covered boar and fragile iron frame, deprived of its horn plates, which are all that remain of the original.

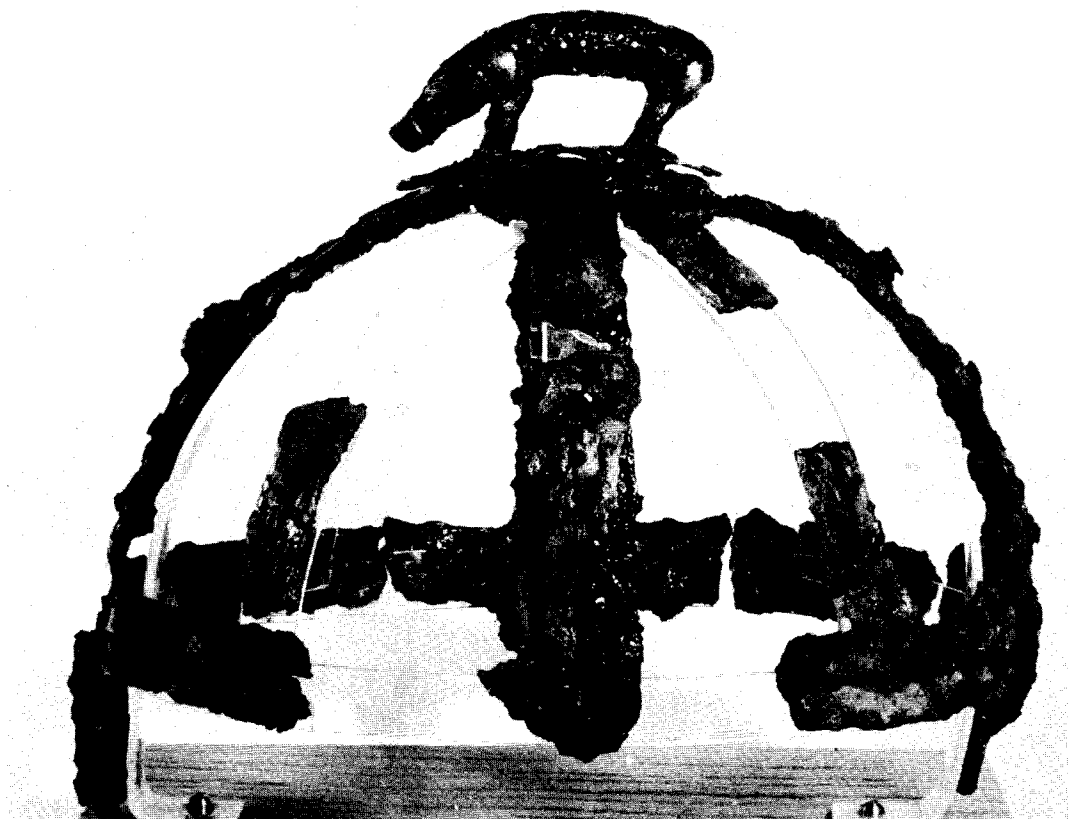
The Benty Grange helmet was discovered in 1848 by the archaeologist Thomas Bateman in a burial mound high on a limestone plateau of what is now the Peak District National Park. Bateman gives an account of the discovery in his Ten Years' Diggings in Celtic and Saxon Grave Hills (London and Derby, 1861), pp. 28-33. Centuries of decay had reduced the helmet to a framework of iron, with projections to form a neck-guard and nasal-guard, the latter decorated with a silver cross. From impressions in the metal it could be seen that there had once been a covering of horn plates. On a curved plate on top was the figure of an animal, which Bateman recognized (despite its encrustation of rust) as a "hog." It is indeed this "hog" that makes the helmet so remarkable, for, despite frequent references in art and literature, no other helmet with a free-standing boar-crest has been found anywhere in the world.

In 1948 the Benty Grange helmet was cleaned and conserved in the British Museum; R.L.S. Bruce-Mitford publishes a detailed account of the conservation in Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology (London, 1974), pp. 223-52. The cleaning revealed the boar as being made of bronze, 9 cm long, dotted with silver-gilt studs representing bristles, with silver-gilt plates on the flanks, and with garnet eyes in gold filigree sockets. In the course of conservation the boar had been taken to pieces, and Bruce-Mitford, perplexed at its seemingly odd method of construction, concluded that "the mixture of techniques appears to be utterly irrational!" (p. 242).

Murphy's reconstruction puts Bruce-Mitford's judgment to the test. Much of the apparent strangeness of design disappeared when the complicated practical problems were directly encountered. The construction of the boar, for instance, in two equal D-sectioned pieces of bronze, proves to be thoroughly logical. Moreover, other details suggested by Bruce-Mitford, such as that the boar's base plate would have been fastened on the outside of the covering plates of horn, rather than directly to the metal frame beneath, seem no less certain. And, if the legs did pass through the horn plates, their full length would not have been visible, so that they would have appeared to be less "spindly" than Bruce-Mitford observed. Perhaps the most striking feature of the reconstruction is the tall crest of real boar's hair, a tall mane that adds substantially to the dignity and ferocity of the boar.

Sheffield City Museums will in due course publish a description of the helmet and reconstruction.

Geoff Lester
University of Sheffield



The iron frame and boar crest of the original Benty Grange helmet.



The reconstructed Benty Grange helmet.

Anglo-Saxons in Rome

Carlo Carletti has recently presented us with a first, highly promising, addendum to the corpus of Anglo-Saxon runic inscriptions, besides a number of other inscriptions of interest to Anglo-Saxonists. When re-examining the graffiti on a fresco representing St. Luke in the Cimitero di Commodilla on the Via Ostiense, he discovered one English name carved in runes and identified several other names as those of English pilgrims. An inscription under the fresco dates it to the reign of Constantine IV Pogonatos (668-85), thus providing a safe terminus non ante quem for the graffiti. Since the sanctuaries of the Roman martyrs appear to have been abandoned about A.D. 800, that will be the probable terminus ante quem of the graffiti. In terms of English history, the inscriptions may be dated between the reign of Cædwalla of Wessex, who died in Rome in 689, and the visit to Rome of Archbishop Æðelheard and Bishop Cyneberht in 801 (see Bede, HE V.vii, with Cædwalla's epitaph, and ASC 799).

The runic inscription had not been recorded in the Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae: in 1936 B. Bagatti had read MAURUS. Now, 50 years later, Carletti's no. 8 proves to be a perfectly runic Eadbald (with two ligatures, ea, db, see Carletti's tav. 4, p. 140). According to Carletti, the other "non-runic" Englishmen are:

- no. 9: Cedualdo diac<onus>: the u of Cedualdo looks like a damaged wynn
- 10: Cedilomi: to be read as one word?
- 15: Ceude<...>
- 34: Nodheah

To these names, one ignorant of eighth-century epigraphical conventions but on the lookout for other Anglo-Saxons, will feel like adding a few more which Carletti does not identify as such, viz.

- nos. 1 and 14: UUernoð (Carletti: Uverno d<iaconus>)
- no. 32: Diornoð (Carletti: Diorno d<iaconus>; also no. 17 Diorn<...>)
- no. 18: Bal<...> pr<esbyter>: a name beginning with Bald-? (Carletti: Bal<entinus> = Valentinus)
- no. 33: Dene: could represent any name from Deneberht to Denewulf

If these suggestions should prove acceptable, actual "clusters" of English names would emerge: nos. 8 + 9 + 10; 14 + 15 + 17 + 18; 32 + 33 + 34. Too good to be true? That will certainly be the objection to the (very tentative) suggestion that Petrus (nos. 11 and 26) might stand for Cædwalla: "...Petrumque uocari/Sergius antistes iussit..." (Cædwalla's epitaph). Many questions remain to be answered relating to the date and circumstances of the pilgrims' visit, to their social status and identity, to the reasons why Eadbald would have used runes or why a fresco of St. Luke would have proved so attractive to English pilgrims, etc. Some, if answerable at all, will have to wait until more material becomes available. In the meantime, Anglo-Saxonists will be very grateful to Carletti for these addenda et corrigenda and for reminding them of the many Anglo-Saxons who divini amoris instinctu left Britain for Rome, and they will wish him many more exciting discoveries in the catacombs of Rome.

1
 ULERNAD

8
 +MABM

9
 cedvaldodiac
 cedilomni 10

14
 UL
 E R
 NO
 16
 YAC
 ceude 15
 17
 18
 PP

SODIORNOOSEF

32
 33
 DENET
 BLISDI
 34
 EGNODHEAH

above excerpts from C. Carletti, "I graffiti sull'affresco di s. Luca nel Cimitero de Commodilla. Addenda et Corrigenda," in Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, 57 (1984-85), 129-43, and specifically Tav. I, II, IV.

+MABM

Reconstruction of Carletti no. 8 by René Derolez.

YEAR'S WORK IN OLD ENGLISH STUDIES 1986

by

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This is the twentieth issue of the Year's Work in Old English Studies. With very few exceptions, the editorial practices developed over the years by the founding editor, Rowland Collins, have been retained. Contributors continue to be independent in their judgments and opinions. They work from the OEN bibliography of the previous spring, marking items not included in that bibliography with an asterisk and occasionally adding items from the previous year's list of "Works Not Seen." Dissertations, redactions, and summaries are sometimes silently omitted, and their absence in no way constitutes negative judgment. Editorial intervention has been kept to a minimum, although the editor (or his designate) has reviewed (with his or her initials appended) work by a contributor which falls within that contributor's area of responsibility.

The contributors to YWOES are named on the title page. The authorship of individual sections is indicated by initials at the end of each section. Final copy was prepared at the University of Tennessee under the supervision of the editor and Wanda Giles, Administrative Services Assistant for the Department of English. Typists were Dinah Brock, Sandra Lewis, and Norma Meredith. Comments and suggestions, as well as review copies of articles and books, may be sent to the editor at the Department of English, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN 37996-0430.

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1. GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS

Sure to be of interest to students of every aspect of Anglo-Saxon England is a remarkable study entitled "The Desire for Origins: An Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon Studies: (Style 20, 142-56) by Allen J. Frantzen and Charles L. Venegoni. In their paper the authors suggest that the disinterested posture implicit in the methodologies of Anglo-Saxon studies belies the highly partisan tradition that underlies them and that they in turn sustain. Using the method of archaeological analysis developed by Michel Foucault in The Archaeology of Knowledge and The Discourse on Language Frantzen and Venegoni suggest that Anglo-Saxon scholarship is materially interested in and based on powerful, but concealed, ideological assumptions. Their survey of the historical development of Anglo-Saxon scholarship demonstrates "the overt nationalism and racialism supported by Anglo-Saxon studies in earlier centuries". The authors see the compilation of the Dictionary of Old English and of Fontes Anglo-Saxonici and the revision of J. D. A. Ogilvy's Books Known to the English, 597-1066 as the conclusion of this tradition. Frantzen and Venegoni's study is meant to be provocative; it is. We look forward to the promised monograph with the same title.

Also of interest to a larger audience than its title might suggest is Gale R. Owen-Crocker's fascinating study of Dress in Anglo-Saxon England (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press). She has gathered together the evidence of archaeology, literature, and the visual and decorative arts. She modestly characterizes this evidence as "regrettably patchy", but to a non-specialist her work seems a remarkable achievement. Her book also contains a valuable chapter on textile production and an appendix glossary of Old English garment names.

Two antiquarian studies of general interest appeared in 1986. In the preparation of his edition of Junius' Caedmon's Metrical Paraphrase (London, 1832) Benjamin Thorpe used an interleaved copy of Junius' Caedmonis Monachi Paraphrasis Poetica (Amsterdam, 1665) lent to him by William Conybeare. The Conybeare 'Caedmon' Contained the notes and translations of William and his brother John who had been elected Oxford's Rawlinson Professor of Anglo-Saxon in 1808 and who, before his death in 1824, had been engaged in an edition of the material; the Conybeare 'Caedmon' is now in Harvard's Houghton Library. In "The Conybeare 'Caedmon': A Turning Point in the History of Old English Scholarship" (Harvard Lib. Bull. 33 (1987 for 1985), 378-403) J. R. Hall traces the history of these publishing efforts and convincingly demonstrates that the Conybeare 'Caedmon' is a unique witness of the transition from the old antiquarian scholarship to the new professional philology. Hall's presentation of a great deal of complicated material is clearly and cogently argued.

In "William Lambarde and the Elizabethan Polity" (Stud. in Med. and Renaissance Hist. n.s. 8, 231-65) James D. Alsop and Wesley M. Stevens remind us that William Lambarde (1563-1601), now chiefly remembered for his antiquarian studies, was a continuing and direct participant in the political and constitutional issues of the day. The authors demonstrate the often overlooked relevance of late sixteenth-century scholarship to the perceived needs of Tudor polity.

Stan Mendyk's "Early British Chorography" (Sixteenth Century Jnl 17, 459-

81) will be of limited interest to students of Anglo-Saxon England. Mendyk provides a very general survey of the works of the Elizabethan antiquarians, Leland, Camden and Lambard, but he seems unfamiliar with the recent and important studies of these men by, among others, Carley, Dunn and Herendeen.

This year saw a number of events to mark the nine hundredth anniversary of the compilation of the Domesday survey; among them was the publication of a full-colour facsimile. Domesday Preserved (London: HMSO) by Helen Forde is the official written and photographic record of the dismantling, conservation and photographing of the two Domesday volumes before rebinding. Materials and methods used are discussed in detail in this handbook.

In "The Imagery of Guthlac of Crowland" (England in the Thirteenth Century. Ed. W. M. Ormrod. Harlaxton, Lincs., 1985; Woodbridge and Dover, NH, 1986; pp. 76-94) George Henderson reviews the legend of St. Guthlac from the eighth century. He uses the comparatively little-known sculptured typanum of Crowland Abbey which was constructed in the middle years of the thirteenth century as an indication of the continuing cult of the saint.

Françoise Le Saux reviews Laßamon's Welsh Sources in ES 67, 385-93. She concludes that the arguments put forth by Pilch in Layamons Brut: Eine literarische Studie (Heidelberg, 1960) are weak except in the case of the "Armes Prydein" or "Prophecy of Britain". Le Saux admits that her analysis cannot itself be completely conclusive and critical discussion of the subject will surely continue as it has since the first edition of the poem in 1847 by Sir Fredric Madden.

R. Derolez's "Runes and Magic" (Amer. Notes & Queries 24, 96-102) begins as a review of Karl Martin Nielsen's "Runen und Magie: Ein forschungsgeschichtlicher Überblick" which appeared in Frühmittelalterliche Studien 19 (1985), 75-97. Derolez provides a useful survey on the much discussed question of runes and magic. He does not "advocate a wholesale rejection" of the magic-in-runes school, but rather urges an examination of runes in their larger cultural context which includes magic and about which there is still much to be discovered.

Manfred Görlach's "Diachronic Translation, or: Old and Middle English Revisited" (SAP 18, 15-35) arises out of his extensive experience in translating modern German into Old and Middle English. His Old English alliterative verse translation of Wilhelm Busch's Max und Moritz appeared in 1977, the first annotated English edition in 1979. A Middle English version appeared in 1981 and most recently an Old English rhymed version in 1987. As a result of this experience Görlach's insights into the linguistic possibilities and limitations of Old and Middle English are well worth reading. Enthusiasts of his efforts will be disappointed to learn that he is not going to translate Struwpeter.

This year is distinguished by a number of important composite volumes. Angli e sassoni al di qua e al di là del mare was the title of the thirty-second Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo which took place at Spoleto on 26 April - 1 May 1984. The proceedings of the conference were published in 1987 (Spoleto: CISAM). Papers were presented in four sessions on: "Archeologia e Arte"; "Lingua, Letteratura e Cultura"; "Potere Politico-Militare e Ordinamento Sociale" and "Conversione Religiosa e

Ordinamenti Ecclesiastici". Individual papers are noticed in the appropriate sections of the 1986 Bibliography and YWOES 1986.

Paul E. Szarmach, with the assistance of Virginia Darrow Oggins, has edited Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture (Stud. in Med. Culture, 20. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, Western Michigan Univ.) This volume collects together a number of papers delivered at the first Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture held in 1983 at the eighteenth International Congress on Medieval Studies at Western Michigan University on 5-8 May 1983. The Symposium has continued each year since 1983. The papers are arranged in four sections: "Literature"; "History, Archaeology, Art History"; "Interdisciplinary Approaches: 'The Dream of the Rood' and 'Research Tools'". The volume represents the work of a distinguished series of speakers whose papers are noticed in the appropriate sections of the 1986 Bibliography and YWOES 1986.

In The Anglo-Saxons: Synthesis and Achievement J. Douglas Woods and David A. E. Pelteret present ten papers from a colloquium on "The Anglo-Saxons and Their Neighbours" held at Scarborough College of the University of Toronto in 1979. Pelteret provides an introduction and a concluding "Bibliographical Essay". This "Essay" is linked to the papers, but goes beyond their immediate references and proves extremely comprehensive and valuable. The individual papers are noted in the appropriate sections of the 1986 Bibliography and YWOES 1986.

In German Dialects: Linguistic and Philological Investigations (Amsterdam Stud. in the Theory and Hist. of Ling. Science, 4: Current Issues in Ling. Theory, 38. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins), the editors, Bela Brogyanyi and Thomas Krömmelbein, seek to present Germanic philology with all its linguistic, literary and cultural subdivisions. As a result the twenty-two essays presented by students and friends to Heinz Klingenberg on his fiftieth birthday and an essay by Klingenberg himself are fairly wide-ranging and diverse. Of interest to readers of the OEN and noticed in the 1986 Bibliography and YWOES 1986 are the following: Anatoly Liberman, "Beowulf-Grettir" (pp. 353-401); Ursula Schaefer, "Two women in need of a friend: A Comparison of The Wife's Lament and Eadgyth's Letter to Boniface" (pp. 491-524); Hildegard L. C. Tristram, "In support of Tupper's solution of the Exeter Book Riddle (Krapp-Dobbie) 55" (pp. 585-598).

Finally, two unusual items. In "The Bayeux Tapestry: A 900-Year-Old Latin Cartoon" (Classical Jnl 81, 253-57) John D. Anderson, a public school teacher in Connecticut describes his use of the Bayeux tapestry to teach introductory level Latin courses. W. S. Milne's "A Version of Caedmon's Hymn" (Agenda 24, no. 2, 23) is one of the more unusual items to appear this year or any year. I quote the item in its entirety:

(Caedmon's spik, auld Bernician, is awfa like Aiberdein kintra)

Noo ye'll hear hiven's waard,
God Almighty an his brod,
faither fine wha wirkit wunners,
maistered being, appintit laird;
auldest bairn wa shaipit fooms,
hiven's ruif, halie Makar,
chiels aa kennan, midden-yaird;

laird o' aathing, tide's merker,
freend aewys, fit-hadd.¹

¹ foot-hold

This section may suitably conclude with notices of tributes to scholars in our field. These include: Alan J. Bliss, 1985 (T. P. Dolan, Med. Eng. Stud. Newsletter (Toyko) 14, 6-7); Sharon Elizabeth Butler, 1986 (William P. Stoneman, OEN 20, no. 1, 14); Marie Padgett Hamilton, 1986 (Sigmund Eisner, Roger Dahood and Carl T. Berkhout, OEN 19, no. 2, 16); John Michael Wallace-Hadrill, 1985 (Karl Leyser, EHR 101, 561-63).

Works Not Seen

Fairer, David. "Anglo-Saxon Studies." The History of the University of Oxford, V: The Eighteenth Century. Ed. L. S. Sutherland and L. G. Mitchell. Oxford, 1986. p. 807-29.

Toon, Thomas E. "The Socio-Politics of Literacy in Early England: What We Learned at Our Hlaford's Knee." Folia Linguistica Historica 6 (1985), 87-106.

W. P. S.

2. LANGUAGE

a. Lexicon, Glosses

J. E. Cross's "Source, Lexis, and Edition" (Medieval Studies Conference, Aachen 1983, pp. 25-36) suggests that consultation of Latin manuscripts is necessary even though there is not an interlinear text or a clearly defined Latin source text, because it is necessary to see Latin as the Anglo-Saxon scribe saw it. The author reiterates several of his source-word conclusions and notes that the Old English Martyrology is a good text for studying OE writers' use of Latin sources. J. Holland's "Dictionary of Old English: 1985 Progress Report" (OEN 19, no. 2, 21-22) reports on the continuing work for D and further computerization of the project. The project has received a grant from Xerox for new equipment, and there have been a variety of visitors to the project. "The Microfiche Concordance: a Lexicographer's Tool" (American Notes and Queries 24, 120-23) by J. Holland praises the Microfiche Concordance and recounts some of its various uses, pointing out its value for word studies, glosses, and new words. Likewise, A. C. Amos's "The Dictionary of Old English" (Sources, pp. 407-13) discusses the potential of the DOE as a research tool and the various tools which have already come as by-products of the project: Venezky's Concordance; the machine-readable corpus of OE; the bibliography of word studies.

A. Bammesberger's "Das etymologische Wörterbuch des Altenglischen: Probleme und Methoden" (Anglistentag 1981: Vorträge 7, 29-34) defines three types of etymological dictionaries: those that have access to informants (Onions); those that are built from particular corpora (Frisk); those that reconstruct information from cognate languages (Pokorny). His general warning for OE is that information must be proximate; remote cognates tend to corrupt the accuracy of the material. He gives a plausible pattern for the presentation of etymological information in a seven-line model for OE ambyre from a 1983 article. P. Bierbaumer in "Aktuelle Probleme der altenglischen Wortforschung" (Anglistentag 1981: Vorträge 7, 22-28) is in general a plea to scholars to take the study of OE glosses more seriously. His work on the botanical vocabulary for OE is used for examples of the problems that lie before us. We are beset by both a lack of quality and quantity in definitive editions. The paucity of explanations of glosses is matched at the other end by an abundance of faulty explanations; he adds to this what he calls pseudo-commentaries that appear to resolve issues but are really only speculative, unsupported, or superficially representative of the evidence. A series of complaints about inexperienced scholars, lack of unification in the field, and the sad state of Latin glosses ends in the plea for scholarly effort. K. Toth's "Ae. lā 'Haupthaar'" (Anglia 104, 94-103) deals with a double gloss in British Library, Cotton Cleopatra A III: Latin cessaries and the OE lā. wiffix. The seemingly superfluous lā has been treated as a ghost word, with Schlutter arguing that it is l ā equal to uel ā. Later attempts have been made to attach it loosely to various similarly shaped words, but the author believes that all phonological, morphological, and semantic problems can be eliminated by postulating 'hair of the head' as the true sense of lā.

P. Stiles in "The Fate of the Numeral '4' in Germanic" (North-Western European Lang. Evolution 7, 3-27 and 8, 3-25) studies the inflections, combining forms, and the ordinal. He notes that OE has the most attestations of 4 in all of the Gmc languages. In addition, OE uses both inflected and

uninflected varieties of 4 in exception to the general WGmc rule. He presents a seven statement summary of his three articles on the subject in the fourth section of the last installment. A. Bammesberger's "On the Germanic Decads from '20' to '60'" (Germanic Dialects, pp. 3-8) postulates that the Gmc terms for 20, 30, 40, 50, and 60 are the result of the addition of the stem for 10 to the names for the numerals. The problem for the etymology is the root for decad and the ordinals. He proposes Gmc *-tegu- for the decad term; for PWGmc and the cardinals, he suggests pre-Gmc *dekmt-.

A. Crozier, in "The Germanic Root *dreug- 'to follow, accompany': a Semantic Reconstruction" (Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi 101, 127-48) reconstructs various uses of OE dreogan and other related Gmc words to arrive at a meaning for Gmc *dreug-. He notes the multiplicity of meanings for the term in OE. The IE root dhreugh-/dhrough-/dhru(n)gh- can account for the various meanings of all the derivative forms. In a second work, "Old West Norse þrótt and Old English indryhtu" (SN 58, 3-10), Crozier examines the possible relationships between OWN þrótt and OE indryhtu. He reviews Johanisson's work on þrótt and his proposed parallels of gedrih and gedryhtu to it. He rejects Dick's work on this parallel along with its semantics and finds little to recommend Johanisson's proposed relationships between the two terms. He supports the traditional definition of indryten as 'noble, splendid' and indryhtu as 'nobility, splendour'. Crozier then proposes OE *indryht rather than Johanisson's *indreogan or Hallander's *droht on the basis of its ability to account for both words, having a cognate in OWN inndrott. E. P. Hamp's "Germanic Baum, English beam" (Linguistics across Historical and Geographical Boundaries, pp. 345-46) suggests that the etymon is *baCmaz and that *r is the correct choice for the consonant. He points out that morphological and semantic evidence is necessary for accepting etymons and offers some for this one. Ultimately, *barg-maz < PIE *bhorgh-mo-s is the source for *barmaz. R. Anttila's "An Etymology for the Aquatic 'acker/aiker' in English, and Other Grains of Truth?" (Linguistics across Historical and Geographical Boundaries, pp. 177-82) explores possible semantic and etymological connections of aquatic acker with agrarian aiker. Anttila suggests they have the semantic sense of 'driving' in common, but he explores the relationships further in the meanings of 'area' and 'field', 'fighting', 'crops', 'crushed mosses', 'sprout', and 'acorn' with evidence from the various Gmc languages. R. Lass in "Words without Etyma: Germanic 'tooth'" (Linguistics across Historical and Geographical Boundaries, pp. 473-82) shows some of the limitations of traditional comparative linguistics in determining etymons, notably limitations on vowel determination. A regularity of stem transmission is not dependable, but the ancestors of reflexes of ablaut grades act in regular ways. He uses a reconstruction of the vowel of *tVn to support his point. Lass concludes that root and etymon must be reconsidered in terms of linear strings.

B. Griffiths in "The Old English Alcoholic Vocabulary--a Re-examination" (Durham Univ. Jnl 78, 231-50) attempts to define OE beor by ingredients and notes that even if beor had honey in it, it was still a malt drink with hops. The hops, he argues, would have grown wild in the area rather than being cultivated. He concludes with a discussion of the importance of drink in AS and Gmc society. J. D. Woods in "Germanic Warrior Terms in Old Saxon (The Anglo-Saxons, pp. 135-50) uses statistical methods for determining the extent to which the Heliand contains 'warrior' terms as compared to AS warrior poetry. Before doing this, however, he establishes a

close relationship between OE and OS with lexicostatistical methods. He finds that the levels of warrior terminology correlate in the two languages in biblical works as well as between the Heliand and OE warrior poetry. He then offers the standard explanation that these terms made the more pacifistic aspects of Christianity palatable to the Gmc societies. M. Fjalldal's "The Vocabulary of Religious and Secular Rank in Anglo-Saxon Poetry" (DAI 46A, 1936) proposes a systematization for terms of rank, both religious and secular; he shows synonyms for and various usages of terms for praise.

G. Princi Braccini in "Recupero di un lemma germanico e connesse questioni etimologiche (wala-paus in Rotari, wala nel Beowulf, francese galon, italiano gala, e tedesco posse)" (AION 27, 135-205) uses a discussion of the meanings of the lemma wala-paus to juxtapose loosely cognate and semantically related terms for each part of the compound. The discursus on the individual meanings and reconstitution of the compound meaning is extensive. The related semantic and etymological fields are constructed for OE wala (Beowulf, 1031), Fr galon, It gala, and Ger posse and their cognates. Reconstructed Gmc *wal-/wel- and *baut suggest many possibilities. However, wala is seen as yielding a kind of 'strip, ridge' in general; the analysis of paus and cognates yields in part 'trunk, stump' > 'bundle, faggot' > 'wrapped person' > 'mask'. Typical of the attempt to exhaust the material are the archeological and exegetical exercises that end with the meaning of a 'circular guard with eye spaces'. There seems to be no reason to reject the substantive findings even though many of the supporting details remain highly speculative. C. A. Mastrelli's "L'incidenza delle invasioni germaniche nelle denominazioni degli animali" (L'uomo di fronte al mondo animale nell'alto medioevo, pp. 243-90) opens with a simple characterization of the linguistic contact between the Roman and Gmc peoples vis-à-vis the naming of animals. After remarking that only the words for 'heron' and 'badger' seem to have survived out of the Roman naming of animals indigenous to northern Europe, he wonders why the Gmc terms have so replaced the Latin terms in Romance. He postulates that while denotative representations are sparse, an examination of the connotative meanings will give good historical-cultural reasons for the process. To this end he examines associated terms in a number of areas: 1) hunting and fishing, 2) agrarian, pastoral, and military, 3) parts of the body, 4) cooking and dressing, 5) appearance and behavior. The thirty-four pages of the article and the eleven pages of commentary from his colleagues and himself are essentially a long listing of appropriate data.

M. J. Phillips in "Heart, Mind, and Soul in Old English: a Semantic Study" (DAI 46A, 1925) considers nine terms: hyge, sefa, ferh, hreber, breoste, heorte, mod, sawol, gast. He locates three divisions of meaning and notes that some groups can be distinguished from others using syntactic criteria. T. Thrane's "On Delimiting the Senses of Near-Synonyms in Historical Semantics: a Case-Study of Adjectives of 'Moral Sufficiency' in the Old English Andreas" (Linguistics across Historical and Geographical Boundaries, pp. 671-92) surveys the semantic field of 'moral sufficiency'. It includes sixty-five adjectives, but he locates a subsystem of thirteen relating to the thegn-theodan relationship. He distinguishes between those which are monadic and those which are dyadic. The work includes an appendix of passages referred to in the text. B. Schlerath in "'Gabe und Lohn' in den altgermanischen Bibelübersetzungen" (Sprachwissenschaftliche Forschungen: Festschrift für Johann Knobloch, pp. 361-78) uses the technique of comparing different translators' representations of 'gift, wage, reward' in order to

create a semantic field or at least part of a semantic field. General discourse on the nature of the relationship of intellectual advancement and "loan translation" word choices are sensible, but only the particular is demonstrated. Gmc *laun connotes 'equivalent value'; Gmc *mizdō indicates 'promised reward.' In OE and ModE the opposite is true. Modern translators tend to distinguish between 'spiritual rewards' and 'earthly compensation.' K. Turner's "Categorization, Meaning, and Change in the English Modal System" (DAI 46A, 1926) is a syntactic and semantic study of the OE preterite-presents which focuses on the modal cognates. She proposes a dual category membership for the modal cognates rather than assigning them exclusive full verb status, demonstrating semantic change through a change in feature markings.

M. Rissanen's "Expression of Exclusiveness in Old English and the Development of the Adverb only" (Papers . . . Amsterdam, pp. 253-67) discusses the history of the exclusive use of 'only' in English with reference to the property of exclusiveness of the expression in OE. He proposes that 'only' is not derived from anlic / ænlic but from ane / ana after the collapse of the inflectional system. Shigeru Ono in "Undergytan as a 'Winchester' Word" (Linguistics across Historical and Geographical Boundaries, pp. 569-77) suggests that undergytan was favored by Ælfric and never used by Wulfstan in his homilies. Its limited usage and range of meaning caused its extinction along with other terms for understanding in the 'Winchester' group. H. Iwasaki's "A Few Notes on the Vocabulary of La₃amon's Brut" (Poetica (Tokyo) 24, 1-15) compares two texts of Brut in an attempt to study some aspects of the transition between OE and eME. He specifically works with forms of DRIHTEN, EITLOND, GUME, SIDE, WINTER, BLIþE FÆIE, OHT, BUZEN, UNDERFON, OFSLEAN, UPPEN. OFSLEAN and BLIþE show the highest correspondence among the various manuscripts. M. Rissanen's "Middle English Translations of Old English Charters in the Liber Monasterii de Hyda: a Case of Historical Error Analysis" (Linguistics across Historical and Geographical Boundaries, pp. 591-603) compares ME translations of OE charters in Liber Monasterii de Hyda to study the ME speaker's knowledge of and ability to deal with phrases, words, and constructions which were obsolete or disappearing in his dialect of ME. He cites 'man' as an indefinite pronoun which disappeared from southern dialects of ME earlier than expected based on this scribe's apparent unfamiliarity with the term in the indefinite sense. There are also "mistranslations" of ac and lich. A. H. Stewart's "Inference in Socio-Historical Linguistics: the Example of Old English Word-Play" (Folia Linguistica Historica 6, 63-85) uses word-play in the riddles to show the interaction between the OE speaker and hearer. She considers puns, lexical play, and play with formulae. Her ultimate claims are that we must revise our simple linguistic model to a communicative competence model and that she has shown the effect of the linguistic balancing acts in the riddles on the hearers.

L. M. Matheson's "Licere: a Ghost Word in the Middle English Dictionary (N&Q 33, 9) contends that licere is a ghost word from a printing error of swilicere. It should be swiblicere, since licere is a hapax legomenon and the feminine dative singular form of OE swiblic is attested. S. Morrison's "Early Middle English oferrswifenn" (ASNSL 223, 115-20) investigates the probable sources of passages containing oferrswifenn. These sources confirm the meaning 'to overcome'. He fails to find an OE source and concludes that it is exclusive to Ormulum's dialect and modeled on OE oferswipen 'victory over the devil'. The OE form was lost in eME; it would have conflicted with the ON

borrowed form of swipen, 'to clash or burn'. P. A. Thompson in "applede gold: an Investigation of Its Semantic Field" (MS 48, 315-33) suggests that applede gold belongs to the Cynewulfian school and argues that the translation should refer to surface appearance rather than shape. apple is more properly related to the terms for pomegranate than apple. The Anglo-Saxons placed both in the same color category of 'gold'. S. M. Kuhn's "Old English macian, Its Origin and Dissemination" (Jnl of Eng. Ling. 19, 49-93) notes that the absence of macian and gemacian before Alfred suggests they were borrowed. Their rarity in Alfredian texts would also support borrowing. He argues that the borrowing occurred in the late ninth century from OS, but OS borrowed the etymon in turn from OHG. Its spread in English can be traced through its increasing frequency in manuscripts from various areas and its increasing semantic range.

b. Syntax, Phonology, and Other Aspects

W. Elmer in "Syntactic Variation and Markedness" (Anglistentag 1983, Konstanz, pp. 230-39) redefines grammatical markedness as the "cost" of using a construction that varies from the normative representation, using data about the growth of extraposition and impersonal constructions. BE ADJ/NP þæt is considered normative, while ADJ/NP BE þæt, IT BE ADJ/NP þæt, and ADJ/NP IT BE þæt are considered harder or more marked in ascending order. A type of lexical markedness is also suggested by the data. There is some indication that diachronic changes may be dependent on the cost involved in the types of markedness. Elmer's "Historical Linguistics in Synchronic Description" (Anglistentag 1981: Vorträge 7, 45-52) is a similar general article which considers the merits of a phrase structure model and case model in accounting for OE impersonals. He argues that both syntactic and semantic constraints play a role in the best explanations of impersonals and other historical linguistic phenomena. J. D. Collins in "Old English: a Language Indo-European in Form but Not Function" (The Eleventh LACUS Forum 1984, pp. 392-403) argues that OE is "a transitional language for the whole period." Leaving aside the trivializing effect of observing that any living language is in transition, one might suggest that the paper is an attack on the simple text-book idea that OE is an inflectional language in both form and function. The author attacks representations that would not notice that the inflectional system does not neatly transfer to the multiple grammatical functions, suggesting in part why English was becoming an analytic language. It's hard to believe that any serious OE grammarian has not already noticed this. H. Schendl's "Valenz, implizite Kasus und sprachlicher Wandel im Englischen" (Folia Linguistica Historica 6, 357-99) is an attempt to handle certain diachronic meaning changes through a generative semantic model of language, in particular Fillmore's (1968) deep case theory. The relationships of the roles of the attached nouns are expressed in valences of themes around the verb. The roles of instrumental, locative, agent, and patient follow much the same structure as those concepts developed in the seventies. The author uses OE steorfan to demonstrate change through the "incorporation" of the value of the instrumental into the more specific verb; he uses OE lenden, ME arriuen, and lME landen to indicate the "excorporation" of the theme 'come on land' from the set, creating differences in range of meanings for the items in the sets. This interesting exercise is not particularly data-driven; it is a simple example of a contemporary model being used to describe what might be otherwise described. S. Keyser and W. O'Neill in "The Simplification of the

allow it to be called a creole. He concludes that ME is neither a pidgin nor a creole based on the usual tests for such terms; he attacks Bailey and Maroldt, saying that they have made the terms useless by their all-inclusive definitions. M. L. Samuels in "The Great Scandinavian Belt" (Papers . . . Amsterdam, pp. 269-81) shows the significance of Scan influence in ModE. He suggests that northern portion of the Danelaw had a stronger influence over English for a longer time than over the southern portion. He supports this with a study of the change of /hj/- to /ʃ/ in a WN focal area that remains to the present day. Language contact and its effect on what have been perceived as internal changes are the focus of A. Danchev's "Interlanguage Simplification in Middle English Vowel Phonology?" (Linguistics across Historical and Geographical Boundaries, pp. 239-52). He examines the loss of OE /œ (:)/, /æ/, and /y(:)/ and ME open-syllable lengthening as possible results of interlanguage contact rather than language internal changes. He notes that this idea of simplification doesn't explain everything, but it is very appropriate to investigate in studies dealing with transitions between OE and ME.

A. Lutz's "The Syllabic Basis of Word Division in Old English Manuscripts" (ES 67, 193-210) argues, based on a combination of Jespersenian and Saussurian scales of sound strengths, that OE scribes made logical choices for division of words at the ends of lines and that these divisions were based on the concept of consonantal strength. She uses half of Wetzels' statistical data and considers various clusters and arrangements of consonants in syllables in her discussion. F. Colman in "A cǣg to Old English Syllable Structure" (Linguistics across Historical and Geographical Boundaries, pp. 225-30) discusses Hogg's (1979) proposal for a chronology of palatalization and i-umlaut. She argues that Hogg is closer to the solution than he thinks and fails only to consider some developments that he has observed as evidence for his position. Colman contends that dage and cage are not even a near minimal pair; Hogg's solution of different syllabifications is therefore acceptable. She asserts that the [j] in dage doesn't belong entirely to the second syllable and that the [j] in cage does; therefore, palatalization did precede i-umlaut. She agrees with Pulgram that syllables are "initial-maximalist."

R. Lass in "Minkova noch einmal: MEOSL and the Resolved Root" (Folia Linguistica Historica 6, 245-65) expands and revises Minkova's 1982 article on ME open-syllable lengthening and rejects her -VC subclass as unnecessary. He adopts a target approach for the lengthening and argues that it is not a sudden process but part of a continuing prosodic trend from Gmc. He concludes syllable weight is heirarchical. D. Minkova's "Of Rhyme and Reason: Some Foot-Governed Quantity Changes in English" (Papers . . . Amsterdam, pp. 163-78) discusses of lengthening in ME syllables and responds to criticisms of her 1982 work. It is in part a response to Lass (1985). She contends that ME open-syllable lengthening occurs only in OE words whose last syllable has the potential for loss in ME. She accepts a part of Danchev's "Interlocking Hypothesis," which proposes that change occurs on the basis of communicative considerations, but sticks to her hypothesis of 1982. Attention should be paid to "foot domain" rather than syllable length for length changes. R. P. Stockwell views this lengthening from another angle in "Assessment of Alternative Explanations of the Middle English Phenomenon of High Vowel Lowering when Lengthened in the Open Syllable" (Papers . . . Amsterdam, pp. 303-18). He argues that his long-standing solution (1960) to the problem has

been virtually ignored by recent scholars. He notes, after reviewing five alternative explanations, that no short vowels of OE were lowered in the south. S. Suzuki's "Syllable Theory and Old English Verse: a Preliminary Observation" (Linguistics across Historical and Geographical Boundaries, pp. 651-57) starts with the assumption that a syllable is "hierarchically organized in metrical (s/w) terms." Contra Lass, Suzuki proposes -VC# and -VV# are identical with respect to lift formation and shows that ambisyllabicity is the basis. He also rejects Lass' boundary shift idea and argues that ambisyllabicity is independently motivated for OE internally. He explains resolution such that sunu is syllabified as sunʃ rather than suʃ. Proceeding from this point, he explains alliteration in terms of syllable theory and compares it to Gmc reduplication.

H. Benediktsson in "Oícel. oxe, uxe: Morphology and Phonology" (North-Western European Lang. Evolution 7, 29-97) is a descriptive piece which touches briefly on OE. He notes that OE oca's relation to r-stems is more obscure than Oícel oxe's relation to the same group. F. Colman's "On Some Morphological Formatives in Old English" (Folia Linguistica Historica, 6, 267-83) is a response to Bauer's (1983) definition of formatives. Using OE data, she concludes there is no support for the concept of "empty formative" in OE. All of the OE data can be explained on both phonological and morphological bases. F. Heidermanns in "Zur primären Wortbildung im germanischen Adjektivsystem" (ZVS 99, 278-307) basically treats material from Got, Gmc, and OE. The origins of OE curcu, wlacu, and bicce are discussed without certainty, but the development is suggested by some general observations. Feminine u-adjectives originated from *-wi, and the /w/ combined with velars just as with the nasals. The new kwu-type fell together with kwa-adjectives in OWN. The resulting speculations seem to indicate how strongly the development of particular phonological shapes of classes and affixes is bound to the exigencies of these classes and affixes. A. Pinto in "A New Origin for the English /ʃ/ Phoneme?" (Word 37, 177-88) suggests that the development of the apical articulation and the residual lip rounding of the following lost segment of the vowel in OE sēo would account for ME shē, scae, sche. Parallel developments in words like OE sēon seem to be blocked by homophony problems and analogical pressures. The mostly northern ME sho could result from the pressure of ON hon. While a possible representation, the arguments are not predicated on systematic theory or data.

L. J. Brinton's "Iconicity and Semantic Change: Old English Verbal Prefixes" (Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik 23, 55-70) argues that metaphorical shift and "bleaching" are not good motivators for meaning change of OE perfective verbal prefixes. She considers a-, be-, bi-, for-, of-, to-, and purgh- in her discussion and concludes that a structural/semantic motivation is what is most clearly present. The change from directional to telic meanings in these prefixes supports her point. A. Bammesberger in "The Adjectival Stem *kwika- in Germanic" (General Ling. 26, 259-63) explains Gmc *kwikwa- as arising from IE *g*iw'o- rather than *kwika-; it should be a back formation from WIII *kwikw-a:-. F. Kortlandt's "The Germanic First Class of Weak Verbs" (North-Western European Lang. Evolution 8, 27-31) explores the merger of two PIE present forms *-ie/o- and *eie/o- in the Gmc WI class of verbs. The author presents six stages for the loss of the distinction of the two present endings in Gmc WI verbs: loss of final *e; raising of *e to *i and loss of intervocalic *j; vocalization of *j after a long stem before front

vowels; desyllabification of *i before back vowels; generalization of the long imperative ending *ei; analogical introduction of stem-final *j before front vowels.

A. L. Sihler's "Germanic Second Person Endings in -st" (Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft 47, 193-215) argues that the -t of -st is not the result of meta-analysis and a fragment of the second person singular pronoun, but rather it arose regularly from the joining of -st to the preterite presents. There is little on OE except for scattered examples. Both OHG and OE saw -st first appearing consistently in monosyllabic words. D. Stein in "Old English Northumbrian Verb Inflection Revisited" (Linguistics across Historical and Geographical Boundaries, pp. 637-50) recounts major points and factors of Northumbrian -s occurrences on the basis of Labov's study of "present from the study of the past." He considers an analogical extension from second person singular to second person plural and the availability of subject pronouns in order to reanalyze Berndt's (1956) work. The Scan influence is again a cause of division in the northern and southern characteristics.

R. Hickey's "On Syncope in Old English" (Linguistics across Historical and Geographical Boundaries, pp. 359-66) contends that the syncope rule in OE is governed by syllable and word-class status. In general, syncope is triggered by suffixation, but the problem is to account for forms where syncope would be expected to occur but does not. For example, a rule might apply to nouns and yet not to certain adjectives; however, the more semantically important an inflection is, the less likely syncope is to occur. Syncope is likely with long syllable rhymes, but with short syllable rhymes (light syllables) there is no syncope. In "Metathesis" (Linguistics across Historical and Geographical Boundaries, pp. 547-56), T. Nakao claims there is no single cause for metathesis and that the traditional accounts of -VC metathesis are weak since they imply abruptness and a simple switching of positions. The author argues with Lass that it is occasionally a process involving epenthesis, stress shift, or loss of a stressed vowel. Stress shift, he concludes, seems to account for more forms than the attempt to place metathesis in a sequence of ordered sound-change rules. T. Vennemann's "Rückumlaut" (Linguistics across Historical and Geographical Boundaries, pp. 701-23) presents rückumlaut as a case of rule inversion. He mentions OE only as being on the lesser end of a scale of degree of rückumlaut in the Gmc languages, postulating that its basis in languages where umlaut precedes syncope is eliminated.

C. M. Barrack's "Natural Generative Phonology and Old English Breaking" (Sprache und Literatur: Festschrift für Arval L. Streadbeck zum 65. Geburtstag, pp. 9-13) argues for semi-abstract representation in natural generative phonology based on OE breaking and retraction. The True Generalization Condition should be modified based on evidence from different periods of WS and Kentish texts. He limits this proposal to unmarked segments. B. Drescher's "Second Fronting in the Old English Dialect of the Omont Leaf" (Cahiers Linguistiques d'Ottawa 12, 39-48) predates her monograph reviewed here last year. She argues that the Omont leaf of OE provides new evidence in support of 'second fronting' as two changes rather than one: adding a raising rule and losing a backing rule. Drescher contends that "a-restoration has been lost and a raising not yet added" in the dialect of the leaf. C. Scott's "English Front Round Vowels: a Synchronic and Diachronic Interpretation" (SAP 18, 3-14) suggests that the most parsimonious analysis of ModE vowels would

have tense and lax high front round vowels in the underlying structure. These vowels, he argues, were originally in English phonology, but went under because they were the least stable. He proposes OE and ME phonologies without underlying diphthongs but with front round vowels. The process of segmentalization accounts for y-glides after tense vowels in this way; segmentalization shows that changes from one stage to the next are analogous to the noun phrase segmentation of components. L. Zabulene's "K voprosu o statuso diftongov prelomleniia" (Lietuvos TSR Aukštųjų Mokyklų Darbai: Kalbotyra 36, no. 3, 130-34), according to the English summary, shows that OE long and short diphthongs are homogeneous both phonetically and phonologically. This position is supported by graphic evidence as well as evidence from delabialization.

R. Lühr and K. Matzel in "Eine weitere Möglichkeit der Genese von anlautentem germ. *p-" (ZVS 99, 254-77) modestly expand on H. Kuhn's (1961) extensive article on the rise of the initial p- in Gmc and Meid's (1984) responses to Kuhn. A very good summary of the sources already postulated leads to a discussion of the semantically related p/sp- words. Once the non-native words are accounted for, the impression is left that the pattern-filling p is in part a result of the native loss of s- from sp-. N. Wagner in "Um die Endung von ahd. taga (-ā)" (ZDA 115, 37-48) rejects the two traditional reconstructions of the -a/-ā inflectional alternatives for masculine a-stem nom/acc nouns in OHG. If one assumes IE -os(nom)/-ons(acc) > OHG -a/-ā, cf. OE -a, either an extra reconstructed syllable can be postulated or Verner's Law could support the alternative. A very delicate manipulation of information about closed syllables and stress begins to yield the desired alternate forms in OHG and the correlative simple forms in Got, OS, and OE. The analogical force the feminine ō-declensions finally helps to account for the inevitable range of data.

John M. Anderson's "The Status of Voiced Fricatives in Old English" (Folia Linguistica Historica 6, 215-43) argues that the status of voiced fricatives was not as uniform as previous accounts present it. He posits two archiphonemes for OE obstruents //v// and //ʒ//. The author supports this on the basis of neutralization of opposition. Lastly, he proposes two hyper-archiphonemes ///ʒ/// and ///g///. This hierarchy solves the problems he finds in earlier analyses. P. Poussa's "A Note on the Voicing of Initial Fricatives in Middle English" (Papers . . . Amsterdam, pp. 235-52) reviews the Gmc evidence of ODan, OIc, and Dan and Ic to support the hypothesis that the Scan settlements in later OE times caused a return to the unvoicing of some initial fricatives. She notes that Kristensson's northern boundary of lenition corresponds roughly with the Danelaw boundary. The author invokes evidence from the Ormmulum and concludes that language universals would support the hypothesis anyway. K. Odwarka's "An Analysis of the Old Saxon Velar Consonants in Initial Position" (Linguistics across Historical and Geographical Boundaries, pp. 557-67) tries to establish a phonemic distinction for OS /k, g, x/ by adducing evidence from other Gmc languages as well as minimal or near minimal pairs of these phonemes in initial positions, but no allophonic distribution for the variants is attempted. J. Weina's "The Old English Digraph <cg> Again" (Linguistics across Historical and Geographical Boundaries, pp. 753-62) discusses the phonetic quality of OE <cg> and reviews the literature on the subject. He concludes that surface palatalization before gemination yields the most information with the least complication so that <cg> is represented intervocalically as [dʒdʒ], medially after [n] as

[dž] and word finally as well as where <cc> is [tʃtʃ] as [tʃ]. J. Rubach in "Degemination in Old English and the Formal Apparatus of Generative Phonology" (Linguistics across Historical and Geographical Boundaries, pp. 621-35) examines environments of degemination in order to propose a formal rule that allows degemination to coexist with gemination. He also offers his rule within syllable theory but rejects it in favor of the more conventional representation.

Works Not Seen

- Holland, J. "The Dictionary of Old English." Med. Eng. Stud. Newsletter (Tokyo) 14, 10-11.
- Hubmayer, K. "Phonetische Aspekte der Dehnung altenglischer Kurzvokale vor 'homorganer' Dopplekonsonanz." Philologie und Sprachwissenschaft: Akten der 10. Österreichischen Linguisten-Tagung. Ed. Wolfgang Meid and Hans Schmeja. pp. 93-105.
- Matsushita, T. "Continuity and Opacity of Ablaut in the English Strong Verbs." Stud. in Eng. Lit. (Tokyo) 63, 95-121.
- Ogura, M. "Some Uses of Prepositional Phrases in Matthew-- Lindisfarne and West Saxon Versions Investigated in Parallel." Senshu Jimbun Ronshu 37, no. 2, 97-130.
- Orešnik, J. "The Origin of the Cliticness of the West Germanic Definite Article: the Case of Beowulf." Linguistica (Ljubljana) 24, no. 1, 383-88.
- Pope, J. C. "OE geflogen, ME ihuld: a Second Look at the 'Tremulous' Scribe's Error." Med. Eng. Stud. Newsletter (Tokyo) 14, 3-4.

M.M.

K.T.

3. LITERATURE

a. General and Miscellaneous

In an important essay reviewed in the "General and Miscellaneous Subjects" section of this YWOES, Allen J. Frantzen and Charles A. Venegoni note the apparent failure of Anglo-Saxon studies to consider and to incorporate modern critical methodologies. In a similar vein Angus Cameron, the distinguished founding editor of the Dictionary of Old English Project, reflects upon the consequences of the modern critical focus on only part of the corpus of Old English. In "The Boundaries of Old English Literature" (J. Douglas Woods and David A. E. Pelteret, ed., The Anglo-Saxons: Synthesis and Achievement, Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier Univ. Press, 1985; pp. 27-36) Cameron offers a "mild reproach to the earlier literary historians" who "have given a great deal of time to a small number of texts and have merely catalogued or ignored the rest. The poetry has been better treated than the prose, but here again, the concentration has been on a few poems whose texts have certainly benefitted from it, and show, by comparison with the neglected texts, just what can be done".

As if in answer to Cameron, A New Critical History of Old English Literature by Stanley B. Greenfield and Daniel G. Calder has appeared. The authors describe their work as "drastic revision of an earlier work" and it is a "new, greatly revised version" of Greenfield's A Critical History of Old English Literature (1965). The changes reflect the scholarship of the last twenty years. The authors identify three areas of major alteration. The initial chapter on Anglo-Latin prose has been replaced by a general survey of Anglo-Latin literature by Michael Lapidge. The amount of space devoted to Anglo-Saxon prose has tripled. In an effort to encompass the whole of Anglo-Saxon literature, a number of prose and poetic texts missing from the first edition have been included. This will surely be a standard in the field for a number of years to come.

As if in answer to Frantzen and Venegoni, Gillian R. Overing applies the reader-response methodology of Stanley Fish to Old English poetry. In "Some Aspects of Metonymy in Old English Poetry" (Concerning Poetry 19, 1-19) she suggests that the immediacy and spontaneity of Old English verse are a result of the metonymic rather than metaphoric mode of Old English language. She argues that the metonymic compound does not require the essentially analytical and intellectual act of interpretation demanded by metaphor. This understanding of the metonymic mode of language is based on the principle of contiguity proposed by Roman Jakobson. Overing's essay is stimulating and worth seeking out in a journal not regularly read by Anglo-Saxonists.

There are two other essays of general literary interest in the same volume as Cameron's essay (J. Douglas Woods and David A. E. Pelteret, ed., The Anglo-Saxons: Synthesis and Achievement, Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier Univ. Press, 1985). Antonette di Paolo Healey provides a valuable summary of "Anglo-Saxon Use of the Apocryphal Gospel" (pp. 93-104). Healey surveys the wide-ranging use of The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, The Gospel of Nicodemus, The Vindicta Salvatoris, The Vision of St. Paul, and The Apocalypse of Thomas. Her understanding of the Anglo-Saxon Church and its doctrines arises out of a

focus on works which are usually presented only in individual and often very technical studies. Andrew J. G. Patenall examines "The Image of the Worm: Some Literary Implications of Serpentine Decoration" (pp. 105-16). In exploring the association of syntax, style and structure, he is following in the footsteps of Roy Leslie ("Analysis of Stylistic Devices and Effects in Anglo-Saxon Literature," in Paul Bockmann, ed., Stil- und Formprobleme in der Literatur (Heidelberg, 1959), pp. 129-36) and John Leyerle ("The Interlace Structure of Beowulf," University of Toronto Quarterly 37(1967), 1-17). Patnell's application of interlace or serpentine structure to "The Phoenix" calls into question N. F. Blake's characterization of the poem as "verbose" and "diffuse".

Alexandra Hennessey Olsen provides an immensely useful review of "Oral-Formulaic Research in Old English: I" (Oral Tradition 1, 548-606). Her survey of this often confusing and controversial subject will be of value to specialists and non-specialists in the field. This first part of her review is divided into four sections: I. Oral and Written, II. Oral-Formulaic Theory, III. The Formula, IV. Themes and Type-Scenes. Part II, which is to appear in a subsequent issue of Oral Tradition, will be composed of five sections: V. Levels Above the Theme, VI. The Case Against the Oral-Formulaic Theory, VII. The Comparative Method, VIII. Present Trends in Oral Formulaic Research, IX. Future Directions. Ward Parks provides a similar service for Middle English. His "The Oral-Formulaic Theory in Middle English Studies" (Oral Tradition 1, 636-94) is divided into four chronological sections: I. The Beginnings through 1957, II. 1957-67, III. 1967-84, IV. Problems and Prospects.

In "Alliterative Rank in Old English Poetry" (SN 58, 145-58) Dennis James Cronan questions T. A. Shippey's assertion in Old English Verse (1972) that alliterative rank or the difference in the alliterative frequency of synonyms in Old English poetry is functional, but meaningless. After the examination of 151 selected words Cronan is able to make these three generalizations: A word found only in poetry is likely to alliterate more frequently than one that is found in prose as well. A word that is descended from the common Germanic poetic tradition is likely to alliterate more frequently than one that is not. When a word is used in a figurative sense, it will probably alliterate more often than when it is used in its literal sense. Cronan therefore concludes that there is a stylistic dimension to alliteration as well as structural.

In "Chronological Testing and the Scansion of frea in Old English Poetry" (NM 87 (1986), 92-101), Edwin Wilson Duncan examines all the occurrences of the word in the poetic corpus. Frea is the only word in Old English which occasionally shows the earlier dissyllabic pronunciation of words that lost intervocalic /j/ and later became monosyllabic. Its appearance in dissyllabic form has long been considered sufficient evidence for an early date of composition to the text in which it is found and it has further been assumed that the earlier poets could optionally assign it either one or two syllables for metrical reasons. Duncan's examination demonstrates that the word was dissyllabic when it was the second element of a compound or immediately preceded by a possessive pronoun and monosyllabic elsewhere. The presence of dissyllabic frea is therefore neither a reliable chronological test nor an example of poetic license, but rather a result of its syntactic environment.

"The Metrical Entities of Old English," NM 87 (1986), 59-91 is the first of what promises to be a series of articles by O. D. Macrae-Gibson. In this first article the author points out that the system of metrical analysis set out by A. J. Bliss in The Metre of Beowulf (1958, rev. ed. 1967) has proved a valuable refinement of that of Sievers and has quietly become accepted by many scholars. Bliss's use of the proportion of the occurrences of any metrical type which appear in the a-verse and the proportion of these which have double alliteration is used as evidence of which types form significant groups. Macrae-Gibson suggests that it is essential to consider the syntactic structural context of Bliss's types, not merely the types themselves. This fairly extensive methodological correction suggests that Bliss's generalizations are in need of revision.

Slipping occurs when indirect discourse abruptly shifts to direct discourse within a single speech. In "Artful Slipping in Old English" (Neophilologus 70, 279-91) Gerald Richman observes that "several passages from Anglo-Saxon translations, when compared to the extant Latin texts closest to the original source, suggest that slipping in Old English is not inevitably a sign of loss of control but rather may be a technique for controlling and adjusting emphasis and meaning". Richman draws his examples from both poetry and prose.

Jane Chance begins Woman as Hero in Old English Literature (Syracuse: Syracuse Univ. Press) with a discussion of the social role of women as peace-weavers in Anglo-Saxon society. She continues her study with an examination of this social role combined with the literary role of women. She identifies two literary types, Mary and Eve; both types are drawn from the Bible and are coloured by Germanic heroic imagery and values. Types of Mary are discussed in "Christ I", "Judith", "Juliana", and "Elene". Types of Eve are discussed in "Genesis B", "Wulf and Eadwacer", "The Wife's Lament", "Widsith", "Deor" and Beowulf.

Alfred Bammesberger's long-range plan is to compile a new etymological dictionary of Old English to supersede Holthausen's Altenglisches etymologisches Wörterbuch (1934). His Linguistic Notes on Old English Poetic Texts (Anglistische Forschungen, 189. Heidelberg: Carl Winter) is a carefully presented series of notes on a number of poetic texts which will eventually be incorporated in the projected dictionary. The passages in question are conveniently quoted in full from the ASPR volumes and there is an index verborum at the end. The notes discuss passages from: "Genesis", "Exodus", "Daniel", "Christ and Satan", "Andreas", "Elene", "The Phoenix", "The Wanderer", "Maxims I", "Deor", "The Wife's Lament", Beowulf, "Caedmon's Hymn", "Bede's Death Song", "The Leiden Riddle" and "The Franks Casket".

Modes of Interpretation in Old English Literature: Essays in Honour of Stanley B. Greenfield (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: Univ. of Toronto Press) edited by Phyllis Rugg Brown, Georgia Ronan Crampton and Fred C. Robinson is a fitting tribute to this influential scholar and teacher. Individual essays by a very distinguished group of scholars are noticed in the appropriate sections of the 1986 Bibliography and YWOS 1986. The volume concludes with a list of the "Publications of Stanley B. Greenfield, 1951 to the Present; Awards and Honours" compiled by George H. Brown and a "Tabula Gratuloria". In "King Alfred and the History of Anglo-Saxon Libraries" (pp. 29-49) Helmut Gneuss demonstrates that King Alfred's 'Preface' to his translation of

Gregory the Great's Cura Pastoralis reports that, contrary to modern interpretation, the decline of religious learning and knowledge of Latin was not a result of the Viking raids, but had begun previously; indeed, Alfred sees the invasions as divine retribution on a neglectful clergy. Gneuss convincingly supports this chronology with an analysis of the decline of book production and of libraries in the ninth century. His interpretation differs from that presented by Jennifer Morrish in "King Alfred's Letter as a Source on Learning in England" (Studies in Earlier Old English Prose, Paul E. Szarmach, ed., Albany: State Univ. of New York Press, 1986; pp. 87-107). Morrish argues that Alfred's letter, again contrary to modern interpretation, is neither a preface nor a report on the state of learning in England, but a hortatory epistle and she examines its content in the light of this tradition. Her arguments that Alfred's model is the Carolingian educational program are convincing and her speculations on the depletion of teachers in England are thought provoking; however, her observations on the surviving manuscript evidence may be open to other interpretations.

Also in the Greenfield festschrift are a number of essays which pay tribute to Greenfield's influence in the interpretation of Old English poetry. In "'Symbolic' Language in Old English Poetry" (pp. 3-14) Peter Clemoes defines symbolic language as "dramatically exploitable and evocative pieces of language which combine socially established semantic potential with culturally established conformity". In "Old English Formulas and Themes as Tools for Contextual Interpretation" (pp. 65-79) Alain Renoir elaborates on Greenfield's 1955 observation that "the association with other contexts using a similar formula will inevitably color a particular instance of a formula so that a whole host of overtones springs into action" and must accordingly affect our understanding of the passage in which the formula occurs". In "Old English Verse as a Medium for Christian Theology" (pp. 15-28) George Hardin Brown uses "Christ I" to demonstrate the aptitude of Old English verse to express complex religious mysteries. "It can do so on account of its own nature and basic structure. The Old English bipartite line, with its two stressed syllables in each half of the line, sets up an intrinsic opposition that is emphasized by the caesura but resolved by the linking alliteration". In "'Sum' in Old English Poetry" (pp. 197-225) Matti Rissanen argues that "perhaps owing to its numerical origin and its readiness to carry stress and alliteration, the uses of 'an' seem more varied and flexible than those of 'sum'. But 'sum' possesses a number of uses in which it is, generally speaking, not replaceable by 'an', most notably as an independent pronoun with non-specific reference, and with a partitive genitive which does not denote a restricted group but refers to all members of a species or class. The particular attraction of the study of 'sum' (like other pronominal words) lies in the fact that it gains its real significance from the context, from its referent and from the words it is linked with. As these words are often the most central element in the text, they may render even 'sum' a kind of relevance which makes it as interesting a topic for analysis as are the words which have greater semantic content in isolation".

Two papers from Angli e sassoni al di qua e al di là del mare (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 32. Spoleto: CISAM) of interest to readers of this section are Dietrich Hofmann's "Die altsächsische Bibelepik zwischen Gedächtniskultur und Schriftkultur" (pp. 453-90) and Teresa Pàroli's "La nascita della letteratura anglosassone" (pp. 383-451).

In "The Warrior Christ and the Unarmed Hero" (Medieval English Religious and Ethical Literature: Essays in Honour of G. H. Russell, Ed. Gregory Kratzmann and James Simpson. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer; pp. 19-29) Alison Finlay presents a number of examples of the literary motif of a king about to undertake battle casting aside his armour as a gesture of defiance which testifies to his status as a warrior fit to lead men. She convincingly argues that this motif is operative in Beowulf's disarming before his fight with Grendel and in line 39 of "The Dream of the Rood".

In "Monig oft gesæt: Some Images of Sitting in Old English Poetry" (Neophilologus 70, 442-52) Hugh Magennis identifies three related motifs which are based on the verb sittan. He discusses to sit in counsel or thought, to sit at a feast and to sit in sorrow. This last is reinforced by common biblical figures; it frequently occurs as part of elegiac descriptions and suggests passivity and dejection in contrast to the activity of battle and purposefulness where standan and arisan frequently occur.

Karma Lochrie examines the thematic links between Judgement Day I, Resignation A and Resignation B in "Wyrd and the Limits of Human Understanding: A Thematic Sequence in the Exeter Book" (JEGP 85, 323-31). She suggests that the three contiguous poems be considered as a penitential group. They represent three different approaches - a homiletic poem, a prayer and an elegy - to the common concern with wyrd and its effect on mankind. Together the poems form a thematic triplex on the inability of the individual to comprehend the operation of wyrd in man's daily life and the human endeavor to live meaningfully in the face of that incomprehensibility.

In "The Exegesis of Inebriation: Treading Carefully in Old English" (ELN 23, 3-6) Hugh Magennis points out the reluctance of some Old English writers to make use of metaphors of spiritual intoxication, even when such metaphors occur in the Latin text which they are closely following. Anglo-Latin writers like Bede and Alcuin make extended use of the imagery, but it is suggested that its omission in Aelfric and others reflects a moral concern for the dangers of literal intoxication and drunkenness.

Magister Regis: Studies in Honor of Robert Earl Kaske (New York: Fordham Univ. Press) is edited by Arthur Groos et al. and represents a fitting tribute to an influential teacher and scholar. The volume opens with a reminiscence by Emerson Brown, Jr. (pp. 1-8) and concludes with a bibliography of the dedicatee's publications (pp. 289-292). Of particular interest to readers of the YWOS 1986 and noticed in the appropriate sections are: Morton W. Bloomfield, "Interlace as a Medieval Narrative Technique with Special Reference to Beowulf" (pp. 49-59); James E. Cross, "An Unpublished Story of Michael the Archangel and its Connections" (pp. 23-35); Joseph Harris, "Brunnanburh 12b-13a and Some Skaldic Passages" (pp. 61-68); Thomas D. Hill, Scyld Scefing and the stirps regia: Pagan Myth and Christian Kingship in Beowulf" (pp. 37-47). In "Insulae gentium: Biblical Influence on Old English Poetic Vocabulary" (pp. 9-21) Charles D. Wright reviews the lexicographical evidence which suggest that OE ealand and igland mean not only "island", but also "land by the water". Wright goes on to demonstrate that the patristic tradition of associating islands and heathen nations is evidenced in OE glosses and is specifically used by the authors of Andreas, Solomon and Saturn, and Maxims I.

Two papers from Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture (Stud. in Med. Culture, 32. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, Western Michigan Univ.) edited by Paul Szarmach will be of interest to readers of this section. In "Towards the Identification of Old English Literary Ideas: Old Workings and New Seams" (pp. 77-101) J. E. Cross suggests a number of potential areas for future research. His own work on unpublished Latin manuscripts and particularly on the so-called Irish Reference Bible demonstrate the fruitful direction these suggestions can take. Cross includes as Appendix 3 of his paper an edition of the Cain and Abel section of the Irish Reference Bible. The base text is from Vat. Reg. lat. 76 and variants are recorded for Paris BN lat. 11561 and Munich Bayerische Staatsbibl. clm. 14276. In "Evidence for a Knowledge of Latin Literature in Old English" (pp. 35-51) Janet Bately concentrates on the classical and post-classical works through which classical themes and references to ancient history and classical myth were transmitted to readers in the early Middle Ages. Her examples of what is transmitted, in what form, and how it is transformed are illuminating.

In Art and Doctrine: Essays on Medieval Literature (London and Ronceverte, WV: Hambledon Press) Heather O'Donoghue has edited fourteen essays by Rosemary Woolf which were originally published from 1953 to 1979. This collection is a convenient survey of a distinguished career. Of particular interest to readers of the YWOES are the following works and their original year of publication: "The Devil in Old English Poetry" (1953); "The Fall of Man in Genesis B and the Mystere d'Adam" (1963); "Doctrinal Influences on The Dream of the Rood" (1958); "The Lost Opening to the Judith" (1955); "The Wanderer, The Seafarer and the Genre of Planctus" (1975); "The Ideal of Men Dying with their Lord in the Germania and in The Battle of Maldon" (1976); and "Saintly Lives" (1966).

Finally, an item not seen last year. In The Old English Catalogue Poems (Anglistica, 23. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger, 1985) Nicholas Howe surveys the tradition of Latin encyclopedias as a literary genre and their catalogues as a poetic structure. He argues that a number of Old English poems participate in these traditions and that "the catalogue poems have their own inner logic of form and in some cases reveal a mastery of form". His discussion is limited to poems where the catalogue is "used not as an occasional stylistic feature but rather as the controlling principle of structure". Chapter titles and poems discussed are: The Catalogues of Time and Space: "The Menologium" and "The Fates of the Apostles"; The Catalogues of Order and Diversity: "The Gifts of Men" and "The Fortunes of Men"; The Catalogue as a Collection: "Precepts" and "Maxims I & II"; The Catalogues of Individual Talent: "Widsith" and "Deor".

Works Not Seen

Anderson, James E. Two Literary Riddles in the Exeter Book: Riddle 1 and the Easter Riddle. A Critical Edition with Full Translation. Norman and London: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1986.

Bolton, W. F. The Middle Ages. Sphere Hist. of Lit., 1. London, 1986. [rvsd. republication of 1970 ed.]

Cherniss, Michael D. "King Harald on the Beach: An Oral-Formulaic Theme in Old Norse Prose, and Its Implications." Res Publica Litterarum 9 (1986), 89-95.

W. P. S.

b. Individual Poems

Genesis A and Genesis B

E. G. Stanley continues to polish the canon in "Notes on the Text of the Old English Genesis" (Modes of Interpretation in Old English Literature: Essays in Honour of Stanley B. Greenfield, ed. Phyllis Rugg Brown, Georgia Ronan Crampton, and Fred C. Robinson; Toronto, Buffalo, and London: Univ. of Toronto Press; pp. 189-96). The twenty-five notes on Genesis A and five on Genesis B include support for about a dozen emendations, most new. For example, at line 1056 Stanley emends by reversing the word-order in the on-verse and--plausibly, attractively, daringly--by introducing morphemic duplication: Caines frumbeorn. / Siððan [Cain] ongan. Twice Stanley retains a manuscript reading which A. N. Doane, in his very conservative edition of Genesis A, emends. At line 1953b, he accepts MS hleor lora (Doane hleofwllora), glossing "brazen-faced scoundrel"; and at line 2730b, MS flett waðas (Doane flett[plaðas]), glossing "hall-dangers." Most of the remaining notes offer a new interpretation of syntax or of individual words (including the delightfully brazen-faced reinterpretation of herewosan, referring to the rebel angels in line 85a, as "military sots"). A fine contribution to lexicography as well as to the text of the poems.

Genesis B

Ute Schwab's "Il rapporto tra la letteratura anglo-sassone e sassone antica--La sua ambivalenza culturale" (Angli e sassoni al di qua e al di là del mare; Settimane di studio de Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 32 [Spoleto: CISAM], II, 537-46) is a synopsis of a paper in progress (now completed and to be published later in Studi) which she was unable to deliver in person. As one might expect under the circumstances, the paper is an overview of topics for further investigation, including the relationship between the Heliand and OE biblical verse, the praefatio to the Heliand and the story of Cædmon, the illustrations of MS Junius 11 and Germanic art on the continent, the OS Genesis and Genesis B, and Anglo-Saxon missionaries and the development of Germanic biblical verse. These are, indeed, tantalizing questions; as Schwab implies, some of them are likely to remain without firm answers. In a significant study, "Traditional Exegesis and the Question of Guilt in the Old English 'Genesis B'" (Traditio 41 [1985], 117-44), Susan Burchmore argues that the devil remains a serpent throughout the temptation and does not, as scholars usually suppose, transform himself into an angel of light before speaking to Eve. (Burchmore cites only Sievers in 1875 as anticipating her view. The same point is made, however, by Stanley B. Greenfield in A Critical History of Old English Literature, 1965, and urged anew--although too late for the present essay--in A New Critical History, 1986; and by Kathleen E. Dubs, ABR 33 [1982], 50. At the end of the article Burchmore speculates on why the MS Junius 11 illustrator thrice drew the tempter as "an attractive angel.") To explain Eve's perception of the serpent as angelic, Burchmore draws upon the allegorical tradition in which Eve represents the senses and Adam the intellect. Other scholars have applied the allegory as well. Burchmore's special contribution is that she brings to

bear a treatment by John Scottus Eriugena in which Eve betokens not simply the senses but the "realm of falsity." Adam falls because, as intellect, he fails to reject a false sensual perception. As Burchmore stresses, Adam and Eve are more than allegorical figures. On the psychological plane Eve falls because she is deceived by the serpent's rhetoric; Adam, because he is misled by Eve. In his sympathetic portrait of the fall, Burchmore suggests, the poet may have been influenced by Eriugena's positive view of human nature; yet he goes beyond Eriugena in implying that the fall was precipitated by misplaced loyalty. Paul Cavill's "Notes on Maxims in Old English Narrative" (N&Q 33, 145-48) concerns Genesis B 623-25 and 634b-35. Examining diction in the first passage and syntax in the second, Cavill argues that the maxims reflect OS rather than OE usage and that "the translator followed the [OS] original carefully." The argument is convincing. Other aspects of the essay, however, do not display the kind of circumspection to which the author elsewhere has accustomed his readers. It is not Satan who tempts Adam and Eve but one of Satan's hench-persons; it is hasty to say that in lines 595b-98 the poet "even levels some of the blame [for the fall] at God" in view of John F. Vickrey's careful argument (SP 68 [1971], 245-54); if MS hire is emended to his or inre at line 623a, the passage is not inappropriate for the tempter but (as various scholars have noted) an example of devilish irony; finally, the maxim at lines 634b-35, proclaiming sorrow to the man who does not guard himself when he has the power, need not be inconsistent with the poet's statement that the couple was misled by lies. (In asserting that the two maxims--the first with emendation--are not suited to the context, Cavill cites an essay by T. A. Shippey but puts the matter more baldly.) Under the wry title, "Standing, Turning, Twisting, Falling: Posture and Moral Stance in 'Genesis B'" (NM 87, 537-44), Karen Cherewatuk contends:

In narrating the fall of the rebel angels and the fall of Adam and Eve in the garden, the Anglo-Saxon poet employs the language of physical posture to illustrate the theological idea of sin. When Adam and Eve are obedient, the poet describes them as standing upright; the angels who have lapsed into pride are depicted as turning, twisting and falling. Under the influence of the serpent in the garden, Adam and Eve reach a similarly perverse stance. The Genesis B-poet makes literal a definition found in Augustine and other Latin writers: to sin is to turn away from God.

Although Cherewatuk is perhaps too inclined to see moral implications at every narrative twist, her overall analysis is convincingly upheld by patristic evidence and her writing supple down to the last turn of phrase: "Adam and Eve in their repentance pray for the lux hominum, ille lux (John 1: 4, 8), the man whose descent and resurrection will set all humanity on its feet again."

Exodus

For a review of Giovanni Mirarchi's "Esodo: v. 45b, feond was bereafod[:] v. 580b, afrisc meowle" (AION 27, Filologia germanica [1984], 29-64) and his Il sacrificio di Abramo in antico e medio inglese (Naples: Liguori, 1984)--listed in this year's bibliography--see OEN 20, 1 (1986), 63-64. [In "Old English Exodus 399: 'Fyrst Ferhðbana'--Once More" (ASNSL 222 [1985], 339-43), J. R. Hall argues plausibly "that ferhðbana refers to Satan and that the

emendation of fægra 'more doomed' to fæg[en]ra 'happier' should be adopted." After reviewing carefully the many different solutions to problems posed by this difficult line, Hall makes a persuasive case for the fact that Abraham is contrasted in this passage with "the foremost life-slayer," and he defends the emendation of fægra both in terms of sense and because there are clear signs in the manuscript of corruption or at least of scribal confusion. He suggests that the space between the third and fourth letters of the word and the apparent erasure of an e at that point (as noted long ago by Sievers) suggests that fægra should not be regarded with the kind of authority that MS readings otherwise possess. Because Abraham was fully obedient to God's command, "the foremost life-slayer was not the happier." JBT]

Dream of the Rood

In "The Devotional Context of the Cross Before A. D. 1000" (Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture, ed. Paul E. Szarmach, with the assistance of Virginia Darrow Oggins; Stud. in Med. Culture, 20; Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, Western Michigan Univ.; pp. 345-56), Sandra McEntire enhances our understanding of "the broad devotional background which informed the spiritual milieu of the golden Age of Northumbria." After discussing the veneration paid to the cross subsequent to its discovery and to the fragments sent to King Alfred, McEntire investigates the importance and development of the sign of the cross, the concept of the cosmological cross ("its arms extend to the ends of the earth; its top touches the heavens; its lower extremity penetrates the abyss below"), and the theme of the cross as a ship. "This paper presents little new material as such," McEntire writes; "rather, it proposes a direction for further consideration of the subject." Joseph L. Baird, in "Natura plangens, the Ruthwell Cross and The Dream of the Rood: (Stud. in Iconography 10 [1984-86], 37-51), demonstrates that medieval writers transformed the classical topos of natura plangens, in which the natural world simply joins the human world to lament the death of a great man, into a moral metaphor, in which nature's sensitivity to the death of Christ contrasts with humankind's indifference. The finding bears on the interpretation of reordberend in the OE poem. In its first use (3a) the word implies the irony that the tree/cross, representative of dumb nature, speaks of redemption while "speech-bearers" are sunk in silent slumber; in its second use (89b) the word implies the lesson that they should bring themselves into harmony with nature in harmony with God and acknowledge the saving power of Christ crucified. In the latter part of the essay Baird shows that the theme of natura adorans, closely related to that of natura plangens, helps to explain the iconographic program of the Ruthwell Cross. In "Crucifixion Witnessed, or Dramatic Interaction in The Dream of the Rood" (Modes of Interpretation, pp. 101-13), Edward B. Irving, Jr., seeking to account for the poem's "massive emotional power," explores "the process of dramatization and the psychology of the two main characters." Irving sees as central a twofold movement from confusion and uncertainty to understanding and clarity. At first the Dreamer, sin-stained, is puzzled by his vision, but then, perceiving the paradox of blood beneath beauty, grows fearful and repentant. The Rood now comes to the Dreamer's aid but does not reveal the meaning of the vision at once. Rather, in gradually narrating how he was transformed from a natural tree into a supernatural cross, he shows himself to have experienced gradual enlightenment. By the poem's end the audience has witnessed and participated in a doubly moving drama: "What makes the poem needed is the way it leads to

understanding not through ideas but through feelings about ideas as they are acted out in dramatic time. The knowledge we gain must be experiential: like Dreamer and Rood, we come to know through sharing in suffering and suspense." [J. R. Hall, in "'Angels . . . and all the holy ones': The Dream of the Rood 153b-54a" (Amer. Notes & Queries 24, 65-68), examines the question of the identity of "all those holy ones" who had been living in heaven with the angels at the time of Christ's return with the souls liberated from hell. Rejecting for a number of reasons Enoch, Elijah, and the Good Thief, as well as the just souls who are just being brought in, Hall suggests that englum refers to angels in the specific sense of angelus as nuntius, "the celestial spirits whose special office it is to bring God's tidings to men ('angels' in the strict sense)" and that "all the holy ones who earlier dwelt in the heavens in glory" refers to all heavenly spirits. This reading, reinforced by Bolton's earlier identification of the use of engel as nuntius in line 9b (N&Q 15, 1968), strikes me as the most attractive of the several offered to date. JBT]

Dream of the Rood and Elene

Martin Irvine's main concern in "Anglo-Saxon Literary Theory Exemplified in Old English Poems: Interpreting the Cross in The Dream of the Rood and Elene (Style 20, 157-81) is to define "the principles of interpretation and the nature of textuality from within the cultural discourses known to and practiced by Anglo-Saxon writers themselves." To define the principles of interpretation, Irvine concentrates on Bede's concept of allegory and Augustine's theory of signs, each a vital element in grammatica. In defining the nature of textuality, he considers the poems as "exegetical extensions of, or supplements to, the gospel narratives, commentaries on the gospels, and saints' lives--texts that formed one of the deepest layers of literary discourse." Regarding Elene as "more about the discovery of the meaning of the Cross" than about the discovery of the cross per se, Irvine finds that Cynewulf goes beyond his main source to stress revelation and interpretation; indeed, for Irvine the revelation of the hidden cross emblemizes the process of interpretation. The Dream of the Rood is closely related to Elene (the two are "intertextual") and to the trope of the enigma: "But the poem embodies an interpretation: it is a self-interpreting riddle." I found Irvine's wonderfully erudite essay difficult to grasp. No one, however, is likely to miss or dispute his main point, that (to put it in my old-fangled, back-home, down-in-the-Styx way) the proper understanding of an OE text requires understanding its cultural and literary context.

Descent into Hell

James E. Anderson, in "Dual Voices and the Identity of Speakers in the Exeter Book Descent into Hell" (Neophilologus 70, 636-40), repeatedly refers to his forthcoming book, Two Literary Riddles in the Exeter Book: Riddle 1 and the Easter Riddle, wherein he contends that twelve consecutive poems, beginning with The Wife's Lament and ending with The Ruin, are "a compilatio which riddles on the liturgical rites and theological meaning of the Easter triduum." In the present work Anderson argues that John the Baptist speaks lines 26-117 in Descent and that a new voice--"John's imitator"--begins at

line 118a (Swylce ic be halsige), continuing to the end. The crucial piece of evidence comes near the conclusion: ". . . the sly distinction between the original and the universal power of baptism is ultimately left to a pronoun, in the phrase git Iohannis 'you two, [Christ and] John' (l. 135). Only in that final riddlic touch are the dual speakers of The Descent into Hell fully distinguished: the second voice, who both addresses Christ and refers to John in the second person, must perforce be someone other than John himself." To rely on line 135a to define a shift in speakers at line 118a is a singular burden for a dual pronoun, but the argument, as Anderson develops it, makes much sense. More difficult to accept is his ascription of the second voice not to the poet but to "the liturgical celebrant of solemn Holy Saturday baptism." Anderson stresses, however, that the identification is based "on my tandem reading of the group of poems which I call The Easter Riddle."

Christ I, II, III

In "Literary History and Old English Poetry: The Case of Christ I, II, and III" (Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture, pp. 3-22), Thomas D. Hill defines the basic problem of OE literary history as that of having no established chronology in which to discuss the major poems. While conceding that "a purely formalistic approach"--in which, for example, the poems depicting Christ as a hero are taken together--"is a quite reasonable response to the absence of historical information which would permit historical discourse," he argues that ordering discussion by sources "could permit the literary historian of this period to analyze the relationship of one text to another with much more assurance and objectivity." After anticipating objections to the proposal, briefly surveying the widely different Latin sources available to OE poets, and noting the Germanicizing tendency of many of them, Hill exemplifies how the approach might work for Christ I, II, and III. To judge by sources, the first poem was written for a learned audience at home with patristics; the second, for an equally orthodox but less sophisticated audience; the third, for an audience with tolerance of and even a taste for the exotic. If this enlightening conclusion is typical of what source-comparison may yield, I wish it Godspeed. In The Sources of 'Christ III': A Revision of Cook's Notes (OEN Subsidia 12; Binghamton: CEMERS, SUNY at Binghamton; 48 pp.), Frederick M. Biggs discusses and evaluates, passage-by-passage, the sources given in Cook's brilliant edition (1900, 1909) and those proposed by subsequent scholars, adding several new suggestions of his own. Since "scholars have yet to provide sufficiently striking parallels for Christ III from early German poetry," Biggs excludes it from discussion; but he takes into account Celtic-Latin and Irish materials. The study is superb. The author shows himself intimately acquainted with biblical, liturgical, and homiletic sources, traditions, and scholarship as well as with the scholarship on the poem. His care and learning lend authority to his conclusions and augur well for the new edition of Christ III mentioned as in progress.

Judgment Day I

The present writer cannot improve upon Karma Lochrie's own summary of "The Structure and Wisdom of Judgment Day I" (NM 87, 201-10):

The Exeter Book poem, Judgment Day I, has been criticized for

its lack of coherent structure, subtlety, or purpose. If it is approached as wisdom poem, however, an abstract structure emerges which informs and unifies the entire poem, and which reveals a complex purpose. The structure is based on the concern with the limits of human understanding and knowledge in the face of wyrd, and more specifically, the Last Judgment. In a configuration of portraits, the poet warns us that it is the quality of human thought which determines our ultimate destiny. The "grim-thinking" man, the unthinking feaster, and the "deep-thinking" soul represent three different responses to the human condition envisaged in the context of the only true wisdom which will be revealed at the Last Judgment.

One need but add that Lochrie's essay is well written (sometimes glowing with a Johnsonian ring--". . . the audience experiences both resignation before our common fate and solace for our yearning") and should mark a major turning point in our understanding of and appreciation for this thoughtful if modest poem.

Juliana

In "Wapentake: a Realistic Detail in Cynewulf's Juliana" (N&Q 33, 3-6), Karen Swenson focuses on the detail that Juliana's father and prospective husband place their spears together (garas hlændon, 63b) when they meet to discuss her refusal to marry a pagan. Faulting previous scholars for not taking the detail with sufficient literalness, Swenson cites Tacitus's Germania and Norwegian laws (first copied in the eleventh century) to demonstrate that an irenic (not to say, alas, ironic) show of weapons was customary at meetings among Germanic peoples, a tradition evidently reflected in the late OE terms wapengetac and wapentac in reference to public assembly. "In calling this custom 'Germanic,'" Swenson observes, "I am not insisting that it was practiced in Anglo-Saxon England before its introduction or reintroduction by the Danes." Nonetheless, Cynewulf apparently knew the custom and believed that his audience would understand the allusion. "The mention of spears in our Juliana passage demonstrates that Africanus and Eleusius are 'voting citizens' of the Germanic world. Further, one can reasonably speculate that these citizens lean their spears together to indicate their essential concord."

Andreas

Daniel G. Calder, in "Figurative Language and Its Contexts in Andreas: A Study in Medieval Expressionism" (Modes of Interpretation, pp. 115-36), describes his essay as a "partial attempt to save one relic--Andreas--from condescension." In fact, the study is much more than that: a lucid, thoughtful, and convincing three-stage argument that the poem should be viewed from a new standpoint. Calder's main contention in "I Contexts" is that Andreas ought not be judged, as it often is, against the backdrop of Beowulf: the two poems contrast in genre, tone, diction, mimetic intent, and the conception of how time relates to eternity. In "II 'Scene One': The Expressionistic Mode," Calder, stressing how lines 1-121 differ from the Latin source, identifies the artistic manner of Andreas as expressionism,

characterized by "tension, energy, deliberate distortion, a telescoping of narrative sequence, a disintegration into scenes or 'stations' in dramatic or semi-dramatic forms, an abstraction that is purposively anti-mimetic." (For a study of oscillating time-planes and recomposed scenes akin to Calder's brief analysis, see Peter Reinhold Schroeder's 1967 Harvard dissertation, "The Narrative Style of Old English Biblical Poetry.") In "III Decorum and the Absolute Metaphor," Calder considers various scenes to show that the poet employs metaphor not to reflect the real world but to evoke a symbolic, apocalyptic, visionary world of transformed reality where metaphors support Christian absolutes by functioning absolutely--"where metaphors express rather than imitate." Unabashed admirers of Andreas (of whom this reviewer can affirm there is at least one) will celebrate Calder's vision of the poem as not a poor man's Beowulf but a rich man's saint's life.

Physiologus

In "La tradizione del Physiologus e i prodromi del bestiario latino" (L'uomo di fronte al mondo animale nell'alto medioevo; Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 31 [Spoleto: CISAM, 1985], II, 1057-1106), Giovanni Orlandi learnedly discusses the sources, traditions, and manuscript families of the Latin Physiologus, in the course of which he briefly considers the OE poem (pp. 1091-93). Orlandi supports those who believe that, on the basis of Latin sources, the bird described in the fragmentary third part of the poem is probably the partridge; that the OE Physiologus is a mini-bestiary, not the remains of an originally much longer work; and that the poem is unified by the triad of earth (panther), water (whale), and air (partridge). Orlandi's most significant observation is that, judging by details in the Panther, the OE poem more likely derives from the manuscript tradition known as Y (of which Bern 611, early eighth century, is the oldest representative) than that known as B (of which Bern 233, early ninth century, is the oldest). He acknowledges, however, that B affords a closer parallel than Y for a reading in the Whale. In "Considerazioni sul Physiologus antico inglese: Pantera vv. 8b-13a; Balena vv. 1-7" (AION 27, Filologia germanica [1984], 7-28), Maria Amalia D'Aronco investigates the convoluted syntax of the Panther 8b-13a, rejecting the analysis of ASPR III and translating: "We have heard of a certain one, (have heard) tell of a nature marvelous among wild animals, (have heard) that one famous among men dwells in a distant land, lives in hollow mountain-caves." The reading (similar to W. S. Mackie's in EETS OS 194, 63) seems reasonable. The author goes on to discuss fytte at Whale 1a (perhaps a noun, perhaps a verb), dictional contrasts between the Panther and the Whale, the conceptual and poetic unity of the three parts of the Physiologus, and (without reaching a firm conclusion) the identity of the bird in the poem's last part.

Meters of Boethius

Daniel Donoghue painstakingly and fruitfully investigates "Word order and poetic style: auxiliary and verbal in The Metres of Boethius" (ASE 15, 167-96). He points out that Meters affords a revealing opportunity to determine ways in which verse syntax differs from prose syntax because the poet based his work on the OE prose translation of the Latin metra, not on the Latin itself:

By examining how individual passages in the Metres differ from the corresponding passages in the prose model, I am able to determine with some confidence which usages are distinctly 'poetic' and which are common to prose. I begin with an examination of metrical constraints that affect all auxiliaries regardless of the grammatical function of the clause. Next I consider the behaviour of auxiliaries in clauses unambiguously principal or dependent and find that the auxiliary stress and position in the word order follow distinct patterns in each kind of clause.

Defining a verbal as a dependent infinitive or a past participle and using Bliss's metrical system, Donoghue discovers, for example, that when the poet follows the word order of the prose, he prefers the order of unstressed auxiliary plus verbal; when he departs from the prose, however, he seldom uses that arrangement, much preferring the order of stressed auxiliary plus verbal or (equally often) verbal plus stressed auxiliary. In the second major part of his essay, Donoghue, contrasting the use of the auxiliary in Meters with its use in Beowulf, speculates that the Meters poet reflects the metrical tradition of the lay while the Beowulf poet reflects that of the epic. There is little risk in predicting that Donoghue's study will be regarded as seminal by students of metrical grammar.

J.R.H.

Battle of Brunanburh

Dolores Warwick Frese compares two battle poems in "Poetic Prowess in Brunanburh and Maldon: Winning, Losing, and Literary Outcome" (Modes of Interpretation in Old English Literature ed. Brown et al. [Toronto: Univ. Toronto Press], pp. 83-99). In an effort to rescue Brunanburh from the faint praise accorded it by modern scholars, Frese argues that while the poem's annalistic surface was designed "deliberately [to] defend it from premature understanding," nonetheless, "its radical poetic centre . . . inducts us into sympathy for the invaders." This is a seriously revisionist reading of the poem which sees the text providing "interchangeable versions of history." Only when the "husk of history" has been "discarded" can we begin to appreciate the virtues of the poetry. In a complementary critical move, Frese adduces contemporary history in her treatment of Maldon by referring to entries in the D version of the Chronicle to underscore the differences between historical facts and literary construct. The point of balance in the treatment of both poems is Frese's thought-provoking and valuable discussion of sound and silence in each. This is an interesting essay, influenced, as Frese notes, by Jerome McGann's call for examination of the "sociology of poetic utterance." I wonder, however, if a mode of criticism originally aimed at the elucidation of highly self-conscious nineteenth-century literary texts can be objectively applied to early medieval texts or if it produces a reading inevitably biased by modern ideology. In the light of her examination of soundlessness in Brunanburh, Frese suggests reopening the question of synaesthesia in 12b-13a. Joseph Harris, in "Brunanburh 12b-13a and Some Skaldic Passages" (Magister Regis: Studies in Honor of Robert Earl Kaske, ed. Arthur Groos [New York: Fordham Univ. Press], pp. 61-68) does just that, but

uses parallels in the Norse praise poem to support the consensus reading of synaesthetic dennade in Brunanburh. Several of these passages are especially suggestive, for example, that of Kormakr, writing in Scotland some twenty years after the Battle of Brunanburh, who combines the three elements found in the Brunanburh passage (i.e. the resounding, the blood, and the land) in his own praise poem. Harris argues that in general the poetic use of ON dynja supports the reading of "resounded" for dennade in Brunanburh. In the rest of the essay, he presents a closely argued examination of the meaning of the second helming of stanza 5 in Egill's Hofuðlausn, preferring Finnur Jonsson's reading and interpretation in which the shore "resounds" with blood. Harris concludes with the suggestion that *feld dynede might be metrically weak because of an Old Norse formulaic antecedent and that OE secga (13a) might originally have meant "of swords."

Battle of Maldon

In a different revisionist move from that of Dolores Frese (here made from a traditional historical stance) Earl R. Anderson proposes in "The Battle of Maldon: A Reappraisal of Possible Sources, Date, and Theme" (Modes of Interpretation, ed. Brown et al., pp. 247-72) that Maldon was composed ca. 1042 or later. After examining weak points in the arguments adduced for the influence of the Vita Oswaldi and the Bjarkamal, Anderson argues for the influence of the Encomium Emmae Reginae. Given that linguistic arguments for dating are inconclusive and that Scandinavian influences on the language of the poem can be ascribed to the linguistic milieu at the end of the Anglo-Saxon period, Anderson claims that a date around mid-century is possible and that certain details in the Encomium suggest influence. Most significant among these are its discussion of the ideal of men dying with their lord, details in the account of the battle of Ashingdon, and the narrative of Eadric Streon's treachery. Anderson's case is persuasively detailed, especially on the classical background to the supposedly Germanic concept of a warrior dying with his lord. Whether one agrees or not with the feasibility of a mid-eleventh-century date to the poem, this is an essay which will have to be dealt with in any subsequent treatment of the date and sources of the poem. Marie Nelson, in "The Battle of Maldon and Juliana: The Language of Confrontation" (Modes of Interpretation, ed. Brown et al., pp. 137-50), analyzes these two poems in terms of Austin's and Searle's speech act theory. Specifically, she analyzes illocution and perlocution in the various speech acts in the poems, concluding that requests and promises are the two basic speech acts which give rise to confrontation in Maldon. Similarly, in Juliana requests and promises are the source of conflict, arising chiefly out of social difference between the participants in the dialogue. Heliseus' "request" for Juliana's hand is actually demand and threat. Juliana's condition that he accept Christianity is assertion and defiance. And Affricanus' promise leads him to irrational anger and turns him from father to betrayer. Fred C. Robinson, in "Literary Dialect in Maldon and the Casley Transcript" (Amer. Notes & Queries 24, 103-04) uses H. L. Rogers' attribution of the transcription of Battle of Maldon to David Casley (N&Q 32 [1985], 147-55) in order to bolster his earlier argument that the transcript's bon for 33a represents a deliberate imitation of ON þan. Robinson argues against D. G. Scragg (The Battle of Maldon, 1981, pp. 69-70) that if Casley copied the poem, evidence of Elphinstone's miscopying of the abbreviatory superscript on bon elsewhere in his transcriptions is irrelevant and cannot support

emendation to bonne. The peculiar title of Virginia Valentine's essay "Offa's The Battle of Maldon" (Explicator 44, no. 3, 5-7) may be owing to the editor, given the journal's penchant for titles beginning with a literary author's name. Valentine reads the loosing of the hawk in lines 7-8a as the "poem's first instance of maeth [sic] or proper conduct in the face of a challenge." She suggests as "closer to the text" than earlier interpretations her reading that the young man is entering his first battle and that his release of the hawk is a step into manhood. Valentine does not discuss the alternative editorial punctuations for lines 5-8, but she follows Pope's 1976 edition, which construes þa (5a) as a conjunction. A reading with strong punctuation after line 6b, making þa an adverb, might better support her interpretation.

Deor

Morton W. Bloomfield returns to his analysis of the structure of Deor in "Deor Revisited" (Modes of Interpretation, ed. Brown, et al., pp. 273-82). Reviewing subsequent analyses of the poem's structure since his essay "The Form of Deor" appeared in PMLA in 1964, he argues against the influence of the Alfredian translation of the Consolation, a position advanced by Murray F. Markland (MP 66 [1968-69], 1-4). Bloomfield notes that the idea of the transience of everything is a philosophical commonplace hardly original to Boethius. The structure of the poem, Bloomfield argues, is still best appreciated in terms of the structure of charms, whose form "as x, so y" is patterned to remind the presiding powers that what happened once may happen again. "That passed, so may this."

The Grave

Noting the widespread use of the grave as image in Early Middle English literature and the general scholarly agreement on the force of the metaphor of grave as house in The Grave, Douglas Moffat in "The Grave in Early Middle English Verse: Metaphor and Archaeology" (Florilegium 6, 96-102) examines the relevance of archaeological findings to the modern understanding of these poems. He points out that in various digging of Anglo-Saxon grave sites--at Empingham, Rutland; Mucking, Essex; St Peter's, Kent--excavations of burial sites have revealed that the graves were designed as houses, that graves were constructed to receive wooden lids or stone or timber slabs. Even the Sutton Hoo ship was built with a wooden cabin amidship. Moffat concludes that the resemblance between archaeological evidence and literary image does not invalidate the modern appreciation of the force of such imagery but rather reminds us of the resonance of that image.

Resignation

Karma Lochrie ("Anglo-Saxon Morning Sickness," Neophilologus 70, 316-18) attempts to distinguish the sadness at dawn in Resignation from that in the other elegies which Eric Stanley analyzed (Anglia 73 [1955-56], 413-66). According to Lochrie, morgenseoc (96a) describes the speaker's "state of mind, not the time of day." Thus morning would become a metaphor for misery in the poem. The argument which Lochrie makes depends on the possibility of "'homophonic attraction'" between geomor (95b) and morgenseoc (96a). There is

certainly a homographic connection between mor in each word, but strong homophonic identification at the level of word seems unlikely between the second, unstressed syllable of geomor and the first, stressed syllable of morgen.

Riddles

Johan Gerritsen, in "Leiden Revisited: Further Thoughts on the Text of the Leiden Riddle" (Medieval Studies Conference, Aachen 1983, ed. Bald and Weinstock, Bamberger Beiträge zur englischen Sprachwissenschaft, 15 [Frankfurt am Main, 1984], p. 51-59, ill.), continues the paleographical debate about the vexed readings of the Leiden Riddle. Gerritsen addresses himself to several arguments advanced by Malcolm Parkes (ASE 1 [1972], 207-17), who in his turn had challenged several conclusions drawn by Gerritsen in an earlier essay (ES 50 [1969], 529-44). The major points of disagreement are as follows: whether the riddle was copied in the ninth or tenth century; whether it was copied before or after the pen trials on the page; whether the ink of the riddle is or is not the same as on the rest of the page; whether the first word of the second (manuscript) line of the riddle reads Uuat or Uaat. (Both arguments assume that the copyist did not read Old English.) Contrary to Parkes, Gerritsen affirms his original position, that Scribe 2 of the Latin text (Aldhelm's Enigmata) copied the Leiden Riddle as well and that the copying, done in the ninth century, preceded the pen trials on the page. Both arguments depend on minute observation of paleographical detail, not apparent in even the best of photographs. However, Gerritsen's observation that the neums appear to have been positioned to avoid the writing space supports his argument. Among the most critical of issues, however, is the interpretation of the character following "U" in Uaat (or Uuat). Parkes reads a Square Minusculum "a," and, given a scribe unfamiliar with Old English, such a letter form would preclude a date much earlier than 900; Gerritsen reads a "u," which he interprets as a misreading for pointed minusculum "a." Such a reading would make a ninth-century date for the copying of the Leiden Riddle possible, but not necessary. I suspect we have not seen the end to this discussion. The title of S. G. Kossick's essay, "Gnomic Verse and Old English Riddles" (Unisa Eng. Stud. 24, no. 2, 1-6, ill.) is rather misleading. While the piece treats some gnomic verse and some riddles, it does not consider them in any relation to one another. The illustrations are unattributed, but one, of a scriptorium, is either late medieval or early renaissance in origin. Although the essay may well have been intended for a general audience, it seems not to be informed about the scholarship on the subject. It is difficult not to cite T. A. Shippey on wisdom literature in Old English, or Craig Williamson on the structure of Exeter riddles 1-3. Hans Pinsker and Waltraud Ziegler (Die altenglischen Rätsel des Exeterbuchs, Anglistische Forschungen, 183 [Heidelberg], pp. 422) offer an edition of the Riddles with a German translation and commentary. Their introduction is limited to a brief discussion of the facts of the manuscript, the editions, and editorial principles. The bibliography is full though not exhaustive, and seems to continue Williamson's with some gaps. For example, Williamson's 1982 book, A Feast of Creatures (a translation with introduction, notes and bibliography) is missing from the opening list of editions and translations. The editors offer 14 new solutions (in German and in English) to the Riddles of the Exeter Book, and fresh approaches must always be welcome. However, many of the solutions are extremely speculative and ask for more background

information to be persuasive. They present as entirely new eight solutions: 27 (K-D 29) "Die Entführung der Venus" ("A star-riddle--'Venus carried off'"); 28a,b (K-D 30) "Schnee" ("snow"); 30 (K-D 32) "Schubkarren" ("wheelbarrow"); 38 (K-D 40) "Prima Materia--Das Wasser" ("water"); 66a,b (K-D 68,69) "Lösung Unsicher" ("uncertain"); 67 (K-D 70) "Glocke" ("bell"); 71 (K-D 73) "?Bogen Und Brandpfeil" ("bow and incendiary arrow"); 84 (K-D 88) "Tintenfass aus Hirschhorn, I" ("inkhorn made of an antler, I"); and six as modifications of already proposed solutions: 6 (K-D 8) "Flöte" ("flute"); 11 (K-D 13) "Die ?Zwölf Kücken" ("twelve chicks"); 20 (K-D 22) "Eisbrücke" ("ice bridge"); 46 (K-D 48) "Inschriftring auf einem Abendmahlkelch" ("inscription ring on a chalice" and similarly 57 [K-D 59]); 59 (K-D 61) "Haube" ("hood"). Many of these offer interesting possibilities; however, not all of them are equally probable. One ready example is the new solution they offer to Rā 38 (K-D 40), acknowledged by the editors to be a translation of Aldhelm's Enigma no. C, "Creatura." I know of only one manuscript in which the Latin riddle is titled anything but "Creatura": Cambridge, University Library Gg.5.35 has "Natura," and that manuscript dates from a generation after the copying of the Exeter Book. However, while offering "Prima materia" or "Wasser" as a new solution, the editors do not address either title found in the manuscripts of the Latin riddle. The editors basically follow Williamson's numbering of the riddles, although they subdivide some riddles. Their approach to punctuation in the riddles is curious. They claim to use the manuscript punctuation as a basis for interpretation: "Die Interpunktionen--die in der HS vorhandenen sind von Williamson tabellarisiert . . . sind auf Grund unserer Interpretationen des Textes gesetzt uns weichen daher von denen in den anderen Ausgaben beträchtlich ab." The punctuation of the Exeter Book is inconsistent, although most riddles have a simple terminal point. In their practice, they capitalize the text only where the manuscript does, and reproduce the six varieties of terminal punctuation (by hand), but otherwise ignore manuscript punctuation in both the edition and the apparatus. They do, however, mark length of vowels but omit to list accents in the manuscript. Their approach to emendation is much freer than that of Williamson or Krapp and Dobbie as the apparatus testifies. This they justify on the principle that the process of copying the manuscript involved multiple incidents of visual or aural errors. Such an attitude does not produce a conservative edition. In "Nathwæt in the Exeter Book Riddles" (Amer. Notes & Queries 24, 116-20), Matti Rissanen explores the "clash" between denotational and structural meaning of nathwæt and nathwær in Exeter Riddles 25, 45, 54, 61, 62, 93 (Krapp and Dobbie's numbering). He notes that all of these save Riddle 93 are "obscene," and in the former, nathwæt and nathwær refer to the sexual organ or its location. By using the indefinite pronoun, the riddler signals a double entendre by pretending not to know what he knows quite well. Rissanen points out a number of sexual symbols or allusions in Riddle 93 and suggests that the riddler was trying to mislead his audience by his use of nathwæt in 27a. The difficult Exeter Riddle 55, in its modern history at least, has provoked many different attempts at solution. We see two this year. *Claire Fanger proposes an entirely new solution, "reliquary," in "A Suggestion for a Solution to Exeter Book Riddle 55" (Scintilla 2-3 [1985-86], 19-28). In this solid study, Fanger makes a useful point about the significance of the tense of abæd (12b), since the past tense of the verb must indicate that the riddle object has ceased praying for a weapon. This reading makes the solution "sword-box" unlikely. (She follows Craig Williamson's reading of the word as being derived from abiddan.) The solution "reliquary" accounts for many elements in the riddle: that the object be portable, highly decorated, and

shaped like or marked by a cross. As Fanger points out, these elements connect 12b-14a with Dream of the Rood. Hildegard L. C. Tristram, by contrast, resurrects an old solution "cross" with her essay, "In Support of Tupper's Solution of the Exeter Book Riddle (Krapp-Dobbie) 55," Germanic Dialects: Linguistic and Philological Investigations. ed. Brogyanyi and Krömmelbein, Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science, series 4, vol. 38 (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Co.), p. 585-98. She proposes a refinement on Tupper's solution by specifying a wooden, liturgical cross. Such a cross, she argues, would have been "carried into or about the hall, on the occasion of a feast and/or at all occasions of feasting." Cited in support of such use of a cross are the well-known instances of feasting in or near monasteries: the convivium which Caedmon fled and the entertainment at Lindisfarne which Alcuin criticized. Tristram further suggests that "druncon may even be considered as an antonymic encoding of pious behaviour in the refectory." In a similar line of argument, Tristram construes the four English woods mentioned in the riddle (which, as Williamson pointed out, do not agree with patristic descriptions) as "eminently adequate encoding, by means of metonymy, of the original (Latin) list of the ligna." She lists in support some Middle Irish lists of woods. As she notes, however, the solution, "cross," requires accepting that the riddlic object names itself at least partially in the riddle. Such a bending of rules riddling purists may find disturbing.

Riming Poem

Anne L. Klinck, in "Growth and Decay in The Riming Poem, Lines 51-54" (ELN 23, no. 3, 1-3), would read the doubtful tinneð (54b) as a verb of motion. Citing tennap in Fortunes of Men, 4a, she suggests that the word "refers to the process of animal and vegetable growth." She ascribes the proximity of cennað and tennap in Fortunes and that of cinnið and tinneð in The Riming Poem to traditional diction.

Ruin

In "A Damaged Passage in the Old English Ruin" (SN 58, 165-68) Anne L. Klinck attempts to reapproach Ruin 12-20. Her detailed argument considers the evidence for two emendations. She supports Kluge's reading wunað (for wonað or worað) and Krapp and Dobbie's reading of MS geheapen (12b). She accepts Leslie's conjectural reading of 18, but would read myneswiftne as a compound adjective instead of Leslie's myne swiftne, and translates the line "the spirit instigated a keen-minded device." Klinck makes a further reinterpretation of words in 13, where she reads felon from feolan "to stick to." Perhaps her most interesting suggestion is for a rearrangement of words in 20a from the current weallwalan wirum to weall walanwirum. This alteration, Klinck argues, reinterprets the poem to emphasize not wreckage but "remaining impressiveness."

Seafarer/Wanderer

Antony Oldknow offers translations of Seafarer and Wanderer in "Two

Translations from Old English" (North Dakota Quarterly 54, no. 4, 18-24). The translations are not especially literal, as the following lines from Wanderer 106--110 may illustrate:

fate is stamping earth into new shapes under heaven,
the whole world plunges through a time of darkness,
wealth crumbles, companions disappear,
men and women float into view then fade,
all this solid earth is melting away into nothing.

To my taste anyway, apart from various inaccuracies, these translations have serious problems with register.

Seasons for Fasting

Chadwick B. Hilton, "The Old English Seasons for Fasting: Its Place in the Vernacular Complaint Tradition" (Neophilologus 70, 155-59), would place Seasons for Fasting in the complaint tradition usually defined as a Middle English genre. He would further argue that the poem establishes that the complaint was a viable literary mode known in Anglo-Saxon England. He describes it as the "longest regularly stanzaic piece in Old English." Hilton acknowledges that the poem is found in London, British Library, Addl. 43,703, but does not further discuss the manuscript, actually Laurence Nowell's paper transcript of BL Cotton Otho B. xi (localized by Ker to Winchester and dated to x²--xi¹). Given that no other extant Old English poem was divided in stanzas, it would be interesting to assess how much our perception of the poem's stanzaic format is owing to Nowell, who, when transcribing, was not particular about mise-en-page and was in the habit of inserting punctuation and marking word separations by means of hyphens. The dating of Otho B. xi makes Hilton's date of "early 11th C" for the poem technically possible, but the poem has generally been ascribed to the late tenth century, and some argument to support a later date would be useful. Hilton notes that the attack on lax priests he reads in lines 184-230 is "unprecedented" in Old English, although he concedes that Guthlac A, ll. 414-20, also treats corrupt clergy. In his translation of the final forty-six lines of the poem (which he refers to as stanzas 24-29) he omits to discuss his approach to the vexed lines 206-7 and the difficult forpegide (214a). A bold translation of "let the pure water which is divine doctrine do you good" for lines 206-7 needs further support to uphold his contention that this advice is addressed not to minor clergy but to the laity. His point is well taken, however, that folces mann(a) in the prose texts generally refers to the laity.

Wife's Lament

Dennis Chase, in "'The Wife's Lament': an Eighth-Century Existential Cry" (Univ. of South Florida Lang. Quarterly 24, nos. 3-4, 18-20), argues that recognition of existential elements in Wife's Lament is necessary in order to see the poem as "something more than an elegy that exemplifies ancient Teutonic ideals." The "Teutonic" notion is a bit general, but it is difficult to understand why we should want to see Wife's Lament as more (or other) than an Old English elegy. Chase attempts to trace four characteristics of twentieth-century existentialism in Wife's Lament:

emphasis on self; isolation and alienation; anxiety; belief that life is "absurd." This essay finds itself squarely in the midst of theoretical issues about the validity of importing modernist ideology into the interpretation of medieval texts, but it does not address itself to those issues. Perhaps Chase will do so in the other studies on the subject which he proposes. In "Two Women in Need of a Friend: a Comparison of The Wife's Lament and Eangyth's Letter to Boniface" (Germanic Dialects, ed. Brogyanyi and Krömmelbein, p. 491-524), Ursula Schaefer addresses what she considers as a modern misunderstanding of "friendship" in Wife's Lament. In her view, the poem is about "loneliness," and expresses the overriding necessity of having friends. Schaefer, arguing the importance of going outside "literary texts," examines a letter written by Abbess Eangyth to St. Boniface. This is an interesting if curious choice, since the selection is highly self-conscious, allusive, and written in heavily rhetorical Latin, in short, is deliberately "literary." In the letter, the abbess expresses the ardent hope that she has found in Boniface the friend she has longed for. Her complaints include loss of friends and slander by others. In a lengthy analysis, Schaefer compares the contents of the letter and of the Wife's Lament to demonstrate that the friendship they long for is unrelated to Germanic comitatus, and, in fact, that freondscipe uncer (25a) (given Eangyth's presumably chaste ardor) is also presumably not sexual. Noting that some of the concerns of Eangyth's letter appear in others of Boniface's correspondence, Schaefer concludes that the complaints in these texts and those in Wanderer, Seafarer, Resignation, and Wife's Lament "must be seen against the background of a religiosity that needs a friend for the sake of good counsel as well as prayer."

Wulf and Eadwacer

In contrast to Schaefer's argument on Wife's Lament, Stanley B. Greenfield, in "Wulf and Eadwacer: All Passion Pent" (ASE 15, 5-14), reads Wulf and Eadwacer (as well as Wife's Lament) in a firmly sexual context. Greenfield provides an evocative translation of the poem which preserves the ambiguities of the original and through which he also discusses his approach to the text. Noting various previous interpretations of the elusive Wife's Lament, Greenfield specifically examines one approach (offered independently by Dolores Warwick Frese and Marijane Osborn in 1982) which reads the poem as the lament of a mother for a dead son. He attacks this approach by undermining the argument behind it: that even if the "typical" lament of an Anglo-Saxon woman involved a male child, such a fact would not disallow Wulf and Eadwacer or Wife's Lament as "lyrics of love-longing." In his reading of the poem, Greenfield proposes that there are only two characters, the speaker and Wulf. The beaducafa, Eadwacer, and Wulf are the same individual, and the "whelp" is not an individual but a metaphor for the joy of love between the speaker and Wulf. Although this is an attractive reading, it depends quite heavily on the identification of Wulf as se beaducafa (11a). Greenfield provides a kind of narrative to account for such a possibility: perhaps Wulf once managed a visit to her island, either before their affair was known or after their forced separation. In this scenario, Greenfield says that such a visit would be both pleasurable and hateful, owing to the danger and the brevity of the visit. In such a context, the usual connotations of lað seem unduly strong and ask a further analysis of the accommodation such a word might make to Greenfield's reading. Greenfield's translation of eadwacer as an epithet which indicates that Wulf is the "guardian of her happiness" and

his reading of 16b ("our poor whelp" with an emendation of MS earne to earmne) as a metaphor for their love are elegant modifications of the usual interpretation of Wulf and Eadwacer as a poem of love-longing. Within this context, Greenfield provides a fresh, streamlined, and inviting reading of the poem.

K.O'B.O'K.

c. Beowulf

i. General and miscellaneous topics

Asked to name the perfect modern language for a translation of Beowulf, many would say "Icelandic" without hesitation. Halldóra B. Björnsson, Bjólfskviða (Beowulf), ed. Pétur Knútsson Ridgewell (Reykjavík: Fjölvi, 1983) gives them a chance to test the hypothesis. Here is a brief sample (530-34):

Ofmargt hefir þú, Ófari vinur,
bjóri drukkin um Breka talað,
sagt frá sæför hans! Satt eg mæli,
að eg megins meira í mari átti,
við unnar erfiði tek eg öllum fram.

Kevin S. Kiernan, in "The Legacy of Wiglaf: Saving a Wounded Beowulf" (Kentucky Rev. 6, no. 2 [1986], 27-44), presents a version for general readers of his theory of the poem's composition. His argument is familiar; still, believers in the theory as well as non-believers may find something of value in this essay, as Kiernan shows how the perceptions of scholars have been distorted by their wish to find in Beowulf the poem they want it to be. Kiernan is not the first to have recognized this tendency (E. G. Stanley saw it in The Search for Anglo-Saxon Paganism); many may question whether it is possible for Kiernan or anyone else entirely to put aside modern (or postmodern) prejudices for long enough to catch a glimpse of the "original" Beowulf. Zacharias P. Thundy seems to be assailed by such doubts less than most of us. In his "Beowulf: Date and Authorship" (NM 87 [1986], 102-16) he dates Beowulf to the period 924-931, localizes it at the court of King Athelstan, and identifies the poet as Wulfgar. Among other evidence, he notes the similarity of Scyld's military career to Athelstan's and of Beowulf's death to that of Edward the Elder and perceives echoes in the Herebeald-Hæthcyn episode of suspicions that Athelstan murdered his brother to secure the throne. The well known land-grant that contains the place-names Beowan ham and Grendles mere was made to one Wulfgar; Thundy surmises that Athelstan thought that parcel of land a fitting reward for the Beowulf poet. If such evidence seems a little vague, the vagueness itself argues for Thundy's conclusions, for the poet "avoids, like any good artist, perfect, one-to-one correspondence between type and prototype, between character and allegory, between the conception of an idea in mind and its expression in words" (p. 110).

G. N. Gabbard, "Film Clip from an Epic" (Literary Rev. 30 [1986], 84-86) calls itself a "free translation from the prelude of Beowulf, lines 1-53," but is more an original poem inspired by those lines.

ii. Textual, linguistic, and metrical studies

1986 was a good year for the textual criticism of Beowulf, chiefly due to the publication of Kevin S. Kiernan's The Thorkelin Transcripts of 'Beowulf' (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1986). Part One of this study, "Thorkelin's Discovery of Beowulf," is based largely on documents relating to

Thorkelin's trip to England in 1786-91. Kiernan finds that Thorkelin came to England not to study Beowulf, but to search out Danish antiquities in British libraries; he did not discover Cotton Vitellius A. xv until after his arrival. Though there is no conclusive evidence as to who produced the transcript we call "Thorkelin A," Kiernan suggests plausibly that he was James Matthews, an employee of the British Museum. The most surprising conclusion of Part One is that Thorkelin probably did not make his own transcript, "Thorkelin B," in 1787 (as he recorded), but rather between 1789 and 1791. Part Two consists of a painstaking collation of Thorkelin A and B with the 1959 Zupitza-Davis facsimile of the Beowulf MS. The collation is arranged in such a way as to facilitate comparison of the two transcripts: it follows the foliation and lineation of the MS. (but includes line numbers for ease of reference), and for each folio lists errors and corrections in A and B in separate paragraphs. For each folio, the collation lists those letters that are actually gone (excluding those that are hidden by the frames or are fragmentary but legible); it also counts up how many of the missing letters can be restored with reference to A alone and how many can be restored from B but not from A. This part of Kiernan's study will be an essential reference for all who work with the text of Beowulf.

Part Three, "The Reliability of the Transcripts," analyzes the collations of Part Two and reaches some troubling but seemingly inescapable conclusions. Thorkelin A, whose copyist knew neither Old English nor insular script, is more accurate than is generally thought, particularly after the first few pages, where the unfamiliar script caused difficulties. The A copyist "made a relatively small variety of mistakes" (p. 100), making his transcript easy for us to correct; most of those errors that are difficult to classify were actually caused by such anomalies as stray marks, blots, and unusual letter-forms in his source. A's transcript thus is something like a facsimile: "Not knowing Old English, he copied what these words look like, instead of what they were supposed to look like" (p. 108). Thorkelin B is not an independent witness to the state of the Beowulf MS., as many have assumed, but rather an edition-in-progress based partly on the MS. and partly on Thorkelin A. The collations reveal B's frequent dependence on A; further, many of B's departures from MS. readings are not errors, but rather emendations brought about, often enough, by a faulty understanding of the text. Odd though it seems, Thorkelin's (rather shaky) knowledge of Old English was actually a liability, leading him to introduce changes in B when we should have preferred a literatim copy. Kiernan's findings will force a reevaluation of the many places in Beowulf where editors have supplied from the Thorkelin transcripts letters missing in the MS.

In addition to his book, Kiernan has given us a note on "The Lost Letters of Beowulf 2253a" (Neophilologus 70 [1986], 633-35). The restoration feormie in that line is impossible, he says, given what remains to be seen in the MS.; the second letter of that word probably was not e, and the r probably was in fact a g. Kiernan tentatively suggests that the word was originally fægnige and translates the half line "joyfully receive the ornamented cup." Perhaps another possible restoration (if I may venture one) is fægrige, yielding "beautify the ornamented cup." Adjacent to Kiernan's note in Neophilologus is Raymond P. Tripp's "Beowulf 1314a: The Hero as alfwalda, 'Ruler of Elves'" (630-32). Proceeding from a suggestion by P. B. Taylor and P. H. Salus that MS. alf walda (usually emended to Alwalda) be retained, Tripp suggests some adjustments to our reading of 1310-15: to bure (1310) is to be translated "at

his chamber"; æpele cempa (1312) is not Beowulf but one of his men; and se snotera (1313) and alfwalda (1314) refer not to Hrothgar and God, but to Beowulf. According to this reading, the passage depicts one of the Geats coming to Beowulf's chamber to ask him to battle Grendel's mother. The epithet alfwalda is appropriate to Beowulf as monster-slayer. Peter C. Braeger ("Connotations of (earm)sceapen: Beowulf ll. 2228-2229 and the Shape-Shifting Dragon," Essays in Lit. [Western Illinois University] 13 [1986], 327-30), proceeding from Tripp's reading of Beowulf's dragon as a man transformed for his wickedness, suggests that (earm)sceapen (the word usually restored in 2228a) has the sense "metamorphosed." He compares forscippan "transform" and cites several passages where earmsceapen may mean "metamorphosed." His examples are unconvincing: for example, Nebuchadnezzar, though earmsceapen (Daniel 631), does not change into a beast as Braeger claims.

A more persuasive word study is "Beowulf 770a: rebe renweardas" (N&Q 33 [1986], 433-34), in which Carl T. Berkhout and Renée Medine suggest that renweardas, taken by early commentators as "mighty guardians" but more recently understood to mean "guardians of the house," refers specifically to watchdogs. They cite Old Norse húsvörðr, Old High German hovawart, and Old Saxon hovaward; in addition, the sense "watchdog" is consistent with renhund from the Quadripartitus text of Cnut's laws, where it is falsely etymologized as a dog that keeps watch in the rain. In "Beowulf 1258-1266: Grendel's Lady-Mother," ELN 23, no. 3 [1986], 10-15, Mary K. Temple discusses the phrase ides aglæcwif (1259), which she says "has been overlooked by commentators" (p. 10). Her main concern is with ides, for which Angus Cameron et al., Old English Word Studies: A Preliminary Author and Word Index lists twelve studies, none of them cited in this article. Temple has painstakingly (and fruitlessly) read through a good bit of Old English prose in search of ides when a glance at the Microfiche Concordance to Old English would have shown that it comes only in poetry and glosses. She concludes that ides has the sense "noble lady" and also dark connotations that lend this line particular resonance. Her conclusion in some ways resembles a point made by Helen Damico in "Beowulf's" Wealththeow and the Valkyrie Tradition, for my objections to which see OEN 19, no. 1 (fall 1985), 84.

Alfred Bammesberger ("On Old English gefrægnod in Beowulf 1333a," Linguistics across Historical and Geographical Boundaries, ed. Kastovsky and Szwedek, pp. 193-97) finds that gefrægnod (the usual emendation of MS. gefrægnod) cannot be correct, since it is exclusively a West-Saxon word, and the "ultimate Anglian origin" of Beowulf "is not in doubt" (p. 193). There is more to be said for retaining gefrægnod, but this class-two weak participle is a tenth-century remodelling of strong (ge)frignan, gefregen and thus too late to have been used by the Beowulf poet. Bammesberger suggests that the word may originally have been gefregen; at some point an explanatory gloss gefrægnod was added to the text, and later still this gloss was substituted for the original reading. Bammesberger's reading is plausible (though I have reservations about his notion that glosses were frequently inserted in poetic texts--see his Linguistic Notes on Old English Poetic Texts, section 3a. of the bibliography); but the textual problem he solves will be visible only to those who share his confidence that Beowulf is indeed pre-tenth century and Anglian.

Paul B. Taylor ("Beowulf 4-6a: Scyld's scapan," In Geardagum 7 [1986],

37-43) examines the possibility that sceapena breatum (4b) is not in apposition with monegum mægbum (5a), but rather an instrumental construction expressing the means by which Scyld achieves his victories. After examining a number of similar constructions in Beowulf and other poems, he finds no reason to prefer one reading over another; but the "immediate poetic context," particularly the presumption that "Scyld does not wrest mead-benches away from troops and tribes single-handedly" (p. 41) favors the instrumental reading. G. A. Lester ("Earme on eaxle [Beowulf 1117a]," SN 58 [1986], 159-63) investigates the usage of eaxl in Old English and finds that it is not synonymous with sculdor, eaxl being associated with the arms, sculdor with the breast and head. Though eaxl has "associations of closeness" (p. 161), Lester finds no support for the usual reading of on eaxle as "beside." He suggests instead that earme on eaxle refers to "a characteristic posture of grief" common in Anglo-Saxon art, in which "the head is inclined upon the shoulder" (p. 162). This study shows well the potential of interdisciplinary approaches to solve textual problems in Beowulf.

In a particularly important word study, "'Mere' and 'sund': Two Sea-Changes in Beowulf" (Modes of Interpretation, ed. Brown et al., pp. 153-72), Roberta Frank studies two examples of the "truth . . . that the meaning of a word in Old English prose is a fallible guide to its meaning in poetry" (p. 153). It is uncertain whether mere, applied so consistently to Grendel's lair that it seems almost a proper name, refers to an inland lake or an arm of the sea. Frank argues that the poet exploited the word's ambiguity, forcing his audience "to take an active part in the narrative, using their own knowledge to abstract from the physical 'mere' ('unbounded sea') of poetry its polar opposite, the metaphysical 'mere' ('confined and confining water') of prose" (p. 157). The prosaic meaning of sund is "swimming," the poetic meaning "sea"; accepting Fred C. Robinson's argument that the "swimming match" between Beowulf and Breca is actually a rowing match, Frank suggests that Unferth is deliberately ambiguous in his use of sund (507, 512) and indeed all through his account of the contest, tricking his audience into taking his literal terms figuratively and his figurative terms literally. Like Hamlet, he "always speaks the truth, but in such a way that his answers . . . are misconstrued by his hearers" (p. 161).

In "Rudolf von Raumer: Long Sentences in Beowulf and the Influence of Christianity on Germanic Style" (N&Q 33 [1986], 434-38), E. G. Stanley recounts a controversy between Rudolf von Raumer and an anonymous reviewer of his Die Einwirkung des Christentums auf die Althochdeutsche Sprache (1845) who claimed that German acquired periodic sentence structure from the Church; earlier verse had merely let "short sentences stand next to each other." In reply, Raumer pointed out the scarcity of evidence for pre-Christian German; as to "the older style of epic," long, though not periodic, sentences were to be found in Hildebrandslied as well as in Beowulf 217-23, 277-85, and 2518-21. Stanley finds Raumer's distinction between long and periodic sentences useful: Elfric's sentences are periodic; Beowulf's are not, though they can be long.

Kazuyoshi Yamanouchi, "Some Notes on Non-Alliterating Finite Verbs in Beowulf" (Studies in English Philology and Linguistics in Honour of Dr Tamotsu Matsunami [Tokyo, 1984], pp. 65-78), written in Japanese but followed by an English summary, notes that non-alliterating finite verbs are relatively rare in the first lift and in the first dip of A-type verses; nevertheless, these

verbs seem to form a class with identifiable characteristics. Yamanouchi compiles several lists: non-alliterating finite verbs; alliterating finite verbs; and verbs that occur in verses that begin with a finite verb + pa. Wolfgang Obst, "Der Rhythmus des Beowulf: eine Akzent- und Takttheorie" (EASG 1985 [1986], 5-8) is a summary of a Habilitationsschrift to be published as Anglistische Forschungen 187. To summarize a summary is a risky and difficult business, so I delay discussion of this study until the book has appeared.

iii. Sources and analogues

In "Beowulf, Bede, and St. Oswine: The Hero's Pride in Old English Hagiography" (The Anglo-Saxons, ed. Woods and Pelteret, pp. 37-48), the late Colin Chase, who formerly conducted this review with great wisdom and skill (se was betera ðonne ic!) presents a compelling examination of the late Anglo-Latin Vita Oswini, an expansion of Bede's story of how King Oswine, rather than go to battle against Oswy, disbanded his army and went into hiding. The hagiographer is "anxious, perhaps too anxious," to make the point that "Oswine turns from the fight neither because of the treachery of his followers nor out of personal fear, but because he is concerned for the lives of his men" (p. 43). The army, indeed, is eager to fight, but Oswine is caught between two conflicting moral imperatives: "if I fight this battle, I appear in [God's] eyes guilty of shedding blood. If I flee I stain my own honour and my family name" (p. 45). Though "the hagiographer had every reason to depict what his hero chose not to do as evil, and what he chose to do as unalloyed good, it apparently never occurs to him to suggest that the impulse to fight against impossible odds was born of the sort of pride against which Hrothgar warns the young Beowulf" (p. 46). Chase's reading of the Vita Oswini supports the identification of the "conflict . . . between the heroic code and royal responsibility" (ibid.) as a Beowulfian theme, but not those interpretations that find Beowulf guilty of pride and greed because he battles for the dragon's hoard.

The late Rowland L. Collins, in "Blickling Homily XVI and the Dating of Beowulf" (Medieval Studies Conference, Aachen 1983, ed. Wolf-Dietrich Bald and Horst Weinstock [Frankfurt am Main, 1984], pp. 61-69), takes a fresh look at the relationship between Beowulf and the homily on St. Michael's Church. Collins reminds us that the vision of hell in that homily resembles the Visio Pauli more than it does Hrothgar's description of Grendel's abode (1367-76) and proposes that verbal similarities are what draw the two passages together. Further, the words and phrases, where they match, are more typical of the homilist than of the Beowulf poet: the homily's bystrogenipu, which resembles Beowulf's under nassa genipu (1360a), actually occurs twice in the homily, in unrelated passages, and the homily's hrimige bearwas, which resembles Beowulf's hrinde bearwas (1363b), is echoed by hromige wudu elsewhere in the homily. These points and others (e.g. that the homilist did not cite Beowulf as a source or echo its language as exactly as he might have done had he used it) are not such as to compel agreement, but they do encourage further investigation of Collins's thesis that the direction of influence may be the reverse of what has generally been thought.

Kathryn Smits, in "Die 'Stimmen' des schweigenden Königs: ein Erzählmotiv im Beowulf, im Nibelungenlied und im Parzifal" (Wissenschaftliches Jahrbuch 27 [1986], 23-45) identifies what may be a traditional narrative motif. I

translate: "The head of a house--usually a king--receives an arriving stranger, to whom he reacts with mixed feelings. But his dignity forbids this lord to show his reaction spontaneously. Representing him, however, two other characters do so--a man and a woman. While the man lends expression to the lord's aggressive feelings, the woman represents the peaceful and conciliatory aspect of his reaction to the guest" (p. 24). Smits supports her thesis with detailed analyses of the relevant passages in Beowulf (where the "voices" of King Hrothgar are Unferth and Wealhtheow), the Nibelungenlied (where Gunther's "voices" are Ortwin and Kriemhild), and Parzifal (where Anfortas's "voices" are ein redespäher man and the king's sister). This persuasive article is a must for those interested in type-scenes.

Ward Parks ("Flyting and Fighting: Pathways in the Realization of the Epic Contest," Neophilologus 70 [1986], 292-306), finds that in both Old English and Homeric epic the verbal contest is one component of a larger contest that generally takes place in four stages--engagement, flyting, martial combat, and ritual resolution (p. 297). The flyting has a contractual as well as a combative ("eristic") side: the participants negotiate the terms of the martial contest that is to follow. Parks examines The Battle of Maldon and the Achilles-Aeneas conflict of the Iliad as flytings that precede actual battles. In the Beowulf-Unferth exchange, as in the Odysseus-Euryalos conflict of the Odyssey, the contestants are a guest and a man who speaks for the host (cf. Kathryn Smits's article above), and the physical contest at issue is not between the verbal contestants, but between the guest and someone else. In the encounters between Beowulf and the coast guard and Diomedes and Glaukos (Iliad), "both exchanges modulate out of the highly eristic flyting mode . . . into a friendly bonding process" (p. 301). The flyting, according to Parks, is governed by rules that originate, on the one hand, in "the need to maintain the framework of community," and on the other hand, in the hero's need to prove himself (p. 303).

In "Heathen Sacrifice in Beowulf and Rimbart's Life of Ansgar" (Medievalia et Humanistica n.s. 13 [1985], 65-74), Theodore M. Andersson offers as an analogue to ll. 175-88, which depict the Danes sacrificing at heathen temples, a passage from Rimbart's Life of Ansgar in which the inhabitants of Birka, endangered by viking raiders, sacrifice to heathen gods, but are persuaded by their prefect Herigarius to turn instead to Christianity. The townspeople are of course saved from the vikings, who sail off to plunder another town. Andersson proposes that the Danes of Beowulf are "semi-converted" like the residents of Birka, thus explaining their apparently Christian behavior elsewhere in the poem. His argument has its attractions; but why does the poet not explain the religious condition of his "semi-converted" characters more explicitly? Would not the audience of Beowulf, unless told otherwise, have assumed that sixth-century Scandinavians were heathen? Stephen O. Glosecki ("Men among Monsters: Germanic Animal Art as Evidence of Oral Literature," Mankind Quarterly 27 [1986], 207-14) proposes that "Germanic animal art reflects the themes of the preliterate songs" (p. 207). Many artifacts from pagan Scandinavia and England appear to have a narrative component, and it makes sense to suppose that oral tales lay behind them. The only pre-Christian artifact that Glosecki connects with a known story is a scene from the Oseberg cart that may depict Gunnar being thrown into the snake pit, as in Atlakviða; but in this scene Gunnar lacks his harp.

Anatoly Liberman's "Beowulf-Grettir" (Germanic Dialects, ed. Brogyanyi

and Krömmelbein, pp. 353-401) is an ambitious attempt to solve the problem of the relationship between the Grendel episodes of Beowulf and the Sandhaugar episode of Grettissaga. Liberman surveys the literature on the subject and finds it characterized by a "total absence of really persuasive arguments" (p. 358). Common narrative motifs such as the monster's arm being torn off or the hero's retinue leaving him for dead prove nothing, having been known in many times and places. The only common element that cannot easily be explained away is the occurrence of the word hæftmece in Beowulf and heptisax in Grettissaga--a coincidence all the more striking because the words are hapax legomena. Liberman analyzes the contexts of these words and reconstructs the common ancestor of both episodes; in his reconstruction the ancestor of hæftmece/heptisax had special ritual significance. It is perhaps inevitable that a theory based on as little evidence as we have for the relationship of these two stories should fall short of proof; and some of Liberman's arguments (e.g. that Beowulf kills Grendel's mother with the giant sword but beheads Grendel with Hrunting) seem strained. Nevertheless, this is a useful study whose conclusions may well be correct.

A. E. C. Canitz, in "Kingship in Beowulf and the Nibelungenlied" (Mankind Quarterly 27 [1986], 97-119), examines Beowulf and the Nibelungenlied to determine the changes that took place in the concept of kingship over the 500 years that separate the works. Gift-giving, prowess in battle, wisdom, and "an inherited luckforce" (p. 116) are important in both works; the most important difference is that the Nibelungenlied places less emphasis than Beowulf on the king's personal prowess. Interesting conclusions, but the study is flawed by its assumption of cultural continuity between Beowulf and the Nibelungenlied, which were written in different places and languages; and though five centuries may separate the two epics, the last decade's work on the dating of Beowulf ought to prevent our assuming it. In "A Note on Beowulf and Hagiography" (Studies in English Philology and Linguistics in Honour of Dr. Tamotsu Matsunami [Tokyo, 1984], pp. 221-32), Kinshiro Oshitari finds structural similarities between Beowulf and the Life of St. Guthlac: Both Beowulf and Guthlac were sluggish youths, and both fight creatures descended from Cain who are described as mankind's foes, who inhabit watery places (the descriptions of which are similar), and who are enraged by music. Burial mounds figure in both works, and the death of Beowulf recalls that of Guthlac. Oshitari cautions that his findings do not mean either that the Beowulf poet knew the Life of St. Guthlac or that Beowulf is a religious poem; but he considers it likely that the poet "was familiar with the tradition of hagiography" (p. 231).

Brian D. Joseph's "Old English Hengest as an Indo-European Twin Hero" (Mankind Quarterly 24 [1983], 105-15) is a revision of his "Using Indo-European Comparative Mythology to Solve Literary Problems: the Case of Old English Hengest," for a summary of which see last year's review.

iv. Criticism

The late Morton W. Bloomfield's "'Interlace' as a Medieval Narrative Technique, with Special Reference to Beowulf" (Magister Regis, ed. Groos et al., pp. 49-59) argues that "sequentiality" is basic in narrative: in verbal art, two events cannot be narrated simultaneously. Critics have identified various ways in which narrative art can suggest simultaneity: retrospective

report, discontinuous retrieval, and continuous retrieval. The fallacy in our use of the term "interlace," borrowed from the visual arts, is that it suggests simultaneity in narrative, even though the "strands" of a story cannot truly overlap each other. Many techniques that critics have called interlace, such as foreshadowing, are not actually interlace at all. Bloomfield cites Beowulf 837-927 (the celebratory ride to and from Grendel's mere) as an example of "continuous retrieval," but the poet rarely has occasion to suggest simultaneous events. The highly interrupted structure of the last part of the poem suggests interlace; but its many digressions deal with historical, not simultaneous events. Bloomfield concludes that "the 'interlace' image is not useful when applied to verbal art" (p. 59).

In "Contiguity and Similarity in the Beowulf Digressions" (Medieval Studies Conference, Aachen 1983, ed. Bald and Weinstock, pp. 71-83), Hans-Jürgen Diller defines a digression as "a piece of text which interrupts the chronological progress of the surrounding story or argument by telling or summarizing sequences of events outside the main story. Their topic is not identical with that of the surrounding text" (p. 73). By studying "the ways in which [Beowulf]'s digressions are linked to their context" (p. 75), he classifies them according to Roman Jakobson's distinction between "processes of similarity" and "processes of contiguity" in language--this distinction corresponding roughly to that between the metaphorical and the metonymic. He finds that most of the digressions in Beowulf are contiguity-based; further, only one of the digressions in the dragon-fight episode (the father's lament, 2444-62) is similarity-based, supporting two-author theories such as Kiernan's. Care is needed in evaluating such findings as these, however, since the proportion of contiguity-based to similarity-based digressions may be influenced by subject matter (most of the digressions in the dragon-fight episode are historical).

Jonathan D. Evans has contributed a substantial study of "Semiotics and Traditional Lore: The Medieval Dragon Tradition" (Jnl of Folklore Research 22 [1986], 85-112). After outlining his methodology, Evans sets out to show how various concepts related to dragons are "encoded": Beowulf and its Scandinavian analogues "define a semantic space for /dragon/ in four main subcategories of meaning--physiognomy, psychology, habitat, and behavior--all of which emphasize differences between the human and the monstrous" (p. 95). A dragon story typically contains five main structural divisions: "preparation, travel, combat, slaying, and reward" (ibid.). As to content, the story typically "asserts the values of the heroic ethos," conveying the message that "the warrior is a hero" (p. 96). Evans shows how ambiguity and irony in a dragon episode can point up the problems in the heroic code that such episodes normally celebrate. In Beowulf, the similarity of the terms applied to the hero and his dragon foe blurs the "differences between the human and the monstrous" that are so fundamental to the dragon tradition.

In "Beowulf and Hrothgar's Dream" (Chaucer Rev. 21 [1986], 257-73), Strother B. Purdy attempts a reading that sets aside "unanswerable questions of what Beowulf was intended to be, and how its audience regarded it" (p. 258). Unfortunately, his reading sets aside not only "unanswerable questions," but also many of the answers that two centuries of Beowulf research have produced: for example, he is not aware that Anglo-Saxon clerics often encouraged revenge (p. 263), and he takes Alcuin's "Quid Hinieludus cum Christo" as a condemnation of Christian allegory in heroic tales (p. 267). He

appears to have only a feeble grasp of the narrative facts of Beowulf itself, thinking, for example, that Grendel first attacks when he hears Beowulf's welcome in Heorot (p. 260), that Beowulf falls asleep while waiting for Grendel (p. 269), and that Beowulf tells the story of Freawaru and Ingeld as a past event (p. 265). For Purdy, the attempt to understand Beowulf in its medieval context is "theoretically unsound" (p. 259); it is better for modern readers to react from a twentieth-century perspective. Purdy's reaction is that Beowulf is "second-rate," often "exasperating to common sense," "clumsily otiose," or just plain "odd." Passage by passage, he lists the ways in which it violates his notions of reality and narrative propriety. Fortunately, he is able to rescue Beowulf from its own incompetence by supposing that Hrothgar has dreamed the whole thing (after all, as he states with stunning logic, "Somebody dreamed Grendel, and once dreamed, he was let loose in the history of literature"--p. 268). Interested readers may discover for themselves further details of this novel reading, which purports to confer theoretical respectability upon Beowulf studies.

Two studies in this year's bibliography concern names. Eugene Green ("Power, Commitment, and the Right to a Name in Beowulf," Persons in Groups, ed. Richard C. Trexler [Binghamton, 1985], pp. 133-40) attempts to determine why some characters in Beowulf are named while others are not. Characters with names are likely to be members of royal families, closely associated with a king, or involved in some important way in intertribal conflict. Royal women who marry men other than kings remain anonymous, as do men whose death ends a royal line. Grendel is named because he is a sort of mock-king; his mother is not named because she has little human contact. Green concludes that "The right to a personal name . . . comes from the power one has to realize his commitments to his society" (p. 139). In "The Meaning of the Name 'Hygd': Onomastic Contrast in Beowulf" (Names 34 [1986], 1-10), Judith Weise argues that the Beowulf poet uses the meanings of names to point out contrasts between characters. She briefly reviews the treatment of names in the Germanic, Christian, and classical traditions and notes that the Beowulf poet could have been influenced by any of these traditions. It is unusual for women to be named in Beowulf, and the name Hygd ("thought") seems more appropriate to Wealhtheow than to Hygelac's queen, about whom the poet tells little. In Weise's view, the poet invented the name Hygd to contrast with Hygelac, which may mean "mindlessness" or "frivolity."

In "The Traditional Language of Treasure in Beowulf" (JEGP 85 [1986], 191-205), Paul B. Taylor finds that "there is a group of words in the diction of Old English poetry that conjoin, by their etymologies, created life with fashioned artifact" (p. 192), and finds the same conjunction reflected in alliterative and variational patterns. He traces in Icelandic literature the idea of a life-force that resides in treasure and finds this "pagan" idea similar to that implied by the verbal patterns of Beowulf and different from (though not always incompatible with) Christian views of treasure. Beowulf's winning the dragon's hoard is (like his bearing the sword hilt from the mere) the recovery of a life-force for his people, in a sense a substitute for his having left them an heir. Though some of Taylor's etymological connections seem questionable (searo-seorðan, laf-libban), his argument on the whole is attractive.

In "Beowulf 505, 'gehedde,' and the Pretensions of Unferth" (Modes of Interpretation, ed. Brown et al., pp. 173-87), John C. Pope reviews the

scholarship on gehedde (often emended to gehede) and adopts Fred C. Robinson's suggestion that the MS. reading be retained with the sense "care for," "be concerned about." Robinson argued that his reading made Unferth out a sort of poltroon who cared nothing for glory and believed that no one else did either. But in Pope's view, retaining the MS. reading "need not alter the usual view, that Unferth was upset out of jealousy for his own reputation" (p. 181), for the comparison contained in the statement, "he would not grant that any other man on earth could ever, under the heavens, care more for glorious deeds than he himself did" (p. 180) does not imply that Unferth himself cared little.

In "Beowulf: The Hero as Keeper of Human Polity" (MP 84 [1986], 117-29), Norma Kroll argues that "Good" and "Evil" in Beowulf are primarily political, not spiritual concepts: in the poem's mythology, Cain's violence against his brother has displaced Adam and Eve's disobedience to God as the original sin. Beowulf's heroism consists in being the opposite of Cain--his brothers' keeper. Kroll suggests that Beowulf and his monsters are "doubles" or "second selves," "most like each other and most monstrous when directly opposed" (p. 124). Grendel, for example, commits his crimes against the Danish social order, which Beowulf defends; and yet Grendel belongs to a social order of sorts, and Beowulf has played Grendel to another social order--that of monsters feasting together on the sea-floor. Kroll's article is provocative, but marred by inaccurate readings of some passages, for example the translation "illustrious liberality" for gode mære (1952), the notion that "enemy" is a figurative and "devil" the literal sense of feond (101, 748), and the supposition that Hrothgar rather than the narrator is the subject of gefregn (74).

Thomas D. Hill's "Scyld Scefing and the stirps regia: Pagan Myth and Christian Kingship in Beowulf" (Magister Regis, ed. Groos et al., pp. 37-47) is a meditation on the founding of the Scylding dynasty. Though in reality kingship was won by those with strength to win it, the Scyld myth implies that "true kingship is given, not won" (p. 39), and so legitimates those royal lines that claimed Scylding descent. In Hill's view, "the Scyld Scefing story is one of the few 'pagan' moments in the poem" (p. 43), but the poet "offers an implicitly Christian revision" of it (p. 44). Hill does not say what makes the Scyld myth "pagan"; despite its mysterious air, it has little to do with religion. According to Hill, the myth introduces the theme of "the importance of true kingship and orderly succession" (p. 44)--a theme also reflected in the poet's disapproval of Hrothulf and his approval of Beowulf's refusal to displace Heardred as king of the Geats. I am not as sure as Hill about the poet's attitude towards succession. Beowulf's refusing the throne is generous, but the poet nowhere implies that his accepting it would be wrong. We have little information about Hrothulf's apparent seizure of the Danish throne, but it is worth noting the poet's lavish praise of Onela (2382-84), who had seized the Swedish throne from the sons of Ohthere, his brother and predecessor.

Sarah Lynn Higley has contributed a worthwhile study in "Aldor on ofre, or The Reluctant Hart: A Study of Liminality in Beowulf" (NM 87 [1986], 342-53). Hrothgar's image of the hart on the shore (1368-72) resembles the "The Hero on the Beach," a "liminal" formula, i.e. one that concerns thresholds, crossings, and rites of passage. Here the formula has been modified ironically: the hart is "without a retinue (unless one counts the dogs)" and most unheroically passive (p. 343). Both Grendel and Beowulf are "liminal"

characters, able to move "back and forth in and out of halls and monsters' dens" (p. 346); but the Danes are not, and in this respect they resemble the hart (heorot, identified with Hrothgar's Heorot) who gives up his life (aldor, in which Higley sees the pun "life/chief") rather than make such a crossing. Like several of this year's studies, this one runs into occasional textual and linguistic difficulties, translating grund as "region" instead of "bottom" (1367) and failing to recognize that ellenmæroðum is in variation with dome (1471).

R. Derolez's "Focus on Beowulf: Variation or Meaning (Essays in Honour of Kristian Smidt, ed. Peter Bilton et al. [Oslo, 1986], pp. 9-16) is a brief plea for semantic precision in our reading of Beowulf. Derolez illustrates his point by looking at several passages containing variations that many have understood to consist of synonyms or near-synonyms but that in fact consist of words with very different meanings. "A greater regard for the semantic potential of the text" (p. 13) can lead to a greater appreciation of Beowulf's artistry.

v. Doctoral dissertations

Of the three dissertations appearing in the bibliography for 1986, only one is devoted entirely to Beowulf. In "The Institutional Environment of Beowulf" (DAI 46A [1986], 3026), James Frederick Bellman, Jr. examines the social institutions of Beowulf and concludes that an overriding theme is the struggle to maintain order in a society threatened from without by wars and monster attacks and from within by treachery and feuds. Doris Douglas Lee ("Money in Selected Works of English Literature: c. 700-1800," DAI 47A [1986], 538) states that "the earliest Germanic money held quasi-magical properties for early societies." Beowulf "derives poignancy from elegiac descriptions of the decline of an economic system based on generosity and loyalty." Steven Lee Hale, "Embedded Narratives in the Iliad, Beowulf, and The Song of Roland: Text and Context" (DAI 47A [1986], 171) deals mostly with the Iliad, and brings in Beowulf and Roland mainly to test a theory about how embedded narratives interact with a main narrative and how they affect an audience.

Works not seen:

Dahlberg, Charles R. "Beowulf and the Land of Unlikeness." City Univ. of New York Eng. Forum 1 (1985), 105-27.

Haruta, Setsuko. "The Women in Beowulf." Poetica (Tokyo) 23 (1986), 1-15.

Princi Braccini, Giovanna. "Tra folclore germanico e latinità insulare: presenze del Liber monstorum e della Cosmographia dello Pseudo-Etico ne Beowulf e nel cod. Nowell." SM 3rd ser., 25 (1984), 681-720.

Vidal Tibbits, Mercedes. "El Cid, hombre heróico, y Beowulf, héroe sobrehumano." Josep Maria Solà-Solà: homage, homenaje, homenatge. Ed. Antonio Torres-Alcalá. Barcelona, 1984. I, 267-73.

P. S. B.

d. Prose

The Twayne series on English authors has in the past produced works of uneven quality, but two of its recent publications are excellent introductions to Old English authors: Daniel Calder's Cynewulf was favorably reviewed in these pages in 1982, and now Allen Frantzen's King Alfred (Twayne, 1986, x, 148 p.) joins it as a reliable guide to Alfred's life and writings. Frantzen carefully synthesizes much of the best criticism on Alfred, including the work of F. M. Stenton and Dorothy Whitelock, as well as the recent volume edited by Simon Keynes and Michael Lapidge, Alfred the Great.

The volume by Keynes and Lapidge contains a number of extracts from Alfred's writings, whereas Frantzen's work is more strictly introductory. Frantzen's first chapter locates Alfred's place in Anglo-Saxon history and explains his program to revive learning in the wake of the Viking invasions. Alfred's legendary reputation is traced to the accounts in Asser and William of Malmesbury, a reputation extended by those who wished "to enshrine him in drama, epic poetry, and music--including opera--as England's holiest, wisest, and most valiant monarch." Subsequent chapters treat each of Alfred's four translations (the Pastoral Care, the Consolation of Philosophy, the Soliloquies and the Paris Psalter), which are analyzed from the point of view of manuscript tradition, relation to Latin sources, and commentary on major critical issues. One chapter also takes up Alfred's collection of laws.

Frantzen excludes from his discussion texts formerly attributed to Alfred but which now appear to have been translated merely at his instigation or simply during his period of rule: Gregory's Dialogues, Bede's Ecclesiastical History, the Old English Martyrology, the World History of Orosius, and the book of medical lore known as Bald's Leechbook. A bit more information about these texts, the basis of their former association with Alfred, and their role in ninth-century learning might have been helpful, as would have some further exploration of the possible link between the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Alfred's court. This information could readily have been summarized in Frantzen's final chapter, "King Alfred in His Literary Context." Although the decision not to deal with these texts at any length can be justified, the beginning student must now turn to the various discussions by Stenton, Whitelock, Kotzor, Bately, as well as the recent work of Keynes and Lapidge in order to determine the importance of these texts in relation to Alfred and the literary milieu of ninth-century England.

In his final chapter Frantzen provides an excellent summary of current themes in critical thought on Alfred's writings. The notion that Alfred's corpus of writings progresses from a concern with worldly and practical affairs to spiritual concerns is considered, as is the notion of a possible progression from knowledge to wisdom, from scientia to sapientia. Such paradigms, Frantzen rightly argues, may be helpful for the student or useful for the teacher, but the difficulty in dating specific texts renders such paradigms hypothetical. Frantzen's book will prove an indispensable and reliable guide for students beginning a study of Alfred.

Less useful for the beginning student is an article titled "The King in the Doorway: the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A. D. 755" (by Karen Ferro in Kings and Kingship, ed. Joel T. Rosenthal, Acta, vol. 11, 1986 for 1984, p. 17-30).

This article selects an interesting and dramatic moment from the Chronicle and attempts to "apply the tools of literary criticism in order to read the text more accurately and so explicate the events about which the chronicler writes." The explication unfortunately lapses into statements such as "Cynewulf may have been caught with his pants down but he sure died with his boots on." Other passages also seem ripe for editing, including the remark: "[Cynewulf] certainly should have quietly disposed of Cyneheard; a careful, prudent king does not leave his enemies alive to kill him later." The policy that Ferro advocates might have caused some concern to the Christian king Cynewulf or to his bishops. Ferro never mentions the fact that Cynewulf is a Christian nor that her policy contradicts what some Anglo-Saxon kings felt to be the proper conduct of "careful, prudent" monarchs. If this article is aimed at the beginning student, it must be recommended with great caution.

No caution need be issued, of course, for the continuing work of outstanding quality by J. E. Cross on the sources for the Old English Martyrology. In "Identification: Towards Criticism" (Modes of Interpretation, ed. Brown et al., p. 229-46) Cross examines the Latin sources for various entries for the OEM, among which are those for Pancras, Julian and Basilissa, the Forty Soldiers of Sebastea, Sosius, Lucy of Rome, and Mamas (OE Mommos). In a related article ("An Unpublished Story of Michael the Archangel and Its Connections," in Magister Regis, p. 23-35), Cross explores a text found in MS Cambridge, Pembroke College 25. This manuscript has provided sources not only for the OEM but also for six anonymous Old English homilies: Vercelli Homilies III, XIX, and XX; items XI and XII in the collection edited by Assmann; and item III in the collection edited by Hildegard Tristram. Cross edits the sermon on Michael that is found on fols. 127^r-129^f of the Cambridge manuscript and identifies three of its sources: the pseudo-Gregorian Liber Responsalis sive Antiphonarius, Isidore's Etymologiae 7.5, and the sermon Legimus in Ecclesiasticis Historiis. Cross also notes that the story has connections with BHL 5956 and with an anecdote preserved in the Irish Leabhar Breac.

Homilies and saints' lives receive the most attention this year in the field of Old English prose, with six articles on Ælfric, two on the Blickling homilies, two on the Vercelli homilies, and several articles on miscellaneous homilies and saints' lives. Mary Clayton has written two articles and two notes about the Virgin Mary in Old English prose writings. In "Ælfric and the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary" (Anglia 104, 286-315), Clayton discusses Ælfric's decision not to include a homily for the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary in his original version of the Catholic Homilies despite the fact that the feast had been established in England since the eighth century. Clayton points out Wrenn's mistaken belief that Ælfric avoided the topic because he was disturbed by the idea of the Immaculate Conception. The feast of the Conception of Mary was not established in England until 1030, and even then the feast did not celebrate Mary's Immaculate Conception. Ælfric's refusal to treat the topic was instead based on his respect for authorities such as the Gelasian decree that condemned the Marian apocrypha. Yet Ælfric later capitulated and supplied a text for this occasion, perhaps because he realized that if the Catholic Homilies circulated without a piece for this feast day, others would fill the gap with apocryphal material.

Ælfric's homily for this occasion, printed as the third item in Assmann's edition, was written especially for the reissue of Catholic Homilies I according to Clemons. Clayton stresses that Ælfric's homily is remarkable for

avoiding its supposed subject; only lines 1-53 deal with the Virgin Mary. The bulk of the homily, lines 54-597, embraces the general topic of virginity. The source for much of this lengthy later section is Augustine's De Sancta Virginitate, though other sources are also employed, including Augustine's De Bono Coniugali, Sermo 354, the Tractatus in Joannis Evangelium, and works by Jerome and Caesarius of Arles.

In "Ælfric and Cogitis me" (N&Q 33, 145-48), Clayton notes that the Pseudo-Jerome text Cogitis me is the source for brief excerpts in two Ælfrician homilies, the feast of the Purification and the feast of All Saints; this Latin text had previously been identified by Förster as the chief source for Ælfric's homily on the Assumption of the Virgin Mary.

Another note on Ælfric's sources comes from Joseph B. Trahern, Jr.: "Ælfric: More Sources for Two Homilies" (Amer. Notes & Queries 24, 110-11). Trahern locates sources for sections of In Letania Maiore, Feria IV (Pope XXV) in sermons from Caesarius of Arles and the source for a sentence in Nativitas Domini (Pope I) from Liber Sapientiae xi, 18-19.

Herbert Schendl also analyzes Ælfric in "gelendon mid æscum: A Problematic Reading in Ælfric?" (A Yearbook of Studies in English Language and Literature 1985/86: Festschrift für Siegfried Korninger, ed. Otto Rauchbauer, p. 217-20). The Old English phrase mentioned in the title has traditionally been translated "landed with (war)ships," but this interpretation has recently been questioned by C. J. E. Ball and Fred Robinson, who have respectively suggested reading "with (ash-) spears," and, with apparent metathesis of cs to sc, "with their axes." Schendl defends the traditional translation. He points out that ships are mentioned in Ælfric's Latin source, but not spears or axes. Furthermore, Schendl detects a chiasmic arrangement of expressions referring to ships in every second line of Ælfric's text, an arrangement that he believes "is too regular to be regarded as accidental." Schendl also cites linguistic evidence to bolster his defense of the traditional reading of this passage, a defense that is on the whole convincing.

The Blickling Homilies are discussed in an article by Mary Clayton and in a note by Paul Acker. Clayton's article, "Blickling Homily XIII Reconsidered" (Leeds Stud. in Eng. 17, 25-40), again focuses attention on the Virgin Mary. Clayton follows Rudolph Willard's lead in recognizing that this homily rather clumsily combines two Latin apocrypha describing Mary's assumption, Transitus C and a second, unspecified text that Willard postulated was related to Transitus B and Transitus E. Clayton demonstrates the truth of Willard's hypothesis and identifies this unspecified text as Transitus B², available now in the edition by M. Haibach-Reinisch, Ein neuer "Transitus Mariae" des Pseudo-Melito (Rome, 1962). The motive behind combining the two texts seems to have been the homilist's wish to assert the resurrection and assumption of the Virgin's body, despite the difficulties caused by his use of a version of Transitus C that had been modified to avoid references to Mary's corporal assumption. The clumsy combining of antithetically different sources leads to a text fraught with errors, a "confused and confusing" account of the assumption of Mary.

Paul Acker's note, "The Going-Out of the Soul in Blickling Homily IV" (ELN 23, no. 4, 1-3), proposes that this homily draws on eschatological topoi

ultimately deriving from the Visio Pauli. Acker notes that both texts share three points: 1) the departure of the soul from the body of a wicked man 2) who preferred earthly pleasures to a righteous life 3) and therefore laments his past life when confronted by his doom.

Paul Szarmach extends our knowledge of sources for Old English homilies in "Two Notes on the Vercelli Homilies" (ELN 24, no. 2, 3-7). Szarmach recalls his earlier finding that a significant source for Vercelli Homily XIV derives from Gregory the Great's Dialogues; Szarmach now adds the additional information that a Latin precedent for the homiletic use of this passage occurs in Paul the Deacon's Homiliary, pars estivalis, item 94b (according to Réginald Grégoire's numbering). And in a second note on Vercelli Homily XXI, Szarmach refers to his earlier speculation that lines 45-65 may be an elaboration of Paulinus of Aquileia's Liber Exhortationis. Having previously cautioned that the agreement between the two texts was not as close as might have been expected, Szarmach now uncovers a much closer Latin precedent in Cambridge, Pembroke College 25, art. 77, fols. 168-70, a manuscript whose connections with the Vercelli Book have already been established by Jimmy Cross.

Another note that alludes to the Vercelli homilies is D. G. Scragg's "The Devil's Account of the Next World' Revisited" (Amer. Notes & Queries 24, 107-10). The homily takes its title from Fred Robinson's recent edition. In the homily a Theban anchorite captures a devil and extracts a description of heaven and hell from him. Scragg takes exception to Robinson's remark that only in his edited version "is the full narrative preserved as an independent tale." Scragg maintains that rather than preserving the "full" narrative, Robinson's version is merely a late adaptation of one of the sermon's earlier versions. Robinson lists some seven references to the devil and the anchorite tale in Old English, and Scragg attempts to show that all these versions derive from just one early piece, best preserved in the Vercelli Book as Homily IX.

In one last note on the homilies, "Delivering the Damned: A Motif in OE Homiletic Prose" (ME 55, 92-102), Mary Clayton examines several passages in Old English where Mary and certain other saints rescue a portion of the souls condemned to hell. Clayton suggests that this motif, for which no source has yet been found, derives from the Apocalypse of Mary; this text probably originated in the fourth century and survives in Syriac, Greek, Latin, and Old Irish. The Latin version, whose setting may be either purgatory or hell, describes how suffering souls are granted a three-hour respite from their torments at the time of Mary's death. Admittedly, this account differs significantly from the Old English versions, where at the Last Judgment Michael and Peter intervene together with Mary to rescue souls permanently from their sufferings in hell. If the Apocalypse of Mary is to be considered a source, it is clearly at some distance from the Old English texts, which have a different occasion for the event, different participants, and a different aim in the rescue.

Important contributions to hagiographic material come from Colin Chase and Hugh Magennis. In "Source Study as a Trick with Mirrors: Annihilation of Meaning in the Old English 'Mary of Egypt'" (Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture, ed. Szarmach, p. 23-33), Chase comments that the value of source study has been questioned by deconstructionists. Chase looks at the Life of Mary of

Egypt in his attempt to evaluate what modern critical theory may offer to more traditional approaches to the study of medieval texts and textual traditions. In tracing the various accounts of the Life of Mary of Egypt, he observes that the Old English version focuses attention on the humbling of Zosimas, whereas in other versions more emphasis is placed on the long conversion story that Mary tells to Zosimas. Chase makes the point that because the story of Mary of Egypt takes many forms, it would be naive to seek a single text as a source and to label all other texts as "false or distorted expressions" that must be subordinated to this single source. Chase prefers the phrase "variant version" to "source" and concludes his essay with a call for "intertextual analysis, in which texts are not seen so much to influence or derive from one another as to participate in a common cultural dialogue."

Hugh Magennis analyzes not only Mary of Egypt, but also three other questionable items contained in the manuscript of Ælfric's Lives of Saints. His article, "Contrasting Features in the Non-Ælfrician Lives in the Old English Lives of Saints" (Anglia 104, 316-48), looks at the Legend of the Seven Sleepers, the Life of St. Mary of Egypt, the Life of St. Eustace, and the Life of St. Euphrosyna from the standpoint of style and vocabulary. He concludes, as has been argued previously, that Ælfric did not write these works. More importantly, Magennis convincingly argues that four different authors composed these homilies. Citing statistics from Walter Hofstetter's doctoral thesis, Magennis shows that Ælfric strongly favors vocabulary associated with the school of Winchester; in cases where there is a choice between synonyms, Ælfric chooses the distinctive Winchester word about 98% of the time. Hofstetter reports significantly lower statistical results for the four questionable items in the Lives of Saints: the distinctive Winchester word is chosen only 61.54% of the time in the Legend of the Seven Sleepers, 28.57% of the time in the Life of St. Euphrosyna, 42.68% of the time in the Life of St. Eustace, and is never chosen in the Life of St. Mary of Egypt, which F. Wenisch has suggested is of Anglian origin.

The evidence of vocabulary seems compelling, and the stylistic evidence that Magennis adduces lends weight to his argument, particularly for two of the pieces. Following the lead of Dorothy Bethurum's "The Form of Ælfric's Lives of Saints," Magennis characterizes Ælfric's style as smooth and fluent, marked by the abbreviation and simplification of his sources. Ælfric removes doctrinal elements, background material, and superfluous names in order to tell his story effectively; furthermore, he "avoids sensational and lurid elements, often reduces direct speech to indirect, and characteristically omits the rhetorical extravagances of his sources." Magennis argues that the writer of the Seven Sleepers, in sharp contrast to Ælfric, expands his presentation and elaborates the rhetorical use of language. St. Mary of Egypt, a literal and cumbersome reworking of the Latin original, differs markedly from Ælfric's work and that of the Seven Sleepers. The Life of St. Eustace, on the other hand, approaches the writing style of Ælfric; it is a somewhat abbreviated paraphrase of its Latin source. The Life of St. Euphrosyna most closely approximates Ælfric's style, though Magennis argues that the "technique of adding explanatory details and emotive comments is less pronounced than in Ælfric."

In "Water-Wine Miracles in Anglo-Saxon Saints' Lives" (ELN 23, no. 3, 7-9), Magennis notes the reluctance of some Old English writers to refer to metaphors of spiritual intoxication, perhaps out of fear of the dangers of

literal intoxication. The notable exception comes in Anglo-Saxon hagiography where with some frequency one encounters stories of water being turned into wine or of wine being miraculously increased in volume. This exception must stem from the importance of Christ's miracle at Cana, which had allegorical significance with reference to the New Law and additional importance because the miracle marked the beginning of Christ's earthly ministry.

Other areas of study in the last year include work on the Rule of Chrodegang, on glosses, and on a possible connection between Old English prose and Eddic poetry. Brigitte Langefeld's "A Third Old English Translation of Part of Gregory's Dialogues, This Time Embedded in the Rule of Chrodegang" (ASE 15, 197-204) identifies Gregory's Dialogues as a hitherto unnoticed source of the final chapter of the enlarged version of the Rule of Chrodegang of Metz. The text in the Rule of Chrodegang helps to cast light on the earlier translations of Gregory's Dialogues by Werferth and by the subsequent reviser of Werferth's translation.

Thomas Hill's "Rígsþula: Some Medieval Christian Analogues" (Speculum 61, 79-89) lists a series of medieval Christian analogues to the Eddic mythological poem Rígsþula, in which Rígr spends three nights in bed with his great-grandparents, then three nights with his grandparents, and finally three nights with his parents. From these unusual liaisons are spawned Thrall, Karl, and Jarl, forebears respectively of the race of slaves, freemen, and nobles. Hill notes the similar etiological myth associated with the three sons of Noah, including an Old English prose text edited by A. S. Napier from British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii; Hill speculates that the Christian myth is a "pagan" misreading of the biblical text, an "insular" gloss on the Bible. The author or authors of the Christian myth, Hill observes, "believed in social tripartition as the 'natural' social condition of man" and the story betrays an interest "in origins and at the same time a kind of learned crudity which are very characteristic of a certain strand of the tradition of insular exegesis."

R. D. Eaton's "Anglo-Saxon Secrets: rūn and the Runes of the Lindisfarne Gospels" (Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik 24, 11-27) examines the use of the word rūn in the Lindisfarne Gospels in order to define the word more precisely. Eaton's article begins by quoting, somewhat inappropriately, the Oxford English Dictionary's definition of roun ("as the modern spelling of the word rūn 'would have been' had it survived in English") and then criticizes this definition at some length for its imprecision. This attack on a straw man weakens the argument; the definitions offered in the standard dictionaries of Old English for rūn should form the logical starting point of this essay. Eaton argues that in the Lindisfarne Gospels the word rūn "signifies a deeper understanding and is associated with accuteness [sic] in interpreting language and signs."

In another essay involving glosses, Phillip Pulsiano systematically examines the Old English glosses in the Blickling Psalter to see whether they are derived directly from the Old English glosses of the Regius Psalter or from an indeterminate Regius-type gloss ("The Latin and Old English Glosses in the 'Blickling' and 'Regius' Psalters," Traditio 41 [1985], 79-115). Noting a close degree of correspondence, Pulsiano inclines toward direct borrowing from the Regius Psalter, despite Kenneth and Celia Sisam's earlier contention that "there seems to be no means of defining the exact relation" of these two

texts.

Recent items by the author of the present section of YWOES include "The Sources for Ælfric's Easter Sermon: the History of the Controversy and a New Source," N&Q 33, 294-311 and "St. Christopher and the Old English Martyrology: Latin Sources and the Phrase hwæs gneaðes," N&Q 32 [1985], 434-37, both of which will be reviewed at a later date; a third article, "A Damaged Passage in Ælfric's De Creatore et Creatura: Methods of Recovery" (Anglia, 104, 104-14), is reviewed in section 5 of this issue.

Works Not Seen

Crépin, André. "L'Importance de la pensée de Grégoire le Grand dans la politique culturelle d'Alfred roi de Wessex (871-899)." Colloques internationaux du CNRS: Grégoire le Grand. Paris, 1986. p. 579-87.

Jørgensen, Ove. Alfred den Store, Danmarks geografi. En undersøgelse af fire afsnit i den gamle engelske Orosius. North-Western European Lang. Evolution, Suppl., 1. Odense: Universitetsforlag, 1985. x. 166 p. ill.

Lendinara, Patrizia. "Tecnicismi nel Salomone e Saturno in prosa (ms. CCCC 422)." Quaderni di filologia germanica (Palermo) 2 (1981), 97-124.

Schipper, William. "The Normans and the Old English Lives of Saint Giles and Saint Nicholas." International Christian Univ. Lang. Research Bull. 1, no. 1 (1986), 97-108.

T. H. L.

4. ANGLO-LATIN AND ECCLESIASTICAL WORKS

In A New Critical History of Old English Literature by Stanley B. Greenfield and Daniel G. Calder is a chapter by Michael Lapidge on "The Anglo-Latin Background" (pp. 5-37). Compressed though it is, it is a succinct, expert and comprehensive account: and one hopes its author will one day produce a more lengthy and leisurely survey of the literature he has done so much to bring to the attention of modern scholarship. Until that longed-for day, this will probably remain the only synoptic account of Anglo-Latin literature. Lapidge opens with a survey of monastic education. He then turns to an account of writings from early "Southumbria" -- a term recently coined in Cambridge to include Mercia, Wessex and Kent. Among the most important topics of this section is, of course, "The School of Theodore and Hadrian" at Canterbury, which was the subject of an essay by Lapidge published in the year under review in ASE 15, 45-72. In the article Lapidge gives special attention to the glosses. Aldhelm was, of course, the most famous alumnus of the Canterbury school, and it is he who is next discussed in the synoptic "Background" article. Among other figures and those who worked in the missions on the Continent, Boniface and Willibald are numbered. The account of Northumbrian literature begins with Whitby and the anonymous Vita S. Gregorii. The longest account is, naturally, of Bede, followed by the York school. The period from the sack of Lindisfarne in 793 to the reign of Alfred is covered in a paragraph of lament; and Lapidge closes with an expertly telescoped account of the complex and rich tenth and eleventh centuries. Of special interest to me were the concluding observations on the disruption of the tradition of latinitas fostered by the Anglo-Saxons with the coming of the Normans, who brought new tastes, new models of style and contempt for the old ways, especially for the hermeneutic style.

As is usually the case, by far the largest group of items to be covered in this section of YWOES has to do with Bede. Three of the Jarrow Lectures, for 1980, 1984 and 1985, are noted in the 1986 OE bibliography and may be treated here first. In 1980, George Henderson delivered the lecture on Bede and the Visual Arts. He surveyed a number of Bede's references to artistic works and iconographic details in his exegetical and other writings. There is much in his study that is of interest to readers of Bede's works, and Henderson also stresses that Bede influenced the iconographic tradition to the age of the Reformation. Patrick Wormald lectured in 1984 on Bede and the Conversion of England: the Charter Evidence. In addition to being a useful introduction to the issues and methodology of Diplomatic, the lecture alludes to Bede's comments on ecclesiastical endowments in the commentary on Ezra and Nehemiah, the History of the Abbots, and --especially-- the letter of 734 to Egbert in which he complains of abuses in land tenure for ostensibly monastic purposes. Readers of this section of YWOES may be interested that Wormald believes that Diplomatic, like liturgical, paleographic and art-historical studies, helps to demonstrate "the variety of religious traditions from which the Anglo-Saxons derived their faith." The 1985 lecture on Bede's Scientific Achievement was delivered by Wesley M. Stevens. Set in the context of Bede's monasticism, Bede's scientific work is seen as a mixed achievement. In terms of originality and effect, the development of the western calendar must take pride of place. In some respects, Bede made avoidable mistakes, but his achievements are also very real; and this essay takes advantage of a moment

when the texts are available in good order for the first time to undergird a synoptic review of those accomplishments.

A long study of Bede's theology and of his place in the history of early medieval theology, to which justice can hardly be done here, is Glenn W. Olsen's "From Bede to the Anglo-Saxon Presence in the Carolingian Empire" (Angli e sassoni al di qua e al di là del mare: Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi su'll alto medioevo, 26 aprile - 1 maggio 1984, vol. I, 305-82). Carrying on from an earlier Spoleto paper on Bede by Claudio Leonardi, Olson attempts first to characterize Bede's "mystic-monastic" spirituality and to distance it from the tag of "humanism." He next looks at Bede's exegetical principles and finally discusses his ecclesiology. The essay is an important contribution to definition of the genius of Bede and to the understanding of the historical development of theology from the end of antiquity to (and beyond) the Carolingian era. Gerald Bonner's general paper, "Bede and His Legacy" (Durham Univ. Jnl. 78, 219-30) was originally a lecture to commemorate the 1250th anniversary of Bede's death. It begins with an account of three monks, two English and one Norman, who migrated from the south-west of England to Northumbria in the 1070s to re-establish the Bedan tradition of monasticism, eventually settling at Durham. Bonner proceeds to a general assessment of Bede's work and his heritage. One of the most interesting points is Bonner's discussion of the narrowness of Bede's vision, in the sense that it is straitly Christian and assiduously shuns extra-Christian learning and culture. Bonner concludes with touching witness to the continuing legacy of Bede in the work of two latter-day scholars of Durham: Bertram Colgrave and Wilhelm Levison.

An obscure commentary on the Canticle, which served as a source for Bede, has been brought into the light of scholarship by Marisa Didone in "L'Explanatio di Apponio in relazione all' 'Expositio' di Beda ed alle 'Ennarationes in Cantica' di Angelomus" (Civiltà classica e cristiana 7, 77-119). The work, often assigned to Ireland in the seventh century, is ascribed to an Eastern writer who knew Hebrew, Greek and Syriac and worked after the fifth century, probably after the time of Gregory the Great (obit. 604). The commentary, in twelve books, was also abbreviated as a dozen homilies. Bede's indebtedness to Apponius is studied in great detail, and evidently with accuracy and sophistication. Jonathan Black has studied "De Civitate Dei and the Commentaries of Gregory the Great, Isidore, Bede, and Hrabanus Maurus on the Book of Samuel" (Augustinian Stud. 15 [1986 for 1984], 114-27). Augustine's comments in book 17 of the City were not (despite a reference to him) used by Gregory in his commentary on I Kings (=I Samuel), the first ever devoted exclusively to this book of Scripture. But the others all used Augustine, and Bede has by far the most adequate understanding of Augustine's conception of the Old Testament. Unaware of the Augustinian element but nevertheless of some interest is Manlio Simonetti, whose "La tecnica esegetica di Beda nel Commento a 1 Samuele" appeared in Romanobarbarica 8, 75-110. Being independent of Gregory, Bede can here be seen doing exegesis without close sources. Simonetti is particularly impressed with Bede's ability to vary the applicability of his types according to the context ("polivalenza dei tipi", a phrase that manages to sound elegant in Italian but would be jargon in English).

"The Venerable Bede and Hiberno-Latin Exegesis" is Joseph F. T. Kelly's contribution to Paul Szarmach's symposium on Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture

(Kalamazoo) at pp. 65-75. He discusses a variety of ways in which Bede was influenced by, himself influenced, or shared sources with the Irish exegetes. A challenge to research in the future, the article is at its most interesting on the influence of Bede in Irish exegetical circles. Still in the Irish connection, Maria Pia Ciccarese has introduced and edited "Le visioni di S. Fursa" (*Romanobarbarica* 8, 231-303), the source for the famous passage in Bede's *History* III.19. Ciccarese places the *vita* in the tradition of visionary literature established in Gregory's *Dialogues* and (from the manuscripts, all of which date from the ninth century and after) edits the full text. Krusch's edition for MGH had not presented the full text of the vision, so this is welcome work for those who would study Bede's use of his source.

G. Tugène studies Bede's views on kingship in the *History* in an essay entitled "Rois Moines et Rois Pasteurs dans l'*Histoire Ecclesiastique* de Bède" in *Romanobarbarica* 8, 111-47. Beside those kings who abdicated to embrace the monastic life, there are those who embraced the active life and sought to work for the salvation of their subjects. Oswald, Oswine and Sigbehrt figure in this company. In "The Triumph of Greco-Roman Rhetorical Assumptions in Pre-Carolingian Historiography" (*The Inheritance of Historiography 350-900*, ed. Christopher Holdsworth and T. P. Wiseman [Exeter], pp. 67-84), Roger Ray speaks of elements of *inventio* that persisted from classical historiography in Bede's *History*. The account of the Synod of Whitby is given verisimilitude by Bede's invention of direct discourse, a technique which he learned from the tradition of Christian historiography. The "Reflections on the Benedictine Rule in Bede's Homiliary" (*JEH* 37, 367-76) of A. G. P. van der Walt are curious. He finds reflections of the *Rule* in Bede's sermons that seem quite general and admits that Bede "tends not to quote from it verbatim" (p. 376). Since it is the current consensus that *RB* is but one of a number of not-dissimilar rules (the *Regula Magistri* is a notable example) that were in circulation in the Early Middle Ages and that the ideal of standardizing monastic discipline by imposing a given rule had not yet arisen, one wonders what is the purpose in pointing out such unremarkable coincidences of thought. The final sentence of the paper reads "Although [Bede] writes in his own words, almost mirror-like reflections of the Rule can constantly be seen." One wonders what that might mean or whether its author has read the recent literature of medieval monasticism.

"Bede the Grammarian and the Scope of Grammatical Studies in Eighth-Century Northumbria" is the subject of Martin Irvine's contribution to *ASE* 15, 15-44. The paper is an important examination of the central place of *grammatica* in the culture of Anglo-Saxon England and an attempt to define its contribution to the context of studies. Central to its argument is a tract known as the *Anonymus ad Cuimnanum*, a section of which is edited at pp. 43-44. Irvine outlines the scope of *grammatica*, showing that Bede's grammatical works belong to its sub-disciplines, as does exegesis. In his conclusion, he doubts the assumption that the grammatical writings of Bede are early productions in the corpus.

While we are at the subject of grammar, we may note that Vivien Law has made another contribution to the study of the grammatical tradition: "Late Latin Grammars in the Early Middle Ages: a Typological History" (*Historiographica Linguistica* 13, 365-80). She is looking for hints concerning the kinds of grammatical texts that were likely to survive from

antiquity through our period. Scholarly grammars were the least likely to be passed down. Priscian early eclipsed texts of the type called *Schulgrammatik*. Donatus and commentaries on his "telegraphically concise text" (p. 375) were supplanted by new commentaries in the ninth century, and Priscian took center stage.

Already noted above, the symposium edited by Paul Szarmach, *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, contains other articles of unusually great interest for readers of this section of YWOES. David R. Howlett's chief contribution is an essay on "Biblical Style in Early Insular Latin" (pp. 127-47). It is a paper that seems at first self-evident but that stays with the reader and matures to something approaching profundity. It is based on the obvious assertion that from Hebrew prosody, which is based on repetition (which some have called "thought-rhyme"), derives a stylistic principle that results in a propensity to parallelism or to chiasmus in scriptural texts and translations and in the writings of those who are deeply imbued with the biblical style. Howlett demonstrates his point with an analysis of the rhetorical patterning of the *Epistola Cuthberti de obitu Bedae*. He finds not only an elaborate, repetitive structure but also principles for textual reconstruction. Howlett also contributed to *Sources* an account of the progress of the "Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources" (pp. 437-38), of which he is editor with R. E. Latham, and of which Fascicule III, D-E, appeared in 1986. He also makes reference to the parallel project for a *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from Celtic Sources*. More than half of the one thousand manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon provenance contain some Greek, and Mary Catherine Bodden has of late made it her business to discover the meaning of this surprising fact. A survey of the matter is published in *Sources* as "The Preservation and Transmission of Greek in Early England" (pp. 53-63). Very little of this Anglo-Saxon Greek involves textual transmission; but the early English knew the importance of Greek in Christian history, retained some Greek in liturgical contexts, were fond of copying the Greek alphabet and had some sense of its magical properties in charms. They also retained respect for knowledge of Greek as a token of erudition. Thomas H. Bestul summarizes his researches on devotional anthologies in "Continental Sources of Anglo-Saxon Devotional Writing" (*Sources*, pp. 103-26). The earliest group (Cerne and the Royal MS., in particular) have Irish and Spanish connections. They are, however, unique to England as anthologies for private devotions. Such collections seem themselves to have had an influence on the Continent in the Carolingian era, and in the period of the Benedictine reform there came a new flourishing of manuals for private prayer based on Continental sources. As Bestul notes, these collections are important evidence for the cultural backgrounds of those greatest anthologists of the tenth and eleventh centuries, the compilers of the OE poetic codices.

Philip Pulsiano's paper, "The Latin and Old English Glosses in the 'Blickling' and 'Regius' Psalters" (*Traditio* 41 [1985] 78-115) is wrongly cited at section 3c of the bibliography, for it concerns not the collection of sermons but the Psalter associated with Blickling Hall in Norfolk (now New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M. 776) and is as much occupied with the Latin as the OE glosses in the two Psalm books. There is a high coincidence between the glosses of the Blickling and the Regius books, and Pulsiano concludes that the Blickling glossator of the eleventh century got his material directly from the Regius MS., making only a few perceptive corrections and clarifications. Regius is strongly associated with Christ

Church, Canterbury, where it was used by several glossators in and after the eleventh century. But there is a note in Regius that might have been inserted at Winchester in the mid-eleventh century, so intriguing questions about the peregrinations of both codices are raised. Pulsiano closes with a discussion of the interesting challenges that need to be addressed by gloss-scholarship.

Several articles have to do with hagiography and liturgics. In AB 104, 419-26, Mary Clayton discusses, edits and translates "Assumptio Mariae: an Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Poem from Abingdon" from a Cambridge manuscript. The verse is associated with one Siward, probably the abbot of Abingdon (1030-1044), who later served as suffragan at Canterbury (to 1048). The poem is presented in an elaborate cosmic/cruciform figure, and the author has added an explanatory dedication relating his conception to the seven-fold depiction of heaven. "The Metrical Calendar of Hampson: a New Edition" was contributed by P. McGurk to AB 104, 79-125. This early tenth-century piece, composed in England, devotes a single verse to each day of the year. It is preserved in three manuscripts: one an early tenth-century copy and two of the eleventh century, both probably from Christ Church, Canterbury. Citing at the outset the saints listed in the late OE poem on "The Saints of Durham," Gerald Bonner surveys briefly the lives and acts of the eight worthies listed in an article for Sobornost (n.s. 8, no. 1, 34-46).

There is but one contribution devoted to Aldhelm: Gernot Wieland reviews the relationship between "Aldhelm's De octo vitiis principalibus and Prudentius' Psychomachia" (ME 55, 85-92). Ehwald had been cautious on the subject, but Wieland's re-examination of it allows him to posit a new, more accurate statement for Ehwald: "In ll. 2446-2761 [of De octo vitiis] Aldhelm follows Cassian's Collationes employing throughout echoes and overtones of Prudentius' Psychomachia" (p. 90).

On Alcuin there are two offerings. Roger Wright's "Late Latin and Early Romance: Alcuin's De Orthographia and the Council of Tours (AD 813)" in Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar, Third Volume 1981 (ARCA 7 [1981] 343-61) is an exploration of his thesis that "Medieval Latin" as a recognizably separate entity from the contemporary vernacular of any community was an invention of the Carolingian Renaissance" (p. 343). Alcuin's interest in the orthographical work is as much in pronunciation as in its titular subject, his aim being to standardize the pronunciation of liturgical Latin by speakers of Romance. In De Litteris Collendis, a supplement issued in the 790s to the famous Amdmonitio Generalis of 789, there is emphasis on a clergy recte loquendo. Wright believes the famous injunction to transfere homilies into the vernacular must be understood against the requirement that the lingua of the liturgy was to be Latin properly (i.e., according to the new rules) pronounced and that the homilies are to be read with the usual local pronunciation (rustica). This is a very interesting, challenging article, which may have important implications not only for the history of languages but also for the history of liturgy and preaching. R. H. Martin in "Alcuin on Style" (Proc. of the Leeds Philosophical and Lit. Soc. Lit. and Hist. Sect., 18, pt. 1 [1982], 25-37) surveys the teaching on stylistics (elocutio) in the Disputatio de Rhetorica, one of Alcuin's teaching tracts set as a dialogue between Charlemagne as pupil/interlocutor and the magister.

There are two articles on monastic reform that are of only passing interest. Réginald Grégoire's "Benedetto di Aniane nella riforma monastica

carolingia" (SM 3rd ser., 26 [1985], 573-610) has some reference to England and Anglo-Saxons, but it will be of primary interest for its examination of the work of this very important monastic reformer. "The Tenth Century English Benedictine Reform as Seen from the Continent" (Ampleforth Rev. 1980, pp. 8-23) contains interesting observations by Jean Leclercq on the Regularis Concordia as a work unique in some respects but at its heart at one with the European monastic movement.

We come, finally, to a miscellany of articles on matters touching Ireland and the British. Reviewing recent scholarship, John J. Contreni surveyed "The Irish Contribution to the European Classroom" in Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Celtic Studies... 1983, ed. E. Ellis Evans et al (Oxford), at pp. 79-90. Contreni stresses that the Anglo-Saxon and Irish scholars who worked on the Continent came not to an intellectual and educational desert but worked within a lively context. His survey stresses the Irish contribution to grammatical, biblical and Greek studies. Michael Lapidge's contribution to the same congress is "Latin Learning in Dark Age Wales: Some Prolegomena" (pp. 91-107). Lapidge finds "abundant evidence for intellectual activity in ninth- and tenth-century Wales" which has not been "assessed systematically" (p. 102) and believes Welsh scholarship is inextricably connected with Irish learning. But "Welsh learning was apparently archaic, conservative in the extreme." Lapidge posits that the sources of the Welsh traditions were British and wonders whether the parallel between such phenomena as Welsh and Irish spellings of Latin are not directly dependant upon each other but independently derived from the common British sources. In Angli e sassoni, Ferruccio Bertini examines Gildas's De Excidio and the Historia Brittonum under the title "La storiografia in Britannia prima e dopo Beda" (pp. 281-303).

R. L. Thompson's 1974 O'Donnell Lecture was printed as "British Latin and English History: Nennius and Asser" (Proc. of the Leeds Philosophical and Lit. Soc., Lit. and Hist. Sect., 18, pt. 1 [1982], 38-53). He studies the language of these important historical texts for evidences of the influence of the authors' vernacular language upon their latinitas. Interesting observations are made, but the author hazards no generalizations by way of conclusion. In The Inheritance of Historiography 350-900, ed. Christopher Holdsworth and T. P. Wiseman (Exeter) at pp. 115-35, James Campbell writes of "Asser's Life of Alfred." He begins with a discussion of the influence of Carolingian writers --most notably Einhard-- on Asser. He then ponders long and hard whether perhaps Asser was commissioned to write an encomium of his king and (if so) whether the intended audience may not have been the subject himself. In an appendix, Campbell reviews D. P. Kirby's assertions about inconsistencies in Asser, published in 1971) and, in general, finds for the Welsh bishop. Neil Wright carries forward François Kerlouégan's study of sources used by writers in Brittany in his "Knowledge of Christian Latin Poets and Historians in Early Medieval Brittany" (Études Celtiques 23, 163-86). He finds, among others, reminiscences of Aldhelm and Gildas. In another source study, "Geoffrey of Monmouth and Bede" (Arthurian Literature 6, 27-57), Wrights moves from earlier study of Geoffrey's use of Gildas to his borrowings from Bede. As one might expect, the conclusion is that "he twisted, reshaped, and contradicted the previously accepted Bedan versions of the British past while taking shelter behind the authority which the [fictitious] liber vetustissimus conferred on his Historia" (p. 55).

Work Not Seen

Hill, Joyce. "Saint George before the Conquest." Report of the Soc. of the Friends of St George's and the Descendants of the Knights of the Garter 6 (1985-86), 284-95.

M. McC. G.

5. MANUSCRIPTS AND ILLUMINATIONS

Monastic libraries, their contents and fragmentary survival, are the subject of a number of important essays from 1986. Helmut Gneuss sets forth the plan to develop a handlist of all manuscripts known to have been written or owned in Anglo-Saxon England up to 1100 in "A Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts" (Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture, ed. Szarmach and Oggins, pp. 433-35). Entries are to include information such as date, origin, and provenance; script and codicological peculiarities; contents; dialect for texts in Old English; decoration; bibliography. Gneuss continues his work on libraries in Anglo-Saxon England in "Anglo-Saxon Libraries from the Conversion to the Benedictine Reform" (Angli e Sassoni di qua e al di là del Mare, 2: 643-88), where he surveys the sources and limitations of our knowledge of books known, used, and collected during the period. From the surviving evidence, the libraries at Canterbury, York, Wearmouth and Jarrow, and Malmesbury seem to have been the most substantial and to have provided the materials needed for scholars such as Bede and Alcuin. Their works, along with fragmentary booklists and library catalogues, provide a sketch, at least, of the contents typical for early English libraries: Bibles, liturgical books, patristic and other theological books, school texts including Latin grammars and poetry, medical and scientific works, and texts in Old English.

In "The school of Theodore and Hadrian" (ASE 15: 45-72), Michael Lapidge gathers evidence of Theodore's learning in an effort to shed light on the late seventh-century Canterbury school he established with Hadrian. Lapidge first surveys the writings that can be attributed to Theodore or his circle: a letter, a verse epistle, several octosyllabic poems, a collection of pronouncements on matters of penitence and ecclesiastical discipline. Less certain, but worth mentioning, are traces of Theodore's influence on the liturgy of Canterbury, medical recipes ascribed to him and Hadrian, and references to a creed composed by Theodore. With reference to the school itself, Lapidge argues that the "lost" textbooks studied there survive today in glossaries preserved in continental manuscripts which have been copied from English exemplars. Because they are traceable in many instances to their sources, these glosses can be used to increase our knowledge of books and learning in early Anglo-Saxon England. They are best represented in the so-called "Leiden Glossary," in a manuscript written c. 800 at St. Gallen and now housed in Leiden (Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. lat. Q. 69, 20r-36r). Lapidge appends a provisional list of manuscripts preserving the "Leiden family" of glossaries.

Cambridge University Library; a History: from the Beginnings to the Copyright Act of Queen Anne by J. C. T. Oates traces the course of that library over three centuries from its origins in the fifteenth century. Of particular interest to Anglo-Saxonists are the sections on Matthew Parker and his gift of six Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in the late sixteenth century, and the work of Abraham Whelock who served as Librarian from 1629-1653 (chapters 4, 7, 8). Using notes in three of the MSS associated with Parker, Oates describes the Archbishop's methods of locating and acquiring materials for his collection. Moving to the seventeenth century, Oates relates how Whelock became the University's first lecturer in Anglo-Saxon in 1638 and brought out an edition of the Old English version of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica based on one of Parker's gifts (Kk.3.18) together with the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

(from MS. Cotton Otho B. XI), among his contributions to Anglo-Saxon studies.

Two further contributions on the subject of antiquarianism appear in articles by James P. Carley intended to begin a series of reports and editions of John Leland's work on manuscript collections in Britain in the 1530s. In "John Leland and the Contents of English Pre-Dissolution Libraries: Glastonbury Abbey" (Scriptorium 40: 107-20), Carley describes Leland's travels and the lists of books he made during the time of the Dissolution of the monasteries. Leland catalogued selectively, with an eye to identifying British writers, but he was a thorough and discerning scholar. Carley provides an annotated edition of Leland's list for Glastonbury, including the identification of the manuscript where known, printed editions of the text, references in other Glastonbury catalogues, and relevant commentary. In "John Leland at Somerset Libraries" (Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society 129: 141-54), Carley edits and comments on Leland's lists for Wells Cathedral, Bath, Keynsham, Montacute, and Taunton. Because most of the books seen by Leland have disappeared, the lists are particularly valuable for the light they shed on the holdings of these foundations.

A contemporary of Leland is the subject of "John Twyne of Canterbury (d. 1581) as a Collector of Medieval Manuscripts: a Preliminary Investigation" (The Library 8: 133-51) by Andrew G. Watson. Twyne seems to have resided in St. Augustine's Abbey until the Dissolution and thereafter to have held a series of important offices in Canterbury. A total of thirty-seven manuscripts, primarily from foundations in Kent, can now be identified as part of his collection; more than half are from Christ Church and St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. Although Twyne was not a heavy annotator of books, his ownership often was recorded by his sons; his books were later recorded as being in their ownership; and eventually the books were entered in a list made by John Joscelyn, Latin secretary to Archbishop Parker. Watson appends an annotated list of manuscripts owned by Twyne, arranged by provenance where known. Evidence for ownership is cited with each description.

Three studies deal with broad questions of scribal practice in Anglo-Saxon England. In "Medieval English scribal practice: some questions and some assumptions" (Linguistics across Historical and Geographical Boundaries, ed. Kastovsky and Szwedek, 1: 199-210), Gero Bauer asks "how 'autonomous' exactly were medieval English scribal conventions?" After examining a selection of variations in spelling conventions, Bauer concludes that medieval scriptoria established their own conventions on the basis of spoken local dialects and that medieval English spelling adjusted to changing phonemic conditions. Thomas E. Toon presents the results of his initial examinations of MSS containing Old English scratched glosses in "Preliminaries to the Linguistic Analysis of Old English Glosses and Glossaries" (Papers from the 4th International Conference on English Historical Linguistics, ed. Eaton, Fischer, Koopman, and van der Leek, pp. 319-29). He observes that scratches may be private notes of the type that were read (and used) by the compilers of early glossaries. They can preserve rare dialectal variants and shed light on the transmission of glossary materials. In another contribution on glossaries, René Derolez notes the richness of the glosses (in Latin and Old English) in Brussels, Königlichen Bibliothek MS. 1650, Aldhelm's De laudibus virginis, in "Aldhelm im Schulzimmer: einige Bemerkungen zu einer Brüsseler Aldhelmhandschrift" (Wortes Anst: Verbi Gratia: Donum Natalicium

Gilbert A. R. de Smet, ed. H. L. Cox, et al, Leuven and Amersfoort), pp. 117-27. He examines in detail a passage of nineteen lines from chapter 10, presents a facsimile and printed text of the passage, and shows how the various levels of the glosses--syntactical, grammatical, and lexical--date from the earliest glossed examples of the text, and provide a kind of history of the way the text was used in the schools.

Three articles deal with the Beowulf manuscript. Patrick W. Conner advances the attractive thesis that the numbering system in the poem changes at section XXV, hence no portion or section number has been lost despite the fact that XXIV is missing, in "The Section Numbers in the Beowulf Manuscript" (AN&Q 24: 33-37). His survey of the other Old English poems with numbered sections demonstrates that, in every case, the numeral appears at the head of the section it identifies. In addition, although no scribe places a number ahead of the opening section to a poem, each scribe compensates for the omission when assigning later numerals. On the other hand, the numbering of certain homilies in the Vercelli Book seems to follow the items rather than precede them, in a manner similar to the treatment of section numbers I-XXIII in Beowulf. Conner concludes that the first scribe post-numbered sections I-XXIII, but began pre-numbering with section XXV: "the eighty-four lines of text following section XXIII are indeed the lines for section XXIII, but the section is not numbered because the place where we should expect the XXIII was originally taken up with the number of the next section, XXV."

In "Madden, Thorkelin, and MS Vitellius/Vespasian A XV" (The Library, 6th ser., 8: 127-32), Kevin S. Kiernan uses the journal entries of Sir Frederic Madden to propose a new date for Thorkelin's transcript of Beowulf. Although Madden was a careful scholar, he twice referred to the MS as Vespasian A XV--"once on 17 June 1824, when he first sent for it, and then again on 18 June, when he described it in detail." There is no obvious explanation for his mistake, but it may shed light on the difficulty of accounting for the dates when Thorkelin made the B transcript of the poem. The Register of the British Museum shows that Thorkelin used Vitellius A XV only once in the period 1787-89, for a few hours on 28 May 1789. On the other hand, he used a manuscript recorded as Vespasian A XV for long stretches of time in 1789, when presumably he was transcribing Beowulf. Thus Madden's mistake provides a plausible new date for Thorkelin's work.

Roland Torkar argues that the "lost" Old English legend of St. Thomas, recorded by Richard James in his table of contents to the first part of Vitellius A. XV (the Southwick codex), never existed, nor has this part of the MS sustained any textual losses since it came into the possession of Sir Robert Cotton, in "Cotton Vitellius A. XV (pt. I) and the Legend of St. Thomas" (ES 67: 290-303). After providing a paleographical and codicological description of the MS, and accounting for the textual losses occurring before 1630, Torkar considers James's skill as a cataloguer (not impressive) and other early descriptions of the MS. From there he concludes that James is the only independent witness for the legend of St. Thomas (Wanley does not mention it), and that the three Cottonian catalogues probably derive from James's account. Torkar goes on to show that James, with a sketchy knowledge of Old English, thought that Alfred's preface to the translation of St. Augustine's Soliloquies was a separate text on the subject of carpentry and the erection of buildings. "So he ventured the guess that the Old English text was perhaps (forte) part of the Legend of St. Thomas, where carpentry and house building

played a dominant role."

The Exeter Book is the subject of two 1986 essays, the first of which, by Patrick W. Conner, argues that the codex is a compilation of three manuscript booklets: (1) fols. 8r-52v; (2) fols. 53r-97v; (3) fols. 98r-130v. In "The Structure of the Exeter Book Codex (Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS. 3501)" (*Scriptorium* 40: 233-42), Conner adduces an impressive variety of paleographical and codicological evidence to suggest that the Exeter Book is the product of one scribe working over a period of time with significant lapses between the writing of each booklet. In particular, changes in the scribe's habits of ligaturing and preferences for certain Y-forms from booklet to booklet suggest that he worked at three separate intervals. These features coincide with other indications of booklets--"the handling of initials and drypoints, the soiled outer leaf of the second booklet, the distribution of identifiable types of membrane, and the variation in ruling procedures"--to support Conner's hypothesis. Joyce Hill explores the question of the provenance of the Exeter Book in "The Exeter Book and Lambeth Palace Library MS 149: A Reconsideration" (*AN&Q* 24: 112-16), where she compares it to a codex in a similar hand. The Lambeth Palace MS has a colophon indicating donation by one "Aetheluardus dux" to a certain monastic foundation dedicated to St. Mary, but the place is obliterated. If it were possible to ascertain the provenance, and even the origin, of this book, more could be learned about the history of the Exeter Book prior to the time of Leofric's bequest to the see. In a tantalizing conclusion, Hill suggests that the obliterated place name could have accommodated a Latinized version of Crediton, the foundation which supplied a number of books to Exeter when the see was transferred there in 1050. She promises to consider the dedication to St. Mary in a forthcoming article which, it is hoped, will resolve the issue.

J. R. Hall takes up the question of whether Christ and Satan was part of the original plan for the Junius manuscript in "On the Bibliographic Unity of Bodleian MS Junius 11" (*AN&Q* 24: 104-07). Building on many of Barbara Raw's observations about the assembly of the codex and the planned, but incomplete, decorative treatment of the poem, Hall argues counter to Raw that two incomplete sketches found within and following the text of the poem were supplied after the text had been copied. He concludes on the basis of this and other supporting evidence that Christ and Satan was part of the editor's original program for the manuscript.

In "Anglo-Saxon Charters and the local historian" (*Local Historian* 17: 71-77), Keith Bailey addresses uses and problems of charters for the local historian and, despite numerous appropriate caveats, suggests that local knowledge has much to contribute to the interpretation of charters, boundary clauses being one obvious example of this. The potential importance of charters to the paleographer is illustrated by Michelle P. Brown in "Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 10861 and the scriptorium of Christ Church, Canterbury" (*ASE* 15: 119-37 + plates). Brown connects a little-known Anglo-Saxon manuscript of the early ninth century containing Latin saints' lives to a group of charters produced at Christ Church, Canterbury between c. 805 and c. 825. A sharp rise in the amount of diplomatic material emanating from that center in the early ninth century seems to have given rise to a mannered minuscule that is reflected as well in other types of manuscript production. Brown's discovery of the script in dated and localized charters should advance our knowledge of ninth-century southern English script and the chronology of

important manuscripts from this era. In "Two Documents from Aldhelm's Malmesbury" (*Bull. of the Inst. of Historical Research*, 59: 1-19), Heather Edwards argues that two questionable documents from early Wessex surviving among the records of Malmesbury preserve authentic material dating from Aldhelm's abbacy. A charter of Ine, king of the West Saxons (688-726), which grants freedom from all secular obligations to the churches and monasteries in his kingdom, is known to have an authentic witness list. Edwards shows that the list and the charter itself fit together in a logical and consistent manner, and that nothing in the wording of the text appears anachronistic for the early eighth century. She concludes that this document of 704 is an authentic charter of Ine, and that the Malmesbury version accurately reproduces the original wording with the possible exception of an interpolated sentence. A bull of Pope Sergius I (687-701) contains two interpolated passages on monastic life, but otherwise seems to indicate that Aldhelm obtained a privilege for Malmesbury from Sergius I while on a visit to Rome. In an appendix, Edwards edits the Latin charter of King Ine and the Old English and Latin versions of the bull of Pope Sergius I.

"A Lost Old-English Charter Rubric: the Evidence from the Regius Psalter" (*N&Q* 33: 292-94), by Patrick P. O'Neill, presents additional evidence of a Christ Church, Canterbury provenance for British Library MS. Royal 2 B. V, the so-called Regius Psalter written c. 950 in Latin with an Old English interlinear gloss. O'Neill reconstructs one of two fragmentary notes on an end fly-leaf (fol. 198v) on the model of an Old English formula that served as a rubric to the contents of Latin charters from the Anglo-Saxon period. The reconstructed rubric records a donation from Æthelwulf, under-king of Kent, to Ceolnoth, archbishop of Canterbury (833-70). The second note may refer to a grant from Ælfgyfu, wife of King Æthelred and subsequently of King Cnut, to Christ Church, but there is less evidence for this conjecture. In a late eleventh-century hand, these notes provide further evidence that the Regius Psalter was in Canterbury at that time, and they imply that their scribe had access to certain charter materials now lost.

Moving to articles treating specific problems in individual manuscripts, Theodore H. Leinbaugh uses a novel approach to recovering obscured readings from fol. 149r in British Library, Cotton Otho C. I, vol. 2, the first page of the unique copy of Ælfric's Old English sermon *De Creatore et Creatura*. In "A Damaged Passage in Ælfric's *De Creatore et Creatura*: Methods of Recovery" (*Anglia* 104: 104-14), Leinbaugh draws on several related texts--two versions of Ælfric's Christmas homily and a Latin sermon ascribed to Ælfric found in Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 63--to restore lost readings. In the process, he illuminates the history of the damaged page, which had been badly worn and then unskillfully freshened up before it suffered the ravages of the Cotton library fire. With reference to another Ælfric manuscript, William Schipper addresses the "Orthography and Dialect in Cambridge University Library MS Ii. 1. 33" (*Stud. in Med. Eng. Lang. and Lit.* 1: 53-65), and proposes that the dialect of scribe A who copied and annotated significant portions of the codex into its final form during the late twelfth/early thirteenth century is East Anglian, specifically from the Isle of Ely. Schipper connects the evidence of language to certain manuscript features that seem to indicate an Ely connection. In this context it would be interesting to know whether the Kentish and other southeastern features of the MS derive from a southeastern exemplar, since Old English homilies continued to be copied in Kent through the twelfth century.

Working with yet another batch of "scorched, shriveled, and cracked leaves of parchment" remaining from the Cotton library fire and with the earliest catalogue descriptions of British Library MS. Cotton Otho A. viii, David Yerkes concludes that the copy of the Old English translation of the life of St. Machutus came from Worcester, as did the items preceding and following it in the codex. He provides a full description of the MS in "The Provenance of the Unique Copy of the Old English Translation of Bili, *Vita Sancti Machuti*" (*Manuscripta* 30: 108-11). In "British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. vi, fol. 62v" (*OEN* 20, no. 1: 32-33), Paul E. Szarmach describes a facsimile page from Alcuin's *De Virtutibus et Vitiis* which shows the Old English version of the text as it occurred in glosses to the Latin original, here in a listing of the capital sins.

In a short article, "Deux Inscriptions Grattées dans le Psautier d'Eadwine" (*Scriptorium* 39: 97-102+plates), Dominique Verfaillie-Markey quotes the text of two erased inscriptions, hitherto unknown, in Cambridge, MS. Trinity College R.17.1, that shed light on the history of the MS. The first, from the late fourteenth/early fifteenth century, indicates that Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, borrowed the Psalter from Christ Church. The second, from the early seventeenth century, is an *ex dono* inscription from Archbishop Richard Bancroft (1604-1610) to Cambridge University Library. The note was erased apparently before the transaction took place, for another inscription from the Dean of Canterbury Thomas Nevile (1597-1615) to Trinity College survives as evidence for the completed donation. Verfaillie-Markey ventures several possible scenarios to account for the inscriptions, but, as she concludes, much about the Psalter remains a mystery.

Kurt Hans Staub prints photographs and transcriptions of a newly-discovered fragment of Bede's *De temporum ratione* (in Northumbrian uncial c. 725 from Wearmouth-Jarrow). The fragment preserves the end of chapter 26, all of 27, and the beginning of 28, as described in "Ein Beda-Fragment des 8. Jahrhunderts in der Hessischen Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt" (*Bibliothek und Wissenschaft* 17: 1-7). Another manuscript fragment, this time a mid-eighth century portion of the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great in Northumbrian uncial, is described and pictured in Wolfgang Milde's article, "Paläographische Bemerkungen zu den Breslauer Unzialfragmenten der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen," in *Probleme der Bearbeitung mittelalterlicher Handschriften*, ed. Helmar Härtel et. al., Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, 30, Wiesbaden, 145-65. Milde reaches his conclusions about Biblioteka Uniwersytecka Wroclaw Fragmenty R. 1 after comparing it closely to other uncial MSS surviving from Wearmouth-Jarrow, and concludes that it should be grouped with the finest of those productions.

The most important work on manuscript illuminations to appear in 1986 is Thomas Ohlgren's *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts: An Iconographic Catalogue c. A.D. 625 to 1100* (New York and London: Garland). With a team of experts, Ohlgren has compiled useful bibliographic and descriptive material for 229 items, covering the MSS in J. J. G. Alexander's and E. Temple's volumes for Harvey Miller, along with a few items they missed and a few from C. M. Kauffmann's inventory of Romanesque illuminated MSS also from the Miller series, *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*. Ohlgren's volume provides a description for every illumination in a given MS and a reference indicating where each is reproduced, along with

complete details about date, provenance, and related matters. His catalogue holds fascination even for the browser, so full are the descriptions of scenes from the MSS. The indexes are indispensable: by MS, author and title, place of origin and provenance, date, and iconographic subject. Ohlgren details his plans for the volume in a report that also appeared this year, pp. 415-30, in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. Szarmach.

Just out this year is an English translation of Otto Pächt's *Buchmalerei des Mittelalters: eine Einführung* (1984), entitled *Book Illumination in the Middle Ages: an Introduction* (London: Harvey Miller; Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press). Although this is an excellent comprehensive study, it has relatively little to say about the Anglo-Saxon period excepting some comparative discussion of the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold. Gary David Schmidt's dissertation from the University of Illinois, "The Mouth of Hell in Medieval Art and Thought" (*DAI* 46A, 3347), incorporates Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and literary works into a study of the development of the bestial hell mouth in the imagination and culture of the Middle Ages. He believes that the image assumed much of its power as a result of the tenth-century Benedictine reforms and the concomitant interest in instructing the laity in England.

On the matter of Anglo-Saxon innovations in illumination and their significance, M. O. H. Carver has set forth a methodology in "Contemporary Artefacts Illustrated in Late Saxon Manuscripts" (*Archaeologia*, 108: 117-45) designed to indicate which innovations might reflect drawings from life. Carver uses British Library MS. Harley 603, a copy of the Utrecht Psalter begun at Canterbury in the early eleventh century, as the test case. After first collecting the innovations made in illustrations to Harley 603 as compared to the Utrecht Psalter, Carver tabulates these, checks them for occurrence elsewhere, and concludes that certain of the Hands (IA and IF) are accurate observers of their surroundings. They provide information about architectural details, weapons, tools, and dress that can often be confirmed by archaeological research. Line drawings are used in the essay to illustrate the features in question. In a shorter article, Thomas H. Ohlgren examines a miniature on fol.12 of Harley 603 (*OEN* 19, no. 2: 42-43, facsim.), where he finds that the artist has substituted a tree-trunk cross for a plain cross in his exemplar, the Utrecht Psalter. According to Ohlgren, the tree-cross is an Anglo-Saxon iconographic innovation whose significance he will explore in a forthcoming article.

Approaching the debate over the existence of an Anglo-Saxon chancery from a new perspective, Brigitte Bedos Rezak examines the evidence of documentary sealing in Anglo-Saxon England in "The King Enthroned, a New Theme in Anglo-Saxon Royal Iconography: the Seal of Edward the Confessor and its Political Implications" (*Acta*, 11: 53-88, ill.). In Rezak's view, the absence of seals or any other visible sign of validation from Anglo-Saxon diplomas prior to the time of Edward the Confessor suggests that their authenticity was guaranteed by their religious nature, an argument for production in an ecclesiastical scriptorium rather than a royal secretariat. The protection of God's authority seems to have obviated the need for a royal guarantee, a relationship reflected in contemporary manuscript iconography "where emphasis is given to Christ as ruler, while the king is systematically shown in a position of subordination." The first pendant documentary seals appear in Edward's reign, never affixed to an ecclesiastical diploma but instead to the writ, a secular function of royal administration. The sealed writ "testifies

to the secularization of Anglo-Saxon kingship and to a growing administrative organization less dependent upon the church." This change again is mirrored in the iconography of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy, which shows "the regality of the king parallel, and no longer merely subservient, to that of Christ."

Some interesting essays on specific iconographical themes appeared in 1986. Ruth Mellinkoff examines "Serpent Imagery in the Illustrated Old English Hexateuch" (Modes of Interpretation, ed. Brown et al., pp. 51-64, ill.), and concludes that the concept of a serpent's head for Moses' rod in this manuscript is linked to sacred magic: "the power of rods or serpents, or a combination of both, is loosened by God (or some other deity) to perform miracles beneficial to mankind," in this case through God's servant, Moses. In "The Latin Verse and Middle English Prose Texts on the Sphere of Life and Death in Harley 3719" (Chaucer Rev., 21: 291-305), Linda Ehrsam Voigts traces the origin and history of the sphere of life and death in the Middle Ages and finds early evidence of an English tradition in the computistical front matter of two Anglo-Saxon service books: additions made in Glastonbury to the Leofric Missal (Oxford, Bodleian MS. Bod. 579) ca. 970, and a Psalter written in Winchester ca. 1050 (British Library MS. Cotton Tiberius C. VI).

Robert Dешman explores the impact of the Benedictine Revival on Anglo-Saxon iconography in "The Imagery of the Living Ecclesia and the English Monastic Reform" (Sources, ed. Szarmach, pp. 261-82, ill.). In an examination of certain miniatures (the Nativity and St. Swithun) in the Benedictional of St. Æthelwold, Dешman finds "a symbolic equivalency between the architectural components of the material church and the faithful who with Christ constitute the spiritual edifice of the Church." The new interest in the theme of the living Ecclesia, Dешman argues, can be traced to the translation of St. Swithun into the cathedral which was used by Lantfred, a monk of Winchester who wrote an account of the event and subsequent miracles, to imply that monasticism had sanctified Ecclesia. "The rebuilding of the cathedral to house the relics was an external sign of the internal moral renewal of the Church by monasticism." Thus the cornerstone and column imagery in the Benedictional was part of a propaganda campaign to identify monasticism with Ecclesia itself and to legitimize seizing control of the churches and monasteries from the secular canons and their powerful lay allies. Again in the Sources volume, Louis Jordan studies "Demoniac Elements in Anglo-Saxon Iconography" (pp. 283-317, ill.) from their Carolingian origins into the period of monastic reform. During the period 970-1070, the Anglo-Saxons combined their indigenous zoomorphic traditions with Continental iconography, where the devil usually was depicted in human form, and transformed the devil into a "truly demonic creature." A third essay from Sources (pp. 319-41, ill.), John Block Friedman's "The Marvels-of-the-East Tradition in Anglo-Saxon Art," proposes that extreme hostility towards exotic races of men, as found in the Liber Monstrorum, influenced artists illustrating the three MSS of the Mirabilia group. In their miniatures for the Epistola Alexandri, for example, the artists did not reflect the impersonal tone of the narrative, but portrayed the monsters with an "ethnocentric and rhetorical fear and distaste" similar to that shown in Beowulf towards the Grendel family.

In "The 4 X 3 Crosses in the Lindisfarne and Lichfield Gospels" (Gesta 25: 171-84, ill.), Robert D. Stevick analyzes cross pages from these important examples of early Insular art. He shows the proportions Eadfrith used on each

of two pages (the initial carpet page, fol. 2v, and the page preceding St. Matthew's Gospel, fol. 26v) in the Lindisfarne Gospels to execute the form of the cross and to integrate the frame into the larger design. Of particular significance is Stevick's discovery that the blank recto of fol. 26 preserves traces of preparatory drafting that bear out the methods of design he had hypothesized. He shows further that the artist of the one remaining cross page in the Lichfield Gospels (p. 220) ran into difficulties when trying to execute a similar design because he lacked a sophisticated knowledge of proportion. "Each of the forms presents a cross with repeating shapes in a 4:3 arrangement." Eadfrith adopted a frame of slightly different proportions and adjusted for it with an irregularity in the cross configuration. The other artist adopted a 4 x 3 frame, but chose a regular configuration for the cross that was incompatible; hence he created an imbalance in the pattern. The contrast between the drafting skills of the artists reveals the high level of sophistication in the designs of the Lindisfarne Gospels.

An important item omitted from last year's review is an exhibition catalogue by Peter Clemoes entitled Manuscripts from Anglo-Saxon England commemorating an exhibition in the University Library, Cambridge to mark the 1985 conference of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists. The catalogue presents concise and up-to-date descriptions, with relevant bibliographic references, of the University Library and Pembroke College, Cambridge MSS which are registered in Helmut Gneuss's "Preliminary List of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1100," with six additions and three omissions. Professor Clemoes and the library staff deserve special thanks for having assembled this magnificent exhibition and for their generosity in allowing visiting scholars in attendance at the meeting the opportunity to read their manuscripts, including those from the display.

M. P. R.

6. HISTORY AND CULTURE

a. Bibliography

1986 marked the nine-hundredth anniversary of Domesday Book. Thus it seems appropriate to start this review with a work that provides access to modern scholarship on that great survey, a survey that in a number of ways offers a summation of the Anglo-Saxon achievement. Without question one of the most valuable publications on Domesday Book in 1986 was David Bates's A Bibliography of Domesday Book (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Dover, N.H.: Boydell & Brewer). His preface states his criteria for listing works: they must be publications that "make a positive contribution to the elucidation of the Domesday Book text" including "identifications of place-names and persons, interpretations of terminology and statistics, and assessments of how the record was made and of its administrative and legal significance. They also take in discussions of the topography and geography which lie behind the Domesday Book entries" (vii). He has divided the material into general and local studies, and enhanced the citations where appropriate with cross-references. Thus his section on Worcestershire starts with references elsewhere in the volume to (inter alia) satellite texts, deserted villages and towns, saltways, and the estates of the abbeys of Worcester, Evesham, and Westminster (139-40). He adds occasional brief comments to his citations; thus, he lists the publications of O. C. Pell but helpfully observes, "Pell's work is generally dismissed as worthless" (7, no. 142). A book of this kind incites one to ferret out items that have been "overlooked"; if such be found, forward them to Dr Bates so as to encourage a second edition. Be warned, however: he has ranged widely. How many have heard of the defunct journal Walford's Antiquarian (no. 139), would have known that the Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters contains material on Domesday Book (nos. 118-20), or would have thought of looking at a footnote in T.K. Keefe's book on feudal assessments under Henry II and his sons for a correction to information given in The Cambridge Medieval History (no. 464; cf. no. 265)?

b. Editions

"The West Saxon Genealogical Regnal List: Manuscripts and Texts" by David Dumville (Anglia 104, 1-32) provides the essential underpinning for any useful literary or historical study of early Anglo-Saxon kingship, namely, a reliable text. The list provides the purported descent of the dynastic founder, Cerdic, from Woden and names the kings from Cerdic to Alfred with the length of their reigns. Dumville briefly discusses each of the versions found in seven manuscripts, as well as a tabular abstract and a related text found in two further manuscripts. An edition poses teasing editorial problems: the use of repetitive formulas reduces the likelihood of shared errors, and most errors are likely to involve changes in names, eye-skip and changes in regnal lengths. Rather than reconstructing a presumptive original text, which would involve a large measure of conjecture, he uses a late-eleventh-century Worcester copy (though he departs from it sixty times); he feels "that the goal of a fully reconstructed Alfredian text is as yet inattainable" (18). In addition to the main text he provides editions also of a partial list, the continuations of the list after Alfred, the tabular abstract and the only pre-Conquest version of the East Saxon royal genealogies. The typesetter should be congratulated on producing what must

have been a fiendish text to set (248 references to the apparatus criticus in five pages). The paper illustrates the difficulties inherent in editing a vernacular text. Dr Dumville is to be commended on being so explicit about the strategies and decisions he adopted. His complementary paper to appear in Peritia 4 on the historical conclusions that can be drawn about West-Saxon chronology from the text will be awaited with interest.

The Historia Brittonum, Vol. 3: The 'Vatican' Recension, also edited by David N. Dumville (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, and Dover, N.H.: Boydell & Brewer, 1985) is the first of a projected ten-volume edition of this important ninth-century Welsh Latin text. In his introduction, Dumville points out that "[a] single variorum edition would require more than editorial and typographical conventions could hope to deliver and more than the patience--or indeed sanity--of editor and readers could bear" (vii). This edition is based on four manuscripts that provide complete witnesses and a further eight manuscripts that are partial witnesses to the text. The recension itself dates from (probably) 944; his edition seeks to provide a reconstructed version, based on Vatican MS. Reg. lat. 1964, of the common antecedent of the extant manuscripts. This antecedent text must date from after 976 and is at least two removes from the original copy of the recension. Corrupt versions of Celtic names have not been emended since these are likely to be the forms preserved by the unknown Anglo-Saxon who made this recension. The link with England is what should draw Anglo-Saxonists to this edition. The redactor has smoothed out many of the idiosyncrasies of the Harleian version of the text (and seems to be uninfluenced by the tenth-century English hermeneutic style); a modernized Anglo-Saxon version of the word ciulas ("ships") used by Gildas and another English phrase (see p.5), however, betray his Anglo-Saxon origin. Especially valuable for Anglo-Saxonists is Dumville's important chapter "Learning and the Church in the England of King Edmund I, 939-946" (pp. 9-23). The reign of Edmund, whose imperium embraced Wales and Scotland, saw a revival of Latin learning, the establishment of the Anglo-Saxon square minuscule script and the re-establishment of the Church. During his reign, Dunstan became abbot of Glastonbury, where he introduced the Benedictine Rule. Dumville sketches the external relations of Edmund's court, especially with Celtic areas, and notes the influence of the Welsh on Glastonbury, both on the Caroline minuscule script developed there and on the monastery's manuscript holdings. That the Historia Brittonum should have appeared in England is not surprising; what at present cannot be determined is where this redaction with its clear prose style was made. He provides a detailed conspectus of the manuscripts of the recension (two of which were not known to earlier editors) and presents two stemmata, one showing his reconstruction of the relationship of the extant manuscripts to the 'Vatican' recension of 944, and the second the antecedent stages back to the original text of 829x830. Welsh additions and some updating of the forms of Welsh words were made at some point between these two dates: he conjectures ?875x925? This version could thus have migrated to England from the time of Alfred on (one immediately thinks of Asser, of course). His detailed apparatus criticus lists all the variants found in the texts and fragments of this recension, and he also supplies five indices of names. Dumville has rendered a service to Anglo-Saxonist and Celticist alike: by making available as the first text in this series a version known in tenth-century England he has encouraged Anglo-Saxonists to pay more attention to the Celtic world.

Literature is a branch of History; let me hasten on from this, no doubt, contestable cliché to make another one in asserting that History is a branch of Literature. Geoffrey of Monmouth was at home in both domains--to the confusion of scholars ever since. We cannot try to divine Geoffrey's purposes and the cultural knowledge and assumptions that led him to write his magnum opus, Historia Regum Britannie (i.e., examine his work as historians) nor assess its structure and its emotional and intellectual impact (i.e., respond to his work as literary critics) without having a reliable text. Since there is apparently no extant autograph, since there are now known to be over 210 manuscripts of his work, and since the eight printed editions all have gross deficiencies, any detailed discussion of Geoffrey's work will be intellectually flawed to some degree until we have a sound text. Because Geoffrey's Historia is central to a study of the Arthurian legend, the value of a good text to students of medieval romance is obvious; Anglo-Saxonists, however, may see less reason for this to attract their attention. Yet Anglo-Saxonists have grounds for looking at Geoffrey's work. In the first place, he draws on a body of sources that interests Anglo-Saxonists: examination of his text will contain (potentially at least) textual information about his sources and will reveal knowledge of them in the twelfth century. His use of Celtic material helps open up the antecedent Celtic literary milieu, still little known to Anglo-Saxonists. And his portrayal of the history of England, fanciful though it be, is fascinating in its presentation to the Normans of a way of validating their rule in England and also of providing them with a past--through its derogation of the Anglo-Saxons and its elevation to heroic status of their British predecessors--that was psychologically acceptable for them to join and continue into the future.

Neil Wright's edition, The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth, I: Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS. 568 (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, and Dover, N.H.: Boydell & Brewer, 1985) is greatly to be welcomed as the vital first step towards acquiring (if possible) a sound base text of Geoffrey's Historia. Wright has used an apparently early-thirteenth-century manuscript. This preserves a version that goes back into Stephen's reign, one that is at least a contender for being the text that so astonished Henry of Huntingdon when he was shown it at the Norman monastery of Le Bec in 1139, only a year or so after the Historia itself had been compiled by Geoffrey. The text is presented to us in a semi-diplomatic version: emendations are made only when the text will not construe (and all such changes are fully recorded). The spellings of the manuscript have been retained, a decision that must be applauded. He has retained the paragraph divisions of the manuscript but has also employed the chapter divisions made by Faral in his edition; in our present state of knowledge we cannot hazard a conjecture as to what Geoffrey's original divisions were. His introduction presents a detailed codicological examination of MS. 568, a text-book presentation which will be useful to show to students. The reasoning behind his interpretation of the evidence he has uncovered is clearly explained. This is especially important because at present we know so little about the textual history of the work. The Bern manuscript is only one of three in its class; as Wright notes on p. lii, other copies of this version are surely likely to be found. Thus it is quite possible that some of his conclusions may have to be changed as our knowledge increases: the honest and transparent presentation of his arguments means that incorrect assessments are likely to be corrected sooner. His codicological analysis does not permit him to say more than that the manuscript as a whole

dates from 1175x1225, with the text of the Historia going back to the last quarter of the twelfth century. The text has probably undergone some changes from what Geoffrey wrote--it likely "represents an attempt by an unknown scribe partially to exonerate the English and to suggest that their take-over of the island, if bloody, was at least not illegitimate" (lix), and it is a version that "has no time for the Breton hope that Arthur would return, but records unequivocally that the national hero was dead" (lix)--but at least we now have a reliable edition of one version. A full Index Nominum and Index Locorum are supplied.

Post-Conquest saints' lives are an under-utilized resource for Anglo-Saxonists, partly because a number of the texts have not been published. D. W. Rollason has provided a valuable supplement to his book The Mildrith Legend by printing "Goscelin of Canterbury's Account of the Translation and Miracles of St. Mildrith (BHL 5961/4): An Edition with Notes" (MS 48, 139-210). The text dates from 1087x1091. Goscelin had settled in England in the 1060s and became one of the most prolific writers in Latin in the country during the eleventh-century. His prose thus has an importance for the development of Latin literary style and Rollason accordingly highlights some of his distinctive stylistic features. He also briefly reviews the cult of St. Mildrith and provides a detailed conspectus of the manuscripts. Unfortunately, the earliest witness succumbed to the disastrous Cottonian fire of 1731 and survives only in fragments. The text is supplemented with a commentary that offers translations of the more abstruse passages. A text of this kind does not only contain material of interest to hagiographers and literary historians. Phonologists and students of onomastics will be interested in names such as Lyofstanus (173 and n. 108), Ægeluordum Spearka (178 and n. 133) and Wicham (208 and n. 275); liturgists may note his indication that saints' lives were employed in the liturgy (195 and n. 219); and students of charters may note several allusions to documents (e.g. 190 and n. 198).

c. Historiography

Anglo-Saxon history will continue to be forwarded at the University of Birmingham with the appointment of Nicholas Brooks as the successor to Ralph Davis in the Chair of Medieval History. His inaugural lecture, *History and Myth, Forgery and Truth, gracefully pays tribute to some of the interests of both Ralph Davis and his predecessor, H. A. Cronne, in the choice of title. Brooks observes that "History is the elucidation and dispersal of Myth. For this reason what determines the quality of history is the historian's skill in detecting the motives and the assumptions of those who have left their record for posterity" [2]. He ranges widely in the realm of the forger: from the Piltdown skull and the eccentric sinologist and munificent donor to the Bodleian Library, Edmund Backhouse, to the twenty-eight purported Anglo-Saxon charters from Evesham and the forged Canterbury documents in the Athelstan Gospels.

d. Social and Institutional History

Reinhard Wenskus's "Die ständische Entwicklung in Sachsen im Gefolge der fränkische Eroberung" (Angli e Sassoni, 587-616) will primarily be of interest to students of German social history. One of the social groups he discusses, however, is the laten (also called liti and lazzi), who appear as

lets in the Kentish laws. He questions whether a tie to the soil was originally their condition; certainly to describe one as an ascripticius or servus glebae is anachronistic since these are terms drawn from the later Roman Empire, which was quite different in social structure. He feels that the varied situations of the laten in the later Middle Ages points to their origin as lying in pre-Frankish times (602). Only regional studies can clarify their position but he feels that it is highly doubtful whether the lords of the laten can be called manorial lords (Grundherren; 602).

[In a fine pair of essays, David A. E. Pelteret examines a variety of contemporary materials and reaches enlightening conclusions about members of the Anglo-Saxon underclass. In the Woods and Pelteret collection, *The Anglo-Saxons: Synthesis and Achievement*, he offers "Slavery in Anglo-Saxon England" (117-33), in which he answers three questions: Who were the slaves in Anglo-Saxon society, and how did they acquire this status? What was it like to be a slave in England? And how did slavery come to disappear? We learn that warfare and conquest were the major source of slaves, although people could be enslaved for certain criminal offences and for debt. Some even enslaved themselves voluntarily for the security offered by the condition. Domesday Book records slaves as accounting for about ten percent of the population in England in 1086. Slaves had agrarian responsibilities primarily, and suffered under keen legal disabilities in consequence of being someone else's possession. Slavery began to decline, Pelteret believes, as the accumulation of property into larger agrarian units progressed, and as the country became unified (with a corresponding decrease in tribal influence). The concept of freedom came to be tied to a person's status in terms of the land, rather than the tribe, and a number of Anglo-Saxon social terms, including "slave," were lost in the transition to the manorial system. MPR]

[Pelteret's second essay, "Two Old English Lists of Serfs" (MS 48, 470-513), moves to a detailed examination of two estate documents from the Ely Abbey estate of Hatfield in Hertfordshire (London, British Library MS. Cotton Tiberius B.V, vol. 1, fol. 76v) and the Rochester Cathedral estate of Kent (Rochester, Cathedral Library A.3.5, fol. 162r-v), dating from the end of the tenth century and the mid-eleventh century respectively. He edits, translates, and interprets the lists, and provides appendixes on the language and the names of each text. From Pelteret's analysis emerges a picture of serfdom in the late Anglo-Saxon and early Norman period. The documents show that "the peasantry were capable of a fair degree of geographic mobility," though women seem to have exercised greater mobility as they moved to the estates where their husbands worked. Further, "[k]inship ties and onomastic practices seem to have been the same among the peasantry as they were among the aristocracy" (504). MPR]

Last year the housecarls received detailed attention (see *OEN* 20.1, 131); this year the Confessor's stallers received the spotlight. Katherine Mack in "The Stallers: Administrative Innovation in the Reign of Edward the Confessor" (*Jnl of Medieval Hist.* 12, 123-34) contests the view of a number of leading scholars that the stallers performed the role of sheriffs. She may be right, but I am blessed if I can tell from this article. There were apparently eight men during the Confessor's reign who were called "stallers" in various sources. She asserts that Domesday Book shows that the six stallers who survived until 1066 were among the forty wealthiest thegns in England. Short

of working my way through Domesday Book, I have to take this on faith. No complete listing of the forty thegns, their worth or the Domesday evidence on which it is based is provided. Instead there is a table listing the holdings of the Confessor's sheriffs, which shows that two of them had holdings of £55 and £160, equal to that of the stallers. Since only six stallers are being discussed here, I cannot be impressed with the conclusion that "among Edward's non-comital officials the stallers alone consistently controlled great landed estates" (128). So, too, with her observation: "With only one exception, Edward's stallers held extensive lands outside Wessex" (128). The lands of three thegns and one of the sheriffs were similarly distributed. She draws attention to the stallers' frequent subscriptions of charters between 1054 and 1066 (though but ten charters are in question); only in passing are "their prominent positions at the head of the thegnly subscribers" (131) mentioned, which is surely crucially important. Nowhere is there a discussion of the Old Norse word stallari and its meaning in Scandinavian contexts; this may be a dead end, but simply to mention Barlow, who spends about a paragraph of his *Edward the Confessor* (see pp. 164-5) on the stallers and Larson who wrote on the subject over eight decades ago is inadequate. I am led to the sad conclusion that the work will have to be done again. To goad someone into doing this, I shall rashly conjecture that "staller" is an honorific title designating a member of Edward's drinking circle.

From social classes we shall now turn to religious history, especially sainthood.

[John Corbett demonstrates the influence of the late Antique concept of the saint as patron on the deeds and literary accounts of early Anglo-Saxon saints in his essay, "Two Early Anglo-Saxon Holy Men: Oswald and Cuthbert" (*The Anglo-Saxons*, ed. Woods and Pelteret, 63-75). He argues that Bede's accounts of these saints in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* show that they are fulfilling the role of the Roman patron as "they restore the social order on earth" and "serve, alive or dead, as avenues of approach to God" (70). Their prototype is St. Martin, whose cult seems to have arrived in Britain in the fifth century, continued there throughout the Dark Ages, and survived to provide a model of the Holy Man to the Anglo-Saxons. MPR]

[The history of Celtic Christianity is traced by Claude Evans in "The Celtic Church in Anglo-Saxon Times" (*The Anglo-Saxons*, ed. Woods and Pelteret, 77-92), for the purpose of showing how certain Celtic features became integrated into the Anglo-Saxon world after the Synod of Whitby in A.D. 664. The influence was primarily Irish, as Irish monasteries drew Englishmen to their learning and asceticism, and ultimately provided the inspiration for penitential practices that came to be adopted in tenth-century England. MPR]

On opening Volume 34 of *Analele Universității București: Istorie* (1985) one should repress any inclination to put the journal back on the shelf on seeing G. I. Ionita's "1965-1985: A Time of Great Achievements, Brightened [sic] by President Nicolae Ceaucescu's Patriotic Thinking and Action." Pass lightly on to pp. 21-36, where Antonia Gransden very objectively assesses "Anglo-Saxon Monks and the Preservation of English Culture c. 950 - c. 1100." She argues for the continuity of a native monastic tradition into the Norman period. In the tenth century the reformers sought to strengthen the monastic revival by grounding its roots in Anglo-Saxon soil. As in the period of the Northumbrian ascendancy, Lives of its leaders were composed and, though the

cult of saints may have gained impetus from the Continent, emphasis was placed on native saints, not least because this enhanced the monasteries and their relics. Though the major figures of the reformation were not succeeded by others of similar stature nor were there any major new monastic foundations, liturgical calendars attest the efflorescence of the cult of saints in the late tenth and the eleventh centuries. In the latter century monasteries were supported by the former Viking, Cnut, who "badly wanted to be identified with Edgar, not Ethelred" (28). Edward the Confessor was also a patron of monastic establishments and a number of able abbots served during his reign. There was a growth of localism but this helped preserve Anglo-Saxon culture after the Conquest: the power of the monks then "was the greater because they fought on narrow fronts, for their own particular houses" (32). Amongst other things they preserved the Anglo-Saxon intellectual heritage. This included the development of vernacular prose, which survived the Conquest, as did the practice of book illumination. The vigor of this tradition led to its enriching Norman culture and resulted, for instance, in the restoration of Wearmouth and Jarrow and the re-establishment of Durham as a monastic see.

Another aspect of sainthood is discussed by D. W. Rollason in "Relic Cults as an Instrument of Royal Policy c. 900 - c. 1050" (ASE 15, 91-103). Here he considers the collection and donation of relics by kings in order to enhance their standing; the part played by relics in government; and the advancement of certain cults in order to enhance royal influence. Collections of relics are associated with Alfred, Eadred, Cnut, and, most notably, Athelstan, who gave one third of his collection to Exeter, as a list in Old English in the Exeter Book purports to record. The list (which records three saints who lived after Athelstan!) has a homiletic form appropriate for recitation at a feast of relics. These relics attested a king's power and were valuable as diplomatic exchanges. (The anthropological dimensions of Anglo-Saxon gift-giving would be a worthy topic for exploration.) Relics of Breton saints mentioned in Athelstan's list attest his power in Breton affairs, and the removal of relics from areas of Danish control by Æthelræd, Lady of the Mercians, and from the north of England by Edmund reveal their control of policy in England. In matters of governance, relics were important in the swearing of oaths, in ordeals, and in manumissions. In later Anglo-Saxon England kings patronized those who possessed relics, especially the monastic house at Glastonbury and the community of St. Cuthbert; Cuthbert's remains were visited by Athelstan, Edmund, and Cnut.

Daphne Stroud discusses a specific saint in "Edith of Wilton (c. 961-984): The Millenary of a Saint" on pp. 352-8 and 381 of Vol. 2 no. 18 (Autumn 1984) of the Hatcher Review (a small semi-annual publication named after an antiquarian and schoolmaster, who lived in and wrote about Salisbury in the early nineteenth century). Edith had been offered to Wilton in infancy by her father, King Edgar. Her mother, Edgar's mistress, became abbess shortly thereafter. Edgar secured the services of Radbod of Rheims and Benno of Trèves as her tutors and handsomely endowed the house. Saints Dunstan and Æthelwold were frequent visitors. Goscelin of Canterbury wrote her life a century later and noted that her prayer-book with supplementary prayers copied by her was still at Wilton in his day. The Salisbury Psalter (Salisbury Cathedral Library MS. 150) is contemporary with her, and Stroud has argued in The Library 6th ser., 1 (1979) that it is a Wilton book (though it should be noted that Edmond Bishop felt its provenance was Shaftsbury and the Sisams associated it with the Benedictine nunnery there. Also, Dodwell, in

his Anglo-Saxon Art, p. 33, is rather less ready than Stroud is to accept Goscelin's account of the chapel she built dedicated to St. Denis, noting the association in Goscelin's account with descriptions of the Temple in the Old Testament.) Stroud observes that her cult acquired a political importance under her brother Æthelred at the end of the century, when she was "remembered as a symbol of the former greatness of the Christian house of Wessex" (356). Cnut recognized her importance, always dismounting at the abbey gate and entering her sanctuary on foot, thereby proclaiming that he was "a Christian king and the legitimate successor of the royal house of Wessex" (357). Outside her nunnery and Salisbury Cathedral, where her feast on 16 September was observed until the Reformation, the memory of her devotion to St. Denis and of her posthumous miracles faded after the Conquest.

In the sphere of economics, Peter Sawyer develops some ideas first discussed by him in 1981 (see OEN 18.1 [1984], 134) on local economics in "Early Fairs and Markets in England and Scandinavia" (The Market in History ed. B. L. Anderson and A. J. H. Latham [London, Sydney & Dover, N.H.: Croom Helm, 1986]). Drawing on Emile Benveniste's linguistic studies, he notes that long-distance commerce as opposed to local exchanges appears to have been alien to early Indo-European society. Anthropological studies he finds less helpful. Historical sources mention that in England in the eighth century royal agents collected toll at a number of coastal sites called wic (e.g. Hamwic, now Southampton) and at Droitwich, where salt was produced. In the ninth century, Mercian rulers levied tolls known in Old English as "waggon-shilling" and "load-penny" at Worcester. Also in the ninth and early in the next century the development of burhs or ports led to an attempt to limit financial transactions to those locations. Claims to tolls were extended by the Normans. This limited direct historical evidence of local markets can be supplemented from other sources: evidence of gatherings for saints' feasts and on Sundays indicate that these occasions offered opportunities for local trade; place-names provide the occasional snippet of information; and assemblages of coins on archaeological sites such as wics and churches offer presumptive evidence of local gatherings for the purpose of exchange.

Overwhelmed perhaps by the brilliance of Maitland and the comprehensive researches of Liebermann, Anglo-Saxon legal history has tended to languish since the First World War (with some outstanding exceptions such as the work of Goebel). Thus we should welcome the attention that Patrick Wormald is giving to this field. That he forms part of a wider discussion group devoted to early European legal history is good news indeed. His "Charters, Law and the Settlement of Disputes in Anglo-Saxon England" appears in what we must hope is only the first of a series of volumes to be published by the group, The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe, ed. W. Davies and Paul Fouracre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). This book by the juxtaposition of its material contains much food for thought and should ensure that future legal scholarship will eschew insularity. By looking at the material illustrating judicial procedure and the settlement of disputes, Wormald has concluded that "full analysis of the whole range of specific and descriptive evidence, largely drawn from charters, compels radical reappraisal of the conclusions drawn from prescriptive law codes about Anglo-Saxon litigation" (149). Orthodoxy proclaims that Anglo-Saxon law is archaic, an interpretation with which he disagrees. He has examined 175 cases reported in documentary and narrative sources. He analyzes two cases in this

paper about which there is much evidence. The first is a Mercian one resolved in 824. This appears to have been held before a royal court and reveals in its reliance on fact rather than on oath, a soundly rational basis of agreement--a rather different portrayal of the processes of Anglo-Saxon law from that sketched by Maitland. The second case concerns land in Kent and dates from 958: the documentation is varied and includes three vernacular texts. As in the first case, oaths are not important and there is an emphasis on rationality in decision making. He makes the interesting suggestion that the use of vernacular documentation was because "they could be read to, if not by, the laity" (161). He believes that "the king's interest was regularly represented in judicial proceedings" (163), even at the shire level. He concludes that the oath was an important statement of loyalty rather than a procedural device and loss of a property dispute defended under oath implied theft and treason in later Anglo-Saxon England. Wormald has dislodged some weighty legal tomes, ancient and modern, from the shelves; it may take a while for the dust to settle.

[In "Domestic Peace and Public Order in Anglo-Saxon Law" (*The Anglo-Saxons*, ed. Woods and Pelteret, 49-61), Rebecca V. Colman examines the concept of hamsocn, a crime of violence against the homestead, through its appearances in Continental European, English, and Scandinavian sources. The severity of the penalties for this crime leads Colman to the conclusion that sacredness of the home was basic to even the most rudimentary state of law and order, for without protection from marauders, the social and economic fabric of a community would disintegrate. MPR]

As in the case of legal history, there seems to be a renewed interest in military history after a lengthy period when it was out of vogue. Paradoxically, the subject may have benefited from being so long in disfavor, since those who are writing on aspects of the subject are asking new questions and drawing on fresh evidence. John Manley in "The Archer and the Army in the Late Saxon Period" (*Anglo-Saxon Stud. in Archaeol. and Hist.* 4 [1985], 223-35) tackles a difficult topic in that arrowheads are difficult to distinguish from small spearheads, are extant disproportionately from early graves, and do not give a clear indication of their use, whether for hunting or warfare. An exception is the case of the arrowhead lodged in the vertebra of a person in the cemetery at Eccles in Kent who had been dispatched by a sword blow to the head. Manley then turns to the literary evidence, citing Beowulf and Maldon. He fails, however, to take sides on the historical accuracy of the poems and does not explore the meanings of the various words for "arrow" that he cites (224). As for artistic representations, twenty-nine archers are illustrated in the Bayeux Tapestry, but only one is an Anglo-Saxon. He cursorily mentions some other depictions of bowmen in illustrated sources, including the Franks Casket. The rarity of the bow and arrow in England contrasts with its use in the Frankish kingdom, where its use may have been adopted through contact with the Avars to the east. In Anglo-Saxon England, he feels that such evidence as there is suggests the use of a longbow in warfare by archers who (to use Warren Hollister's terminology) were "confined to the great fyrð," thus occupying "the lowest status in the army" (230). I cannot help feeling that more could have been made of the non-archaeological evidence.

e. Regional and Local Studies

For no particular reason this year, we shall wind a sinuous path from the north of England down to the south-west. The Northern Counties to AD 1000 by Nick Higham (London: Longman) is the first book to appear in a new twenty-one volume series entitled "A Regional History of England." If this volume marks the standard of those to follow, it will be a series marked by well-printed books, liberally illustrated by photographs, line drawings and maps, and provided with an extensive bibliography. Those whose chronological focus will be pre-A.D. 1000 will have a strongly archaeological bias. With the promise of twenty further volumes before us, it is appropriate first to give some attention to the boundaries demarcating each volume. That the General Editors had to be arbitrary over the boundaries of regions is reasonable, especially when they declare that they are willing to be flexible (xii). Nevertheless, a series like this runs the ever-present risk of making static something that was dynamic. What is curious is the editors' failure to defend the boundary date of A.D. 1000, which in political terms makes little sense. I hope that they and their publisher will see fit to supplement their titles by at least two "anti-series" volumes. One would consider how regions changed, both temporally and according to the sphere of activity being considered. A second volume might take the boundary date of A. D. 1000 and ponder some alternatives.

Higham's book surveys the history of the modern counties of Cumbria, Northumberland, Tyne-and-Wear, Durham, and the north-western part of Cleveland. He starts with a discussion of the formation of the landscape and then surveys its history from 4000 B.C. The final 100 pages will most interest Anglo-Saxonists. For the period from 350 to 685, northern Britain is no different from the rest of the country: "The end of the artificial, Roman, economy has deprived the archaeologists of diagnostic, artefactual evidence on all but a small minority of sites, and has left us dangerously dependent on documentary sources, the interpretation of which is unusually difficult" (242). Several aspects of his chapter on this period should be noted. Pollen diagrams reveal that areas that had been extensively cleared in the fourth century remained that way until late in the sixth. This points to "a continuing buoyant population enjoying a period of hospitable climate" (244). Only in the sixth century did population decline, possibly because of outbreaks of plague but probably also because of slave-raiding. Attitudes have changed towards urban survival. St. Cuthbert's visit to the walled city of Carlisle with its well or fountain of Roman origin has been viewed as evidence for urban continuity; his survey of the archaeological evidence now places the literary evidence in question. Academic interpretation of the anglicization of the North between A.D. 500 and 800 has also changed: "That comparatively little true ethnic replacement occurred is at least a defensible opinion" (273). In his chapter on the period from 685 to 1000 his archaeological interests lead him usefully to stress the role of land resources and their impact on politics. Thus he notes: "The Church had accumulated vast new estates by AD 900. Kings were increasingly impoverished, unable to reward loyal service and subject to political coups by which the aristocracy exercised a growing influence over dynastic politics" (291). For the Viking period, evidence is more readily available for the eastern portion of the region. Material remains reveal that "the rural economy experienced the beginning of an upturn in the last century of the millenium" (313). For Cumbria in the west, he depends heavily on place-name material. His useful survey of the current evidence (318-30) leads him to conclude that there was "by the eleventh century...a distinctive, and ethnically mixed, Cumbrian

community" (330). The standard of this book augurs well for the success of the series.

In a paper that could have benefited from some editorial interventions, W. Richardson argues in "The Venerable Bede and a Lost Monastery in Yorkshire" (*Yorkshire Archaeol. Jnl* 57 [1985], 15-22) that the "Ælfet.ee" referred to in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* s.a. 762/763 refers to Adlingfleet rather than Elvet. He claims that "[t]he form 'Adelfet.ee' is also found in the MSS" (16) but since he does not identify the manuscripts concerned, only someone with more time than the reviewer could verify this. He associates this place with a reference to a letter at "Donaemuthe" that occurs in a letter from Pope Paul I to King Eadbert in 757 or 758. M. S. Parker, in a paper in *Northern Hist.* 21 (1985) reviewed in *OEN* 20 (1986), 127, argued for "Donaemuthe" as being Stainforth, Yorkshire, but did admit the possibility of its referring to Adlingfleet. Richardson may thus be on to something here, but readers will have to be prepared to exercise patience in unravelling his arguments and must do some hunting in primary and secondary sources on their own.

Painstaking topographical studies drawing on parish boundaries and place-names should be able to reveal to us some of the early *regiones*, of which the *Tribal Hidage* preserves a partial record. M. S. Parker has employed this to attempt a reconstruction of one such *regio* in "Morthen Reconsidered" *Yorkshire Archaeol. Jnl* 58, 23-9). The name survives only in the Yorkshire village of Morthen, and as the affix of various other names; as a territory it had disappeared by the time of Domesday Book. He presents a conjectural territory based on parish boundaries. The name may represent "the assembly (thing) at the tree stump (OE **mort-*, cf. Middle High German *mürz*)" or, more likely, is an *-ingas* name attached to a hitherto unattested personal name **Morth* (with a familiar variant **Morthel*) meaning "the people of Morth." He acknowledges that at present we cannot choose between these two conjectures; only the discovery of further early spellings of *Morthen* or territorial parallels from elsewhere in the region are likely to enable us to judge the validity of his suggestion.

J. Phillip Dodd in "Early Settlement in West Cheshire" (*Cheshire Hist.*, no. 17, 14-20) observes, "In conclusion it is realised that the discussion may have raised more questions than the present state of the evidence is able to resolve" (17). Since there are fewer Anglo-Saxon archaeological remains from the county than Romano-British ones, thereby making place-name evidence difficult to evaluate, and since there is little written evidence outside Domesday Book, I found the article interesting only for its reference to an apparently Celtic method of counting sheep that got transported to Massachusetts, which is discussed in the *Quarterly Jnl of the Lymm and District Local Hist. Soc.* 7 (11). Pedagogues will gnash their teeth over the numerous run-on sentences, idiosyncratic vocabulary ("envinced" [19]) and quixotic typography. His "Domesday Cheshire" (*Cheshire Hist.* no. 8, 10-20) shares the punctuational peculiarities of his other paper. The article is largely a collection of maps of landholders, slaves, wasted villas, ploughs and post-Domesday expansion of the arable. He depicts the holdings of the monastery of St. Werburgh and the brothers, Edwin and Morcar, respectively earls of Mercia and Northumbria in Edward the Confessor's last years; these he anachronistically terms "the Establishment" (11 and fig. 1). He does point up a problem: there is a substantial area in Cheshire from just after the

Conquest described as "wasta" in Domesday Book, which poses a question as to the meaning of the Latin word.

The administrative structures operating within Anglo-Saxon England are complex in the extreme. Archaeological work at Brixworth, Raunds, and Northampton has already focused the attention of Anglo-Saxonists on Northamptonshire. In a paper that demands the full attention of its reader (and then some, since at least three abbreviated references are not included in the bibliography), Glenn Foard essays a description of "The Administrative Organization of Northamptonshire in the Saxon Period" (*Anglo-Saxon Stud. in Archaeol. and Hist.* 4 [1985], 185-222). He notes a hierarchy of administrative levels, from townships containing one or more hamlets to nucleated villages, then through lesser estates to major estates and sokes. I have to confess that I find it difficult to judge the validity of this hierarchical model: his section entitled "The Hierarchy of Settlement and Administration" includes elements that have as their primary characteristic settlement (villages), agricultural practice (estates), and jurisdiction (sokes); he also discusses parishes and hundreds, shires and towns. Within Northamptonshire he notes three administrative centers: Northampton, King's Sutton, and Oundle. He questions whether the latter two were originally below Northampton in status, as Williams suggests in *ASE* 13 (1985). If Sutton is the original name, the prefix suggests to me that Williams might be right in this one instance; Oundle is more problematic. Several interpretations were of interest to me in this lengthy and detailed paper. For instance, there is his word of caution about using proximity of Roman settlement to bolster a case about Anglo-Saxon settlement patterns. "In the Nene valley as a whole the density of Roman settlements is of the order of one or two per square kilometre, while Roman villas occur at about two kilometre intervals..." (203-204). Also noteworthy is his observation, "One of the most striking aspects of the estate pattern is the way in which the units comprise a broad balance of arable, wood, and meadow resources, either in a single contiguous area, or in the form of detached dependencies, as is more typical of the estates in the south-west of the county" (204). Finally, there is the finding of recent excavations which point to the large nucleated village as a late Saxon development (204), a reversal of an old orthodoxy. Students of the Anglo-Saxon settlement, of place-names (e.g., the use of *burh* in early place-names for hill-forts), of the *Tribal Hidage* and the *Northamptonshire Geld Roll* will all find matters relevant to their interests in this paper.

Arnold H. J. Baines's "The Danish Wars and the Establishment of the Borough and County of Buckingham" (*Records of Buckinghamshire* 26 [1984], 11-27) is a very detailed study. After reviewing the events of Midland England in the reign of Alfred, he turns to the means Alfred employed to raise an army: he divided the *fyrd* in two, with half the army on service at any one time. He suggests that Alfred organized the land in multiples of ten hides responsible for providing two men for the *fyrd*, with one man thus always being available for service. The Danish system of carucates was organized on a duodecimal system. Both are found in the hundred of Stodfold immediately to the north of the county town of Buckingham. The latter town Baines believes was established in 914 under Edward the Elder as a base against Northampton and Bedford, then under Danish control. Bedford submitted in 915, but part of what became Northamptonshire held out until 917. Had the latter area submitted earlier, "Buckingham would hardly have been needed as a permanent burh, and the county to which it has given its name would probably not have

come into being" (21). The structure of the county itself, as with other Midland shires, is largely artificial: its extent was dictated by the hideage necessary to man the length of the defences of Buckingham. He conjectures that the anomalies of Stodfold arose from the submission of the Danish-held parts of the hundred to Edward in 914. Through some complex calculations, including the convenient employment of a "guesstimate," he concludes that the Danish six-carucate unit, being equal in value to the English five-hide unit, led to an additional 20% tax burden on the Danish areas.

Elgifu, who was married to King Eadwig (the union was allegedly dissolved in 957x958), owned much property in Buckinghamshire, the disposal of which she dictated in her will of 970. This document is translated and discussed by Arnold H. J. Baines in "The Lady Elgiva, St Æthelwold and the Linslade Charter of 966" (Records of Buckinghamshire 25 [1983], 110-38). He believes that King Eadwig's foster-mother was one Æthelgifu, mother of Ælfgyfu and a descendant of the senior branch of the West-Saxon royal family dispossessed by the descendants of Alfred. Eadwig's union with Ælfgyfu was strongly opposed by Abbot (eventually to be Bishop) Dunstan. Baines discusses the evidence for her life and comments on her will, which includes the manumission (possibly under the influence of Bishop Æthelwold, he suggests) of penally enslaved men on her estates. He also provides a full text, apparatus criticus, and translation, together with a commentary, of a charter of King Edgar's bestowing land at Linslade, Bucks., on Ælfgyfu. He supplies a commentary on the body of the charter; posits the lines of a missing quotation, most likely from the Catalecta ascribed (wrongly) to Virgil (those engaged in searching for sources of Anglo-Saxon texts should note his comments on p. 123); and puts forward detailed identifications of the vernacular bounds of the charter, illustrated with a map.

David Hinton marks the centenary of the Hampshire Field Club in a short note with a useful bibliography entitled "The Place of Basing in Mid Saxon History" (Proc. of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeol. Soc. 42, 162-4). This draws attention to the importance of the area around Basingstoke during the period when shires were becoming recognizable units. He notes the presence of what is described by its excavator as a "high status centre" of seventh-century date at Cowdery's Down and an aristocratic burial at West Ham nearby. In 871 King Æthelred and his brother Alfred fought a battle against the Danes at Basing. There is a link with London, where Basinghall Street derived from Bassishaw ward meaning the haga of the Basings, is attested in the twelfth century. He suggests that this might go back to the West-Saxon kings Cædwalla and Ine, who reigned in the latter part of the seventh century. They had legal powers over Surrey and had influence over Kent. This would have enabled them to have a fortified enclosure in London; and since Basing was on the Roman road from Silchester to London, it would have been logical for them to make their London haga answerable to Basing, "the nearest royal tun securely in their own kingdom" (163).

The Benedictine Abbey of Cerne in Dorset was founded late in the reign of Edgar (959-975). In his article "The Foundation of Cerne Abbey" (Notes & Queries for Somerset and Dorset 31 [1984], 373-6), G. D. Squibb examines the authenticity of the only document referring to its early history, a thirteenth-century transcript in the Public Record Office Cartae Antiquae (Sawyer, Charters, no. 1217; like too many others, Squibb fails to provide this cross-reference, though he does refer to Finberg's Early Charters of

Essex). He argues that apart from a single anomaly, explicable as a scribal error, "there seems to be no apparent flaw in the charter" (375), which dates from 987. I am not convinced by his case, since the document could have been concocted to support the claims of the Abbot of Cerne in 1219 in his case against another abbot for land at Escere. An estate there is known to have been given to Eynsham Abbey in 1003 by the alleged donor of the lands mentioned in the present charter.

f. The Celts and Anglo-Saxon England

As with the section on regional studies, we shall start in the North, in this instance with a famous Scottish saint. Other than a date of ca. 614 in the Harleian manuscript of the Historia Brittonum derived from the Annales Cambriae as the year when Saint Kentigern expired, Alan Macquarrie suggests we have no evidence on this saint before the mid-twelfth century. "The Career of Saint Kentigern of Glasgow: Vitae, Lectiones and Glimpses of Fact" (Innes Rev. 37, 3-24) revisits this material. The stemma with which he concludes his paper and the intellectual pathways by which he reaches this provide a network of ideas best described in Dr Johnstone's terms as reticulated or decussated, at equal distances, with interstices between the intersections. Suffice it to say, he argues for a revision of Saint Ninian's floruit to ca. 540 - ca. 570 (12); suggests that the earliest Life of Kentigern dates from the late-seventh or early-eighth century, the "period of the first flowering of hagiography in Britain and Ireland" (13); argues that the site of the medieval cathedral of Glasgow indeed marks the place where Kentigern's church lay (17); and agrees with Mgr. Roberts that the account of his death comes from an early source (18). He provides a summary of what he regards as historical evidence about Kentigern on pp. 20 and 21. He posits that both the Northern material in the Harleian manuscript and the first Life of Kentigern were compiled in Glasgow. Hagiographers and students of Scottish history alike will find this an absorbing study.

Macquarrie's work also has some relevance to David N. Dumville's discussion of "The Historical Value of the Historia Brittonum" (Arthurian Lit. 6, 1-26). He begins by evaluating the quality of the printed editions. Of the "standard" editions of Mommsen and Lot he forthrightly declares: "In my opinion, both editions are unusable" (3); at the time of writing, he recommended Faral's parallel-text edition of 1920. (It would show unbecoming modesty on his part if he were now not to recommend his edition reviewed in Section 6.b. above.) The prologue naming the alleged author dates from the eleventh century, as he pointed out in Studia Celtica 10/11 (1975/76); the primary text, as mentioned above, was a Welsh Latin one of 829x830. He sees it as a "synchronising history," which he defines as one that "attempts...to provide a smooth account of a period of history by combining all the available, and often wildly contradictory, witnesses into a slick, coherent, and 'official' whole" (5). He stresses that the limit of Welsh historical knowledge did not extend back beyond the mid-sixth century because of the political upheavals in Britain just after that time. "In general, our ignorance of the political history of the British fifth century is almost total" (14). His conclusion about his text will disappoint students of early Anglo-Saxon history: "I cannot point to any item in it, other than material deriving from English sources already known, which is not open to serious question" (19). This includes its material on North British history. Its main value is for the later period, where he finds it to be "an invaluable

source for Welsh intellectual history" (20). It is a creditable (and probably the first Welsh) attempt at synchronising history, one that was to be used by the major Anglo-Norman historians and by Geoffrey of Monmouth. Dumville concludes that the author was probably a cleric working in Gwynedd, familiar with both Latin and Old English, and also possibly Irish. His work shows that by his day a battle-catalogue poem featuring Arthur existed in written form and that hagiography was a living genre in the Wales of his day. Apart from the evidence of literary culture in Wales which Dumville rehearses here, the work also shows the degree of English influence on Wales in the early ninth century; by the end of that century, cultural influence was to flow in the other direction through Asser at Alfred's court.

Focusing on another Celtic realm, Patrick Wormald's "Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Kingship: Some Further Thoughts" (*Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. Szarmach, 151-83) confronts an apparently "outlandish" aspect of Irish society: "its theory and practice of kingship" (151). His explanation of this is that our evidence has been skewed. Irish kingship was not so radically different from that of Anglo-Saxon England. The anointing of kings on the Old Testament model developed early among both the Celts and the Germans. Anglo-Saxon evidence, however, tends to downplay pagan elements whereas Irish sources take the opposite tack. Germanic kingship could transform itself into a major force under the right circumstances. The Uí Néill succeeded in attaining just this in Ireland: "It could be argued...that the military power of Irish kings developed along much the same lines as that of their Anglo-Saxon counterparts: from heroic age through dynastic lordship to imperial posture. The differences, such as they are, may be differences of degree rather than kind" (166). Our earliest Irish records reveal that Irish kings had wealth and power. Again, he wonders how much difference there was between the legal activities of Celtic and Anglo-Saxon kings: in the Celtic realms there was a self-aware class of lawyers whereas the evidence from the Anglo-Saxons reposes in royal decrees. He concludes his paper by speculating on why the Celts, and especially the Irish, in the early Middle Ages appear backward to outsiders; one of the answers he feels "is deeply imbedded in the history and historiography of Ireland since the twelfth century" (170).

g. Continental Perspectives

Ulrich Hussong's "Studien zur Geschichte der Reichsabtei Fulda bis zur Jahrtausendwende" (*Archiv für Diplomatik* 31 [1985], 1-225) is the first of a two-part "article" which represents the fruit of a Marburg dissertation. I am puzzled as to why it appears in a journal (albeit a case-bound one); for both reader and author alike I should have thought that the format of a monograph would have been more desirable. The bias in the study is towards the diplomatic instruments of the abbey. Thus he devotes 24 pages (61-85) to an examination of the privilege of exemption issued to Fulda in 751 by Pope Zacharias, one that 1,001 years later was to elevate the monastery--which by then had lost its earlier importance--to a bishopric. The privilege was obtained by Lul at the behest of Boniface, also known as Wynfrith, and herein lies the interest of the work for Anglo-Saxonists. Hussong starts by sketching the background to Fulda's foundation as a monastery in 744 on a site where excavations have revealed a continuous occupancy from Roman times into the Frankish period (26). Boniface as founder was helped by Sturm, of whom a Life survives. Hussong's analysis of Fulda's legal status under Boniface leads him to conclude that it was an Eigenkloster. The rights that this

granted its abbot were limited to the secular sphere; in spiritual matters it remained under episcopal jurisdiction. He supports recent scholarship in believing that it fell under the bishop of Würzburg rather than of Mainz. Hussong's work is likely to interest primarily diplomatists and Continental ecclesiastical historians but those interested in the work of the early Anglo-Saxon missionaries on the Continent will also need to consult this treatise.

As the title of Heinz Löwe's article indicates ("Lateinisch-christliche Kultur im karolingischen Sachsen" [*Angli e Sassoni*, 491-536]), his attention is also directed at the Continent rather than Britain. He asks what importance should be accorded to schools and libraries in bringing about religious change in Saxon culture; what part England and France played in reinforcing that change; and what insights Saxon sources reveal about the change. As far as the second question is concerned, the Anglo-Saxons contributed to the conversion of the Saxons and then to their literature. To a limited degree the latter was influenced by West-Saxon sources but the Northumbrians Bede and Alcuin were more important. Bede's commentary on Luke and Alcuin's on John assisted the poet of the Heliand and there were other Bedan influences. In the discussion after the lecture, Karl Hauck drew attention to an edition published in the 1985 Nachrichten of the Göttingen Academy of a poem "De conversione Saxonum," which shows the clear influence of Aldhelm; the poem subsequently was used by Hrosvitha of Gandersheim. He suggests, therefore, that the West-Saxon influence was somewhat greater than Löwe averred.

A paper that looks at matters of concern to Anglo-Saxonists from the viewpoint of mainland Europe is Janet L. Nelson's interesting and cleverly constructed lecture "'A King Across the Sea': Alfred in Continental Perspective" (*Trans. of the Royal Hist. Soc.* 5th ser., 36, 45-68). She points out that an amicable letter from Archbishop Fulk of Rheims to Alfred and an earlier admonitory one from Pope John VIII about sexual licence among the clergy (neither now extant) may represent the extent of Continental views on Alfred. She quickly scotched any thought that her original audience might then have entertained that they were soon to be released for a pint at the local public house by suggesting that one might look at Alfred's reign through comparing with like situations on the Continent such things as his charters, management of his resources, and control of his nobles and members of his immediate family. In these he comes well out of the comparison. Thus, both Charlemagne and Charles the Bald acquired territories by persuading nobles in the regions to come over to their side; she suggests that Alfred did the same in Mercia. In the matter of the correspondence between the Continent and Alfred mentioned above, she believes that the laxity of the Anglo-Saxon clergy arose out of "the much smaller degree to which the church in England as compared with the Carolingian Empire was institutionally separate from the laity" (62). Carolingian bishops and abbots had become "[g]reat landlords and great warlords" (65), so when Carolingian kingship weakened in the 880s, the Frankish church "dissolved into many churches that had to fend for themselves as best they could" (65) in the face of the Viking onslaughts. In England, on the other hand, the Church was associated with local aristocratic lordship; Viking attacks thus damaged local interests while allowing Alfred the opportunity "to appropriate exposed church lands and use them to create a new political solidarity in his composite realm" (67). In sum, comparison with the Carolingians increases rather than reduces Alfred's stature.

We now move forward nearly a century and locate ourselves in Francia. Abbo, master of the important monastic school at Fleury, was recruited to teach at the hitherto insignificant monastery of Ramsey in England in 985. This was no lavishly endowed chair of the sort that might attract a modern high-flying (and frequent-flying) academic entrepreneur. Marco Mostert in "Le Séjour d'Abbon de Fleury à Ramsey" (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 144, 199-208) probes the circumstances surrounding this curious departure of a master who was virtually the personification of the school at Fleury. Haimo's *Vita Abbonis* hints at some dissension involving Abbo but discreetly passes over this. He does, however, preserve part of a letter to Abbo sent by Oylbold, who was created abbot through the influence of King Lothaire in 985, urging him to return. An overlooked copy of the letter in Vatican MS. Reg. lat. 1586 (unfortunately damaged) permits most of its text to be reconstructed, which Mostert does in an appendix to his article. He concludes from the letter that Abbo must have left Fleury because of a clash with Oylbold when he became abbot. "Il me semble raisonnable de supposer qu'il [*scil.* Abbon] avait nourri l'espoir d'être élu lui-même à cette dignité" (205). His departure was a severe loss to the monastery, which led to the abbot's requesting him to return to Fleury. He was to do so shortly before Oylbold's death in 987 and was himself elected abbot with the support of the new dynast, Hugh Capet, in 988. Could the writer of this article have been inspired to present this cogent interpretation by observing the disputes that occur within our own universities, the modern descendants of the monastic school?

From Francia we move north to Scandinavia. Niels Lund decides in "The Armies of Swein Forkbeard and Cnut: *leding* or *lið*" (*ASE* 15 [1986], 105-18) that the latter term, denoting a privately organized army rather than state forces based on the obligatory service of free men, is the more accurate term. Such a band was supported during the campaign and rewarded afterwards by its leader, unlike the *leding*, in which the men supplied their own provisions and arms, and fought at their own expense. The *leding* implies a state organization and finds its earliest written attestation in the late eleventh century. It was previously a defense organization. The *lið*, led by a *drottin*, was well-known from runic inscriptions; its members were called housecarls and probably thegns and drengs in Denmark. The Viking fleets were made up of such bands, whose leaders has no sense of national solidarity. Swein first appears in English sources in 994, although he may have been at Maldon some years before; he managed to gain power in Norway in 995. When he died, Cnut succeeded him as leader of his *lið* but he did not become king of Denmark; his brother did, thereby supplying presumptive proof that Cnut's band was not a national army. Swedish rune-stones indicate Cnut recruited men from that country to assist him win control of England. That he succeeded in this shows the growth in Scandinavia of royal power since the ninth century, but does not imply that the organization of the state had changed.

h. The Early Settlement Period to the Eighth Century

Our sources for the period A.D. 400-600 are exiguous, but what we have has not been exploited to the full because the sources have not always been examined in their literary and social context. For example, the victory of British troops under Bishop Germanus of Auxerre over the Germanic invaders has been thought to be a pious analogue of the Israelite victory over Jericho, though the incident itself is confirmed by Prosper of Aquitaine's *Chronicle*.

Michael E. Jones moves in a very desirable direction in "The Historicity of the Alleluja Victory" (*Albion* 18, 363-73) by examining fifth-century Gallic attitudes to military service in the context of monastic thought and hagiography. He also compares Constantius's account of the battle with the known Roman military tactics of the day. He notes that Bishop Sidonius, a close friend of Constantius, had participated in defending his community against barbarian onslaughts; on the other hand, St. Martin, who embodied monastic ideals, was strongly against militarism and his biographer, Sulpicius Severus, may well have had to distort his materials to forestall criticism of his hero, who had been a soldier. Germanus models his Life on Sulpicius's one; many of the miracles are similar, but not the Alleluja Victory, which appears to be unparalleled in fourth- and fifth-century Lives. Constantius describes an ex-soldier who had become a priest, who had led an army after becoming a bishop, and who had done so at Easter time. He suggests that the event was too well known to be omitted, so Constantius had to "sanitize the embarrassing incident by thrice asserting the bloodless, and hence sinless, nature of the battlefield victory" (367). He then shows how the use of Germanus's lightly-armed troops to ambush an enemy conformed to methods recommended in contemporary Roman military manuals. He suggests that an attack at Easter was meant to surprise the enemy, who would expect the Christians to be unarmed at that time. He notes that Easter was an appropriate time for baptism in the early Church. This reviewer, in commenting on E. A. Thompson's book on St. Germanus in the same journal, has suggested a slightly different interpretation of the references to baptism and Easter, but there can be little doubt that the two should be linked together and seen in the context of early Christian practice. Finally, he notes that the cry is in keeping with the *barritus*, the battle cry that the Romans borrowed from the Germans. As for the bloodless victory, it was the goal of "an ideal Roman ambush" (372). I find his conclusion unexceptionable: "The incidental details of the battle combined with the sheer implausibility of such an invention in the context of ascetic thought and hagiographic precedent indicate that the military victory is neither allegory nor miracle tale" (373).

Two books published in 1986 devoted themselves to the history of the Settlement Period. Few scholars participate in writing a "Classic." Even fewer have published a revised edition of their work half a century later. J. N. L. Myres, having accomplished the first of these distinctions in contributing to what has become known as "Collingwood and Myres," now has attained the second by bringing up to date and expanding his section of the original book, which is now issued as Volume 1B in The Oxford History of England series under the title *The English Settlements* (Oxford: Clarendon Press). The book ranges widely. As one who has made cremation pottery his own sub-specialty, he naturally gives major consideration to the evidence of cemeteries. (The publishers have wisely permitted him to include line drawings of pottery and grave goods in this edition.) He is not afraid to survey place-name evidence (29-45) but emphasizes "the fundamental uncertainty in all English place-name studies" (44). Nevertheless, as his introduction makes clear, this is a book directed at historians (xxiii). Its value lies in presenting a synthesis of Dr Myres's fifty years of scholarship. The latter includes a knowledge of work done by specialists in the Continental homelands of the Anglo-Saxons that probably few native speakers of English could rival. He is also intimately familiar with major English excavations such as at Mucking and Sancton (131 and 176). As the considered reflections

of learning gained both in the study and in the field, the work demands respect and should prove attractive to students because it provides an intelligible and coherent picture of the period. Myres has revised his views on some subjects (he now refers to the "historical insignificance" of Arthur [15], where he devoted several pages to him in his earlier edition) but on the whole his interpretations have remained unchanged. One should note, however, that his book tends not to indicate to the unwary reader that his views would not necessarily command universal support (for instance, in his assessment of Pelagianism in Britain [15 and n. 2]).

Martyn J. Whittock's The Origins of England 410-600 (London and Sydney: Croom Helm) aims at presenting "an overview of the current thinking concerning the origins of the English nation" (vii). That the author directs his work at a wider audience than those in universities is a laudable one. What troubles me is that I am by no means sure that this book has found the right level for this audience. The writer has been seduced by the mass of details inherent in the subject and is reluctant to let them go. At other times, he has not supplied enough information. Thus, I do not think that a non-specialist would know what to make of the sigla of the various manuscripts containing the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (33-34) or would be interested in a detailed explication of the Tribal Hidage (179-82). On the other hand, though quoit and disc brooches are described (227), square-headed brooches are not (107). I imagine that most readers interested in an overview would prefer to know how these brooches were worn rather than where they were found. Bracteates, mentioned on p. 107, are not described until p. 224, and cantonal capitals are referred to without explication (29). Occasionally, a rash assertion is made, such as "[Arthur] was a chieftain who led a heroic resistance around AD500 but later died in inter-Celtic conflict" (51). There is, of course, a positive corollary to this. Whittock has read a wide range of monographs and those specialists unfamiliar with (for instance) the place-name or archaeological evidence of the period will find the book a useful introduction. His arguments for the assimilation rather than the extermination of the Roman-British by the Anglo-Saxons (83-103) are in keeping with the opinions of many now. Some of his views are worth pondering further, such as his suggestion that between A.D. 350 and the sixth century there was fluidity in land boundaries but that then "the new (English) aristocrats may have arrested the tendency of peasant farmers to redistribute land" (76); so, too, his conjecture that many English place-names "may represent an incomplete assimilation of a Latin or British original to a known English personal name" (94).

B. S. J. Isserlin's "Invasions and Cultural Change: A Comparative Study of Four Test Cases" (Proc. of the Leeds Philosophical and Lit. Soc., Lit. and Hist. Sec. 18, pt. 1: A Medieval Miscellany in Honour of Professor John Le Patourel [1982], 9-24) does not provide much aid and comfort to archaeologists who would like to use their material data to prove or assess an invasion. He takes two pairs of invasions, the Norman and Anglo-Saxon conquests of England and the Islamic and Israelite conquests of Palestine. The first element in each pair is well documented; the second "is placed on the twilight frontier between pre-history and history" (9). In the case of the Anglo-Saxons, he notes that there is little archaeological evidence of destruction, of early religious structures or of defence works. There is some evidence of a new physical type among the population and of new pottery, brooches and weapons but, without the written evidence, "it seems unlikely that they [sc. scholars]

would have agreed that such an invasion took place, on the basis of non-literary information alone" (15). He does suggest that new place-names are an important indicator of an invasion, though all who have worked with this kind of evidence know how uncertain are the wider conclusions one can draw from these; he also notes that the introduction of a new language is a good indicator of invasion, even when the invaders are few in number. But "[t]he historical record is...irreplaceable..." (23).

In his inaugural address to the Conference week at Spoleto on the Saxons and Anglo-Saxons entitled "Deux Invasions maritimes des Iles britanniques: des Anglo-Saxons aux Vikings" (Angli e Sassoni, 31-73), Lucien Musset concentrates on the two major settlements some three centuries apart in order to highlight some unresolved questions. For instance, why did the Saxons choose to settle in Britain rather than the coast of Belgium or France when the former was much the better defended by forts such as Portchester, which were amongst the most impressive in the Roman world? He stresses the variety of peoples involved in both invasions, whose ethnic complexity the historiographic tradition has simplified. Among the Vikings, for instance, differences in land settlement between the Danes and the Norwegians are discernible. As for the invasions themselves, he notes that in both instances the attackers were at various points also defenders: Germanic mercenaries opposed the invading Saxons just as Scandinavian auxiliaries assisted Æthelred II against Swein and Cnut. The responses of the civilian inhabitants were, however, quite different: flight to places like Armorica contrasts with the cohabitation that occurred with the Viking invasions. As for settlement, among the Vikings (especially the Danes), it was simply a by-product of pillage; the latter included the opportunity for trading in slaves, which he regards as "l'une des motivations maieures des Scandinaves" (48). Pillage and slavery played their part in the Anglo-Saxon invasions, but not the premier rôle. He stresses that after the initial stages of settlement in certain parts of England (in the West, among the Hwicce, in Derbyshire and in the North, especially Bernicia), we can see "assez longtemps une vraie civilisation mixte celto-saxonne" (53), a subject that I hope a future O'Donnell lecturer will take up. In the case of the Scandinavians, he wisely does not take sides in the debate over their numbers. In the political sphere, he notes that a distant colony is never a mirror image of the home country. Thus the Old Saxons had no more than chiefs, but in England royal lineages stress their continuity from the period of the migrations. In the case of the Vikings, no Scandinavian monarchical line continued in the Danelaw, but royalty rapidly established itself, though it never became truly dynastic. He concludes his survey by considering aspects of religion, including the transfer of Christianity back to the homelands of both groups of invaders from England.

In an article of considerable importance, Arnold Angenendt breaks new ground in "The Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons Considered against the Background of the Early Medieval Mission" (Angli e Sassoni, 747-92). He has noticed that the conversion of kings, not merely in Anglo-Saxon England, but also elsewhere in early medieval Europe, did not necessarily result in the conversion of their sons, even though conversion was frequently what he calls "collective" or "corporative" since it involves the king, the nobility and the whole people. Such conversions naturally followed only after a king has consulted his leadership and therein Angenendt finds an explanation for the phenomenon: resistance among the nobility raised the spectre of a pagan opposition. "The unbaptised son appears to have been purposely predestined to

serve as an instrument of dynastic policy in case of a heathen victory--he could then easily be presented as an appropriate candidate for kingship" (754). He then turns to the concept of baptismal sponsorship, which in the Byzantine Empire acquired a political dimension. The supplying of missionaries by the Emperor "actually meant the incorporation of the new church into the Byzantine imperial church" (756), and the converted king and his people thereby became part of the empire. He points out that the same practice can be found among the Anglo-Saxons, which lends credence to the existence of royal overlordship, a concept that has been questioned recently. Though the baptismal parent as sponsor incurred some obligations, he also gained some decisive advantages, notably in supplying missionaries to the baptismal son. Here he turns to the nature of the early Medieval Church which he describes "as a relatively unified church system operating in a close symbiotic relationship with the secular ruler" (767). From the time of Gregory the Great the belief arose that an archbishop gained his powers through the bestowal of the pallium by the Pope, rather than through a decision by the provincial college of bishops. Thus it came about that "it was only through the papacy that the territorial church could be established" (770). A king wanting to influence his territorial church required an archdiocese and a compliant man for the position; an established Christian ruler would, however, be disinclined to see this occurring in a neighboring territory. He suggests that Æthelberht immediately grasped the political implications of Gregory's mission to Kent. Angenendt suggests that the bishop accompanying the Merovingian princess who married the King of Kent was "the political emissary of the Merovingian ruler commissioned to bind the as yet unconverted kingdom of Kent to the Gaulish church" (779). He suggests that Bishop Liudhard's failure to convert the Kentishmen was because "Æthelberht deliberately shunted Liudhard aside" (780). By avoiding regal baptismal patronage and accepting Christianity from the Pope's emissary, Æthelberht maintained his independence. This last scenario is an attractive one. Undoubtedly this paper will arouse disagreements. For instance, his explanation for the failure of princes to be baptized seems inherently improbable. Even in this century the offspring of monarchs who have lingered too long on the throne have gotten up to mischief. I do not believe that a monarch would countenance the non-baptism of a son simply in order to preserve the dynasty if Christianity did not survive among his people. The rivalry of sons impatient for power who allied themselves with dissidents may be one explanation; Ian Wood's observation in the discussion after the lecture that in Francia baptism was an indication of throneworthiness may provide another. The energetic and ambitious have in Angenendt's paper a fruitful topic for a conference drawing on a wide range of Early Medieval historians.

Georg Jenal presents an excursus on the thought of Gregory the Great in "Gregor der Grosse und die Anfänge der Angelsachsenmission (596-604)" (Angli e Sassoni, 793-857). He starts with a reconstruction of the events lying behind Gregory's initiative in sending Augustine to England. He then considers his wider attempts at conversion, which included heathens, Jews, and heretics, and stretched over the whole Western Roman Empire (813). Here I should have liked to have seen a closer analysis of his relations with the Eastern Empire. Jenal mentions that he was in constant close contact with the exarch in Ravenna and he took an interest in Eastern heresies (821) but the power relationships between Gregory in the West and the political and religious leaders of the East (such as the Patriarch of Alexandria) are not examined. Did these play no part in shaping his missionary endeavours in the

Western Empire? Jenal then turns to a consideration of the methods and theology of Gregory's missions in order to place the Anglo-Saxon mission within his overall missionary activity. The paper draws on a wide range of Gregory's writings in presenting his ideas to us.

Friedrich Prinz's "Von der Bekehrung der Angelsachsen zu ihren Missionstätigkeit im Frankreich" (Angli e Sassoni, 701-45) seeks to counteract the influence of Bede by underlining the importance of Frankish and Celtic influence in the christianization of England. Thus the marriage of the daughter of King Charibert of Paris to Æthelberht of Kent established Christianity there more than a generation before the Augustinian mission and may have been the source of papal information on England (717). He draws attention to a "transmarinen Kommunikationssystem im Dreieck Gallien-Irland und England" (732; his italics). German and British scholarship are now at one in reading Bede with more critical eyes. Incidentally, I observed in his footnotes a number of interesting-looking German titles which have not been referred to in scholarship written in English.

"The most important questions about survival and continuity have to do with the transference of power". So begins Katherine Barker's "Institution and Landscape in Early Medieval Wessex: Aldhelm of Malmesbury, Sherborne and Selwoodshire" (Proc. of the Dorset Natural Hist. and Archaeol. Soc. 106 [1984], 33-42), thereby displaying that she shares with other Anglo-Saxon historians a growing sensitivity to the concept of political power as a shaping force in early Anglo-Saxon society. Aldhelm (ca. 640-709x710) lived most of his life in an area the Chronicle calls Selwoodshire, situated along the watershed running southwards just to the east of Malmesbury and Sherborne. She seeks to recover the seventh-century setting that permitted such a notable scholar, an abbot of Malmesbury and subsequently first bishop of Sherborne, to flourish. Aldhelm provides us with "intimations of the existence of an aristocratic Latin milieu in the West Country of the mid-seventh century" (34). Support for someone like him, she believes, came through the management of land organized round a principal place or caput. Evidence for this she finds in place-names. These territories she terms "toponymic hundreds". In her view they consist of an "instituted" or topographic name at the centre surrounded by a number of names in -tun or -cot forming the later outland (i.e. taxable property) and beyond them a variety of toponymic names ending in such words as feld, holt or wic. Some of the estates she believes could pre-date the Roman settlement. Her suggestion that there were links between Cirencester, whose British king was defeated in 577, and Malmesbury barely ten miles away is intriguing. There is much detailed historical and topographical research in this paper, but I cannot help feeling that looking at these maps is like doing a Rorschach test: one sees in them what one wants to see.

"Charters matter, not just for their arcane mysteries, nor yet for the incidental information they supply, but because they are an integral part of the story of the administration and culture, the economy and the spirituality, of early English society" (7). So writes Patrick Wormald in Bede and the Conversion of England: The Charter Evidence, the Jarrow Lecture for 1984. With the Anglo-Saxon narrative histories of the north and the charters and laws of the south "[w]e have to extrapolate from one to the other--in both directions--if we are to achieve a comprehensive understanding of early English society" (1). The study of charters is also relevant because "perhaps the most immediate social result of the conversion of the English was massive

landed investment in the Church" (1). For this lecture he takes as his primary data charters of kings who reigned during Bede's lifetime. Since the last of these did not die until 762, this is a ninety-year period from which a dozen contemporary or near-contemporary documents survive and a further ninety-five later copies of lost originals are extant. From his analysis he detects certain common formulas between East-Saxon, West-Saxon and Mercian documents that lead him to suggest they may be linked through Eorcenweald, bishop of London (679-93). The suggestion is put forward tentatively but, if conceded, would signify the importance of the London see in this early period. As to the ultimate sources of their style of documentation, he questions the traditional ascription to private documents of sixth- and seventh-century Italy. Indeed, the texts in question, the Ravenna papyri, are very different from Anglo-Saxon charters. Here his observation that "the Anglo-Saxon charter was neither Italian nor Frankish nor Celtic but simply *sui generis*" (14) is entirely in keeping with the complexity of Christian origins in Britain. Wormald is careful not to claim what we cannot prove in our present state of knowledge; speaking in the context of the ultimate ancestor, the Roman private *actum*, he notes that "it is probably better to see other traditions as cousins rather than fathers of the Anglo-Saxon" (19). He concludes, appropriately, by turning to Bede to assist him in evaluating how the charter influenced English land tenure. Bede's letter to Egbert, bishop of York, mentions *iur haereditarium* with respect to land acquired by nobles through royal edicts. Wormald draws a crucial distinction between property that was inherited and that which was acquired: the former had to devolve on the kin; the latter could be alienated at will. The charter "in making acquisitions permanent...gave them the character of inherited land, with the crucial difference that it extinguished the claims of the kin above and beyond a recipient's chosen heirs" (22). Thus it was that the kings were involved in so many of the documents and their heirs threatened with spiritual sanctions: the kings (and their descendants) were yielding their right to seize back the land they had given, as Anglo-Saxon poems indicate they could do because of disloyalty. Wormald's is a very satisfying explanation. It will be fascinating to see the responses it will provoke.

i. From the Ninth Century to the Norman Conquest

While the concept of Britain existed before the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons, the idea of "England" was a later construct. Simon Keynes concentrates on the latter in "The Concept and Unification of Britain" (*The Times Higher Education Supplement* [22 February 1985], 15). He regards Egbert of Wessex (802-839) as initiating the process of political unification of England through his defeat of the Mercians. Alfred turned the concept of the "English," a term used by Bede to express the ecclesiastical idea of the Anglo-Saxons as Christians, to political purposes in fighting the Vikings. The reign of Edgar (959-75) he sees as "marking the end of the struggle" when the English finally accepted a single king. He considers that civil war did not occur in 1052 because of "some feeling of national unity."

Janet Nelson suggests that the customary image of Alfred "as nation-builder and paragon of virtue" reflects attitudes of the nineteenth century. She focuses on a side of Alfred that does not sit well with his now-traditional image: in "Wealth and Wisdom: the Politics of Alfred the Great" (*Kings and Kingship*, ed. Rosenthal, *Acta* 11 [1986 (for 1984)], 31-52) she insists that "[h]e pursued, explicitly and with equal urgency, both wealth and

wisdom" (34)--thus permitting Nelson in her paper to solemnize the unlikely marriage of numismatics with literary criticism! Leading the pair to the altar, she makes a bow in the direction of educational history which prompted this reader, at least, to pay more attention to it than in the past. Alfred's educational reforms, like Charlemagne's, encouraged the development of wisdom through literacy. But the contexts of their reforms were different. As the Romance languages developed, Charlemagne encouraged Latin as the liturgical language because the "Church's indispensable function was to pray for Frankish victories, but the message could only be effective, magically, if the medium were correct Latin" (36). Alfred, on the other hand, drew on a culture that used the vernacular as well as Latin for learning: his purpose was to foster lay learning in order to encourage wisdom, which was conceived of as having a social purpose. "Wisdom would bring wealth: for the dutiful individual, due reward from the royal treasure-giver, for the wise who took counsel together, prosperity through success in war" (45). Alfred had good cause to link these two concepts, for in the 860s there had been a steady debasement of the coinage. With that came the risk of losing his supporters through being unable to reward them. His success at the Battle of Edington in 878 enabled him to retrieve the situation through a recoinage which was a form of taxation of his aristocracy: fewer coins of a higher standard replaced a relative large number of debased coins. The profits provided the wealth with which to reward indispensable supporters. At the same time, he encouraged his nobles to learn "Saxon songs" which lauded aristocratic values of a social kind. She finds it tempting to suggest that the extant poems of Wisdom such as *Maxims I* represent just such songs as suited his purpose.

Pauline Stafford, in an article prompted by the millennial commemoration of the treaty between Alfred and Guthrum feels distinctly ambivalent about "The Danes and the 'Danelaw'" (*History Today* [October 1986], 17-23). Foregoing the old certainties of a mass invasion of a region that took its name from the legal system of the invaders, she produces a much more nuanced interpretation that acknowledges the ambiguities of the evidence. She points out how the region gives no indication of having responded to the great conflicts of the tenth and eleventh centuries as specifically Danish area. She questions the notion of mass Scandinavian migration and while acknowledging that the Norse tongue may have been used in some areas for a time, these areas "are much patchier than the huge size of the so-called 'Danelaw'" (23)--and the survival of the language may have been short. Danes are out of fashion in Anglo-Saxon England at present.

The acquisition of a nick-name can sharpen the image of a leader, as all readers will know from the bestowal of the appellation "Rambo" on a contemporary political figure. Æthelred was less fortunate. Simon Keynes has attempted to lend assistance to St. Jude in undertaking the seemingly lost cause of rehabilitating Æthelred in "A Tale of Two Kings: Alfred the Great and Æthelred the Unready" (*Trans. of the Royal Hist. Soc.* 5th ser., 36, 195-217). In fact, Alfred only popularly became known as "Great" in the sixteenth century and Æthelred also acquired his sobriquet only in the twelfth century, after the Anglo-Saxon state had fallen. Keynes examines their relative political situations, thereby offering a more balanced appraisal of the rôle their personalities played in their reigns than has hitherto been the case. In the case of Alfred, the chronicler has done much to shape our picture of him as a successful warrior in the 870s by creating "the impression that the situation was not as bad as it actually was" (198); the writer of the

annals for the period 893-896 was similarly sympathetic. The account of Æthelred's reign from 983 to 1016 in the Chronicle was written, in contrast, by someone working after the king's death and "in full knowledge of eventual defeat" (201). The existence of independent annals for the year 1001 suggests that "the main chronicler may have put his own interpretation on events regarded in a different light by contemporaries" (203). While not wishing to denigrate Alfred, he points out the armies that the West Saxon king faced were not comparable in size or training to those that invaded England in the latter part of Æthelred's reign. The latter also had not had a tribe to defend but England, whose unification was recent and fragile. He disputes the view that Æthelred was particularly violent, but does feel there is justification for the argument that he was a poor judge of men, notably in his reliance on Eadric Streona, ealdorman of Mercia. Anyone who wishes to rehabilitate the latter in the eyes of history will have to rebut Keynes's measured evaluation of this man's career (213-6). This paper offers a contribution that cannot be overlooked by future writers on these reigns. It reminds us of how important the tools of the literary critic (e.g. point of view, source criticism) are in making historical assessments.

"No doubt the big blond handsome brutes from Scandinavia had the exotic glamour of the foreigner for the English girls, who were maybe a little tired of their probably rather soggy Saxon boyfriends..." (126). Those of you with the time and inclination to read further twaddle in this vein may search out Rosemary Evans's "The Vikings" in the Aberdeen Univ. Rev., 51 (1985), 124-30.

James Graham-Campbell's "Pagans and Christians" (History Today [October 1986] 24-8) is an introduction to the sculpture of the Danelaw with some useful illustrations. He cites with approval Patrick Wormald's observation that "the evaporation of almost the entire literate tradition in the pre-Viking Danelaw" (24) must have been caused by the Vikings, but he points out that the tradition of stone sculpture, a monastic art form, survived because of the christianization of the settlers, who were unfamiliar with the practice in Scandinavia. What was new was the "hogback" monument based on the shape of the houses in their homeland. Works such as the Middleton Cross and the sarcophagus found in St. Paul's churchyard in London reveal the use of Scandinavian themes and styles, and the Gosforth Cross shows the use of Scandinavian mythology for Christian ends.

Richard Hall presents to the reader unable to keep up with archaeological reports the current status questionis concerning urbanization of England in "The Vikings as Town-Dwellers" (History Today [November 1986], 29-34). He notes that "the Viking invasions and settlement had been a catalyst by breaking the established order....the vast majority of medieval English towns owe their development to Viking Age stimulus" (34). As is well known, many towns owe their development to the burghal policy of Alfred. The excavations at Winchester have most clearly revealed the topography of this period, though Hall warns that its "capital" status may have made it untypical. Literary evidence from the Danelaw is unavailable until the time of Edward (899-924) and his sister, Æthelflæd, when their burhs such as Hertford and Tamworth gave them bases from which to recover East Anglia and eastern Mercia. The Scandinavians themselves promoted settlement, most notably at Lincoln and York. The former has yielded objects originating in China and Islamic Syria, the latter from Byzantium and Samarkand. Less exotic are the nits found in combs and the intestinal worms from which most of those

in the trading quarter of Coppergate in York seem to have suffered. As with most articles in History Today, there are illustrations useful for teaching purposes (though none that would interest zoologists).

Eric Christiansen observes in his bibliography to "Canute and His World" (History Today [November 1986], 34-9): "There are no good books on Canute," though he mentions without giving its location Dr. M. K. Lawson's dissertation ("Aspects of the Reign of Cnut," Oxford D.Phil diss., 1980). He notes that as "an outlaw, a murderer, and a Dane" (though also a Christian married to the dowager queen Emma) Cnut presided over "twenty years of stability and order" (34) following his enthronement. Historians' assessments of Cnut's achievements have varied widely: he was a rapid learner (Bethurum), an irrelevance because an inherently vigorous state continued in spite of him (John), an exploiter (Barlow). Lack of written evidence is our problem. There is no chronicle or narrative material after 1017; only twenty-eight charters are extant; and the Encomium Emmae is "evasive" (36) for the period 1018 to 1035. Apart from an abundance of coins, there is little archaeological material. Furthermore, Cnut soon became the stuff of legend (most have heard of him and the tide whereas few know of Henry of Huntingdon who recounts the story). Christiansen comes down firmly on the fence in assessing Cnut but he notes his reform of the coinage (though this was of uncertain consequence). He made donations to all the episcopal sees except for Rochester and Lichfield and to ten abbeys (which Christiansen suggests served to assuage English fears) and, by elevating the notion of kingship, he prevented a rift from forming between himself and his warriors.

j. The Norman Conquest and the Post-Conquest Period

Two rather different books have taken the Norman Conquest and its aftermath as their theme recently. Narrower in range and chronological scope is R. Allen Brown's The Normans and the Norman Conquest, 2nd ed. (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, and Dover, N.H.: Boydell and Brewer, 1985), a revision of a work first published in 1969. This edition takes into account new interpretations and evidence on such matters as the historical value of Dudo of St. Quentin's work (16) and military history (see "Select Bibliography," 229-45 passim). Brown's work is History of a distinctive kind. Although he respects the work of Tout (57 and n. 26), "[i]nstitutional studies miss half the point and all the fun of history, which is why 'Administrative History', the characteristic product of our century, is generally so dull" (48). To Brown, History should deal with Men and Events. Not for him the life of the peasantry, who receive but incidental mention in his study. Domesday Book crops up only in passing, usually in the context of lords (181) and feudal tenures (193). Instead we read about those who wielded power, their lives and military exploits, their feudal rights and obligations. His interest is in describing feudal society (defined by him on p. 73), which he also sees in terms of power rather, say, than economics. Castles evidently fascinate the author and they feature prominently in the book; the dwellings they often displaced do not interest him. Apart from his view of what constitutes History, his evaluation of the Anglo-Saxon period also shapes the book: "in historical studies in this country [i.e., Britain] at the present time there is often a marked tendency to over-praise pre-Conquest English achievement in almost every field from government to art and learning, and it is tempting to declare that upon English historians in the twentieth century the influence of the Anglo-Saxons has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished"

(5). He sets about redressing the balance by damning the Anglo-Saxons with faint praise ("much that was good...a certain proud insularity...excelled in the minor arts, notably in manuscript illumination" [85, 87]). He zestfully does battle on behalf of the Normans against E. A. Freeman and "a voice from Manchester" (England, not New Hampshire) (4; cf. 41 n. 160 and 72 n. 115) and protects them against David Bates, whose book on Normandy before 1066 "is but little cited in what follows because I disagree with so much of it" (19 n. 18). This book presents History as a football game (Normans vs. Anglo-Saxons); the ref. may be biased but therein lies some of the entertainment.

Marjorie Chibnall's Anglo-Norman England 1066-1166 (Oxford: Blackwell) displays the fruit of over forty years of intimate knowledge of the primary sources (her first book appeared in 1946 and seven years ago she completed six-volume edition of Ordericus Vitalis). She divides her material into three parts. In the first section, entitled "Conquest and Settlement," she takes us through the stages whereby William secured his potentially shaky hold on southern England. She stresses how recent scholarship on William's policy has affirmed "an important strategic element in his planning from the beginning" (13). Once established, he sought to extend his authority over all areas where the Conqueror had claimed lordship, including Wales and Scotland. In Wales his early lordships along the frontiers were military authorities, effectively defensive, and poised for further conquest (45), although he himself took little part in campaigning there. His sons continued his interest in the region, and eventually Henry II was to cross the sea to Ireland, which seems to have attracted both the Conqueror's and Rufus's attention, though in no very practical way (see 47-8). In the North the Conqueror managed to exact allegiance from the Scottish king; Rufus extended his father's work by moving into Cumbria and his brother Henry "rounded out the northern conquest in 1133 ecclesiastically, by establishing a bishopric at Carlisle, subject to the archbishop of York" (53). Henry is perhaps the most interesting figure in her next chapter on "Settlement and Succession." It will be intriguing to see how her portrayal will compare with the biography of Henry I promised by Warren Hollister. "Henry knew that he could never afford to quarrel irreconcilably with the church, though he was prepared to press his rights to the furthest limit. This went a good deal beyond the limits that reformers in Rome wished to impose even in 1100, much more in 1135. He never failed to recognize just when, and how far, he must give way" (68). His marriage "with the granddaughter of Edward Atheling was a master-stroke of policy; it provided a link with the line of Cerdic to strengthen the claim of the Conqueror to be the legitimate successor to the crown of England" (210). We see a man who was a consummate politician, devoted to the extension of his power and the entrenchment of his dynasty. He made but two mistakes: though by modern standards he was "heroically incontinent" in fathering twenty bastard sons (I owe the felicitous description to Dimitri Obolensky, who used it of an even more fecund Russian prince), he had but one legitimate son, who went down in the White Ship in 1120. Then he misguidedly trusted Stephen of Blois. Nevertheless by turning his attention to his daughter's interests a grandson of his was able to ascend the throne in 1154. Chibnall turns in the second part of her book to "Wealth and Government." She notes that the financial changes in this period "were accompanied by changes in the court and household that were at the heart of the royal administration." (121). She shows an admirable sensitivity to the difficulties inherent in the language used to describe these half-formed institutions. "The chancellor was in charge of a writing office, and when it became appropriate to describe this as

a chancery is a problem on which historians at present differ in writing of both royal and private chancellors and clerks" (121). She emphasizes the precociousness of the methods of centralized administration in England. She has no difficulty in acknowledging the importance of the Anglo-Saxon heritage here but also notes the incentive for good administration offered by the attempt to rule on both sides of the English Channel (121). Her chapter on "The Wealth of England" illustrates several virtues found elsewhere in this book. In the manner of a skilled lecturer she takes us from rural England to several small towns (Battle and Lynn) and then up through a number of more major towns to London. A selected number of clear examples emphasizes the need to keep up to date with current scholarship: most of the articles on towns she cites date from after 1970. Of her final section entitled "Law and Society," I found her chapter "Canon Law and the Church Courts" the most stimulating in that it integrates England into developments that embraced all of Western Europe. It illustrates the folly of attempting to make judgments on the Anglo-Saxons or the Normans at the expense of either: circumstances in the Western church were so different from the latter half of the eleventh century onwards that comparisons are futile. Her book will prove to be of value to student and scholar alike, whether in gaining an understanding of the distinction between "homage" and "fealty" (69), the possible stages in the composition of Domesday Book (112-4--drawn with admirable concision from V. H. Galbraith), or the latest thinking on the origins of the Common Law (Chapter 6). The cartographer, designated only as "M.V.," should also be commended for number of elegant maps.

Several papers have the theme of continuity and change. In "The Anglo-Saxon Inheritance" (Angli e Sassoni, 861-83) Peter Sawyer is at pains to emphasize how much the native English contributed to Norman England. He notes how the early Norman kings sought to follow English legal precedent and how the administrative structure of the counties survived "until April Fool's Day 1974" (866). The Normans inherited a well-developed system of taxation dependent on an equally sophisticated system of coinage. Domesday Book stands as "the most remarkable monument to the efficiency of the Old English government" (867). He questions the degree of change in military organization introduced by the Normans. Here I think he overstates his case: to point to the single example of the pre-Conquest fortified manor of Goltho in order to question the importance of the Norman castle is unconvincing and to suggest that "[t]he resources needed to maintain a thegn's horse cannot have been very different from those needed by a Norman miles" (871) is to ignore both the new use of the horse for martial purposes and its concomitant increase in size, which R. H. C. Davis has written about (see, for instance, "The Medieval Warhorse" in Horses in European Economic History: A Preliminary Canter, ed. F. M. L. Thompson [Reading: British Agricultural History Society, 1983], pp. 4-20). Two aspects of continuity for which he provides some detail are the survival of native English families, especially in the North, who became members of the gentry in the twelfth century, and the survival of tenurial practices (as opposed to tenants) after the Conquest. He thereby questions Stenton's view that the Conquest brought "a tenurial revolution of the most far-reaching kind" (see pp. 874-80). In the realm of culture, Anglo-Saxon art and history were vital contributors to the Anglo-Norman culture of the twelfth century. He also points to the importance of Anglo-Saxon towns; York, for instance, may have been one of the largest towns in western Europe. In short, "the essential foundations of English history were laid by the Anglo-Saxons" (883).

Presenting a contrasting perspective, R. Allen Brown's "The Norman Impact" (*History Today* [February 1986], 9-16) puts before a general audience the lauding of Norman achievements that he has argued in greater detail in his book reviewed above: these extend "from, let us say, spirituality and monasticism and statecraft, to warfare via learning and the arts. There was nothing philistine about the Normans either, as their churches testify--from Durham to Monreale and beyond" (11). He observes that the Battle of Hastings distorts our perception of the nature of Norman expansion, which was mainly "long-term take-over rather than sudden and arbitrary conquest" (11). This had started in England with the marriage of Æthelred II to Emma of Normandy. By 1051 "there was a veritable Norman colony" (12) in Herefordshire and apparently also in Essex; he sees the rebellion of that year as sparked both by the Norman influence in England and "by Edward's promise of the succession of his young kinsman, William" (12). The Godwinsons regained power in 1052 and he regards the return of Ætheling Edward to England as being due to their power. He accepts the claims of the Norman sources that Harold went to Normandy, probably in 1064, and believes it "unlikely that his coup d'état in January 1066 was long premeditated or could have been foreseen" (13). He believes that in the eleventh century "Anglo-Scandinavian" rather than "Anglo-Saxon" better describes England. "Old fashioned is the best, and inoffensive, epithet to apply to pre-Conquest England, in everything from warfare to the Church" (14). In the post-Conquest period England was "a French province": "French historians, who are every bit as insular as their English colleagues, arrogantly ignoring English history, would do better if they bore this fact in mind" (15). This is the kind of comment that leads to football violence.

The title of Emma Mason's paper reveals that she regards the Norman Conquest as having varied effects on England: in "Change and Continuity in Eleventh-Century Mercia: The Experience of St Wulfstan of Worcester" (*Anglo-Norman Stud.* 8, 154-76), she notes how Hemming's Cartulary emphasizes change because it sought to lay claim to lands the Worcester church believed it had lost, whereas Coleman's Life of Wulfstan stressed in its account of Worcester's long-lived bishop the element of continuity. Thus, "[t]he chapter of Worcester might well see little difference in function between Harold's earldom of Hereford and that of William Fitz Osbern" (157), though the claim to authority over the ecclesiastical hierarchy and over the thegns of the region marked a change. While the Norman sheriff Urse D'Abetot was regarded as rapacious, his control over Worcester Priory's lands in part reflected the problems inherent in tenurial long-leases, already evident in the previous century. (On pp. 166-7 Mason has an interesting excursus on the vernacular curse delivered by Archbishop Ealdred on Urse, which is preserved in William of Malmesbury's *De gestis pontificum* 253.) She notes that as the power of Archbishop Ealdred and Abbot Æthelwig of Evesham declined, "Wulfstan emerged as the ecclesiastical counterpart of the new breed of secular sheriff, exemplified by Urse D'Abetot," both being "in a less constrained position than their predecessors in office" (163). She discusses the background, training, character, and views, both political and religious, of Wulfstan in a survey that also touches on architecture and the manuscripts of Worcester Cathedral library. His devotion to the Benedictine Order (recorded in a post-Conquest agreement of confraternity that survives in an Old English version discussed on p. 174) brought him in contact with Normans as well as Anglo-Saxons, and his adherence to the beliefs of reformers like Archbishop Wulfstan proved to

be an asset to William in that he was disposed to preserve the authority of the king.

In one of several *Forschungsberichte* on the Normans stimulated by the anniversary of Domesday Book in 1986, Henry Loyn surveys publications since 1966 in "The Norman Conquest" (*History Today* [January 1986], 51-3). Because of the mass of secondary material, there is the risk, as Loyn observes, that the impatient reader will resort to "unscholarly language" (51): Loyn, who himself has been a notable contributor to elucidating this period, provides a succinct conspectus that should inhibit displays of such intemperate expostulation. Those familiar with the field will not receive any surprises in the books and articles cited (though would that we all had time to re-read them!) Rashly for an historian, he commits himself to predicting that there are two areas where knowledge will expand in the next decade: first, regional studies, involving the "active collaboration of historians, geographers, and archaeologists" (53); second, studies of tenants-in-chief at the time of Domesday Book. Someone must remember to assess the validity of his predictions in A. D. 2006.

Bernard Bachrach's "Some Observations on the Military Administration of the Norman Conquest" (*Anglo-Norman Stud.* 8, 1-25) mentions that we know little about the policy behind Norman fortifications and how they were manned and supplied before 1066, nor do we know how a Norman duke raised an army. Even an estimate of the numbers before and at Hastings involves much guesswork, as Bachrach's discussion reveals: he accepts the *Chronicle of Saint Maixent's* figure of 14,000 for the size of William's force, though he feels that this would have been the number before William left the French shores and would have included 4,000 non-combatants. Had Harold managed to muster all the men available, he would have had 50,000 under arms. Bachrach concentrates in this paper on William's camp at Dives-sur-Mer and its supply problems, which included providing for two to three thousand horses. He suggests that the camp would have covered at least two hundred acres. The site offered protection to William's fleet from the prevailing winds and from attack; and it served to keep Harold's forces mobilized until a point in September just before the harvest, when his supplies would have run low. The encampment must have been highly structured, with a centralized system of control to prevent ravaging of the surrounding countryside. Bachrach suggests that Roman and Byzantine models must have been employed. Space precludes listing the fascinating detail that he deduces from the numbers of men and horses involved in the month's encampment; I might mention only the eight tons of iron needed for horseshoes and nails, and the five million pounds of horse manure that would have had to be removed from the camp. Bachrach admirably succeeds in outlining the organizational skills and physical resources required by William and his associates to accomplish the invasion of England. If anyone questions the value and interest of military history, they should read this paper.

[In "The Bayeux Tapestry: History or Propaganda?" (*The Anglo-Saxons*, ed. Woods and Pelteret, 11-25), Shirley A. Brown compares certain scenes in the tapestry narrative with Norman histories of the events leading up to the Battle of Hastings, and concludes that "the Tapestry's story corresponds with the Norman propaganda approach as espoused by William of Jumieges and even more by William of Poitiers, but it is a selective correspondence which follows the character, and not necessarily the letter, of the histories" (24). Yet the depictions of the actual battle and its aftermath are drawn from other

sources, especially the Carmen de Hastingae Proelio and the Vita Aedwardi, and still other influences such as Aesop's fables and the contemporary chanson-de-geste can be detected in its border and narrative technique. Although she focuses on historical materials in this essay, Brown relates these to work she has completed on other sources for the Tapestry narrative and argues that its design was "a deliberate and obvious recalling of the range of literary material then currently describing the same events," and is propaganda rather than a true history of the Conquest. MPR]

"Franci et Angli': the Legal Distinctions between Peoples after the Conquest" by George Garnett (Anglo-Norman Stud. 8, 109-37) notes that according to Anglo-Norman chancery practice the two peoples mentioned in the title of this essay--and only these two--formed William the Conqueror's subjects. He argues that two clauses of the twelfth-century Willelmi Articuli go back to an ordinance of William's reign devised to discourage secret killings by Englishmen of Frenchmen who had participated in the Conquest. This provision levied a fine "on the lord of the slain man or of the land, with the community being responsible for any shortfall" (120). Elements of this law can be found in Anglo-Saxon legislation but there are no precise parallels and some major differences. Legal procedures between French and English are laid down for certain limited categories of cases in a document called Lad; this places the French at an advantage in procedural terms. He notes two instances where "the English people as a whole seem to have been treated just as those with public reputations as malefactors had been prior to the conquest" (134). Such distinctions, characteristic of the early years of William's reign, did not, however, continue. The early distinctions were needed to protect William's relatively small and scattered forces but the territorial application of English law acted against these: "the general scheme was that all who settled in England held their lands as successores to Edwardian antecessores" (135). The disappearance of distinctions between English and French is already apparent in the Exchequer version of Domesday Book.

In a paper that links with the previous one, George Garnett reveals in "Coronation and Propaganda: Some Implications of the Norman Claim to the Throne of England in 1066" (Trans. of the Royal Hist. Soc. 5th ser., 36, 91-116) that the Anglo-Saxons and the Normans had different concepts of when a ruler became king: the former had "sophisticated mechanisms for controlling royal succession" (92) but for them a coronation was not essential for creating a king, whereas among the Capetians royal successors usually acquired their title through a ceremony held during their father's lifetime. There was a practical reason for William to have a prompt coronation: the invading leaders' "claims to a share [in the Conquest] were ultimately dependent upon the legitimate title of the king who granted it" (95). It took time for a case to be developed that William's legitimate succession started from the day that Edward "was alive and dead"; several very early writs in Old English indicate that Harold's date of death was initially used and one even refers to him as "king," a title sedulously avoided in later sources. In fact, Harold is subsequently portrayed as "a tyrannical usurper who had never held valid power" (103). He notes how a similar mode of argument was used to justify the removal of Stigand from office in 1070 and he believes that Lanfranc must have had a part in some of the arguments formulated to justify William's legitimacy. The consequence of these Norman developments was that "the constitutive force attributed to the coronation ceremony meant that it could

finally establish an uncertain accession in a way which had not been the case in the Anglo-Saxon period, thus distinguishing the new king from those who had (in theory) better claims--as in the cases of Henry I and of Stephen" (115).

Another paper on the topic of kingship is Martin Biddle's "Seasonal Festivals and Residence: Winchester, Westminster and Gloucester in the Tenth to Twelfth Centuries" (Anglo-Norman Stud. 8, 51-72), which marshals the evidence on the number of regular crown-wearings by the monarch. This practice is mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle s.a. 1086 with respect to the three cities mentioned in Biddle's title. The extant evidence reveals the importance of Winchester and Westminster as places where the king attended major Christian feasts but Windsor was more important than Gloucester. The annal also simplifies the picture by suggesting that each city was associated with a specific feast: only Winchester appears to have been the locale for Easter celebrations in the time of the two Williams. Royal attendance at these locations only starts to emerge in the time of Edward the Confessor. There appear to have been major gathering of notables in both Edward's reign and that of his successors. The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio suggests that Edward wore his crown at these feasts (which Biddle accepts; those who doubt the authenticity of the Carmen will draw comfort from the fact that no contemporary source mentions this). He interprets the expansion of the royal palace at Westminster and the building of Westminster Hall as being linked to the major festivals; the decline of these festivals in Henry I's reign may also be associated with the decline of royal palaces at Gloucester, Winchester and Old Windsor in the twelfth century. There is no evidence on the nature of the ceremonies themselves but he suggests that the large balcony above the west door at Winchester facing the royal palace may reflect an earlier balcony where the king might present himself to the crowds.

C. L. Sinclair Williams, apparently prompted by genealogical curiosity, asks "Who was Bretel of Trevellion, Tempore Edward the Confessor?" in Devon & Cornwall Notes & Queries 35, 394-7). Bretel held the estate of Trevellion in Cornwall, which was part of the Earl of Mortain's estate in 1086. In the latter year a Bretel de St. Clair held 21 estates in Somerset, Dorset and Devon and a kinsman, Hubert, held four manors in Somerset and Dorset. A sixteenth-century roll of arms proves there was a Cornish branch of the St. Clairs who shared the arms of the Devon branch. A church dedicated to St. Clair (a native of Rochester and subsequently a monk and then hermit in Rouen "murdered c. 875 at the instigation of a woman whose favours he had spurned" [395]) probably derives from the Anglo-Norman St. Clairs. The name, however, may well be Celtic. We are thus presented with a problem: "was Bretel of Trevellion a Norman who remained [having settled before the Conquest], or returned with William the Conqueror, to found the English family St. Clair, or was he a Celtic Cornishman who was to be dispossessed of his land by the Conqueror's half brother, the Court of Mortain, overlord of Bretel and Hubert de St. Clair?" (397).

This review will conclude as it began this year, with Domesday Book. If asked to comment on the Box-Cox method and regression disturbances that are heteroskedastic, most Anglo-Saxonists would probably conjecture that these are the words of some long-lost Gilbert and Sullivan patter song. In fact, they refer to concepts that they will encounter in an important study on Domesday Book. The subtitle of Domesday Economy: A New Approach to Anglo-Norman History by John McDonald and G. D. Snooks (Oxford: Clarendon Press) fulfills

its claims. This is the book promised in the authors' two articles reviewed last year (see OEN 20.1, 138). Though the confines of this review preclude a definition of the terms referred to above, they are perfectly intelligibly explained by the two authors for those not versed in the statistical side of economic history (61-2); for good measure they also give a detailed explanation (162-4) in the latter half of their book, which they devote to a technical explication of their approach. Their basic theses are that the traditional interpretations of Domesday Book have been "counter-intuitive": Domesday Book is, in fact, a reliable source of data and it reveals that William behaved in an economically rational way, assertions that can be proved if appropriate statistical methods are employed.

They base their revaluation of Domesday Book on their analysis of two counties, Wiltshire and Essex, a sampling that is in my view well chosen. After a brief opening chapter sketching the authors' aims and providing an historical background to the Domesday survey, they turn in their second chapter to a description of the eleventh-century English economy and a detailed discussion of the survey. The first part of this chapter has two particular merits. First, in looking at society from an economist's point of view, they give a slightly different gloss to familiar facts. Thus, in speaking of the peripatetic nature of medieval kingship, they observe: "It was easier and cheaper to transport one's household between estates than commodities like grain that had a low value per unit of weight" (21). Second, they draw attention to a debate of the 1970s over serfdom and manorialism that did not receive much attention from social historians because it was published in economic history journals (14-15)--though regrettably they themselves simply report rather than advance this debate. They note that the Domesday survey may have involved up to 10,000 people; to justify its costs the king must have felt that it would increase his income (34). In spite of its errors, economists, sociologists, and statisticians will be chastened to read that as compared to the survey, today "in many respects the methods of data collection have deteriorated" (36). The third chapter (37-50) is the heart of the book: they attack the selective collection of small samples of data characteristic of the old approaches to Domesday Book. There were two crucial weaknesses in such a method: "Most relationships in economics, and indeed in the social sciences as a whole, are of a non-exact [i.e., stochastic] nature" and then, "when the expected relationship involves more than one explanatory variable, the method of visual inspection becomes even more unreliable" (39). If the traditional view is right "that there is no systematic relationship between either tax assessments for geld and the capacity of manors to pay this impost, or manorial annual values (or income) and resources," then the data in Domesday Book has to be meaningless (46). Yet the basic sampling techniques and methods of regression analysis have been available for fifty years to test these hypotheses.

In the following chapter they turn to examining the data for their two sample counties. In Essex they find that geld was a tax based on all the resources of the manor and that there was a good correlation between tax assessments and the value of manors (64). The main difference between Essex and Wiltshire is that the manorial resources more adequately explain the taxes levied in the latter county. They suggest, therefore, that the Wiltshire tax assessments were the more recent. Here they might consider the fact that the county lay in the heart of Wessex, an area less disrupted than Essex and more likely to be under the close fiscal control of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy. The

authors' initial results support Sally Harvey's view that ploughlands were more recent than hidage as a means of assessing taxes (67), although they are puzzled as to why ploughlands are unrecorded or inadequately recorded in some counties (76 n. 29). It should be noted that the counties they list fall in the Domesday Circuits I, V, and VII, so the answer may lie in the ways in which the various Domesday commissioners collected or recorded their data. Their fifth chapter confirms that there is a link between manorial annual values and resources, but they find that mill renders were excluded from annual values. (One might observe that the original terms of reference of the survey asked for the number of mills rather than their renders.) In the penultimate chapter of Part I they present a model of manorial production which is likely to provoke some disagreement, notably in their claim that "there was uniformity of agricultural technique over a large part of Domesday England" (99-100). Their deduction from their data that, of the servi, "a large proportion were personal slaves" will also be controversial (110). This chapter may require the most revision when they extend their investigations to other counties of Domesday England.

Among their overall conclusions, one may note "that the Domesday data are highly reliable" (118); "that William was not imposing his authority arbitrarily, but was acting in a way that would generate the least opposition and thereby return the greatest amount of taxes" (119); and that "the manor rather than the vill appears to have been the basis for tax assessment" (120). Some puzzles remain. Why, for instance, are there differences between Essex and Wiltshire in the taxation of meadows? (66) And why are ecclesiastical manors more highly taxed than lay ones in Wiltshire? (68-70) Only further samples and an examination of the literary sources are likely to provide the answers. But what is impressive about the methodology of McDonald and Snooks is that it has been able to suggest both questions and answers that impressionistic surveys of Domesday Book have been unable to produce. It is a book that cannot be ignored.

Alan Frearson provides a survey of primary sources that help us understand William's great survey in "Domesday Book: The Evidence Reviewed" (History 71, 375-92). After discussing the contemporary material in the Peterborough Chronicle and Excerptio de Chronica Mariani by Robert Losinga, bishop of Hereford, he turns to the evidence of the records: the "final" documents, viz., the two Domesday Book volumes and the Exon Domesday (possibly a penultimate copy), and the "initial" texts, generally called Domesday satellites. These last he further divides into those compiled for the survey and those already in existence. As for the mode of compilation of Domesday Book, he accepts Maitland's view that the inquests took place in the shire-courts and that the hundred provided the arrangement of the entries. Little Domesday, the book containing the entries for Essex and East Anglia, "provides us with a unique exemplar of a fully detailed final provincial return" (380). Exon Domesday "was an advanced draft of the final return for the south west" (381), which remained at Exeter. In his survey of the satellites he attempts to meld the views of Sally Harvey and H. B. Clarke on these documents with Vivien Galbraith's reconstruction of the Domesday inquest. He seeks to distinguish which texts derive from the Domesday enquiries in the provinces and which are drawn from documents already in the Treasury at the time of the Inquest. To discuss the ten groups of documents here would be inappropriate but we should note his conclusion "that a very strong case has been established for the existence of pre-Domesday records and

their use in the making of Domesday Book" (391). These documents were, however, deficient and "[o]nly the tenants-in-chief and their manorial officials, together with those of the king, could bring them up to date, and only the hundred juries in the shire courts could check and validate that information" (391). The inquest itself was really two enquiries: a detailed fiscal examination of hidage and royal rights and a "feudal descriptio of the holdings of the tenants-in-chief" (391). He makes no mention of Domesday values. A useful table on the making of Domesday Book is appended.

The final paper to be reviewed here brings together pre- and post-Conquest England as well as England and the Continent. Karl Inge Sandred in "Domesday Book 1086-1986" (Ortnamnssällskapet i Uppsala Årsskrift 1986, 86-96) notes how little attention the nine-hundredth anniversary has received in Sweden compared to England. Many of the Scandinavians who earlier settled in England were Danes. Denmark then included Skåne and Halland in southern Sweden, and a number of Uppland runic inscriptions proclaim the participation of Swedes in Viking expeditions around the year 1000. Sandred directs his article at a Swedish readership (hence the article is in Swedish, though there is a reasonably extensive English summary). Much of the information is likely to be known to readers of this journal. He does, however, draw attention to the value of Domesday Book for Scandinavian onomastic studies. An interesting map on p. 93 shows a cluster of thirteen place names ending in -by located in the Broads, on the east coast of Norfolk, and on the following page he lists all instances of such names in the Fens. This points to a Viking settlement centre in Norfolk, a topic which he discusses further in a paper published in the proceedings of the Tenth Viking Congress.

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D. A. E. P.

7. NAMES

Four entries in this year's bibliography focus on Scandinavian settlement in England. G. Fellows-Jensen's Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West (Copenhagen, 1985) is a monumental synthesis of the place-name evidence of Scandinavian settlement in Cheshire, Cumberland, Lancashire, and Westmorland as well as Dumfriesshire in Scotland. It is a sequel to and follows the arrangement of date in Scandinavian Settlement Names in Yorkshire and Scandinavian Settlement Names in the East Midlands. There are chapters dealing with place-names in -bý, habitative names other than -bý, Scandinavian topographical names, place-names in -tūn with a Scandinavian specific, and Scandinavianized and hybrid names. The final two chapters on the distribution and the dating of names include thirty-one of the thirty-two useful full-page maps in the volume. There is also an appendix in which Fellows-Jensen gives alternative etymologies for twenty-seven place-names in the North-West for which earlier, less satisfactory Scandinavian origins had been proposed. In "Viking Settlement in the East Midlands: the Place-Name Evidence," Giessener Flurnamen-Kolloquium (BN, Beiheft 23, 1985, 129-53, K. Cameron provides a comprehensive review of his and others' work on the Viking Settlement pattern of the ninth century. He argues convincingly that a large number of settlers, both members of the Viking army of 865 as well as farmers who migrated from the homelands, were involved. He suggests that the Vikings first took over existing villages or estates without their names, that the Grimston-hybrids were the first instances of Viking name-giving and were mostly a partial re-naming of existing villages or estates, that some of the names in -bý (particularly those with English first elements) were also the result of re-naming of existing English villages, that the rest of the names in bý represent the Vikings taking over land not occupied at the time such as land between existing villages and in marginal areas and land that was once occupied but then deserted, and that names in -thorpe represent later dependent or outlying settlements. J. Insley has two essays with the same focus. In "Field Names and the Scandinavian Settlement of England: a Comparative Study of the Evidence Provided by the English Place-Name Society's Survey of Northamptonshire," Giessener Flurnamen-Kolloquium (BN, Beiheft 23, 1985, 113-128), he concludes that thirty of the forty-two field names contain Scandinavian personal names but that these borrowings are only of a lexical nature whereas in the northern Danelaw the borrowings also show Scandinavian phonological and morphological features as well. For example, there are very few name forms in Northamptonshire reflecting Scandinavian diphthongs, Braybrooke where ON breiðr replaced OE brōd and Oustmor (now Horsemor) where ON austr replaced OE east being exceptions. Insley observes that the Scandinavian elements in field names in Northamptonshire merely supplement the existing Anglian forms in contrast to parts of the northern Danelaw, such as in Ingham, where the Scandinavian elements have frequently displaced the earlier OE toponymic elements. In "Ortsnamen und Besitzwechsel im Altenglischen und Mittenglischen," Ortsnamenwechsel (BN, Beiheft 24, 1986, 83-95), he points out that the place-names in Old English and early Middle English were much less stable than they were earlier thought to be and that place-names often changed with a change in their ownership. This was particularly true with the so-called Grimston-hybrids and other names showing Scandinavian elements such as Ingoldisthorpe in Norfolk which contains both a Scandinavian personal name as well as the Scandinavian topographical element -thorpe.

D. Kenyon, in "Notes on Lancashire Place-Names I, the Early Names" (Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc. 18, 13-37), continues her update of Ekwall's The Place-Names of Lancashire in light of the work on place-names over the last twenty years. This is the first of two papers revising Ekwall's work on Lancashire South of the Sands and deals with the early names. The promised subsequent article will deal with the later English and Scandinavian names. While this article discusses specific names in hām, -ingham, -ing, burna, dūn, ēg, feld, ford, and hamm, it will be more useful here to point out the general principles which she uses to make the revisions. These principles include the preference for a topographical element as the source for a name over an otherwise unrecorded personal name, the preference for a singular -ing over the plural -ingas or -inga-, the preference for a derivation from hamm (and halh or holm) over hām (especially if the topography is appropriate), the chronological ordering of names in hām -ing, -ingaham and simple topographical elements before names in -ingas and -inga-, pagan names, or archaic personal names, and the recognition that many early place-names may have been applied to large estates which often incorporated topographical elements including Celtic topographical names. In a more narrowly focused article, "The Antiquity of hām Place-Names in Lancashire and Cheshire" (Nomina 10, 11-27), Kenyon confirms the hypothesis that place-names in hām are among the earliest OE settlements in these northwestern counties by showing that settlements with hām names occupy the best land in the area in terms of the four criteria of soil, drift geology, climatic regime, and altitude and noting that many of them enjoyed high social status such as serving as parish centers. However, she rejects Dodgson's earlier suggestion in support of this hypothesis that the proximity of hām names to Roman roads had a causal significance by reporting that a statistical analysis of thirty such names in these counties and their proximity to Roman roads shows only what might have been expected if such settlements had been distributed randomly.

Three short articles this year deal with individual place-names. In "The Place-Name Scugger Ho (Cumberland)" (N&Q 33, 2-3), G. Kristensson suggests that the earliest form of this name found in the Lay Subsidy roll of 1332 is actually Skukkerhouses, not Skulkerhouses as reported in the Place-Names of Cumberland and other places; therefore, the suggested etymologies are also incorrect. Kristensson views the name as a triple compound in which houses has been added to a compound which is the reflex of OE scucca "demon, goblin" and ME ker "bog, marsh" in which /sk/ replaced the original /s/ through Scandinavian influence and the /kk/ sequence was voiced intervocalically when the compound was no longer recognized as containing the simplex ker. In "Morthen Reconsidered" (Yorkshire Archaeol. Jnl 58, 23-29), M.S. Parker notes that the name applies to both a village and a region southwest of Rotherham in Yorkshire and observes that the topography is not appropriate to support Ekwall's suggestion that the name comes from OE mōr and means "moorland assembly." Then Parker suggests two alternative derivations. The first is rather flimsy and is based on an OE *mort- with the meaning of MHG mürz "stump" so that the name would mean "assembly at the tree stump or at the dead tree," since trees were often associated with meeting places. The second alternative, although currently out of style, is more plausible. In it, Parker suggests an OE *morth as a personal name, perhaps the founder or leader of the Morthingas or Morthingas, which fits in with the tribal overtones of both place-names in -ingas and the fact that the name applies to a region as well as a specific place. R. Coates, in "Mendip" (Nomina 10, 5-9), accepts the conventional wisdom that the Somerset hill-range name Mendip is a hybrid

compound of the Bredon type, with the first element from OE mened from Primitive Welsh *mōnīō "hill". However, he rejects the suggestion that the second element is OE hop "valley" and makes a very strong case that the second element is OE yppa "lookout place" or "hunting-dais" by pointing out that yppa-names are often associated with royal forests.

In "Comments on the Location of Some of the Forms in PN Worcs pp. 293-303 (Halesowen and its Townships)" (Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc. 18, 5-12), P.S. Keate expands upon or corrects eleven of the fifty-three entries under "Halesowen" in the Place-Names of Worcestershire: Cockshot, Oldenhall, Hasbury, Lydiate Lane, Gorsty Hill, Hell Grange, Mucklow Hill, The Breach, Redhill Farm, Redhall Farm, Shut Mill, and Castle Lane.

Three articles focus on particular place-name elements this year. F. M. Griffith, in "Burh and beorg in Devon" (Nomina 10, 93-103), makes use of information gathered from his aerial survey in lowland Devon in search of archaeological monuments to suggest that many place-names from burh and beorg that have been recorded only as field names in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries can be discovered by the cropmarks (variation in crop growth) or soil marks (variations in soil color) first noticed from the air and subsequently verified by a farmer to whom the name means nothing or who thinks the "berry" part of a name comes from the brambles growing there. The aerial process also helps the archaeologist match up sites with promising names from the Tithe Surveys. Since a beorg is often a natural hill whereas a burh can be anything from a hill-fort to a manor, Griffith discovers some questionable derivations of names in the Place-names of Devon which gives beorg as the etymon in place-names like Borough, Clannaborough, Weekaborough, Burrough, and Bagborough but which look more like burh sites to an archaeologist. In "A Note on OE hearg and wēoh as Place-Name Elements Representing Different Types of Pagan Worship Sites" (ASSAH 4, 179-83), D. Wilson reaffirms the idea that hearg sites tend to be on high ground and that wēoh sites may be on low ground. However, among the most important differences between the two sites, according to Wilson, are that hearg sites are not usually close to Roman roads and that wēoh sites are. From the place-name differences as well, Wilson concludes that hearg sites are sites of shrines or temples that served as communal places of worship for a particular group of people like a tribe, perhaps at particular times during each year, whereas wēoh sites are small wayside shrines, some of which were of personal rather than group ownership. In "Towards an Explanation of the Kentish-mondens" (Jnl of the Engl. Place-Name Soc. 18, 40-47), R. Coates, while clearly casting doubt on earlier explanations of the etymology of a group of names on the southern border of Kent, provides little more than strong phonological evidence for deriving them from OE mund "protection" or OE mund "bride-price."

V. Watts, in "Some Northumbrian Fisher Names II" (Durham Archaeol. Jnl 2, 55-61), list sixty-one fishery names on the Tyne and provides etymologies, sometimes extensive but often tentative, for each name. All of the place-name elements are OE except for one ON element and two French ones. The OE elements include personal names, references to ownership by religious institutions, references to ranks of OE peasants such as gebur and bonda <ON bōndi, topographical references, references to the size or shape or depth of the water in the yair, and names referring to the mode of operation or the function of the fishery. In "Modern English cruive 'wicker salmon-trap'"

(Linguistics across Historical and Geographical Boundaries, Berlin, 277-91), K. Dietz uses place-name evidence to show that Modern English cruive and its Scottish cognates are most likely to be connected with Old Irish cró and Old Norse kró respectively. He, as yet, has no satisfactory explanation of the final consonant in the modern forms, however.

Three articles this year deal with place-names on the western edge of the OE territory. In "The Welsh Element in the Field-Names of Cheshire," (Glæssener Flurnamen-Kolloquium) BN, Beiheft 23, 1985, 154-164), J. M. Dodgson supplements previous analyses of the Welsh elements in major place-names by examining field names from Cheshire which have a Welsh element or personal-name or structure or which allude to the Welsh. He lists thirty-two field names in the Welsh language, eighteen with a Welsh element, six which allude to Welshmen, and twenty-six with a Welsh personal-name, along with etymologies or translations of such names. These field-names provide evidence for a continuous presence of Welsh and Welsh-speaking inhabitants of Cheshire throughout the medieval period. In "A Middle English Dialect Boundary" (Linguistics across Historical and Geographical Boundaries, Berlin, 443-57), G. Kristensson shows how the development of OE wall(e) "well, stream" in West Midland ME place-names identifies the area where second fronting occurred, such as the dioceses of Lichfield and Hereford, and that West Mercian covered this area which encompasses Lancashire south of the Ribble, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, north-eastern Warwickshire, Herefordshire, and Gloucestershire west of the Severn. J. Freeman, in "Some Place-Names of Archenfield and the Golden Valley Recorded in the Balliol Herefordshire Domesday" (Nomina 10, 61-77), discusses a large number of specific names in this twelfth-century transcript of the Great Domesday Book folios for Herefordshire on the Welsh/English linguistic border. He concludes that there was great instability in major settlement names in this area in the eleventh and twelfth centuries with the prevailing late OE pattern of settlement-names composed of a personal-name plus tūn or -ingtūn being replaced by a mixed pattern including church names such as Peterchurch and names composed of a French family name and tūn such as Chanstone. Freeman suggests that the transience of many of these OE names was due to the fact that, at the time of the Domesday Book, they had only recently replaced Welsh names and were thus not firmly enough established to survive the Normanization of the area.

In "The Early Church in the Landscape: the Evidence from North Devon" (ArchJ 142, 255-75), S. M. Pearce discusses early Christian inscribed burial stones in and around North Devon from between 500 and 600 A.D. as well as place-names in llan/lan and in OE stow to argue that these sites were burial grounds established by the landed class on their estates after this class had converted to Christianity. Most of these graveyards became parish churchyards, and it is likely that the founders were buried in the shrine graves at some of these sites. However, peasants were also buried at the same sites which usually became burial grounds for the entire estate. J. Scherr, in "Names of Springs and Wells in Somerset" (Nomina 10, 79-91), begins a collection of the names of springs and wells to aid in a Somerset place-name survey. She stipulates that OE w(i)ella normally refers to a spring and the modern form well usually refers to a natural spring in Somerset. The compound names she identifies generally have a descriptive or topographical term or an OE personal name as the specific. Frequently, the spring- and well-names have a superstitious or religious significance as in the large number of wells

named Holywell and wells associated with various saints. Some of these wells were perhaps also pre-Christian water-cult sites.

Two articles this year point out some weaknesses in some of the county Domesday editions. In "Essex Domesday Topography since 1903: Place Identification and Problems" (Essex Archaeol. and Hist. 16, 40-47), W. R. Powell supplements J. H. Round's 1903 edition of the Essex Domesday with suggestions made in P. Reaney's Place Names of Essex and in the Victoria History of Essex as well as Powell's own identifications and suggestions. He criticizes Rumbles's 1983 edition of Domesday Book: Essex for not attempting enough identifications using methods other than philological ones and for not reflecting new identifications made since 1935. F. Thorn, in "The Identification of Domesday Places in the South-Western Counties of England" (Nomina 10, 41-59), laments the fact that many of the Domesday translations, particularly those for Wiltshire, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall, are inadequate or inaccurate due to the large number of places sharing the same basic name in the Domesday Book, the absence of hundred headings in the texts, and the absence of name subholdings. Thorn calls for more rigor, clarity, and system in identification of Domesday places and proposes a systematic framework for this identification to be provided by the answers to five questions: What is its Hundred? Do the details of the DB entry accord with the proposed identification? Can the DB name evolve to the modern name proposed? What unit is being identified? What documentary evidence, before or after 1086, supports the identification?

Prof. K. Dietz has kindly called to the attention of this reviewer the inappropriate connections made in last year's review of his article "Ae. bēocere 'Imker' me. bike 'Bienennest' und die Ortsnamen auf Bick-" (Anglia 103, 1-25) which this reviewer readily admits to and attributes to both rusty German and the rush to meet deadlines. In that article, Dietz actually argues that most place-names in Bick- are from OE *bica -e which is of uncertain meaning except that place-names like Bickerton are from OE bīocere, bīcere "beekeeper" of which ME bīke "nest of wild bees" is a back formation.

Work Not Seen

Fellows-Jensen, Gillian. "Anglo-Saxons and Vikings in the British Isles: the Place-Name Evidence." Angli e sassoni. p. 617-39.

J.D.C.

8. ARCHAEOLOGY AND NUMISMATICS

A. General Works, and Early Sites

*The Cambridge Illustrated Dictionary of British Heritage is a handsome and useful compendium of all aspects of that culture. The entries on matters early medieval are generally good, but there are many reasonable expectations about entries unfulfilled. Anglo-Saxon England, as a whole, is treated in two pages, with a single map. I was unable to find any mention of either the Scottish or English Society of Antiquaries, though they are among the most ancient such bodies in Europe. Iona is dealt with succinctly, but accurately, though it is not located on the map of the northern and western isles. The entry on monasteries does not mention Bede's Wearmouth-Jarrow, and describes the layout and function of Celtic monasteries with an assurance singularly lacking in the accounts of archaeologists dealing with those problematic sites.

*The Village and House in the Early Middle Ages (Jean Chapelot and Robert Fossier, trans. Henry Cleere [U. Cal. Press, 1985]), has a very bold thesis:

...the village as we see it today and as we conceptualize it is a recent creation, closely associated with the flowering in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of a village society that had only crystallized out five or six centuries earlier. This ultimate settlement form was born out of structures and modes of population whose foundations lie in the Middle Ages. (p. 10)

The book is an excellent anodyne to a rosy romanticized view of the medieval world. The description of a disease-ridden and physically debilitated population is horrifying:

a surfeit of starchy foods and alcoholic drinks, swollen bellies, bad digestions, chronic vitamin deficiency, and a society that suffered continual discomfort, extending from those with empty bellies, incapable of effort, to obese hypochondriacs, given over to violence and injustice. In this respect, the proportion of young children buried in the tenth-century Hungarian cemeteries, and the decalcification of adult skeletons in graveyards in Normandy (Hérouvillette) or Lorraine (Pompey and Villey-Saint-Etienne) amply prove human vulnerability. Hagiographic texts bristle with evidence of the emptiness of the countryside--the moors and forests that St. Colomban passed over without finding any souls to save, countrymen who travelled for two whole days to hear St. Malo preach, or isolated villages that it took St. Riquier several hours of walking to reach. (p. 16)

The reader of this book will find a monumental reinforcement of the desolation

described in The Wanderer.

...very varied types of settlement may be expected from the seasonal hamlet built in light materials which is occupied for fishing or when livestock move into the woodland edges, through the temporary village that is abandoned after a few years, to the permanent centre established round the house of a holy man or a lay overlord. Enormous deserted areas would surround, or, better perhaps, isolate these inhabited points and cultivation would move around with the animals. (p. 23)

The summary statement which ends the first chapter has the force of an aphorism:

...picture the countryside of western Europe between the third and eleventh centuries as ill-defined, full of shadows and contrasts--isolated and unorganized islands of cultivation, patches of uncertain authority, scattered family groupings round a patriarch, a chieftain, or a rich man. It is a landscape still in a state of anarchy--in short, the picture of a world that man seemed unable to control or dominate. (p. 26)

This is an engaging, well-written, if somewhat contentiously negative book.

Peter Marsden's *Roman London has a new paperback edition. It is an excellent survey, and the modestly stated case of a distinguished archaeologist who for over a decade was in charge of the only large-scale effort to record and preserve the Roman city; to say that he did so on a shoestring budget would be to put it mildly. There are several aspects of the archaeology of late Roman London of importance to archaeologists. Decline and decay of the city had begun as early as the second century:

From the mid fourth century onwards, there was a sharp decline in the fortunes of London, and we tend to find that a blanket of dark earth was accumulating on certain sites both in the city and in Southwark. In fact the dark earth had already started accumulating as early as the end of the second century on some sites, such as in Milk Street, at the south end of Bow Lane, and on the Post Office site in Newgate Street. But on other sites it began accumulating later. Dark earth is not unique to London for it is found in some other Roman towns such as Canterbury, Winchester and Cirencester. It is not known what the late Roman dark earth represents, though it is thought that this might be soil associated with farming and market gardening inside London--a theory that is perhaps supported by the discovery of fourth-century gullies filled with dark earth, perhaps dug to drain the land for cultivation, in the region around Guildhall on the outskirts of the Roman city. (p. 166)

The second point is that heavy Saxon ship-raids in the third and fourth

centuries were to some extent limited by massive new defense works:

Once the raiders in their long ships reached the city, they probably encountered truly formidable defences in the form of massive bastions, semicircular towers built on to the outside of the city wall to support missile-throwing ballistae as well as a new and much wider defensive ditch, and a riverside defensive wall, all of which have been investigated in recent excavations. (p. 170)

It is significant that Marsden uses "long ships" here, for a comparison, or perhaps even a continuity of raiding from Saxon to Viking peoples is implied. Finally, and perhaps paradoxically, London seems to have had a peaceful end:

When the Roman administration in Britain collapsed during the early years of the fifth century, the organization of Roman town life seemed to have declined peacefully into a haphazard kind of existence. In the house at Billingsgate this seems to have occurred between about 400, when the hoard was hidden in the house and the hypocaust was still in use, and perhaps about 450 when a Saxon brooch was lost in the ruins of the bath building. The departure of the Roman inhabitants of the Billingsgate building took place quietly, and presumably without any violent trouble from a Saxon raid. It is as if one day the people simply packed up their possessions and left to find a new and more peaceful life elsewhere, away from the Saxon raiders. The pattern here, as in so many other Roman towns, seems to be that Roman town life gradually faded away, perhaps helped by particularly virulent epidemics that occurred from time to time. (p. 182)

Several studies deal with what might be called the social anthropology of religion in the early Middle Ages. There is one such essay in *Women in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (ed. Mary Beth Rose, Syracuse University Press). Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg writes on "The Heroics of Virginity: Brides of Christ and Sacrificial Mutilation" (29-73). Professor Schulenburg reviews the familiar Patristic injunctions on virginity, turns to Aldhelm, who in his many exhortations to nuns and other religious women advocates suicide as an appropriate response to attempted rape, following Ambrose and Jerome. Significantly, the supposedly more autocratic Augustine did not advise this course. Schulenburg's views on Tacitus are a bit perplexing:

Very briefly, the Germanic peoples seemed to place an equally high value on sexual purity for women. The Germania by Tacitus, the German law codes, and other sources, all underline the high value allotted to chastity, along with the serious punishments exacted for women accused of losing their virginity or involvement in adultery. Generally Germanic women were made to assume a disproportionate amount of the blame and humiliation in the loss of their sexual purity. The onus of the crime

was placed on the female for her complicity in this "evil act." The Germanic peoples also provided their own exempla of heroic behavior in defense of chastity. For example, the Cimbri women were especially celebrated for banding together against the Roman conquerors to preserve their chastity and freedom. After killing their children, they allegedly hanged themselves with ropes and the reins of horses. (p. 41)

At least in the view of this reader, a complete reading of Tacitus shows Germanic women as occasionally less than virginal, and clearly more interested in moral heroism than heroic chastity.

Schulenberg puts forward some interesting perspectives on heroic and even what might be called aggressive and self-damaging virginity, in those cases in which damage occurred on order to avoid sex or marriage; Schulenberg's term is "sacrificial self mutilation":

Several of the saints' lives, for example, describe injuries to the eyes. One of the best-known cases is that of St. Brigid. Determined to remain a virgin and to consecrate her life to the service of God, she prayed that some deformity might "save" her from an imminent marriage proposed by her parents. Immediately one of her eyes "burst" in her head, thus destroying all of her beauty. She was then permitted to become a consecrated virgin, and as she knelt to receive the veil, her "lost" eye was miraculously restored. (p. 51)

The conclusions of this piece are both elegant and important:

...the concern with virginity and the need for integritas seem to have had a special hold on the religious collective consciousness of the medieval world. In the early Middle Ages those who had chosen this "higher life" were constantly warned that although this "privileged" status gave them special strength, it also entailed inordinate struggle: it was a "martyrdom" filled with suffering. Therefore, in fiercely defending their chastity, these strong, early medieval women put into action the demands of their "new" religion within the context of their own Germanic milieu. The oblique aggressive strategies which they adopted were idioms of strength and defiance as well as hopelessness and desperation. They were truly weapons of the last resort. Despite the cost, these brides of Christ were not to be denied the meaning of their existence, nor their just rewards for perseverance in virginal perfection. After all of their years of practice, they were not about to miss the joys of singing with the 144,000 virgins the song they alone could sing! (p. 62)

J. N. Hillgarth edits a fascinating collection of contemporary quotations illustrating *Christianity and Paganism, 350-750. An earlier version of this

book, published in 1969, had as its title The Conversion of Western Europe, 350-750, which is now the subtitle of the new, enlarged collection. Hillgarth's reason for the change is important:

...the former title has become a subtitle is my wish to emphasize the incomplete nature of the process documented here. Western Europe, Britain, and Ireland were very imperfectly Christian in 750. Only the preconditions for the penetration of Christianity had been established. If pagan idols had been overthrown, pagan customs and beliefs were only beginning to change. What was emerging in many places was less the clear victory of the Christian Creed than a mixture or fusion of the old and the new. (p. xiii)

As a series of windows into the practicalia of the emerging Christian world, the book is fascinating, especially so as many of the texts appear in English only in the context.

It is often useful to look at one's own interests from a broader perspective, and Bernard Hamilton's *Religion in the Medieval West (Edward Arnold, 1986) provides an interesting stance from which to view the emerging Germanic world:

The barbarians who settled in Italy, southern France, Spain and north Africa in the fifth century had an aristocracy who were already Christian when they entered the empire, although many of the common people may still have been pagan. Unfortunately for the Catholic hierarchy, these barbarians had been converted to the wrong kind of Christianity. They were Arians, who believed that Christ, though divine, was inferior to God the Father. Arianism had caused deep divisions in the church during the fourth century until it was declared heretical by a General Council in 381, but before that time some of the German tribes beyond the imperial frontiers had been converted by Arian missionaries. When those tribes settled in the empire, they established Arian churches in their kingdoms, which had their own clergy and used a vernacular liturgy. The Catholic church in the fifth century was therefore faced in some parts of the west by the dual problem of a largely pagan rural population and an heretical, ruling warrior-class. (p. 10)

Hamilton's summary of Christian/Islamic relations is ironic and pithy:

It was an offence punishable by death in Islamic states to criticize the Muslim faith, and similarly it was a capital offence for a Muslim to renounce Islam and become a Christian. The Islamic World thus provided opportunities for martyrdom but not for fruitful missionary activity. This meant that after 700 the church could not expand to the south and had to concentrate its missionary endeavours on the pagan peoples to the north and east. (p. 12)

Finally, the Christian view on the tenth and eleventh centuries is at variance with the kind of pyrotechnic gloom of Wulfstan's most famous sermon.

The tenth and early eleventh centuries might be described as the golden age in the expansion of the medieval western church, for missions were at work in central Europe simultaneously with those in the Viking lands. (p. 13)

There are several important studies which deal with "wet" versions of archaeology, the first with wetlands in general, the second with the Scottish examples of the artificial islands formed by Celtic peoples in Ireland and Scotland, and the third with wooden plank boats.

John Coles's **The Archaeology of Wetlands* was published late in 1984, but distribution was delayed, and the book has extremely important implications for the archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England. The base-line message is that while wetland archaeology is both more messy and a good deal more costly in time, effort, and money, the yield is exponentially greater. Most archaeological sites yield only pottery and largely non-ferrous metals, because organic materials decompose. While virtually no textiles, basketry, leather, wood, plants or invertebrates are preserved on dryland sites, up to 90% of such goods are preserved in wetlands. Germanic walling was largely made of wattle-work, (cf OE *Wæg* = wall) and such materials are beautifully preserved on a large range of sites. Still more interesting are such finds as the enormous Anglo-Saxon weir in Nottinghamshire, which covered a large area in a waterway, and which is almost entirely composed of wood and wattle. Cole points out, however, that not all wetlands preserve all classes of evidence:

A wetland site has the potential for a greater variety and abundance of evidence than does a dryland one, and it is a question not only of quality and quantity, but of the balance of evidence and evenness of the record. However, wetland sites are very uneven in their preservative characters, and an acidic peatbog may well destroy iron and even pottery while preserving wood, or it may be severe on bone and yet protect delicate seeds and leaves. The bog bodies from the Danish and north German peatbogs have clothing, skin, teeth and hair well-preserved, but their bones are often badly decayed (Glob 1969). The wooden pathways of north Germany have wooden components completely preserved, but bone artifacts are again poorly represented (Hayen 1980). Yet the Iron Age occupations of Somerset, taking place upon raised bogs in part at least, have been notable for excellent preservation of bone as well as wood (1911). And the lake-edge settlements of Switzerland, Italy and France are pre-eminent for the preservation of wood and most materials, although inevitably it seems, textiles are among the most susceptible to deterioration, as wood was the building material of almost all but the most prestigious and enormously expensive buildings in Anglo-

Saxon England (p. 111). Wetland archaeology offers extraordinary potential for our studies!

Ian Morrison's **Landscape with Lake Dwellings: The Crannogs of Scotland* records some twenty years of exploration, survey and discovery in the lakes of Scotland. In Loughs Awe and Tay alone, Morrison and his colleagues found an enormous number of hitherto unknown sites. As Dr. Morrison rightly points out, the crannogs yield most by studies from the broadest possible perspective:

Both locally, within individual loch basins, and over a broader regional view of Scotland, the indications are of decisions being made between islets and shore sites, such as duns, in terms of shrewd assessments of topography and available materials. There would seem to be much to be said for taking an holistic view, and considering the study of the environmental, economic and settlement information that crannogs can yield as an extension of the study of the landscape into the water, rather than as something to set apart from the rest of archaeology.

We have seen that crannogs can be of especial interest in landscape studies, because their tendency to survive under water can offer prospects for mapping something approaching a complete regional distribution, not overwritten by later activities. There is a good deal of scope in Scotland for further amphibious search and survey operations, and the work already done shows that amateur groups, using inexpensive techniques of measurement, could accomplish much of genuine research value without disturbing or endangering sites in any way. (pp. 100-101)

Peter Throckmorton presents a generally very beautiful book under the title **The Sea Remembers* (Weidenfeld and Nicholson). The present reviewer has heard rumors that the book is inaccurate in some respects, but this is certainly not true of the chapter essential to Anglo-Saxonists, "Dark Age Seafarers," for the section is written by Angela Evans and Colin Martin, two very distinguished maritime archaeologists. Clearly, shipwrecks is a misnomer, for none of the ships discussed in this section perished at sea. It would be hard to imagine a book better suited to firing the imagination of undergraduates. The only quibble to be made by the present reviewer is the description of the *Navigatio Sancti Brendane Abbatis* as "a record of a series of remarkable voyages." This is to take the evidence of a devotional text of great importance in a rather too literal way.

Sean McGrail and Eric Kentley have edited **Sewn Plank Boats (BAR International Series 276, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, Archaeological Series No 10 [1985])*. Two important points arise from the study of north European boats, both of which show that technological development does not follow a linear progression. It has been fairly popular to hold that boats held together with roots, or line lashing are early, earlier than 4th century, and that nailing was the mode of connection after that. Christer Westerdahl's study of Swedish boats indicates that sewing was used, especially for repairs, up to the ninth century. One boat from Tune, radiocarbon dated circa 750 was

sewn, and another sewn boat from Fibolm, often taken as early, even Neolithic, on the basis of its construction has a radiocarbon date of 965 ± 95.

Though traces of early medieval occupancy were hard to interpret, D. Coggins, in his study of **Upper Teesdale: The Archaeology of a North Pennine Valley* (BAR British Series 150) makes one extremely important point about that area:

...in many parts of north-east England the extensive agricultural clearances of the late prehistoric and Roman periods had reverted to woodland by the middle of the first millennium a.d. Two pollen diagrams however showed a different pattern: from Stewart Shield Meadow in Upper Weardale and from Thorpe Bulmer in east Durham. At the former site the forest regeneration did not occur until about 1100-1200 a.d. while at the latter there was no regeneration, though arable farming appeared to give way to pastoralism at about the same time. Bartley et.al. (1976) writing of Thorpe Bulmer suggest that "....it is tempting to associate the end of this (arable phase) with the Norman devastation of the North.....". (p. 49)

Thus, cultural and agricultural decline was not so widely spread in Anglo-Saxon England as some would assume. A Wiltshire site appears to tell a different story:

Eric Hostetter and Thomas N. Howe, in "The Romano-British Villa at Castle Copse" (*Archaeology* 39, no. 5 [1986], 36-43), report on the findings of excavations begun in 1983 at Castle Copse in Northeastern Wiltshire by the Program in Classical Archaeology of the University of Indiana, Bloomington. The authors combine information gleaned from the villa excavations with a study of surrounding landscape features and Medieval documentation to:

shed light not only on the history of the villa itself, but also on the shifting political power foci over the course of a millenium, from Iron Age hill fort to Roman villa, to post-Roman settlement, and finally to a Saxon village destined to become a true urban center. (p. 38)

Their focus, however, is on the fourth through seventh centuries, with the fourth century showing evidence of having been the period of greatest prosperity. Three mosaics dating from this period were uncovered, all composed of an unusual combination of chalk, cut tile and sandstone tesserae. The finest of these, a *cantharus* mosaic from the villa's west wing, shows evidence of having been patched and maintained, and this the authors suggest to be both symptomatic of the decline of mosaic workshops in Britain in the late fourth century, and a sign that this part of the building was maintained as a residence.

There are more severe signs of decline and abandonment elsewhere.

Several of the mosaics carry traces of burning, possibly indicating that industrial activities such as grain drying, smithing and butchering were taking place in

the formerly luxurious quarters. This pattern might correspond with the notion that in the increasing instability of the fourth century the villa owners fled to the security of the walled towns, and as the villae often ceased to be used as luxurious residences, agricultural and industrial activities moved from decaying and no-longer-maintained outbuildings into more solidly constructed residential wings. (p. 40)

The villa is surrounded by a system of earthworks, some of which may be Roman. While most are likely to have marked out areas for agriculture or livestock, at least one, a continuation of the Bedwyn Dyke, may have been defensive. The authors note that the villa is strategically located near the important Roman center of Cunetio (Maidenhall) and suggest that:

The hill upon which Castle Copse sits...if not the villa, seems to have been connected with a Dark Age defensive network of some length whose primary function may have been to block the major line of penetration used by northern Saxon invaders or cattle raiders from the Kennett valley. (p. 42)

The difficulty of dating such features and hence the hypothetical nature of such suggestions are duly noted. The authors conclude that:

In the case of the villa at Castle Copse and the probable settlement at Great Bedwyn, the construction of the Bedwyn Dyke and the manning of the hill fort at Chisbury would argue that all was not lost following the disappearance of Roman rule. Such organized, labor-intensive efforts clearly imply the continual functioning of the villa estate and settlement, even if the villa proper was abandoned. When Saxon penetration did take place, perhaps in the early sixth century, the attractions of a still functioning estate would have been plain, and the transition to a Saxon *villa regalis* may have occurred in the later sixth or seventh century. (p. 43)

An initial **Interim Report* has been prepared on the new excavation at Whithorn. The report bears no author's name, though the Whitehorn Trust produced it. Whithorn is important for a number of reasons. The first is that almost no early Christian sites in northwestern England have been excavated. The second is the nature of the site study:

Whithorn Priory is the site of Scotland's earliest recorded Christian church and was the centre of one of the first Christian communities in North Britain. The foundation of this community is not closely dated but probably belongs in the early-mid 5th century AD. The site is linked with St. Ninian, a British bishop famed for the conversion of the southern Picts and the building of a stone church--the Candida Casa--at Whithorn. Archaeological and historical evidence indicates that the Christian community at Whithorn flourished throughout the latter

part of the 1st millennium AD, although reliable records are scarce and much of this period is undocumented.

The '84 (rescue) and '86 (large-scale) excavations yielded a sequence from the fifth century onwards. On the 400-600 horizon, structural remains and two burials in split-log coffins were found.

For the Anglo-Saxon period (700-850 A.D.), finds from a midden yielded:

...a major contribution to the history of Whithorn. The coins show continuing Northumbrian contact until the mid 9th century while the faunal remains indicate that the community prospered perhaps owning extensive estates.

*Excavations at Portway, Andover, were published by Alison M. Cook and Maxwell W. Dacre (Oxford University Committee for Archaeology monograph #4, [1985]). The date-range of these burials is primarily 500-600 A.D. As a grouping, the burials are not very rich, but they traded far and wide:

the sea shells found in two female graves show links with the coast; the source of the amber beads is unknown, but they must have come from some distance; and the elaborate polychrome beads from 9, 23, and 44 were continental imports.

A much more exciting series of finds comes from "A sixth century grave containing a Balance and Weights from Watchfield, Oxfordshire, (England) Christopher Scull *et al.* (*Germania* 64. 1, 105-138). The site was discovered in the course of motorway construction, the graves were disturbed, and the excavation rushed. Feature 67 got prior publication, not only because it was extraordinarily rich, but because it has a runic inscription. There is an amazing collection of coins, at least one of which was Celtic and probably re-discovered by ploughing in Anglo-Saxon times. There is a runic inscription, which Bengt Odenstedt interprets as *haeriboki in pusa*, as *pusa* rather than *wusa*, makes sense on a small leather case. The whole inscription is interpreted "the bag accompanying (belonging to) the army account book," which accords well with the archaeological interpretation. Professor Ray Page also interprets the inscription, with his usual unwillingness to offer certainty of any kind. He would read it "To Haribok, Wusa (gave this)." We must await Professor Page's further ruminations, which are promised for the final report. His suggestions that the person buried might be a foreigner is interesting. However, for the moment, Odenstedt's interpretation is the more likely on the basis of Scull's archaeological interpretation:

Sets of balances and weights appear to have been buried only with men in early Anglo-Saxon England, and circumstances suggest that they were characteristic attributes of individuals who belonged to the higher, but not the highest, strata of early English society, and whose status in life was defined by their position in an organizational as well as in a social hierarchy. This allows tentative identification of a small number of graves, including Watchfield F. 67, as burials of administrative officials who would have received and

supervised judicial and jurisdictional payments. Such men may perhaps be viewed as forerunners of the reeves or *praefecti* recorded in later documents.

In this instance such an interpretation would be supported by Dr. Odenstedt's reading of the runic inscription, which suggests transactions relating to military affairs. What these might have been must remain uncertain, but it is worth noting that a number of early Germanic law-codes, English and Continental, stipulate monetary penalties for failure to provide the military services incumbent upon all free men. It would be anachronistic to differentiate too exactly between civil and military institutions in this early period of English history, and this reading of the inscription should perhaps be treated as a general corroboration of administrative complexity as much as an indication of specifically military concerns.

In early medieval archaeology, unspectacular objects often yield a great deal of information, according to Barry M. Ager's close study of "The Smaller Variants of the Anglo-Saxon Quoit Brooch" (*ASSHA*, 4, 1985, 1-58). Quoit brooches are flattish round-banded objects; the splendid examples of larger varieties from Kent are well known, but this is the first study of the smaller ones as a class. Parallels for the Anglo-Saxon examples are to be found not in Gaul, as has previously been suggested, but in Scandinavia. Ager reinforces the notion put forward in recent years by Sonia Chadwick Hawkes, John Hines and others, that Scandinavian settlers took part in the "Anglo-Saxon" settlement of England from a very early period. The similarities between English and Scandinavian brooches is explained as follows:

...craftsmen and their apprentices from northern German lands, wholly familiar with provincial-Roman artistic ideas transmitted in a variety of ways from Gaul, joined in the Anglo-Saxon settlement of England, including the emergent new kingdom of Kent with its Jutish overlords. In this way, late Roman motifs and techniques appear, at one remove, to have entered the repertoire of Anglo-Saxon art at an early stage. (p. 13)

In "Early Saxon Settlements and Burials on Puddlehill," (*ASSHA* 4, 1985, 59-115), C. L. Matthews and Sonia Chadwick Hawkes *et. al.* provide a fascinating study of a seventh-century Saxon family who took up residence on an extremely exposed hill ridge. Two hypotheses for this choice are provided; either indicates that Saxon-British interactions were quite difficult, even so late:

A family group of minor aristocrats or well-to-do middle-class people, West Saxons to judge from the grave 10 lady's brooches, were established in a stock farm right up on the ridge of the hill in the early seventh century. It was clearly an inhospitable place, as the weather-proofing of their farmstead shows, and had they appeared there in the fifth century instead of the seventh, one would immediately think of them as having been settled there for strategic reasons and attribute them a military role. And maybe theirs was a comparable situation, except that instead of fifth-century Saxons employed by British

to guard against Saxons, these were seventh century Saxons, employed by Saxons to guard against British. Of course the case would be strengthened had there been an armed male or two in the cemetery, but men there must have been to run the farm, and their absence, or apparent absence from the cemetery, could be explained in several ways. If, however, a strategic role seems too highly coloured an explanation for their presence up on Puddlehill, then one must assume that they were surrounded by, to us, invisible British, whom the Saxons did not wish to antagonise by eviction. Either way, they endured the rigours of Puddlehill for no more than at most a couple of generations, and by the late seventh century or at latest the early eighth they had removed downhill, perhaps to Houghton Regis itself. And after them no one had the hardihood to erect a permanent dwelling on the hill top ever again. (p. 63)

Mavis Bimson writes on "Dark Age Garnet Cutting" (ASSHA 4, [1985], 125-128). The study is important for Sutton Hoo, because Bimson presents evidence to show that:

Modern gem-cutters have no knowledge of the technique of manufacture of the slab-cut garnets so common in Dark Age jewellery and have, on occasion, given archaeologists seeking specialist advice, some very ill-founded and misleading estimates of the time which would be required to cut and polish such stones. They based these estimates on the time for cutting and polishing each stone individually, which would have been the method employed for cabochon and faceted stones. However there is now strong evidence that not only were techniques of mass production used in polishing slab-cut garnets but that the primary slices of garnet crystal could be obtained, without the labour of cutting, from certain types of poor quality garnets. (p. 125)

Early medieval lapidaries selected garnets with a particular crystalline structure, one which would fracture into flat, almost uniform slabs with thermal or physical shocks. It would have been possible to polish a large number of slabs at one time:

It has been calculated that the total surface area of over four thousand individual garnets present in the Sutton Hoo regalia is less than 14 x 20 cm and they could therefore have been easily accommodated on a block the size of two modern bricks. Spacers would have been used to control the final thickness of the stones, thus keeping the face of the block on which the stones were mounted parallel to that carrying the abrasive. The use of such a technique would result in the polished surfaces of the garnet slabs being also close to parallel. Evidence that this is the case with Dark-Age slab-cut garnets was obtained unexpectedly when an attempt was made to estimate the

refractive index of such garnets by measuring the percentage of normal incident light reflected from the plane surface of the stones. This proved unsuccessful because the upper and lower surfaces were so closely parallel that the reflected beam was being reinforced by reflection from the lower surface. Such accuracy must have been an unplanned by-product of the method of manufacture, since it adds nothing to the appearance of the stone when set. (126-27)

Shortages of garnets came about early, starting in Sweden, for example, as early as the Vendel period.

Katherine East provides further light on what underlay the garnets, in her study of "The Cross-Hatched Gold Foils from Sutton Hoo" (ibid, 129-142). The cloisonné garnets at Sutton Hoo and elsewhere are particularly brilliant because patterned gold foil was set into the cell before it was capped by garnet slab. Briefly put, East's study shows that the more than four thousand bits of pattern gold foil were produced by several different, but very similar, negative dies, two fine, one medium, two "coarse." The die face was no larger than 12-15 mm., but modern scholarly precision is impossible, because:

A search for some irregularity which might by its recurrence help in defining an exact die pattern proved fruitless. The craftsman's perfectionism has made the twentieth-century investigator's task much more difficult. (p. 138)

N. D. Meeks and R. Holms provide a complementary study, "The Sutton Hoo Garnet Jewellery: an Examination of Some Gold Backing Foils and a Study of Their Possible Manufacturing Techniques" (ASSHA 4, [1985], 143-157). Their contention, based on practical experiments, show that the dies for impressing the gold foils could not have been hand cut, but had to have been made by a reduction machine; i.e., one which scaled down sizing:

The earliest reduction machines of which we have definite knowledge would seem to be the 17th century clockmaker's gear-cutting machines. On these and on the other devices, such as that made by Rowland in the 19th century to rule lines on glass diffraction-gratings (Moore, 1982), the movement of the workpiece was controlled by a large graduated wheel. The level used on our jig for advancing the workpiece employs exactly the same principle for reduction, and indeed a wheel was used as a line spacing method for the longitudinal grooves when our jig was used to cut roller dies. There seems to be no evidence before the 17th century for the use of such a machine. For example, Medieval gears, which were of a large scale, were hand-cut. However the principle of scale expansion/reduction itself was known to both Greeks and Romans with devices such as the pantograph, and the level principle used there is exactly the same as that used on the experimental jig.

There are therefore no principles, materials or techniques used in the proposed methods for producing foils from jig-cut dies that were not already appreciated or in use by Anglo-Saxon times. (p. 157)

Ruth Mazo Karras studies "Seventh Century Jewellery from Frisia." (ASSHA 4 [1985]), and comes to a conclusion which satisfies expectations, but is no surprise:

The craftsman or men who worked in Frisia in the seventh century had such a great familiarity with Kentish work that at least one must have trained in England. If the Frisian workshop remained active over a period of several decades, as seems likely from the quantity and range of the jewellery, it must have had access over the whole period to imported Kentish pieces as models, or craftsmen must have travelled frequently back and forth. Communications must have been close enough for Frisian craftsmen to observe English jewellery, either in workshops or as worn by travellers of high status.

Someone in Frisia both accumulated enough wealth to patronize the craftsmen and wished to display that wealth in the form of jewellery. Not all the gold in Frisia, however, was made into jewellery: at least one major hoard, at Dronrijp, contained gold in the form of loose, unmounted coins. The Frisians probably accumulated this wealth chiefly through trade. They had been traders during the Roman Iron Age, before the marine transgression of the late Roman period caused economic and political disruption, and a mass exodus of peoples from the North West German coastal areas. When the situation improved and conditions permitted, we must assume that surviving Frisians in the homeland resumed their old role as middlemen between the Baltic and coastal Western Europe. It should be pointed out that there is no documentary evidence for this period. (p. 174)

John Manley writes a useful brief survey of "The Archer and the Army" (ASSHA 4, [1985], 223-234). His conclusion, based in part on the evidence of the Bayeux tapestry, in which Harold (inter alia) is shown dying from an arrow wound, is of great interest:

In conclusion the late Saxon bowman did play a role, albeit a minor one, in the early medieval army. It seems certain, however, that he performed miserably at Hastings and that his value and full potential was not realized in the centuries immediately preceding the Conquest. Just as the Mongol Avar horse-archers made an impression on Charlemagne and, indeed, just as Edward I was similarly taken with the bowmen of Gwent, so too Harold must have found his introduction to Norman archery an instructive, if painful, education. The tragedy for Harold was that,

unlike Charlemagne and Edward I, he was not allowed the luxury of learning from his experience. (p. 231)

The Council for British Archaeology has produced a number of important reports, but the *Anglo-Saxon Church, papers on history, architecture and archaeology in honour of Dr. H. M. Taylor (No. 60 in the series), is both extremely important, and a fitting recognition of the remarkable career of the greatest student of Anglo-Saxon architecture. Martin Biddle's "Archaeology, architecture, and the cult of saints in Anglo-Saxon England" (1-31) deals with:

...the saint as patron (patronus) who exercises his ideal power (potentia) through his physical presence (praesentia). (p. 1)

The Cult of saints in Christianity is remarkable, because it broke down

immemorial barriers between the altar and the tomb, between the private grave and the public shrine, between the cities of the living and the cities of the dead outside their walls. Only an idea of great power could have been the catalyst of so great a change, and the idea was no less than that heaven and earth were joined at the grave of the very special dead. The saint in heaven was believed to be 'present' at his tomb on earth. (p. 3)

Biddle surveys a number of continental English sites, finding long continuity on many sites, as was the case at St. Albans:

The excavation demonstrated for the first time that the cloister of the abbey overlies one of the cemeteries of Roman Verulamium. In the small area examined twenty graves were found, two dated by coins to the middle of the 4th century. Because of strict prohibitions about the disturbance of burials, Roman cemeteries tended to expand over an ever larger area. A part of this cemetery in use in the 3rd century at the supposed time of Alban's martyrdom may therefore lie quite close. Whether or not these graves are Christian, there is thus a probable context for the burial of Alban in an existing cemetery on or near the site of the abbey church.

Some time after the middle of the 4th century the cemetery in the area excavated was abandoned and replaced by a gravelled area, at least once resurfaced, which was used by people who lost a lot of coins but broke relatively little pottery, people in other words who were attending in relatively large numbers something like a fair or a market rather than living on the site. This is an inference which would fit well with the presence nearby of a basilica over the grave of a saint whose relics were now the focus of a cult: urbs movetur sedibus suis was Jerome's description of such popular movements. This change in land use at the cemetery may therefore provide a

context for the growth and popularity of Alban's cult.

The power of Levison's theory to predict the archaeology at the site of the abbey must seem well established by the positive results of this test of his views. Certainty can only come from further work. But if there was indeed a martyr basilica at Verulamium, may Gildas not have been correct in recording that there were elsewhere in Britain sepulturae et passionum loca of martyrs of both sexes whose names, apart from Alban, Aaron, and Julius, have not come down to us? (13-14)

The case of Repton is of particularly great interest, for the echoes of the site, both in onomastics and archaeology, are decidedly Beowulfian:

The crypt at Repton, like the originally detached mausoleum from which it developed, stands on a bluff above the River Trent. Whether or not this mausoleum once housed the remains of Æthelbald, the king was buried overlooking the floodplain in just such a way as the dying Beowulf instructed Wiglaf (!) to build his memorial mound on a promontory by the sea (Clemoes 1981, 183-4). When Peter Clemoes made this observation in 1981, the second mausoleum had not been found. The following year, 80m to the west, a sunken, two-celled, stone building of Middle Saxon date was discovered in the vicarage garden. It had been reused in the late 9th century for a mass burial probably associated with the Viking wintering at Repton in 873-4, but by this time was already long in decay. In its original state, the internal walls dressed with moulded stucco, the windows filled with coloured glass, the roof apparently covered with lead, such a sunken building was probably a mausoleum and a royal one at that.

And so at Repton there may have been not one but two or even more tombs crest-sited along the low cliff of the south bank of Trent. Like the earthen tombs of old, these were sunk into the ground, but one at least rose above the surface in monumental plinths which recall the mounds, perhaps even the stone pyramids, appropriate to the burial of princes. Like the mounds of Sutton Hoo above the Deben, the tombs at Repton above the Trent suggest the burying place of a royal line; at Repton, however the context is Christian and the last known burial was that of a royal saint. (p. 22)

David Rollason writes an exploratory study of "The shrines of saints in later Anglo-Saxon England: distribution and significance." (pp. 32-44) He proposes to answer two questions:

1. What sort of communities had relics?
2. Is it possible to establish any relationship between the distribution of shrines and translations and the pattern of political and territorial power in late

Anglo-Saxon England? (p. 34)

His most apposite case for showing the relationship between saints and power is that of Cuthbert:

how they formed the focus of the community of Lindisfarne in exile, how they were visited at Chester-le-Street by the most powerful of Anglo-Saxon kings, Athelstan, and how their supposed refusal to move from the neighborhood of Durham led to the foundation of the church and see on the peninsula in the River Wear where it stands today. There can be little doubt that the choice of Durham was governed by practical considerations such as the defensibility of the site and the wishes of Earl Uhtred who seemed to have been associated with the establishment of the community at Durham. But it is of great significance that contemporaries wished it to be believed that the desires of St. Cuthbert were the paramount factor. For they chose to describe the establishment of the church at Durham as a result of miraculous occurrences involving Cuthbert's relics. The site of Durham Cathedral, towering above the River Wear, thus seems to offer a tangible reminder of the extent to which early medieval people could express the realities of worldly power in terms of the supernatural power residing in a saint's relics. (p. 42)

Rosemary Cramp surveys "The Furnishings and sculptural decorations of Anglo-Saxon Churches" (101-104), concluding:

I have tried to show in this paper that certain schemes of ornament were 'traditional', while others were precocious. The early austere 'Roman' ornament--from Hexham and Jarrow--reflected in architectural details and furnishings was perhaps a deliberate attempt to be traditionally antique but in an idiom not uncongenial to a wood-using people. The later developments of richly ornamented openings, such as are found at Ledsham (Yorkshire) or Britford (Wiltshire), seem to be reflecting the ornament of other media such as metalwork or manuscripts. How early the English felt enough confidence in their native traditions to use them freely in all media, and thereby to develop period rather than regional or artefactual styles, is difficult to say. (p. 104)

Her final comment reflects the limitations of Alcuin's "Quid Hiniieldus cum Christo?":

Confidence in the secular heritage is also demonstrable in some of the latest interior friezes from Anglo-Saxon England such as the bold carving of an armed man, a recumbent figure, and a wolf excavated from the demolition level of the Winchester Old Minster. This has been interpreted as part of the story of Sigurd, and as

reflecting the pride of the late Saxon kings in their pagan and northern ancestry. Certainly it transports us a long way from the types of Jewish and Early Christian history which Bede so admired at Monkwearmouth and Jarrow. At least it does seem to have been believed that Ingeld could have something to do with Christ. (p. 104)

For anyone interested in the building methods of Anglo-Saxon churches, Warwick Rodwell's "Anglo-Saxon Church Building: aspects of design and construction" (156-75) will be of great interest. The surprise is that a great deal of wood was used, even in the construction of stone churches, so that "the number of carpenters employed in church construction can hardly have been smaller than the number of masons". (171). It must be remembered as well that throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, timber was the usual material for construction, as Rodwell points out:

Although it is the work of the mason which has principally survived in the extant Anglo-Saxon churches, it must be apparent from the foregoing that the role of the carpenter and joiner was in no way less significant. Recent research has demonstrated that there was considerably more structural and other functional timberwork in the early churches than has perhaps hitherto been appreciated. Add to this the requirements of scaffolding, formwork, centring, and wall shuttering, and it is self-evident that the number of carpenters employed in church construction can hardly have been smaller than the number of masons. Moreover, when it is recalled that the vast majority of other buildings associated with religious life, and almost all secular buildings, were also of wooden construction, the pre-eminence of a timber technology in Anglo-Saxon England needs no justification. Nor does the fact that the verb timbrian simply meant 'to build'. Stonemasonry was by far the lesser craft in the construction industry down to the end of the 11th century. (p. 171)

In so late a church as Earls Barton, carpentry-type joints are used in the stone pilaster stripwork of the stone tower:

There are many curiosities about the tower at Earls Barton which lead one to believe that the design of its prototype was wholly for timber, where prefabricated framing would be brought onto site ready for erection. The concept was translated into stone, even down to prefabrication, but something went drastically wrong with the erection process and one cannot help but feel that the design drawings were mislaid. As a result the 'kit of parts' was incorrectly assembled, to such an extent that I believe major elements to have become transposed. For example, the thin, semicircular hoops which stand on a string-course were surely intended to be heads for arcading, as at Barton-upon-Humber (Fig 115D). The hoops have, incidentally, been cut as one-piece stones with a greater labour input than would have been required for the

production of their timber prototypes (simple rings turned on the wood lathe, and then cut in half). (p. 174)

B. Sculpture

A number of items deal directly with sculpture. Rosemary Cramp briefly describes the Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture ed. Paul Szarmach, pp. 431-32. The work has been in progress for twenty years; a photographic corpus has been established at Durham University. The material is important, for much of it is hitherto unillustrated:

Much of the material in these volumes is concerned with those monuments which are distinctive of the British Isles in the pre-Conquest period, i.e., the stone crosses; and many of these are well illustrated for the first time. Recent excavations on ecclesiastical sites have however revealed other types of funerary monument and a wealth of architectural sculpture and furnishings, much of which has not hitherto been described in print. (p. 431)

Rosemary Cramp also provides an incisive, brief and useful overview of "Anglo-Saxon and Italian Sculpture." in the early Middle Ages, (Angli E Sassoni Al Di Qua E al Di La del Mare, XXXII, Settimane de Studio del Centro Italino di Studi sull 'Alto Mediaevo. pp. 125-42).

Her first point is that Rome had not so fully conquered in Britain as elsewhere:

However much the barbarian rulers who settled in Britain during the fifth and sixth centuries may, like their compatriots abroad, have desired to model themselves on the rulers of the ancient Roman world, the British had less thoroughly assimilated Romanitas, and the native rulers who had waged long and often successful wars against the invading Germans, had established their own right to rule. In addition there are some indications in the archaeology, particularly of Northern Britain, that the native rulers had adapted their life styles to earlier Iron Age practices, and had eschewed the monumental arts of mortared stone sculpture and architecture. (p. 125)

Her conclusions are certainly more important than the specific influence she sees:

It may well seem that I have had to work very hard to provide any comparisons at all between the surviving fragments of sculpture from the seventh to tenth centuries in England and in Italy, and that I should perhaps have called this paper the differences between the sculptural traditions within the two areas. Both areas were developing an antique Western Classical tradition modified by contacts with the Christian Orient. In Italy, to the outsider at least, the impression is of a tradition long

established in the workshops of professional stone-masons who were not greatly influenced by changes in fashion in other media. Moreover there is a stable tradition of architectural sculpture in the form of capitals, decorated openings and church fittings or furniture, while other decoration was provided by wall paintings and mosaics. In Anglo-Saxon England, the traditions are stylistically more volatile, and after the late eighth century closely linked with the other monastic arts such as manuscripts. Only in the tenth and eleventh centuries does one begin to see the repetitive productions of professional masons. Before that stone carving was a minority art and one is constantly aware that the abiding popular tradition for buildings throughout the period was in wood. (pp. 139-140)

Martin Biddle and Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle give a full account of "The Repton Stone" (*ASE* 14 [1985], 233-292). The very fragmentary stone shaft was discovered in 1979. Repton's importance, and its putative Beowulfian connection, have been stressed above, in the section on burials. Repton had a double-monastery for men and women before the end of the seventh century, when St. Guthlac entered it, and the house was apparently effectively destroyed in 873-4, when the Vikings spent the winter there.

The stone is a yellow brown local sandstone; it has on it the figure of a mounted warrior on the broad side, and of a serpent on the narrow side. It appears that the sculpture was deeply cut, and that it was part of a rectangular shaft. However, the stone is too fragmentary to permit further particularity. Briefly, to summarize the piece is the aim here: The Biddles draw a parallel of the rider and his equipment to Beowulf:

in lines 2703b-2704a Beowulf draws from his sword-belt the 'wallseax, biter ond beaduscearp', which he wears as an accompaniment to the bill Nægling. Its function is to give the killing stroke, the coup de grace, as its name, wallseax, 'seax of slaughter', implies; and thus Beowulf uses it, to cut the dragon through the middle. As combat on horseback with sword and lance became less intimate, so the role of the seax declined. If one prefers the view that Beowulf is an eighth-century (perhaps Mercian?) work, the correspondence of Beowulf's weapon-set to the arms of the Repton rider is of more than passing interest. (p. 282)

The cultural "mix" of the carving is exactly what one would expect it to be in eighth-century Mercia:

It is the rider who reveals most clearly the nature of this milieu. His mail shirt, his arms and his mount declare his aristocratic, Germanic lineage. And yet both in general and in detail his representation is an inheritance from an older, or at least a distant, imperial world, the distinction depending on whether the rider is based on a late antique image of an emperor, such as that

on the Kertch dish, or on an almost contemporary Byzantine ruler, such as might be shown on a silk. In one sense the distinction is important, for the only possible models would have been rich, exotic and perhaps politically significant objects, this serving again to emphasize the aristocratic background of the stone. This background is not, however, only wealthy, aristocratic, Germanic and seeking legitimation from antiquity, for the sculptor had access to a world of images of a very different kind, as the serpent face (B) shows. This other world was lettered and theological; it was also strongly infused with Celtic elements. (284-5)

The final part of the study deals with the range of representations of regal figures in late Antique Contexts; the Biddles conclude:

The arguments we have deployed lead, we suggest, to the conclusion that the rider on the Repton Stone is a representation of Æthelbald, king of Mercia, in the fullness of his years and power. Unless it was erected to commemorate an unknown victory, it seems most likely that the cross which carried this representation was erected by Offa in memory of his kinsman at his place of burial soon after the suppression of Beornred's usurpation in 757.

If this conclusion is substantiated, the ageing figure of Æthelbald on the Repton Stone is the oldest known large-scale representation of an English king, perhaps the oldest surviving non-numismatic portrait of a Germanic king north of the Alps. He is shown, as Stenton concluded in a memorable phrase, 'as the barbarian master of a military household'. (p. 290)

John Higgitt's (editor and contributor) Early Medieval Sculpture in Britain and Ireland (*BAR* British Series 152) is an important book, for as Rosemary Cramp points out in a prefatory essay, "They circumvent the more recent historic boundaries within the British Isles and Ireland, so that each paper surveys the whole sweep of sculpture, excluding only the Isle of Man." (p. 1)

For those primarily interested in Anglo-Saxon literature, a thumbnail sketch will serve to indicate the importance of the book. In "A Crucifixion Plaque from Cumbria" (5-23), Richard Bailey sees new evidence of Irish influence on a Penrith carving, though he had earlier argued against Irish influence in Cumbria. In her study of "The South Cross, Clonmacnois" (23-48), Nancy Edwards sees the vine scroll on that and a few other Irish monuments as derived from Northumbrian sculpture. In his study of "A group of Early Christian Carved Stone Monuments in County Donegal" (49-85), Peter Harbison shows first that these objects do not support the notion put forward long ago by Françoise Heny that cross-slabs evolved into high crosses. Harbison concludes:

Rather than being seen as demonstrating a purely hypothetical evolution of the Irish High Cross, these

Donegal monuments should claim our attention as a highly distinctive and individualistic regional group of carvings, possibly serving a variety of purposes, and displaying features which suggest contact with Irish High Crosses further south, and with areas as far away as Carolingian Germany and 'Lombardic' Italy - but which, above all, cannot be fully appreciated without reference to their Scottish counterparts. (p. 67)

Rosemary Cramp rightly describes Isabel Henderson's study of "The 'David Cycle' in Pictish Art" (87-123) as magisterial. Henderson has often charted the influence of Pictish art on other traditions; here she shows it to be both up to date, and accomplished:

The presence of the triangular harp on the major Pictish monuments with David iconography underscores what is evident in other aspects of Pictish art. The harp is up-to-date, and so is the rest of the David imagery--possibly to the extent of indulging in literal illustration of biblical texts (Henderson 1982, 102-3). The sculptural technique is equally brilliant. Professor Bullough has rightly remarked that any interpretation of the iconography of the representations of David in Pictish sculpture is necessarily highly speculative, but such speculation at least does justice to the quality and complexity of the sculpture. A monument such as the St. Andrews Sarcophagus cannot be treated as merely the most elaborate surviving example of Pictish sculptures' skill in portraying animals in profile. Much of its art can be derived from southern English work but in intention it stands closer to the Durham Cassiodorus miniatures when David imagery has been shown to be being deliberately manipulated for deeper theological purposes. This similarity of outlook must be greatly to the credit of Pictish monastic culture in general. (p. 111)

John Higgitt's own paper, "Words and Crosses: The Inscribed Stone Cross in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland" (125-52), is important. His first point deals with variety:

The most striking thing that emerges from this survey is the variety both in the form and the content of the inscriptions. The national traditions are clearly distinct, although there are many points of comparison. The three national traditions surveyed are not monolithic. Practice varied through time and from place to place. The greatest diversity can be seen in the English material. This is not simply because more inscribed crosses are known from England than from Wales or Ireland (about 55, about 21 and about 15 respectively). The differences probably correspond to some extent to differences in the intended function of crosses both within the national traditions and between the national traditions. (p. 142)

His commentary on what one might call the "Readership" of crosses is very significant:

This review of inscriptions on crosses may permit some tentative conclusions about the intended audience or readership of the texts. The person 'speaking' seems generally to be the patron, or occasionally perhaps the craftsman, presumably by leave of the patron. The patron speaks through the medium of whoever composed the inscriptions. This would normally be likely to be a cleric but, in the case of runes and perhaps sometimes of other alphabets, some of the text may have been drafted by non-clerical literates. Wormald may be right that God was the principal intended audience in some cases (1977, 96). One or two of the Welsh and English texts are in the form of prayers or invocations. (The doxology on the cross-slab at Fahan Mura is in Greek and so the potential non-divine readership in this case would have been negligible (Macalister 1945-49, 951; Berschin 1982, 509-10). The indecipherable texts in cryptic scripts on the Hackness cross would have been equally inaccessible and, if not addressed to God, were certainly arcane and reserved for small numbers of clerical initiates. The Ruthwell Crucifixion poem may be awkward to read because of its layout, but it could be read, with application, by someone familiar with runes. Some of the more complex religious texts, such as both the Latin and Old English texts on the Ruthwell cross, may have been intended for slow and meditative reading by clerics and so some difficulty in language, script, layout or ideas would not have been out of order. (p. 146)

Three studies deal with the Ruthwell Cross, Sandra McEntire's "The Devotional Content of the Cross before 800" (Szarmach, Sources, 345-357), Éamonn Ó Carragáin's "Christ Over the Beasts and the Agnus Dei: Two Multivalent Panels on the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses" (*ibid.* 377-406) and Robert T. Farrell's "Reflections on the Iconography of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses" (*ibid.* 357-376). All of these pieces are stepping stones, preparatory to the large-scale publication of these crosses by an English-Irish-American group of scholars. McEntire concludes:

The first millennium culminates in great artistic and literary representations of the cult of the Cross. It becomes increasingly evident that stone crosses such as those at Ruthwell and Bewcastle and poetry such as The Dream of the Rood and Elene are clear and representative expressions of a devotion, spirituality, and theology having roots in a universal awareness which was being constantly renewed by historical event, personal experience, and theological development. (351-52)

Ó Carragáin rightly expresses the primacy of liturgy, as "the work of a monastery," in interpreting such monuments as these crosses. Farrell's central point is how heavily damaged the Ruthwell Cross is:

Any realistic appraisal of the fragments we have left to us must tend to a rather sobering conclusion: while we do have remains of slightly more than half of the original sculpture panels, most of them have suffered very substantial injury, so that the re-erected monument now in Ruthwell church represents only a small part of the cross as it looked when it left the remarkably skilled craftsmen and artists who conceived, designed, and executed it. (361-62)

J. T. Lang and R. A. Hall report on excavations carried out in "St. Mary's Church, Levisham, North Yorkshire," (Yorkshire Archaeol. Jnl. 58, 57-83.) which revealed some twelfth-century features along with an incised grave-slab, pottery, textile, glass and several fragments of Anglo-Scandinavian and Romanesque sculpture. The grave-slab and a pottery sherd "broadly define a twelfth century horizon" for the early church at Levisham, but both later intrusions and structural constraints have caused the loss of much evidence of both the Medieval and post-Medieval structure. Moreover, because of the lack of datable finds only a relative chronology can be established. There was no evidence that any church occupied the site prior to the twelfth century.

As for the sculpture:

Sculpted stone fragments from Levisham comprise two distinct groups with regard both to period and function: churchyard monuments from the Anglo-Scandinavian tenth century and decorative architectural pieces from an early Romanesque church. (p. 66)

The majority of these finds had been built into the fabric of the church at a later date. The cross-head and shaft fragments that were discovered all have features that relate them to sculpture at Sinnington, Middleton, Pickering and other local workshop sites. One fragment, removed from the S. E. corner of the chapel, is interesting for its combination of motifs hitherto found only on disparate monuments, and for its apparently unique arrow-head pendent. The authors also note that the famous Levisham grave-slab needs to be seen in a local context rather than forced into a typological progression. They point out that its carvers would not have had an "up to the minute receptiveness to the subtle shifts of fashion in Scandinavia", and that indeed the slab is parochial in nature, compares well with earlier Anglian sculpture, and was, no doubt, the product of a provincial workshop operating within the confines of the site.

The Romanesque sculptural finds are all decorative architectural pieces. They "point to the enrichment of the early Romanesque church by a local sculptor of unambitious repertoire." Their poor quality makes precise dating difficult, although a cat-mask fragment found in the churchyard, if it originated at St. Mary's, would suggest a date between the mid eleventh and mid twelfth centuries. The authors conclude that:

Though the Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture demonstrates that a tenth century burial ground very probably existed on the site, there is no architectural evidence for any pre-

Conquest fabric in the present church. (p. 77)

In "Notes on Stone Monuments at Royston and near Richmond" (Yorkshire Archaeol. Jnl. 58, 31-36), P. F. Ryder offers a brief account of a pre-Conquest cross from Royston and four Medieval cross slab grave covers from North Yorkshire. The pre-Conquest cross was unearthed from the garden of the Chantry House. The front face is carved in relief with three standing figures which Ryder suggests might represent the temptation of St. Anthony. The rear is carved with a hanging ring-knot with interlace, and the sides with a two-strand twist. Ryder suggests that the cross represents a fusion of Scandinavian and Irish influences, and it is unfortunate that this aspect of the cross was not explored at greater depth.

The four cross-slabs, all from within 10 km. of Richmond, are all elaborately decorated, suggesting that they are "the memorials of persons of some importance." Their closest parallels are with thirteenth and fourteenth century examples from Durham. Ryder suggests that the Yorkshire cross-slab grave covers offer a particularly rich field for future research and notes the need for both a complete survey of surviving slabs and the urgent need for preservation.

Ruth Kozoday, in "The Reculver Cross" (Archaeologia 108, 67-94, continues the argument put forth in her 1976 Ph.D. thesis (Columbia University) that the Reculver cross was a product of the early seventh century. There is little in her argument that is either new or likely to change any minds, though her suggested reconstruction of the cross is interesting. Kozoday's stated purpose in this article is to:

assemble all the relevant historical and archaeological comparative material, and to draw conclusions about the nature and origins of the Reculver cross. (p. 67)

She does not, however, appear to be drawing conclusions from her material so much as molding her material to fit a predetermined conclusion. While the article is profusely illustrated with Continental and/or Mediterranean parallels, Anglo-Saxon parallels, as, for example, interlace types and vine scrolls are not illustrated and receive only passing mention.

The basis for Kozoday's argument seems to be the unverified tradition, dating from the sixteenth century, that the sixth century Kentish King Ethelbert had a royal seat at Reculver. It was Ethelbert, she believes, who caused the cross to be carved, possibly from a re-used Roman column.

Two of the fragments Kozoday identifies as depicting an Ascension and a Crucifixion.

On first consideration, iconographic evidence seems to suggest that the Reculver ascension composition is Carolingian. However, virtually all of the elements found in the Reculver scene (and in Carolingian examples) were extant, separately, by the sixth century. Moreover, the open transparent aureole, held by angels, points to late antique and eastern devices not shared by Carolingian compositions.

The Reculver ascension's unique iconography suggests, therefore that it is the only survivor from the time between the mid-sixth century and the Carolingian period to illustrate the combination of types which eventually produced the ascension formula familiar in Carolingian works and their successors. (p. 73)

This view creates an awfully large gap in time between the Reculver cross and its Carolingian descendents. It can also be said that while all the elements of the ascension may have existed by the mid-sixth century, there is no evidence that such a complex and innovative monument could have been created in Britain at such an early date. Ms. Kozoday, however, envisages the following scenario:

Byzantine sculptors who reached Kent in the company of Augustine taught their skills to local artists. Ethelbert, once converted, raised at Reculver a standing cross of the native monumental type. But this cross was done in the imposing material and manner of the newly arrived culture (thus adopting a glorious Roman imperial tradition), and executed by a newly trained Kentish sculptors. (p. 89)

This theory, while interesting, remains impossible to prove. Given the cross's stylistic and iconographic connections with Carolingian art, it seems much more likely that the cross is in fact a product of the late seventh or eighth century.

Another reconstruction, this time of the architectural friezes at Breedon, is put forward by R. H. I. Jewell in "The Anglo-Saxon Friezes at Breedon-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire" (*Archaeologia* 108 (95-115)). The author's purpose here is to:

consider in greater detail than hitherto what models the sculptors are most likely to have used and to attempt to answer the more general questions the friezes raise, relating to their architectural setting, and to the extent to which they derive from late antique and Byzantine types. (p. 95)

Jewell sees both the narrow and broad friezes as the work of one group of craftsmen. Both are essentially decorative--rather than religious--in nature, having a close affinity with the initials and borders of contemporary Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.

The narrow frieze consists of a single and double-stemmed vine scrolls and (as has been noted previously) was always in an interior setting. Jewell suggests:

that the narrow frieze blocks were originally laid in courses at the top of interior walls, supporting vaulting (as in the Visigothic and Greek churches), or a wooden roof. (p. 100)

Jewell cites a wide range of Continental, Mediterranean, Byzantine and Insular sources for the more diverse ornament of the broad frieze, with Eastern textiles providing an exceptionally rich variety of motifs. He notes a similarity between the paired-head terminals and late eighth century silver pennies of King Offa.

This parallel for the heads suggests connotations of royalty, and such is the outstanding quality of the sculpture, and the richness of its apparent models, that the personal patronage of a king - perhaps Coenwulf of Mercia (796-821) seems a strong possibility. (p. 109)

The number of end blocks make it unlikely that the frieze formed a single length and Jewell suggests that the frieze was set at the top of the exterior walls of the church, just below the eaves of the North and South walls with the paired heads serving as cornerstones, originally at the base of a gable.

C. Sutton Hoo

There is a great deal out on Sutton Hoo this year; (see also the review of technical aspects in Section 1). The most useful publication in terms of cost and range is Angela Care Evans's *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial*, an entirely new handbook published by the British Museum. Though the current state of the pound makes us all reel, £5.50 is still a reasonable price for a totally up-to-date account of the Mound One materials, and subsequent developments. It is a text essential to anyone interested in the subject. There are two papers on Sutton Hoo in Angli E. Sassoni, M. O. H. Carver's *Sutton Hoo in Context* (77-117), and Rupert Bruce-Mitford's *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial: Some Foreign Connections* (143-218).

Professor Carver makes a particularly telling point in investigating the nature of barrow burial:

Building a barrow and founding a church may well have been analogous acts. James describes how burials cluster around the church, seeking the envied 'sub stillicidio' positions which received sanctified rain off the church roof, as can be seen, for example, at Castel Seprio. Thomas had described a similar effect in the early christian cemeteries of Britain, which used a 'founder's tomb' as the focus. A similar tendency may have already been present in the pagan cemeteries which immediately preceded these. Both configurations, and the transitions between them, will be studied at Repton where the Biddies are now at work. Here the church of St. Wynstan containing the mausoleum of the Mercian King, Wiglaf, lies in close proximity to mounds, which may include barrows. The mound excavated was of the Viking period, built over an earlier building, possibly a mausoleum. It should not be assumed from these examples that church-building copies barrow-building. The barrows of high status cemeteries, and here we must include Sutton Hoo, may turn out to be a demonstrative reaction to Christianity, as the Roman tem-

ples of the 4th century had reacted before them. (98-99)

Carver also suggests that all the exotic goods could have reached Sutton through only two sources:

The purely archaeological picture might therefore allow us to speculate that the majority of the exotic artifacts at Sutton Hoo could be explained by contacts with just two neighbouring cultures; the Swedish and the Frankish. (p. 105)

His conclusions are far reaching:

The context of Sutton Hoo, interpreted in strictly archaeological terms, is, therefore, pagan, 'heroic' and status-seeking: the work of pretentious and acquisitive parvenues, aspiring to 'royalty' and adopting or inventing or recalling ill-remembered traditions to lend dignity to a power based on the exploitation of the rural wealth of the local community. To belong to such a European elite was no doubt of far greater significance to them than to be East Anglians, or even, indeed Angles, or Saxons, or Anglo-Saxons. This self-appointed international aristocratic community had a bright future before it. (p. 108)

It is no slight to Dr. Bruce-Mitford's piece to say that it is a series of new thoughts and minute study of the stylistics and provenance of a number of pieces from Mound One, the work serving to say that:

...even one of the less well-known and prosperous of the early Saxon kingdoms in England could maintain and develop in the first quarter of the seventh century fertile contacts with the wider world, both Germanic and Mediterranean, drawing creatively on both traditions. (209-10)

Martin Carver discusses "Anglo-Saxon Objectives at Sutton Hoo" (ASE 15, 139-152). He proposes the following major goals:

the prehistoric sequence and functions; the size, shape and duration of the early medieval cemetery; the range of burial rite employed there; the intimate structure of barrows; the fine detail of timber ships and the settlement geography of the Deben Valley. Bringing such things into the light of day is not of course simply a matter of digging them up. (p. 141)

Some of the graves excavated in the new campaign are unusual, particularly one with a ploughman cum plow, buried, as it were, at work. This is possibly a pagan burial, but no certainty is yet possible. The royal site at Yeavinger may provide parallels:

There, pagan practice and Christian practice, royal hall

and folk centre were all observed on the same site; an occupation short in duration but great in its significance for the political, cultural and religious changes that were taking place. If Sutton Hoo performed as a religious and political centre, it may indeed have done so for the kingdom of East Anglia. But the appropriate territory which emerges most clearly so far is the small region of east Suffolk known as the Sandlings, containing the other ship-burial ground at Snape, the lost episcopal centre at Dunwich, the seigneurial or monastic settlement on Burrow Hill, and the port and incipient town of Ipswich. The existence of such a territory and the nature of its connections with Scandinavia will be a crucial area of our future investigations. (p. 150)

The diggings sound most promising:

A broad transect running east-west will cross the deepest prehistoric stratification and the known extent of the early medieval cemetery from its edge in the east to the scarp which falls rapidly towards the Deben in the West. A further transect at right angles will investigate chronological changes from north to south. The sample includes six barrows, three of which are thought to contain boats. About 500 inhumations are anticipated from this transect, together with an unknown number of cremations. (p. 151)

Carola Hicks reviews "The Birds on the Sutton Hoo purse" (ASE 15, 153-165). The uses of a predatory bird is common in ancient art in a range of cultures:

...while it can be shown that the general background for the Anglo-Saxon bird of prey with victim lies in the Eurasian influences on Germanic art, combined perhaps with some elements of the naturalistic Roman animal brooches, the bird with bird as victim has a separate and subsequent course of development. It is present in the east Mediterranean area, from where imports were made both in Anglo-Saxon times and in the Romanesque period, when the motif reappears.

Hicks sees this combination as important because of its association with falconry:

...the birds on the Sutton Hoo purse provide not only a symbolic animal combat of ancient type but also an accurate depiction of a contemporary sport, known to be a favorite pastime of aristocracy of Germanic stock. It is extremely likely that falconry was practiced by the owner of the Sutton Hoo regalia. The royal jewellers may therefore have included a reference to their patron's interest in this kingly sport on one of the gold cloisonné pieces which was commissioned for him and buried with him.

In "'Beowulf' and the Pagan Cult of the Stag" (Studi Medievali 3^a Serie, XXVII, II, 637-669), L. E. Nicholson concludes:

Whatever the hypothesized connections between the Sutton Hoo treasure and Beowulf, serpent and stag do figure prominently in both. The mighty treasure-guarding serpent of Celtic paganism, with its fertility-chthonic associations, bears a striking resemblance to the serpent in Beowulf guarding the treasure inside the barrow. Given the ancient relationship of the antler-bearing deity and the great diving serpent, it is not beyond the realm of possibility that the Beowulf poet intended the resonance of this relationship when he arranged to open his open with a stag and close it with a treasure-guarding serpent. As in the ecclesiastical writings, so, too, in the Christian poet's text, pagan fertility gods--whether antlered stag or serpent--become signs of the symbols for Cain, the devil, or even the Anti-Christ. (pp. 665-66)

D. Matters Celtic

Charles Thomas gives us *Celtic Britain, a particularly valuable work, in that Thomas deals with "The Celtic speaking regions of north and west Britain (excluding Ireland) as they were between the Romans and the Norsemen, approximately the 5th to early 8th centuries A. D." (p. 7). Thomas stresses the present-day vigor of Celtic regions:

The Welsh language rightly refuses to lie down and die, the Isle of Man produced an underground organization dedicated to ridding Man of rich English settlers and in my native Cornwall the drive to learn, teach and publish in revived Cornish has grown from a hobby to an industry. (p. 7)

Thomas writes for the general reader, and sees his chosen time-frame in the early middle ages as the origin of modern Celticism. The book is up to date; Thomas presents the current state of knowledge in an admirably clear, easy-to-follow prose, and the illustrations are first-rate. It is an ideal book for first-level courses on the early medieval period, and it will serve equally well as a first-rate presentation of the "other side" for graduate courses in Anglo-Saxon.

Rosemary Cramp's "Northumbria and Ireland" (Szarmach, Sources, 185-201), is a pointed review of the openness of Irish culture in the early Middle Ages. More specifically, she undertakes to "examine in more detail the names in which the Irish and the Anglo-Saxons supported their craftsmen and maintained production for specialized goods" (p. 186). Cramp holds that:

...it is mainly from pagan graves that we see clearly the value that the Anglo-Saxons placed on Celtic works of art. At the highest level of patronage, as demonstrated in the richest Sutton Hoo grave, some metal artifacts such as the great cauldron, the chain, the hanging bowls, the fish in

the bowl, even the stag are capable of being seen as having a Romano-Celtic pedigree. Did the Saxon chieftains sweep up into their controlled centers some of the humbler metalworkers like those of the Elmswell group and attract major craftsmen from Gaul and Ireland alike? The complex aspirations of the invading kings to absorb the images of power of their subject peoples and to relate themselves to existing traditions are obviously reflected in the Sutton Hoo burials; but we are concerned with the more northerly Anglian kingdom. Yeavering has provided us with an example of the use by the invading kings of a tribal gathering-place which since Neolithic times had been hallowed for religious assemblies. (p. 186)

But monastic centers offer more interesting evidence. Cramp's comments on Wearmouth-Jarrow are most telling. She shows that though one may readily see Gaulish parallels (the acknowledged source for Monkwearmouth), and while the buildings can be seen as "a direct translation into stone of Germanic timber structures" (p. 196), it is equally easy, in the case of Jarrow, to fit buildings A and B into a Celtic model, with A as the Proindtech (dining hall) and B as the Tech Mor, or Abbot's house. Her conclusion shows how firm--though not exclusive--were the connection between Ireland and England.

We have already noted that the western seaboard of Northumbria could have seen a constant traffic between the Celtic West and the Germanic North. Then, as now, the short crossings from southwest Scotland or Morecambe Bay were no doubt the more frequented; and the traffic was certainly not all one way. If Northumbria could not have developed into its distinctive form without the Irish dimension, neither could the Irish kingdoms have developed without the stimulus from the larger islands to the east. Nevertheless, to shake the Irish into real change and to diversify distinctively their settlements into town-like production and trading centers, it needed an invasion of their country by an alien group--the Vikings. Their presence and implanted settlements produced notable artistic and social changes, transforming the previous traditions. (p. 196)

Michael Ryan edited *Ireland and Insular Art AD 500-1200 (Royal Irish Academy, Dublin), which is the record of the Conference marking the Bicentennial of the Irish Academy. It was held in Cork in May, 1985. The Book is an extremely important addition to our understanding not only of Irish art and archaeology, but of the influence that great tradition had elsewhere in Europe, most particularly Anglo-Saxon England. One thing is certain: there is still a residue of narrowly national feeling which is reflected at least to some small degree in the papers given by English contributors. Insofar as the present reviewer is concerned, the dominance, broad influence and catholicity of the Insular or Hiberno-Saxon tradition certainly indicates the importance of the Irish contribution. It is interesting to note that Rupert Bruce-Mitford on his "Ireland and the Hanging-bowls--A Review" (30-39) is now of the mind that one of the Sutton Hoo hanging bowls had its origin "in a workshop, in one of the Celtic kingdoms in the North or West of Britain..." (37) A quite

different perspective is provided in the Continental perspective of Gunter Haseloff:

The hanging-bowls from the grave at Sutton Hoo are certainly of Celtic origin and, in my opinion, of Irish manufacture. They are dated by the grave context, which nowadays is assumed to be before about 625. Since the large hanging-bowl had been repaired by non-Celtic craftsmen, it may have been produced at the end of the sixth century. (p. 44)

A very brief precis of some of the other pieces in this volume is all that space allows. In "The Book of Kells and the Snake-Boss Motif on Pictish Cross-Slabs and the Iona Crosses" (56-65), Isabel Henderson puts forth arguments to prove that just as the Kells vine scrolls are derived from Northumbria,

...so the snake ornament should be thought of as sharing a context with this body of Scottish sculpture. In general terms the context is that of shared models and shared taste, and given that the spiralwork on Pictish and Iona monuments had frequently been compared to the spiralwork in Kells, the links between Kells and the art of the Iona scriptorium are increased. (p. 64)

Two papers deal with Anglo-Saxon crosses. Éamonn Ó Carragáin's: "The Ruthwell Cross and Irish High Crosses: Some Points of Comparison and Contrast" (118-128), and Jennifer O'Reilly's "The Rough-Hewn Cross in Anglo-Saxon Art" (153-58). Ó Carragáin studies Ruthwell in the context of Irish Crosses, most particularly that at Moone. He finds a 'similarity of cultural context,' perhaps occasioned by the fact that Moone is only some eight miles from Clonmelsh, which might well be the site of Rath Melsige, the Anglo-Saxon monastery. But the differences between the two traditions are equally important:

Moone begins with Adam and Eve, the Sacrifice of Isaac, and Daniel in the Lions' Den--scenes associated, in patristic writings, with the first, third and fifth of the ages of the world. In this concern with the span of Old Testament history, Moone is characteristic of the Irish figural high crosses. Their Old Testament sides are structured meditations on human history, viewed from a theoretical perspective. The Northumbrian crosses do not seem to reflect the same interest in the ordered unity of human history, and this difference seems to reflect a significant difference in catechetical principles between the Irish and Northumbrian sculptural traditions. (p. 119)

O'Reilly deals primarily with four late Anglo-Saxon instances of the crucifixion, three manuscripts, one silver mount on a portable altar, all of which she dates to circa 1050-1064, and all of which depict the cross as made up, in essence, of trees. She finds a similar cross in the Eadwine Psalter, which dates somewhat earlier. She relates these examples to the Dream of the Rood:

Much of the effect of the rough-hewn Cross motif depends on its implied contrast with the familiar image of the exalted True Cross clothed in precious metal, recalled in the commemorative cross at Golgotha described by Adomnan, and evoked in Anglo-Saxon art and literature such as the Brussels Cross reliquary (Backhouse et. al. 1984, no. 75) and the Dream of the Rood ll. 76-7 and Elene ll. 1020-5 in the late tenth-century Vercelli Book anthology. Representations of the hewn Cross may partly reflect notions of what the exposed True Cross was like: it is shown as a lopped timber tau in a rare depiction of Heraclius and the Exaltation in a late eleventh-century copy of Hrabanus Maurus' homily for the feast (Alexander 1970, pl. 45c). Adomnan of Iona had reported the pilgrim Arculf's eye-witness account that the relics of 'the gibbet of honour' included a single transverse beam and that the knots (nodis) of the exposed lignum crucis exuded a healing liquid 'somewhat like oil'. (p. 157)

Her conclusion takes her argument to a higher level of abstraction:

The poet can present a series of images, the artist only one. But by inscribing the cosmic dimensions of the redemptive Tree of Life in the form of a rough artefact which looks like a tree of Death, the image of the hewn tau Cross similarly presents riddling ambiguities and the possibility of a series of apprehensions. The Cross is identified with the Logos-Creator; its physical appearance makes a Christological statement and offers a dramatic manifestation of death overcome by death. Recognizing the identity of the crucified and exalted body of Christ, his inseparable human and diving natures, the dreamer in the Dream of the Rood, like the woman clinging to the hewn Cross in Judith of Flanders' miniature, or the person meditating on such an image, acknowledges the salvific power of the wood of the Cross and sees it as the continuing means to Paradise, both spiritually and eschatologically, for the individual as well as in the vast plan of redemption.

Two papers present interestingly different perspectives on origin and transmission of ideas in Christian Art. In "Observations on Christian Art in early Ireland, Georgia and Armenia" (129-37), Hilary Richardson presents a case to prove that:

Carvings of the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries are found in quite considerable numbers in Transcaucasia. In spite of a chronological difference and an enormous distance geographically, these carvings have a peculiar relevance to Ireland and Britain. They present many similar traits to Insular sculpture. This might not cause surprise were it not for the fact that there is a total lack of any comparable material to be found elsewhere in Christendom. It appears likely from the evidence

available that the free-standing stone monuments of Early Christian Ireland preserved a tradition which had originated in the eastern Christian world. (p. 129)

While the present reviewer cannot pretend to knowledge either of the monuments of Transcaucasia or the scholarly sources in Armenian and Russian cited, the case seems very hard to make, if one looks to the importance of image in early Christianity, both in the Bible, in Biblical commentary, and in liturgy.

Michael Ryan's excellent survey of the metalwork in "Some Aspects of Sequence and Style in the Metalwork of Eighth-and Ninth-Century Ireland" (66-74) sees the question of interinfluence in a broader perspective:

The international nature of Early Christian culture has other consequences for the study of Irish metalwork and one of these concerns the question of far-flung contacts frequently claimed on the basis of convergent developments in the Christian art of Ireland and the Orient. Such parallelisms have their interest for methodological studies, but we must be absolutely certain of what is intended by quoting them. In many cases we are dealing, surely, with cognate developments from the common doctrinal, scriptural and spiritual basis of Christianity which, largely as a result of its dispersal throughout the Empire, found common Romanised material expressions. This is as true of chalices--compare sixth-century Syrian with the surviving Irish examples (Ryan 1985)--as it is of, say, sculpture. Minor details of ornament compared over vast reaches of space and time would be suspect in prehistoric archaeology; they should be suspect here too (Raftery 1965). Contacts did exist between the far west and the east as the story of Arculf's pilgrimage shows, but the church was a multinational corporation and influences should spread widely without direct contact. The centre, Rome, as Cumian's Letter testifies, was where to go to meet fellow members from all over the known world in the seventh century. The Liber Pontificalis makes it clear that in Rome pilgrims would have seen works of art in all media from all parts of Christianity. (73)

Readers should be aware that space does not permit accounts of the other important papers in this excellent collection.

George Henderson's *From Durrow to Kells (London, 1986) is not only a handsome and relatively inexpensive study of the major manuscripts in the Insular tradition, but also an extremely lucid and useful account of the cultural and historical background of these manuscripts. Professor Henderson's introductory chapter. "The Coming of the Gospel to Anglo-Saxon England" is an extremely useful introduction to Christian Anglo-Saxon England, as well as an incipit to the chapters of the manuscripts, which Henderson characterizes as:

Acutely responsive to a remarkable range of cultural contacts, and animated by total religious conviction, they

are among the greatest products and memorial of their time. (p. 17)

Professor Henderson's perceptive analysis of the congruence of "English" and "Irish" traditions is most important. His comparison of Lindisfarne and Jarrow is particularly instructive:

Edfrith's openness to new influence is also seen in the way he accepts lock, stock and barrel from his exemplar the lists of Neapolitan feasts inserted before the Gospels. All this may be due to Theodoran pressure of the sort Lindisfarne may have felt in the 680s, or else to the pressure of the monastery of Jarrow which was currently at work on the Codex Amiatinus, containing a figure of Esdras/Cassiodorus similar to the image chosen by Edfrith for this Evangelist Matthew. The Greek tituli of the Lindisfarne Evangelists suggests an interest in Greek quite likely to be Theodoran in origin. Lindisfarne was perhaps aiming at uniformity with Jarrow in outlook--visual and textual, if not scribal. It is just possible that the appearance of the Lindisfarne Evangelists consciously reflects in some way the tastes, attitudes or susceptibilities of St. Cuthbert himself. Cuthbert is associated in Bede's Life with Romano-British sculpture at Carlisle. In an atmosphere, in Northumbria, of new scriptural editing, centered on the making of the Codex Amiatinus, it might be, in order to emphasize the historical reality of the Gospel writers, that new ways of depicting them, anchoring them substantially, were now sought, using as models admired local antiquities, for example the Romano-British Murrell Hill grave-slab in Carlisle. (p. 119)

As a final point, it might be pointed out that the book is rich in illustration of relevant artefacts other than manuscripts.

There are several papers of interest in Peritia, 5 (1985). Ann Hamlin's survey of *"The Archaeology of the Irish Church in the Eighth Century" (279-299) is the most important, for Hamlin attempts the very difficult task of "focusing down on the eighth century, to see what the available source materials tell us about the physical aspects of the church, including enclosures, buildings, stone monuments, burials and the economy" (279). Major Irish monasteries were very large and powerful in the eighth century, so much so that friction broke out between Clonmacnois and Birr in 760, and Clonmacnois and Durrow in 764. There were groups of English monks in Ireland, notably in Mayo, and Irish monks in England.

Enclosures are interesting; they tend to be round, or oval, but other shapes are known. They can be 30 to 400 M in diameter, but average 90-120 M, significantly larger than secular sites. Wood was the dominant, virtually exclusive building material for churches, with the stone church of Armagh in 789 being quite unusual. Church furnishings and decorations, however, seem to have been quite rich. It is interesting to note that we now have dendrochronological dating of some of them. There are seventh-century

examples in Cork and Offaly, and eighth century mills in Kilkenny, Leix and Londonderry. Carved crosses in wood seem to have been a seventh century Irish contribution, but stone crosses are a more complex matter. While Iona could have provided the impetus for stone carving, Hamlin thinks Clonmacnois a more likely place of origin. Great crosses, such as that at Moone (Kildare), Hamlin would see as ninth or tenth century.

Hamlin's conclusion deserves quotation in full; unfortunately, the most interesting aspect of the article, a hypothetical reconstruction of a large eighth-century monastery, cannot be included:

In conclusion I would suggest that although our archaeological picture of the eighth-century church is still very hazy and incomplete, the century itself does seem to occupy a very important position in the early christian period. To some extent it was perhaps the last century in an old tradition, but it also saw the beginnings of changes which were to be important for the rest of the period to the twelfth century. Two examples which have emerged from this study are the making of crosses in stone and the change from building in wood to building in stone. It is possible to see the travels of Irish churchmen like St. Virgil of Salzburg in the eighth century, and their successors in the ninth, as helping to prepare the ground in Ireland for the changes that were happening there, providing inspiration for stone churches, round towers, figure-carved high crosses, those elements which make up the popular vision of the early Irish church with which we began, a vision which belongs not to the eighth-century but to the years between 800 and 1100. (p. 299)

Lloyd Laing reviews "The Romanization of Ireland in the Fifth Century" (261-278), starting with the Roman affinities of many items from the material from Lagore crannog. His initial conclusion is well-founded:

...it is fairly clear that the influence of Roman civilization pervaded the culture of Early Christian Ireland, affecting most aspects of life represented in the archaeological record. That this 'Romanization' was not confined to the rich is clear from the fact that 'Roman'-derived objects occur on all types of site in Early Christian Ireland, not merely those with known or presumed 'royal' or 'chiefly' occupations. To attribute Romanization to casual trade or raiding is clearly unreasonable.

Laing goes further, in holding that Roman materials and traditions most likely come via North Britain.

A. D. S. MacDonald's "Iona's Style of Government Among the Picts and Scots: the Toponomastic Evidence of Adomnan's Life of Columba." (174-186) deserves at least passing mention, for though the evidence is slight, it tends to show:

...that Iona in the seventh century kept a tight grip on her dependent churches. In Scottish Dal Riata and in Pictland that grip may have been tight enough that the growth, actual or potential, of the Columban churches towards a less circumscribed relationship with the mother-house was effectually stunted (in many or most cases) by the harsher climate of the eighth and ninth centuries. Such a situation may, of course, have been brought about in Pictland by a breaking of ties, whether permanent or temporary. The Irish churches, on the other hand, were in practice probably somewhat less closely controlled: a hazardous sea-voyage separated them from Iona. Events, moreover, political, military and ecclesiastical, were possibly less traumatic for them during the coming two centuries than for their Dalriadic and Pictish counterparts. (p. 185)

It is extremely interesting to follow up on Dr. Hamlin's study of Irish monasteries with Stewart Cruden's **Scottish Medieval Churches*. Cruden starts his account by re-stressing a fact often forgotten, that Scotland is named after the Irish, those who settled Argyll in the late fifth century. It is not surprising, therefore, to see Irish influence in Scottish churches. Cruden paints the usual (and partly correct) picture of remote and isolated Christian communities: "the spectacular cliff scenery--and the awesome vastness of the empty sea and sky about them" (p. 3), but he chooses Govan, a church and cemetery on the Clyde, as a type site:

Within a churchyard there a nineteenth-century church contains an outstanding collection of early sepulchral stones including a sarcophagus, cross-slabs, five 'hog-backs' and other recumbent tombstones, twenty-four in all, boldly sculptured and dated to the period tenth to early twelfth century. They were recovered from the surrounding churchyard where many others less well preserved are still to be seen. The sarcophagus is known as the Tomb of St. Constantine and Radford has suggested that it might have served for the translation of his relics when the church was reorganized in the tenth century after the disturbances of Viking raids. Archaeologically and art-historically these stones exhibit a fusion of Irish Celtic and Northumbrian artistic traditions, unlikely in an instance to be earlier than c. 900. But what impresses the reflective beholder as much as the art and archaeology of these Govan stones is the cemetery itself. It surrounds the church. It is quite circular, and rising high all round it are tenements and industrial buildings. It keeps the encroachments of later centuries at bay. Nothing could be more expressive: the towering advance of modern industry and housing brought to a halt by a churchyard more than a thousand years old. (pp. 3-4)

Space does not permit a complete treatment of other excellent work, so the brief account of it ends with a particularly important point that Cruden

makes. Round towers are a hallmark of the later early medieval Irish church. They are always associated with a church, and served as a kind of amplifier or enhancer for the ringing of small hand church bells. There are two round towers in Scotland, and their location and condition of preservation are startling:

Scotland's two examples are not in the Celtic west where such occurrences are most to be expected, but in the east where they are not. Each testifies to the site of an early centre of Christian activity. Far from ruinous--they lack only their original roofs and floors--they are conspicuous declarations of Celtic presence in the country of the Picts, and they manifest incontrovertible evidence of a belief that it would long continue there. (p. 8)

*Viking Dublin Exposed: The Wood Quay Saga (Dublin, 1984), edited by John Bradley, is an important and extremely disturbing book, which chronicles the attempts at excavation of the second "Jewel in the Crown" (after York) of Viking raider-princes, the trading and manufacturing center which covered four and one-half acres. Though Dublin Corporation had by 1968 acquired the site for a civic office center and archaeological investigation began in 1969, it was not until 1974 that the nature and extent of the site was fully understood: living sites, the defenses and part of the city came to light, all excellently preserved, because they were waterlogged. The story has a terrible fascination, for it is a re-play of "progress" over "old stuff." Though Wood Quay was the first site to be earmarked as a National Monument since the Republic was founded in 1922, the Commissioners of public works and Dublin Corporation agreed to the destruction of the site only two months after it was declared a National Monument, though this was of course kept quiet for quite some time. The story is both sad and sordid. Father F. X. Martin points to long-entrenched officials as culprits, officials at the highest level:

...the lack of direction from the top political levels in 1979-80 had given the Corporation officials their way and permitted the building of the concrete blockhouses which stand today on the Viking site. There is wry consolation in the fact that every city, including Dublin, should have a permanent monument to ugliness as a grim reminder of what has to be avoided in the future. (p. 67)

E. Viking Affairs

Three papers deal with problems in Viking art and archaeology. The first is Signé Fuglesang's *Zum Problem der Deutung frühmittelalterlicher Bildinhalte, Akten des 1. Internationalen Kolloquiums in Marburg a.d. Lahn, 15. bis 19. February 1983, Herausgegeben von Helmut Roth, Redaktion und Register, Dagmar v. Reitzenstein. The Archaeological/iconographical approach to runic monuments is of great interest, particularly as Fuglesang stresses the greatest examples, such as the Jellinge stone and such examples in Swedish Uppland as those from Altuna and Antuna. The first point is the very great number of these monuments, over a thousand in Swedish Uppland alone. Her conclusion stresses that the iconography serves to unite Scandinavian with general European traditions:

Die Kunst der Runendenkmaler der jüngeren Wikingerzeit liegt im Spannungsfeld zwischen dem Europäischen und dem Einheimischen. Ikonographisch lassen sich sowohl christliche wie auch heidnische Bilder ausmachen. Alles ist jedoch einer skandinavischen, jungwikingerzeitlichen Umformung unterzogen worden. In welchem Masse sie als selbständige Schöpfungen und in welchem Masse sie als abhängig von europäischen Vorbildern anzusehen sind, muss in jedem einzelnen Fall diskutiert werden. Eine moderne kunsthistorische Analyse ist für die Runensteine noch nicht unternommen worden. Ein solche dürfte eine bessere Grundlage geben, die Monumente als Zeugnis der damaligen Gedankenwelt zu deuten.

In europäischem Zusammenhang ist die skandinavische Kunst des elften Jahrhunderts von Wichtigkeit, auch gerade weil sie eine reiche Mannigfaltigkeit von profanen Darstellungen beitet. Dies ist ein Gebiet, für das die Denkmaler in Europa nur sehr lückenhaft erhalten sind. Zum Teil lässt sich der Durchbruch der romanischen Tierwelt im zwölften Jahrhundert erklären, wenn man annimmt, dass es im elften Jahrhundert eine gesamteuropäische Profankunst gab, welche in der skandinavischen Tierikonographie reflektiert ist. (209-10)

Works of synthesis can be very valuable, but an excessive attention to super-specific terminologies can cause difficulties to arise. A case in point is James Graham-Campbell's *"From Scandinavia to the Irish Sea: Viking Art Reviewed" (pp. 144-152), in Michael Ryan, ed., Ireland and Insular Art). Graham-Campbell wishes to eschew the term "Viking" because it is too general, too "wooly." Graham-Campbell proposes:

Terminology exactitude in English is essential in all aspects of academic studies in order to ensure that scholars start from the same premises and to help avoid muddled thinking. The fact remains that it is simply wrong to label all those of Scandinavian origin and descent, during the three centuries from the late eighth century to the end of the eleventh (Graham-Campbell 1980, 5-6), as 'Vikings', even if the term 'Viking' has become hallowed by use in the twentieth century as a label for this period of Scandinavian history. (p. 144)

It is certainly true that precise terminologies are necessary in scholarship, but Graham-Campbell falls into the trap of prescriptive or perhaps more accurately proscriptive grammar, and lexicography. To all but specialists, Viking is a broad-ranging word, its meanings as complex as the multiplicity of its proposed origins. It is "quite simply wrong" to deny that by general accord of English speakers, "Viking" has a wide spectrum of meanings. Archaeological scholarship must indeed be precise, and we are in debt to Mr. Graham-Campbell in his calling for precision, but a book with a title like Some Aspects of Insular Viking Sculpture and mid to late Viking Age Scandinavian Settlements will deservedly languish on the shelves. Such distinctions as Graham-Campbell demands should, and must, be made in the

incipit of works of scholarship, but primarily there, lest the subject as a whole languish into arcana.

P. J. Huggins writes briefly on "A Note on a Viking-style Plate from Waltham Abbey, Essex, and its Implications for a Disputed Late-Viking Building," (Archaeological Journal 141 [1984], 175-181). A brief sketch of the trapezoidal plate, probably of leaded copper, decorated with facing snakes, leads the author to propose that it is a Ringerike style piece dated late tenth or early eleventh century. Huggins sees this as confirmation of his theory that the building with which it was associated is "A turf-walled hall of Norse or northern 'Colonial' tradition" (p. 177), an origin disputed by Graham-Campbell, who preferred to see the structure as Anglo-Saxon in character. Huggins cites several structures at Jarlshof (Shetland), and a house at Ribbleshead, Yorkshire, to support his contention that the Waltham abbey example is an "aisled turf-walled hall of a northern 'colonial' type" (p. 180).

Christopher Morris provides ^{*}"Viking Orkney: A Survey" (pp. 210-242) in Colin Renfrew, ed. ^{*}The Prehistory of Orkney (Edinburgh). Morris wisely takes "Viking" and "Viking Age" in the context of actualities, as opposed to the kind of restrictive terminology used by James Graham-Campbell.

In England, for instance, the raid on Lindisfarne in 793 is often taken as marking the beginning, and the Battles of Stamford Bridge and Hastings in 1066 the end, of the period. The accounts in Irish annals of raids in western Scotland and Ireland in the last two decades of the eighth century have provided a similar starting point for these areas, but the endings are far from clear. The Norman invasion of Ireland in 1172 effectively ended Scandinavian predominance, although the nationalistic school of historians has tended to prefer a date of 1014, with the Battle of Clontarf. In Scotland, the Battle of Largs in 1263 and/or the Treaty of Perth in 1266 provide a convenient end-point; while in the Isle of Man 1266 is the end of the reign of the last Scandinavian king, Magnus. (p. 210)

With regard to Shetland and Orkney, the death of Earl Ragnald in 1158 marks the end of a "Golden Age," but Morris proposes the term "late Norse" for the following two centuries, because these "Isles (and Caithness to the south) were still quite distinctively Scandinavian in cultural (as well as political) orientation." The survey is extremely useful, because Morris calls on a broad spectrum of evidence to survey recent scholarship, gained largely through rescue excavation and the flickering, fragmentary and unfortunately sometimes contentious disagreements of scholars in the field. For Anglo-Saxonists, Morris' last sentence has great implications:

The richness of Orkney's archaeology is comparable to that of Wessex in the Prehistoric period. Viking Orkney was not peripheral: it was a key area of the Viking World. (p. 24)

The Vikings and America

Three books deal with this subject. The basic text is the second edition of Gwyn Jones ^{*}The Norse Atlantic Saga, which is valuable not only because Jones has improved upon his earlier work, but because there are a number of contributions by scholars in other fields. Robert McGhee gives a precis of his 1984 article in an Appendix which concludes that there was a great deal of exchange/trading between native North American on Scandinavian in search timber:

Such voyages probably occurred sporadically from the eleventh to fourteenth centuries, and could have led to encounters with Eskimos in the eastern Arctic islands, Dorset Palaeo-Eskimos in northern Labrador and Point Revenge Indians in central Labrador. (p. 283)

Most fascinating is Birgitta Linderath Wallace's specially written account of the L'Anse aux Meadows site, volume 102 in the Ancient Peoples and Places series in Erik Wahlgren's ^{*}The Vikings and America. The book is a delight. Not only it is up to date and learned; it is also rich in flashes of wit and humor. The Frontispiece is a highly imaginative painting of Viking Ships Under Sail by Hans Guille (1889), the ship having a wondrous pseudo-poop-deck and a low structure of some sort. One of three acknowledgments is to "The Skraelings, whom, to my knowledge, nobody has previously bothered to thank" (p. 7). The chapter dealing with false evidence, "Buckram Vikings" is delicious.

Alfred W. Crosby's ^{*}Ecological Imperialism and the Biological Expansion of Europe deals with the Vikings, particularly their attempted settlements in North America, in a startlingly different way. His assessment of the Viking ship is almost certainly far too darkly cast:

No doubt they took every wave as nimbly as a floating gull, but they must have shipped a lot of water in rough weather, most of which went into the bilge. There were no pumps; the bilge had to be bailed out by hand. The Norse ships had no rudder as we understand its construction, but rather a steerboard, a very large and awkward oar that hung off the quarter, trailing like the broken wing of a bird. Propulsion was supplied by oars while in harbor and by a single square sail at sea. (55-56)

The efficiency and ease of a steering oar has been praised loud and long since the first modern replica was sailed in the 1890s.

Crosby does make an important, if startling, argument about one of the advantages the Vikings had over native Americans:

A very specific advantage of the Norse over the Skraelings, Eskimo or Amerindian, was the ability of their adults to gain nourishment from fresh milk. Scandinavians, like other northwestern Europeans, are among the world's champion milk digesters, which perhaps had effects that might not be readily apparent. One day (the day of the bellowing bull) when Skraelings demanded weapons from the Norse in return for furs, the former refused and offered a

novelty instead: milk. Soon the natives wanted nothing else. The outcome of the day's trading was that the Norse had furs to bring back home, and "the Skraelings carried their purchases away in their bellies." (p. 48)

F. Numismatics

There is an extremely important new series, **Medieval European Coinage*, of which the first volume has now appeared under the general editorship of Philip Grierson. This first of thirteen projected volumes covers the early Middle Ages, the fifth to tenth centuries. The book is in large part a catalogue, but one which "allows the material to be presented in a form more useful to scholars who are not numismatic specialists" (p. vi).

The book is a godsend to those who wish to be able to refer to numismatic evidence, without taking on the mode and linguistic manner of numismatists. The development both of the terms for and actual units in Germanic contexts is a fascinating phenomenon. The commentary on the shilling is of particular interest:

The oldest Anglo-Saxon code, that of King Aethelbert of Kent, which was written down c. 603 and so ante-dates the introduction of coinage, has as its monetary units the shilling (*scilling*) of 20 sceattas, terms which refer not to coins but to weights of gold. The first derives from a Germanic root meaning to cut (*ON scilia*) and implies a weight of gold cut from a ring or bar of precious metal. The second seems to have had behind it initially the notion of something very finely divided (cf. shatter, scatter) and in a pre-coinage context meant a grain of gold, though its derivative meaning of 'treasure' and the way it is used to translate a wide variety of Latin monetary terms are more familiar to students of Old English literature. (p. 15)

The work, with its index of hoards and full account of the coins in Cambridge Collections, will stand as an invaluable reference work for some time. The excellent indices make the book particularly easy to use. The only problem is the difficulty in reading some of the coin inscriptions (invaluable for linguistic study), but the transcriptions and commentary on the coins makes this a minor flaw in an extremely valuable research tool.

Johan Callmer's *"*Sceatta Problems in the Light of the Finds from Åhus," (Scripta Minora, Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis, Studier utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund 1983-1984:2,)* is an important review of both Insular and Continental versions of these very important smaller coins. The Åhus site in Southern Sweden is particularly important because it extends the range within which these coins were circulated. Indeed, the study is an important review of the nature and extent of trade as a whole. Callmer concludes:

We have been able to show that the sceattas found at Åhus in Southern Sweden enable us to link parts of the Baltic region with the sophisticated eighth-century trading systems of north-western Europe which mainly used

Continental sceattas. It is probable that external economic contacts played an important role as forerunners of the development of long-distance trade in the Viking Period proper. Along the southern coast of the North Sea this eighth-century trade link can be safely connected by sceatta finds with the Rhine Estuary. The link may perhaps be extended further south, as far as the Mediterranean. The Continental sceattas, which occur in three main series, have distributions very different from the Insular sceattas. They are not restricted to petty kingdoms or even to certain towns but occur over large parts of North-Western Europe. They were issued in very large numbers and show a certain stability of design. The Continental sceattas represent a highly specialized medium of exchange in comparison with other contemporary coinages. (pp. 56-57)

G. Coda

David M. Wilson provides two items, the first an extremely useful re-do of Levison's classic lecture series in the 1940s, under the title, "England and the Continent in the Eighth Century: An Archaeological Viewpoint" (*Angli e Sassoni I*, 219-247). Concisely put, Wilson appears to be anti-trade:

...little if any material of mercantile significance has been found on the Continent which has its origin in England. English pottery, for example, was of such hideous quality that no-one would want it in any case! But--apart from odd scraps of metalwork, a few sacred objects and a few manuscripts related to the missions--there is little evidence of a non-historical character for such contact. Further, we search in vain in the archaeological record for any real contact between England and Scandinavia in the eighth century. Apart from a handful of coins which were found in the excavations in Ribe and which illustrate trade with Frisia and possible contact, therefore, with England, there is nothing to show definite mercantile contact. The gravegoods of Scandinavia rarely produce eighth-century English items and, when they do, it is much more likely that they reached Scandinavia in the following century under the influence of the Viking incursions. (p. 233-4)

However, Wilson sees cultural exchange as important:

English art, then, stimulated Continental art in the eighth century to a considerable extent. It was brought through the church, but spread into secular contexts. The quantity of religious or semi-religious objects made in England in the eighth century and exported to the Continent--books, reliquaries, caskets, etc.--shows the medium through which this stimulus occurred. Here the archaeologist sees a very real contact. (p. 242)

In summary, Wilson holds for both trade and cultural interinfluence:

Gift-exchange had a role, but gift-exchange only oiled the wheels of trade. The fact that we have found few objects of trade should not worry us, so much that was traded was of perishable nature and the source of many objects and materials cannot be ascertained. The sources say little of trade, but then the sources are generally of a nature not concerned with trade, the clerical, religious correspondence only illuminates that trade by casual reference.

That there was lively mercantile and intellectual contact between England and the Continent in the eighth century is certain. Archaeology helps, but helps in only a minor fashion, to flesh out our knowledge of these contacts. (p. 244)

Wilson's second contribution is meant for a rather different audience, set best, perhaps, in middle schools in America. It is A Viking Activity Book (British Museum Publications), which has on the back page a game, A Viking Voyage, with such splendid landing places as "pillage a monastery, go on three" and "shipwrecked in the Faroes: miss two turns." This is a quite whimsical, but accurate, introduction to the Viking World.

R. T. F. (with special thanks to Catherine Karkow, who did the library work of locating and ordering materials and reviewing some eight short pieces.)

