

OLD ENGLISH NEWSLETTER

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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

Cambridge Chair for Lapidge

The Cambridge University Reporter (July 12, 1989), p. 812 announces the election of Dr. Michael Lapidge as Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon from October 1, 1991. Lapidge, who holds his doctorate degree from the University of Toronto, is currently Reader in Insular Latin Literature in the University. He is an editor of Anglo-Saxon England as well as a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and of the Society of Antiquaries.

II

New Postal Address for OEN

During the academic year 1989-90 the State University of New York at Binghamton will be phasing in a new postal address with a nine-digit zip code. University officials say the new address will gain a day in delivery to campus offices. The former five-digit zip code is still effective in the change-over period.

Readers of OEN should accordingly change their address records to:

Old English Newsletter
CEMERS, SUNY-Binghamton
 P.O. Box 6000
 Binghamton, NY 13902-6000

The Editor is also happy to report that OEN problems with ANSAXNET seem to be solved. OEN could always receive ANSAXNET messages from anywhere, but could never send them successfully outside of North America because of problems with "gateways." The Binghamton Computer Center now seems able to route e-mail via NSFNET, when the address is outside of North America.

Electronic addresses for OEN are:

ANSAXNET: PSZARMAC BINGVAXC

FAX: 607-777-4000 P.E. Szarmach

Note that for FAX transmissions both sender and receiver must pay charges.

III

MLA in DC (Again)

The Old English Division of the Modern Language Association will sponsor three sessions at the 1989 MLA meeting in Washington, DC, December 27-30. Program Chairman George Clark organized these meetings:

Session no. 121: Thursday, December 28

"Traditions and Poetry in Old English"

Presiding: George Clark (Queen's University)

1. Anna Smol (Mount Saint Vincent University, Halifax)

"Prosopoeic and Ethopoeic Voices in Old English
Allegory"

2. Seth Lerer (Princeton University)

"Cædmon and the Worm: Eating, Drinking, and the Origin
of English Poetry"

3. Ellen Wert (University of Texas, Austin)

"Design for Victory: The Battle of Brunanburh"

Session no. 598: Friday, December 29

"Origins of Old English Poetry"

Presiding: Peter Baker (Emory University)

1. John M. Hill (United States Naval Academy)

"Terror or Fame: The Mythological Background for Heroic
Action in Beowulf"

2. R.D. Fulk (Indiana University)

"Redating Beowulf: The Evidence of Kaluza's Law"

3. Mary P. Richards (Auburn University)

"Prose into Poetry: Late Anglo-Saxon Poetic
Composition"

Session no. 697: Saturday, December 30

5

"Beowulf and Theory"

Presiding: Constance B. Heatt (Western Ontario University)

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

"Performance in Beowulf"

2. James W. Earl (University of Oregon, Eugene)

"Beowulf and the Origins of Culture in England"

3. Anne Reaves (University of Texas, Austin)

"Tripartite Structure in Beowulf"

In Session no. 232, "Medieval Text and Image I," Pauline Head (York Univ., Toronto) gave a paper on "Peripheral Meanings: Frames in Old English Poetry and Anglo-Saxon Art."

IV

1990 MLA in Chicago

The Executive Committee of the Old English Division has completed plans for the 1990 MLA meeting in Chicago at the Hyatt Regency and the Marriott hotels, December 27-30. These sessions are scheduled:

1. new views on the relationships between prose and poetry
2. computer-assisted language learning and Old English
3. open session

For further information contact the program organizer:

Peter Baker
Dept. of English
Emory University
Atlanta, GA 30322

PHONE: 404-727-6484

OEN Contest Results

The editors of OEN are happy to announce that John A.P. Hermann (English, Univ. of Alabama) correctly identified the owner of the "OE" license plate in the "NAME THAT PLATE" contest. Hermann received a five-year free subscription to OEN and to Subsidia. The owner of the plate is J.R. Hall (English, Univ. of Mississippi).

The editors are happy to have a winner in a contest that thoroughly underwhelmed the readership.

VI

OE Colloquium at Berkeley

The Old English Colloquium will host two symposia this spring. The first symposium will take place on Saturday, 3 March 1990. The theme will be "Linguistics and Germanics: Studies in Language and Poetics." Already scheduled to contribute are Julian Boyd (Univ. of California, Berkeley); Gary Holland (Univ. of California, Berkeley); Donka Minkova (Univ. of California, Los Angeles); Irmengard Rauch (Univ. of California, Berkeley); Eve Sweetser (Univ. of California, Berkeley); and Robert Stockwell (Univ. of California, Los Angeles).

The second symposium is scheduled for Saturday, 21 April 1990, and will commemorate the upcoming millenium of the Battle of Maldon. James Earl (Univ. of Oregon), Edward Condren (Univ. of California, Los Angeles), and John Niles (Univ. of California, Berkeley) will be among other participants.

VII

Conferences to Come

The School of Continuing Studies, in cooperation with the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of Toronto, will host their annual one-day symposium on Saturday, March 24, 1990 from 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. This year's topic is the world of the Anglo-Saxons, and it will examine aspects of the six centuries between AD 410 and the Norman Conquest. The lectures and lecturers (all from the Univ. of Toronto) include: "Bede," Walter Goffart; "The Anglo-Saxon Will," Michael Sheehan; "Anglo-Saxon Literature," Pauline Thompson; "The Illuminated Book in Anglo-Saxon England," Robert Deshmano; "The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England," Marsha Groves. Those interested should write to the School of Continuing Studies, University of Toronto, 158 St. George Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5S 2V8. Registrations are accepted by the University of Toronto's Electronic Telephone Registration System. Phone (416) 978-2400 (please use a touch tone telephone); or fax (416) 978-6666.

The Seventeenth International Association for Literary and Linguistic Computing Conference and the Tenth International Conference on Computers and the Humanities announces a joint symposium, "The New Medium," to be held June 5 through 9, 1990 at the University of Siegen in the Federal Republic of Germany. Papers will be on all aspects of computing in linguistics, ancient and modern languages and literature, history, philosophy, art, archaeology, and music. For further information, write to the Conference Organizer: Helmut Schanze, Joint ALLC/ACH Conference, Universitat Gesamthochschule Siegen, Postfach 101240, D-5900 Siegen. Phone (0271) 740-4110; or electronic mail ANGST at DSIHRZ51.BITNET.

Harlaxton College in England will host an interdisciplinary symposium on "England in the Eleventh Century," July 9 through 12, 1990. Speakers include: David Bates, Martin Biddle, Cecily Clark, Marsha Dutton, Eric Fernie, Jan Gerchow, Malcolm Godden, Carola Hicks, Joyce Hill, Peter Jackson, Simon Keynes, Henry Loyn, Jane Martindale, Elizabeth Okasha, Richard Pfaff, Cassandra Potts, Susan Rankin, Barbara Raw, Nicholas Rogers, David Rollason, Donald Scragg, Matthew Strickland, Elizabeth Teviotdale, Jonathan Wilcox, and George Zarnecki. For further information and application forms, please write to: Dr. Peter Elmer, Symposium Secretary, England in the Eleventh Century, Harlaxton College, Grantham, Lincolnshire, NG32 1AG, United Kingdom.

St. Louis University will hold its Seventeenth Annual Saint Louis Conference on Manuscript Studies on October 12 and 13, 1990. The Conference Committee extends an invitation for papers dealing with one of the four following aspects of the manuscript: codicology, illumination, paleography, and texts. Those wishing to participate should request additional information from the Conference Committee, Vatican Film Library, St. Louis University, St. Louis, MO 63108.

The seventeenth annual Carolinas Symposium on British Studies will be held at Appalachian State University on 20 and 21 October 1990. The Symposium is an annual forum for the delivery of scholarly presentations and the exchange of ideas relating to all aspects of British Studies, including literature, history, art, architecture, government, pedagogy, dance, and music. While the Symposium is regionally based in the Southeast, participants are welcome from all parts of the country. The Program Committee invites proposals for individual papers, full sessions, and panel discussions. All papers are to take no more than 20 minutes; full sessions are to have either a chairperson and three papers or a chairperson, two papers, and a commentator. A \$250 prize is awarded annually for the best paper from among those read at the Symposium. Papers are to be submitted for consideration for the prize to the Paper Evaluation Committee by the following May. The winning essay may be published in the journal Albion. Please mail

proposals or papers by 15 April 1990 to Dr. Sophia B. Blaydes; Department of English; West Virginia University; Morgantown, WV, 26505. All who submit proposals will be notified of the decision of the Program Committee by early June. The Symposium also invites submissions for the Student Session from both graduate and undergraduate students, with a prize in each category. Please mail submissions for the Student session to Dr. Charles Carlton; Department of History; North Carolina State University; Raleigh, NC, 27695.

VIII

Conferences Past

"Germania Latina," a one-day conference hosted by the University of Groningen, was held on May 26, 1989. Seven papers were given on, and discussion centered around, the links between Latin literature and the vernacular Germanic literatures in the early medieval period. Speakers included: Ursula Dronke (Cambridge Univ.), "The Prophetia Sibillae magae and Voluspa"; Michael W. Herren (Univ. of York, Toronto), "The De Imagine Tetrici of Walahfrid Strabo"; Graham Caie (Copenhagen Univ.), "Iudicium to Dom: Two Old English Versions of Bede's De die iudicii"; Andrew Hamer (Univ. of Liverpool), "Death in a Pig-Sty: The Conversion according to the Sagas"; Joyce Hill (Leeds Univ.), "Confronting Germania Latina: Changing Responses to Old English Biblical Verse"; Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge Univ.), "The Written Word and Oral Communication: Rome's Legacy to the Franks"; Norbert Voorwinden (Univ. of Leiden), "Latin Words, Germanic Thoughts--The Germanic Epic." The Proceedings are available from E.R. Smits, Kamperfoelieweg 15, 9765 HJ Paterswolde, NL, Dutch Giro no. 2252836. The conference was followed on May 27, 1989 by the annual Dutch old Germanic Studies Day, "Oudgermanistendag," in Groningen, at which a further series of lectures was given on various subjects of Germanic philology. The organizers of the conference were: Alasdair A. MacDonald (Chairman), Tette Hofstra (Secretary), Edme R. Smits (Treasurer), and J. Richard J. North (Assistant).

The Centre for the Study of Vernacular Literature in the Middle Ages at Odense University held its Fourteenth International Symposium, "The Medieval Text: Editors and Critics," on November 21, 1989. The symposium offered lectures and discussions about the ways in which medieval and modern writers address themselves to questions of transmitting, editing, interpreting, and criticizing texts. The lecturers and their topics included: Alastair J. Minnis (York Univ.), "Towards a History of Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism"; Derek Pearsall (Harvard Univ.), "Piers Plowman: The Text and the Texts"; John Lind (Copenhagen Univ.), "The Novgorod Karamzin Chronicle and the Making of the Fourth Novgorod Chronicle"; Ursula Dronke (Cambridge Univ.) "The Editing of Old Norse Mythological Poetry"; and Birger Munk Olsen (Copenhagen Univ.),

"L'edition des textes antiques du Moyen Âge."

The Index of Christian Art and the Department of Art and Archaeology at Princeton University presented a colloquium on the Ruthwell Cross on December 8, 1989. Lecturers and their lectures included: Robert Farrell (Cornell University), "The Construction and 'Deconstruction' of the Ruthwell Cross: A Negative Analysis"; Douglas Mac Lean (Tufts University), "The Date of the Ruthwell Cross"; David Howlett (Oxford University), "Inscriptions and Design of the Ruthwell Cross"; Paul Meyvaert (Medieval Academy of America), "'Ecclesia' and 'Vita Monastica': The Two Main Themes of the Ruthwell Cross." Respondents were: John V. Fleming, J.J.G. Alexander, Jane Rosenthal, Lawrence Nees, Amy Vandersall, and Kristine Edmondson Haney.

IX

Leeds Studies in English

The editors of the annual Leeds Studies in English are pleased to announce that volume XX (1989) is a collection of essays in honor of H.L. Rogers. The contributors on Old English topics are: Rosemary Huismann, Fran Colman, J.E. Cross, Alan Brown, Robert D. Stevick, Bruce Mitchell, and Eric Stanley; there are several other articles on Old Norse and Middle English topics. In the companion monograph series Rory McTurk and Andrew Wawn have recently edited Or Dolum til Dala: Guðbrandur Vigfusson Centenary Essays. Readers of OEN may order these volumes direct from the Secretary, Leeds Studies in English, School of English, University of Leeds, Leeds LS2 9JT England, postage and packing free, or from booksellers:

Leeds Studies in English, XX (1989), pp. viii + 350.

ISSN 0075-8566. £21. US\$42 (including currency conversion fee, if ordering direct).

Or Dolum til Dala: Guðbrandur Vigfusson Centenary Essays, ed. Rory McTurk and Andrew Wawn. Leeds Texts and Monographs, New Series 11 (pp. xi + 332). ISSN 0075-8574. ISBN 0 902296-21-3. £21. US\$42 (including currency conversion fee, if ordering direct).

The Editorial Board welcomes articles on Old and Middle English literature, Old Icelandic language and literature, and the historical study of the English language for publication in Leeds Studies in English, as well as proposals for monographs, editions, and special collections in Leeds Texts and Monographs. Submissions and enquiries should be addressed to the Editor, Leeds Studies in English, School of English, University of Leeds, Leeds LS2 9JT, England.

Brief Notices on Publications

The Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies offers two new volumes. The first, edited by Marilyn Deegan and D. G. Scragg, Medicine in Early Medieval England, presents four papers by Marilyn Deegan, Keith Manchester, Brian Moffat, and Stanley Rubin with an introduction (ISBN 1-871034-00-0). The second volume reprints the Toller Memorial Lecture given in 1988 by Audrey L. Meaney. Her lecture, "Sycld Sceffing and the Dating of Beowulf--Again," reexamines the history of the dating of Beowulf. Those interested in these volumes should write to the Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies; University of Manchester; Manchester M13 9PL; England.

The Neophilological Society of Helsinki has published volumes XLV, XLVI and XLIX of their Memoires. Edited by Leena Kahlas-Tarkka, volume XLV (ISBN 951-96030-0-X) collects various studies on Medieval language and literature. For Volume XLVI (ISBN 951-96030-1-8), Ms. Kahlas-Tarkka has written on The Uses and Shades of Meaning of Words for Ever and Each in Old English With an Addendum on Early Middle English Developments. The subject for volume XLIX (ISBN 951-96030-4-2) is Matti Kilpio's doctoral thesis on Passive Constructions in Old English Translations from Latin With Special Reference to the OE Bede and the Pastoral Care. These monographs are available from the Neophilological Society of Helsinki.

Allegories of War: Language and Violence in Old English Poetry, by John Patrick Hermann, is one of the first studies to approach Old English poetry through such contemporary critical tools as exegetics, psychoanalysis, and deconstruction. Through these methods, Mr. Hermann explores the intersection of spirituality and violence in early English poetry. He writes: "Allegories of War views poems not as sacrosanct unities to be mirrored, but as scenes of conflict to be questioned." His book is available from the University of Michigan Press; 839 Greene Street; P.O. Box 1104; Ann Arbor; Michigan 48106. Pp. 224. ISBN 0-472-10147-1. \$24.95.

Bruce Mitchell's On Old English is a collection of twenty-five of his articles and sixteen of his reviews. The book is divided into four parts concerned with Beowulf, with the poet Cædmon, with The Wanderer, The Seafarer, The Wife's Lament and other poems, and with Old English language. Basil Blackwell is the publisher. Pp. 352. ISBN 0-631-15872-3. \$69.95.

The Hambledon Press introduces a collection of essays by Stanley B. Greenfield. Hero and Exile: The Art of Old English Poetry, edited by George H. Brown, brings together Greenfield's most important work originally published as essays, omitting pieces that have been incorporated in or superseded by his books. It is divided into two sections: the first, on the "heroic,"

focuses on Beowulf, approaching the epic from various angles. The second section contains a general survey of the Old English elegies, two pieces on the theme of exile, and essays on a number of specific Old English poems in which exile figures prominently. Please write: The Hambledon Press; 309 Greenbrier Avenue; Roceverte, WV 24910. Pp. 240 + introduction and index. ISBN 0-907628-91-5. \$40.00.

E. Gordon Whatley has edited and translated The Saint of London: The Life and Miracles of St. Erkenwald, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, Volume 58 (Binhamton, NY: 1989). The edition includes texts, translations, appendix, notes and bibliography. Whatley has also written an extensive introduction, which discusses manuscripts and texts, date and authorship, the development and growth of the cult of St. Erkenwald and the hagiography and history of the saint's Life and Miracles. Pp. 256. ISBN 0-86698-042-3. \$25.00.

Shigeru Ono has collected several of his papers and review articles for his new book, On Early English Syntax and Vocabulary. He includes such topics as "The Early Development of the Auxiliary ought," "A Statistical Study of shall and will in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales and its Relevance to Style," "The Old English Verbs of Knowing," and a review of Bruce Mitchell's Old English Syntax. It is available from Nan'un-do Publishing Co., Ltd.; 361 Yamabukicho; Shinjuka; Tokyo 162; Japan. Pp. 301. ISBN 4-523-00099-9. \$99.00.

Alfred Eamesberger has written English Linguistics, Sprachwissenschaftliche Studienbuecher Abt.1, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag (Heidelberg: Winter, 1989). Including chapters on linguistics, morphology, English syntactic patterns and the English lexicon, "this textbook is intended as an introduction to basic questions of synchronic and diachronic study of the English language." Includes a bibliography and an index. Pp. 208. ISBN 3-533-04194-8/3-533-04195-6.

Verbs with the Reflexive Pronoun and Constructions with 'Self' in Old and Early Middle English, by Michiko Ogura, studies two types of reflexive expressions: simple reflexives (verbs with a reflexive pronoun) and compound reflexives (verbs with a reflexive pronoun intensified by self). Taking examples from Old English verse, prose and glosses and from Early Middle English verse and prose, Ogura analyzes the prototypes of the reflexive constructions which find their way into Modern English usage. Those interested should write: Ecdell & Brewer Ltd.; P.O. Box 9; Woodbridge; Suffolk IP12 3DF; England. ISBN 0-85991-288-4. £25.00.

Nicholas Howe has written Migration and Mythmaking in Anglo-Saxon England (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989). In this original and revisionist interpretation of Anglo-Saxon England, Howe proposes that the Anglo-Saxons fashioned a myth out

Anglo-Saxonists may be interested in Jesse L. Byock's Medieval Iceland (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1989). Byock offers a reassessment of medieval Iceland and its social order. Analyzing the roles of power and wealth exchange, he uncovers fundamental patterns while considering the public and private lives of individuals. Pp. 272. ISBN 0-520-05420-2. \$32.50 (20% discount available).

[illegible]

EDITOR'S NOTE:

Readers are directed to the information on OE-CALL and the accompanying questionnaire that form the final two pages of this issue.

In Memoriam: Ashley Crandell Amos

Antonette diPaolo Healey, Joan Holland, Pauline Thompson

Ashley Crandell Amos received her B.A. in English from Stanford University where she was elected to Phi Beta Kappa in 1972. At Yale University she had a distinguished graduate career in the Department of English: in 1973 and again in 1974 she won the Noah Webster Prize for the best essay on the English language. She wrote her thesis under the direction of Fred C. Robinson and received her Ph.D. in 1976; in the same year she married Bruce Amos, moving to Toronto to take up a joint appointment as a Junior Fellow at the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies and as an editor of the Dictionary of Old English.

Her dissertation was published in 1980 by the Medieval Academy of America as a monograph entitled The Linguistic Means of Determining the Dates of Old English Literary Texts. Analyzing and evaluating the various linguistic texts available, she concluded that scholars have not yet succeeded in constructing a reliable system for dating the composition of Old English writings. Her book, praised for its "exemplary scholarship," has become a standard reference work in the field, and has had far-reaching consequences; it shows a skeptical mind seeking firm evidence before assenting to any hypothesis. Her second book, Old English Word Studies: A Preliminary Author and Word Index (1983), was co-authored with Angus Cameron and Allison Kingmill. This collection of vocabulary studies was intended initially to aid the editors of the Dictionary of Old English, but its publication has been of enormous benefit to scholars involved in the study of Old English.

Ashley's most lasting contribution has been to the Dictionary of Old English Project itself. She succeeded Angus Cameron as Editor of the project after his death in 1983 and devoted her superb analytical abilities to formulating guidelines for writing the Dictionary, placing it on the sure footing which led to the publication of its first fascicles. Under her editorship the project was successful in acquiring a number of major research grants and was lauded for its innovative use of computers, a result of her close collaboration with Richard Venezky.

In 1985 she developed a serious depressive illness. Instead of withdrawing into silence and privacy, Ashley talked openly about the symptoms, course, and treatment of her disease. Through her long and courageous battle with depression, she helped us see how fragile life and health can be, and yet what deep reserves of strength can be called upon--even in the darkest moments and even in the greatest pain. She died on June 7, 1989 at the age of 37.

All who knew Ashley were struck by a mind brilliantly logical, the clarity of which illuminated every conversation. And yet she was ever generous to her students, colleagues, and friends. To all of us she was that rare union of kindness and generosity combined with profound learning and scholarship. Not only are her friends deeply saddened by her death, but the academic community as a whole mourns the loss of a distinguished scholar and lexicographer.

In Memoriam: Robert E. Kaske (1921-89)

A Remembrance by Thomas D. Hill

On August 8, 1989 Robert E. Kaske, Avalon Professor of the Humanities at Cornell University, passed away. Bob's decency, grace, and gentleness were qualities which those of us who knew him personally valued and trusted. No one who went to Bob for help about a scholarly problem never left without obtaining it, and Bob could be a mine of wisdom about those personal problems which are both the bane and staple of academic life. As a medievalist and a scholar, Bob was as close to being a native speaker of the medieval languages as anyone can be, not so much because he knew Old and Middle English and Medieval Latin that much better than other scholars--although he knew them very well indeed--but because he had a kind of native intuition about what a medieval poet might want to say.

Emerson Brown's account of Bob's work in the festschrift volume Magister Regis summarizes the force and cogency of Bob's scholarship well: "From the earliest of his essays to the most recent he deftly joined imagination in literary interpretation with painstaking historical research required to gather supporting evidence. There is nothing new about the desirability of this combination of attributes. Until traditional philological training began to disappear, literary scholars--except the most extreme New Critics--would routinely seek to support their insights with philological rigor. But philological rigor is never easy to achieve and is intermittently out of style. Too often, literary critics are oblivious to the essential first step of literary analysis: determining what the words meant, and all they might have possibly meant at the time the work was created. On the other hand, no amount of philological rigor, no amassing of evidence, can rescue an inherently absurd interpretation. What we yearn for, and so rarely get, is the literary scholar who can see something in a text that we have overlooked and can produce the evidence needed to persuade us that the text could have contained what he sees in it. In that combination of insight and scholarly rigor Robert Kaske was a master."

In Beowulf, after the death of Æschere, Hroðgar speaks of his old friend and comrade:

Dead is Æschere,
Yrmenlafes yldra broþor,
min runwita ond min rædbora,
eaxlgestealla, ðonne we on orlege
hafelan weredon, þonne hniton feþan,
eoferas cnysedan. Swylc scolde eorl wesan,
æþeling ærgod, swylc Æschere wæs.

Applying the language of the heroic epic to a scholar may seem overdramatic, but scholarly life has its own challenges, and of Bob too we may say: "Swylc scolde eorl wesan...swylc Robertus wæs."

In Memoriam: Stanley J. Kahrl (1931-89)

A Remembrance by Christian K. Zacher and Paul E. Szarmach

Stanley J. Kahrl, Professor of English at Ohio State University, died suddenly on December 3, 1989, while participating in the re-enactment of the Civil War Battle of Franklin (Tennessee). Stan died in the outdoors that he loved, pursuing one of his many interests that reflected his enthusiasm for drama and living re-creations of the past.

Longtime readers of OEN will readily recall that Stan was Editor for volumes 3-9, working with the late Rowland Collins, Associate Editor for YWOES, and Alan Brown, Bibliographer. Stan took OEN to Ohio State from the University of Rochester, when he moved there to become the first Director of OSU's Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies. During his tenure as Editor, OEN grew in size, scope, and influence. Along with Jess B. Bessinger, Jr., Stan collected the influential Essential Articles for the Study of Old English Poetry (1968).

Stan's colleagues remember him as an exuberant, constant teacher, who believed that teaching and research reinforced each other. His first act as CMRS Director was to create courses and teach in them. His enthusiasm for medieval drama led to three major books and some dozen articles. The National Endowment for the Humanities gave him a large grant to support "International Cooperation in Publishing Records of Early English Drama," which underwrote participation in the Toronto-based REED project. The NEH awarded him two successive continuations. For Stan medieval drama was no dry scholar's pursuit. He believed in the performance of the text, producing a series of plays for public television in the mid-1970's, again aided by an NEH grant. His idea of a springtime pilgrimage was driving a car full of students to annual medieval gatherings in Kalamazoo or Toronto. Always active in promoting inventive teaching, Stan chose administrative tasks at OSU that had to do with curriculum and student recruitment. He himself was the generous, avuncular teacher, readier to say yes than no, full of good will, and always waiting to be taught himself.

Many outside of OSU valued his service to the profession at large. Present at the inception of Centers and Regional Associations, the committee of the Mediaeval Academy of America representing the interests of programs in Medieval Studies, Stan helped form and guide the group with his energy and vision. He served the Academy as a member of its Fiftieth Anniversary Campaign Committee. Recently he accepted the position of Treasurer of the Academy, where his knowledge of both the world of finance and academe was proving to be most useful. An alumnus of Harvard (magna cum laude, 1953; Ph.D., 1962), Stan was a member of the Visiting Committee for the University Library for the Harvard Board of Overseers. Nearer to home, he was active in committees supporting St. Stephen's Episcopal Church and several local schools.

Stan gave more to the profession than he took. His personal and professional example will guide us as we mourn his loss.

ISAS 89: Meeting in Durham

The University of Durham was the host for the Fourth Meeting of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, August 7-11. President Rosemary Cramp and her committee scheduled some 34 papers and presentations. Special conference outings included choices of trips to Escomb, Ripon, and Fountains Abbey or Monkwearmouth, Jarrow, and Hexham on Wednesday the 9th and a post-conference trip to Lindisfarne either via Jarrow or Chester-le-Street on Saturday the 12th. There were book displays and a special exhibition in Durham University Library on "Landmarks in Learning about the Anglo-Saxons," organized by A.I. Doyle. Nearly 200 ISAS members attended.

At the business meeting the Advisory Board announced the new slate of officers and Board members who will take office January 1, 1990. New officers are: President, Paul E. Szarmach; First Vice-President, Malcolm Godden; Second Vice-President, Patrizia Lendinara. Mary P. Richards continues as Executive Director. New Advisory Board members are: Rolf Bremmer, Margaret Clunies-Ross, Jane Roberts, Alexander Rumble, and, ex-officio for OEN, Joseph B. Trahern, Jr. They join hold-over members: Alfred Bammesberger, Andreas Fischer, Allen J. Frantzen, D.W. Rollason, Leslie Webster, and ex-officio members Antonette diPaolo Healey (for the Dictionary of Old English) and Simon Keynes (for Anglo-Saxon England).

H.R. Loyn and Bruce Mitchell were elected honorary members of ISAS.

The 1991 ISAS meeting will take place July 22-26 at the State University of New York at Stony Brook, which is located about 60 miles east of New York City and its JFK International Airport. The conference theme is: "The Preservation and Transmission of Anglo-Saxon Culture." The Coordinating Committee also plans Open Sessions and session devoted to other themes. The members of the Committee are: Milton McC. Gatch, David Hinton, Mary P. Richards, Joel Rosenthal, William P. Stoneman, and Paul E. Szarmach.

The 1993 ISAS meeting is planned for Oxford.

OEN will publish abstracts of papers given at ISAS 89 in an Appendix to the Spring, 1990 issue (vol. 23.2).

Readers interested in joining ISAS and in seeking further information about membership privileges (including discounts on Anglo-Saxon England) should write to the Executive Director:

Dr. Mary P. Richards,
Executive Director, ISAS
c/o College of Liberal Arts
2046 Haley Center
Auburn University, AL 36849-5227



Rosemary Cramp and
Éamonn Ó Carragáin



Janet M. Bately and
A. Kent Hieatt



Mary P. Richards, René Derolez,
J. Gerritsen



Paul B. Taylor and Helen Damico



In the rain (naturally) at Jarrow



Mary-Catherine Bodden and
Milton McC. Gatch

Dictionary of Old English: 1989 Progress Report

Joan Holland
Centre for Medieval Studies
University of Toronto

Ashley Crandell Amos, Co-editor of the Dictionary of Old English, died on 7th June 1989, after a long and courageous struggle with a depressive illness. Her friends and colleagues at the project feel a deep sense of sorrow and personal loss. She will be missed not only for her incisive intellect and profound scholarly gifts, but also for her immense kindness and generosity to all. Work on the Dictionary continues under the direction of Antonette diPaolo Healey.

The death of Ashley Crandell Amos has inevitably had an effect on the productivity of the Dictionary; nevertheless, work has progressed at an encouraging rate. We are close to completing entries for b, the fifth largest letter in the Old English alphabet, with fewer than 100 to be written out of approximately 2300 headwords, and expect to publish the fascicle in 1990. The drafting of entries for the next fascicle, x, will begin in the new year as soon as b is completed.

One of our editors, Christine Franzen, leaves in December to take up a teaching position at the University of Wellington, New Zealand. The number of drafting editors will then be reduced to five until a new editor is hired.

The major computing task this year has been to move our electronic text corpus off the Vax 11/730 to one of the Xerox 300 megabyte file servers. This move to the Xerox equipment has made much more efficient the retrieval of citations from the file server to the local workstation, and has resulted in a significant increase in speed in the initial inputting of the entries. With a view towards making our entry-writing more efficient, we began, during the summer, to catalogue our library as the initial stage in building of a database to the corpus, which will provide on-line bibliographical information about each of the 3000 or so texts which constitute our electronic corpus. The database will, eventually, give such information as the short-title of a text, its manuscript date and, if applicable, other editions, variant manuscripts, Latin sources, and English translations. Another aspect of our computer work this year has been a continuation of our investigation of structural tagging which has arisen from our desire to be able to search our completed fascicles; here we are drawing upon the advice and experience of the New OED at the University of Waterloo.

In March, E.G. Stanley, a member of our International Advisory Committee, visited the project for three weeks, writing entries for the letter b. Our Director of Computing, Richard

Venezky, visited us in May to help us plan our future migration to a new computer system when the present equipment is no longer supported. Two other notable visitors at the DOE this year were the University of Toronto's Vice-President for Research, James Keffer and Edmund Weiner of Oxford University Press, Co-editor of OED2.

We are pleased to report that as a result of a successful review of the project, the salaries for the two designated Mellon editors will be funded for another five years (1990-95) through a commitment honored by the University of Toronto. In addition, we were successful in our application to the Special Collections Programme of SSHRCC, whose funds will allow us to maintain and supplement our research collection for the coming year. The Dictionary received Ashley Crandell Amos's personal scholarly library as a gift from her family.

This has been a very productive year for the communication of our research. In February, at the Annual Medieval Conference at the Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto ("Medieval Medicine: the Causes of Sickness, the Secrets of Health"), two of the editors, Ian McDougall and Pauline Thompson, presented papers. In June, Christine Franzen spoke on the Dictionary's computer system at a combined meeting of the sixteenth International ALLC Conference and the ninth International Conference on Computing and the Humanities, held in Toronto. In September, Antonette diPaolo Healey gave a paper entitled "The Corpus of the Dictionary of Old English: Its Delimitation, Compilation and Application" at the Fifth Annual Conference of the University of Waterloo Centre for the New Oxford English Dictionary, held in Oxford. The conference and its proceedings were dedicated to the memory of Ashley Crandell Amos. In November, David and Ian McDougall each gave papers at the University of British Columbia's XIXth Medieval Workshop ("The Vikings in England").

Three of the editors gave invited papers in the course of the year. In January, Ian McDougall delivered a talk on "Old Words in New Worlds" at the Department of English, University of Toronto. Also in January, Antonette diPaolo Healey gave a series of four lectures to the Departments of History, English, and Linguistics at the University of Victoria, British Columbia. In August, Christine Franzen gave a paper entitled "Problems in Definition" to the Department of English, University of Wellington. The staff also represented the project at a number of conferences. In April, Pauline Thompson attended the Medieval Academy Meeting in Madison, Wisconsin, and visited the Dictionary of American Regional English. In May, Antonette diPaolo Healey attended the Advisory Committee meeting on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo. In August, Antonette diPaolo Healey, Joan Holland, and Pauline Thompson attended the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists conference in Durham. In November, Joan Holland visited the Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language in Jerusalem at the

invitation of its editor, Reuven Merken.

EDITOR: Antonette diPaolo Healey

DRAFTING EDITORS	Christine Franzen	Ian McDougall
	Joan Holland	Nancy Speirs
	David McDougall	Pauline Thompson

EDITORIAL STAFF:	Alison Forrester	Elaine Quanz
	Catherine Monahan	
	Takamichi Ariga (Computer Programmer)	
	Lubo Cipin (Computer Programmer)	

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Editor, Toronto Old English Series: Roberta Frank

Editor, Publications of the Dictionary of Old English:
 Roberta Frank

DIRECTOR OF COMPUTING:	Richard L. Venezky,	University of Delaware
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 Macdonald-Stewart Foundation
 The Presidents' Committee, University of Toronto
 Andrew W. Mellon Foundation
 Xerox Corporation University Grants Committee
 The University of Toronto

The Eighth Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture

The Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture continues into its eighth year, offering a program of eight sessions for the Twenty-Fifth International Congress, sponsored by the Medieval Institute at Western Michigan University, May 10-13, 1990. As in the past, the ad-hoc Sources committee has scheduled sessions in literature, archaeology, and art history. The sessions are:

Literary Sources I

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

Susan E. Deskis (Harvard Univ.)

"The Proverbial Context of Joy and Sorrow in Beowulf"

David F. Johnson (Cornell Univ.)

"Old English Motif-Study and 'The Five Horrors of Hell'"

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

"Some Latin and Old Norse Analogues for Eve's biter drync in Guthlac B"

Literary Sources II

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

Durrell Dew (Univ. of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)

"The 'Journey' Charm in the Irish Lorica Tradition"

Sarah Larratt Keefer (Trent Univ.)

"Reconstructing the Old English Metrical 'Creed'"

J.R. Hall (Univ. of Mississippi)

"Joseph, Hegesippus, and Pseudo-Hegesippus: Sources and Non-Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture"

Elfric

chair: Paul E. Szarmach (SUNY-Binghamton)

Malcolm Godden (Exeter College, Oxford)

"Elfric and His Sources: the Struggle with Authority"

Theodore Leinbaugh (Univ. of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

"Elfric, Alcuin, and the Seafarer: The Flight of the Soul"

Old English Liturgical Poetry

chair: Sarah Larratt Keefer (Trent University)

Patricia Hollahan (Univ. of Illinois Press)

"Hear David Groaning: Kentish Psalm 50 as a Meditation on Penance"

Patricia H. Ward (College of Charleston)

"Re-Evaluation of Christ I, 164-213"

Thomas D. Hill (Cornell Univ.)

"Tormenting the Devil with Boiling Drops: An Apocryphal Motif in Solomon and Saturn I"

Theory and Method in Anglo-Saxon Studies I: Textual and Material Culture

chairs: Allen J. Frantzen (Loyola Univ. of Chicago) and

Gillian R. Overing (Wake Forest Univ.)

Ursula Schaefer (Albert-Ludwigs Univ., Freiburg)

"Material Possession and Memory: The Vocal World of Books"

Kelley M. Wickham-Crowley (Georgetown Univ.)

"Archaeology, Weaving, Women, and the Anglo-Saxon World"

Respondent: David A.E. Pelteret (Univ. of Toronto)

Theory and Method in Anglo-Saxon Studies II: Textuality and History

chair: Martin Irvine (Georgetown Univ.) and

Clare Lees (Fordham Univ.)

Deborah L. Vanderbilt (Univ. of Wisconsin-Madison)

"Cædmon's Hymn as Relic: Textualization of the Oral in Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica 4.24"

Ruth Waterhouse (Macquarie Univ.)

"Ælfric's 'Life of Æthelthryth': Comic Anti-Feminism"

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

"The Ideology of Form: Wæpnedsong and Wifsong"

Aspects of Insular Culture: New Perspectives from Ireland

chair: Robert T. Farrell (Cornell Univ.)

Michael Kenny (National Museum of Ireland)

"Coins and Coinage in the Irish Midlands During the Viking Age"

Ken Bender (Cornell Univ.)

"References to Lough Ennell in the Annals of Ireland: an Archaeologist's Point of View"

Catherine Karkov (Cornell Univ.)

"The Clonmacnoise School: River Systems and Stylistic Dissemination in Early Medieval Ireland"

Anglo-Saxon Art:

chair: Thomas Ohlgren (Purdue Univ.)

Edward L. Ridsen (Purdue Univ.)

"The Gosforth Cross and Reading Beowulf"

Carol L. Neuman de Vegvar (Ohio Wesleyan Univ.)

"Remembering the Ladies: Possible Roles of Women Monastics in the Development of Early Anglo-Saxon Art"

Mildred Budny (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge)

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

As has become the tradition, Anglo-Saxonists will gather at the Black Swan Restaurant on Friday, May 11 for dinner at 6:30 p.m. The organizer for the evening is

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

Those interested in attending should write to Prof. Farrell to reserve a place (seating will be limited) with advance payment. The estimated cost for the dinner is approximately \$27.00, which includes tax, tip, food, and wine.

Advance Notice: "The Insular Tradition: 400-1200"

Working with a group of international scholars Robert T. Farrell is planning a research conference under the provisional title "The Insular Tradition: 400-1200," to be held in conjunction with the Twenty-Sixth International Congress at Western Michigan University, May 9-12, 1991. Speakers at the conference will specifically address questions on the state of research in the various disciplines and issues crucial to the field of Medieval Studies in general. Individual sessions will deal with traditional interpretation vs. recent evidence in subjects such as the transition from late Antique to early medieval culture, the role of Insular art and architecture in the development of international styles from the sixth to the twelfth centuries, problems in the interpretation of monuments, problems in the relationship between text and monument, questions of international contacts, and methodological problems in the study of Irish, Welsh, Pictish, Anglo-Saxon, and Scandinavian culture. Speakers will describe the state of the subject as of 1991 and where the subject is heading.

There will be some 20 speakers at the conference. Rosemary Cramp will be Plenary Speaker for the entire Congress as well as for the Symposium. Thus far, these scholars have also agreed to give papers: Richard Bailey, Comac Bourke, Robert Calkins, Carol Farr, James Graham-Campbell, Peter Harbison, Jane Hawkes, Isabel Henderson, John Higgit, Catherine Karkov, James Lang, Carol Neuman de Vegvar, Eamonn Ó Carragain, Daibhi Ó Croinin, Ragnell Ó Floinn, Michael Ryan, Roger Stalley, and Sue Youngs.

The idea for the "Insular Tradition" proceeds from the Sutton Hoo conference activities at Western Michigan University and Cornell University in 1989, which serve as a precedent for international, interdisciplinary interchange in the areas of early Anglo-Saxon and Celtic Studies.

The conference has been timed to follow closely on the heels of two international exhibitions of Insular art: "The Work of Angels," organized by the British Museum and the National Museum of Ireland, and a major exhibition of Insular art currently touring Australia. Amplifying the themes of "Insular Tradition: 400-1200" will be an exhibit of photographs on the astonishing range of material that has come to light in the past decade.

It is expected that the proceedings of the conference will be published within a reasonably brief time of the Symposium. Thus, the Symposium itself and the Proceedings volume will, in this subject area, speed up the communication between European scholars and their American counterparts, which normally suffers from a three-to-five-year time lag.

The Editing of Old English Texts

25-27 May 1990

The Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies has organized a major research conference on the editing of Old English texts in cooperation with the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies at SUNY-Binghamton. The program includes sessions on the history of editing Old English, the practices of the principal publishing organizations currently producing editions, and the requirements of different readerships. Participants will include: Carl T. Berkhout, Graham Caie, Marilyn Deegan, A.N. Doane, David Dumville, Malcolm Godden, J.R. Hall, Antonette diPaolo Healey, Joyce Hill, Michael Lapidge, Clare Lees, Theodore Leinbaugh, Hugh Magennis, Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe, J.D. Pheifer, A.R. Rumble, D.G. Scragg, Kathryn Sutherland, and Paul E. Szarmach.

The conference will take place at the John Rylands University Library of Manchester and at Holly Royde College nearby. The opening session will begin on Friday, May 25 at 7:45 p.m. with an introduction to the conference by D.G. Scragg and an opening presentation by Malcolm Godden, Editorial Secretary for the Early English Text Society. Six other sessions will fill the Saturday schedule, continuing into Sunday morning. A Sunday afternoon Panel Discussion will conclude the conference.

Conference facilities have been reserved for sixty participants: early booking is therefore essential for those wishing to ensure a place. No special arrangements have been made for guests of participants, but non-delegates will be welcomed at the evening meals if sufficient advance notice is given. Some accommodations will be available at Holly Royde College (single, £13 per night, bed and breakfast), while 3-star accommodations are available at the Willow Bank Hotel (single, £22 per night; double, £33 per night; breakfast included). The Conference fee is £30.

For registration information and materials write to:

The Secretary

Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies

University of Manchester

Manchester M13 9PL

England

The organizers plan to publish a Proceedings volume.

In geardagum

*(From the Cambridge Review, October 22, 1879, p 27.)

As lectures on Anglo-Saxon are comparatively a new thing in the University, I propose, with the kind permission of the editor of the Cambridge Review, to say a few words about them.

Two sets of lectures are being delivered this term, as announced in the University Reporter, in a room in the Selwyn Divinity School. The more advanced lectures on Beowulf, are delivered at 12 m. on Tuesdays and Thursdays; the elementary lectures, on Mondays and Wednesdays, at 1 p.m., not at 12 m., as at first announced. The course begins on October 20th.

For the elementary lectures, the text-book is Vernon's Anglo-Saxon Guide, published by J. Russell Smith; and this is the only book which is at first required. The price is 5s. 6d. After a slight advance is made, it is necessary to procure also Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader, published in the Clarendon Press series at 7s. 6d.; a second edition has lately appeared. Experience shews that Mr. Sweet's book is a little too difficult for beginners, though it is by far the better book of the two. A dictionary is hardly required at first, as the glossary to Mr. Sweet's book is copious. The price of Dr. Bosworth's smaller dictionary, a very handy book, is 12s. Thus, for the sum of 1£5s., a student may buy enough, in the way of Anglo-Saxon, to last him for some years. It is not much to pay for authoritative books about his own language.

The lectures are entirely free to all members of the University, of whatever standing. It is impossible to make them more accessible than they are, though they are but scantily attended. There is a prevalent idea, as I find by experience, that a fee is required. This is quite a mistake. Any student who wishes to attend may do so whenever he pleases; he is free to attend one lecture or all. He is not even asked for his name, though of course it is a pleasure to me to know it. All that is required is that he shall give his best attention for the hour during which the lecture lasts. When it is over, I am always ready to wait for ten minutes or a quarter of an hour afterwards, to answer any questions that may arise, to discuss difficulties, or to advise a course of study.

If any student, for any purpose, wishes to make English a study I am prepared to give him the best of my attention, to a reasonable degree, without fee. In such a case, it is best to call upon me at my own house, 2 Salisbury Villas, near the railway station, between the hours of 11 and 1 in the morning, or 7 and 9 in the evening, when I am usually, not always, at home.

I venture to think that English is a language worth study for its own sake, and I do not see how anything valuable is to be known about it, without some elementary notions about Anglo-Saxon. If it is more scholarly to know why system is spelt with a y, it must also be scholarly to know what is meant by the gh in light.

Walter W. Skeat



Mildred Budny, Gernot Wieland, Helmut Gneuss



Joyce Hill and Donald Scragg



Michael Lapidge, Peter Clemoes, Malcolm Godden, Simon Keynes



Mechthild Gretsch, Maria Amalia D'Aronco,
Patrizia Lendinara

The Cambridge University Press hosted a reception to mark the retirement of Peter Clemoes from the editorship of *Anglo-Saxon England*, August 10, in the Senate Suite of the Castle, Durham. The reception was one of the special events held in connection with the Fourth ISAS Meeting. More than 50 Anglo-Saxonists raised a toast to Clemoes on this special occasion. The center photo portrays the once, present, and future editors of ASE-- the other photos, some of the many who attended.

1990 Cædmon Prizes

The Witan of Da Engliscan Gesipas invites entries for the 1990 Leopgaderung 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 £1.50 (plus a stamped/addressed envelope for a return of work).

The two prizes will each consist of: 1) £10 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 OE poetic practice, but will give as much credit to poetic quality and response to the spirit of OE 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 decision of the Witan will be final.

Da Engliscan Gesipas hold copyright on anything published in Wipowinde unless otherwise stated.

All entries should be sent to

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

DEADLINE for all entries: May 31, 1990

The group has recently published Bocgetal (n.d.), a select bibliography compiled by C.P. Biggam offering an introduction to Anglo-Saxon Studies. The 49 numbered pages offer eleven sections on various sub-fields of the subject including Fiction and Children's Books. The book is available for £3.00 plus postage from: Janet Goldsbrough-Jones (Gerefa/Bocere, Secretary/Editor); 38 Cranworth Road; Worthing, Essex, England.

Richard Rawlinson: A Tercentenary Memorial

Richard Rawlinson "is little known to the general reader, but his enduring contributions to the academic life of his country and of the English-speaking people deserve wider fame. He bequeathed to the Bodleian Library a collection of books and manuscripts so monumental that the cataloguing took more than a hundred years to complete. To the Ashmolean Museum he left collections of medals, rare coins, statuary, portraits, and paintings. To his college at Oxford, St. John's, he left extensive properties in Warwickshire. Hertford College also enjoyed his generosity with the gift of an estate in London. He established and endowed the chair of Anglo-Saxon Study at Oxford, which was known as the Rawlinsonian Professorship until 1916 when, combined with a bequest from Dr. Joseph Bosworth, it became the Rawlinson and Bosworth Professorship."

*from the Introduction

To honor the three-hundredth anniversary of his birth, Georgian and David Tashjian have collaborated with Brian J. Enright to produce a volume of essays that explore the life and legacies of the eighteenth-century antiquary and collector Richard Rawlinson.

Rawlinson and members of the Rawlinson family were connected with the eminent men and women of their times--from Samuel Pepys to Edmund Halley and Isaac Newton. Some of the Rawlinsons were landed gentry, some tradesmen, some scholars. All dedicated themselves, in one way or another, to public service and to collecting and preserving for posterity the treasures of the English past. The value of their preservation efforts is evident still: the restoration of the Wren building in Colonial Williamsburg was affected by an engraved copperplate discovered in the Rawlinson collection at the Bodleian Library, and another copperplate was used by the National Geographic Society in its bicentennial atlas of the United States.

Send orders to: New Issues Press; Hillside West; Western Michigan University; Kalamazoo; Michigan 49008-3851; phone 616-387-4155; FAX 616-387-4150. Pp. xviii + 221. Illustrated, with bibliographies, index and foreward written by E. G. Stanley, current Rawlinson and Bosworth Professor. ISBN 0-932826-23-7.

Available March 31, 1990 for \$29.95 plus \$2.00 per volume for shipping and handling (Michigan residents add 4% sales tax). If ordered before March 31, 1990, a 20% discount is in effect. The discount price is \$23.96 plus shipping and handling.

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, SASLC will include contributions from specialists in the various subfields 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, however, will normally appear in summary form at the beginning of each entry under five headings: first, the manuscript evidence; second, medieval library catalogues and booklists; third, the existence of Anglo-Latin or Old English versions; fourth, significant quotations or 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 entry will discuss relevant 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 eighth year.

SASLC has had a triple institutional base: Cornell University, Brigham Young University, and SUNY-Binghamton. The National Endowment for the Humanities, Division of Research Programs awarded SASLC a major grant to begin its work in 1987. Now in its third year SASLC continues with an extension of NEH funds and as a project of CEMERS at SUNY-Binghamton. Current plans call for two additional years of work.

To mark and summarize its first two years of research as well as to solicit criticism in anticipation of the final, complete volume, which is planned for 1992-93, the Project committee plans to issue for wide distribution "Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: A Trial Version." This paperback volume should be available for circulation in early 1990.

The Project Committe Members are:

Administrative Committee:

Frederick M. Biggs (Univ. of Connecticut)
 Thomas D. Hill (Cornell Univ.)
 Thomas Mackay (Brigham Young Univ.)
 Paul E. Szarmach (SUNY-Binghamton)
 Gordon Whatley (Queens College and the Graduate Center, CUNY)

Advisory Committee:

Janet M. Bately (Univ. of London King's College)
 Carl T. Berkhout (Univ. of Arizona)
 J. E. Cross (Univ. of Liverpool)
 Antonette diPaolo Healey (Univ. of Toronto)
 Michael Lapidge (Univ. of Cambridge)
 Mary P. Richards (Auburn Univ.)
 Donald G. Scragg (Manchester Univ.)
 Joseph Wittig (Univ. of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)
 David Yerkes (Columbia Univ.)

Special Consultants:

Richard W. Pfaff (Univ. of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)
 Charles D. Wright (Univ. of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)

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 with the assistance of Special Consultants.

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:

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 Project Director, SASLC
 CEMERS
 SUNY-Binghamton
 P.O. Box 6000
 Binghamton, NY 13902-6000
 PHONE: 607-777-2730
 FAX: 607-777-4000 P. E. Szarmach
 ANSAXNET: PSZARMAC @ BINGVAXC

November, 1989

Using Peter Baker's "Classroom Edition" of Wulf and Eadwacer

Deanna Delmar Evans has sent the editors a report on how she used Peter Baker's "Wulf and Eadwacer: A Classroom Edition," which was published in OEN, 16.2 (1983), 1-8, at her home campus Bemidji State University (Bemidji, MN). Bemidji State is 300 miles north of Minneapolis-St. Paul. Though this small state university has a graduate program, it does not support a research library.

To meet the curricular requirement that graduate students complete a special research project when a course has undergraduates as well, Evans assigned the Baker edition, asking students to provide a modern English translation that would be literal yet readable. The translation was to convey an interpretation of the poem and students were to write a "defense" of the translation. Baker's bibliography proved invaluable and, when supplemented by the annual Spring OEN bibliographies, made it possible for Evans to create a research library for the poem through interlibrary loan requests planned well in advance.

After the final exam of the course, Evans met with a select group of graduate students, who did particularly well in the research assignment, to plan a graduate conference session. Some summer work led to a proposal to the conference committee of the Medieval Association of the Midwest, which was accepted for the meeting at the Newberry Library in Chicago.

Student authors, their titles, and synopses of the September 29 papers follow:

Dan Hawkins, "Pursuing Meaning in Wulf and Eadwacer": suggests that the female speaker is estranged from her husband, Wulf, who for some reason has become an outlaw. Eadwacer is the intruder who is the guardian of the speaker and the father of the "whelp," which Wulf takes away to kill or sacrifice to show that Eadwacer's union with the speaker can never replace the bond that the speaker once shared with him.

Lyn Wilimek, "Wulf and Eadwacer: A Love Triangle": also contends that the poem is a love triangle with Wulf being the estranged lover and Eadwacer, the unwanted guardian. However, Wilimek finds irony in Wulf's taking of the eargnes hwelp, observing that the "treasure" that Eadwacer has been guarding has been stolen from under his nose.

Carol Richards, "Reconciling Wulf and Eadwacer": departs from the more traditional readings and examines the poem as Christian allegory. Richards is preparing to submit her paper for publication.

A Brief Guide to the Scansion of Old English Poetry

Constance Hieatt, Univ. of Western Ontario

I. Analyzing Lines and Verses

The Old English poetic line consists of two VERSES linked by alliteration, the repetition of initial consonant or vowel sounds. A vowel alliterates with any other vowel; sc, sp, and st alliterate as clusters. Examples from Beowulf:

19, Scyldes eafera Scedelandum in
642, þā wæs eft swā ær inne on healle

The first half-line is the ON-VERSE; "Scyldes eafer" is designated as 19a; the second is the OFF-VERSE; "inne on healle" is designated as 642b.

Normal verses usually have two syllables more strongly stressed than any others; these are called LIFTS. A lift normally has grammatical priority: e.g., nouns generally demand stronger stress than other words, while prepositions are rarely stressed; and/or the lift bears the structural alliteration.

In most circumstances, a lift must fall on a stressed "long" syllable (i.e. one which has a long vowel OR is "closed" by two consonants OR is a monosyllable), but it can fall on a stressed short syllable followed by an unstressed syllable with which it can be RESOLVED. Other unstressed syllables are called DROPS. A drop of two or more syllables is always resolved. Examples from Beowulf (/ indicates a lift, x a drop; either is underlined if resolved):

19a Scyldes eafera 121a grim ond grædig 241a hider ofer holmas

When two closely linked syllables are BOTH weighty enough to qualify as lifts (e.g., in a compound noun), the second takes secondary stress and is referred to as a HALF-LIFT (indicated by \); e.g.,

1147a sweordbealo slīðen (/ \ / x instead of / x / x).

The FIRST lift of the off-verse must alliterate with one or both of the lifts of the on-verse; the second MUST NOT (unless there is a secondary alliterative pattern, as in Beowulf 39, hildewapnum ond heaðowādum).

The basic, and most frequent, verse pattern (labelled "A" by Sievers, who classified the types which are found in Beowulf) is: /x/x. It begins with a stressed syllable because Germanic stress-

rules favor initial stress. It has four parts, distinguished by stress levels, not numbers of syllables, since two syllables may be resolved into one lift and two or more into one drop. Or, a drop may fall on a syllable demanding secondary stress, such as the second element of a compound noun: in this case, we consider the drop to be raised to a half-life. Examples of A verses in Beowulf:

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} & / & x & / & x & & \\ 59b & \underline{for} & \underline{pger} & \underline{ime} & & 109a & \underline{ne} & \underline{ge} & \underline{feah} & \underline{he} & \underline{pære} & \underline{fæhpe} \\ & & & & & & / & \backslash & / & & & x \\ & & & & & 640a & \underline{gil} & \underline{pcwide} & \underline{Gæ} & \underline{ates} \end{array}$$

Note in 109a a two-syllable drop before the first stress: such a brief extrametrical prelude, normally consisting of an unstressed prefix and/or the negative particle "ne" is called ANACRUSIS.

II. The Five Sievers' Types

Variants of A were not the only types permissible, however. Four other verse-types are found, called in order of frequency B, C, D, and E. In these types the four parts of the A verse are rearranged, but the resulting groups still show four distinct components distinguished by stress gradations.

1. Some patterns could not occur because resolution reduces the elements to three: e.g., $*//xx = //x$; $*/xx/ = /x/$; $*xx// = x//$ (cf. $*engelum > englum$).

2. Rearranging the elements to $*x/x/$ (which is how Sievers and many others have understood the B verse pattern) does not really work: there are no unquestioned verses on the pattern of $*"gewāt \underline{pā} ofer \underline{wæg}"$, no doubt because initial stress is expected. An initial drop is apt to be heard as anacrusis UNLESS the second lift is weakened to give more weight to the initial drop; thus if what follows an initial drop--if of one syllable, usually NOT the type likely to be found in anacrusis--is a trisyllabic word or phrase with the final stress subordinated to the first, we have a B verse: $x/x\backslash$, as in Beowulf 30a, pēden wordum wēold, and 1620a, wāron ȳðgebland.

3. The same problem would arise in the arrangement $*x//x$; with the same solution, $C = x/\backslash x$, as in Beowulf 45a, pē hine æt frumsceaft. But in this situation, a lightly stressed inflectional ending takes less stress than the preceding syllable, even if that is not a long syllable: thus short syllables are often found half-lifts in C verses (such as Beowulf 37a, of feorwegum).

4. On a weighty enough syllable, x is raised to \, as one might see in A verses. Thus the impossible */xx/ is possible if one of the drops is raised to a secondary stress, giving the two D patterns, /\x (D1), as in Beowulf 2026b, wine Scyldinga, and /\x\, (D2) as in 1307a, hār hilderinc.

5. Raising an x to \ gives another possible arrangement: raising the first x in the impossible pattern */xx/ gives E, /\x\, as in Beowulf 321b, gūðbyrne scān.

6. But that is all; the second x of *xx//, e.g., cannot be raised to give *x\// because secondary stress cannot immediately precede primary stress (*x\// = xx// = x//). This limitation on secondary stress rules out such hypothetical possibilities as *hilderinc hār: */x\// = 1 /xx/ = /x/.

CONCLUSION: Given the Germanic stress system, the prosodic requirement of a four-member "verse," and the necessity of resolving successive unstressed elements, the "Sievers Types" represent the only possible O.E. verses. While some normal verses do not fit these categories, most examples can be seen as variants. In a poem with only a very few exceptions, such as Beowulf, problematic verses may be misreadings on the part of a scribe--or editor: it has recently been suggested that the trouble with Beowulf 2150a, "lissa gelong" (/xx/ = /x/), a notorious problem, is easily solved if we read "liss ā gelong": /\x \ = D.

New British Library

The first phase of construction of the new British Library, which is considered to be the most substantial building to have been constructed in Great Britain since the great age of museum building at the end of the nineteenth century, is now well advanced. This stage includes all four planned deep basements for book storage, reading rooms for the humanities, science, technology and industry collections, exhibition galleries, and a bookshop open to the general public. Phase I is due to open in 1993 with work continuing on a further phase to complete the building in 1996.

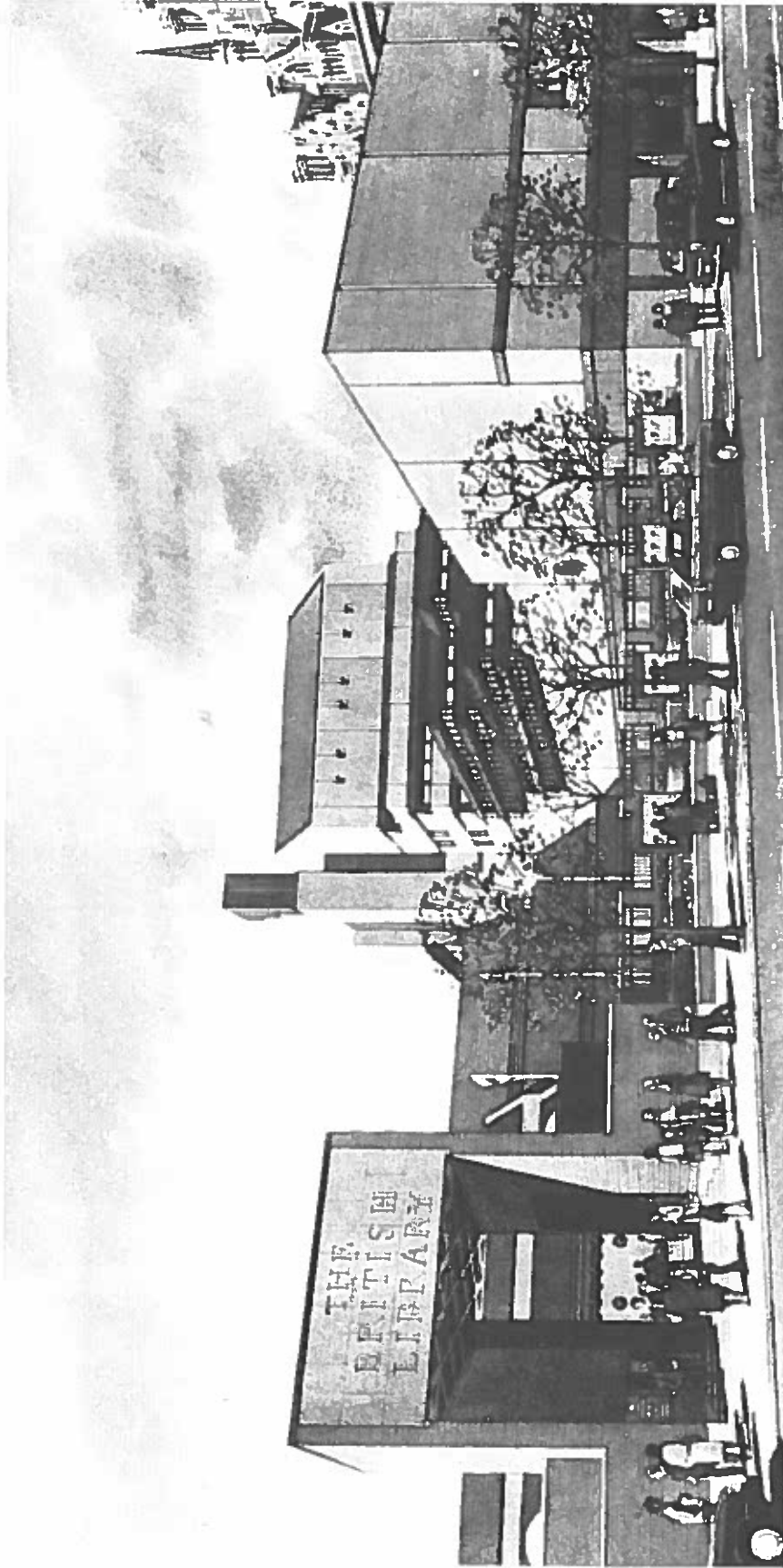
Between 1993 and 1996 reading room facilities will be offered at both Great Russell Street and the new St. Pancras site. Phase II will include the main reading room for the humanities, additional science, maps, and Oriental materials reading rooms as well as a public restaurant and a new setting for the King's Library. After the British Library finally leaves the British Museum Building, Sir Anthony Panizzi's Round Reading Room, familiar to Anglo-Saxonists, will continue to be preserved for the Museum's own collections.

At present books are housed in eighteen different buildings around London. Conditions lack control, and modern conservation methods are almost impossible to apply. Delays in delivery to the main reading rooms from remote storage areas mean that services to researchers are less efficient than they could be in a purpose-built environment, and damage is caused by the constant movement of books to and from the stores. The new building at St. Pancras has been designed to ensure a fourfold improvement in the shelf-life of a book, better management of collections, more efficient services to readers, and improved exhibition facilities for the general public.

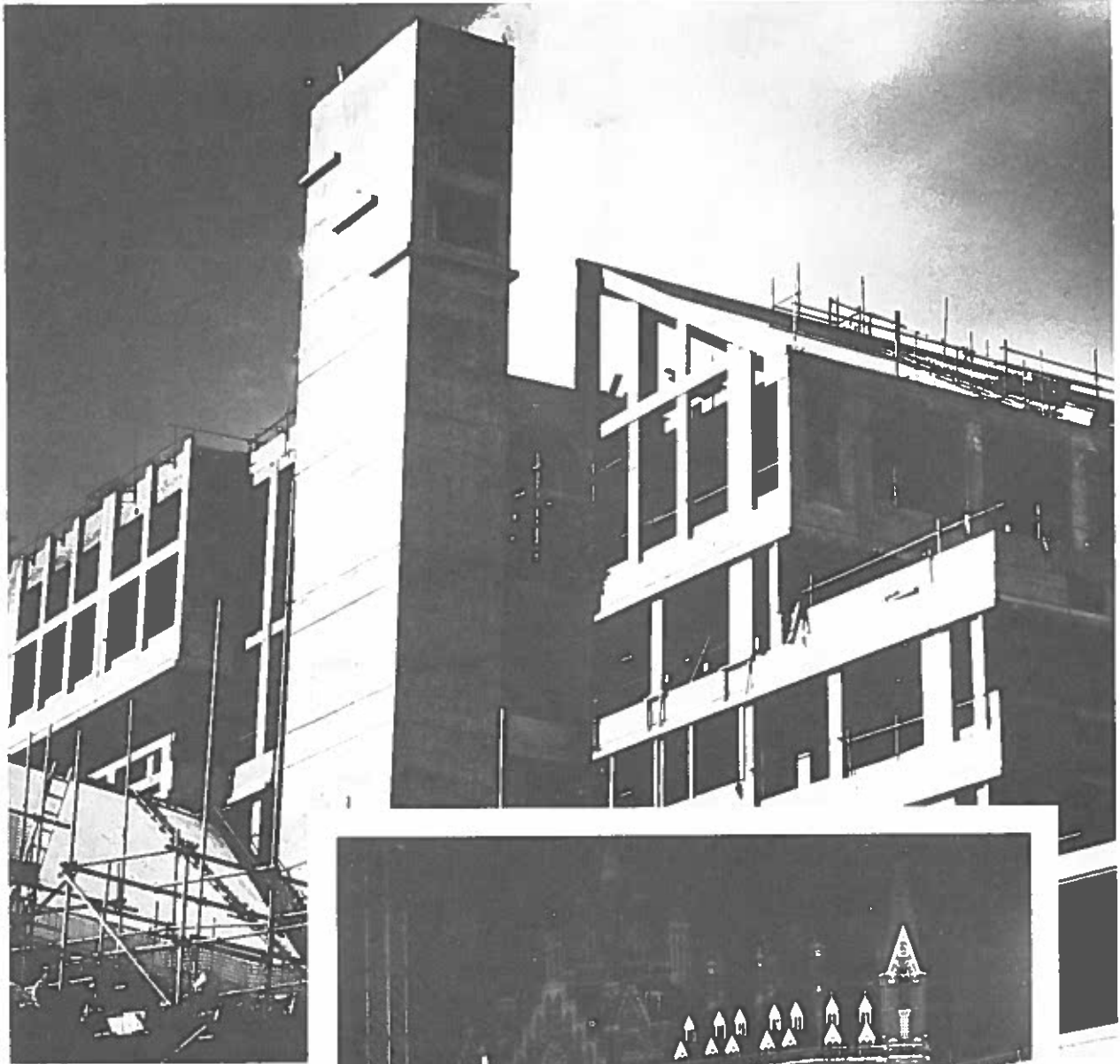
It is estimated that some eleven million volumes will be stored in the new structure, whose open access will be 15 linear kilometers and whose closed access 280 linear kilometers. The building will contain 640 readers' seats all told, sound-proof carrels and typing rooms, a 250-seat auditorium, meeting rooms with audiovisual and simultaneous translation provision, and reception areas. Some 1350 sq. m. on two main levels will provide exhibition space. The building will be temperature- and humidity-controlled.

The British Library was created by an Act of Parliament in 1972. Four years later the British Government bought the site across St. Pancras Station for the new building and the artists' design was initiated. The Government approved the first stage of construction in 1980. The Prince of Wales unveiled the foundation stone in 1982, which marked the beginning of construction. In 1988 the main shell of the Phase I superstructure was completed.

NOTE: the editors of OEN thank Dr. Jeremy Silver, Press and Publicity Manager for the new BL, for the press materials used in this report.

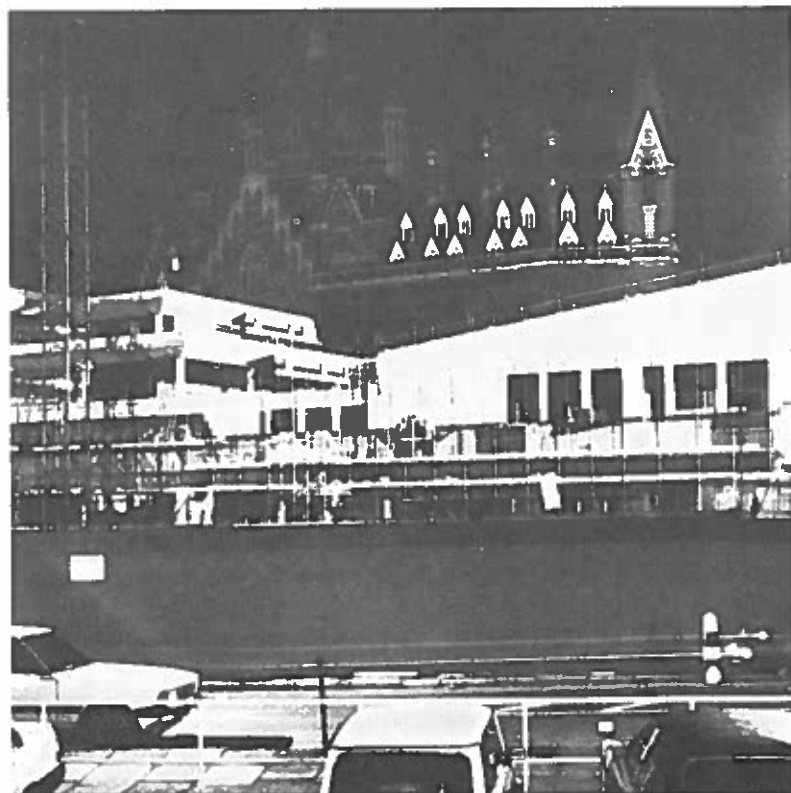


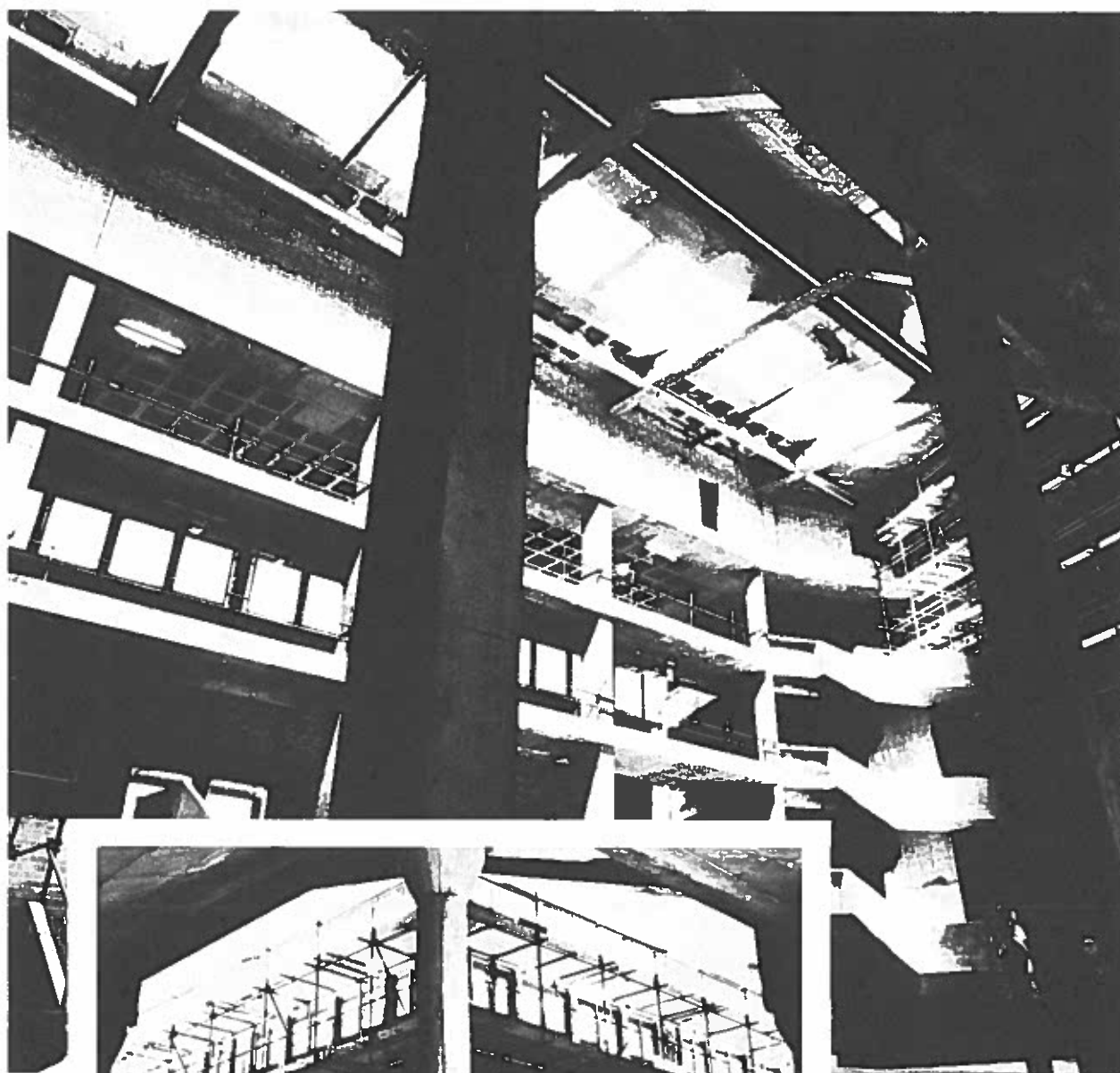
Artist's impression of the new British Library building, front, as viewed from Euston Road. To the right, the roof and spires of St. Pancras Station are visible. The new building, which will have four storage basements and eight floors above the ground, will number 460 reader seats. Colin St John Wilson & Partners are the consultant architects. Total cost, Phase 1: £ 300 million.



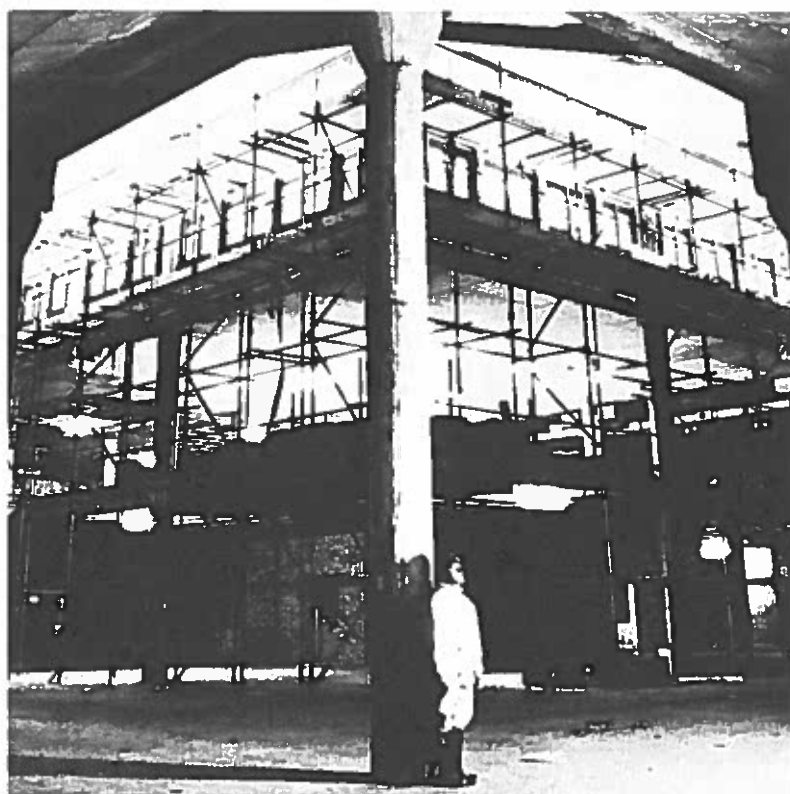
Above: View of the upper office area, as seen from immediately in front of the main hall.

Right: Night view of the southwest facade of the building under construction.





Above: The entrance hall, looking up from the ground floor to the north-east corner.



Left: The Humanities and Social Sciences reading rooms, with rare books below and manuscripts up above. This area will function as a reading room for general printed books between 1993 and 1996.

A Gothic Grammar with a Transcript of Anglo-Saxon Prayers

Columbia University MS (X837.95.M319), Rules of Gothic Grammar, contains 36 pages of grammar and an additional eight pages entitled "Preces Anglo-Saxonicae," written in an imitation Anglo-Saxon hand. The work bears no title page, indication of author, or date. The only information recorded is a note on the recto of the first fly-leaf indicating that the manuscript was a gift of Provost Carpenter, May 29, 1917. The work is listed as no. 2695 in Catalogue of a Collection of Books Formed by William G. Medlicott, of Longmeadow, Mass. (Boston 1878), p. 278. J.R. Hall (who brought the manuscript to my attention) has supplied me with a photocopy of the relevant page from Medlicott's personal copy of the Catalogue. The title in question is annotated "C. U." / "18.6.83" in the left margin, referring to the purchaser and date of purchase. Noting that elsewhere in the annotated copy of the Catalogue "C. U." stands for Cornell University (Columbia was known only as Columbia College in 1883) but that the manuscript is not listed in Cornell's acquisitions catalogue of the period, Hall believes that the volume, sold to a private party at Cornell (perhaps Hiram Corson, a friend of Medlicott's), passed to Provost Carpenter and Columbia.

On the first page of the prayers appears the heading: "Ad finem Psalterij Saxonice & Anglice, Prælo ut videtur destinati à Gul. d'Isle, inter Codd. MSS. Bodl. Laud. D. 85"; and below that, "Certaine prayers of the Saxon times taken out off the Nunnes Rule of St James order in Bennet Coll. Library." Six prayers then follow, the first two of which bear titles: "To þam halgan þrynnesse" and "To þam hælende Criste." The remaining prayers in this section are labeled "an oðer." The incipits are: (1) Ealmihtig god. fæder. suna 7 hælīg gastas; (2) La Iesu þin are. Iesu for mine synnas ahongen on rode; (3) For þa seofen gyftas þæs halgan gastes þæt ic ham mote hæbben; (4) For þa tyn heastes þe ic gebrocen hæbbe; (5) For þe wurðegunge iesu crist of þin twealfen apostolas; (6) For ealle þa sawlen þe beoð forðfaren i þe bileaue of þa feower godspelles. Following these prayers is a partial transcription of a prayer under the heading "Jun. 63. MODUS CONFITENDI continens plurimas confitentium preces ad Deum. Ex MSo Cottoniano, qui inscribitur TIBERIUS, A, 3. pag. 42, a." The prayer from BL Cotton Tiberius A.iii is found at fols. 44r-45v, with the incipit "Eala þu ælmihtiga god unasæcgendlicere mildheortnesse." Because of a missing final leaf or leaves, the text of the prayer in the Grammar ends abruptly (at "gylpes cepte 7 wolde beon ge-", corresponding to H. Logeman's collation <"Anglo-Saxonica Minora. I." Anglia 11 (1889) 97-120>, p. 113, l. 49). The first six prayers are copied directly from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud 201 (i.e., D. 85; L'Isle's The Saxon-English Psalter, 1630) in the same order in which they appear in L'Isle's transcription (pp. 263v-66r). The heading to the prayers also derives from L'Isle's MS. The final prayer in the Grammar, which derives ultimately from BL Cotton Tiberius A.iii, is copied accurately (with the exception of a line) from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 63, where it corresponds to pp. 1-2, l. 23. With the exception of "Jun. 63," the heading in the Grammar is also found in Junius' transcription. It is clear that the anonymous writer of the Grammar relied directly upon the transcriptions by L'Isle and Junius for his "edition" of the prayers.

Columbia University MS X837.95.M319
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YEAR'S WORK IN OLD ENGLISH STUDIES 1988

by

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This is the twenty-second issue of the *Year's Work in Old English Studies*. The first issue was co-edited by the late Rowland Collins and Stanley J. Kahrl. A memorial tribute to Stan Kahrl appears elsewhere in this issue, but it should be noted here that he was very much involved in the creation of our review and though Collins took over the sole editorship for all subsequent volumes until his death, Kahrl edited the *Old English Newsletter* for a number of years and continued to be a good friend of the *Year's Work*.

With the "Anglo-Latin and Ecclesiastical" contribution for 1987, Milton McC. Gatch concludes a twenty-two year association with *YWOES*. Readers will miss his judicious reviews, long and justly appreciated both for their learning and for their wit. His successor, Professor Paul Remley of the University of Washington, makes his debut in this issue with the "Anglo-Latin and Ecclesiastical" contribution for 1988. William Stoneman, who served a far shorter stint but who contributed splendidly to the demanding and wide-ranging "Miscellaneous" sections, is succeeded, beginning with this number, by Professor Charles Wright of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. The section on Old English Prose will have to be deferred until next year and will appear with *YWOES* 1989.

With very few exceptions, the editorial practices developed over the years for *YWOES* by 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, reactions, and summaries are sometimes silently omitted, and their absence in no way constitutes negative judgment. Scholarship written by a contributor which falls within that contributor's area of responsibility for *YWOES* is reviewed by the editor or another of the contributors, identified by initials.

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. Two contributors, however, deserve special recognition for additional work this year. The new double-column format and much improved layout are due to Peter Baker, and Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe's presence as a Visiting Professor at the University of Tennessee subjected her to some extensive proofreading. The Editor is deeply appreciative of the additional contributions by these valued colleagues. Final copy was prepared at the University of Tennessee with substantial assistance from Linda Squires and Wanda Giles. Eileen Abel, Dinah Brock, and Margaret Goergen helped with the typing. Comments and suggestions, as well as review copies of articles and books, may be sent to the editor at the Office of the Chancellor, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN 37996-0150.

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1. General and Miscellaneous Subjects

I begin this section with notice of reference and research tools. Phillip Pulsiano has provided Old English scholars with a most valuable bibliographical tool, *An Annotated Bibliography of North American Doctoral Dissertations on Old English Language and Literature*, Med. Texts and Stud., 3 (East Lansing, MI, and Woodbridge, Suffolk: Colleagues Press and Boydell and Brewer). The bibliography includes dissertations from the United States and Canada through 1986, arranged in three sections (General Works; Poetry; Prose), each with topical subheadings devoted to "Themes and Topics" and "Style and Language," in addition to separate listings for individual authors and works under the sections devoted to poetry and prose. The focus is on studies of language and literature, but Pulsiano includes dissertations on Old Frisian, Old Saxon, and Primitive and Proto-Germanic, along with a selective listing of historical and cultural studies in a section included under "General Works." Each entry is briefly annotated, and includes ordering information. The annotations, which range from one or two sentences to long paragraphs, are succinct but informative, and accurate as far as I can judge by a few dissertations I happen to have seen—although I was amused to read in the summary of my own that I argued for the influence in an OE homily "of an Irish motif known as the Iron Horse" (read "Iron House"!). A valuable feature of the bibliography is Appendix 2, which lists OE homilies edited and/or translated in dissertations, by Ker number and manuscript shelf-mark (in a second edition Cameron numbers should be added as well). The bibliography has both author and subject indices. The subject index, though quite useful, is by no means a complete guide even to the subjects indicated by the titles of the dissertations and by the annotations, and one must still read through the entire bibliography to be sure to locate all the dissertations relevant to a given subject of interest. (There are no headings in the index, for example, for "Ireland," "Irish," "Celtic," or "Hiberno-Latin," although a reading of the entire volume reveals over a dozen dissertations bearing on these subjects.) This is small trouble, of course, compared to the labor that would be necessary to locate them without the aid of Pulsiano's bibliography, or to the labor necessary to have compiled it. Anglo-Saxonists are greatly indebted to Pulsiano for having undertaken it.

Harald Kleinschmidt, "Zur fachbibliographischen Erschließung des Schrifttums zur altenglischen Literatur," *Bibliothek Forschung und Praxis* 10 (1986), 123-29, not seen last year, is a detailed critical review of the bibliographical methodology of Greenfield and Robinson's *A Bibliography of Publications on Old English Literature to the End of 1972* (Toronto, 1980).

The current status of the international collaborative project *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: A Register of Written Sources Used by Authors in Anglo-Saxon England* is summarized by Joyce Hill in a "Third Progress Report" (*OEN* 21.2, 24-5). The system of abbreviations for Latin texts presented in Michael Lapidge, *Abbreviations for Sources and Specification of Standard Editions for Sources* (Binghamton: CEMERS, SUNY at Binghamton) was devised for this project and for the related project *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture*

(*SASLC*). Although intended simply as a guide to ensure uniformity in the citations of contributions to these two projects, and not as a bibliography of Latin sources, it does make for a handy reference guide to the standard editions of major classical, patristic, and medieval Latin authors.

Patrick Conner, "Oxford Text Archive," *OEN* 21.2, 29, draws attention to the potential value for Anglo-Saxonists of the encoded texts, including both OE and Latin works, available from OTA.

Richard W. Clement's "Short-Title Catalogue of the Clubb Anglo-Saxon Collection," *OEN* 21.2, B1-B25, indexes 263 items, chiefly of books printed in Anglo-Saxon type but also of other works of English antiquaries, housed in the Kenneth Spencer Research Library at the University of Kansas. In "A Little Liberal, or Else a Little Conservator?" (*OEN* 22.1, 20-28), R. I. Page describes conservation efforts which can affect scholars' access to Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College.

N. J. Marples and O. D. Macrae-Gibson, *A Critical Discography of Readings in Old English* (Kalamazoo: Med. Inst. Publ., for the Consortium for Teaching the Middle Ages) was not seen but has been noticed and described in *OEN* 21.2, 17.

The *Mediaeval English Studies Newsletter* (Tokyo) has published in vols. 18 and 19 a series of reports on "Medieval English Studies" at various international universities. Vol 18 includes reports by André Crépin (pp. 1-3, on French universities) and Fred C. Robinson (pp. 4-7, on Yale University); Vol. 19 (not seen) includes a report by Roberta Frank (pp. 3-6, on the University of Toronto).

Renewed interest in the origins of Anglo-Saxon studies is represented by several articles. "William Camden: Historian, Herald, and Antiquary," by W. H. Herendeen (*SP* 85, 192-210), shows that, despite sporadic perception of differing concerns and objects of study between the roles of historian and antiquary, the distinction was "an imperfect one in England at the time of Leland and Camden." According to Herendeen, although Leland was a major influence on Camden, the latter's *Britannia*, an attempt to correlate ancient British topography with the accounts of Roman historians, was guided by "a radically different methodology" than the descriptive approach of his predecessor's *Itinerary*, which focused on the contemporary landscape. Herendeen finds that Camden's historical rigor distinguished his work from the polemical histories of the Tudor age, and influenced the subsequent development of historiography and antiquarianism. Camden directly fostered interest in both disciplines through his involvement in the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries, and by his appointment as Clarenceux King of Arms in 1597, to which Herendeen attributes a reform of the College of Arms. Through Camden's influence the purview of the herald was enlarged to incorporate historical and critical methods, and the perception of historical study itself was transformed.

In "Anglo-Dutch Linguistic Scholarship: A Survey of Seventeenth-Century Achievements" (*Historiographia Linguistica* 15, 129-53), Vivian Salmon focuses primarily on the

practical aspects of providing for instruction in Dutch and English for immigrants and their descendants in Britain and the Low Countries, but she also surveys academic studies by English and Dutch scholars of Arabic and Latin, and concludes with a few pages on the study of OE, Gothic, and Frisian. Salmon makes clear that the dynamics of partnership and rivalry that characterized relations between England and the Netherlands extended to academic studies as well, as exemplified by the cooperation and competition between Sir Symonds D'Ewes and Jon de Laet, both of whom were collecting materials for Old English dictionaries. As Salmon notes, "de Laet's dictionary was never completed, and it was left to William Somner to finish the project and to publish his own Old English dictionary in 1659." Angelika Lutz examines Somner's methods in "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte von William Somners *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum*" (*Anglia* 106, 1-25). Lutz makes use of four transcripts of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts by Somner surviving in Canterbury Cathedral Library, which were known to later antiquaries but which have escaped the attention of modern scholars. By careful comparison of the dictionary entries with the words Somner underlined in his transcripts, she is able to show to what extent Somner used each of the Anglo-Saxon texts he cited as sources in his preface. The transcripts of the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle* and of the *Orosius*, for example, were both used—the former more heavily and systematically—mainly for names of places and nations. Lutz also examines Somner's use of his transcripts of medical texts and of the OE poems in the Junius manuscript. Unlike these four transcripts, Somner's transcript of Ælfric's *Grammar* is in insular minuscule, with the prefatory and marginal notes and even part of the underlining stricken through. The same manuscript also contains Somner's handwritten version of the dictionary. These and other indications, including apparent compositor's marks, show that the transcript is in fact the final copy from which the dictionary was printed. An earlier draft of the dictionary also survives, which shows that Somner made certain refinements in the final version.

Clare A. Simmons investigates "The Historical Sources of Sir Richard Blackmore's *Alfred*" (*ELN* 26.2, 18-23), finding that the author of this twelve-book heroic poem (the "everlasting Blackmore" of Pope's *Dunciad*) probably derived what little biographical information he actually used from a few pages of a Latin edition of Sir John Spelman's *Life of Ælfred the Great* by Obadiah Walker, and possibly Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*. Apart from his reputation as an ideal king, which Blackmore uses to extol George I and legitimize his claim to the throne, Alfred is "little more than a name," and Simmons concludes that "the cult of Alfred had yet to take definite form" in the early eighteenth century. On the other hand, an unpublished pre-Restoration tragicomedy described by Albert H. Tricomi ("R. Kirkham's *Alfred, or Right Re-enthroned*," *OEN* 22.1, 30-31) already uses Alfred's reputation for political ends in promoting the claims of the exiled Charles II.

Two articles concern works of modern authors inspired by medieval subjects. Philip Gardner's "Make Me an Offa: Geoffrey Hill and *Mercian Hymns*," *Dalhousie Rev.* 67, 202-16, describes Hill's 1971 poem (the title was taken from Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Reader*) as an attempt to rediscover his West Midlands origins. Peggy Knapp examines John Gard-

ner's "surface" reading of *Beowulf* in "Alienated Majesty: *Grendel* and its Pretexts," *Centennial Rev.* 32, 1-18. Although Gardner attempts to construct a reading that affirms the value and dignity of fiction and of human community, the network of allusions activates indeterminacies and counter-readings that destabilize the surface reading.

Bruce Mitchell's *On Old English: Selected Papers* (Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell) reprints a selection of papers and reviews from this scholar's long and productive career, with occasional addenda in the notes (including cross references to Mitchell's *Old English Syntax*). Printed for the first time is a "Postscript on *Beowulf*," concerned particularly with the meaning of the final word of the poem, *lofgeornost*. New also is a conclusion, "1947-1987 Forty years on," which the author describes as a "highly personal account of Old English studies today . . ." This begins with a review of trends in the field since 1947, including notice of various organizations and collaborative projects which have been established and major reference tools which have appeared during this period, leading to the conclusion that "in 1987 the heart of Anglo-Saxon studies beats vigorously." In the balance of the essay, however, the bedside manner becomes admonitory, as Mitchell scolds the patient for a variety of bad habits. Some, such as spending too much time on Old English crosswords and at conferences—activities regrettably encouraged by the editors of *OEN*—are deemed harmless and merely frowned upon. Others are viewed more gravely, particularly literary criticism which "display[s] over-ingeniousness begotten by desperation for publication out of shortage of material" (emphasis Mitchell's). His diagnosis of scholarship on OE poetry reveals eight areas that require attention or treatment: the assumption that Anglo-Saxon audiences were homogeneous; that poets and audiences were expert theologians; "a tendency towards over-sentimental identification of superficially similar situations . . ."; arbitrary decisions on punctuation and "imposition of rigid metrical rules" by editors; unnecessary emendation to suit an editor's interpretation of a poem; unthinking reliance on computer analysis; attribution of linguistic changes to "largely irrecoverable" colloquial forms of OE; and the need for a new collective edition of OE poetry. The volume concludes with a bibliography of Mitchell's publications and an index.

Old English Studies from Japan 1941-81, ed. Tadao Kubouchi, William Schipper, and Hiroshi Ogawa, *OEN* Subsidia, 14 (Binghamton: CEMERS, SUNY at Binghamton), includes seven essays translated for the first time: Fumio Kuriyagawa, "Beowulf"; Kinshiro Oshitari, "Some Problems in the Interpretation of *Beowulf*"; Kikuo Miyabe, "The Development of the Perfect Infinitive: An Introductory Essay"; Kikuo Yamakawa, "The Development of the Nominative Function of the Old English Infinitive"; Tamotsu Matsunami, "Runic Passages in *Cynewulf*"; Shigeru Ono, "The Vocabulary of Ælfric and *Wulfstan*"; and Shoichi Watanabe, "The Etymology of OE *geleafa* (belief)."

Christopher Page contributes a brief survey of "Music" in *The Cambridge Guide to the Arts in Britain, I: Prehistoric, Roman and Early Medieval*, ed. Boris Ford (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 246-53, describing the tantalizing but fragmentary evidence for string-playing, popular music, and dance.

Nigel Ramsay, "St Dunstan's Millennium: Presenting an Exhibition of His Image," *Apollo* 127, 270-71, describes the purpose and scope of an exhibition at the Royal Museum, Canterbury. The article includes illustrations of a late-15th century chasuble showing Dunstan capturing the devil by the nose with his tongs, and a detail of a tapestry dated 1466 which shows Dunstan and gives his parentage in an inscription.

"Reinventing Beowulf's Voyage to Denmark," by Gillian R. Overing (*OEN* 21.2, 30-39) describes an expedition by the author and Marijane Osborn in August 1985, with some suggestions regarding the possible routes.

Gale R. Owen-Crocker, "Early Anglo-Saxon Dress—the Grave-goods and the Guesswork," *Textile Hist.* 18 (1987), 147-57, not seen last year, describes the surviving evidence—consisting mainly of textile fragments attached to brooches—and offers tentative reconstructions of both male and female costume in the early Anglo-Saxon period. The gown was a *peplos* type, probably made of wool; there is no evidence that gowns were dyed. Men's costume is especially difficult to

reconstruct, since few brooches have been found in males' graves.

Tributes to scholars in the field published this year are Kenneth Cameron, "C. E. Blunt OBE, FBA," *Jnl of the English Place-Name Soc.* 20 (1987-88), 48, and Fred C. Robinson, Larry D. Benson and George Kane, "Morton Wilfred Bloomfield," *Speculum* 63, 756-58.

C. D. W.

Works not seen

Bond, James. "Rabbits: the Case for Their Medieval Introduction into Britain." *Local Historian* 18, 53-57.

Boon, George C. "Camden and the Britannia." *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 136 (1988 for 1987), 1-19.

Gibbs, Ray. *The Legendary Twelve Hides of Glastonbury*. Ed. Derek Bryce. Lampeter: Llanerch.

Lester, Geoffrey, comp. *Handbook of Teachers of Medieval English Language and Literature in Great Britain and Ireland*. Sheffield: Dept of Eng. Lang., Univ. of Sheffield, 1987.

2. Language

a. Lexicon, Glosses

J. Roberts' "Old English Thesaurus: Report" (*OEN* 21.2, 21-23) discusses some areas of the thesaurus which have already been completed, includes a sample section, and notes that the final editing has begun. M.L. Samuels et al. report in "Historical Thesaurus of English: Annual Report, 1987/88" (*OEN* 21.2, 16-19) that the last slip for the *Historical Thesaurus of English* was finished in March 1988. A list of various staff, visitors, and works published from the twenty-three year project is included. The final thesaurus is scheduled for the 1990's but more funds and staff are needed to make this date a reality.

R.H. Bremer's "The Old Frisian Component in Holthausen's *Altenglisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*" (*ASE* 17, 5-13) notes six kinds of mistakes in Holthausen's *AeW*. Necessary corrections may be summarized as: emendation of printing errors, working on cognates, eliminating ghost words, and providing new etymologies. The work on OFris needs updating in light of the lack of etymologies in the *DOE*, Bammesberger's plan for an etymological dictionary of OE, the age and brevity of Holthausen's work, and the plan for a series of editions of OFris texts which are to appear.

A. Liberman and L. Mitchell's "A New Etymological Dictionary of the English Language" (*General Ling.* 28, 176-82) is a nebulous call for aid in constructing such a work, even though there is some merit in their claim that existing works are overly dogmatic or analytical. The focus of the article is on ModE, and a sample entry for the etymology of *heifer* is included. Liberman, in "The Etymology of Modern English *heifer*" (*General Ling.* 28, 163-75) presents an extended version of the previously mentioned sample entry in Liberman and Mitchell. After reviewing many possibilities and cognates in various Gmc languages, he argues that ModE *heifer* is a compound and probably derived from various words, most notably OE *heahfore* and *hehfore*. The ModE word belongs to that group of words referring to horned female animals and

animals kept in enclosures. Liberman in "Two German Dialectal Words for 'pig'" (*General Ling.* 28, 104-18) continues his etymological tour of the barnyard. Here he reviews the etymologies of Gmc *mock* and German *loos*: he connects the first to OE *muga* and *muha* and ModE *muck* and the second to OE *hlose*.

E. Hamp in "Old English *hæst*" (*North-Western European Lang. Evolution* 11, 89) concludes that "*hæst*, etc. represent the outcome of a Germanic regionalism" and rejects the notion that the *hæst* group in Gmc is related to Skt *śibham*. In "On Indo-European Marriage in Old English" (*Jnl of Indo-European Studies* 16, 183-84), Hamp demonstrates a close correspondence between the OE words having to do with marriage and their IE roots: IE **prek-/OE (-) weddian*; IE **dʰed-/OE gīfta, gīftian, brýdealu*; IE **dʰedH-/OE *hāeman*; and IE **ġem-/OE brýdlác*. D. Hofmann's "Altfriesisch *pellefipalef thedda* 'Seidenstoff als dritter', nicht *palef-thred* 'Seidenfaden'" (*Us Wurk* 37, 45-51) dismisses the traditional gloss of OF *palef thedda* along with its variants as 'silk thread' and would replace it with **pæll-wef thedda* 'silk-weave, the third' as a plausible gloss. He does parallel it to a similar use of *ðrida* in an Ælfric homily.

E.G. Stanley's "The Meaning of OE *corper*, *corpor*" (*N&Q* 35, 292-94) suggests that the words represent a collection of animals and not pomp and splendor as others have argued. He claims it is cognate with OHG *kortar*. The doubtful gender aids in the misinterpretation. C. Peeters' "Etymological Notes" (*General Ling.* 28, 119) suggests that PGmc **ta-γru* is a source of OE *teagor* and that *ta-γra* is the source for Got *tagr*; PGmc **elf* has two forms that yield ModE *elf* and Olc *alfr*, but PGmc **albaz* or **albiz* would yield NHG *Alp*. E. A. Ebbinghaus' "Addendum to the Foregoing Note on OE *teagor*" (*General Ling.* 28, 120-21) supports the idea that OE *teagor* was a originally a member of the *u*-stem declension. *Teagor*'s function as a collective may have been partially responsible for its preservation of the *u*-stem. In "Middle English *badde* and Related Puzzles" (*North-Western European Lang. Evolution*

11, 91-104), R. Coates proposes that OE **badde* was the origin of ME *badde*. He argues against *bæddel* as the source but proposes an **-il*-derivation of **badde* based on onomastic evidence.

M.L. Cameron in "On *þeor* and *þeoradl*" (*Anglia* 106, 124-29) attempts to associate *þeor* and *þeoradl* with a specific disease based on the Latin entries. He concludes on the basis of remedies prescribed for the disease term that both represent a generalized dermatitis associated with niacin deficiency. This would be hard to verify because all of the symptoms can also be associated with dry skin and other skin irritations common in cold, winter climates. P. Kitson's "Two Old English Plant Names and Related Matters" (*ES* 69, 97-112) discusses the terms *cex* and *æðelferðingwyr*. The latter term represents the greater stitchwort plant while the former is identified as representing some types of umbellifers.

M. Voss contends in "Old English Glossaries and Dialectology" (*Historical Dialectology, Regional and Social*, pp. 601-08) that dialectology is useful for the study of glosses and vice versa. Wenisch's claims of the heterodialectal nature of the Cleopatra glossaries are too general. All of the data support Anglian as a part of the language of the work. Voss closes with a call for closer study of unidentified glosses. E.G. Stanley's "The Difficulty of Establishing Borrowings between Old English and the Continental West Germanic Languages" (*An Historic Tongue: Studies in English Linguistics in Memory of Barbara Strang*, pp. 3-16) uses OE and OS to show that proving borrowing is a difficult undertaking. His discussion keys on OE *heretogo*/OS *heritogo* and OE *folctoga*/OS *folctogo* and the purported dependence of *Christ III* on the *Heliand*. In these instances the directionality of borrowing seems almost impossible to determine. M. Görlach, in "Lexical Loss and Lexical Survival: the Case of Scots and English" (*Scottish Lang.* 6, 1-20), demonstrates that the study of loss is difficult and not generally well done by those who have attempted it. He finds one hundred OE words in Scots but not in ModE or even in standard eMS. Görlach provides this list along with the status of each word, the OE etymon, and the labels used by six dictionaries for the Scots word. He concludes that most Scots items are restricted even in Scotland to local, literary, or oral usages. E.C. Polomé's "The Non-Indo-European Component of the Germanic Lexicon" (*O-o-pe-ro-si: Festschrift für Ernst Risch zum 75. Geburtstag*, pp. 661-72) discusses a variety of terms which cannot be easily connected to IE etymons. He concludes that the Slavic areas provide a rich, unexplored territory for borrowing and deriving some everyday terms, especially those dealing with farm animals, animal products, and implements. A few examples of OE are given to support his points along with data from Got, OHG, MDu, ON, MLG, OS, and OFris.

W. Hofstetter in "Winchester and the Standardization of Old English Vocabulary" (*ASE* 17, 139-61) explores thirteen semantic fields divided into three areas: the A works are characterized by Winchester words, the B works have the Winchester vocabulary but also other words, and the C works contain words normally avoided in the A works. This system allows for classifying texts through quantity and distribution. He argues that the IOE Winchester works have a prosaic vocabulary and are the result of a deliberate attempt to standardize vocabulary. J. Bately also considers some aspects of standard vocabulary in "On Some Aspects of the Vocabulary

of the West Midlands in the Early Middle Ages: the Language of the Katherine Group" (*Medieval English Studies Presented George Kane*, pp. 55-77). She explores the Mercian aspect of language AB and the distribution of French loan words. Her general observation is that the Katherine group contains fourteen Anglian words, significantly fewer than the *Brut*, but not pronounced disparity. It does indicate an expansion of Anglian in the Katherine group and its existence on the fringes of the West Saxon standard. There is no indication of a high number of French borrowings. No real conclusion is reached except that *Sawles Warde* and *Hali Maïþed* are later works.

The title of L. Kahlas-Tarkka's "The Uses and Shades of Meaning of Words for *every* and *each* in Old English, with an Addendum on Early Middle English Developments" (*DAI* 49C, p. 178) says it all. The work is divided into three parts: syntactic descriptions of OE *gehwilc*, *gehwa*, *æghwilec*, *ægliwa* and *ælc*; "aspects of variation in uses of these words"; and the transition from OE to eME for these words and their uses. K.R. Jankowsky's "Old English *mæl* and *sæl* in the All-Germanic Environment: a Comparative Study" (*Germania*, pp. 67-84) contends that PGmc was a sociolect and not a supra-regional language. The article considers the elements of time in OE *mæl* and *sæl*. Jankowsky looks for five meanings of *mæl* and *sæl* in OE, OHG, OFris, MHG, MLG, ON, Got, ME and various non-Gmc-IE languages. He finds no time component for later uses of *sæl* in WGmc; there and in other areas it develops primarily into a group of words meaning happy or good. H. Aertsen's *Play in Middle English: a Contribution to Word Field Theory* focuses on four ME words: *game*, *plei*, *disport*, and *leik*. He calls these terms the LUDUS field. Although there is little on OE, *gamen* and *plega* are discussed as sources for some of the ME meanings. Aertsen revises the Trier-Weisgerber model of lexical fields to incorporate lexicographical distinctions of outfield sense and field sense. The resulting discussion is vigorous but not compelling; the diagrams are the most unusual since stratificational grammar.

b. Syntax, Phonology, Other Aspects

The second edition of J. Fisiak's *A Bibliography of Writings for the History of the English Language* is a revised and enlarged version of the 1983 first edition. References published before 1983 but not included in the first edition have been added, especially to chapters XI, XII, and XIV. New references between 1983 and 1986 have been added to all chapters. Chapter divisions are relatively typical of such a bibliography: general, histories of English, spelling etc., word order, dialects, and so forth. The entries are numbered but not annotated. An index of authors and editors is included. M. Tajima's *Old and Middle English Language Studies: a Classified Bibliography 1923-1985* follows Kennedy's *Bibliography of Writings on the English Language* (1927). Tajima's work is divided into fourteen sections, contains an Index of Names, and has a few short comments on some of the works.

M. Wakelin's *The Archaeology of English* is a narrowly introductory history of English which covers primarily the history of English phonology and spelling as it can be adduced from manuscripts. The work contains no syntactic or semantic history, deriving primarily from the focus on the most immediate of manuscript evidence. Grammars are discussed

but not in any depth and only as they apply to standard and nonstandard forms of English. W.P. Lehmann's slightly revised edition of the *Workbook for Historical Linguistics* has the same character as the early redactions. One can find individual exercises that are useful throughout the range of introductory courses in historical linguistics. The workbook is certainly valuable to a student wishing an introduction to traditional IE and Gmc historical linguistics.

C. Jones' *Grammatical Gender in English* contends that the loss of grammatical gender was due to the speakers' continuing attempts to associate grammatical gender with conceptual gender. Jones considers texts from four centuries in his tracing of the loss of gender and concludes that the decline of grammatical gender occurred over several centuries rather than abruptly in the eleventh century. Although the book is full of information, its overall potential and argumentation suffer from the lack of a clear concluding chapter and charts and tables quantifying or otherwise illustrating the loss of gender markings across centuries. A. v. Kemendade's *Syntactic Case and Morphological Case in the History of English* is a published dissertation which attempts to explain the relationship between syntactic case and morphological case in English. The work approaches this relationship from a comparison of modern WGmc languages, Du and NHG, within a government-binding theory framework. The majority of the work focuses on OE and its syntax. Kemendade concludes that two basic changes related to case occurred: "a reversal in the direction in which the theta role was assigned resulting in the base change from SOV to SVO ... [and] the position of the INFL changed." He isolates the major period of change in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

J. Fisiak, in "Old East Anglian: a Problem in Old English Dialectology" (*AUMLA* 70, 336-65), emphasizes linguistic geography. Whether East Anglia can be separated from the rest of the East Midlands is the central concern of the article, but Fisiak disavows completeness from the outset. He concludes that Old East Anglia was an *e*-area in the eleventh century. Ten maps help to support his argument. E. Hamp offers his views on deriving a NWGmc from Gmc in "On Criteria for Northwest Germanic" (*Lingua Posnaniensis* 27, 7-11). Although the evidence is slim because of the closeness of the cultural contexts, Hamp offers four items as evidence for a NWGmc: the lowering of **e*¹ to **a*, the labialization of back spirants before sonorants, the presence of **e* before **u* in NWGmc, and the use of *-se/i* with the demonstrative. H. Penzl's "The Horn of Gallehus and the Subgrouping of the Germanic Languages" (*Languages and Cultures: Studies in Honor of Edgar C. Polomé*, pp. 489-508) deals with a similar problem. Penzl disagrees with those people who propose a Nordic subgroup for Gmc and supports those who propose a Nordic-WGmc and a Got subgroup. The first three sections are very general, and the last four are more to the point. He finds no evidence for Gotho-Nordic or Igvaeonic-WGmc. The inscription of the horn shows only that all were once the same and does not support contrast or correspondences.

L. Brinton's *The Development of English Aspectual Systems: Aspectualizers and Post Verbal Particles* opens with a review of positions on distinguishing between aspectualizers as grammaticalized and aktionsart forms as lexicalized. Brinton places the aspectualizers into the grammaticalized auxiliary system of English by demonstrating that they fit the semantic

definitions and functions of auxiliaries. Studies of OE and ME form the larger part of three of the six chapters. L. Goossens' "The Auxiliarization of the English Modals: a Functional Grammar View" (*Historical Development of Auxiliaries*, pp. 111-43) rejects Lightfoot's 1979 argument as too drastic and claims that auxiliarization was not primarily syntactic. He proposes that a functional view with a grammaticalization scale would be much more accurate. *Cunanan* and *sculan* in the works of Ælfric and Wulfstan are the focal points of the study. In "An Analysis of the Future Tense in the Early Germanic Languages as a Modal Category" (*The Thirteenth LACUS Forum* 1986, pp. 600-07), R.L. Morris concludes that since Gmc future constructions cannot be clearly derived from foreign influences and they usually include some sort of modal verb, they are best treated as part of a modal category. A few OE examples are given in support of this conclusion. G. Jack in "The Origins of the English Gerund" (*North-Western European Lang. Evolution* 12, 15-75) considers ten previously proposed sources for gerunds. He rejects as possible sources Latin and Celtic influences, the development of inflected and uninflected infinitives, the merger of verbal nouns and present participles, and the verbal noun conjugations. There are three likely sources: verbal nouns and genitives, infinitives of French, and the lack of the infinitive form after prepositions. The article contains only sparse OE data.

In "Heavy Arguments in Old English" (*Edinburgh Studies in the English Language*, pp. 33-89), F. Colman argues that the shift in English from SXV to SVX was motivated primarily by the movement of heavy arguments. She uses eleventh century data from the C text of the OE chronicles. The article is presented within a dependency case grammar framework. H.H. Hess' "Old English Skewing," (*The Thirteenth LACUS Forum* 1986, pp. 581-90) considers skewing within OE. A skewed sentence is one containing any word order or syntactic construction which deviates from the "normal, unmarked correspondence between semantic underlay and surface grammar." Hess claims that such studies within a language might enlighten studies of communication and meaning in other languages and between languages. *The Lives of Three Saints* is the source of his data. J.D. Collins' "The Word Order of Old English Poetry" (*The Thirteenth LACUS Forum* 1986, pp. 570-80) uses 2400 lines in one-hundred-line segments from twenty-four major poems as the sources to investigate three patterns in OE poetry: OV, VO, and OVO; OVO is a transitional order. She concludes that in poetry, clausal order is independent from constituent order and vice versa. OV order dominates in all poems. VO occurs in 48% of the main clauses, 25% of subordinate clauses, and 3% of relative clauses. Collins predicts similar findings in the uninvestigated segments of the same poems and in poems which were not included in the sample.

J.M. Anderson's "The Type of Old English Impersonals" (*Edinburgh Studies in the English Language*, pp. 1-32) presents the impersonal construction in light of his case grammar. He explains this grammar in the first two sections of the article and focuses on OE impersonals in the third; absolutive, ergative, locative, and ablative roles are the keys to the arguments. Anderson restricts the definition of an impersonal construction, claiming that true impersonal clauses meet two criteria: 1) they lack even an elliptical reconstructible argument in the nominative; 2) the finite verb lacks tense and

number. Semi-impersonals are those constructions conforming to one of these two criteria. OE has constructions which are both impersonal and semi-impersonal; ModE has only semi-impersonals. He denies the relevance of subjecthood to constructions and expresses his analysis of the impersonals: $\rightarrow(\text{abs} \rightarrow \text{V})_a(\text{erg} + \text{loc})_b(\text{abl})_c$. The *a* and *c* possibilities are mutually exclusive, but the presence of *a* makes *b* optionally available. These arrays of arguments indicate either optional or obligatory impersonals. T. Bynon, in "Syntactic Change and the Lexicon" (*Papers from the 7th International Conference on Historical Linguistics*, pp. 123-36), focuses on the subjectless constructions of OE to ModE and reviews various positions on the topic. She concludes that the basic mechanism in syntactic change is a syntactic encoding of a lexical change of a set of semantically related verbs such as those called impersonals.

G. Jack's "Relative Pronouns in *Lazamon's Brut*" (*Leeds Stud. in Eng.* 19, 31-66) considers only those relative pronouns with an expressed antecedent. The *Caligula* and *Otho* texts are the source for his evidence. The use of the pronouns varies slightly with the type of antecedent. *þe* is used with an animate singular antecedent, *þat* with an inanimate singular antecedent, and *þa* with a plural antecedent. This pattern, Jack argues, reflects the OE sources. *þe* in the *Brut* derives from the OE indeclinable *þe*. X. Dekeyser, in "Relative Clause Formation in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" (*Folia Linguistica Historica* 7, 415-18), contends that morpho-syntactic criteria as well as semantic criteria are necessary to clearly distinguish relative clauses as marked structures; he also allows that a relativization scale would be useful, particularly for stylistic questions. After reviewing the possible candidates for relatives in OE, he outlines seven potential features of modifier and relative clauses: a full NP; personal pronouns; *and*+deictic; deictic; relative marker; SOV order; embedding. Only the last four are marked plus for relatives in OE; any of the first three are simply semantic modifier clauses. Of his four relative types, only the first is marked plus for the fourth feature. R. Molencki's "Some Observations on Relative Clauses in the Old English Version of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*" (*SAP* 20, 83-99) is concerned with the development of relative structures, focusing on the relative markers and the distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive clauses. He makes no claims for a theoretical argument but simply presents evidence and information. Of 1150 examples in Bede, he concludes that 600 are clearly restrictive, 350 clearly non-restrictive, and 200 ambiguous. His most general conclusion is that relativization as a marked process was not fully or even clearly developed in OE.

P. Poussa, in "The Relative WHAT: Two Kinds of Evidence" (*Historical Dialectology, Regional and Social*, pp. 443-74), presents a case for the existence of the relative use of *what*. The article contains little on OE. Evidence for the relative *what* comes from the *SED*, and it is generally difficult to locate because of the rising standard in manuscripts. Evidence from the spoken language, in addition to the written evidence, helps to support her claim for the continuing use of *what* as a relative. The abstract for N. Wiegand's "Causal Connectives in the Early History of English: a Study in Diachronic Syntax" (*DAI* 48A, 3102) argues that new syntactic structures arise because of organizational strategies at the level of discourse. The focus of the work is the grammatical-

ization of discourse structure into syntax. Ways of forming sentences and clauses with *þe* and *þæt* in OE help to support her argument. N.E. Enkvist and B. Warvik, in "Old English *þa*, Temporal Claims, and Narrative Structure" (*Papers from the 7th International Conference on Historical Linguistics*, pp. 221-37), review the positions on *þa* that follow from the claim that it has meaning, discussing three functions of *þa*: a narrative unit marker, a sequencing marker, and a speech-like style marker. Four long passages of OE texts are used as examples and evidence for their points. Diagrams of the narrative structures created by the use of *þa* are provided for each example.

P. Hopper and J. Martin take a radically different view of syntactic change and development in "Structuralism and Diachrony: the Development of the Indefinite Article in English" (*Papers from the 7th International Conference on Historical Linguistics*, pp. 295-304). Their approach to the development of the indefinite article is supposedly a non-structural, discourse based one. After reviewing the various sources of the indefinite article in English, the non-anaphoric devices in NP's in OE, and some distributional changes of the indefinite articles and related NP's, they conclude that specialized functions of the indefinite articles were lost and the uses became more generalized. In OE *an* overlapped *sum* in function but became less presentative and decreased in referentiality as time passed to become the indefinite of ModE. "*Him Self*, *him selfe*, and *him selfa*: a Reflexive Pronoun + Uninflected or Nominative *self*" (*SN* 60, 149-57) by M. Ogura studies the variety of constructions with *self* forms in OE. Ogura concludes that the uninflected *self* form with *him* or *he* is not reflexive. OE *him self* is not a reflexive dative plus an uninflected dative; it is a reflexive dative plus a nominative *self*. The occurrence tables are of mild interest; some are broken down by texts.

T. Fraser's "The Establishment of 'by' to Denote Agency in English Passive Constructions" (*Papers from the 7th International Conference on Historical Linguistics*, pp. 239-49) explores the history of the choice of and use of *by* to introduce the agent in passive sentences in English. He partially explains the growth of the use of *by* as a result of Guillaume's law of expressive sufficiency; in other words, there is some mental connection between agency and the meaning of *by*. In OE *from* was the main preposition of agency; in ME it was *of*. Since *by* expresses transference and is not severely limited in the verbs it may occur with, it became the most common way to express agency in the passive. M. Blockley's "Constraints on Negative Contraction with the Finite Verb and the Syntax of Old English Poetry" (*SP* 85, 428-50) searches for a distributional distinction between the contracted and uncontracted negative forms in OE poetry. The uncontracted form with the finite verb is less common than the contracted form. She determines that between versions of the same work there is not unrestricted substitution. Some of the same constraints on contraction which apply to ModE also apply to OE, but other structures also block contraction in OE. In general, "an uncontracted form signals an unexpressed sentence element." A. Bammesberger in "Der indogermanische Aorist und das germanische Präteritum" (*Languages and Cultures: Studies in Honor of Edgar C. Polomé*, pp. 55-62) finds Polomé's treatment of the traces of the IE aorist in the Gmc strong preterite essentially correct; however, he writes first to give Polomé

further recognition and secondly to slightly revise the question of the aorist survival. He dismisses some of the more conventional findings about the athematic aorists in Gmc, but some forms like Gmc *stōð-, *kunda-, *dō-(mi) show aorist survival. He concludes that the obscure athematic aorist forms are a productive area for research in Gmc.

W. J. Rusch's "The Language of the East Midlands in Old and Middle English: a Diachronic Approach to the Phonology of Early Standard English" (*DAI* 48A, 1755) explores the development of early Standard English phonology as it is derived through eastern and western Mercian, managing a discussion of three frameworks for diachronic phonology: abstract phonology, variation grammar, and metatheory. The *Lorica Glosses*, "Lorica Prayer," the *Bede Glosses*, and the *Codex Aureus* form the sources for the OE evidence. D. Denison's "A Note on t/d Deletion" (*Folia Linguistica Historica* 7, 415-18) argues that Romaine's claim for very early t/d deletion is incorrect. He proposes that in the two instances of *sleep*, one is a noun and the other the strong past form; in the case of *again*s, there was no t to lose since the ending was historically genitive. From this and other evidence, Denison concludes that the *Peterborough Chronicle* is not a good source for the age of t/d deletion in English. V. Kniezsa in "Accents and Digraphs in the Peterborough Chronicle" (*Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 21, 15-23) discusses various means for indicating vowel length in IOE and eME. She covers the uses of the accent, brevis, and digraphs and indicates that the *Peterborough Chronicle* is a transitional work, with sections I, II, and III showing an older style of marking accents and digraphs in portions IV and V.

O. Arngart, in "Old English *a* from *ō*" (*SN* 60, 145-48), not only discusses the derivation of OE *a* from *ō* but also comments on *wumme* and its connection to *wa* to point out that place name evidence may signal changes faster than literary evidence. PGmc developed the short *o* through a-umlaut of *u*. In ME this short close *o* was lowered and unrounded to *a* over the course of time. K. Dietz, in "The Late Old English Type *leinten* 'Lent'" (*On Language: Rhetorica, Phonologica, Syntactica*, pp. 183-94), reconsiders the evidence on ME *e* > *ie* before palatal nasals. He shows some previously unconsidered evidence from IOE in his reinterpretation of the change as earlier than thought and within the bounds of changes occurring during the time period. Seven manuscripts from 1025 to 1175 show *leinten* type spellings.

C. Jones' "A Dependency Approach to Some Well-Known Features of Historical English Phonology" (*Dependency and Non-Linear Phonology*, pp. 257-67) stresses the link between intrasegmental and suprasegmental structures. The greater componentiality of dependency phonology allows for more general statements about historical processes. Specifically, Jones examines breakings and smoothings of stressed vowels before fricatives and the behavior of stressed vowels before non-nasal sonorants. There is little on OE per se; the focus is from the middle of the eleventh century to fifteenth century. J. Anderson's "The Status of Voiced Fricatives in Old English" (*Edinburgh Studies in the English Language*, pp. 90-112) reviews the evidence and distribution of voiced fricatives in OE and proposes a non-binary, dependency phonology representation of the fricatives. Complementarity and neutralization reassign the fricatives and stops into an overlapping super system that is mapped for spellings, allophones, hyper-

archiphonemes, archiphonemes, and phonemes. Complex diagrams tell a not implausible tale.

J. Anderson's "Old English Ablaut Again: the Essentially Concrete Character of Dependency Phonology" (*On Language: Rhetorica, Phonologica, Syntactica*, pp. 161-82) eschews the abstractness in the description and explanation of OE ablaut. He examines the first five classes of strong verbs and offers what he claims is a concrete analysis enabled by dependency phonology. Anderson offers realization rules for the nuclear peaks of present and preterite forms and a table of lexical representations for OE strong verb stems. Although some of the derivations and rules can be represented with binary features, doing away with the features eliminates some of the abstractness and allows the expression of relationships involving neutralization. "Aspects of Old English Phonological and Morphological Structure: Towards a Dependency Account, Based on Material from the Corpus Glossary" (*DAI* 49A, 1130) by A.M. Donald argues that a dependency account of OE phonology and morphology is the best way to represent all of the levels of structure necessary for a complete description.

"The Indo-European Origins of the Germanic Third Weak Class" (*Leuvense Bijdragen* 77, 43-56) by K. Shields has little on OE except analogous examples. The work focuses on the present active indicative forms and uses the Got paradigms as evidence. He derives the third weak class from a standard IE paradigm, the *e*-conjugation. T.L. Markey's "English *-s* vs. *-th* in the Third Person Singular: Historical Contrasts and Cross Language Argumentation" (*Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 21, 3-13) notes that the retention of the third singular marking is unusual. The earliest uses of *-s* are Northumbrian. After a review of traditional interpretations of the origins of *-s*, he concludes that it was retained due to the cross linguistic influence of Celtic languages. In "Snuck: the Development of Irregular Preterite Forms" (*An Historic Tongue: Studies in English Linguistics in Memory of Barbara Strang*, pp. 31-40), R.M. Hogg explores the possible origins of forms such as *snuck*. He concludes that *snuck* is not a historical relic from the strong verbs, but an analogical reformation based partially on other /*ʌ*/ preterites and developed phonaesthetically and ideophonically. Hogg mentions a few OE verbs in passing. S. Suzuki's "On the 1 sg. Pres. Ind. Ending *-u* and High Vowel Deletion in Anglian and other West Germanic Languages" (*IF* 93, 210-24) explains why first singular present indicative endings *-u* is exempt from High Vowel Deletion. The exceptions are shown with Anglian, OS, and OHG examples. He rejects Keyser and O'Neill's 1983 work on the topic and claims the *-u* is restored in the exceptional languages by analogy. In WS and OFris the *-u* ending is replaced by *-e* due to /i/-syncope.

R.S.P. Beekes, in "The Pronominal Genitive Singular in Germanic and Proto-Indo-European" (*BGDSL* 110, 1-5), questions the existence of PGmc **-esa* and **-asa* genitive singular endings. There is little on OE except to note OE *-æs*. Beekes concludes that the genitive was **-esa* for PGmc *a*-stems; he then explores the genitive of the *o*-stems and concludes that the Gmc was a "direct continuation of the PIE system." P.V. Stiles' "Gothic Nominative Singular *brōðar* 'brother' and the Reflexes of Indo-European Long Vowels in the Final Syllables of Germanic Polysyllables" (*Transactions of the Philol. Soc* 86, 115-43) argues that all long vowels behave

alike before final consonants in Got and rejects the standard derivation of the *a* in *brōðar*.

In "Early Germanic Changes in Unstressed Word-Final Syllables" (*Lingua* 76, 63-90), J. Voyles attempts to explain the development of unstressed final syllables from IE to Gmc. Four changes explain the development of the unstressed final syllables: nasal consonant loss, coronal consonant deletion, first unstressed short vowel deletion, and first vowel shortening. After showing the approximate simultaneity of the last three of these changes, Voyles explains the development of seven forms which previously were difficult to explain. The simplicity of Voyles' theory lies in the fact that he hasn't had to resort to such ideas as bimoric or trimoric vowels, tone, or "equally baroque constructs." OE examples are occasionally given.

In "The Prosodic Character of Early Schwa Deletion in English" (*Papers from the 7th International Conference on Historical Linguistics*, pp. 445-57), D. Minkova begins an explanation of the cause of schwa loss. Minkova reviews the patterns of schwa loss in IOE and eME and isolates four characteristics shared by all of the patterns. From these shared characteristics, she forms a schwa deletion rule based on clitic groups and W nodes. This rule makes exceptions clearer than those for previous rules and manages to pull together a great many seemingly different varieties of schwa deletion under one rule.

M. Suphi, in "Old English Stress Alignment" (*Lingua* 75, 171-202), rejects Halle and Keyser's 1971 work on OE stress and takes a morphologically based approach. He argues that both primary stress and secondary stress are morphologically determined. He bases this conclusion on the occurrence of long vowels and diphthongs in suffixes and not inflexions.

R. Lass' "The 'Akzentumsprung' of Old English *eo*" (*On Language: Rhetorica, Phonologica, Syntactica*, pp. 221-32) rejects the idea of an unmotivated stress-shift process for the development of OE *eo* and *ea*. They simply developed as a result of the same processes working at the time but followed different paths in a five tiered representation of syllabic structure: syllabic; rhyme; rhyme-constituent; moric (prosodic); segmental. He expands his 1984 system to allow for both

long and short diphthongs, thereby permitting a single set of processes to develop both.

M. Markus' "Zur altenglischen Worttrennung und Silbenstruktur" (*IF* 93, 197-209) examines the theory of consonantal strength predicated by recent natural phonologists that postulates an ascending strength for vowels, semi-vowels, liquids, nasals; and a descending strength (sonority / degree of aperture) for voiceless plosives, voiced plosives and voiceless fricatives, voiced fricatives. Its use for explaining OE syllabic structure is questioned. Leaving aside the issues of dialectal and individual differences, the author still claims that the historical explanations are more complex than these useful general or even universal rules would admit. Multiple causality and local optimization should still lead the way in the reexamination of specific sound changes, in this case syllable structure and word derivation from OE to ME.

M. M.

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Howell, Robert B. "Tracing the Origin of Uvular *r* in the Germanic Languages." *Folia Linguistica Historica* 7 (1987), 317-49.

Nakamura, Mayumi. "The Pleonastic Reflexive Dative in Old English." *Kobe Eibei Ronso* 1 (1988), 7-21.

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Scragg, D. [G.] "Old English *forcile*." *KM 80: a Birthday Album for Kenneth Muir, Tuesday, 5 May, 1987*. Ed. Philip Edwards et al. Liverpool, 1987. p. 128.

Vigil, Julián Josué. *An Anglo-Saxon Vocabulary Based on the Glossary to Sweet's 'Anglo-Saxon Primer'*. Guadalupita, NM: by the author, 1988. p. 28.

3. Literature

a. General and Miscellaneous

Two brief surveys of Old English literature appeared in 1988. Peter Baker's three-column survey is part of an article on "English Literature: The Old English Period, The Early Middle English Period" in *The New Encyclopedia Britannica*, 15th ed. (Chicago, 1987), XVIII, 570-73; Michael Alexander's fourteen-page survey "Old English Literature" is in *The Cambridge Guide to the Arts in Britain*, I, ed. Ford, pp. 179-93. I note in passing Alexander's bold suggestion that Bede "probably knew" the author of *The Dream of the Rood*.

Oral-formulaic theory dominated the general studies last year. 1988 was a major year for stock-taking in oral-formulaic studies, with a book-length survey of the field by John Miles Foley, another by Alain Renou focusing chiefly on West Germanic literature, and the second of a two-part article by

Alexandra Hennessey Olsen surveying oral-formulaic studies specifically on Old English.

Foley's *The Theory of Oral Composition: History and Methodology* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana Univ. Press) provides a history of scholarship on the oral-formulaic theory, focusing naturally upon the work of Milman Parry and Albert Lord and their influence on subsequent scholarship. Chapters II and III are devoted to these two scholars, who are rightly credited with founding the study, although Foley shows in Chapter I that many of the essential insights which Parry shaped into a coherent theory had been anticipated by earlier scholars. Insisting on a distinction between mere anticipation and actual influence, Foley shows that three areas of prior scholarship contributed to the original synthesis achieved by Parry: first, the Homeric Question, pitting the Analysts, who followed Friedrich Wolf in viewing the Homeric poems as "the creation of later redactors who joined together the

primitive oral songs . . . handed down through schools of professional reciters," against the Unitarians, "who championed the hypothesis of a single genius author . . ."; second, the studies of German and French philologists who recognized the formulaic quality of Homeric verse and tied the choice of fixed epithets to the requirements of meter; and third, the fieldwork of anthropologists who studied living oral cultures, particularly the work of Matija Murko on the South Slavic *guslar*. The remainder of the book is essentially a chronological summary of the work of Parry, Lord, and later scholars indebted to what came to be known as the Parry-Lord theory. I will not summarize Foley's summaries, but merely note the section (pp. 65-74) devoted to scholarship on Old English. The final chapter, "Recent and Future Directions," describes what Foley considers "the most promising or influential contributions to the evolution of the Oral Theory over the past twenty years." Foley notes that much recent work (particularly by Walter J. Ong, S.J., and by Brian Stock on medieval texts) has centered on the "gray area" of the conjunction of oral and written cultures and the phenomenon of the "transitional text." Foley concludes by urging as a corrective to prior emphasis solely on similarities greater attention to differences among various oral traditions, guided by three principles he terms "tradition dependence," "genre-dependence," and "text-dependence," and taking into account the unique features specific to each manifestation of oral texts. He finds Old English studies guilty of ignoring the principle of genre-dependence in indiscriminately comparing texts of dissimilar genres.

Despite the modesty topos with which it begins ("The only virtue which I can claim for the book is that it eschews any kind of original thinking"), Alain Renour's *A Key to Old Poems: the Oral Formulaic Approach to the Interpretation of West-Germanic Verse* (University Park, PA, and London: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press) is considerably more than a survey or synthesis of previous scholarship. In Part I, "The Contexts of Literature," Renour concedes that modern criticism has raised serious questions regarding the objectivity of the text and the relevance of its historical setting, but argues that agreement on certain factual contexts is necessary for the effective and responsible interpretation of older literature. Historical and other factual contexts, however, are often unavailable. For certain medieval works, the oral-formulaic rhetorical tradition can serve as "a substitute for more empirical contexts" by making it possible to identify assumptions shared by authors and audience. Part II, "The Context of Oral-Formulaic Poetry," describes the characteristics and conventions of oral-formulaic poetry and proposes that oral-formulaic rhetoric provides a valuable tool for interpretation of poems composed in this tradition, whatever the actual circumstances of composition. Although Renour insists on the "crucial differences" between oral and written rhetoric, he does not claim that the density of oral-formulaic features constitutes proof of oral composition. On the other hand, the use of oral-formulaic rhetoric by literate poets presupposes a shared understanding even with an intended audience of readers of the rhetorical conventions of oral poetry. Renour thus avoids the polemical issue of the actual mode of composition in favor of a utilitarian approach. For the original audience, he argues, familiarity with oral-formulaic conventions supplied a context for interpretation and

conditioned certain expectations that determined the "affective impact" of a given theme or formula. Modern readers of older Germanic poetry can reconstruct the affective impact, if only imperfectly, with the aid of surviving texts in the same tradition, and by comparison with oral-formulaic texts from other Indo-European literatures. The affective impact is evoked not by recall of specific works, however, as in written rhetoric, but of "paradigmatic situations" associated with the formulaic element itself. Part III applies these principles to the interpretation of *Beowulf* and the *Hildebrandslied*. The chapter on *Beowulf* examines the successive "implementations" of the "Hero on the Beach" type-scene. The associations activated by the first implementation of the theme in its "pure form" are maintained by subsequent references to a key element, the flashing light, until narrative tension reaches its height in the allusion to the light gleaming from the eyes of Grendel. In the chapter on *Hildebrandslied*, Renour examines the "layering" of the oral-formulaic themes of the hero on the beach, the singer looking at his sources, and nonrecognition, together with a thematic pattern Renour terms "the journey to trial," all but one of which conventionally presage a violent confrontation. In contrast, the theme of the singer looking at his sources, conventionally associated with joyous festivities, "intensifies] the tragic element by calling attention to the brutal contrast between the joy that should be and the sorrow that is." In the final chapter Renour suggests that when interpreting oral-formulaic features in a poem presumably composed in writing, scholars should seek to determine the extent of the familiarity of both poet and audience with the oral-formulaic tradition and the extent to which the poem was intended primarily for listeners or for readers. His analysis of the hero on the beach and beasts of battle themes in *Elene* concludes that the affective impact of Cynewulf's subtle handling of the themes could only be appreciated by a reader conversant with the Germanic oral tradition. On the other hand, the use of the hero on the beach theme in both the *Nibelungenlied* and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* is "affectively unproductive," and these poems should be approached primarily from the perspective of written rhetoric.

Alexandra Hennessey Olsen's "Oral-Formulaic Research in Old English Studies: II" (*Oral Tradition* 3.1-2, 138-90), completes her survey of scholarship with sections on "Levels Above the Theme" (ring structure, envelope patterns, and mythic structures); "The Case Against the Oral-Formulaic Theory"; "The Comparative Method"; "Present Trends in Oral-Formulaic Research"; and "Future Directions." Among the trends and directions Olsen finds promising is research on levels of oral poetry other than the formula, including sound-patterning; but the formula itself needs to be re-examined in Old English along lines more faithful to Parry's understanding than was the work of Magoun. Olsen also emphasizes what she terms the "composite method," focusing on the ways oral-formulaic techniques blend with Christian-Latin traditions.

Foley has also edited a new collection of essays, *Comparative Research on Oral Traditions: A Memorial for Milman Parry* (Columbus, OH, 1987), which includes three articles that fall under the present category. Alain Renour's "Repetition, Oral-Formulaic Style, and Affective Impact in Medieval Poetry: A Tentative Illustration," pp. 533-48, covers essentially the same ground as his book. Another article in the

collection, by Constance B. Hieatt, "On Envelope Patterns (Ancient and—Relatively—Modern) and Nonce Formulas," pp. 245-58, describes various uses of envelope patterns in OE poetry, as well as another rhetorical feature, the "nonce-formula," which she defines as "a repeated group of stressed words, usually but not invariably constituting a single verse, coined by a poet on the analogy of the repeated verbal formulas of orally composed poetry, but for specific strategic purposes in a particular context." Hieatt illustrates the nonce-formula by analyzing the associations and connotations activated by the repeated phrase ofer *waþema gebind* in lines 24 and 57 of *The Wanderer* in concert with a network of related verbal echoes. The envelope pattern, however, though a product of oral-formulaic poetry, is not restricted to oral texts; it occurs also in the work of literate poets, including Chaucer. In the third article, Donald K. Fry identifies a new formulaic theme in "The Cliff of Death in Old English Poetry," pp. 213-33. Remarking on the "natural association of cliffs with death" in early English and Scandinavian literature, Fry defines the basic elements of the theme as "cliffs, serpents, darkness, and deprivation, and occasionally wolves and wind." In *Judith* and *Christ and Satan* the theme describes hell; in *Beowulf*, the theme occurs first in the description of Grendel's mere, which the poet associates with hell, and later but more diffusely in the description of the dragon fight. Fry concludes by arguing that the description of the empty hall in *The Wanderer* also incorporates the elements of the theme, including the serpent shapes on the wall (line 98), which associate the wall figuratively with the Cliff of Death.

Apart from Fry's oral-formulaic study of the Cliff of the Dead, only two general articles involving thematic studies appeared last year. Geoffrey Russom's "The Drink of Death in Old English and Germanic Literature," in *Germania: Comparative Studies in the Old Germanic Languages and Literatures*, ed. Daniel G. Calder and T. Craig Christy (Wolfeboro, NH, and Woodbridge, Suffolk: Brewer), 175-89, suggests "that the Old English *deaðweg* corresponds to the last drink taken in early Germanic societies by suicides, human sacrifices, and those about to suffer capital punishment" (p. 179), citing examples from Ibn Fadlan and Saxo Grammaticus. Despite evidence that the image of the *poculum mortis* was current in Christian-Latin tradition, Russom argues that Bede's use of the theme reflects his "feeling that vernacular literary tradition should be sanctified rather than abandoned," and that Eve in *Guthlac B* is "a sinister analogue of the intoxicating *Wealhtheow*." Thomas N. Hall, in "The Ages of Christ and Mary in the Hyde Register and in Old English Literature," *N&Q* 35, 4-11, notes that a series of Latin and OE entries in the Hyde Register give as many as five distinct reckonings for the age of Christ. Citing an array of other OE and Anglo-Latin texts which speculate on Christ's age at his baptism and death, Hall shows that many of the attested figures can be traced to patristic or apocryphal sources which attempted to fix what Scripture left vague. Although the age thirty-three (deduced by combining information from Luke and John) was a common figure, and the one favored by Ælfric, various calculations co-existed.

In years past scholars such as Morton Bloomfield, Thomas D. Hill, and T. A. Shippey have called attention to wisdom literature as a genre or category of genres in OE, with analogues and antecedents in the Old Testament and in other

literatures. Elaine Tuttle Hansen devotes a book to this broad category of OE poetry: *The Solomon Complex: Reading Wisdom in Old English Poetry*, McMaster OE Stud. and Texts, 5 (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: Univ. of Toronto Press). Hansen's approach and methodology are in many ways conventional. She begins by a comparative method, defining various genres of wisdom literature in ancient Near Eastern tradition (Mesopotamian, Egyptian, and Israelite), characterizing wisdom literature in its broadest sense as an attempt to organize experience and to affirm a principle of order in the face of chaos. A particular genre of Near Eastern wisdom literature, the parental instruction, is then applied successfully to the OE *Precepts* and to Hrothgar's "sermon" in *Beowulf*. Here as elsewhere in the book Hansen's analysis of OE poetry proceeds by close reading in New Critical fashion, focusing on ways details of structure reveal meaning. A typically "post-modern" concern surfaces in Hansen's emphasis on "relations of difference" in *Precepts*, however, and in the remainder of the book the close readings are often linked to other preoccupations of contemporary theory: "self-reflexive moments"; the active participation of the reader in the construction of meaning; resistance of closure; and the instability of language. The subject of many poems is "language itself"; others are "poems about poetry." Hansen is also concerned to rehabilitate certain maligned "minor" poems which she finds more subtle and sometimes more "modern" than critics have allowed. Her reading of *The Menologium* exemplifies her eclectic critical approach. She draws attention to a network of verbal repetitions in the poem, which reveals that sacred and secular time are interdependent and which "displays and celebrates the human powers of connecting and reckoning, of making meaning." Repeated references to wise men reflect the poem's "celebration of the wise and their traditional activities," while three sets of verbal tags reflect its "anthropomorphic focus." The poem concludes with "a final self-reflexive comment that explicitly announces the speaker's concern with both the poetic artifact itself and the listener's or reader's response to and use of it." The reference to God as *fæder engla*, fortified by the poet's use of the direct address, suggests a "natural end" of the poem, but at the same time the implication that the audience will now perpetuate the tradition of the wise suggests a new departure; the ending "thus simultaneously provides a firm sense of closure as well as defiance of closure . . ." Hansen's sympathetic approach and attention to detail is frequently rewarding, despite excesses (the addition of the extra day for leap year in *The Menologium*, lines 29-37, is "succinctly and elegantly mirrored in the syntax"; "celebrate" is a high-frequency verb in the book's critical lexicon). Her discussion in Chapter 5 of the "communicative situation" in the OE riddles is particularly interesting, with an illuminating analysis of riddles of "suffering instruments" and of "changing states." Other chapters focus on poems as diverse as *The Order of the World*, *Vainglory*, *Deor*, and *Widsith*, as well as the catalogue poems *The Gifts of Men* and *The Fortunes of Men*; *An Exhortation to Christian Living*, *Instructions for Christians*, and *Seasons for Fasting*; the debate poem *Solomon and Saturn II*; and the gnomic poems *Maxims I* and *II*.

Fred C. Robinson takes up a specifically Germanic wisdom tradition in "The Prescient Woman in Old English Literature," in *Philologia Anglica: Essays Presented to Profes-*

sor Yoshio Terasawa on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday, ed. Kinshiro Oshitari et al. (Tokyo), pp. 241-50. Robinson surveys the evidence from Tacitus and other Classical authors which indicates that the Germanic peoples viewed women as seeresses whose advice and prophecies were respected. Old English literature confirms this view. In *Beowulf* the anxieties of the farsighted queens Wealhtheow and Hygd concerning their sons are borne out by subsequent events and at Beowulf's funeral an old woman predicts the imminent doom of the Geats. Robinson points out that the motif "of a woman prophesying the destruction of her people" appears in other Germanic literatures, including the Icelandic *Völuspá* and the *Nibelungenlied*. In the light of this tradition a Germanic audience would have understood why Adam was persuaded by the advice and supernatural vision of Eve in *Genesis B*. In *Judith* the poet consistently emphasizes the wisdom of the heroine, and allows her to prophesy the defeat of the Assyrians. Finally, in his version of Boethius's *De consolazione philosophiae*, Alfred presents Lady Philosophy as *Wisdom*, the mother of the interlocutor *Mod*, in "a sustained dramatic narrative in which a man receives instruction from a woman with supernatural insight."

In "Patristic Influence and the Poetic Intention in Old English Religious Verse," *Journal of Literature and Theology* 2, 49-68, Judith N. Garde and Bernard J. Muir deplore "the indiscriminate imposition of patristic exegesis as a tool in OE criticism . . ." Specifically, the authors deny the relevance of typological and allegorical exegesis to OE religious poetry in favor of what they characterize as its historical and catechetical orientation, based on credal and liturgical sources. In an argument reminiscent of a 1977 paper on *Exodus* by Ruth Ames (*Studies in Medieval Culture* 10, 33-50), they argue that in *Genesis A* and *Exodus* Christ is "historically active" in his pre-incarnate Trinitarian presence, and not pre-figured in Old Testament types. Sacramental typology is similarly irrelevant: the Flood narrative in *Genesis A* suggests Judgment rather than baptism; the crossing of the Red Sea in *Exodus* is an "historical precedent" of baptism rather than its type. The latter distinction seems difficult to maintain in view of Paul's explicit allegorization of the event, but the authors are everywhere reluctant to allow any typological or allegorical interpretation. In attempting to redress the undeniable excesses of certain typological readings, however, they substitute their own inflexible dogma: "a catechetical perception of salvation history is common to the whole OE religious collection, regardless of quality, genre or style."

Jörg O. Fichte also criticizes the "neohistorical" Robertsonian approach to OE literature, specifically as applied to the *Wanderer* and the *Seafarer* ("Altenglische Mystik: Sackgasse der neohistorischen Literaturkritik," in *Mittelalterbilder aus neuer Perspektive*, Beiträge romanischen Philologie des Mittelalters, 14 (Munich), pp. 392-403). Responding particularly to interpretations which read these poems as Christian *meditatio*, Fichte faults Robertsonian critics for reducing these poems to a single meaning ("Homogenität") determined solely by reference to the exegetical tradition and supported by suspect verbal, metaphorical, or thematic analogies between patristic texts and the OE poems ("Analogieinterpretation"). Fichte doubts the relevance of the meditative tradition, partly because Anglo-Latin authors show relatively little interest in it (he also suggests that there is scant evidence to support

widespread knowledge in Anglo-Saxon England of Julianus Pomerius' *De vita contemplativa*), but also because the proper starting point of meditation is Scripture, not description of earthly concerns.

E. G. Stanley's "Parody in Early English Literature," *Poetica* (Tokyo) 27, 1-69, makes it clear at the outset that "there is no parody in Old English literature," but Stanley also suggests that "We do not know the conventions of Old English literary kinds well enough" to tell the difference between parody and bad writing.

Roger Lass, "Cyn(e)wulf Revisited: The Problem of the Runic Signatures," in *An Historic Tongue: Studies in English Linguistics in Memory of Barbara Strang*, ed. Graham Nixon and John Honey (London and New York), 17-30, offers a brief survey of the runic passages, without presenting any new solutions for specific problems. He believes that the difficulty of the signatures ensures that the prayers of a reader who troubles to decipher them will be more "serious"; or maybe medieval men "just liked acrostics . . ."

In an article not seen last year, "A Linguistic Approach to Certain Old English Stylistic Devices," *SN* 59 (1987), 177-85, Laurel J. Brinton suggests that "current linguistic theories of metaphor point to the functional equivalence of a large number of OE stylistic devices," particularly kennings and variation. Metaphor is not comparison but identification, in which "contextually appropriate features" are transferred from the subsidiary to the primary subject. The features selected may be "high or low salience, characteristic or typical, inherent or merely associative." Thus kennings and variation, as well as certain other stylistic devices, both figurative and non-figurative, can be analyzed as "a proposal to view a subject under a particular aspect, which is more or less explicitly and specifically identified." Brinton classifies kennings as synecdochal or metaphoric, and variation as literal, synecdochal, metonymic, or metaphoric.

I conclude with studies devoted to metrics. Seiichi Suzuki, "The Indo-European Basis of Germanic Alliterative Verse," *Lingua* 75, 1-24, argues that the "apparently unique properties of Germanic verse, i.e., obligatory alliteration and variable number of syllables," resulted from innovations in schemes inherited from Indo-European meter. I cannot claim to fully comprehend the details of Suzuki's highly technical argument, which would defy summary in any case. Hoyt N. Duggan, in "The Evidential Basis for Old English Metrics," *SP* 85, 145-63, describes a method of comparing variants of Middle English alliterative poems that survive in multiple copies so as to distinguish between authorial rhythmic patterns and the interventions and corruptions of scribes. But Duggan argues that because there are no autographs of OE poems (he dismisses Kiernan's identification of scribe B of the Nowell Codex with the poet), and because no longer OE poems survive in more than one manuscript, no such method is available to distinguish between authorial and scribal patterns for the statistically rare metrical types that have been proposed by OE metrists. Duggan concludes that "though the gross outlines of Old English meter are probably determinable," there is no sufficient evidential basis to enable metrists to account for all the data. Some of the Middle English evidence described in this article is analyzed in much greater detail by Duggan in another article, "Final -e and the Rhythmic Structure of the B-Verse in Middle English Alliter-

ative Poetry," *MP* 86, 119-45, which concludes by suggesting that the metrical evidence of the poetry of the alliterative revival presupposes "a very long tradition in essentially this form," and that the current view that the revival "represents a conscious new beginning after Old English alliterative traditions had died" may therefore be wrong.

Bella Millett takes up a related issue, that of the continuity between OE and ME rhythmical prose, in "The Saints' Lives of the Katherine Group and the Alliterative Tradition," *JEGP* 87, 16-34. Millett reexamines the argument of Dorothy Bethurum that Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints* provided a model for the alliterative prose of the Katherine group *Lives*. She finds that the *Lives* are similar to the prose of both Ælfric and Wulfstan chiefly in the predominance of two-stress phrases, but deviate from Ælfric's method of regularly linking phrases in alliterative pairs of four-stress lines; in the *Lives*, alliteration within the phrase is more frequent, and the two-stress phrase (as in Wulfstan) is "the basic rhythmical unit." Turning to stylistic features common to the *Lives* and the later poems of the alliterative revival, Millett argues that both probably reflect a continuous, albeit unrecorded, tradition descending from OE verse. But the *Lives* themselves are unlikely to have been "the main channel through which the Old English alliterative tradition reached later medieval poetry."

Finally, in an article not seen last year ("Some Aspects of the Interaction between Verse Grammar and Metre in Old English Poetry," *SN* 59 (1987), 145-75), Peter J. Lucas argues that Kuhn's Laws form part of what he terms "verse grammar," "an extra dimension superimposed upon the grammar of the language . . ." This verse grammar has, in addition to syntactical *structure*, categories of *class* (stress-word, particle, and clitic) and "a three-tiered ranked scale of *units*: the verse clause, the verse phrase, and the word." Focusing on the particle, and drawing on C. B. Kendall's distinction between internal and external "displacement," Lucas states that a particle can move up or down in the hierarchy of class to become either a stress-word or a clitic. If it depends on a following stress-word, it becomes a proclitic; but a particle also "may be enclitic on a preceding stress-word, with which it has a close grammatical/semantic relationship, in the same verse phrase." Lucas also describes cases in which a verse may be "converted," usually for use as a b-verse, when alliterating stress is placed on an initial particle.

C. D. W.

Works not seen

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- Hollowell, Ida Masters. "On Old English Verse-Rhythm: Further Considerations." *ES* 69 (1988), 193-204.
- Renoir, Alain. "Oral-Formulaic Tradition and the Affective Interpretation of Early Germanic Verse." *Germania: Comparative Studies in the Old Germanic Languages and Literatures*. Ed. Daniel G. Calder and T. Craig Christy. Wolfeboro, NH, and Woodbridge, Suffolk: Brewer. p. 113-26.
- Savage, Anne. "The Place of Old English Poetry in the English Meditative Tradition." *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Exeter Symposium IV*. Ed. Marion Glasscoe. Woodbridge, Suffolk, and Wolfeboro, NH, 1987. p. 91-110.
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- Stanley, E. G. "Rhymes in English Medieval Verse: from Old English to Middle English." *Medieval English Studies Presented to George Kane*. Ed. Edward Donald Kennedy et al. Wolfeboro, NH, and Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1988. p. 19-54.

b. Individual Poems

Genesis A

The word 'circumspect' was brought into English to describe such work as Paul G. Remley's "The Latin Textual Basis of *Genesis A*" (*ASE* 17, 163-89). Looking round about, Remley gathers copious evidence to demonstrate that the poem repeatedly reflects Old Latin readings of *Genesis* (conveniently tabulated in the appendix). But some two dozen Vulgate readings appear as well, showing *Genesis A* to have been based on a mixed Latin text. "A future comprehensive edition of the poem," the author suggests (184), "would do well to supply readers with a synoptic apparatus supplying distinctive Old Latin and Vulgate texts of individual verses . . . and both when either version would account for the words of the Old English" (such common readings corresponding to nearly two hundred verses in the poem). Circumspect beyond *Genesis A*, Remley adduces evidence that OL readings occur in other OE or insular Latin works. (But here a small correction. Despite his claim, Remley is not the first to note the OL basis of *Exodus* 385b; for this and another instance, see Irving, *Anglia* 90 [1972], 314, 316; see also *PLL* 25 [1989], 132.)

Source studies tend to emphasize an author's reliance on sources and to downplay departures. In "Formulaic Invention in the Genealogies of the Old English *Genesis A*" (*Comparative Research on Oral Traditions: A Memorial for Milman Parry*, ed. John Miles Foley [Columbus: Slavica Publishers, 1987], 73-92), John W. Butcher examines lines 1104-1 242a (passim) to show that "the *Genesis A* poet expanded and sometimes embellished the poem with original ideas and inventive diction not found in the traditional poetic corpus," that "the poet used traditional as well as idiolectal formulas to translate and expand his source," and that "formulas often can serve as more than filler phrases or mere metrical tools by echoing the richness of Germanic tradition" (83). Although Butcher supposes (as did everyone in the pre-Remley world) the Latin source of *Genesis A* to have been essentially the Vulgate, the assumption does not vitiate his overall findings. Along the way he dwells informatively on *frīðgedal* (for which see also *N&O* 23 [1976], 207-8) and on *strienan* formulas.

In "The Sacrifice of Isaac: A Humanistic Interpretation" (*NM* 89, 386-94), Marie Nelson sees Ælfric's account in his close prose translation of *Genesis* as reflecting the "authori-

itarian" conscience as defined by Erich Fromm, "the conscience that is the result of internalizing the laws and sanctions of external authority" (286). On the other hand, the *Genesis A* poet's account reflects the "humanistic" conscience as well as the authoritarian, the former being "the voice of the true self which summons us to become 'what we potentially are'" (286, Fromm's italics). Nelson's evidence that the humanistic conscience is at work lies in epithets for God, showing that "the God Who presents the threat to survival is also a God Who performs protective functions, a God Who can be trusted as well as feared" (291), and in epithets for Abraham, revealing him "as a man who has merited, and been given, God's loving approval" (292).

Genesis B

With detailed attention to detail, Eric Jager studies "Tempter as Rhetoric Teacher: The Fall of Language in the Old English *Genesis B*" (*Neophilologus* 72, 434-48). The poet develops the theme in three stages: "Before Eve persuades Adam, the Tempter offers her explicit rhetorical advice; in her speech to Adam, Eve adopts the Tempter's agenda of persuasion and echoes his words and style; and, after Eve's speech, the narrative emphasizes her verbal subordination to her instructor" (443). Speaking of rhetorical instruction, Jager's analysis of rhetoric is everywhere instructive. (On the related theme of perverse demonic puns, see Frank, *Speculum* 47 [1972], 225-26.) I wonder whether his peroration is not also a bit rhetorical: "The poet of *Genesis B* seems to be suggesting that the Fall of Man is correlatable with an equally disastrous fall of language" (444).

Metrical technicians will take pleasure in Peter J. Lucas's "Some Aspects of *Genesis B* as Old English Verse" (*Proc. of the R. Irish Acad.* 88C, 143-78). Lucas does it all, discussing modifications of Bliss's metrical system, metrical emendations (including Lucas's own adventurous [*heardmod*] *cyning* for *stiðferhðocýning* 241a), *Genesis B* 791-817 and the corresponding OS *Genesis* 1-26, breaches of Kuhn's first and second laws, normal verses, hypermetric verses, combinations of normal and hypermetric verses, stress-words and particles, alliteration, decontraction and syncopation, short-syllable stress, and proportions and combinations of types (with detailed comparison to *Beowulf* and *Exodus*). Topping off the exhaustive and exhausting study are three appendices, the third a complete index to the scansion of *Genesis B*. Lucas's concluding conclusion is that, although the poem displays more frequent irregularities than occur elsewhere in OE poetry, "From a technical point of view the translator/poet of *Genesis B* was a competent writer of Old English verse, no more and no less" (143). As this is the conclusion reached independently by Patricia Bethel and by Daniel J. G. Lewis (for reviews see respectively *OEN* 19.1 [1985], 74, and 22.1 [1988], 59), I presume to rule that *Genesis B* is, officially, an OE poem, the new question being whether the verifying instrument, Bliss's system of OE meter, is a system of OE meter.

Exodus

In "The Old English *Exodus*: Paraphrase or Homily?" (*Unisa Eng. Stud.* 26.1, 1-7, ill.), Leonie Viljoen moves through the poem, tracking the Israelites along the literal level while pursuing the symbolic. Although there is little new here, there is also little with which to disagree (unless one be a confirmed

anti-allegorist). The essay is to be valued as a judicious tour guide for those boarding *Exodus* to the Red Sea for the first time. That is why the title is unfortunate. To suggest that the poem must be considered either a paraphrase or a homily—Viljoen goes for the second: the "poem, spell-bindingly dramatic, swells out to become a forceful sermon of amazing theological density" (7)—does scant justice to the essay or to the spell-bindingly dramatic poem.

Roberta Frank's title also asks a question, "What Kind of Poetry Is *Exodus*?" (*Germania: Comparative Studies in the Old Germanic Languages and Literatures*, ed. Daniel G. Calder and T. Craig Christy [Wolfeboro, NH, and Woodbridge, Suffolk], 191-205). Her answer is that the OE poem in some ways is like ON skaldic verse: "Their compatibility—a common metaphoric inventory, a common analogical technique—attests at the very least . . . to the possibility of interchange between pagans and Christians in the Germanic North. The two poetries bear at moments an uncanny resemblance to each other, revealing many of the same tricks and habits of expression . . ." (201). Frank discusses skaldic qualities in *Exodus* 43-44, 71-85, and 250-52, and in its imagery of sea, land, and enclosure. Bright is the light shed on lines 71-85. Developing a suggestion of Dietrich Hofmann's, Frank explains that the diverse images describing the pillar of cloud shielding the Israelites from heat are alike in that they are shield-kennings in skaldic verse. (The association of *baelc* with ON *bolkr* 'board' is a convincing solution to a vexing crux; cf. *onnied*, 139b, illuminated by ON *ænauð* 'oppression,' as Kock was the first to note.) Although Frank's essay overlaps with some of her other recent offerings (see *OEN* 22.1 [1988], 54, 60), this one, like those, must be read in its own right.

Frank interprets *segle* (MS *swegle*), 82b, as appropriate for the cloud-pillar in its shielding function because *segl* is an ON shield-kennings. A quite different interpretation is advanced in "The *Segl* in the Old English *Exodus*" (*ASNSL* 225, 334-39), by Stanley R. Hauer, who cites Acts 10:11-15, wherein Peter sees a vessel like a linen sheet descending from heaven. Commanded to kill and eat the beasts conveyed in the vessel, Peter protests their ritual impurity, only to learn that, in the new dispensation, all things cleansed by God are clean. Hauer sees in the *linteum* "a clear biblical analogue to a cloth stretched across the sky. One senses the same vastness and drama in the Old English poem and the *visio Petri*" (336). He goes on to argue that the concept of the new law dramatized by Peter's vision accords with the New Testament slant on the Mosaic law in *Exodus*.

Judith

In "Wisdom as a Key to Heroism in *Judith*" (*Poetica* 27, 70-75), Margaret Locherbie-Cameron stresses that full understanding is the essence of both martial and religious wisdom and that the poet enlarges on or rearranges the Latin narrative to contrast the wise heroic Judith with the foolish anti-heroic Holofernes. A contrast with consequences: "Judith's knowledge leads not only to her and her people's temporal security but to their spiritual salvation; Holofernes' failure in understanding leads to his and his people's heroic failure and to his own spiritual damnation" (74).

Dream of the Rood

Kenneth Florey addresses what, to my knowledge, is a new question, "Community and Self in 'The Dream of the Rood'" (*Connecticut Rev.* 10.1 [1987], 23-29). Florey argues that, despite the dreamer's "self-imposed isolation" in lines 1-27 and 122-56, "the entire poem . . . is a celebration of community, albeit a spiritual one, and it is the absorption of the dreamer into that community . . . that provides for the poem's main dramatic movement" (24). The dreamer's absorption into the spiritual community is effected by his immediate—yet gradual—identification with the suffering—yet triumphant—cross, by his vision of heaven as an eternal banquet, and by his brief account of the Harrowing of Hell and the celebration greeting Christ's return to heaven. "The poem has begun with a portrait of isolation; it ends with a picture of communal multitudes" (28).

That the poet refers to the Harrowing and Christ's subsequent return to heaven is strongly challenged by Monica Brzezinski, "The Harrowing of Hell, the Last Judgment, and *The Dream of the Rood*" (*NM* 89, 252-65). She doubts a reference to the Harrowing in view of the statement that Christ's celestial return was "englum to blisse / ond eallum ðam halgum þam þe on heofonum ær / wunedon on wuldre" (153b-55a). Holding that the lines must refer to saints, "eallum ðam halgum," as well as angels dwelling in heaven prior to Christ's arrival, Brzezinski observes that the situation ill suits the Harrowing because the "Gates of Heaven" were not opened to humankind until Christ returned there. At this point the present reviewer should declare his interest: accepting the traditional view that the poet alludes to the Harrowing, he has contended that "eallum ðam halgum" does not refer to saints rejoicing in heaven upon Christ's entry (*Amer. Notes & Queries* 24 [1986], 65-68) and, after pondering Brzezinski's immensely learned essay, nonetheless remains an unreconstructed traditionalist on the question. But here is her argument. She holds that the final lines of the poem refer to the Last Judgment, an event to which she assigns a major role in the opening and central part of the narrative. She reasons that there is no express reference to judgment in the closing lines because the matter is already dealt with earlier, needing no reprise. She holds that the reference to the renewed joy of 'those who endured the fire there' (149b, her translation) is not to the suffering of the souls in hell before the Harrowing but to those who were purified by fire at the Last Judgment: "The lines must . . . refer to souls which had previously experienced the beatific vision, then suffered in flames, and then been granted re-entry into the presence of God in heaven" (261). Finally, Brzezinski explains that the narrator puts the allusion to the Last Judgment in the past tense to stress "the shift in point of view from the Dreamer's personal to God's universal perspective" (264-65).

Andreas

Frederick M. Biggs, in "The Passion of Andreas: *Andreas* 1398-1491" (*SP* 85, 413-27), demonstrates that the poet draws out and enhances the theme implicit in the narrative tradition that Andreas's passion reenacts Christ's. At the end of the essay Biggs considers why in lines 1478-91 the poet interrupts the larger story to say, in effect, that one part is completed and that he will pass on to another: "Simply by

using this dramatic break beginning with the emphatic, introductory 'hwæt,' the poet calls attention to the finality of the events that immediately precede it. Unlike the legend, which is content to pass from the story of the torture to the story of the conversion, the *Andreas* poet temporarily halts the narrative in order to force his audience to reflect on his understanding of the scene's significance" (426-27). This is entirely plausible but perhaps not the entire explanation. I wonder if the poet's startling statement that, although he has not recounted all the saint's trials, the very wise man 'will find in his heart that he knows from the beginning all the sufferings of grim battles which he [Andreas] bravely endured' (1485-87a, Biggs's translation) is a subtle suggestion that all Christian suffering, like Andreas's, is illuminated by Christ's.

In "The Old English *Andreas* as an Account of Benign Aggression" (*Med. Perspectives* [Southeastern Med. Assoc.] 2.1 [1987], 81-89), Marie Nelson aims to show "(1) that the *Andreas* poet did *not* lack narrative skill—his poem actually has a remarkably coherent structure; and (2) that he used the language of Germanic tradition with considerable skill . . ." (81). Nelson examines the character of Andreas as it develops in the major scenes and discusses the heroic diction as suitable for defining and dramatizing the dichotomy between good and evil as understood by the poet. "If we find heroic diction inappropriate for telling stories of Christian heroes, the reason may be our own perception of a secular-sacred opposition that was not even dimly seen as a block to story-telling in the Anglo-Saxon period" (87). Important to Nelson's exposition are two terms borrowed from Erich Fromm (cf. her essay on *Genesis A* above), "benign aggression," referring to life-preserving, freedom-enhancing acts (so Andreas), and "malignant aggression," referring to acts of the opposite nature (so the Mermedonians). One would like to use another contemporary phrase, "benign neglect," to characterize the insouciant way that Nelson's essay is printed in the journal; the unsavory hash made of the OE quotations suggests, however, that the neglect is pure and simple.

"The Manuscript Divisions of *Andreas*" (*Philologia Anglica: Essays Presented to Professor Yoshio Terasawa on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Kinshiro Oshitari et al. [Tokyo: Kenkyusha], 225-40) is Robert D. Stevick's third essay on the question. The first is "Arithmetical Design of the Old English *Andreas*" (not cited here but found in the McGalliard festschrift, 1975); the second, "Geometrical Design of the Old English *Andreas*" (*Poetica* 9 [1978], 73-106). With the present essay Stevick moves more deeply into geometrical design, as he presents evidence on "how to integrate the proportional relations of the poem within a single schema" (225) comparable to schemata underlying book-art in Anglo-Saxon England. After using traditional analysis to narrow the possibilities for line-losses, Stevick posits specific numbers predicated on geometrical patterning of sections without lacunae: the original poem had 1800 lines (of which 1722 remain), with the average number of lines in the 15 manuscript sections amounting to 120 (the final section, reconstructed from 116, has exactly this number). Moving on to geometrical derivation, he finds, "It is a simple, 'perfect' 3x2 rectangle that unites all the proportions that obtain among the lengths of the text's sections. It is laid down in five-module blocks, the module being 120. From it can be derived *all* section lengths within *all* the continuous blocks of the Vercelli

Book text" (233). The rest of the essay is given to a series of complex geometrical operations showing how he believes the section lengths to have been determined and to the argument that various "recurrences of sums and interlocking groupings are far more extensive than chance—or intuitive divisions—could ever be expected to produce" (238).

Ruth Waterhouse's "Self-Reflexivity and 'Wraetlic word' in *Bleak House* and *Andreas*" (*Jnl of Narrative Technique* 18, 211-25) is so encoded in contemporary crit-speak that I have not the patience or skill to attempt a translation into English. (Take everything composed in crit-speak this decade, put it in a large leaden vault, and tie it up real pretty-like: for sheer vitality of language it will not counter-balance the recent words of a Mississippi football coach who, asked about his ambitions for his team, answered, "It's time to get off the porch and run with the big dogs.") After discussing limitations of current narrative theory, Waterhouse analyzes a passage from *Bleak House* in which Esther recounts her first experience of Mrs. Woodcourt and various passages from *Andreas* in which the saint speaks with Christ (whom *Andreas* does not recognize). The passages are well chosen, and the analysis alive to rhetorical nuances. Waterhouse concludes (223):

Both discourses draw attention to their self-reflective status, and in both the use of speakers (as well as a narrator), and the distinction between the direct and indirect addressees within the story and the narratee within the discourse is a crucial part of the writer's strategy for influencing the real reader/audience. The interaction of the speech within the narrative suggests that the implicit binary opposition of the Genette/Rimmon-Kenan type of grid of narrator types and levels by ignoring the potential multiplying of recipients of speech is inadequate for bringing out some aspects of the complexities of the relationships played with in both the *Bleak House* excerpt and *Andreas* sea-voyage section.

Waterhouse thinks it better to concentrate on direct and indirect addressees, whose "interaction with the narratee is also crucial for the invitation/ challenge to the reader's type of participation in the signification (or subversion) of meaning" (223-24).

Andreas and Elene

In "Wrestling with Loan-Words: Poetic Use of 'engel', 'seraphim', and 'cherubim' in 'Andreas' and 'Elene'" (*NM* 89,155-70), Nancy A. Porter points out that the two poets use *engel*, as a simplex or in compounds, in several places not found in the sources. "The *Elene*-poet's skill is most evident in the sections where *engel*-compounds are present in clusters. The *Andreas*-poet's skill is evident in the conspicuous absence of *engel*-in any form while the devil is present" (170). Observing that *seraphim* and *cherubim*, unlike *engel*, were regarded as loans, she calls *Andreas* 719b, *Cheruphim et Sera-phim*, "unusual because it seems to be in Latin. . . . Certainly a scribe (or poet) who sang the Te Deum at Sunday matins would recall the phrase 'Cherubim et Seraphim' and to replace *et* with *and* would have sounded strange" (160). One might add that line 719 may in any case not have seemed odd to the original audience, given the Anglo-Saxons' taste for macaronic verse, and that the Latin tradition (defective at this point) may also have played a part; *Cheruphim et Seraphim* would be a close Latin translation of the Greek text supplied by Porter. Discussing the occurrence of *ceruphin* (so the MS) and *seraphin* at *Elene* 749b and 754b respectively, she remarks

that the poet, not finding the terms directly linked in his source, "could not use a Latin phrase for a half-line as the *Andreas*-poet did, but had to work the unusual lines into half-lines of Old English poetry" (169). But this is to over-simplify. Although Porter holds that *Andreas* 719b, *Cheruphim et Sera-phim*, "does not fit into Sievers' scheme" (160), the half-verse is readily scannable as an A with resolved lifts. (Cf. Krapp's edition, 1906, in which *Che-* and *Se-* are not marked long.) Similarly, *Elene* 749b (taking *nama* as a resolved lift) and 754b (taking *Sera-* as a resolved lift) are better integrated into OE metrics than she indicates. All worth noting since otherwise Porter wrestles winningly with angels.

Elene

In "Cynewulf's *Elene* 1115b-24, the Conversion of the Jews: Figurative or Literal?" (*ELN* 25, 1-3), Earl R. Anderson notes that once he understood the conversion as symbolic but now favors a literal reading. The reason is that in the Frankish *Fredegarii chroniconum liber quartus* the author records that the emperor Heraclius ordered the Jews in the East to be baptized and asked Dagobert, king of the Franks, to do the same in his realm. While acknowledging there to be "no direct relationship of any kind between this episode and anything in Cynewulf," Anderson remarks, "If Fredegar could envision such an incident as 'historical' rather than figurative, so could Cynewulf. The conversion of the Jews in *Elene* may well have symbolic import; however, it is unlikely that Cynewulf and his Anglo-Saxon audience would have regarded the episode in the poem as unhistorical" (3). Would the Anglo-Saxons have considered the forced baptism of Jews in Fredegar comparable to their voluntary conversion in *Elene*? If the conversion in *Elene* may have both literal and figurative import, why the disjunction in the essay's title?

Guthlac A

Jane Roberts, pondering the problems and possibilities of *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici*, takes up "Guthlac A: Sources and Source Hunting" (*Medieval English Studies Presented to George Kane*, ed. Edward Donald Kennedy et al. [Wolfeboro, NH, and Woodbridge, Suffolk], 1-18). Plausible sources are few: "If indeed close verbal similarity across a sizeable portion of text be a criterion for identifying a source, it is possible to argue that the sources for *Guthlac A* comprise a passage from the opening of the tenth chapter of Gregory's *Vitae Patrum*" (3). Otherwise the best possibilities are something fetchingly called the "Three Utterances" exemplum for the soul journey theme and I John 2:16 for lines 63b-69 (first noted by Charles D. Wright). Roberts finds the scattered verbal resemblances between *Guthlac A* and Felix's *Vita sancti Guthlaci* uncertain, the major similarity lying in "the actual order of events once Bartholomew arrives" (9). Roberts concludes, "For the whole poem there is no obvious single source. Unfortunately evidence of originality is not something that will be sought out for the *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici Register*, although the possibility it will afford of confirming a lack of source will contribute to the recognition of a writer's originality" (15). A useful appendix lists source-materials for both *Guthlac* poems. In rereading *Guthlac A*, I was struck by two things. First, that four passages might be taken in reference to an oral source (lines 93-94, 153b-57a, 401-2a, 752-54a; cf. Pope, *Speculum* 56 [1981], 423, who cites the last three passages in raising a different but

related point). Second, that the poem contains little narrative, properly speaking, most of its lines being devoted to themes and speeches. Give a poet like the poet of *Guthlac A* (or *Christ and Satan* or *Exodus* or *Beowulf*) a few narrative bones, and he will give you a corpus.

Menologium

*Maria Grimaldi's *Il 'Menologio' poetico anglosassone: introduzione, edizione, traduzione, commento* (Naples: Intercontinentalia) is, if not pioneering, thoughtful and lucid. The introduction (1-16) contains a pithy discussion of the manuscript (enhanced by an appealing reproduction of BL

Cotton Tiberius B.i, fol. 112r, with lines 1-30a of the poem), of the relationship between the *Menologium* and other calendar works, and of literary questions on the poem itself. The text (18-37) is conservatively edited, with manuscript readings and historical collation supplied at page-bottom. As in Dobbie's text (*ASPR* 6), abbreviations are silently expanded and capitals silently introduced, departures from manuscript morpheme arrangement are (with a few exceptions) not noted, original punctuation and accentuation are not indicated, folio changes are not signaled, and brackets are not used for emendations. The facing translation is somewhat free but accurate. The textual commentary (41-71), evincing a firm grasp of earlier scholarship, is wide-ranging and instructive, the best part of the edition. The glossary (75-94) is rather thin—e.g., "æpele agg. [aggettivo] 'nobile', 38, 80, 216"—not offering the sort of grammatical specifics beginning students (should) revel in. The bibliography (97-106) is comprehensive and up to date.

Durham

Calvin B. Kendall begins "Let Us Now Praise a Famous City: Wordplay in the OE *Durham* and the Cult of St. Cuthbert" (*JEGP* 87, 507-21) with historical background. The poem is an occasional poem occasioned by the transfer in 1104 of St. Cuthbert's incorrupt body into the Norman cathedral under construction at Durham. After reviewing the traditional view of the poem, an *encomium urbis* to be valued as "little more than a class-room assignment," Kendall prefaces his own interpretation by describing and illustrating the four most common types of wordplay in OE—metaphorical, allegorical, paronomastic, and onomastic—each of which occurs in *Durham*, "a concentration of wordplay for which there is no parallel in the surviving body of Old English poetry" (516). Two examples. Kendall appreciates Fred C. Robinson's point that the reference to Oswald as *Engle leo*, 12a, may well be taken as 'lion of the English' instead of 'protector of the English,' whereby *leo* is read as a reduced form of *hleō*. But Kendall endorses either sense and discovers in *Engle* similar ambiguity: "Oswald was both the 'protector of the English' and 'the lion of the Angles'" (519). Again, in line 6 the apparent meaning is 'And there has grown there a great secure woods' (509). Kendall observes that the compound *wudafæstern* 'secure woods' may also be understood as an allusion to Cuthbert's coffin, which, by one historical account, was decked with a cloth dipped in wax: "And ðær gewæxen is wudafæstern micel 'And there [on the feretory in the cathedral] is the great waxed wooden coffin'" (520, Kendall's brackets). Although not all readers will admit every proposed

Wortspiel, the whole is many times worth the price of admission. Good scholarship. Good fun.

J. R. H.

Battle of Maldon

The dating of *The Battle of Maldon*, its interpretation, and "historical precision" are the major concerns in M. A. L. Locherbie-Cameron's essay, "Byrhtnoth, his Noble Companion and his Sister's Son" (*MÆ* 57, 159-71). Locherbie-Cameron argues specifically against the cases for a late dating of *Maldon* proposed by John McKinnell ("The Date of *The Battle of Maldon*," *MÆ* 44 [1975], 121-26 [see *OEN* 12.1 (1978), 43]) and N. F. Blake ("The genesis of *The Battle of Maldon*," *ASE* 7 (1978), 119-29 [see *OEN* 13.1 (1979), 35]), addressing the issues of the title *eorl*, geographical detail and archery range, and the *flyting*. This last, Locherbie-Cameron argues, is factual in basis even though *flyting* itself is part of literary convention. The same effort to distinguish "fact" from "fiction" characterizes Locherbie-Cameron's analysis of the poet's creativity with characters. Here, the poet's principles of selection are viewed as historical precision and heroic significance, the combination of which does not necessarily impeach their historicity. Locherbie-Cameron argues for an early date for the composition of the poem on the basis of the accuracy of the poet's treatment of Byrhtnoth's noble companion and sister's son. For the former, she suggests a new identification, claiming Ætheric of Conington as the most probable candidate for the *æpele gefera* who died with Byrhtnoth. Showing that there was a dearth of male heirs in Byrhtnoth's family, Locherbie-Cameron argues that the account of Wulfmær's death (as sister's son) was made from precise detail, since, under the circumstances, "a public account of the death of an imagined sister's son would seem particularly heartless" (165). On the basis of such detail, Locherbie-Cameron argues that the date for the poem is early, and that the poet's authority for details without corroboration should be accepted. "The whole poem should thus be read as a description of events which really happened, involving real people who died at Maldon" (166). While Locherbie-Cameron presents substantial support for her identifications, the controversy over the date of the poem, I suspect, will continue; there are no easily drawn lines separating "fact," "interpretation," and "fiction" in a presentation of "history."

Charms

David E. Gay, in "Anglo-Saxon Metrical Charm 3 against a Dwarf: a Charm against Witch-Riding?" (*Folklore* 99, 174-77), offers a translation of Dobbie Charm 3 and argues, from evidence of folk tradition, that the charm is a cure for witch-riding. Gay's analysis of the folk evidence leads him to recommend retaining the manuscript reading *deores sweostar* at 13b and to interpret *deores* as a reference to a dwarf in spider form. He sees the OE charm as analogous to folk traditions prescribing ways to get rid of a changling. Gay's interesting essay, however, appears to be suffering from switch-riding—all thorns and edth's in the article appear as blank spaces.

Maxims I

Frederick M. Biggs and Sandra McEntire note two additional biblical allusions in this poem's discussion of blindness ("Spiritual Blindness in the Old English *Maxims I*, Part I"

N&Q 35, 11). In the passage 39-45a, they suggest that lines 44b-45a recall respectively Matt. 5:8 ("beati mundo corde...") and Matt. 9:12 ("non est opus valentibus medico sed male habentibus"). From these allusions they believe that the passage is dealing with spiritual not physical blindness.

Metres of Boethius

Daniel Donoghue revises the standard emendation of a corrupt passage in the *Meters* in his note "On the Old English *Metres of Boethius* XXIX, lines 82-3" (*N&Q* 35, 3-4). Observing that part of the emended text as it now stands violates Kuhn's First Law, by replacing MS. *ne* by *he*, Donoghue plausibly reconstructs the process of scribal error which led to the present textual state of *Metres* XXIX.82-83 in London, BL, Cotton Otho A. vi. He suggests that the scribe's original error was the misdivision of *hionane* into *hio* and *nane*. Misconstruing *hio* as a plural subject, the scribe then made a series of alterations, producing the disastrous *sendað* and *cumað* and introducing *ne*, and *hæt*. Donoghue accepts the majority of the standard individual emendations, but recommends removing the editorial *he* (emended from proclitic *ne*). His version of line 83 would then read: "hionane sendeð, hæf eft cuman."

Paris Psalter

Patrick P. O'Neill, in "Another Fragment of the Metrical Psalms in the Eadwine Psalter" (*N&Q* 35, 22-43), identifies a further overlooked fragment of the metrical psalter in the Gallicanum version of the Eadwine Psalter (fo. 252v). This fragment exhibits only insignificant differences from the text represented in the Paris Psalter. O'Neill believes the fragment to be the work of a scribe later than the one who copied the main Old English gloss and speculates that he corrected this particular verse from Psalm 142 because of the popularity of the psalm. In O'Neill's view, the skilful insertion of the fragment into the main text argues that the Metrical Psalms were still read at Christ Church Canterbury in mid-twelfth century. Patricia Bethel presents a detailed and highly technical study of the distribution and significance of anacrusis in the Paris Psalter ("Anacrusis in the Psalms of the Paris Psalter," *NM* 89, 33-43). She notes that not only is the incidence of anacrusis high in the text (6.8 instances of per hundred lines, or more conservatively, 4.3 instances of monosyllabic anacrusis), its distribution is decidedly "eccentric." One marked difference between monosyllabic anacrusis in the Paris Psalter and in *Beowulf* is that in the latter, the source of anacrusis is usually an unstressed prefix, but in the former is frequently an independent particle. In both poems, however, anacrusis is much rarer in the second half-line. Anacrusis in the Paris Psalter is particularly unusual, however, in its tendency to place two or three syllables before the first stress. Bethel's analysis is so particular and detailed as to resist summary. Her conclusion, that anacrusis in the poem was not random, although the reason for its idiosyncratic use remain unclear, is supported throughout by tabulations and charts.

Phoenix

Two dissimilar approaches to *The Phoenix* this year nonetheless share a point of interest in the vexed line 217a. In *The Phoenix at the Fountain: Images of Woman and Eternity in Lactantius's 'Carmen de Ave Phoenix' and the Old English 'Phoenix'* (Newark, DE: Univ. of Delaware Press; London and

Toronto: Associated Univ. Presses), Carol Falvo Heffernan states that her approach deliberately turns away from "conventional literary scholarship" to juxtapose the Latin and Old English poems with (among other things) primitive female initiation rites. While at times the book seems to make several Jungian assumptions about "images [which] reflect a fundamental pattern of the human psyche" (45), Heffernan makes a specifically historical speculation that Lactantius, a pagan African by birth, may have been familiar with the practices of African "traditional religions," and finds it "hard to imagine that chance and not conscious intention accounts for the parallels" (17-8). The book argues that "gynecological imagery" of menarche, conception, and birth are fundamental to both poems, and it certainly offers a wealth of anthropological documentation on primitive puberal rites. However, the connection of such documentation to the poems in question is not always straightforward. Heffernan would see the phoenix as a "menstrual bird," but her suggestion that *heorodreorges hus* (217a) contains a "hint of secund blood" is not supported, nor does she substantiate her argument that "the context of the mythic menstrual bird helps make sense of an otherwise perplexing word" (49). While there is extensive citation of Latin and Greek Fathers in the book, I found no discussion of Pope Gregory's answers to Augustine's questions about female ritual uncleanness (*HE* I.27), information of some relevance to any consideration of clerical attitudes to such issues. In a concluding chapter Heffernan "propose[s] to demonstrate that when pressured by its placement within an allegorical context, the feminine dimension of Lactantius's predominantly pagan poem is so jostled that *sub rosa*, as it were, Mariology invades Christology" (102). This is a bold conception and one which provides some enlightening readings on the feminine associations of gardens, fountains, and rebirth. However, Heffernan, finally, does not provide a satisfying answer to the persistent question of the Old English bird's masculine gender: "...Why does the poet not use the feminine pronoun in referring to the bird? My response was—and is—because it would be an unnecessary clarification..." (103).

*Giovanni Mirarchi also treats the problematic *Phoenix* 217a in "*La Fenice*, v 217a: *heore dreorges hus*" (*AION*, *Filologia Germanica* 30-31 [1987-88], 43-56), where he argues for retaining the manuscript reading. He disagrees with the standard emendation to "heorodreorges," hypothesizing that MS. *heore* is the acc. sg. neuter strong form of the adjective *heore*, "pleasant" (e.g. *Beowulf* 1372b, "nis þæt heoru stow"). Mirarchi discounts without further discussion any possible objection to the word order of the half line he defends, and indeed the order—qualifier, genitive noun, governing noun—is acceptable (See Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, I, § 149 and 1318). Among the possible meanings for *dreorig* outlined by Karl Wentersdorf (*SN* 45 [1973], 32-46), Mirarchi suggests that "suffering physical pain" is most appropriate for the context of 217a. Noting that the poem closely identifies the phoenix with its nest, Mirarchi defends the manuscript reading as appropriate to the literal and spiritual meanings of the passage. He translates, "Allora il fuoco avvolge la bella casa del sofferente, la fiamma gialla, avventandosi con violenza, la consuma e la fenice, saggia per gli anni trascorsi, brucia" (50).

Physiologus

Ann Squires (*The Old English Physiologus*, Durham Med. Texts, 5 Durham: DMT, ix, 137 p.) offers a critical text, glossary, and textual notes for the three "Physiologus" poems of the Exeter Book, along with an introduction covering manuscript issues, language, and meter, and a set of appendices providing Latin and Greek versions of "Physiologus" and translations. The edition is aimed primarily for a beginning level course in Old English, and the notes are particularly helpful in calling the reader's attention to words and phrases also used elsewhere in the canon of verse. Its introductory material on the early development of Physiologus materials is full and useful, and in it Squires argues from the available source material that *The Old English Physiologus Poems* constitute a "single and complete work" (22). Squires states that "the text has been edited from a microfilm of the facsimile edition of the Exeter Book (Chambers, Förster, Flower 1933)" (36). Her reliance here on second-generation photography makes her list of punctuation on pp. 3-4 of questionable use. (Indeed, the discussion of the punctuation marks leans on Förster's comments and on those of Krapp and Dobbie in ASPR 3). Her choice to edit from a microfilm also makes it difficult to judge her proposed emendation at *Panther* 9a. She prints the neuter form *wrælic* as the result of an expunging mark below the "e" of *wrælice*. Krapp and Dobbie edited from the facsimile and do not note an expunging dot in the apparatus. It would have been helpful to appeal to the manuscript in this case to determine whether the expunging dot is a real mark—scribal or later. In *The Whale* Squires makes three emendations: at 15a she follows Cook in emending to *selap*; at 28a she emends *nobe* to *nowe* following Merritt; and at 70a she emends to *ofer ferhðgereht* following the majority of editors.

Squires may not have been able to see Patrick W. Conner, "The Structure of the Exeter Book Codex (Exeter Cathedral Library, MS. 3501)," *Scriptorium* 40, (1986), 233-42. However, Conner's argument about the booklet-structure of the Exeter Book raises important questions about the assumption that *The Partridge* continues on 98r. This issue is especially important in the light of Squires's argument about *The Partridge* that "enough is left to allow one to formulate certain theories on the underlying theme and structure of the whole work" (23).

Riddles

Essays on the riddles of the Exeter Book approach the genre from a number of different perspectives this year. Gregory K. Jember wishes to offer a philosophical perspective on riddles in "Literal and Metaphorical: Clues to Reading the Old English Riddles" (*Stud. in Eng. Lit.* [Tokyo] 65, 47-56). In this general survey of modes in which Old English riddles operate, Jember pleads for regarding these riddles as literature and poetry, where "the riddler is consciously distinguishing between two levels of language, between 'true' or *literal* language on the one hand and 'twisted' or *metaphorical* language on the other" (51). He argues that the poet/riddler intends the reader to "enter into participative and metaphysical truths" (53). A practical example of his understanding of how riddles work is his reading of "Anchor" (K-D 16). Jember claims that this riddle also means "soul," but his demonstration reduces to the simple assertion that "In a very real

way, an anchor is not merely 'like' a faithful soul. It is the soul" (55). The principle on which Jember postulates this solution is polysemy. As he words it, "Both solutions are in his [the poet's] language" (55).

Approaching the riddles from a different critical perspective, Teresa Fiocco offers a close reading of Riddle 32 in "Il viaggio della nave nell'enigma 32 dell'Exeter Book" (*The Blue Guitar* 7-8 [1984-87], 80-89, facsim.). Accepting "ship" as the solution to the riddle, Fiocco analyzes the manner in which the vessel is treated. She argues that the poet's intention was to present the general effect of a sea voyage. In doing so, he concentrates particularly on the ship's movement, providing a description of a voyage in all its aspects. Fiocco believes that the ship in question is a mercantile vessel, but, on the basis of archaeological evidence about tenth and eleventh century ships, disagrees that *muð* (9a) can be translated as "the hatchway."

Marie Nelson speculates on the possible influence of Symphosius on Riddles 9 and 37 ("Plus Animate: Two Possible Transformations of Riddles by Symphosius," *Germanic Notes* 18 [1987], 46-48). Nelson compares K-D Riddle 9 with Symphosius' "Cuculus," admitting that it would be difficult to prove indebtedness. Her examination concentrates on the change in the speaker from mother to offspring. The second riddle considered is K-D 37, which Nelson compares to Symphosius' "Follis" ("Bellows"). The ambiguity in the Old English Riddle lies in the punning on bellows and phallus, and here Nelson is less successful in making the collocation of Latin and Old English riddles work.

Noting the unsatisfactory nature of solutions "book-moth" or "book-worm" for Riddle 47, Nicholas Jacobs proposes an alternative in "The Old English 'Book-Moth' Riddle Reconsidered" (*N&Q* 35, 290-2). Jacobs points out that the crux of the riddle is not the form of the moth or worm, but the form of the words which allow them to be devoured. He would place Riddle 47 among OE scriptorium riddles and proposes "writing on vellum" as a solution, though, he notes, the solution might be generalized to "writing."

In a closely detailed and impressively argued essay, Roy Michael Liuzza examines the two texts of Exeter Riddle 30 ("The Texts of the Old English Riddle 30," *JEGP* 87, 1-15). The two versions of this riddle, both copied by the same scribe (Riddle 30a on fo. 108r, Riddle 30b on 122v), offer important evidence on variance in the transmission of Old English poetic texts. On the basis of a full analysis of the variants, Liuzza concludes that Riddle 30b is "rhetorically a decidedly more forceful poem than 30a" (10). The implication that the Exeter scribe was responsible for variants which substantially change the comparative effects of these texts is fundamentally disturbing to assumptions about manuscript authority and the significance of stylistic analysis, as Liuzza rightly notes. Whether these variants are the Exeter Book scribe's "fault" is difficult to determine. Liuzza moves slightly away from such an imputation of guilt by accepting Blackburn's 1901 hypothesis that Riddle 30b might have been placed on fo. 122v, as part of a group of religious poems, if its solution was perceived as "cross." If so, perhaps some other scribe was responsible for the variants. At base, however, is clear evidence that the two versions of Riddle 30 are "predominantly scribal in origin" (13). Liuzza uses this evidence to attack the dichotomy between author and scribe, and makes the salutary point that the

scribe is "the shaper, not merely the transmitter, of Old English poetry" (14).

The Riming Poem

For a poem once dismissed as a "lunatic exercise," *The Riming Poem* is receiving fairly regular, serious attention in recent years. In "The Riming Poem: Design and Interpretation" (NM 89, 266-79), Anne L. Klinck considers a number of textual questions, and while agreeing with some previous scholars that the poem should be read in terms of the tradition of *contemptus mundi*, approaches textual difficulties on the "basis of a coherent formal view" (279). On this basis she distinguishes her treatment of *cruces* from that of Karl P. Wentersdorf ("The Old English *Rhyming Poem*: A Ruler's Lament," SP 82 [1985], 265-94 [see OEN 20.1 (1986), 71-72]), which she defines as biographical and historical. Klinck's procedures are best summarized in her own words: "Although the poet's language is often obscure, he surely meant to be understood. Assuming this, I shall take even a single external incidence of a particular usage in Old English as strong evidence of its authenticity in the poem, existence of Old English cognates as fairly persuasive, and occurrence of cognates in other Germanic languages as not by itself especially convincing" (268). While eschewing emendation *metri causa*, she would accept alliteration as a guide for mending the text. Passages she examines include lines 1-2, 13-14, 16b-20, 23-24, 25-26, 36-37, 40-42, 44b-47a, 65-66, 73b-74, 78-79.

Seafarer

Andrew Galloway, in "1 Peter and *The Seafarer*" (ELN 25.4, 1-10), connects I Pet. 1:13-19 with emphases on sorrow, suffering, and fear which he finds in *The Seafarer*. Galloway sees 1:17 ("et si Patrem invocatis eum qui sine acceptione personarum iudicat secundum uniuscuiusque opus, in timore incolatus vestri tempore conversamini") as the specific point of contact with *The Seafarer* 39-43 and argues that 1 Peter is the appropriate *divina lectio* for a poem on pilgrimage. Admitting that "these points of contact are speculative but suggestive" (4), he goes on in the essay to discuss the Seafarer's spiritual pilgrimage in terms of the insular exegetical understanding of the Petrine text. Galloway presents some useful information on personal and institutional devotion to St. Peter in England. This information is helpful background to a spiritual reading of *The Seafarer*, though the case for clear allusion to 1 Peter seems still an open one.

Solomon and Saturn I and II

This year saw two articles on these strange and strangely neglected poems. Frederick B. Jonassen examines the literary context of *Solomon and Saturn I*'s personified warrior-letters in "The Pater Noster Letters in the Poetic *Solomon and Saturn*" (MLR 83, 1-9). His particular interest is literary games played with the letters of the alphabet. As part of his exploration, he considers the *Rune Poem*, runes used in other Old English poems, two riddles of Eusebius, the *Versus cuiusdam scoti de alphabeto*. In an extension of his argument he cites as well an allegory connecting the shapes of letters to various attributes of Christ (found in a Bern manuscript whose date and provenance he does not indicate). The difficulty here is Jonassen's contention that in both allegory and *Solomon and Saturn* the forms of the letters are crucial to the texts' literary development. While this development

appears to be the case in the Bern allegory, it is not so in *Solomon and Saturn*, where the martial activities of the letters have no identifiable connection to their written shapes. Jonassen usefully cites Cassiodorus's comments on the moral efficacy of the copying of scripture, but, once again, Cassiodorus writes here of *words* (*verba*) not letters. On the subject of letters *qua* letters, a citation of Isidore, *Etymologiae* I.iii.1-3, would be of additional help in providing some intellectual context for the poem's puzzling anatomy of the letters of the Pater Noster.

Thomas D. Hill offers an analogue for the riddle on time in *Solomon and Saturn II* ("Saturn's Time Riddle: An Insular Latin Analogue for *Solomon and Saturn II* lines 282-291," RES 39, 273-76). Solomon's answer to Saturn's riddle on what inexorable force takes all in the world as its food is "Old Age." Hill suggests that one of the riddles from the *Collectanea Bedae* ("Dic mihi, quae est illa res quae coelum totamque terram repleuit . . . omniaque fundamenta concutit . . .") offers sufficient parallels to be considered an analogue. As he points out, given the esoteric learning behind the *Solomon and Saturn II*, a Latin analogue for one of the riddles ought not be surprising.

Waldere

Robert L. Surles, *Roots and Branches: Germanic Epic/ Romanic Legend*, Amer. Univ. Stud., Germanic Lang. and Lit., 58 (New York and Bern: Peter Lang, 1987), surveys "the course of the Germanic Walthere-epic to the Romanic [sic] legends of Gaiferos and 'L'Escrivette.'" As part of a consideration of 'Walthere' material in Germany and Spain, the book briefly looks at *Waldere*, but its treatment remains at a generalist level and does not aim for any bibliographical depth.

Wanderer

In "The Hero at the Wall in *The Wanderer*" (NM 89, 280-85), John Richardson attempts to demonstrate that the poem is an elaboration of the "Hero on the Beach" theme. As Richardson points out, in discussions of this theme, the four necessary elements—hero on the beach, retainers, journey, and bright light—are remarkably plastic. The hero may be anything (retainers, ditto), the beach anything liminal, the light anything shining. Only the journey remains a constant. With this theme as his structure, Richardson reads the "snotor" of 111b as the hero sitting at the journey's end. Certainly, the Wanderer is engaged in a journey and is the "hero" of his own poem. However, reading his dead companions as the required retainers of the theme is somewhat strained, as Richardson himself seems to acknowledge: "The wise man's retainers are unusual in being dead, but this lack of life should not cause us to disregard them. Retainers are often odd in this theme" (282). This essay's major point is that the *weal wundrum heah wrymlicum fah* (98) is the symbolic substitute for the beach in the theme. In this view, the wall is liminal in that it stands at the threshold between life and death.

Elegiac and Wisdom Poetry

In "Transformation of Chaos: Immanence and Transcendence in *Beowulf* and Other Old English Poetry," *Ultimate Reality and Meaning* 10 (1987), 164-85, James W. Earl analyses the interrelationships among selected prose and verse texts to examine the particular Anglo-Saxon conception of God presented in Old English verse. As background, he interprets

two familiar conversion accounts in the *Ecclesiastical History*, that of Coifi and of the unnamed counsellor, and shows how they are marked by a warrior class's "dark world-view" (168). In his reading of *The Seafarer*, Earl sees the "stark existential theology" (168) of this warrior class realized in the poem's combination of the symbolic and realistic and in its regrounding of the transitory world in a transcendent one. Storm appears in Bede's story, in *The Seafarer*, and in *Maxims I*, and Earl examines the use of storm as a symbol of chaos. Earl contrasts *Maxims I* as a secular poem with *Christ I* as an unambiguously religious one, and traces another significant symbol, the ruined hall, as a symbol of immanence and the human condition. In the final reading of the essay, Earl uses the symbols he has traced in the earlier sections to examine the appearance of immanence and transcendence, chaos and order in *Beowulf*. His focuses are Scyld's mysterious appearance and disappearance and the varying symbolisms of the monsters in the poem.

In an approach to selected poems which is both structural and thematic, Jerome Mandel offers readings of *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer*, *Deor*, and *The Wife's Lament* in what he defines as "the spirit of the New Criticism" (xvii) (**Alternative Readings in Old English Poetry* [New York: Peter Lang, 1987]). His particular critical interest is in the relationship among the parts of each poem, and his technique is close reading. In all four poems Mandel finds the "dominant constructive principle" to be "the contrastive collocation of important words, phrases, ideas, themes, scenes" (8). The essay on *The Wanderer* attempts to plot the unity of the poem in its movement through four different points of view, that of the *anhaga* of 1a, the *ic* of 58a, the *se* of 88a, and the *snotor on mode* of 111a. In Mandel's view, the poem is a wisdom poem, emphasizing the transience of the world. Similarly, *The Seafarer* is a wisdom poem built on contrast. The "speaker-poet-seafarer" is wiser than his audience, and after showing that the ability of a lord to protect and comfort his men is illusory, the "poet-wiseman" exhorts the audience to seek the permanence of heaven. Mandel departs more notably from standard interpretation in his reading of *Deor*. His particular critical lever in this essay is the referent of *ðæs* in the "refrain," and he sees contrast as the operative principle in the use of *ðæs* and *ðisses*. Mandel analyzes *Deor* in terms of audience response, where the poet presses the audience to deal with their own suffering in terms of the suffering of others. Mandel assumes an oral performance of (and apparently composition for) this poem, and his interpretive approach offers a "dramatic context" with feasting and lyre. However, he does not address the inherent problems of approaching an oral poem (if it is one) with the critical tools of a thoroughly literate and intensely visual formalist criticism. Further, the essay makes no mention of the research on oral composition, techniques, and poetics produced in the last twenty years. The last essay is the most revisionist, reading and retitling *The Wife's Lament* as *The Exile's Lament*. Mandel reads the speaker as a man who has suffered the loss of a lord twice: once through his lord's death and a second time through exile. Such a reading requires some re-reading of the generally accepted grammar of the poem, and in this Mandel mostly follows Martin Stevens ("The Narrator of *The Wife's Lament*," *NM* 69 [1968], 72-90). In placing his "alternative readings" within a critical context, Mandel cites the challenge which New Criticism offered both

the allegorical method associated with D. W. Robertson and Bernard Huppé and the oral formulaic school (which he associates with F. P. Magoun). There is much that is interesting in Mandel's readings of the four poems he has selected, and he has been careful to take account of recent interpretations of the individual poems in refining his own earlier approaches. However, much work done since the sixties on the critical method and theory behind the interpretation of Old English verse appears to have gone unnoticed.

K.O.B.O.K.

Works Not Seen:

Gay, David E. "Anglo-Saxon Metrical Charm 3 against a Dwarf: a Charm against Witch-Riding?" *Folklore* 99 (1988), 174-77.

Kiegraf, Josef, ed. and trans. Die altenglische 'Judith': eine Ausgabe für den akademischen Unterricht. *Ausgewählte Texte aus der Geschichte der christlichen Kirche*, 3. Stuttgart: Fay-Helfant, 1987. 108 p.

c. Beowulf

i. Metrical, textual, and linguistic studies

John C. Pope ("The Irregular Anacrusis in *Beowulf* 9 and 402: Two Hitherto Untried Remedies with Help from Cynewulf," *Speculum* 63, 104-13) reminds us that only in lines 9 and 402 of *Beowulf* does anacrusis occur before a D verse in the second half line. While earlier editors emended, more recent ones have allowed the verses to stand. Pope suggests emending line 9 to "oðpæt him æghwylc þær ymbsittendra" (cf. *Elene* 1281-82, "Sceall æghwylc ðær / reordberendra riht gehyran"). In line 402 he transposes *þa* from before *secg* to before *æt somne*: "Snyredon þa æt somne — secg wisode—." The emendation, he says, makes better sense, brings the line into stylistic conformity with the rest of *Beowulf*, and makes use of what appears to be a common formula, *secg wisode*. John F. Vickrey, in "Un[h]lume 'voluntarily' in *Beowulf* Line 1097" (*MP* 86, 191-95), defends the interpretation of that problematic word as "voluntarily," which he advanced in an earlier study. He urges some reasons to dismiss Bliss's reading of the word as "ill-fated" and presents contextual evidence in favor of his own. He examines in particular detail the sense of *elne* (also in line 1097), which he translates "valiantly" or "unconquered in spirit." In a brief note ("On *Beowulf* 997-1002," *ASNSL* 225, 339-42), Vickrey proposes taking *þe* in line 1000 as an instrumental meaning "because," as suggested by Gerhard Nickel, and the clause "hrof ana genæs calles ansund" (999-1000) as parenthetical. He would take Grendel's flight (the topic of the causal clause) as being the cause not of the survival of Heorot's roof intact, but rather of the hall's being "tobrocen swiðe."

Anita F. Handelman, "Wulfgar at the Door: *Beowulf*, ll. 389b-90a," *Neophilologus* 72, 475-77, disagrees with Kevin Kiernan's opinion that there is no lacuna in this passage, which differs so much from the poet's standard usage that emendation seems necessary. But Klaeber's emendation (supplying two half lines, 389b-90a, after Hrothgar's speech) will not do, since *Beowulf* always ends direct speeches at a line break, and the speaker is almost always identified before a speech. The poem's standard usage suggests that more than two half lines are missing here: at least one to end Hrothgar's speech, and three or more to introduce Wulfgar's speech. Shunichi

Noguchi ("Beowulf and 'soðfæstra dom'," *Philologia Anglica*, p. 251-58), examining the sense of *soðfæstra* in line 2820, offers the example of *Paris Psalter*, which uses it in the plural to translate *iusti* (6x), *recti*, *seniores*, and *innocens* (1x each). Other poetry uses the word with similarly theological approval. If *soðfæstra dom* means "the judgment of the just (by someone unspecified)," we can regard Beowulf's soul as certainly bound for heaven; but if the *soðfæste* are those doing the judging, the matter is in considerable doubt. Alan Bliss asserted the latter position, citing other examples of genitive + *dom*. Bruce Mitchell, on the other hand, argued that *dom* can be used with an objective genitive. Noguchi suggests that one can believe in Beowulf's salvation even while agreeing with Bliss's philological arguments, for various passages, especially the statements of Beowulf's retainers, suggest that Beowulf is deserving of favorable judgment.

Raymond P. Tripp, Jr. ("The Restoration of *Beowulf* 1051b: *brimlēade*, 'sea-lead,'" *MP* 86, 191-95) advocates abandoning the usual emendation of *brim leade* to *brimlade* in the passage describing how Hrothgar rewards Beowulf's men and pays *wergild* for the one Grendel has eaten; the restoration sets up a complex play on the idea of depth-sounding. Tripp translates the passage:

More deeply yet, did the lord of earls for each
Of those who with Beowulf plumbed the sea-paths,
There on the bench pulling at mead, fill their sails
With flowing wealth, ply them with golden legacy,
And then arrange for that one man to be
Paid for with solid gold, whom Grendel earlier
Had wickedly killed.

In "Relative and Personal Pronouns in *Beowulf*: Eight Notes" (*Philologia Anglica*, pp. 3-12), Bruce Mitchell brings syntactical considerations to bear on eight difficult passages. Some highlights: In line 1751 *þæs þe* must be taken either as the object of *forgymeð* or as meaning "because"—not "which," as in Wrenn-Bolton. In line 2377, Mitchell agrees with Dobbie in resolving *hī* to *him*, not *hine* with Klaeber and Wrenn-Bolton. In line 2646 *hyt* is possibly "an example of the type *He cwæð, se apostol Paulus* with lack of concord," but another possibility is that "*gledegeša grim* is the complement of the verb *sy*, not in apposition with the pronoun *hyt*" (9), a reading that requires only the omission of the comma that editors normally place at the end of 2649. If the manuscript reading *sio* is retained in line 2468 (where most editors emend), *þe him* can be taken as meaning "to whom," or, less likely, *þe* can mean "when."

An unusual entry in this year's bibliography is Julián Josué Vigil's *'Beowulf' Text-Search Program* (privately distributed by the author). Written in interpreted BASIC, the program searches through several disk files containing Klaeber's text for a character string typed in by the user. The version I have examined does little beyond what one could do just as quickly with a concordance, but the concept is a promising one. If a future version of the program were written in a compiled language for ease of use, and if it enabled one to perform more complex searches (e.g. for groups of non-contiguous words occurring within a line or in nearby lines), it would become a useful tool for students of Beowulfian style and syntax.

ii. Oral-formulaic studies

This year's bibliography contains an unusual number of oral-formulaic studies, largely because it analyzes two collections of essays edited by John Miles Foley. In "*Beowulf* on the Brink: Information Theory as Key to the Origins of the Poem" (*Comparative Research on Oral Traditions*, pp. 139-60), Robert P. Creed attempts to demonstrate the oral character of *Beowulf* by appealing to information theory. Of the two technologies of composition (written and oral-formulaic), oral technology requires redundancy to insure the intelligibility of messages. That redundancy is in fact a feature of Old English poetry is demonstrated, he says, by a computer program that delimits lines by looking for redundancies. Creed demonstrates the uses of redundancy by examining formulaic collocations of *dom* and *deað*, an "ideal structure" generating verses through both phonological patterning and association of meaning. In general *dom* comes first in the formula, but the poet creates meaning when he departs from the expected pattern. What Creed does not prove is that the poetic techniques he describes are not characteristic of written verse (he makes a worrisome comparison with Shakespearean diction). His conclusion that "the poet employed a system of versification that can be completely described without reference to writing" (p. 156) is startling, to say the least: who among us believes that *Beowulf's* verse form has been "completely described"? In suggesting that the *Beowulf* poet remade in some ways the tradition in which he wrote, Creed ("The Remaking of *Beowulf*," *Oral Tradition in Literature*, pp. 136-46) speculates that *Beowulf* may have been regarded at one time as a god; the poet turned him into a human being (almost a superhuman being, to be sure) and gave him an earthly place to inhabit (southern Sweden). If Creed's surmise is correct, the poet's remaking the tale into something acceptable to Christians may explain why it was copied at all.

In "What to Do with Old Kings" (*Comparative Research*, pp. 259-68), Edward B. Irving examines conventions concerning old age in an attempt to understand how such conventions enrich rather than impoverish the poems that use them. The poet's depiction of Hrothgar is curiously double: The epithets applied to him are invariably complimentary, and potential criticism of him is deflected to others (Unferth, the counselors who sacrifice to false gods). But he is invariably passive, "the inveterate spectator, and one who arrives only in the last act at that, after vanishing with the prologue" (265). While Hrothgar's remarks "attribute all significant power to God" (265), *Beowulf*, in his old age, speaks little of religion. Further, Hrothgar seems only tenuously connected with the people around him: he speaks to almost no one but *Beowulf* (who speaks copiously to anyone who will listen). The contrast between Hrothgar and *Beowulf* shows in the epithets applied to them: active terms like *gubcynning*, *þeodcynning*, and *mandryhten* are more often used of *Beowulf* than of Hrothgar, and so, oddly, are conventional phrases having to do with old age and death.

In "Verse Translations and the Question of Literacy in *Beowulf*" (*Comparative Research*, pp. 567-80), Geoffrey Russom examines the argument advanced by Larry Benson in 1966 that sophistication of diction may indicate written composition. If so, he says, the principle does not work in reverse, for neither the *Meters of Boethius* nor the *Paris Psalter* is very

sophisticated; the heavy use of formulas in these works may mean only that formulas were as useful to literate poets as to oral ones. Comparison between these works and *Beowulf* suggests further that poetic compounds such as *guðsweord*, generally thought of as formulaic, may contribute less than generally believed to ease of composition. While the *Psalter* translator uses them ineptly when at all, the *Beowulf*-poet uses them frequently, but does not seem as *dependent* upon them as the *Psalter* translator. He appears to use them for aesthetic effect—an aspect of formulaic diction largely ignored by oral-formulaists. Russom concludes that the *Beowulf* poet was both sophisticated and loyal to oral tradition, but he makes no pronouncement as to the origin of the poem.

In "Muslim Oral Epic and Medieval Epic" (*MLR* 83, 911-24) John S. Miletich surveys the history of Muslim oral epic in Serbo-Croatia and reviews attempts to solve the difficult problem of distinguishing between oral epic and poems written in imitation of the oral style. According to Miletich, the problem with attempts to explain the low density of formulas in *Beowulf* (as compared with certifiably oral poems) is that we know of poems from other traditions that have characteristics similar to those of Old English poetry, but in which the proportion of formulaic phrases is much higher. He concludes that *Beowulf* was probably a written poem.

iii. Criticism

Andreas Haarder's "The Seven *Beowulf* Reviewers: Latest or Last Identifications" (*ES* 69, 289-92), identifies the seven reviewers of Thorkelin's *Beowulf* (N. F. S. Grundtvig, Nicolaus Outzen, William Taylor, G. W. Gumælius, Peter Erasmus Müller, Abraham Jakob Penzel, Friedrich Bouterwek) and provides sketches of each of them, assessing their importance in the early development of Germanic philology.

A. Leslie Harris ("Litotes and Superlative in *Beowulf*," *ES* 69, 1-11) argues that litotes is associated with the values of the characters, superlatives with what is admirable in their society and with their pastness. When used of monsters, litotes shows that "the monsters do nothing that men themselves do not do" (2): the litotic language that associates Grendel with feuds "creates a parallel between Grendel's actions and the human world of tenuous alliances and resurgent feuds" (3). Litotes gives us a "double perspective" (11), both praising the values of heroic society and pointing out its weaknesses. Superlatives are often expressed through litotes and accompanied by a limiting phrase emphasizing the distance in time of the poem's action. Thus "The world described in the poem is celebrated, but celebrated from afar" (11), and not without some gentle criticism. In "Grendel, Evil, 'Allegory,' and Dramatic Development in *Beowulf*" (*Essays in Arts and Sciences* 17, 83-95), Kenneth Florey argues that the first part of the poem encourages the audience to believe in absolutes, "a fictive world where Good and Evil are distinct entities, and where Evil can be overcome by God's representative" (p. 84). The illusion, however, is shattered as the poem progresses. Though the opening is mythic, with the introduction of *Beowulf* we move gradually into a more "realistic" world "where good and evil are depicted as struggling within the human psyche itself" (90). Finally, the dragon lacks Grendel's cosmic significance; in "the world of history and men," defeat is possible, while in the world of allegory it is not. "It is because we were once encouraged in *Beowulf* to place faith in the existence of an ideal

world . . . and because this ideal world is revealed ultimately as being as mutable and as undependable as the actual world, that the poem's melancholic conclusion . . . achieves such forceful impact" (94).

Shannon Hengen ("A Note on the Existential Coloring of *Beowulf*," *NM* 89, 171-73) attempts to show that, as far as line 836, "the poet's diction suggests a kind of archaic existentialism in which what is primarily valuable continues to be and what is not, does not" (171). Words alliterating on *b*, including forms of *beon* and the name *Beowulf*, are "associated with what protects, improves, or adorns life" (172). Words beginning with *n* alliterate with the *n* in Grendel's name and are associated with "negation or non-being" (172). The poem alliterates on *b* more than twice as often as on *n*. In such a line as "bat banlocan, blod edrum dranc" (742) the monster invades *Beowulf*'s linguistic turf, and *Beowulf*'s similar appropriation of alliteration on *n* in "genered wið niðe. Nihtweorce gefeh" (827) signals his victory over the forces of darkness. In a doctoral dissertation, "*Beowulf*: Text and Context" (diss. Univ. of Wisconsin, *DAI* 49A, 813), A. Paul Olsen takes on the question of the poem's mix of Christian and traditional Germanic elements. He postulates that the *Beowulf* poet, composing for an audience "in which devout Christians, devout heathens, and religiously uncommitted, or equivocal auditors might have been present"; tried to achieve an "ethical level which allows for broad areas of agreement between heathens and Christians."

André Crépin, in "L'Espace du texte et l'esprit liturgique dans la civilisation vieil-anglaise" (*Liturgie et espace liturgique* [Paris, 1987], pp. 49-58), suggests that the monastic office may have influenced poems not explicitly religious: he takes *Beowulf* as his test case. *Beowulf* has "une solennité liturgique" (54). The text is a monument that generates itself ("Le texte s'engendre lui-même"—54), when retainers at *Beowulf*'s funeral and the scop who performs after the Grendel fight sing the hero's praises. Germanic tradition and the liturgy converge in the symbol of the hall, where the warriors celebrate "une liturgie de la parole" (55) and recreate Paradise on earth. Yet the hall is not the Church, and the mead-cup is not the Eucharistic cup. Further, certain connections commonly made between events in the poem and the liturgy (e.g. *Beowulf*'s descent into the mere as a baptism) do not hold up. Crépin sees liturgical influence not so much in the events of the poem as in its organization—what he calls "l'espace du texte" (56). He sees the divine office as characterized by the blending of variation and continuity; so also with *Beowulf*, where the digressions are like scriptural readings and the frequent moralizing comments are like responses and collects. Another structural study is offered by Ward Parks ("Ring Structure and Narrative Embedding in Homer and *Beowulf*," *NM* 89, 237-51), who outlines and takes stock of research on ring-structures (or envelope patterns). Ring structures can establish the unity of the enclosed episode and connect the episode with what surrounds it. Some "boundary frames" face outward towards the surrounding narrative; others face inward; still others are transitional. They may have helped the poet to generate his narrative, but may also have been "an outgrowth and realization of some potentiality within the framing feature itself" (243). Framing devices often accompany *Beowulf*'s digressions: Parks examines the song of creation, the genealogy of Grendel's mother, and the elegy of

the last survivor, where the frames provide links both between the large narrative structures surrounding the digressions and between those large structures and the digressive material itself.

In "Namings for the Hero and the Structure of *Beowulf*" (*The Structure of Texts*, ed. Udo Fries [Tübingen, 1987], pp. 111-21), Pierre E. Monnin demonstrates how "namings" (a term he prefers to "epithets" or "kennings") establish relationships among characters or highlight the poem's structure. For example, the namings that Beowulf shares with Hrothgar (used of Hrothgar in the early part of the poem, of Beowulf in the later part) set up the comparison and contrast that many critics have noted (e.g. Edward B. Irving in an essay summarized here). Beowulf also shares namings with Heremod (establishing contrast), Onela (reminding us of family connection), the early owners of dragon's hoard (referring to their lordly origins), and Sigemund (foreshadowing the dragon fight). Hygelac and Hrothgar often share namings with Beowulf, making a triangle "that complements the binary composition of the poem" (116). At his funeral Beowulf is described by a naming (*leof peoden*) used of Scyld at his funeral.

Wolfgang O. Müller ("Syntaktisch-semasiologische Analyse des Grendel-Kampfes im *Beowulf*," *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch* 29, 9-22) takes the Grendel-fight as an example of the importance of the proportion of paratactic and hypotactic constructions as a stylistic criterion in *Beowulf*. At moments where decisive action is taking place, the style changes from more or less hypotactic to strongly paratactic. Hypotaxis is associated with authorial mediation of the narrative (as when we are told what a character is thinking), parataxis (especially asyndetic parataxis) with the less mediated presentation of rapid action. Parataxis tends to be accompanied by poetic devices that intensify the impression of activity. The technique sets up a contrast between Grendel, the bloodthirsty monster, and Beowulf, who opposes him with force but loses none of his humanity or heroic stature.

In "The Kingdom of Unlikeness: *Beowulf*," a chapter of his book, *The Literature of Unlikeness* (Hanover, NH, and London), pp. 26-54, Charles Dahlberg (whom I mistakenly identified in last year's review as Brian Daldorph—an error for which I apologize) discusses the relationship perceived by Augustine and later writers between the political and spiritual realms and between the king and God: the king, being consecrated by the church, has a dual nature, human and divine, that parallels interestingly the dual nature of Christ. The depiction of the people in the Beowulfian hall recalls Augustine's account of the "earthly city, with its toil, pain, and fear, in which duplicities and violence are present with idleness and laziness" (35). Grendel's mere and the dragon's barrow, contrasted with the halls of men, are places of unlikeness. The relationship between the king's public and private functions recalls his dual nature; Leyerle pointed out a conflict between these functions, but Dahlberg argues against the importance of this conflict. The "good kings" of *Beowulf* are actually portrayed ambiguously: Scyld "rules by force and terror" (42) and is pagan. The comparison of Beowulf with Sigemund and Heremod is apparently complimentary, but also foreshadows evil events to come. In the praise of Beowulf at his funeral, the words *mildust* and *monðwærust* have positive resonances, but *lofgeornost*, as pointed out by other critics, may be negative.

Only one article in this year's bibliography deals with analogues of *Beowulf*. Kinshiro Oshitari, "A Japanese Analogue of *Beowulf*" (*Philologia Anglica*, pp. 259-69) presents elegant and fascinating translations of two versions of the story of Watanabe-no-Tsuna, which parallels the story of the fights with the Grendel clan: one from the fourteenth-century *Taiheiki* (Chronicle of Great Peace), and the other from a Noh play, *Rashōmon*, of the fifteenth century. I have seen but not read another item from the same collection of essays: Tsunenori Karibe, [On the glory of Beowulf and the demise of the Danes] (pp. 328-35) is in Japanese.

iv. Translations and editions

There is only one new translation in this year's bibliography: with luck, we will one year see none at all. Ruth P. M. Lehmann's *Beowulf: An Imitative Translation* (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press) is described on its back cover as "the only [translation] available that preserves both the story line and the alliterative versification of the Anglo-Saxon original." The blurb is simply untrue. My shelf is full of such "imitative translations": perhaps if readers would acquaint themselves with what is actually available, they would be less tempted to perpetrate *Beowulf* translations. Lehmann's introduction is a miracle of concision: rarely have so many inaccuracies been compressed into so small a space. My personal favorites are that "Hrothulf is called 'brother's son,' *suhterga*" (p. 13—find that one in your glossary) and that the name "Heremond" is to be pronounced "Haremund" (p. 17). Here is a little extract from the translation:

It came to his mind later
to make a meadhall, put his men to work
on a hall higher, handsomer too,
then [sic] yet any man had ever heard of.
He offered inside to both old and young
goods God bestowed, but not gifts breaking
public holdings, nor of people's lives. (67-73)

The translation by John Porter (Felinfach, Lampeter: Llanerch) reprints an earlier edition.

Beowulf with the Finnsburg Fragment, ed. C. L. Wrenn and W. F. Bolton, has been reprinted with a supplementary bibliography by the University of Exeter—Harrap apparently having dropped it for failure to make the bestseller list. Three cheers for Exeter, which has rescued many an excellent Old English edition.

P. S. B.

Works not seen:

Fujiwara, Hiroshi. "Struggles between Paganism and Christianity in *Beowulf*—a Lexical Study." *Bull. of the Lang. Inst. of Gakushuin Univ.* 10, 108-21. [in Japanese]

Lehmann, Ruth P. M. "Some Problems in the Translation of *Beowulf*." *Languages and Cultures: Studies in Honor of Edgar C. Polomé*. Ed. Mohammed Ali Jazayery and Werner Winter. Trends in Ling., Stud. and Monographs, 36. Berlin, New York, and Amsterdam, 1988. p. 365-71.

Mazzuoli Porru, Giulia. "*Beowulf*, v. 33: *Isig ond ütſis*." *Studi linguistici et filologici per Carlo Alberto Mastrelli*. Pisa, 1985. p. 263-74. [in Italian]

Onega, Susana. "Poesía épica anglosajona: *Beowulf*." *Estudios literarios ingleses: edad media*. Ed. J. F. Gaiván Reula. Madrid, 1985. p. 17-41.

Wieland, Gernot. "*Manna mildost*: Moses and *Beowulf*." *Pacific Coast Philol.* 23 (1988), 86-93.

4. Anglo-Latin and Ecclesiastical Works

a. 1987

The most important contribution to our understanding of the influence of the homiliary on the development of sermons and collections of sermons in Old English since Cyril L. Smetana's "*Ælfric and the Early Medieval Homiliary*" was published in *Traditio* 15 (1959) is J. E. Cross's *Cambridge Pembroke College MS. 25: A Carolingian Sermonary Used by Anglo-Saxon Preachers*, which inaugurated a new series of Kings College London Medieval Studies edited by Janet Bately and her colleagues. One of a group of homiliaries classed by Henri Barré as the homiliary of Saint-Père, Chartres, the Pembroke 25 collection is shown to have been used by the writers of English sermons—most notably items in the Vercelli Book—and to have been responsible for much of the work of gathering materials that made up those pieces. The Pembroke-type homiliary is, Cross concludes, "second in influence [on OE anonymous sermons] only to the Carolingian homiliary of Paul the Deacon, from which it differs in content and purpose" (p. 91). Cross discusses at some length the insular connections of the collection and shows that it must antedate the Vercelli codex and the vernacular manuscripts from which it was copied in the latter half of the tenth century. The body of this volume is the presentation of a number of the Pembroke texts that lie behind OE sermons in parallel with the English adaptations. An addendum points out that Lincoln Cathedral MS. 199 is also a homiliary of the Pembroke type, although it does not contain any of the materials here edited. Cross has made yet another major contribution to our knowledge of the sources of the OE preaching texts.

The materials in *A Durham Book of Devotions: Edited from London, Society of Antiquaries, MS. 7* by Thomas H. Bestuhl (Toronto Med. Latin Texts, 18) were assembled in the early twelfth century about a core of meditational materials by Anselm of Canterbury. The collection, however, contains selections from the Carolingian prayer books and earlier English anthologies and some special devotions to St. Cuthbert, the translation of whose relics to their final resting place, the shrine at Durham, was completed in 1104. Bestuhl's introduction contains a useful summary of the history of these devotional collections, and his notes give valuable bibliographical information. It is important to note that these extraliturgical devotions are pointed for public reading and, thus, may well have been for use not so much privately as in the context of the devotions of the monastic community.

F. E. Warren's *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* has been the standard study since 1881, and a new edition by Jane Stevenson with foreword by Henry Chadwick published as volume 9 in "Studies in Celtic History" is a welcome event. The edition is "new" the sense that, preceding a facsimile of the original edition, Stevenson presents a new introduction and bibliography in some one hundred and twenty pages. Although it is not possible here to give Stevenson's introductory essay its due, it must be said that it joins Warren's work as

a fundamental study and is also a useful source for rumination on the definition of "celticism" and the relations between the Celtic or Irish and the Anglo-Saxon churches in our period.

The three volumes noticed above are all concerned with liturgy or devotional practices, and it will be convenient to group here a number of articles that touch on similar matters. David Hiley's *Aspects of Art Lecture for the British Academy* is called "*Thurstan of Caen and Plainchant at Glastonbury: Musicological Reflections on the Norman Conquest*" (*Proc. of the Brit. Acad.* 72 [1987 for 1986], 57-90). Hiley seeks to unravel the mystery of the conflict over liturgical usage between Thurstan and his monks at Glastonbury, which seems to have led to the slaughter of the Saxon monks. At issue, he believes, is whether Thurstan tried to introduce new chants or whether he wanted them sung in different musical versions. The latter, Hiley concludes, is the more likely for plainchant was "first learned by ear and sung from memory, then copied into books whose authority was respected through many subsequent generations of copying" (p. 89).

The *Settimane di studi del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, 33, at Spoleto was devoted to *Segni e riti nella Chiesa altomedievale occidentale*, and to its acta I at pp. 369-403 Raymund Kottje contributed "*Busspraxis und Bussritus*," a review of penitentials and issues of penitential practice, which centrally involves the Anglo-Saxon developments. Kottje is particularly interested in the development of private penance. The final pages of the article record the public discussion of this paper. Litanies, or invocations of saints, often include the names of saints venerated peculiarly in specific churches or vicinities, and these may help to localize manuscripts and to characterize the hands and practices of scriptoria. Hence Michael Lapidge's "*Litanies of Saints in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Preliminary List*," *Scriptorium* 40 [1986], 264-77. Since only about half of the extant litanies from England before 1100 have been printed, Lapidge publishes a provisional catalogue as prolegomenon to a collected edition. Those who are interested in liturgical matters will also want to be reminded of Andrew Prescott's paper on "*The Structure of English Pre-Conquest Benedictionals*," *Brit. Library Jnl* 13, 118-58, reviewed in section 5 of YWOES. My own chapter on "*The Anglo-Saxon Tradition*" for *The Study of Spirituality*, edited by Cheslyn Jones et al. (1986), at pp. 225-34, is an introductory survey for a comprehensive textbook. The subject has not, to my knowledge, been addressed before, however, and suggestions as to how (or whether) the subject might be advanced would be welcome.

Several papers of interest touch upon hagiographical or biographical materials. Joyce Hill published a paper on "*St George Before the Conquest*" in *Report of the Society of the Friends of St George's [Chapel, Windsor] and the Descendants of the Knights of the Garter* 6, no. 7 (1985-86) (reported as "not seen" in YWOES, 1986), surveying the legends of the martyr saint of Cappadocia before it was overlaid by chivalric details and enriched by the invention of the dragon. Because

the legends of George were of suspicious historicity, Bede did not mention him in the *Martyrology* or *De locis sanctis*, though later versions of the *Martyrology* and the *OE Martyrology* reinserted him. The reformed monastic circle was evidently more interested in George, and Ælfric's piece for the *Lives of Saints* attempts to steer clear of the most disputable elements of the legend. Despite the existence of a chapel dedicated to George at Æthelwold's Winchester, the saint played a far smaller role in English piety than he was later to do. The *vitae* of two women religious of the tenth century, Edith of Wilton and Wulfhild of Barking, written by Goscelin just after the Conquest, are the subject of Susan Millinger's paper on "Humility and Power: Anglo-Saxon Nuns in Anglo-Norman Hagiography" in *Medieval Religious Women, 1: Distant Echoes*, ed. John A. Nichols and Lillian Thomas Shank (Cistercian Studies, 71 [1984], pp. 115-29). Observing that Goscelin gathered materials in his travels for his *lives* and reported them faithfully, Millinger observes that they "seem an unusually open channel to mid-eleventh century English [sic] monasteries" but not necessarily "to late tenth-century saints" (p. 116). Since the male leaders of the late-Saxon church were generally held in disrepute by the early Norman churchmen, one wonders whether the continuity and respect found in women's houses indicates less disruption of (or interest in) these communities by the Conqueror's clerics, who had newfangled ideas about the governance of the church.

Parergon, n.s. 5, published at pp. 1-21 Ruth Waterhouse's "Wæter æddre asprang: How Cuthbert's Miracle Pours Cold Water on Source Study." Arguing that Anglo-Saxon studies might profit from closer attention to developments in critical theory, the author draws on narrative theory and studies of reader response to explore the relationships of the four Latin and one Old English accounts of Cuthbert's life. A number of scholars have recently urged greater attention by Anglo-Saxonists to methodological and theoretical issues, and this paper can be pointed to as an expert and thoughtful demonstration of the importance of these concerns for study of the literature of our period. M. Winterbottom presents several possible new emendations to a flawed manuscript text in "Notes on the Life of Edward the Confessor" in *MÆ* 56, 82-84.

The Political Theology of Abbo of Fleury is the subject of a monograph by Marco Mostert (Hilversum, 1987), which bears the explanatory sub-title, "A study of the ideas about the society and law of the tenth-century monastic reform movement." Anglo-Saxonists will be especially interested in the review of Abbo's sojourn at Ramsey and his associations with Dunstan. There is a précis and account of the *Passio Sancti Eadmundi*, the major work arising from the English period, though probably written after the return to Fleury. English historians will be interested in the volume's exposition of a "political theology" framed by the concerns of monastic reform, especially for royal protection and monastic exemptions.

George Hardin Brown's contribution to Twayne's Eng. Authors Ser.—in which it is apparently the 443rd title!—concerns a writer from whom we have, probably, only five verse lines in Old English: *Bede the Venerable*. The volume fulfills its aim to present a compendious introduction to its subject author and to open the way for readers to the scholarly literature. The recent literature on Bede is large, and

anyone who knows it would have quibbles about another's selections of items for citation; but Brown's sampling is mainly judicious. Framed by chapters on "Bede's Life and Times" and his "Legacy," the book addresses his literary *oeuvre* generically. Unfortunately, the central exegetical writings do not excite Brown, but he is balanced and informative in his discussion of the "educational treatises" and the historical writings.

The *ruminatio* metaphor, familiar to all who know the account of Cædmon in the *Historia*, was frequently used by Bede in his exegetical works and is at the core of his approach to exegesis, according to Lawrence T. Martin's article, "Bede's Structural Use of Wordplay as a Way to Truth" (*From Cloister to Classroom*, ed. E. Rozanne Elder, Cistercian Stud. 90 [1986], pp. 27-46). Repetition and variation, exploitation of etymological relationships, interplay between concrete and figurative senses of words, and the use of wordplay to achieve "thematic coherence" in extended passages are the topics surveyed. Bede's attitudes on and sources for Roman rhetoric are the subject of "Bede and Cicero" by Roger Ray (*ASE* 16, 1-15). Contrary to received opinion, Ray thinks Bede continued the kind of attitude towards rhetoric that both Cicero and Augustine held: that it was useful to good ends, though not good in itself. Ray believes it likely that Bede knew *De inventione*, although the point cannot presently be demonstrated. As a sample of a forthcoming translation of the larger set of the homilies on the Gospels of Bede, Lawrence T. Martin has published the "Homily on the Feast of St. Benedict Biscop by the Venerable Bede" in *Vox Benedictina* 4, 81-92. The piece, which begins as an exposition of Matthew 19:27-29, concludes with an account of the life of the great abbot.

"Les plus anciens exégètes du Premier Livre des Rois: Origène, Augustin et leurs épigones" is a survey by Adalbert de Vogüé in *Sacris Erudiri* 29 (1986) 5-12, which stresses both the curious lack of knowledge of the commentary of Gregory the Great and Gregory's apparent ignorance of his exegetical forbears. Bede is shown to use both Origen and Augustine in his *In Primam Partem Samuelis*. Eugippius, a Neapolitan abbot who died in 523, made a florilegium of Augustine which was used by Bede for his collection of materials on Paul, according to Paul-Irénée Fransen, "D'Eugippius à Bède le Vénérable: à propos de leurs florilèges augustiniens," *RB* 97, 187-94. Bengt Löfstedt presents a number of corrections and citations of sources to supplement D. Hurst's edition of Bede's Commentaries on Mark and Luke (*Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* 120) in "Zu Bedas Evangeliumkommentaren," *Arctos* 21, 61-72.

Charles Burnett edited and translated *Pseudo Bede: De Mundi Celestis Terrisque Constitutione: A Treatise on the Universe and the Soul* (London, 1985) as volume 10 of the Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts. The work, from an academic context or contexts in Germany, is to be dated in the eleventh or twelfth century.

Boniface appears in connection with Bede in two places. Franz Neiske's paper "Vision und Totengedenken" (*FS* 20 [1986], 137-85) is a study of the place of visions concerning the afterlife from antiquity through the high Middle Ages. In the course of the survey, Bede and Boniface are major figures. Raymond Kottje contributed a good general article on "Beda Venerabilis" to the *Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte*,

3: *Mittelalter I*, ed. Martin Greschat (1983), at pp. 58-68. Gerd Haendler contributed the article "Bonifatius" to the same volume at pp. 69-86.

Michael Herren published the A-text of *The Hisperica Famina* in 1974. Now he has published as Studies and Texts, 85, of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, the first of two successor volumes, *The Hisperica Famina, II: Related Poems. A Critical Edition with English Translation and Philological Commentary*. The works here edited, Herren remarks, may not have "a common milieu" but they "are somehow representative of the eccentric Latin culture that flourished in the various Celtic regions prior to the full flowering of the Carolingian Renaissance" (p. 3). The works edited include the seventh-century Irish "Lorica of Laidcenn"; the "Leiden Lorica," which is possibly of the late-seventh or early-eighth century; and the "Adelphus Adelpha Meter," of which it can only be said that the "writer was a Celt, working between the late seventh and the ninth century" (p. 56). The texts are presented with translation, and there are also a long commentary and indices, especially of the words derived from Greek and Hebrew. As for the *Hisperica Famina*, so for these works, the eclectic, derivative vocabulary and the literary culture it betrays are the chief sources of interest.

There are several noteworthy studies on Aldhelm. A dozen of the riddles are examined by M. L. Cameron in a study of "Aldhelm as Naturalist: A Re-examination of Some of His Enigmata" (*Peritia* 4 [1985], 117-33). Once again Cameron shows what great elucidation a biological scientist can bring to the study of medieval texts—here a dozen enigmata on naturalist or medically related subjects. 'Bom-bix,' for instance, is neither the Chinese silkworm nor the European Moth, which lived in Britain but had habits distinct from those described by Aldhelm; there is "good evidence that it is a Lasiocampid, very probably the Oak Eggar" (p. 125). Steeped though he was in tradition, Aldhelm was also "highly intelligent" (p. 133) and a keen observer of details whose descriptions of natural phenomena merit close attention. It has long been known that Bede, Alcuin and Aldhelm had read and been influenced by Paulinus of Nola. Now Neil Wright in "Imitation of the Poems of Paulinus of Nola in Early Anglo-Latin Verse" (*Peritia* 4 [1985], 134-51) shows convincingly that Aldhelm, in particular, quite extensively imitated motifs to be found in Paulinus. Wright also increases the evidence for dependence of Bede on the works of the fourth-century poet-bishop. In the patristic age Antioch was the home of an exegetical school that encouraged examination of the letter of Scripture and Alexandria of scholars more interested in the 'higher' levels of meaning. The latter, obviously was the more influential in western Europe in the Middle Ages. Theodore of Canterbury is one of a very small number of churchmen who kept alive the Antiochene tradition, however. Now the influence has been shown to extend farther in time through a work, *De Tiulis Psalmorum*, often attributed to Bede and itself based on Theodore of Mopsuestia, to the Paris Psalter. Such is the argument of G. T. Dempsey in "Aldhelm of Malmesbury and the Paris Psalter: a Note on the Survival of Antiochene Exegesis," *Jnl of Theol. Stud.* 38, 368-86. As his title indicates, Dempsey posits that Aldhelm, a pupil of Archbishop Theodore, may be the mediator of the Antiochene tradition to the Paris Psalter.

Another expert monograph on Carolingian poetry—"the third and last" in a "triptych presenting a picture of a subject which has occupied me during my twenties and whose richness is far from being exhausted" (pp. x-xi)—has flowed from the pen of Peter Godman under the title, *Poets and Emperors: Frankish Politics and Carolingian Poetry*. The subject this time is political poetry. The treatment of Alcuin will be of special interest to readers of this review, but the elegantly argued monograph invites complete, not selective, reading. "Alcuini Carmen 59" is studied by John I. McEnerney in *Res Publica Litterarum* 10, 215-19. The *carmen* was written from the court of Charlemagne to Alcuin's former pupils at York about 795. Alcuin also appears as a major figure in Paul E. Prill's article, "Rhetoric and Poetics in the Early Middle Ages" (*Rhetorica* 5, 129-47), a survey of the influence of rhetorical theory and teaching upon poetic practice. Of particular interest are verses illustrative of *conversio* ("the practice of turning poetry into prose and vice versa," p. 140) in which Alcuin treats Northumbrian history and the destruction of Lindisfarne. I Deng-Su's *Cultura e ideologia nella prima età Carolingia* (Rome, 1984) appeared as fasc. 146-47 of the *Studi Storici* of the Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo. It continues his series of publications on hagiography, especially Alcuin's, and gives special attention to Alcuin's political thought in the *specula*.

A general and useful survey of the "Aenigmata Tatwini" by F. H. Whitman appeared in *NM* 88, 8-17. Tatwin, the Mercian priest who served as Archbishop of Canterbury 731-734, wrote forty riddles which appear with sixty by one 'Eusebius' (Hwætberht of Wearmouth?), thus making a century of enigmata after the models of Symphosius and Aldhelm. "Remarkably independent" of the work of other riddlers who flourished in the Early Middle Ages, Tatwin's riddles are nevertheless rooted in the commonplace. They reveal a maker who is, *inter alia*, "learned, urbane, witty" (p. 17).

Finally, there is a miscellany of publications on matters grammatical or glossarial. Vivien Law's contribution to *Histoire Épistémologie Langage* 9.1, 47-71, is noted in the prose section of *YWOES* 1987, but it should be remarked here of "Ælfric's *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglie*" that it is of primary importance for the study of Latin grammatical teaching. An adaptation of Priscian, it is aimed at the teaching of the rudiments of Latin and popularizes learned grammatical theory. J. D. Pfeifer carries forward recent studies in "Early Anglo-Saxon Glossaries and the School of Canterbury" (*ASE* 16, 17-44), tying down more securely the generative role of Canterbury in the seventh century. With important glimpses of the issue of the knowledge of Greek in the Canterbury school, Pfeifer also ruminates on the issue of whether it was at Canterbury or at Malmesbury that the glosses took their final form. The paper, "Note sul *Corpus Glossary*" of Celestina Milani (*Quaderni di lingue e letteratura* 9 [1984], 285-319) surveys the state of the latinity reflected in these glosses and those of Epinal and Erfurt, concluding the language reflects a confluence of linguistic traditions: classical, vulgar, pre-romance, biblical, scholastic. In the *Bulletin Du Cange* 44/45 (1985), 91-128, Collette Jeudy published an introduction and edition of "Le Florilège grammatical inédit du manuscrit 8° 8 de la bibliothèque d'Erfurt," an eleventh century florilegium in a twelfth century manuscript. "The

Commentary of the Regius Psalter: Its Main Source and Influence on the Old English Gloss" (*MS* 49, 335-51) reports the findings of William Davey that the main source of the marginal Latin commentary in the Regius manuscript is the *Expositio Psalmorum* of Cassiodorus and that the Regius commentary and Cassiodorus are major influences on the OE glosses of the manuscript. The OE glosses were written later than the commentary, but Davey argues that both had the same maker and that the discrepancies used by Kenneth and Celia Sisam to argue for a "two-maker" theory can be explained.

Works Not Seen

Cross, James E. "The Insular Connections of a Sermon for Holy Innocents." *Medieval Literature and Antiquities: Studies in Honour of Basil Cottle*. Ed. Myra Stokes and T. L. Burton. Cambridge, 1987. p. 57-70.

Kelly, Joseph F. "The Venerable Bede's Sense of Scripture." *Studies in Honour of René Derolez*. Ed. Simon-Vandenberg. p. 276-82.

M. McC. G.

b. 1988

1988 saw the appearance of an interesting discussion of Gildas's treatment of the *adventus Saxonum*. Drawing on recent work of B. Luiselli and earlier suggestions by Robert W. Hanning, Cecilia Braidotti argues that Gildas depicts the continental Saxons as a "tool of Divine Justice" whose attacks on Britain could only follow the departure of the Romans, "the incarnation of Divine Providence" ("Gildas fra Roma e i barbari," *Romanobarbarica* 9 [1986-87], 25-45; abstract in English). Braidotti presents a well-documented study that includes detailed collations of epithets applied in Gildas' *De excidio Britanniae* to Germanic raiders and to Rome. Braidotti's hypothesis fits the formal structure of *De excidio* comfortably but finds only a small amount of explicit support in the text itself, where the Saxons are *Deo hominibusque inuisi* rather than divine agents, and Rome appears as a source of security, civil administration, and prestige but is never identified unambiguously as a manifestation of providence or an anagogical type of the church. Perhaps it is reasonable to conclude that Gildas, in view of his probable familiarity with writings of Orosius, Eusebius (tr. Rufinus), and Sulpicius Severus, was influenced by the providential doctrine of history but did not choose to advance it as the main point of his treatment of the Germanic incursions. That task would be left to Bede. (See Wallace-Hadrill's commentary, noticed below, at p. xix-xxi and 21-4.)

Some intriguing observations regarding Aldhelm appeared during 1988 in studies of the canon of another writer, i.e., Pope Gregory I. Francis Clark's elaborate argument that the *Dialogi* almost universally ascribed to Gregory are a forgery by a hagiolatrous "Dialogist" who was a "clerical functionary in the Roman curia" (and thus could have appropriated some undeniably authentic Gregorian material that appears in the *Dialogi*) has not found wide acceptance (*The Pseudo-Gregorian Dialogues*, 2 vols., Leiden: Brill [1987]). Clark's monograph has, however, occasioned some thoughtful re-examination of the authorship of the *Dialogi* by several scholars and, in consequence, has had a salutary effect on insular Latin studies. Two of the earliest four manuscripts and most of

seventh-century witnesses to the text (including Adamnán, Aldhelm, the anonymous author of the Whitby life of Gregory, and Jonas, biographer of Columbanus) have insular connections. The work's recent editor, Adalbert de Vogüé, in "Grégoire le Grand et ses *Dialogues* d'après deux ouvrages récents" (*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 83, 281-348), and Paul Meyvaert, in "The Enigma of Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*: A Response to Francis Clark" (*JEH* 39, 335-81), note that Aldhelm's prose *De virginitate* (which bases its portraits of Benedict and Scholastica on the *Dialogi*) may have been composed well before 685, the "late" date championed by Clark; that the cognomen of Benedict Biscop (Meyvaert thinks) reflects his fondness for the portrait of Benedict in the *Dialogi*; that two dedicatees of Aldhelm's work, i.e., Thecla and Scholastica, probably derived their names from the *Dialogi*; that (as de Vogüé demonstrates) Aldhelm's verbal debt to the work is greater than has been suspected. All of this suggests that the popularity of the *Dialogi* had been increasing for some time and moves us back towards the half-century following the probable date of composition (593-4) when, Clark has argued, the work was almost unknown.

Aldhelm is also discussed by Neil Wright, who, in his note "Imitation of the Poems of Paulinus of Nola in Early Anglo-Latin Verse: A Postscript" (*Peritia* 5 [1986], 392-6), supplements his observations regarding the influence of Paulinus' *Natalicia* on Anglo-Latin poets (*Peritia* 4, 134-51) with instances of "imitation" (specific verbal reminiscence or reproduction of motifs) of that work in Aldhelm's *Enigmata* and Bede's prose *Vita S. Cuthberti*; he also documents allusions to Caelius Sedulius' *Carmen paschale* in Bede's hagiography. Other work on Aldhelm that appeared during 1988 contained valuable suggestions and literary analysis, but suffered from an overabundance of busy speculation and a regrettable number of factual and typographical errors. Kevin R. Dungey ("Faith in the Darkness: Allegorical Theory and Aldhelm's Obscurity," in *Allegoresis: the Craft of Allegory in Medieval Literature*, ed. J. Stephen Russell [New York], p. 3-26) considers Aldhelm's "enigmatic style an educational tool," noting its prominence in letters to pupils as well as the writer's preference for "a more direct style when settling administrative affairs" (10). Dungey argues for a "cultural mentality that valued above all the idea of obscurity" deriving "ultimately from the Biblical hermeneutic of the Alexandrian fathers Clement and Origen" and their "theory of esotericism" (7-9). Dungey does not cite the pedagogical tradition of Aldhelm glosses or the Mediterranean origins of Theodore and Hadrian, which might conceivably have been adduced in support of his hypothesis. The application of modern literary-critical approaches to the Aldhelmian canon in the wake of the contributions of Lapidge, Herren, Rosier, and Winterbottom is indeed remarkable, and Dungey is perhaps at his best when he undertakes close readings of selected passages. The same may be said of the recent work of Zoja Pavlovskis, who, in "The Riddler's Microcosm: from Symphosius to St. Boniface" (*Classica et mediaevalia* 39, 219-51), views Aldhelm, who "sounds clearly and explicitly the note of the vanity of human endeavor" (234), as "the pivotal figure in the transformation of Symphosius' universe" (which is "metaphoric . . . primitive and closer to folklore"[220]) "into that of Boniface. Tatwine and Eusebius," Pavlovskis continues, "may be said to form a less certain, fumbling transition from concrete realities to the

spirit, with the balance inclining toward the latter" while Boniface "represents possibly the highest degree of abstraction one can find in a riddler" (248-9).

Many valuable notes and articles on Bede's writings were published during 1988, but there was no full-length study. The possible exception to this judgment is an important collection of notes on Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* (hereafter *HE*) by J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (*Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People: A Historical Commentary* [Oxford]), which comes as close to a comprehensive appreciation of that work as one scholar's mind may reasonably be expected to produce. It is entirely appropriate that Wallace-Hadrill's book, issued posthumously, was seen through the press by Thomas Charles-Edwards, with the assistance of D. N. Dumville, Clive Burgess, Patrick Wormald, and others, as Wallace-Hadrill demonstrates throughout his commentary a commitment to remain abreast of recent scholarship by most of the best young students of insular historical sources. The announced intention of the collection is to supplement the notes of Colgrave rather than to supersede the monumental work of Plummer or to replace the text of Mynors. (In this Wallace-Hadrill may point the way towards the resolution of another great crux in Anglo-Saxon studies, i.e., how to move beyond Klaeber's third edition of *Beowulf*: leave the original alone and summarize recent scholarship in a separate book.) Wallace-Hadrill's departures from the approaches adopted by Plummer and Colgrave are not easy to summarize in the limited space available here. He seems on the whole less disconcerted than his predecessors by the fact of Bede's authorship of miracle stories in addition to "historical" writings in a modern sense; he readily accepts Bede's abilities as a rhetorician, exponent of verisimilitude, and architect of a providential history of the English church; he makes use of much of the recent work on Gildas and is on balance much better acquainted with Celtic sources than earlier commentators; and he views the remnants of Germanic paganism sympathetically as a "propitiation of the spiritual world" rather than as "immoral barbarism" (p. xxxv). The inclusion of a brief appendix of "addenda" by the editors of the volume is questionable. The addenda contain many valuable observations but on the whole provide only an uneven supplement to Wallace-Hadrill's occasionally uneven commentary. There is small likelihood that the volume under review will often be consulted by itself as a companion to a reading of Bede's *Historia*, and readers who seek a range of standard opinions on a given point now will have to look in *four* places instead of three and, in many cases, will still find the most satisfactory discussion in Plummer.

Two recent studies made good use of Bede's writings in discussing (respectively) the evolution of western liturgical practice and the possible inclusion of classical rhetorical models in the Anglo-Latin curriculum. Mario Parabiaghi ("Pittura ed apparato di culto nelle opere del Venerabile Beda," *Ecclesia orans* 4 [1987], 203-34) presents an interesting selection of allusions by Bede (in *HE*, *Historia abbatum*, *De templo*, and other works) to religious pictorial decoration, relics and reliquaries, sacred vessels, and miscellaneous items of worship (including portable altar, cross, and bell). He discusses throughout the significance of the Bedan passages for the history of Christian worship in England and on the continent up to the early eighth century. If this valuable

approach, also seen recently in Michael Lapidge's discussion of liturgical items (chalice, paten, thurible, etc.) mentioned in Aldhelm's *Carmina ecclesiastica* (*Aldhelm: the Poetic Works* [1985], at 49 and 235-9), is carried farther, it may one day be possible to fill in the broad outline contained in, say, G. G. Willis' "Early English Liturgy from Augustine [of Canterbury] to Alcuin" (in his *Further Essays in Early Roman Liturgy* [1968]) with an amplitude of specific detail. Luigi Piacente suggests that a problematic quotation in Bede's *De orthographia*, which is said to have been taken from an otherwise unknown work (*Cicero de prasio*), in fact derives from a previously unrecovered fragment of Cicero's oration *Pro Rabirio perduellionis reo ad Quirites* ("Un nuovo frammento ciceroniano in Beda," *Romanobarbarica* 9 [1986-7], 229-45). In resolving the crux, Piacente drops Bede's *de* as a hypercorrection; expands *p* to *pro*, assuming the loss of an abbreviating cross-stroke; and suggests that a transcription error reduced an internal *b* (with a cross-stroke indicating *ber/bir*) to an insular *s*. Though the last point at least may seem doubtful, Piacente notes the extant spelling *Cicero pro rabrio* in a Servius manuscript and, most impressively, establishes a plausible context among surviving fragments of the oration for the Bedan excerpt, noting specific verbal parallels involving forms of *acclamatio* and *innocens*. Piacente's thorough discussion of manuscripts and printed texts of *De orthographia* will be of interest to Anglo-Latinists, as will his remarks on the influence of the works of Cicero on Christian scholars in Anglo-Saxon England. His article may now be read profitably in conjunction with Roger Ray's "Bede and Cicero" (*ASE* 16 [1987], 1-15). Piacente concludes cautiously that Bede probably derived his quotation indirectly from some lost grammatical treatise but mentions the possibility (asserted forcefully by Ray) that Bede may have known more of Cicero's works at first hand than have been commonly acknowledged.

A number of articles offered detailed discussion of relatively brief passages in Bede's *Historia*. Arthur Johnston presents an unflinchingly literary interpretation of Bede's "piecemeal" treatment of Æthelfrith, king of Bernicia and Deira from 593 to 616 ("Bede and Æthelfrith of Northumbria," *Trivium* 22 [Summer 1987], 5-17). Johnston suggests that the seemingly inartistic intrusion of a summary of the pagan king's northern battles into the account of the Augustinian mission (I.xxiv) in fact anticipates the final triumph of the Roman church in the north of England. Æthelfrith's slaughter of twelve hundred British monks at Chester (II.2) indicates the imminent supersession of the "old order" of British churchmen which had failed to convert the Angles and Saxons. The massacre thus represents "the climax of the Augustine [*sic*] mission." Johnston notes that Bede explicitly associates Æthelfrith with "biblical figures who have God-ordained functions of a bloody and ruthless nature," i.e., Benjamin and Saul. Moreover, it is no coincidence that the "story of Æthelfrith is slotted into [Bede's] account where it is relevant to the theme," as the king was father of "the first Anglian royal saint Oswald." In her note "An Accident-Prone Anglo-Saxon" (*N&Q* n.s. 35, 154-7), Susan Powell considers the possibility that the monk Bothelm, described by Bede in *HE* III.ii, and a Christian youth of the same name mentioned in the *Vita S. Wilfridi* ascribed to Stephen of Ripon were in fact the same individual. She notes circumstantial similarities—both Bothelms slipped and fell near Hexham Abbey,

broke bones, and were miraculously healed—and offers additional supporting textual and historical evidence. C. A. Ireland argues that Bede's accounts of Boisil, prior of Melrose (ob. 660 x 664; mentioned at *HE* IV.xxvii-xxviii, V.ix, and in both the prose and verse versions of *Vita S. Cuthberti*) employ the spelling *Boisil* (against Latin *Basilius*) as a reflex of the attested Irish name *Ba(i)s(s)il*; the form witnesses the common shift of diphthongal *ai* to *oi* between bilabial and palatal consonants ("Boisil: An Irishman Hidden in the Works of Bede," *Peritia* 5 [1986], 400-3). "If the Irish identity of Boisil is accepted, then his role as mentor of St Cuthbert helps explain the frequently noted Irish characteristics of that Northumbrian saint's life . . . [and] reflects the pervasive Irish influence in Northumbria," Ireland concludes. Yu. A. Kleiner argues that it is futile to speculate whether the Caedmon of *HE* IV.xxiv was a historical figure or whether his miraculous hymn can be rationally explained ("The Singer and the Interpreter: Caedmon and Bede," *Germanic Notes* 19, 2-6). More fruitful speculation, Kleiner asserts, concerns Bede's handling of the tale, "a rare example of medieval criticism [that] . . . introduced the idea of a new literature." Kleiner follows Orton in attributing Bede's Latin paraphrase of the hymn to his "reluctance to incorporate vernacular material into a Latin work" and his discussion elsewhere harks back to the work of Parry, Lord, and Magoun. In what is perhaps his most surprising revival of scholarly conjecture, Kleiner suggests that the poet's name may not derive from "Old British *Catamanus*" but rather was "coined by analogy to the Adam Cadmon of Cabalistic theology" (an observation last proffered by Sir Francis Palgrave in 1832). Kleiner's article complements a recent article by Ute Schwab, "The Miracles of Caedmon" (*ES* 64 [1983], 1-17; not cited by Kleiner).

Two additional studies treating matters relating to the Bedan canon may be noted briefly. In the course of his work on an *editio princeps* of Sedulius Scottus' *Commentarius in Mathaeum*, Bengt Löfstedt noted a number of improvements to David Hurst's 1955 edition of Bede's *Homiliae* (CCSL 122). In "Zu Bedas Predigten" (*Arctos* 22, 95-8), he records three textual notes, six corrections of typographical errors, and several dozen new references to biblical sources. One suspects that the nonbiblical sources of these sermons may also deserve similar reconsideration. Harry M. Hine's admirable study of "Seneca and Anaxagoras in Pseudo-Bede's *De Mundi Celestis Terrestrisque Constitutione*" (*Viator* 19, 111-27) might well be deleted from the 1988 bibliography of Anglo-Latin, since the work in question was probably written in Switzerland or (Hine urges) southern Germany no earlier than the ninth century and perhaps as late as the twelfth. The ascription to Bede—who is cited twice as a *source* in the work itself!—first appeared in print in Herwagen's 1563 edition. Anglo-Latinists may wish to consult Hine's article in reviewing the scholarship of Charles W. Jones, *Beda's Pseudepigrapha* (1939), at p. 83-5.

In addressing a Latin source preserved in a ninth-century Welsh manuscript once owned in Anglo-Saxon England, Peter Dronke ("Toward the Interpretation of the Leiden Love-Spell," *Cambridge Med. Celtic Stud.* 16 [Winter 1988], 61-75) places discussion of the cryptic and putatively "Hisperic" composition sometimes termed the Leiden *Lorica* on new ground with his demonstration that the "first line" of the text ("Domine exaudi usque in finem") is in fact an instruction to readers to recite psalm CI (*Domine exaudi*) "all the way to the

end"; virtually identical *usque in finem* formulas appear in the Anglo-Saxon *Lacnunga* collection. (Dronke rejects the association of the text with the Celtic *lorica* tradition but does not discuss its place of composition.) The unmetrical text (a "poem" nevertheless, Dronke argues) should probably be known henceforth by its true first line, *Desscendat* [sic] *meus amor super illam* ("Let my love descend upon her"). Despite Dronke's valuable insights, it may remain impossible to decide if the text is a Christian *lorica* drawing on biblical verse (including psalms CIII and CXLVIII, Dronke shows, as well as the canticle of the three boys in the fiery furnace), a sinister love-spell, or a prayer for the ritual "purification" of the author's beloved (Michael Herren's interpretation). Few readers will fail to be convinced by Dronke's well-chosen assortment of Egyptian erotic conjurations that some kind of connection exists between the love-spell tradition and *Desscendat meus amor*, but formulas of this type may be employed on specific occasions for either maleficent or—as in *Lacnunga*—salvific purposes. Barring the discovery of a more proximate source seeking "tyrannical sexual subjugation" (Dronke) that begins with the recitation of a psalm or, alternatively, a prayer for the "purification" (Herren) of a woman that contains a dissection of her body parts, it is likely the question will remain open.

A number of articles appeared during 1988 in connection with millennial commemorations of important figures in the tenth-century Benedictine reforms in Anglo-Saxon England. Tim Tatton-Brown marks the death of Dunstan (on May 19, 988) with a review of the saint's career and cult in "The Images of Dunstan" (*Hist. Today* 38 [April 1988], 36-9). Specific sources of plates illustrating manuscripts shown at a major exhibition at Canterbury are not identified in the article; these include BL Add. 37517 (Bosworth psalter), fol. 74r; BL Harley 5431 (Benedict, *Regula*), fol. 7r; BL Arundel 16 (Osborn, *Vita S. Dunstani*), fol. 2r; London, Lambeth Palace 1370 (Mac Durnan gospels), fol. 70v; Oxford, St. John's College 28, fol. 2r (figure of Gregory I misidentified in caption as Christ), and Cambridge, Trinity College O. 3. 7 (1179), fol. 1v (Philosophia misidentified as Boethius). Three important papers, originally written to commemorate the thousandth anniversary of the death of Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester, in 984, appeared in print during 1988. Mary Berry begins her discussion of "What the Saxon Monks Sang: Music in Winchester in the Late Tenth Century" (in *Bishop Æthelwold*, ed. B. Yorke, p. 149-60) with a fine summary of the summer timetable for celebration of mass and office based on the *Regularis concordia*. Concentrating on psalmody, Berry estimates that eleven of an Anglo-Saxon monk's nineteen waking hours were spent in song. With particular regard to the circumstances at Winchester, she notes, *inter alia*, that Jerome's "Roman" psalter was gradually superseded by the Gallican psalter after about 950 (Berry's "1050" on p. 151 seems to be a slip); that the integration of psalms with Christological tropes served to illustrate the significance for the New Testament of certain Old Testament passages; that tropes were often presented in "dialogue" form, anticipating the creation of "self-contained liturgical drama"; and that "liturgy, seen in this light, was more than a celebration: it was also exegesis and, in a very real sense, representation, that is, 're-presentation', something akin to but more vital than drama" (152). Berry's most detailed comments on manu-

scripts concern Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 775 and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 473; the latter contains two types of musical notation, i.e., both neumes and alphabetical (ABCDEFGG) symbols. Berry concludes with a discussion of the musical expertise of Wulfstan of Winchester (the "Cantor"). Berry suggests that he may be the author of the famous Easter sequence *Fulgens praeclara*, and that he may have composed that work in honor of Æthelwold; she also discusses Wulfstan's controversial description of a Winchester organ comprising no less than four hundred pipes, which required seventy monks to man the bellows! In another article in the same collection, Michael Lapidge addresses the subject of "Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher" (p. 89-117) by reviewing the canon of the bishop's writings and the works of his pupils. Lapidge asserts Æthelwold's possible authorship of several charters (Sawyer 687, 739, and 745), one of which (S 739) contains an unusual grecism while another (S 745, the "New Minster Foundation Charter") exhibits rhyming Latin prose, grecisms, and an elegiac couplet showing the possible influence of Vergil, Prudentius, and Avitus. Lapidge also conjectures that Æthelwold possibly was the author of a letter (in BL Cott. Tib. A. xv), which contains both grecisms and Aldhelmian allusions, about the theft of a book by two reprobate clerics. (Æthelwold ejected the secular canons from Old Minster in 964.) Æthelwold must almost certainly be viewed as the author of two widely influential works, i.e., the Anglo-Latin *Regularis concordia* and the Old English translation of the *Regula S. Benedicti*; he may also have written the work known as "King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries." A list of books donated by Æthelwold to Peterborough illuminates the extent—and some eccentricities—of his reading. Lapidge concludes with an intriguing investigation of Æthelwold's role as teacher. He examines the canon and style of Wulfstan of Winchester and of the bishop's most famous pupil, Ælfric of Eynsham. Later in the same collection (119-47), Andrew Prescott's "The Text of the Benedictional of St Æthelwold" (based in part on work by the late D. H. Turner) explores the origins of the conflated (Gregorian and Gallican) text, dated to 971 x 984, preserved in the benedictional now known as BL Add. 49598. Prescott's textual inquiry addresses the ordering, content, and origin of the blessings in the Æthelwold text (consisting, as is normal in such codices, almost entirely of precommunion blessings), but does not consider specific readings or orthographic variants. He exhaustively concords the blessings with texts printed in E. Moeller's monumental *Corpus Benedictionum Pontificalium* (Prescott's *CBP*, never cited in full; i.e., CCSL 162 and 162A-C [Turnhout: Brepols, 1971-9]) and standard editions of Gregorian and Gallican collections. Prescott argues that Paris BN lat. 987 (the "Ramsey" benedictional) is the probable immediate source of the Æthelwold text and that it is also the work of the redactor and scribe Godemann; that the Æthelwold text should no longer be associated with the manuscript group known as the family of St. Vedast in Arras; that BN lat. 12052 (a sacramentary owned by Ratoldus, abbot of Corbie [972 x 986]) is not a source of the Æthelwold text but rather post-dates it; and that a St. Thierry sacramentary (now Rheims BM 214) stands closer to the text of Ratoldus than to the text preserved in the Æthelwold codex. Prescott suspects that "Godeman [*sic*] produced 'Ramsey' in accordance with general instructions given by Æthelwold ... [who], pleased

with the results of Godeman's work, then instructed him to prepare a further copy, splendidly illuminated and decorated, for his personal use." Though Prescott's case for the Winchester origin of the conflated text is impressive, with the exception of BN lat. 987 and perhaps the so-called Leofric Missal (Bodley 579; written in France, s. ix 2; in Glastonbury by s. x 2), there appears to be no earlier English monument with which it might be compared; the fairly sudden appearance of the hybrid Æthelwold text (971 x 984) in a variant form at Corbie (972 x 986) may also give pause.

Rounding out what has proven to be a red-letter year for studies of Winchester in the late tenth century, François Dolbeau prints a previously unattributed poem—dated to after 994-6 and containing 669 lines with a 20-line prologue and 27-line epilogue—by Wulfstan of Winchester ("Le Breui-loquium de omnibus sanctis. Un poème inconnu de Wulfstan chantre de Winchester," *AB* 106, 35-98). The title given by Dolbeau is adapted from the *explicit* in the apparently unique copy of the poem in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, II. 984, fols. 30v-36v (s. xi 2). Dolbeau establishes the attribution to one "Wulfstan" by noting that the initial letters of the ten epanaleptic distichs of the prologue form the acrostic "VVLFSTANVS" (obscured in the layout during the course of the poem's transmission). Dolbeau narrows the search to Winchester by setting out a group of extremely close verbal parallels to the *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno* of Æthelwold's precentor Wulfstan. The metrical *Swithun* provides a verse complement to the prose *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni* of Lantfred of Winchester, and Dolbeau observes that the newly attributed poem also forms an *opus geminatum* (i.e., a "diptych" in verse and prose) with its main source, the sermon for All Saints known as *Legimus in ecclesiasticis historiis*. This sermon has been recently edited by J. E. Cross (*Traditio* 33 [1977], 101-35), who demonstrates its popularity by establishing its influence on Old English prose. The prose text versified by Wulfstan apparently shared some peculiarities with a recension witnessed by an eleventh-century Durham manuscript (collated by Cross) and two later medieval English breviaries, further supporting the classification of the poem as an Anglo-Latin production.

Bernard James Muir has edited a unique example of what appears to be a "personal" or "informal" manuscript (BL Cott. Galba A. xiv + Nero A. ii, fols. 3-13) that may have served at times as "a beginner's or novice's exercise book ... [used] by those being taught in the monastery" (*A Pre-Conquest English Prayer-Book*, HBS 103 [Woodbridge, Suffolk]). (Muir rejects Lapidge's arguments that the documents used for his edition were never joined physically, though he does not offer a decisive refutation.) About ten to fifteen per cent of the texts are in Old English, and the diction in these is heavily dependent on Latin phrasing. The manuscript, the work of numerous scribes at an institution that housed both men and women (to judge by glosses of masculine inflections with their feminine equivalents), preserves dozens of fascinating and sometimes obscure devotional items. These include a crude and almost entirely ungrammatical Latin composition that seems to render a lost Old English poem (no. 5) and two Hiberno-Latin abecedarian hymns (nos. 14 and 15), one of which offers a new text of the *Althus Prosator*.

Pauline A. Thompson and Elizabeth Stevens, in their edition of "Gregory of Ely's Verse Life and Miracles of St.

Æthelthryth" (printed under the normative title *De vita et gestis beatae Æðeldryðe virginis*; the adoption of the variant form of the saint's name is not explained), note that past criticism has "dismissed the life as of little value (being a mere repetition of Bede)" and state their intention to show the merit of this twelfth-century source for "tracing the development of hagiographic tradition from early Anglo-Saxon to late medieval times." Their edition (printed in *AB* 106, 333-90) contains a fine introduction to the life of *Æthelthryth*, the growth of her cult, and the involvement of Ely (where she founded a double monastery in or around 673) in that process. Apart from Bede, the editors state, "what other sources might have been known to [Gregory] cannot be known, but doubtless the library of Ely contained much material devoted to the life of its founder" (344), and perhaps (they suggest) historical documentation, now lost, of the tradition "that the monastery was sacked by the Danes in 870 [and that] a few secular canons, referred to by Gregory as *indigni*, kept the service of God alive . . . until 970" (335). A striking passage of natural description (lines 283-334), the editors maintain, is no mere *locus amoenus* but embodies a topographically accurate representation of the Isle of Ely in the early Middle Ages. The style of the life bears comparison with some pre-Conquest hagiography, as the verse exhibits grecist vocabulary, syntax nearly as convoluted as that of *Friðegod*, and several instances of leonine rhyme. The editors also note "noun and verb strings, vaguely suggestive of Anglo-Saxon [i.e., Old English] poetic variation" (352). Perhaps the most remarkable single feature of the poem, however, is Gregory's portrait of *Æthelthryth*, which contains a vivid depiction of the "female saint as warrior-virgin" (345).

Three articles treated subjects pertaining to a wide range of insular Latin texts, i.e., metrics and the cultivation of Greek vocabulary. One unstated premise of Michael Herren's study of "The Stress Systems in Insular Latin Octosyllabic Verse" (*Cambridge Med. Celtic Stud.* 15 [Summer 1988], 63-84) seems to be that poetry whose most prominent accentual feature was a single stress on the antepenultimate syllable would have been extremely dull while poetry in which word accent (as in natural speech) coincided with verse stress (ictus or metrical "beat") four times in every line would have plodded insufferably. Herren's article attempts to exonerate insular octosyllables from the charge that their composition involved little more than "counting eight syllables each time" and the poems which he discusses (including *Altus prosator*, hymns from the Antiphony of Bangor, and Anglo-Latin verse by Aldhelm and *Æthilwald*) emerge as varied and lively compositions within a fairly circumscribed corpus of verse. This difficult yet groundbreaking article repays multiple readings, and the first time through one may wish to master several crucial words and phrases: basic pattern (coincidence of accent and ictus); variant pattern (lack thereof); iambic dimeter; imitation; and *structure*. The term *structure* is italicized throughout to indicate its use in a special sense promulgated by Dag Norberg ("pattern of word accents . . . regardless of whether it coincides with the ancient ictus pattern"). The important term *imitation* (sometimes italicized and sometimes not) is never separately defined, but appears to denote something approaching improvisation or variation on an established form. Insular Latin octosyllables arose, Herren argues, in imitation of the "ghost of the ancient ictus pattern"

observed in such verse as the quantitative hymnody of Ambrose, Caelius Sedulius, and Venantius Fortunatus.

"More than half of the extant manuscripts from Anglo-Saxon England, both vernacular and Latin, contain Greek. The number . . . would be, therefore, between six and seven hundred," states Mary Catherine Bodden at the start of her article in *ASE* 17, a volume that, it has been remarked, may contain more Greek than all the previous numbers taken together (Bodden's article "Evidence for Knowledge of Greek in Anglo-Saxon England" is at 217-46). Though Bodden does not specify a particular source for either the primary or derived figures quoted above, her own research seems well on the way to establishing their accuracy. Her article contains a preliminary introduction to the knowledge of Greek vocabulary, syntax, and specific Greek texts in Anglo-Saxon England. She appends a lengthy list of representative Anglo-Greek terms which meet two main criteria: each "term (however mangled) was a Greek term; and . . . the Greek term (however corrupt) was said by the author/glossator to be 'Greek'" (233). Concerning the medieval study of Greek, a few comments on the literary-historical implications of Michael Lapidge's fine study in *ASE* 17, "A Frankish Scholar in Tenth-Century England" (discussed below, section 5), may be in order. While grecist diction has long been viewed as a prominent feature of the Anglo-Latin "hermeneutic style," in Lapidge's new study it is taken as evidence for the education of the poet *Friðegod* on the continent. It should be stressed, however, that Lapidge refers here to first-hand (not glossary-based) knowledge of Greek and *Friðegod*'s ability to decline and conjugate Greek words and, if the poet's authorship of some tenth-century *caritas-lieder* is accepted, compose entire lines of Greek. Lapidge's suggestions may necessitate some revision of opinion regarding the position of Anglo-Latin works in the continental curriculum, for, while it was previously thought that "the works of Aldhelm had ceased being read anywhere in Europe except England" by the tenth century (Lapidge in *ASE* 4 [1975], 76), even a cursory glance at Campbell's inadequate apparatus to *Friðegod*'s verse shows that the poet was steeped in Aldhelmian hexameters. Readers may judge for themselves the probability that *Friðegod* perfected his hexametric technique at Canterbury after learning Greek on the continent. Whatever their verdict, Lapidge's hypothesis may well supersede Nicholas Brooks' theory that *Friðegod* was an Old Saxon and renders it less likely than ever that he will be regarded as an Anglo-Latin poet (except perhaps in the sense that Cnut was an Anglo-Saxon king).

Three articles demonstrated their authors' encyclopedic knowledge of texts in a particular category of literature, i.e., penitentials, grammars, and computistical texts. Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli offers an intriguing commentary on the value of life in the Middle Ages, which is based on an analysis of early penitential texts ("Il valore della vita nell'alto medioevo: la testimonianza dei libri penitenziali," *Aevum* 62, 171-85). Though no consensus exists in early sources, voluntary homicide could incur from seven to fourteen years of exile and up to twenty additional years of continual penance (especially if the victim had been a member of the ecclesiastical hierarchy), while uxoricide "without cause" might draw as few as five years of exile or "with cause" (e.g., in case of adultery) only seven years of penance. Infanticide, exposure of children, or abortion induced by the use of drugs could incur from one

to ten years of penance, depending on the circumstances; the death of a servant or handmaiden might draw two, five, or seven years. Muzzarelli's discussion of suicide raises questions about "good" (i.e., natural or martyrly) versus "shameful" death. Muzzarelli cites nearly two dozen different penitential texts, including such insular monuments as the *Poenitentie Bigotianum* and penitential texts associated with the names of Vinnianus, Cummeanus, Columbanus, and (spuriously) Theodore of Canterbury, Bede, and Egbert of York. Several of Muzzarelli's points may be corroborated by reference to two important studies (not cited in her article) by A. J. Frantzen, i.e., *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England* (1983) and "The Tradition of Penitentials in Anglo-Saxon England," (*ASE* 11 [1983], 23-56). Vivien Law, in her study "When is Donatus Not Donatus? Versions, Variants and New Texts" (*Peritia* 5 [1986], 235-61), notes that deficiencies in the *Ars minor* of the grammarian Donatus for non-native speakers of Latin were sometimes rectified by the simple interpolation of paradigms from Priscian's *Institutio de nomine et pronomine et uerbo* and other works; in other cases medieval authors recast the text of Donatus more substantially and thus created works that should be classed as "independent grammars." According to Law's distinction, the *Ars Asporii* should be viewed as a separate work with "a

distinctly christian colouring"; the *Ars Ambianensis* (a text of which, now in St. Gall 877, Law shows, made no independent use of Donatus) is a new "version freely modified" by an unknown grammarian; the "duplicate" copy of *Ars minor* in Toledo, Biblioteca del Cabildo, 99-30, is in fact an "independent text" which Law names *Ars Toletanensis*. Law thus concludes that two sources collated by Louis Holtz in his edition of Donatus (1981) are not "direct witnesses" to the text of *Ars minor* nor (for other reasons) is *Ars Bernensis*. She also disputes the ultimate Spanish origin of the "mixed Irish" version of *Ars minor* and, noting a paucity of reliable evidence, calls the very existence of such a version into question. Arno Borst issues a considerably expanded version of his anniversary lecture "Computus. Zeit und Zahl im Mittelalter" (*DAEM* 44, 1-82), originally presented to authorities involved in the production of *MGH* and the Historical Commission of the Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Munich. Borst's survey cites and discusses the ramifications of recent work in Hiberno-Latin computistics (notably by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín) and contains valuable references to recent scholarship on English and Carolingian sources (i.e., Bede, Alcuin, Boniface, and others, and up to William of Malmesbury: see p. 14-41).

P. R.

5. Manuscripts and Illuminations

P. R. Robinson marked the past year with the publication of her *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c.737-1600 in Cambridge Libraries* (2 vols.), in which she describes all precisely dated manuscript books in the University Library, in College libraries, and in the library of the Fitzwilliam Museum. Volume 1 of the catalogue includes full descriptions, bibliographies, and plates for some twenty-eight Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Descriptions include a heading stating the collection and shelfmark along with the date and place of origin; an identification of the contents; physical description; and evidence of date. As significant, Robinson comments on evidence of origin, other work by the same scribe, later history of the MS, bibliography, and the accompanying plates.

Another important contribution to the identification of manuscripts appears in the work of Jennifer Morrish, "Dated and Datable Manuscripts Copied in England during the Ninth Century: A Preliminary List" (*MS* 50: 512-38). Morrish's work divides into two parts, description and dating of MSS before and after 850. She begins with those few MSS definitely assignable to the ninth century and identifies their distinguishing characteristics. For MSS before 850, she finds the following distinctive features: cursive minuscule treated as a legitimate bookhand subject to calligraphic flourishes; higher grades of script used for display purposes and in formal contexts; "conspicuous rigour in the laying out of texts in cursive minuscule;" and disciplined word separation. On the basis of these observations, Morrish is able to attribute six additional insular MSS to the first part of the ninth century on paleographical grounds. She comments on the high standard of these MSS as evidence of "some scribal and reading population familiar with and discerning of the production and use of books." In the second part of her work Morrish attributes six items of insular origin to the second half of the

ninth century and finds a different set of features including "a preference for display modelled after the capitals of antiquity and by a text script whose letters are drawn out horizontally and are consequently square in proportion. Letters are simplified with respect to ornamentation and in some cases variant forms are eschewed." Morrish interprets these changes as evidence that English copyists were trying to impose Carolingian features onto a native tradition, the result being the development of the square minuscule in the early tenth century. She includes an Appendix listing dated and datable manuscripts copied in England, S. IX.

Two essays on the *Beowulf* manuscript appeared in 1988. In "British Library MS Cotton Vitellius A.XV—A Supplementary Description" (*ES* 69: 293-302), Johan Gerritsen focuses in detail on the Nowell Codex with some consideration of the Southwick Codex in relation to it. He describes the condition, binding, make-up (in agreement with Malone's analysis), scribes, and foliations that have been assigned to the manuscript over the years (a vindication of Wanley's numeration). Gerritsen concludes that Nowell was designed as an integral codex. In an application of his earlier work on Insular minuscule script, David N. Dumville proposes to narrow the date of copying the Nowell Codex to the very early eleventh century ("Beowulf Come Lately: Some Notes on the Palaeography of the Nowell Codex," *ASNSL* 225: 49-63). Using Anglo-Saxon royal diplomas and other dated documents, Dumville shows that the two hands of the Nowell Codex illustrate the end of the Square minuscule in English vernacular script (Scribe B) and the onset of Anglo-Caroline minuscule (Scribe A), such that the manuscript cannot have been copied much beyond the year 1000.

Drawing on the evidence of three manuscripts in which the works of Frithegod of Canterbury are preserved, Michael

Lapidge attempts to learn more about the author and his continental connections in "A Frankish Scholar in Tenth-Century England: Frithegod of Canterbury/Fredegaud of Brioude" (*ASE* 17: 45-65). When the relics of St. Wilfrid were seized from Ripon and brought to Archbishop Oda of Canterbury in 948, Oda commissioned Frithegod, a member of his household, to compose a poem in honor of the saint. The result was a Latin hexameter poem, the *Breuiloquium uitae Wilfridi*, based on the eighth-century prose *Vita S. Wilfridi* by Stephanus of Ripon. Several other works, including a lost hexametrical *vita* of St. Ouen and a poem on the twelve jewels of Revelation, have been attributed to Frithegod and connected, for a variety of reasons, to the Auvergne region in France. From Lapidge's analysis, it appears that the three extant copies of Frithegod's *Breuiloquium* were written in the same English scriptorium, possibly Christ Church, Canterbury. These preserve evidence that contemporary scholars tried to correct and interpret this difficult work whose style embodies numerous Greek neologisms. In his manuscript C, London BL Cotton Claudius A. i, fols. 5-36, Lapidge believes that he has identified Frithegod's working text which contains corrections to the poem's scansion and rhythm. Tracing the early manuscripts of Frithegod's writings to the continent, Lapidge speculates that the author was actually a Frankish scholar named Fredegaud who left England on the death of Oda, his patron, and took copies of his works with him on his return to the patronage of Duke William at Brioude in the Auvergne.

The past year was an important one for charter studies. The most substantial of these is M. A. O'Donovan's edition of the *Charters of Sherborne*, volume 3 in the Anglo-Saxon Charters series published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press. All but one of these charters survive in the post-Conquest (c. 1150) Sherborne cartulary and concern the estates of the two abbeys of Sherborne and Horton, the latter having been amalgamated with Sherborne in 1122. The cartulary, now British Library MS. Add. 46487, combines the cartulary texts with liturgical material suitable for the use of an abbot during the church year. According to Francis Wormald, this juxtaposition may have been intended, "to safeguard Sherborne independence and possessions with all possible religious sanctions." The Sherborne and Horton documents, numbering seventeen and five respectively, are copied separately in similar order: first foundation texts, then individual grants, and finally grants of liberties. The cartulary ends with records of a dispute between the abbey and Bishop Joscelyn of Salisbury c. 1145 regarding the right to elect its abbot.

After surveying the various manuscripts containing records of Sherborne, O'Donovan devotes attention to the diplomatic of the charters, including their authenticity, internal connections, and links to other archives, especially those of Malmesbury. She brings a variety of related materials, including two 14th-century lists, to the problem of identifying the monastic and episcopal estates of Sherborne. In addition, she traces the early history of Horton, which began in east Dorset as a nunnery with ties to Barking, probably in the late 10th century, but was refounded as a monastery in the mid-11th. As is customary in this series, each charter text is preceded by notices of manuscripts, printed editions, and references and followed by a commentary on its contents. The indexes and glossaries are highly useful both for locating items within the

present collection and for comparison with cartulary materials from other Anglo-Saxon collections.

In "St Wilfrid and Two Charters Dated AD 676 and 680" (*JEH* 39: 163-83), Patrick Sims-Williams re-examines arguments regarding the authenticity and date of two charters associated with Wilfrid and finds evidence to support their validity. Sims-Williams accepts Kenneth Harrison's argument that Wilfrid championed the use of dating by the Era of Incarnation derived from the Easter Tables of Dionysius Exiguus, thus supporting the possibility that the dates mentioned in the charters could be original. He goes on to show that the proem in the Bath foundation charter of 676 echoes Aldhelm's account of St. Benedict and, less closely, that of St. Martin, in the prose *De virginitate*, which may well have been written by that date. In speaking of the recent conversion of the Hwicce, until now taken as anachronism, the author of the Bath proem may have been alluding to the Roman remains at Bath, just as Aldhelm did to those at Monte Cassino when he related Benedict's foundation of that monastery. A second charter from Ripple, Worcestershire, dated 680 contains a reference to Dionysius similar to one in the Bath charter. Evidently Ripple was one of several properties Wilfrid held in Mercia before being expelled by Berhtwald, and he left his monastery there in charge of one Frithowald, who is mentioned in the charter.

Kenneth Bascombe reports the discovery of extracts from a cartulary of Barking Abbey in a 16th-century MS in the library of Hatfield House, Herts., in "Two Charters of King Swebred of Essex" (*An Essex Tribute: Essays Presented to Frederick G. Emmison* . . . , ed. Kenneth Neale, London: Leopard's Head Press, 1987, pp. 85-96). The book preserves records of the Hospital of St. Mary and St. Thomas at Ilford, founded for the poor and infirm by Alice of Barking in the mid-12th century, among which are nine charters related to the mother house. Bascombe edits and translates two charters issued by King Swebred of Essex which can be dated 693 x 709. "They appear to document the foundation and initial endowment of the early religious foundation discovered by excavation at Nazeingbury [in Essex] some years ago."

Two essays examine charter evidence from 9th-century Kent. In "Church, Land and Local Nobility in Early Ninth-Century Kent: the Case of Ealdorman Oswulf" (*Hist. Research* 61:251-69), Julia Crick uses materials from the archive of Christ Church, Canterbury, to develop a picture of Oswulf, a Kentish nobleman with Mercian connections, who transferred a grant of land to the monastery at Lyminge and whose inheritance was claimed by Christ Church. Crick demonstrates how Christ Church scribes used a variety of script types to craft documents in support of their claims to property against local lay families. The charters show how the power of the Archbishop grew in 9th-century Kent during a time of politically insecure rulers. In a related article, K. P. Witney ("The Period of Mercian Rule in Kent, and a Charter of A.D. 811," *Archaeologia Cantiana* 104: 87-113) traces sales of *folkland* by Coenwulf, the Mercian conqueror of Kent, to Wulfred, Archbishop of Canterbury and other individuals, including the nobleman Oswulf described above. Despite Coenwulf's intentions to weaken Canterbury, the plundering of Kentish royal lands actually increased the power of the Archbishop and frustrated Mercian attempts to remove the see to London. "The course was charted which by the time of Domes-

day Book had led to the archbishop and his community of Christchurch becoming by far the largest landowners in Kent, with a lordship four times as extensive as remained to the king himself."

Two additional essays using charter evidence appear in a collection entitled *Intitulatio III: Lateinische Herrschertitel und Herrschertitulanen vom 7. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Herwig Wolfram and Anton Scharer (Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, suppl.29). In "Die Intitulationes der angelsächsischen Könige im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert" [pp. 9-74], Scharer surveys documentary evidence of the 7th and 8th centuries to determine the meanings of various epithets used for kings. By the 8th century, the titles *rex Saxonum* and *rex Westsaxonum* occurred regularly in Mercia and seem to have referred to specific regions. Scharer speculates that these titles might have implied a higher rank than other Saxon kings. He argues further that the royal Anglo-Saxon charters were private documents in which kings could title themselves as they wished, but the titles carried credibility precisely because they were written down. In the same volume [pp. 75-130], Harald Kleinschmidt writes "Die Titularen englischer Könige im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert." Kleinschmidt reviews the debate over the existence of a royal Anglo-Saxon chancery and surveys the most frequent royal epithets occurring in writs and diplomas. This complex study reaches five conclusions: (1) titles are not consistent within a single king's reign or throughout his dominion; (2) titles varied with the monastic scriptoria where documents were known to be copied; (3) titles were not necessarily copied from one text to another; (4) titles underwent changes in the 10th century consonant with new political and ecclesiastical developments; (5) the greatest increases in new titles came in the reigns of Athelstan, Edmund, and Edwy.

A major contribution to the study of the Gospels in Anglo-Saxon England appeared in 1987: Nicholas Barker's facsimile edition of *The York Gospels* produced in London for the Roxburghe Club. Contents of the codex include preliminary materials from the 13th century, The Gospels written and illuminated c. 990-1000, Anglo-Saxon documents and three homilies associated with Wulfstan added in the 11th century, and more Latin documents from the 13th century including a list of relics held at York Minster. The section on "Palaeography" by Patrick McGurk provides a full codicological description of the MS. Its place of origin is unknown, although Canterbury and Glastonbury are possibilities. "It was presumably at Christ Church, Canterbury when Eadui Basan wrote its f. 23v perhaps on the occasion of Wulfstan's consecration of Æthelnoth, monk and Dean of Christ Church, as archbishop. If it was made at St. Augustine's, as the evidence of square minuscule might just possibly suggest, its departure to Christ Church by c. 1020 has to be explained." The Old English material shows that the codex was in York between 1020 and 1023, and corrections in Wulfstan's hand indicate his ownership. After reviewing a wide range of related Biblical materials from the late Anglo-Saxon period, the section on "Text" by McGurk posits a continental origin possibly through Brittany or Angers and ultimately to a common Tournonian source. J. J. G. Alexander writes the section on "The Illuminations of the Gospels," in which he concludes that the style is late 10th-century and that the verso of fol. 23, the first text page of Matthew, was left blank and

filled in some twenty to thirty years later by Eadui Basan. Alexander identifies a number of Carolingian models for the decorative features and suggests an origin at St. Augustine's or Christ Church, Canterbury, with a small link to the former through the style of initials. In "The Additions in Old English," Simon Keynes observes that these texts are unique to the codex. The three Wulfstan homilies probably were prepared specifically for the York Gospels. Bernard Barr sketches the history of the volume after it came to York c. 1020 and speculates that the missing portrait of St. John might have depicted the evangelist confuting Arius, and thus could have been removed by an anti-heretical zealot in the later Middle Ages. Five excursus conclude the volume: records related to the Inventory of Treasures at York Minster 1500-1510; the Return of the Gospels in 1678; a Note on the Successive Bindings of the Gospels; and a printing of the oaths to be sworn on the installation of deans and other officials at York Minster. This is a handsome volume that does justice to the codex it replicates.

Two fragments from an otherwise lost manuscript of the West Saxon gospels are examined and transcribed by Roy Michael Liuzza in "The Yale Fragments of the West Saxon Gospels" (*ASE* 17: 67-82). These are preserved as an endleaf and parchment reinforcements in the binding of a 14th-century Latin psalter, now MS. 578 in the Beinecke Library at Yale University. The litany and calendar connect this MS with south-west England, but the Old English text of the fragments has distinct Kentish orthographical features. The hand shows a collection of early features that could justify a date in the first quarter of the 11th century; if so, these fragments are contemporary with the earliest surviving copies of the West Saxon gospels. Liuzza compares the text of the fragments with other surviving copies and posits at least four textual traditions and three stages in the process of scribal incorporation of Latin marginal additions to account for the extant manuscripts.

Another fragment, this time from the tenth century with possible connections to Glastonbury, is described by Linda Ehsam Voigts in "A Fragment of an Anglo-Saxon Liturgical Manuscript at the University of Missouri" (*ASE* 17: 83-92). Now housed in the Rare Books Department of the Ellis Library on the Columbia, Missouri campus, *Fragmenta Manuscripta* I was removed from the binding of a manuscript found today in the British Library as MS. Add. 24193. The fragment preserves portions of three readings from Lamentations II and III intended for monastic offices, followed by a rubric directing their use for the three night Offices during the last three days in Holy Week, the *triduum*. Voigts reviews the possible contexts in which the leaf might have originated, viz. a primitive breviary, a version of Paul the Deacon's homiliary, or a codex of readings for Nocturns, and notes that a number of Old English terms for liturgical books could encompass a set of liturgical readings. In comparing the hand of the fragment with other early examples of Caroline scripts in England, Voigts finds similarities of the hand of *Fragmenta Manuscripta* I with two text hands and two glossing hands in three manuscripts associated with Glastonbury in the mid-10th century.

In "An Unstudied Redaction of the *Visio Pauli*" (*Manuscripta* 32: 121-38), M. E. Dwyer transcribes a version of the text preserved in the 9th-century codex Vat. lat. 220, ff.56r-60r probably written in the Middle or Upper Rhein region.

This redaction consists of extracts from a Long Latin 1 version and interpolated material. Certain of the interpolations, particularly descriptions of fiery trees at the gates of Hell and a furnace for the punishment of the sinful, indicate that this redaction may have been the source for several later developments in the text. "A Sixteenth-Century Runic Manuscript" is the subject of R. I. Page's contribution to *Studies in honour of Rene Derolez*, ed. A. M. Simon-Vandenberghe (Gent, 1987), pp. 384-90. On fol. 9r of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS. 379 is an alphabet containing runic material written by the Tudor antiquary Robert Talbot c. 1535-58. Page transcribes the text and traces the runes to St. John's College, Oxford MS. 17, fol. 5r, a collection of computistical works known to have been in Talbot's possession. He notes that the present list is further evidence of Talbot's interest in runes, shown previously by his annotations to the rune page of MS. Cotton Domitian ix, and it supports Page's conjecture that Talbot added rune-names and other material to the page in MS. Cotton Otho B x containing the Old English "Rune Poem." Joyce Hill completes her study of "The Exeter Book and Lambeth Palace Library MS 149: The Monasterium of Sancta Maria" (*Amer. Notes & Queries* n.s. 1: 4-9) with the argument that the obliterated colophon on fol. 138v of MS 149 points to Crediton over Exeter as the provenance of these two manuscript books. The reference to St. Mary accords with evidence that the church at Crediton was dedicated to her alone in Anglo-Saxon times. Exeter, on the other hand, was linked to St. Peter or to St. Peter and St. Mary together. The few Exeter references to St. Mary alone occur in spurious documents. Both the size of the erasure and the history of the foundations support the Crediton alternative, but Hill reminds us that the case is still hypothetical.

Two works presenting Old English glossaries appeared in 1988. In "BL Cotton MS Tiberius A.iii: Fulgentius, Injunction" (*Amer. Notes & Queries* n.s. 1: 43-44), Phillip Pulsiano edits the gloss to an injunction that the Rule of St. Benedict be observed, found among the supplements to the 11th-century glossed copy of the Rule of St. Benedict, fols. 163v-164r. Of major importance is the edition of *The Epinal, Erfurt, Werden, and Corpus Glossaries* appearing as vol. 22 in the Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile series (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger). The "Palaeographical Commentary" by Bernhard Bischoff and M. B. Parkes addresses the principal features of interest or significance in the MSS, which range from the end of the 7th century to the second quarter of the 9th century. The Epinal and Corpus glossaries were produced in England, Erfurt and Werden on the continent. Mildred Budny addresses "The Decoration of the Corpus Glossary" and suggests that this was done by the main scribe, perhaps in southern England in the first half of the 9th century. She believes that the decoration is too individual and too provincial to have been done at Canterbury. In an extremely useful section on "Layout and Numbering," J. D. Pheifer sets out a list of the glosses keyed to columns in the facsimile, an aid to cross-referencing specific items. Pheifer continues by analyzing the "Relationship of the Epinal, Erfurt, Corpus, and Werden Glossaries," a complex task that posits, among other things, a common original of Epinal-Erfurt I and Corpus taken from running glosses on literary texts and Graeco-Latin class glossaries with some Old English interpretations. This marks a significant advance in truly bilingual

glossaries. Pheifer goes on to show how Erfurt II and III and Werden II and III are related, and to hypothesize that the Corpus compiler combined Epinal-Erfurt with another glossary that contained two versions of Erfurt II-Werden II. In useful appendices, Parkes provides "Descriptions of Leaves of the Werden Glossaries"; Pheifer describes "Entries Damaged or Obliterated in the Erfurt MS"; and Geoffrey Harlow prints modern transcriptions of "Lost Portions of Werden II, III, and I." Two leaves from the Corpus glossary are reproduced in color.

Janet Bately returns to one of her favorite topics in "Manuscript Layout and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" (*Bull. of the John Rylands Univ. Lib. of Manchester* 70.1: 21-43), as she compares the layout of the various versions of the Chronicle for evidence of relationships among them. After surveying the similarities and differences in manuscript presentation, she concludes that the balance of evidence is "in favour of a shared archetype for all the surviving manuscripts, with annal-numbers in the left-hand margin and with space-saving both by the division of the page where appropriate and by the arrangement of barren annal-numbers alongside annal-material." Bately suggests that the layout of the archetype may have been influenced by Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, the Epitome of the same, and/or Jerome's version of Eusebius' Chronicle, all of which would have been available for use as models. In another instructive article on the importance of manuscript context to understanding medieval texts ("Consider the Source: Medieval Texts and Medieval Manuscripts," *Med. Perspectives* [Southeastern Med. Assoc.] 2.1 [1987], 7-16), Fred C. Robinson cites several examples from his own experience where examining the manuscripts of Old English and Anglo-Latin texts led to new discoveries. In one of these instances, for example, he found that the 82-line poem now called "An Exhortation to Christian Living" and the 31-line macaronic poem dubbed "A Summons to Prayer" are one continuous poem with a common theme and logical progression. Editors previously had taken the macaronic text to be a new poem, whereas in fact its opening capital letter is simply one in a series of section dividers.

In "Beda in Bamberg" (*Einheit in der Vielfalt: Festschrift für Peter Lang zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Gisela Quast [Bern, 1988], pp. 556-67), Wolfgang Viereck traces the history of the Irish and Anglo-Saxon missions to the continent and describes certain manuscript books remaining from this era in German libraries. Of particular interest is Bamberg Staatsbibliothek MS. Bibl. 22 which contains a copy of Bede's death song in Northumbrian dialect. Klaus Sperk's contribution to the Derolez Festschrift, pp. 583-91, is "The Laws of Ine and Alfred: Textual History as a Mirror to Legal History." Sperk discusses the Parker manuscript and argues (without reference to M. B. Parkes) that the *Acta Lanfranci*, added to the Chronicle and laws in that codex, demonstrates the continuity of the Anglo-Saxon legal tradition and may have played a role in the preservation of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS. 173. In a learned survey of the evidence regarding the spelling of Christ's name, Pierre Chaplais concludes that, in the absence of Greek influence, Anglo-Latin writers spelled Christ's name as *Cristus* ("The Spelling of Christ's Name in Medieval Anglo-Latin: 'Christus' or 'Cristus'?", *Jnl of the Soc. of Archivists* 8 [1987], 261-80).

One exhibition catalogue requires review this year. Entitled *Saint Cuthbert and his Heritage* [Durham, 1987], edited by Ronald Coppin with introduction and commentary by Gerald Bonner and Roger Norris, this slim volume presents descriptions of eleven manuscripts from the 7th through the 12th centuries brought together at Durham to celebrate the saint's 1300th anniversary and the work of his early community. The exhibition itself was held in the Durham Cathedral Treasury 20 June to 31 August 1987. The catalogue is well illustrated and contains informative descriptions of such important volumes as the Lindisfarne, Durham, and Stonyhurst Gospels.

The Echternach Gospels, on the other hand, are the subject of Robert D. Stevick's latest study, "The Echternach Gospels' Evangelist-Symbol Pages: Forms from 'The Two True Measures of Geometry'" (*Peritia* 5 [1986], 163-83). He shows how each of the rectilinear frames enclosing the evangelist symbols can be reconstructed easily although they are not of a consistent size. "Nonetheless, all of them have the shapes produced precisely by compass and ruler when these tools are manipulated in the methods of practical geometry, and when limited to exploiting the proportionality that derives directly from the numbers 1 and 2 . . . Together these four pages make up a virtual paradigm of the Insular concept of rectilinear form, with the methods for developing it, when it takes up fully the two true measures of geometry." There are a number of printer's errors in this essay, the most serious being the following:

- p. 287. The drawings in figure 1 should appear in figure 2, and the drawings in figure 2 should appear in figure 1.
- Caption for fig. 2: for 2 read *square root of 2*.
- p. 300. Last line (in note 33), for 1/2 read 1/4.
- p. 302. The set of nine drawings for fig. 10 has been printed upside down.
- p. 308, step ii. For 10 read 1/0.

Robert Dешman has written a learned essay on "*Benedictus Monarcha et Monachus*: Early Medieval Ruler Theology and the Anglo-Saxon Reform" (*FS* 22: 204-40), in which he traces the iconography found in 11th-century depictions of rulers, monastic figures, and St. Benedict himself back to depictions of "the worthy abbot who rules the brethren in Christ's image and with Christ's authority" imported during the 10th-century monastic reform. As Dешman demonstrates, "the monastic and christocentric ideal of kingship already existed in the earlier Carolingian age of Louis the Pious," and the Anglo-Saxon reformers went a step further by infusing new regal motifs into the iconography of Christ and Saint Benedict so as to portray them more graphically as ideal models of the king. Since Anglo-Saxon royal genealogies traditionally begin with Woden, it is fitting to mention here Joan Turville-Petre's note on "Illustrations of Woden and his Sons in English Genealogical Manuscripts" (*N&Q* 35: 158-59). Turville-Petre surveys pictorial presentations of the concept of descent from Woden that appear in 12th-century manuscripts and discovers that, in each case, the picture is associated with the opening of the genealogical tract *De primo Saxonum adventu*.

Two recent books have chapters devoted to aspects of Anglo-Saxon art. In *Kunst des Frühen Mittelalters* [Stuttgart and Zurich, 1987], Irmgard Hutter and Hans Holländer discuss the influence of "Die irische-angelsächsische Buch-

malerei," and argue that Irish-Northumbrian learning had a direct impact on Carolingian civilization. This was conveyed in part through manuscript painting with its conceptions of the universe, geometrical relations, and numeric symbolism, and led to the development of encyclopedias of knowledge (such as composed by Isidore of Seville) and a cosmology reflective of Bede and his contemporaries. In a short chapter on "Die angelsächsische Buchmalerei der Jahrtausendwende," Hutter and Holländer focus on developments in book painting from the school of Winchester in the 11th century which influenced continental centers to the south, especially Fleury and St-Omer. A valuable appendix sets out a Cultural Timetable for the years A.D. 501-1000 in parallel columns showing political developments; monuments in architecture, sculpture, and painting; literature and music; and religion and science.

The Cambridge Guide to the Arts in Britain, vol 1: Prehistoric, Roman and Early Medieval, ed. Boris Ford (Cambridge, 1988), also has two chapters of special interest to Anglo-Saxonists. In "The Visual Arts and Crafts," Mildred Budny discusses the nature and range of the evidence (especially manuscripts, sculpture, and jewelry), sources and influences (pagan, Christian, Irish, continental), and proceeds to explore in more depth the Sutton Hoo ship-burial, the relics of St. Cuthbert, the influence of St. Dunstan, the art of the book, the Bayeux Tapestry and the arts of warfare, and the arts of everyday life. In a chapter on "The Arts of Late Celtic Britain (AD 600-900)," Isabel Henderson examines metalwork and carvings showing Celtic and Pictish influence, and reminds us that the great flowering of Anglo-Saxon art in the 7th and 8th centuries happened throughout Britain.

[In *Texts and their Traditions in the Medieval Library of Rochester Cathedral Priory* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 78.3 [1988]), Mary P. Richards addresses the paleography, sources, and relationships among key manuscripts in the Rochester library, primarily *Textus Roffensis*, the Gospels and Vulgate, and the English and Latin homiliaries, and in the process examines connections between the library of Rochester and external pressures on the foundation. Since Rochester borrowed exemplars from Christ Church, Canterbury, in the cases where these exemplars have not survived, the Rochester collection may testify to the manuscript tradition in southeast England from the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries. Richards sees political and economic pressures exerted by the bishops of Rochester reflected in the book lists, donation lists, and in *Textus Roffensis*, and she similarly reads a concern in the Rochester community to distinguish itself from the more powerful foundation at Christ Church. The latter concern is muted, as Richards notes, in the evidence offered by the transmission of the Vulgate texts surviving from Rochester. In her discussion, she provides a detailed analysis of the textual descent and paleographical features of the Gundulf bible and of the later London, BL Royal 1 C. VII and Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery MS. W. 18. She concludes that the Vulgate tradition at Rochester was continental and was received through Christ Church, Canterbury: "Despite a certain rivalry for properties and influence felt, we can be sure, more strongly by the monks of Rochester, they clearly were allied in matters of book production and textual transmission with their brethren at Canterbury. Moreover, the shared Vulgate text is distinct from those produced elsewhere in England during the post-

Conquest periods" (83). The sources of the Latin homilies surviving from Rochester also trace a path from the continent through Canterbury to Rochester Priory, but while Richards traces the source of Old English texts in the *Textus Roffensis* to Christ Church, she locates the "ultimate source" (87) for the Old English homilies in St. Augustine's. The four different homilies surviving from Rochester illustrate, in her view, the Rochester community's interest in vernacular materials (through highly localized collections of Old English homilies) and in Latin homilies more appropriate to Benedictine monastic observance. This is a closely-argued book, richly detailed, and scrupulously documented. In her study of the manuscript tradition at Rochester, Richards offers an

interesting historical perspective on a small foundation and in so doing sheds light as well on some aspects of monasticism in post-Conquest Kent. K. O'B. O'K.]

Works not seen:

Briggs, Elizabeth. "Religion, Society, and Politics, and the *Liber Vitae* of Durham." Diss. Univ. of Leeds. *DAI* 49a, 274.

Ross, Leslie Dale. "Anglo-Norman Hagiographic Illustration at Canterbury in the Early Romanesque Period." Diss. Univ. of California at Santa Barbara. *DAI* 48A, 2751-52.

M. P. R.

6. History and Culture

There was a curious unevenness of distribution in the items listed in the Bibliography for 1988. There were no studies specifically on the ninth century while there was a large amount of ecclesiastical material, especially relating to the tenth century, arising out of the millenaries of the death of St. Æthelwold (984), the foundation charter of Cerne Abbas (987), and the death of St. Dunstan (988). As in the past the review will be divided so as to highlight the current distribution of academic research.

a. Historiography

As a good literary critic Walter Goffart is attuned as much to the silences as to the explicit comments of an author. The Venerable Bede is curiously silent about that Northumbrian stormy petrel, Wilfrid. In *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550-800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), he explores the motivation for Bede's "discretion." Goffart notes that among modern scholars "he seems well on the way toward gaining an aura of secluded naïveté that might have made him shudder" (238) and feels that before this becomes an orthodoxy we should assess what Bede's reasons were for composing the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. He observes that the work is primarily concerned with Northumbria, the only kingdom that had hitherto commemorated the past in writing. Goffart pays serious attention to other Northumbrian historical writings as a touchstone for the interpretation of the *Historia*. Thus the *Life of St. Cuthbert* and the *Life of St. Gregory the Great* arose out of a sense of the past that Bishop Wilfrid had aroused by his personal defense at the Synod of Austerfield in 703. The *Life of Gregory* had the purpose of portraying Gregory as "the apostle of Northumbria" (267), thus relegating Wilfrid to second place. The *Life of Cuthbert* similarly sought to offset the impact of Wilfrid. Bede also masks Wilfrid's role in the foundation of Wearmouth in the *History of the Abbots*. In contrast, there is Stephen's *Life of Wilfrid*, "the nearest thing to a history of the English church until Bede" (281). This modelled itself on the *Life of Cuthbert* and Goffart sees Bede's retelling of the latter *Life* as an attempt to replace the original *Life of Cuthbert*, which "had been soiled and devalued" by Stephen's work (284). Goffart, who would date *The Life of Wilfrid* to 710x720, sees York's desire to attain archiepiscopal status (which it gained in 735) as being topical at the time of writing, which was when the

original Northumbrian see had been divided into three co-equal ones. "The teaching of the *Life of Wilfrid* is, at its simplest, that great advantage might accrue to a king from having a bishop in Wilfrid's mold by his side and even greater if that prelate should gain immediacy to Rome by papal elevation of his see to archiepiscopal rank" (289). (This perspective, one might note, helps explain the presence of the story told about Wilfrid's escape from death when the archbishop of Lyons, Dalfinus, was assassinated. The story appears in no other source and, though not implausible in the conditions of seventh-century southern Gaul, may well have been selected to show that Wilfrid had the training and experience to fulfil the demands of metropolitan status.) Goffart sees Bede as being co-opted by the monks of Lindisfarne to offset this pro-Wilfridian stance through his writings. In his *Historia Ecclesiastica* he used three basic models: Gildas, the *Whitby Life of Gregory*, and Stephen's *Life of Wilfrid*. Of these "Bede's adversary relationship to Stephen's *Life of Wilfrid* is central to the H.E." (299). Instead of having Wilfrid as the one who restored Christianity after a failed Gregorian mission and who righted Irish wrongs, Bede emphasized the enduring nature of the Gregorian mission and "the magnitude and beauty of the Irish contribution" (310). Bede still granted Wilfrid his part in the Easter controversy at Whitby but did not permit him "exclusive credit in the controversy" (312): for Bede the conclusion of the story was not Whitby but the conversion to the Catholic Easter of Irish Iona by Egbert in 816. His most notable omission, however, is a recounting of Wilfrid's accomplishments after becoming bishop of York, such as his foundation at Hexham. Goffart's singular merit has been to bring the *Historia Ecclesiastica* into a dynamic relationship with the rest of the literature of the Northumbrian Golden Age. We may expect a strong reaction to his study. Wilfrid has few friends, Bede many. Not all the latter will be happy at the suggestion that there is a "suspicion of malice" (323) in Bede's writings.

Antonia Gransden in "1066 and All That Revised" (*History Today*, September 1988, 47-52) points out that Anglo-Norman national and local historians had a self-contradictory historiography: "On the one hand they represented the Conquest as a cataclysm in English history; on the other they stressed continuity before and after the Conquest" (49). This conflict in interpretation has continued into our own day. Carlisle, Horace Round and R. Allen Brown have supported a

"Tory" cataclysmic viewpoint; E. A. Freeman, H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles the opposite point of view. Historians now tend to pursue a more moderate course: most "now accept that Anglo-Saxon governmental institutions . . . were exceptionally advanced" and David Bates's research has shown "that the central administration of ducal Normandy was still embryonic in 1066" (51). The most notable change stemming from the Conquest was "the imposition . . . of a new aristocracy" (52); in time, the interpretation by the Normans of the peasantry's ancient tenures led to the latter's depression. Changes also occurred in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, though more slowly. Ecclesiastical reform took place but "this reformation was not totally innovatory" (52). Though she apparently aims at being even-handed, Gransden seems to present more evidence in favor of continuity than cataclysm in 1066.

b. Regional and Urban Studies

Long gone are the days when Anglo-Saxonists could feel that they could adequately understand the past solely on the basis of documentary analysis. The land itself is a document as Maitland recognized nearly a century ago. An organization that seeks to bring together students of the land—be they historical geographers, archaeologists, place-name students, historians or students of literature—is the Society for Landscape History, whose annual journal and bi-annual newsletter seeks to provide a forum for this common interest. Their journal *Landscape History* is hard to find in North America and, in consequence, has not hitherto found mention in these review columns. The reviewer has rectified this omission by joining the society and recommends others to do likewise, since the continued high standard of their journal is dependent on subscription support. (Membership in North America is £14, including overseas postage; enquiries can be directed to the Honorary Secretary, Michael Hughes, 7 Juniper Close, Badger Farm, Winchester DS22 4LU, U.K.) Something of the range of interests covered in the journal and the pastbreaking nature of the research will be illustrated a number of times in this review.

We might start by seeking an introduction to historical geography through Peter Robinson's "Mapping the Anglo-Saxon Landscape: A Land-Systems Approach to the Study of the Bounds of the Estate of Plaish" (*Landscape History* 10, 15-24). "The Earth's surface can be visualized as being divided into a vast number of areas, some of which share common physical characteristics, including recurring patterns of vegetation, soils and topography" (16). Such areas are called "land systems." Relief is the simplest way of distinguishing between such systems. The systems together form a land region; individually the systems may also be subdivided into land units. All these can be represented in geomorphological maps, a number of which are supplied in his article. Robinson then turns to a specific example, Plaish in Shropshire, represented by an Anglo-Saxon charter of A.D. 963 (Sawyer, no. 723), most of whose bounds have been satisfactorily determined. The estate may be divided into four different land systems, well illustrated by a topographical block diagram. Careful study has enabled him to improve our knowledge of its boundaries and elucidate the economy of the tenth-century estate. He points out how such an approach can have a general value. "Armed with a land-systems report

in the field, archaeologists will have a much clearer understanding of the environment in which they are working, able to make a better assessment of the human occupation potential of the site and its links with a surrounding hinterland" (23). Since land was of fundamental importance in Anglo-Saxon England—as he notes, there was "a dependence upon the land throughout all levels of society" (22)—we might take his comments further and claim that such an approach could assist many Anglo-Saxonists, from philologists to historians.

Since we have been visiting Shropshire, let us pop across the county boundary to Cheshire. Ian N. Wood's "Early Cheshire" (*Northern History* 24, 227-31) is an extended review of the first volume of *The Victoria History of the County of Chester*. He points to Cheshire's "liminal nature" (228): it does not easily fit into the regional classification of English counties, being neither northern nor truly a part of the West Midlands. Welsh political influence lasted into the seventh century and administrative influence longer yet. In reviewing Alan Thacker's contributions to the volume he poses a number of questions worth seeking an answer to. For instance, if Cheshire was Christianized before the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons, was this due to the Romans or to the Britons? An interesting suggestion of his is that the extra-mural development round Chester might point to the rise of a Middle Saxon *wic* there, such as existed at London, York, and Lincoln. Commenting on the importance of the mint at Chester under Athelstan arising out of the Irish Sea trade, he notes that "the revived suggestion that *Brunanburh* could be Bromborough on the Wirral may take on a special significance" (230). He draws especial attention to the chapter on Domesday Book written by Sawyer and Thacker, who, *inter alia*, call the orthodox interpretation of Domesday circuits into question—which should provoke some interesting responses. Most depressing is the distance in interpretation between the Roman archaeologist and Anglo-Saxon historian that he observes in this volume (229).

Peter Warner brings out the complexities of settlement geography while yet holding out the hope that advances in knowledge can be made in "Pre-Conquest Territorial and Administrative Organization in East Suffolk" (*Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, ed. Hooke, 9-34), a study derived from his 1982 Leicester University Ph.D. dissertation. He notes that Suffolk and Norfolk were once unified and, in fact, were divided into two counties only after the Norman Conquest. The area must approximate to what was once the East Anglian kingdom, which in turn descended from the pre-Roman tribal territory of the Iceni. Suffolk itself contained a territory called "the Geldable" and two great liberties: West Suffolk, comprising the eight and a half hundred belonging to Bury St. Edmunds, and the five and a half hundreds of Wicklaw, part of the liberty of St. Ethelreda, i.e., the lands subject to the Abbey of Ely. West Suffolk seems to have been a post-Danish creation, though its meeting place at the junction of the four hundreds called Thingoe could have been Danish or even earlier in origin. Wicklaw had a very different internal administrative pattern. It may display some continuity from the Roman past: certainly its coin hoards and ship burials (at Snape and Sutton Hoo) show a focus of wealth in both the Roman and the early Anglo-Saxon periods. To its north is the large hundred of Blything, "not only a subdivision of the early East Anglian kingdom, which happened to survive more or less intact down

to modern times, but also a territory in essence similar in age and function to the five and a half hundreds of Wicklaw" (26). Blything supplies the explanation for the fragmented hundredal structure of Wicklaw. In East Anglia hundreds were divided into "letes," made up of several vills scattered around the hundred, whose function was the collection of geld; vills were grouped "into approximately equal clusters of twos and threes and the tax burden was divided between them" (27). They were similar to groupings of vills in Cambridgeshire and may be early. He believes that the hundreds of Wicklaw are the same as the letes of Blything, and the origins of both lay "in the formative years of early Anglo-Saxon settlement" (31). The motivation for the change from letes to hundreds in Wicklaw lay in the benefit it might offer the Abbey of Ely. Nevertheless there are differences between Blything and Wicklaw which still remain puzzling.

Turning from regions to towns, we might begin with David Hill's "Towns as Structures and Functioning Communities through Time: The Development of Central Places from 600 to 1066" (*Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, ed. Hooke, 197-212). Hill stresses that in seeking a definition of a town we must realize that it "is a bundle of roles and functions" and is "a dynamic living structure" (197). In the early centuries England had non-urban central places for administration and, perhaps, for defense. In the eighth century there appears to have been a chain of *emporia* that developed. There were also a number of bishoprics, sometimes in rural localities, and, like Norway, "the administration of the laws was devolved to non-urban centres" (200). It is only "in the late eighth century that the range of functions finally converge to make the Anglo-Saxon town" (200). York, London and Canterbury then possessed a mint, a wall, and a market, three characteristics of a town according to Stenton's definition. Multi-functional places existed before Alfred established his system of *burhs*: his reign saw the extension of these "planned from their inception as either towns (that is, multi-functional defended sites) or forts (single-function sites)" (202). From his reign through to that of Athelstan one can trace regal initiatives in the establishing of towns, notably in the legal codes. Linked with this is the shiring of the realm as in Mercia, where there was "a *burh* at the administrative centre of each shire" (206), an administrative reorganization that he feels was in place by early in Athelstan's reign. The network of towns developed further in the final century of the Anglo-Saxon era, with *portways* ('market ways') replacing the former *herepaths* or 'army ways.' Nevertheless, the old central places did not entirely disappear. The process from A.D. 800 to 1000 was thus an evolving one: "the story of the town in these centuries is of the concentration of functions within sites and then, by that 'critical mass,' a geometric progression of increased trading and services so that the whole becomes much greater than the sum of its parts" (212).

Tim Tatton-Brown provides an updated view on "The Anglo-Saxon Towns of Kent" (*Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, ed. Hooke, 213-32), which he had earlier written about in 1974. Of the ten probable urban centers in 1066, he considers the changes that took place in the preceding four centuries and how six of these centers came to be boroughs in the eleventh century. Canterbury, Sandwich, and Dover he believes started as undefended trading settlements or *wics*, which became fortified *burhs* in the ninth century because of the Vikings. By

the eighth century there was to the north-east of Canterbury a large open trading settlement outside the city walls near modern-day Fordwich (like Aldwych in London), and a third Kentish *wic*, which had started in the seventh century at Sandwich. Another site, documented rather late, is outside Dover: like Canterbury it almost certainly had a settlement within the Roman walls. Other possible Kentish *wics* are Greenwich, Woolwich and Old Romney. These sites must have started in the seventh century. By the mid-ninth century the Viking incursions had led to their demise and in their stead fortified settlements or *burhs* developed at Canterbury, Rochester, Sandwich, Hythe and Dover, each of which he discusses. The only major *burhs* in the ninth century are likely to have been Canterbury and Rochester. By the time of Domesday Book the former was probably one of the ten largest towns in England with an estimated population of 6000 people. Unlike other areas under the control of the West-Saxon kings, the region saw no new ninth- or tenth-century planned towns. He illustrates his article with a number of useful town maps.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 917, mentions a *burh* built by Edward the Elder in his campaign against the Danes. Jeremy Haslam locates it at Newport in north Essex in a *Landscape History* article (vol. 10, 25-36), entitled "The Anglo-Saxon Burh at Wigingamere." He believes that it was not just the site of a fortress but also a new urban settlement and market. He posits that it had "a discrete defensible area . . . with an extra-mural market place and church" (27), all of contemporary date and characteristic, in his view, of *burhs* everywhere. Its site, at the bottom of a valley beside the River Cam, is different from other villages in the area, which tend to be at a higher level: this suggests both that it is a secondary site and that it was founded for strategic reasons. Its parish is similar in size to other tenth-century *burhs* and there is place-name evidence to suggest it was part of a larger royal estate: elsewhere in southern England he notes "new urban places were established adjacent to royal centres to act as secondary marketing centres for the disposal of the surplus products of the royal estate" (30). The topography supports the *-mere* element in the original name, which he believes was supplanted by its current name because of the new market. The establishment of the *burh* there had a strategic significance: it "created a stronghold on the northern borders of what was then English territory between the Danish armies at Cambridge, East Anglia and Colchester . . ." (31). The small size of Newport is like Axbridge (Somerset), Winchester, Kingsbridge (Devon) and Marlborough (Wiltshire), four other *burhs* which were centers of both trade and defense.

Drawing on another entry in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 920, Haslam discusses "The Second Burh of Nottingham" (*Landscape History* 9 [1987], 45-51). This entry records the building by Edward the Elder of a second *burh* at Nottingham, joined to the original one by a bridge over the River Trent. Haslam points out that its purpose "would have been to deny Viking warships access to their military base at Repton further upstream" (47). He identifies the site as being an area of some 4.5 hectares focused on St. Wilfred's Church in present-day Wilford.

c. Ecclesiastical History

Though habitués of the Turf Tavern in Oxford will be familiar with St. Helen's Passage and Holywell Street, few Anglo-Saxonists will know much about holy wells in Britain, although Alan Everitt has mentioned the importance of such wells in Kent (see *OEN* 22.1 [1988], 101) and Roy Christian has published an illustrated booklet on a still-living practice, **Well-Dressing in Derbyshire* (Derby, 1987). Graham Jones examines "Holy Wells and the Cult of St Helen" (*Landscape History* 8 [1986], 59-75), in which he notes that a large number of churches in the Humber basin are dedicated to St. Helen and in the Cotswolds to the Holy Cross—yet the two sets of dedications tend not to overlap. Helen was also a patron of forty-three wells, four pools and yet other water sources with names associated with churches dedicated to her. Many more are likely to be rediscovered. He warns us that influences other than those relating to Helen, mother of Constantine, may have played their part, including the fact (as has already been mentioned above) that Magnus Maximus's wife was known in Celtic tradition as Helen. Some of these associations seem rather tenuous and should be treated circumspectly; nevertheless, one can applaud his call for a study of wells, especially in the light of the heedless destruction of many of these sites today. Students of *Elena* and *The Dream of the Rood* might care to push his researches further.

Many are no doubt familiar with the little chapel of St. Lawrence standing across the road from the parish church of Bradford-on-Avon in Wiltshire. Fewer are likely to be aware that there were many churchyards that contained two churches, especially in East Anglia. Peter Warner in "Shared Churchyards, Freeman Church Builders and the Development of Parishes in Eleventh-Century East Anglia" (*Landscape History* 8 [1986], 39-52) observes that "a significant number of parishes in Norfolk and neighbouring counties shared not only the same churchyards, but also the same open fields, with parishes holding strips of land side by side ..." (43). He records no less than 37 such shared churchyards in Norfolk alone; indeed, he reproduces a seventeenth-century map showing *three* churches at Reepham, together with their shared open-field system. Such churches were not just field chapels but "were part and parcel of the parochial system throughout Norfolk and parts of Suffolk, Cambridgeshire and Essex" (41). No less than seventeen are dedicated to St. Mary and seem to represent churches built on the edge of a cemetery belonging to a mother church; the number might be higher if we were to take lost churches into account. For those interested in following this up, the Domesday entry for Thorney (Suffolk) gives a clear example (DB II, 281b). This shows that a group of freemen from the mother-parish entered into an agreement with the mother-church to erect a new church because of overcrowding: Warner concludes that a "substantial number" of foundations followed this pattern in the eleventh century (43). "Where freemen with widely scattered lands acted in partnership to build a church the pull of a pre-established graveyard and an ancient sacred site may have seemed more attractive and more equitable than locating the new church on lands belonging to one or other of the partners concerned" (50). This is an elegant explanation for a seemingly rum situation. His paper should certainly fulfil his

hopes that it will "cause readers to reinvestigate the fundamentals of settlement morphology" (39).

Saints attracted a lot of attention in 1988. Two monographs in particular made contributions towards the subject, not merely in terms of enlightening us about specific saints but also in offering some methodological perspectives on how to read and analyze hagiographical texts.

In his recent book *From Durrow to Kells* (see *OEN* 22.1 [1988], 95), George Henderson has emphasized the importance of Iona in the production of Insular gospel books. Most Anglo-Saxonists will acknowledge that Iona has a role in Northumbrian culture as well, but will tend to steer clear of the subject because of the language difficulties, the intractability of the sources, and the degree of disagreement between the few specialists in the field. Máire Herbert has now made the field more accessible with her *Iona, Kells and Derry: The History and Hagiography of the Monastic Familia of Columba* (Oxford: Clarendon Press). The three place-names of the title are the successive foci of Columban monasticism between the sixth and the twelfth century; the subtitle indicates the subject matter of her study. In order to recover the history of the Columban monastic *familia* she scrutinizes from linguistic, literary and historical points of view three major lives that emanated from Columban circles, the seventh-century *Vita Columbae*, and two Irish lives, the Life of Adomnán and a Life of Colum Cille. The first two have been well edited elsewhere; the last, a mid-twelfth-century product of Derry (199), is printed in full in Part III of the book. The reviewer, whose competence in Irish once extended to a knowledge of the paradigm of *tuath*, is not able to do more than welcome the translation as providing useful comparative material for English Lives produced in the twelfth century.

Anglo-Saxonists are likely to be drawn to the first two parts of the book. In Part I Herbert supplies a history of the Columban monastic *familia* which both utilizes and provides a context for the three hagiographical works. Her method is well illustrated in the way she handles the material on the founder, Columba. We have no contemporary documentary sources on him: instead we have to use two literary works to recover the historical figure. The earlier of the two, the *Amra* or Eulogy, is a vernacular poem of ca. 600. She points out that the work follows the tradition of native praise-poetry while yet subverting it by stressing "that Colum Cille embodied the ideals of Christianity rather than the ideals of the warrior heroes of his race" (10). Yet it contains few details about his public life, being "more revealing of the commitment to Christian learning and to asceticism in the Irish Church at the close of the sixth century than it is informative about the details of Colum Cille's career" (11). The *Vita Columbae* poses different problems. Written about a century later, it drew on both literary and oral sources but does not give further information about these. Some sense of these sources may be deduced from a systematic analysis of the narrative types within the text (15). This discloses material drawn from monastic tradition which offers "the well-realized figure of a monastic abbot, whose memory is revered by his community" (17), but also material culled from other sources that presents a more conventionally idealized picture of a saint. Further difficulties exist: although the hagiographer used written and oral material, "[o]ne cannot automatically assume a correlation between the status of the evidence and the mode of its

preservation" (17). Utilizing research on the nature of oral traditions, the author is able to conclude that the specificity of parts of the *Vita* that employed Iona material indicates that "there was no significant time-lag between the period in which firsthand testimonies about the saint were communicated to the monastic *seniores* of Iona, and that in which such testimonies were committed to writing" (20-21). Analysis of the Iona substratum in the Irish annals up to 740 leads her to the conclusion that "a systematic, year-by-year chronicle, varied in its scope, is in evidence in Iona at least from the early seventh century" (23). The *Vita* seems, however, to employ other materials as well, which she suggests drew on the memories of monks of the early seventh century, who especially noted news from the outside world brought by visitors. Having recovered the evidence of the historic and hagiographic activity in early-seventh-century Iona, she is then in a position to review the historical evidence for the life of Columba.

This evidence, too, is fascinating and consonant with much that we are learning about early English monastic life. Columba had Uí Néill relatives. Though his *peregrinatio* represented an ascetic renunciation of wealth and secular power, his choice of Iona was probably facilitated by political associations between the Uí Néill and the leadership of Dál Riata. His status probably aided him in making contact with other political leaders in Scotland and "his settlement in Iona . . . provided him with an ascetic retreat at once removed from the Irish scene, yet, in a sense, still part of it" (30). By the time of his death one may deduce that he had established a federation of churches on both sides of the Irish Sea bound together by kinship ties with its founder. He showed "the potential for mutual benefit arising out of co-operation between church and dynasty" (35) and by organizing his foundation on the basis of "established secular concepts of overlordship, kinship, and inheritance, . . . the system had an in-built potential for survival and continuity in Irish society" (35).

Remarkably, with comparatively rare intermissions, the kin of the founder continued to hold the abbacy for several centuries (77). Herbert devotes a chapter to the abbacy of Columba's biographer, Adomnán. Here one should note her conclusion that Picard's belief that "the decline of Iona had already begun, mainly because of its position in the Easter controversy" does not seem to be supported by the historical scenario of the centenary year of Colum Cille's death" (53). Space precludes further discussion of the historical portion of Herbert's work, which is sometimes overloaded with names and details, betraying its dissertation origins. One might note, however, her discussion of the establishment of Kells in 807, originally founded as a bolthole from Viking raids but eventually supplanting Iona which, as Herbert points out, was to suffer a loss of prestige when Kenneth son of Alpin, king of Dál Riata, chose Dunkeld as his ecclesiastical capital (see Chapter 5).

In the second part of the book, "The Columban Hagiography," Herbert develops her analysis of the *Vita Columbae*. Here she concentrates on Adomnán's literary methods, which reveal that he was conscious of hagiographic literary form in his stressing of Columba's saintliness. He did not, however, permit these conventions to outweigh the particularities of Columba's life. The historical context of the work suggests that it was designed both as "a unifying factor within the Iona community" (144) and to answer doubts about Columba's

orthodoxy—and hence sanctity—that might have arisen in Northumbria after the Synod of Whitby.

The Irish Life of Adomnán is very different, revealing little of the historical figure that purports to be its subject. Before anything useful can be said about it, Herbert first has to establish its date, which she does on the basis of both detailed linguistic and internal evidence. She concludes that it was composed "close to the time of the assassination of Congalach mac Málle Mithig in 956" (165). By placing it in a temporal context, we gain a literary understanding of its contents but we also find that it furnishes us with historical evidence, not about its saintly hero, but about the politics of the monastery of Kells, where it seems to have been produced (169). It shows a community concerned about payment to it of its monastic dues, aggrieved at being placed by the king of Tara on a par with monasteries founded by Patrick, Finnian or Ciarán, and eager to show that their former abbot Adomnán was accustomed to dealing with secular rulers.

Herbert's book, therefore, is not one that just provides us with an historical background to the monastery of Iona and its successor foundations, though those interested in such diverse matters as the Columban influence on England or the transmission of manuscripts and artistic ideas will want to consult it for just that. But it also provides us with an approach to hagiographic texts that treats them with respect. Hereafter we should not dismiss a *vita* as being "merely derivative" but instead should regard it as a conscious literary artifact formulated to meet the needs of a particular historical context. Though I may receive more brickbats than plaudits for saying this, the book illustrates how the historian must be a literary critic and the literary critic an historian.

The second book on hagiography acts as a good complement to Herbert's book by concentrating on Anglo-Saxon royal saints. Susan J. Ridyard's *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England: A Study of West Saxon and East Anglian Cults*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series, 9 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) is the first comparative study of a number of Anglo-Saxon male and female royal cults of different dates. Her attention is centered on those from Wessex and East Anglia whose Lives were composed between the tenth and twelfth centuries. She seeks to resolve three problems: the relationship between royal birth and the attainment of sanctity, the reasons for the growth and importance of royal cults throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, and the effect of the Norman Conquest on these cults.

Very properly she starts with the sources. These present problems familiar to historians who attempt to use hagiography for historical ends: the Lives aim at educating and edifying; they are frequently biased through being written by or for communities that claimed the relics; and they are standardized in form, usually retrospective in nature, and rarely drawn from a single source (9-12). "The constructive use of this material is dependent upon the establishment both of date and of bias" (13). Like Herbert, she realizes that a late Life might tell one much about the history of a cult. She also points out the historical value of the hagiographical *topoi* selected by a writer. Nevertheless, the historicity of a Life is clearly important: here supporting documentation can be valuable, including liturgical evidence (lections, calendars, litanies), which regrettably she felt unable to cover in the book (16). She then turns to the specific sources on Edburga of Winchester, Edith

of Wilton, the king and martyr, Edward, the royal ladies of Ely (Æthelthryth, Sexburga, Withburga, and several others), and the king and martyr, Edmund. This enables her to trace the motivations and methods of several of the hagiographers such as Osbert of Clare, Goscelin, and Abbo of Fleury. Of the work of the last, she is able to conclude that it is "at least possible that Abbo's narrative is a more reliable source for the death of St Edmund than either the *Chronicle* or Asser" (67).

Perhaps Ridyard's most important chapter is her third one, where she presents some theoretical interpretations of the relationship between royal birth and sanctity. Here she expresses strong disagreement with William Chaney's view that the saint king derived from the sacral kings of the migration period. "Sanctity, unlike the sacrality of pagan rulership, was not an assumed attribute of the Christian king: in neither a continental nor an insular context was it considered a part of the normal paraphernalia of rulership. . . . Sacrality involves the transmission of other-worldly powers into the world of men. . . . A presupposition of Christian thought, in contrast, is the monopoly of sacral power by the Christian priesthood. . . . Sanctity, in direct opposition to sacrality, could not be an ascribed status granted to certain classes by definition. It could only be an achieved status, awarded posthumously and in recognition of particular qualities" (76-7). In Anglo-Saxon England the mode of acquiring royal sanctity was dictated by sex. In the case of women such as Æthelthryth "[s]anctity was founded upon the preservation of *uirginitas* and upon commitment to the monastic ideal: as such it represented the negation of royal status" (83). Royal status remained important, however, as a contrast to the monastic values of *castitas*, *obedientia*, and *paupertas*. "Sanctity was located exclusively within the monastic context" (89). Those who self-evidently could not display *uirginitas*, such as Sexburga and Eormenilda, derived their sanctity "from a timely widowhood and a hasty withdrawal to the religious life" (90). The path to sanctity for a royal male lay, on the other hand, in the fulfillment of royal duty through martyrdom rather than the renunciation of royal responsibilities. Ridyard makes the insightful observation that Bede is muted in his praise of Sigebert, who refused to defend himself against Penda after he had abdicated the East-Anglian throne in favor of a monastic life; Oswald, killed by the same Penda, is accorded saintly status by Bede because he died defending his Northumbrian throne. Edgar's son, Edward, who died at Corfe in 978, is described according to a different hagiographic tradition: unable to portray his death as resembling that of Oswald or Edmund, the author of the *Passio Edwardi* depicts him as a "martyred innocent" (95).

Four chapters are then devoted to a detailed analysis of various East-Anglian and West-Saxon royal cults. What is striking about these cults is their political origins: sainthood did not stem from popular devotion but was promoted as a means of perpetuating a monastic or royal power structure. In the case of a woman such as Edburga, her sanctity acted as "a potent symbol of the strength and continuity of the bond which existed between royal dynasty and royal foundation" (98). The Nunnaminster and New Minster at Winchester were highly dependent on royal support. Edburga's Life by Osbert of Clare reveals that when alive "the usefulness of the *uirgo regia* was, first and foremost, that of *mediatrix ad regem*" (101). The institution of her cult at the Nunnaminster saw "the transition of royal patron into patron saint" (105). Edith

at Wilton similarly had the role of being a royal patron rather than being an *exemplum* of piety. Her cult and that of her brother, Edward, were considerably furthered by the patronage of Æthelred for political reasons. This was, in Ridyard's view, less a defensive stratagem against the imputation of involvement by Æthelred in Edward's death than "an important, if ultimately abortive, movement to enhance the prestige of the king in order more effectively to meet the challenge of the Danes" (166). These latter two cults found literary expression right after the Conquest. She argues that the Lives were the product of monastic propaganda to assert the validity of "the history, the traditions and the political status of the religious community with which the saint was associated" (175).

The cult of Æthelthryth, associated with Ely, went back to the seventh century. Again, royal patronage was an important factor. After the Conquest, Ely was to suffer from its association with Hereward. Ridyard argues that the cult of St. Æthelthryth not merely continued after the Conquest but actively assisted the community in adapting to this difficult time. She sees the early Norman abbots as employing the cult "to defend and enhance the status of their church" (205). This included the use of the saint to defend the abbey's lands against Norman depredations.

Edmund's cult had its origins and initial development under the impact of the Scandinavian onslaughts. "To Athelstan and his successors in the tenth century, whose power had grown out of their conflict with the heathen, the message of St Edmund must have been clear and compelling: to the West Saxons as to the East Angles Edmund's cult may have had profound importance as a symbol of religious and political defiance and survival" (226). His cult was centered on Bury and it continued to be promoted after the Conquest as a source of Bury's wealth and prestige.

Ridyard is particularly struck by "the social dominance within Anglo-Saxon England of kings and of royal dynasties" (248). This conflicts with the case of K. Górski that in Scandinavia and eastern Europe the saint king was created by the Church only where the monarchy was weak and needed bolstering. (Like Chaney's argument, which formed only a small portion of his book, Górski's case is used as a kind of Aunt Sally by Ridyard. Quite why his paper in *L'Europe aux IX^e-XI^e siècles: aux origines des états nationaux*, edited by T. Manteuffel and A. Gieysztor [Warsaw, 1968], which is inaccessible to me, should have been selected from among the numerous works on European kingship is unclear, nor does she provide any evidence for the validity of Górski's case to justify her choice.)

Ridyard's book is an extremely thorough study (perhaps too thorough: she largely repeats herself on pp. 86-7 and 98-9), leavened by occasional flashes of humor (see, for example, the fate of Tonbert, husband of Æthelthryth [85] and the way Edward the Elder was persuaded by his daughter Edburga to part with a valuable estate [89]). She enhances her book further by providing an edition of Osbert of Clare's *Life of St. Edburga* from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud Misc. 114, apparently of Pershore provenance, as well as two further notes on Edburga from MS. Bodley 451.

Ridyard wisely acknowledges that her "model" may need some refinement, both to take some apparent exceptions into account and also changes that occurred through time. The

latter seems particularly important. She might also consider how foreign-born saints such as Helena, the mother of Constantine, who was widely venerated in England (see above), fit into the picture she has painted. Though her book has been well proof-read, Ridyard has not been well served by her University press, which has used paper with the texture and color of newsprint and the thickness of pages to be found in the old Victoria County History volumes that have become brittle with age. Is this book printed on acid-free paper? Apparent paste-up lines are still visible on some of the pages (135, 154, 255-6).

"Saint Cuthbert: The Early Years" (*Cistercian Studies* 23, 3-13) written by the Prior of Tintern Abbey in Nebraska, Clifford Stevens, is narrative history in the old tradition, though informed by modern scholarship. He traces what can be said about Cuthbert's early years, follows him to Mailros where he received training in the Celtic spiritual tradition, and concludes with his departure with Eata in 657 to Ripon. The study largely eschews the "darker side to the age" (5 n. 5), though its presence is acknowledged.

Our next saint turns out, like St. George, to have existed in literature rather than in reality. Douglas Johnson unravels a tangled web of pseudo-scholarship that has led to the creation of "history" in his paper "'Lichfield' and 'St. Amphibalus': The Story of a Legend" (*South Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society* 28 [1988 for 1986-7], 1-13). Henry Bradley pointed out in 1886 that "Lichfield" was an Anglo-Celtic hybrid word whose first element derived from *Luitcoit*, 'grey wood.' For six centuries, however, the name had been derived from O.E. *lic*, 'a corpse.' To explain the latter derivation the name was associated with St. Alban. The monks of St. Alban's ascribed the foundation of their monastery to King Offa of Mercia, who had been led there with his archbishop of Lichfield by a vision in 793. In 1139 that scallywag Geoffrey of Monmouth created out of a faulty manuscript reading (see 3 n. 14) a "St. Amphibalus," the hitherto unnamed Christian priest whom Alban had harbored. A monk of St. Alban's then wrote an embellished story of St. Alban that brought "St. Amphibalus" more into the picture. He was now turned into a martyr whose bones were duly "discovered" in 1178 and over the next two centuries he was supplied with an impressive *curriculum vitae*. For instance, Amphibalus had converted more than a thousand people in Wales: all but one were martyred. Matthew Paris (ca. 1200-59), a monk of St. Alban's, who today might instead have sought employment with the Dictionary of Old English (though he might have been unsuccessful in his application!), declared the massacre to have taken place at Lichfield: "Lich enim Anglice cadaver sive corpus mortui dicitur" (5). Why he lighted on Lichfield is unclear; possibly, as Johnson ingeniously suggests, he associated *Wallia* with Wall, a Roman station on Watling Street (now the A5) a few miles south-west of Lichfield. The city, of course, was closely associated with Offa. The etymology was already current by the thirteenth century in Lichfield itself; by the next century Amphibalus was also known there, as the cathedral had acquired some of his dust. But not until the sixteenth century did the story become part of the city's history by appearing on its first seal in 1549. Thereafter topographical and place-name speculations developed apace. Dr. Johnson lent authority to the massacre by citing his native city as an illustration of the word "lich." Douglas Johnson's

paper is a fine piece of scholarly sleuthing, which is entertaining to boot. A useful paper to re-read if we ourselves are tempted to engage in linguistic or reconstructive flights of fancy about the more opaque sides of the Anglo-Saxon past!

All of which should certainly not been interpreted as a comment on John Blair's "Saint Frideswide Reconsidered" (*Oxoniensia* 52 [1988 for 1987], 71-127), a model piece of scholarship and an appropriate tribute to the patron saint of Oxford. Hitherto William of Malmesbury's brief account has been considered the basic source; here Blair cogently argues that the text found in Cotton MS. Nero E. 1 (ii) ("Life A"), written ca. 1100x1130, is the primary source. Another version, designated Life B, is a more elegant reworking of ca. 1140x1170. His paper gives a full edition of these two versions (93-116) with a translation of William of Malmesbury's text (74) and English summaries of the two versions in parallel columns for comparative purposes (74-9). With the aid of an informative map of the Upper Thames region in the early Anglo-Saxon period (86), he demonstrates that there are elements in Life A that are consonant with what is known of the Oxford area in the seventh and eighth centuries. He finds it "eminently credible that a Mercian sub-king . . . should have founded a monastery at Oxford and made his daughter 'Frideswide' . . . the first abbess" (87). He posits an early territory centered on Eynsham, Oxford and Bampton, possibly represented by the estate at Eynsham, held before the 820s by the see of Canterbury. The late ninth-century fortified town of Oxford was organized around some existing religious site, which may well have been Frideswide's monastery, probably a mixed community of nuns, monks and priests. It is even possible that there were several churches on the site. A case can be made for a royal residence and minster at Binsey nearby, a conjecture that archaeology may be able to verify. Blair also provides an edition of the text describing the discovery and translation of the saint's bones in A.D. 1111x1179 and 1180 respectively, and as an unexpected *bonsella* pursues with the same erudition the story of the cult of Ste Fréwisse in the village of Bomy (Pas-de-Calais), together with a picture of her holy spring and a detailed map with which to find it.

For those whose time or Latin skills deny them the pleasure of savoring Frideswide's story in the original, John Blair has translated the early texts (and also given the text and translation of a fourteenth-century acrostic poem) in *Saint Frideswide: Patron of Oxford* (Oxford: Perpetua Press; £3.95). The translation is prefaced by a summary of the findings published in his *Oxoniensia* paper. Kathleen Lindsley has contributed a number of charming woodcuts to this immaculately printed booklet, which anyone who knows and loves Oxford would be delighted to receive as a gift.

For commemorative reasons our knowledge of the Tenth-Century English Reformation grew considerably in 1988. *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence*, edited by Barbara Yorke (Woodbridge, Suffolk and Wolfboro, NH: Boydell) is a book of even wider significance than its title suggests because it sets its hero in the wider context of late tenth-century Western Europe. It will be a book that will draw literary scholars, musicologists and art historians in addition to those interested in the ecclesiastical reform of the tenth century. It includes Mary Berry's fascinating paper on "What the Saxon Monks Sang: Music in Winchester in the Late

Tenth Century" (149-60), which discusses *inter alia*, the liturgy of Winchester and (literary scholars take note!) Wulfstan the Cantor, who wrote a metrical life of Saint Swithun upon which, so Michael Lapidge argues elsewhere in the volume (89 n. 1), Ælfric based his *vita* of the saint. (When Lapidge has published his work on Wulfstan, I suspect we shall be viewing him as another Byrhtferth in his range of learning.) Another unexpected paper of general interest is Elizabeth Coatsworth's "Late Pre-Conquest Sculptures with the Crucifixion South of the Humber" (161-93). The papers arose out of a conference at Winchester in 1984 marking the millenary of Æthelwold's death, and have been edited by Barbara Yorke with scrupulous care. (Sod's Law dictates that there be a *lapsus calami* on p. 1 n. 1, where the late Dorothy Whitelock is portrayed uncharacteristically as arguing "forcibly" rather than forcefully!) A useful aid to using the volume is an Index of Manuscripts in addition to the General Index, a clear indication of the attention paid to primary sources by the contributors.

In the same volume Patrick Wormald brings us in contact with a number of relatively unfamiliar medieval figures in "Æthelwold and His Continental Counterparts: Contact, Comparison, Contrast" (13-42). We may know Benedict of Aniane (though I suspect only as a nodding acquaintance) but how many of us could say anything much about Gerard of Brogne (25-6), who reformed St. Peter's Ghent, where Dunstan was to take shelter for a time? Here we may also meet Odo of Cluny, who made the Abbot of Cluny "a major European figure for the next two hundred years" (21); Abbo of Fleury, "the only major continental reformer who actually visited England (985-7)" (23) (where, in his view, the English food—and beer—made him fat), and who in 996 was to gain an exemption from all but papal authority for the Abbey of Fleury (see 24-5); John of Gorze, whose Latin *vita* needs a translation as Wormald points out (27); and Archbishop Adalbert of Magdeburg, who like his fellow bishop, Æthelwold, was a monk and drafter of monastic charters. Wormald rightly feels that reformation on the Continent can throw light on the reforms in England, notably in the matter of the sources of the *Regularis Concordia*. He observes that "it seems more than likely that both Æthelwold and his royal master consciously adopted the Carolingian ideology of a Christian Empire, serving one God, one king and one Rule" (32). Wormald argues that royal support for reform was not a uniquely English feature, nor can reform either there or on the Continent "be seen as an attack on the aristocracy as a class" (36); indeed their support was vital. What was unusual about the English reformation was the creation of the cathedral monastery, which is unparalleled on the Continent. Here Æthelwold's role was central, a consequence of "the second most creative historical intelligence that the Anglo-Saxons produced" (42). He furthered monasticism because of "the immortal picture of its origins painted by Bede the monk" (41), the pre-eminent Anglo-Saxon historian. Thus, by taking a welcome Continental perspective Wormald has produced a very English portrait.

Alan Thacker pays the kind of attention to detail that is enabling us to recapture a sense of the landholdings of the pre-Conquest church in "Æthelwold and Abingdon" (43-64). Æthelwold was abbot of Abingdon from ca. 955 to 963 and is credited with increasing the monastery's holdings to 600 hides

by the time of his departure. Thacker feels that his accessions were exaggerated but any attempt to assess how far this is true is vitiated by the sources, which he looks at in some detail. He is inclined to be less critical of these sources than Stenton was in his 1913 study of the abbey. He believes that "the post-Viking church at Abingdon was still an important one connected with a royal residence and in receipt of royal gifts"; "the seeds of Abingdon's later greatness were probably sown in Athelstan's reign" (46). He believes that the monastery had become a secular minster, possibly even before the Vikings came, and suggests some elements of the *parochia* that were dependent on it (48-51). All this was to be changed by Æthelwold, who brought monks from Glastonbury as well as canons from Winchester and London. Though Æthelwold was personally austere, he permitted his monks some relaxation from the strictest elements of the Benedictine Rule. He was a great builder, although little definite may be said of his church at Abingdon other than that it appears to have been centrally planned and thus might have been influenced by Charlemagne's chapel at Aachen. He was also a collector of relics, and the monastery appears to have been devoted to the Holy Cross and the Spanish saint, Vincent. (Those interested in the cult of saints will need to read his paper carefully as it makes a useful contribution to this topic.) The monastic community at Abingdon acted as a model for subsequent foundations by Æthelwold, such as Thorney, all of which he kept under close supervision like some of the Continental reformers.

Barbara Yorke reminds us in "Æthelwold and the Politics of the Tenth Century" (65-88) that "in the biographies . . . there was a secular dimension to Æthelwold's life which they did not choose to discuss" (65). In this respect Æthelwold was no different from Dunstan, who had three bishops as relatives, who was related to King Athelstan, and whose selection as abbot of Glastonbury "was a logical extension of existing family interests" (67). Though we know nothing of Æthelwold's family, his expenditures in support of the Church imply that it was a wealthy one. He was born in Winchester, a city which Yorke suggests may have shown some opposition to King Athelstan: thus "we should take account of the possibility that the families of Æthelwold and Dunstan may have supported different candidates in the succession dispute on Edward the Elder's death" (73). This was to play its part in the later rule of Eadwig between 955 and 959. The analysis of this evidence is in the best prosopographical traditions of Syme and Badian, though by its nature it does not lend itself to summary here. What the evidence suggests is that Æthelwold was favored by Eadwig and he in return regarded Eadwig's marriage to his third cousin as legitimate. Later he was to be a strong supporter of Ælfhryth, Edgar's second wife, and of her son, Edmund, over the interests of Edgar's son by his first marriage, Edward. But on Edgar's death in 975 Æthelwold lost out to Dunstan, who with the family of Athelstan Half-King backed Edgar. After Edgar's murder in 978 and the accession of Ælfhryth's second son, Æthelred, Æthelwold once more can be seen supporting the dowager queen. Yorke suggests that Æthelwold's family links with Winchester dictated the nature of his support in these several disputes, support that led him to take an opposing stand in secular matters to Dunstan, whose personal ties were in

conflict with his own. Dr Yorke's paper should stimulate further investigations into the politics of the tenth century.

The Cerne Abbey Millenium Lectures, edited by Katherine Barker (Cerne Abbas) is typical of a class of booklet that has been appearing with increasing frequency in Anglo-Saxon studies in recent years. Containing material of high quality and frequently displaying fine production values (as in this case), these are frequently sponsored by obscure publishers: this one appears under the aegis of the Cerne Abbey Millenium Committee, Middle House, Long Street, Cerne Abbas. Readers should make an effort to inform their institution's librarian about them as I suspect that the papers appearing in them will often be cited in future years. (Oxbow Books, Park End Place, Oxford OX1 1HN, England, attempt to obtain such publications, especially if they are of interest to archaeologists; their regular catalogues also list remaindered archaeological-cum-historical works that also may be of interest to financially hard-pressed librarians.)

Katherine Barker sketches the setting of the lectures in the Dorsetshire village and the millenial celebrations of the abbey that has supplied Cerne's name (vii-ix), after which D. H. Farmer describes "The Monastic Reform of the 10th Century and Cerne Abbas" (1-10). His paper is useful in providing a map of houses derived from or influenced by the reformed houses of Abingdon, Glastonbury, and Ramsey/Westbury. Like Wormald, he stresses the importance of "the development of a specifically English institution unknown elsewhere, the monastic cathedral" (5), four of which (Canterbury, Sherborne, Winchester, and Worcester) were founded before 1066. Cerne itself was a medium-sized monastery at the time of Domesday Book, its monastic complement numbering, he conjectures, about twenty (6); in addition, there would have been the boy pupils for whom Ælfric composed his *Colloquy*. Much of the balance of his paper is devoted to Ælfric, who spent eighteen years in Cerne before moving to Eynsham.

G. D. Squibb defends the authenticity of Cerne's foundation charter in "The Foundation of Cerne Abbey" (11-14), a paper that originally appeared in *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset* 31, pt. 320 (September 1984), 373-6. Readers may refer to the review of the original paper in *OEN* 21.1 [1987], 129-30, where I expressed some reservations.

Æthelmær, whose father, Æthelweard, composed a *Chronicle* which will be mentioned a couple of times in this review, is the focus of Barbara Yorke's "Æthelmaer: The Foundation of the Abbey at Cerne and the Politics of the Tenth Century" (15-26). She provides a political perspective that acts as a balance to Farmer's pietistic explanation for the foundation and role of the reformed monasteries. Both Æthelweard and Æthelmær were ealdormen of the Western Provinces and were patrons of Ælfric; Æthelweard possessed a copy of the latter's *homilies*. Æthelweard represented a different political faction from the redoubtable Athelstan "Half King," who was supported by the no-less redoubtable Dunstan. As we have seen, Bishop Æthelwold was thus not in Dunstan's political camp and on King Edgar's death in 975 Dunstan supported the latter's eldest son, Edward, whereas Æthelwold supported Æthelred, whose mother, unlike Edward's, had been consecrated queen. After Æthelred became king in 978, Æthelweard became ealdorman of the western parts of Wessex and Æthelmær, one of the king's *ministri*, a

member of the king's entourage, became *disc thegn* or steward, succeeding to his father's office after Æthelweard's death in 998. Æthelmær lost favor in 1005 and became a monk at Eynsham, where "the monastery seems to have been founded (or more probably refounded) specifically to meet Aethelmaer's needs in 1005" (20) and Ælfric was moved to become its first abbot. Æthelmær seems, however, to have regained his ealdormanry and he is last heard of when he submitted to Swein of Denmark at Bath in 1013. His son was executed by Cnut in 1017 and his heir, his son-in-law, was exiled in 1020, after which the family fades from the picture. Yorke points out how the tenth-century ecclesiastical reforms added to the instability late in that century. Æthelwold aimed at reviving lost monasteries by regaining their lands, leading to antagonism from the secular aristocracy. She suggests that the grant of 987 in which Cerne receives several small estates but not the use of Cerne itself during Æthelmær's lifetime might be evidence that the latter took back this estate from the abbey in the way King Æthelred and other nobles did early in his reign. "The estate at Cerne seems to have been one in which Aethelmaer had inherited an interest and which for reasons which remain obscure he was particularly eager to enjoy during his lifetime" (23). She suggests that his grant of 987 amounts to a refoundation of the monastery, which is why the original foundation grant does not survive. She also notes that "Aethelmaer's patronage of Aelfric should also be seen in the context of the long-standing links between his family and bishop Ethelwold of Winchester, for Aelfric was a former pupil of Ethelwold's . . ." (24).

Cerne derived its name from a stream; the word apparently is ultimately Celtic and means 'a heap of stones.' Katherine Barker in "Aelfric the Mass-Priest and the Anglo-Saxon Estates of Cerne Abbey" (27-42) examines the lands held by the abbey in the Cerne valley and elsewhere. In the light of what Hill has to say (see Section g below), it is interesting to find the number nine cropping up. The hidation of the valley seems to have been in units of nine. Ælfric noted that in the administration of Heaven, God's Kingdom was defended by nine companies of angels, the tenth having been expelled. "If what we see reflected in the Domesday figures is a pattern of land division that belongs to the old, unreformed (that is, pre-Benedictine) minsters of the Cerne valley then it is not only a scheme with some practical merits but one which displays a very telling piece of symbolism" (31). She observes that the abbey's needs could be supplied from its own manors and, developing Swanton's suggestion that Ælfric drew his characters in the *Colloquy* from life, points to various manors in Dorset where figures such as the king's huntsman and fowler could have been found. One of Cerne's holdings, Symondsbury, had but a single parish church in its 4000 acres: features of the church and its glebe suggest it might have been an early minster. She surveys several other manors but there are no surviving Anglo-Saxon charter boundaries for her to draw on, which is unfortunate since Cerne's abbot was managing over 14,000 acres by 1086. She illustrates her article with excellent maps.

The booklet concludes with a paper by J. H. Bettey, "The Dissolution and After at Cerne Abbas" (43-53), and one by Dom Aidan Bellenger that reflects on "Benedictinism Then and Now" (55-66), both of which in their different ways make salutary reading.

The long tradition of English scholar-clergymen still survives, in spite of the demands of modern parishes. What is remarkable is that, whereas in the past pastoral duties would be farmed out by such clergymen to curates, Douglas Dales did most of his work on *Dunstan: Saint and Statesman* (Cambridge: Lutterworth) while himself a curate in two parishes. He published it in 1988 to mark the millenary of the death of St. Dunstan. He divides his book into three, with the first part concentrating on Dunstan's early life up to 959, when he had risen to being Abbot of Glastonbury; the second treats of the latter part of his life, when he was incumbent of the see of Canterbury (his modern successor, Robert Runcie has appropriately written a preface to the book); and the final third considers his legacy, concluding with the death of Archbishop Wulfstan of York. This is very properly a contextual study and, with a nice symmetry, the book starts with another's legacy, that of Alfred the Great. Dales's survey of Dunstan's archiepiscopacy, places him at the center of the tenth-century reformation—"the massive and decisive policy of monastic renewal and endowment, for which Dunstan's primacy is justly remembered, was at all times close to his heart and utterly dependent upon him as archbishop of Canterbury for its success" (63)—but much of his chapter on the revival of monasteries in Edgar's reign is rightly given over to a discussion of Æthelwold, Oswald and the *Regularis Concordia*. His chapter entitled "The Statesman" (87-97) examines the laws of Edgar's reign, his monetary reforms, and the coronation ceremony of 973, which he sees as representing "a real union between Church and state; not quite a theocracy, but an identification of action, role and interest between king and Church that only a century later would seem hopelessly anachronistic" (97). (This chapter, like the rest of the book, reveals how widely Dales has read in the current scholarly literature.) In the third part of the book he devotes a chapter to the literary and artistic culture of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, which he says "is without doubt one of the finest and most original flowerings of English culture" (129). Because of the ecclesiastical slant of the work, which the above quotations show, he devotes only a paragraph to the codices of Old English poetry (138), but he does present within a small compass a good conspectus of the writings of the period, from the compositions of Ælfric and Wulfstan to Byrthferth's scientific work to medicinal recipes (122-39). In the final section, too, he discusses the medieval biographies of Dunstan. Though the positioning of this discussion in the book is logical, I found this to be unsatisfactory: throughout the work he drew on the Lives (especially the earliest two) but I had little sense of how he evaluated their evidence apart from the element of the miraculous, which receives detailed discussion in this final chapter (148-55).

What I missed most from this book was a sense of the Sinner and the Politician. (I charitably assume that the concepts are separable.) Why did Dunstan arouse such opposition in his early years? Did he have an obnoxious personality? Was there sexual jealousy? (Like many a religious leader, women played an important role in his life.) Or did he initially not have the right alliances to achieve his goals? Certainly he must have acquired political *nous*, learned how to wheel and deal—and at times been unsuccessful. Dales acknowledges that Dunstan aroused opposition in the counties that formed the heartland of Wessex but I feel he

could have pushed further his analysis of the reasons lying behind this. A Saint and a Statesman evolves out of a Sinner and a Politician: the achievement of the former can only be fully appreciated through an understanding of the latter.

Nigel Ramsay and Margaret Sparks celebrated St. Dunstan in a forty-eight-page booklet characterized by a wealth of color illustrations of remarkably fine quality for the equally remarkable price of £1.95. **The Image of Saint Dunstan* (Canterbury: The Dunstan Millenium Committee; obtainable from Oxbow Books) was produced in association with an exhibition held in Canterbury. It succeeds within a few pages in providing a survey of, *inter alia*, Dunstan's life, the manuscripts associated with him, his cathedral, the books from the Canterbury scriptoria, Dunstan's biographers, the later medieval cult, and his reputation. The authors show that it is possible to write a book that will intrigue a non-specialist reader while yet being scholarly. For instance we read that "[o]n the eve of the Reformation, Dunstan was cited on behalf of Henry VIII, in the king's divorce proceedings, as having excommunicated Count Edwin for an incestuous marriage and as having declined to absolve him when the Pope intervened" (37). The pictures which form nearly half the book are also well chosen. I am glad to have been introduced to the late-fifteenth-century chasuble from Stonyhurst College, which graphically depicts Dunstan tweaking the Devil's nose with a pair of tongs (back cover). The snippets from manuscripts illustrating Dunstan's hand (8) and the facing pair of fine color reproductions of the monk St. Dunstan adoring Christ (Oxford, Bodleian, Auct. F.iv.32, f. 1r) and its possible source, the page with Rabanus Maurus adoring the Cross (Cambridge, Trinity College, B.16.3, f. 30v) (10-11), will be of value to palaeographers and art historians. Both the writers and their printers deserve our congratulations.

Gábor Klaniczay makes a connexion between England and central Europe that we might hope will occur more frequently in years to come if the barriers between European countries continue to be lowered as they have in 1989 and scholarly discourse between nations formerly designated as being in the Eastern or Western bloc becomes more common. "From Sacral Kingship to Self-Representation. Hungarian and European Royal Saints in the 11th-13th Centuries" (*Continuity and Change: Political Institutions and Literary Monuments in the Middle Ages. A Symposium*, edited by Elisabeth Vestergaard [Odense: Odense University Press, 1986], 61-86) examines how royal sainthood in Hungary was used for political ends. He observes that royal sainthood, which required several centuries to take shape, drew on three traditions: "the sacral and divine attributes of Hellenistic rulers and Roman emperors . . . ; the 'charismatic' capacities ascribed to Germanic and other medieval pagan princes or kings; and of course the cult of Christian saints . . ." (62). The Anglo-Saxons "not only forged the new religious model of saint kings, but they were also the first ones to exploit these cults for achieving political goals" (65). He draws a distinction between "peripheral" areas such as Anglo-Saxon Britain, which favored royal saints, and "core" areas, where "a more distinctly institutional and a more elaborately symbolical formulation of royal sacralty" was preferred (66-7). Included among the former are Saints Venceslaus of Bohemia, Olaf of Norway and Vladimir of the Kievan Rus. These latter developed further characteristics of Anglo-Saxon royal saints: they

legitimated the claims to royal power of a particular branch of a family, aided its institutionalization, and created an original religious profile of the royal martyr paralleling Christ. The canonization of five Hungarian saints in 1083 headed by King Stephen falls midway between these two. Anglo-Saxon influence is possible, since two grandsons of Saint Edward the Martyr gained sanctuary in King Stephen's court. Nevertheless, there are differences in that Stephen was a strong ruler, not a mild-mannered martyr representing a fusion of Christian and pagan traditions. Saint Cnut of Denmark similarly showed traits of both saints from "core" and "peripheral" areas. Later cults reflect the conflict between spiritual and temporal powers initiated by the papacy of Gregory VII, though Klaniczay's further considerations take us beyond the limits of our period of study. His thesis is a provocative one which may need refinement: one may think of Offa's "imperial" kingship, with his pretensions to match Charlemagne and the issuing of a coin bearing his wife's name on the model of the Byzantines, behavior more characteristic of kings from Klaniczay's "core" areas.

d. Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Contacts with the Continent

Próinséas Ní Chatháin's "Early Ireland and Western Christendom: the Bible and the Missions" (*Irland und die Christenheit*, 473-504) is largely a summary of the over two dozen papers, some of considerable importance, delivered at the Third Colloquium on Ireland and Europe held in Dublin in 1984. It would be otiose to discuss it here, other than to draw attention to the comments in his appendix, where he notes "the growing evidence for the importance of Augustine [of Hippo] in Irish thought and scholarship"; his "synthesis on creation and life is paramount in Irish exegesis" (503)—which should give aid and comfort to literary scholars who are devotees of patristic exegesis.

Wolfgang Haubrichs in "Die Angelsachsen und die germanischen Stämme des Kontinents im frühen Mittelalter: Sprachliche und literarische Beziehungen" (*Irland und die Christenheit*, 387-412) considers Anglo-Saxon influences found in manuscripts containing Old High German glosses. Of the 49 manuscripts from the eighth century containing such glosses, almost half display Anglo-Saxon or Insular traces. Four of these contain both Old English and Old High German glosses and to one of these he pays especial attention. St. Gall MS. 213 is a pocket codex containing diverse material, once falsely associated by the monks of St. Gall with their founder. (One might note that the size of the manuscript also suggests Celtic links; compare, for example, Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 671.) At the end of the codex there are some Old English animal and bird names with interspersed German equivalents and a German-Latin glossary of some 450 items, the latter not a collection of learned lemmata but "vor allem Wörter der Alltagssprache" (392), surely indicative of its use as a means of enabling an Anglo-Saxon to learn German rather than Latin. Another manuscript suggestive of Anglo-Saxon missionary endeavor is Cod. Vat. Pal. lat. 577. He lists its contents, which embrace matter appropriate to evangelistic activities (393-5), including two sermons from the circle of Augustine of Canterbury. Those introducing students to Comparative Philology might take note of his page-long edition of Saxon, Old Westphalian, and Frankish baptismal vows from fol. 6v-7r of this manuscript (397). The text that

immediately follows this last one will interest both philologists and students of religion in that it contains a renunciation of the gods *Thunaer*, *Uuoden*, and *Saxnote*, and, among other examples of contamination, lists the Old English/Saxon form *nod-fyr*. The Basel recipes from Fulda, dating from before 800, show Old English/Bavarian mixing. Not all words common to Old English and Continental Germanic dialects should be ascribed to Anglo-Saxon missionary activity, however: some may go back to Roman times. But more Anglo-Saxon influences might still be found in Saxon (404). These links seem to be shattered in the ninth century, though two passages in Cynewulf's *Elene* and the *Heliand* betray some sort of direct connexion. Contacts again became close in the tenth century with the marriage of Otto I to the sister of Athelstan in 929.

e. The Scandinavian World

In 1986 the Dorothea Coke Memorial Lecture in Northern Studies, published by the Viking Society, was delivered by Ray I. Page under the title "*A Most Vile People*": *Early English Historians on the Vikings*. The words are those of Æthelweard, whose *Chronicle* has already been alluded to in this review (Section c above). Not surprisingly the Vikings saw themselves differently, as a couple of runic inscriptions and the funeral ode on the death of Eric Bloodaxe, the *Eiríksmál*, attest. Page's theme is this divergence of views. As a prelude he warns against the tendency to see all Vikings as the same, to ignore differences in social classes, and to assume that values remained the same over the three centuries of the Viking Age. In general early Western writers such as Asser portray the Vikings negatively. Æthelweard was not consistently disparaging, not out of a desire to give a dispassionate account, but because he aimed at stylistic elegance. Over a century later Henry of Huntingdon did seek to give an historical account but he was following in the tradition of Bede in seeking to show God's judgments and, in any case, his writing contains a number of flaws. William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum* is a work of another order. He portrays the Vikings as "marginal rather than central to the age" (20); in the story of King Anlaf he portrays "two nations sharing the same ethic about loyalty to one's lord and truth to one's oath" (21). Particularly informative of how early historians can shape our attitudes is the story in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 789, on the death of the reeve who met a party of Scandinavians. He traces this through its various retellings into the twelfth century. His is a cautionary tale told with verve: it must have been an entertaining lecture to attend.

Helen Clarke's "West Sweden and England: the Evidence for Viking Age Trade" (*Sachsen Symposium Skara 1983*, Skaraborg's Länsmuseum, 1984, 82-3) does not deliver the goods. A summary of a conference paper, it concludes: "There is every reason to assume that in the Viking age, as later, the great majority of trading goods consisted of bulky perishable raw materials which no longer survive" (83). The summary, in fact, does not mention Sweden, let alone any Viking age trade between it and England.

Appropriately for a journal emanating from the Modern Language Association this section will conclude with an article that will interest philologists as much as historians. Finn Hodnebo asks the question, "Who Were the First Vikings?" in *Proceedings of the Tenth Viking Congress*, 43-54. (Owing to

deplorable linguistic indolence last year your reviewer failed to pursue the answer when Hodnebo posed the question in Norwegian in *Maal og Minne* 1987, 1-16. You have all been very patient.) Now that one thinks about it, the suggestion that the appellation "Viking" denoted those who lurked in bays and inlets (ON *vík* f. 'creek, inlet of the sea') does not make much sense and the claim that it derived from OE *wic* also does not have much to commend it. The use of *wicing* in Old-English texts like *Widsið* which arguably might ante-date the appearance of Vikings in the modern predatory sense, and its employment in *Exodus* in the form *sæ-wicingas*, paralleling compounds found elsewhere such as *sæ-geatas* and *sæ-dene*, dispose me to be sympathetic to his claim that the primary sense of the word *wicingas* is 'seamen from the Vfk district.' His case could have been made more convincing if he had assured us that he had combed the Healey-Venezky concordance (which is not mentioned) for all possible relevant forms. And had he used John Hines's *The Scandinavian Character of Anglian England in the Pre-Viking Period* (Oxford, 1984) (see *OEN* 19.1 [1985], 168-70), he could have strengthened his case for links between Norway and England (though admittedly specifically Norwegian links are as yet hard to prove for the seventh century). These quibbles should not detract, however, from the usefulness of his diachronic survey of the semantic range of the word in both Old English and Norwegian.

f. Aspects of the Anglo-Saxon Age

Four studies ranged over the whole Anglo-Saxon era in their treatment of different features of English life. In the first of these Richard Hodges attempts some daring generalizations in "Anglo-Saxon England and the Origins of the Modern World Economy" (*Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, ed. Hooke, 291-304). He notes how historians and economists such as Robert Lopez and Fernand Braudel have been limited in their judgments on the economic developments of the first millennium by their written sources; archaeological data now offers the potential "for rewriting the history of this formative period" (294). Out of the collapse of the centralized political and economic system of Rome that started in the third century arose the development of a political and economic nucleus round the North Sea at the end of the fifth century based on gift exchange. The Church encouraged a shift to commodity production arising out of the collapse of the long-distance exchange of goods in the 630s: instead it made an "investment in territoriality" (296). "In my view, *The Tribal Hidage*, the first written laws and land charters, and the Middle Saxon shuffle of settlements ... are all expressions of this new economic initiative" (296). The rise of urban centers like Hamwih and the shift from gold to silver currency he considers to be other indicators of this shift (though I suspect that the shift away from gold was more a reaction to losses of sources of supply than a positive attempt at economic change). Hamwih, London, Ipswich and York became in the ninth century centers of regional commodity exchange. The political economy of England was stable enough to withstand the collapse of the Carolingian trade brought about by Viking and Saracen raids: "regional development under state control was successfully enacted to the great advantage of the West Saxon dynasty," an "extraordinary English phenomenon" which was "the logical conclusion of Charlemagne's aspira-

tions," an irony, since "most [of] Carolingian Europe was slow to develop" because of "the divisive political legacy of the Carolingians" (300-1). The modern world economy as interpreted by Braudel must "be traced to the political configurations of post-Carolingian Europe" (303). Why the commercial revolution that followed incorporated all sections of society unlike the Roman world is still not clear: in his view the peasantry of the eleventh and twelfth century helped foster the change. His is very much an exploratory essay: no doubt it simplifies, omits, and exaggerates. But as Hodges himself observes, Third World development theories have drawn on models of Dark Age economics (294, 304): historical research of this kind, therefore, is important and accordingly should be cautious in its conclusions because it can have an impact on the present and the future.

Richard P. Abels has bravely tackled the vexed question of military institutions in *Lordship and Military Obligation in Anglo-Saxon England* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press). As he points out in his introduction, it is a study neither of warfare nor of all aspects of lordship such as commendation but instead it seeks to determine "the relationship between Anglo-Saxon lordship and military obligation ... within a regional and temporal framework" (9). His recognition of the length of the Anglo-Saxon period is vital, in my view, and is to be applauded. He starts by asking what forced a man in the seventh century to attend a king's army. This leads him to Clause 51 of Ine's code, the earliest source for the provisioning of a royal army—and also a source of much scholarly heat. Debate has centered on the kind of *fyrd* service demanded of *ceorls*, Stenton believing it required military service from all of them with Eric John arguing that their function was to provision the army. Abels shifts the ground of the debate, rightly declaring, "It never explicitly demands *fyrd* service from everyone, but merely stipulates the penalties to be assessed against those who ought to have gone on campaign with the king but did not" (15). He believes that "*fyrd* service in seventh-century Wessex was an obligation of king's men" (22). The latter could well have included *ceorls* personally attached to the king, a plausible suggestion in the light of the various Charltons adjacent to royal estates. I am less convinced by his view that Ine 51 did not apply to every aristocrat "but only to those noblemen who had chosen the king as their personal lord" (24). As so often in early Anglo-Saxon studies, I miss the use of anthropological parallels which could help me understand how such a polity functioned. The fissiparous nature of the early Anglo-Saxon tribes presumably in part arose because of the weak hierarchical link between a king and his nobles. But I do not see how Ine could have hoped to hold his people together if his nobles could decline to perform *fyrd* service on the ground that he was not their personal lord (24). Perhaps what is needed here is a deeper consideration of the nature of leadership in this early period. We may well invest early kings with greater status than their contemporaries did.

Where Abels does use Anthropology to good effect is in the concept of the Gift. With gifts of land a king cemented an alliance with a warrior that not merely brought the latter economic benefits but also the symbolic one of rising within the war-band from being a *geoguth* to being a member of the *duguth* (cf. Enright's article in Section g. below). It is also valuable in explaining the motivation for royal grants to the

Church. "God had given man an eternal gift, salvation, and it was only fitting that man render something in return" (49). So the land charter entered the picture—and with it came problems for kings. For instance, when someone like Wilfrid accumulated bookland in other territories, his loyalties could be in question (51). Furthermore, by the eighth century laymen were acquiring land by book right. But a king could not guarantee that he would receive services from the possessor's descendants. Thus the "common burdens—the construction of bridges and the defense of fortifications—start appearing, the first in a Mercian charter of 749, just at the time of the first fortified boroughs (also Mercian). The idea was possibly borrowed from contemporary Francia" (53). By 796 a charter of Offa had brought in the third essential requirement, viz. to send men on the king's expeditions. From now on military service was a condition of tenure, which in turn derived from book right. By the mid ninth century the expansion of book right had grown so much that Alfred was to experience considerable difficulty in defending his realm because of his dependence on the common burdens. Time was required to summon warriors and lords were tempted to make local agreements with Viking marauders (62). Alfred brought about two significant changes. He divided the fyrd into two, thus always having an army in the field without overstraining his resources. Vital also was his system of fortified *burhs*. "Unique to Alfred's scheme were the scale of the endeavor, the strategic disposition of the boroughs, and the offensive manner in which they were to be used" (69). These twin developments are well described by Abels (63-78). The *burhs* had the effect of establishing "a royal presence throughout his realm" (80).

The tenth century saw the introduction of the oath of fealty demanded from all the members of the fyrd, which was a standard practice by the end of Edmund's reign. This strengthened the ties with the king which had weakened with the spread of book right. By the end of the tenth century a more sophisticated administrative system of shires, hundreds, and ship-sokes gave the king more control over local leaders, and royal authority became equated with lordship. The final period of Anglo-Saxon history faces Abels with the vexed question of the hide and fyrd service. His arguments are too detailed for summary here but he is to be commended for being willing to use the techniques pioneered by McDonald and Snooks in their *Domesday Economy* (see *OEN* 21.1 [1987], 148-50). He concludes that "[w]hether or not the fyrd in 1066 was recruited through a national system based on units of five hides and six carucates, we can be fairly certain that military service was levied on the basis of cadastral units that reflected real economic conditions" (115). By mid eleventh century military service rested on the twin pillars of the military obligations imposed by book-right and those dictated by personal commendation to the king.

By taking such a central institution as military service, linked as it was to other major constituents of the society as lordship and landholding, Abels has produced a rich study of Anglo-Saxon society as a whole. Inevitably much has had to be left out from this review, such as his analysis of the *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum* (117-20) and the role of mercenaries (161-75). He has tackled too many controversial questions (the nature and obligation of the *ceorl*, bookland and folkland, the hide) not to cause some hackles to rise. But

his synthesis is a satisfying one and I found much that was enlightening, such as his discussion of the common burdens. Whether one's interests are *Beowulf*, social terminology, land charters—or just military history—one will have to read his book.

A sphere that suffered especially because of militaristic endeavors during the Anglo-Saxon Age was the Arts. *The Cambridge Guide to the Arts in Britain* edited by Boris Ford (Cambridge) is an ambitious nine-volume series describing the arts from prehistoric to contemporary times. The series has a distinguished cast of contributors, including Richard N. Bailey, who has written a chapter called "The Social and Cultural Setting" (99-120) for the first volume entitled *Prehistoric, Roman and Early Medieval*. While stressing the degree of change that this lengthy period underwent, he also notes three great continuities: the influential position of women in the society, the bonds of kinship, and the links between lord and retainer. Both the latter resulted in a strongly hierarchical society. He then takes the reader through various periods in Anglo-Saxon history, the Conversion, the Viking Invasions, the Benedictine Reform Movement, and the time from the Reform to the Conquest. He underlines the role of literacy, book production, and the fine arts, evenhandedly noting both efflorescences and declines in various branches of the arts. For instance, of the Vikings he observes that "their disruptive effects on the upper ranks of society (so crucial to artistic patronage) and on the church cannot be ignored" (114); nevertheless, they were to become new patrons in the field of sculpture, which had hitherto been a monastic preserve. This was to lead to the introduction of novel themes, such as Scandinavian animal art, secular scenes, and heroic myths (115). He also draws attention to interactions between the various arts. Thus, the liturgy of the Benedictine Rule's made architectural demands. "The Regularis Concordia lays stress, for example, on liturgical procession, on antiphonal singing and on the availability of chapels to the north and south of the choir. These demands find their architectural reflex in the elaborate developments at the west end of buildings and in the transept galleries constructed in the spate of church building associated with the late tenth-century reform" (118). Unfortunately, as he points out in his concluding section, much of this artistic heritage has been irretrievably lost to us. All in all, his is a judicious introduction to a vast and complex topic.

Patrick Wormald has taken a significant step towards encouraging a renaissance in Anglo-Saxon legal studies by publishing in *Anglo-Saxon England* 17 (1988), 247-81 "A Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Lawsuits," which is based on an examination of sources of Anglo-Saxon history before A.D. 1200. He notes that "there are nearly as many lawsuits in non-diplomatic sources as in charters" (249), some of them only incidentally recorded, such as the treason trials in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the "saintly interference with the course of justice" (249). A case is included "if . . . it can be seen to have involved some degree of formal judicial procedure" (250). This provides him with a list of no less than 178 cases (though this is small in comparison with Continental material—see p. 278). He is fully cognisant that his "minimalist" approach has excluded much legal material (see pp. 254f.); here one may think of a variety of agreements that involved formal acts such as manumissions and quittances, which had legal consequences without involving judicial (as

opposed to legal) procedures. Understandably, most of the records concern ecclesiastical foundations but their geographic distribution encourages one to think of them as representative. The pre-tenth-century material conforms to the view that English diplomatic then "was local and episcopal rather than royal or central" (275) and "the tradition that judgements were written up by favoured parties must have remained well established in the later Anglo-Saxon period" (276). Unfortunately the documents provide little help in deciding whether or not there was an Anglo-Saxon chancery. It is to be regretted that the documents tend to fall within a number of limited periods but "the reign of Alfred seems to mark a watershed" (279). Before then there is "no authentic . . . reference to the legal forfeiture of property" (279). Shire justice seems not to have existed before the tenth century. He also records the high ratio of 4:5 in criminal as opposed to civil cases. Now that this superb handlist is available it should provide a stimulus to further legal studies, which might in turn be of assistance to literary and linguistic studies. I, for instance, have often wondered how one should visualize the *carcern* or prison frequently mentioned in religious writings, just one of the facets of the Anglo-Saxon legal system that no-one seems to have tackled.

g. Late Roman Britain to the Ninth Century

Simon Esmonde Cleary's "The End of Roman Britain" (*History Today*, December 1988, 35-40) commemorated the 1600th anniversary of the death of Magnus Maximus. One of the *tyranni* of Gildas, by the ninth century he headed the genealogies of the Welsh kingdoms and became the Macsen Wledig of the *Mabinogion* (though his name had been confused with the Emperor Maxentius and he had taken over Constantine's mother as his own parent). In the 1230s Edward I propped up his own claims to Gwynedd by having Magnus Maximus's body "discovered" at Caernarvon. By now the claimant to the imperial purple was believed to be the father of Constantine. Edward I built the walls of Caernarvon Castle in imitation of the city walls of Constantinople, Constantine's city. (Magnus Maximus's fascinating transmutation reminds one of the legendary Arthur.) In reality Maximus played a different role in Britain. Cleary points out how the fourth-century Roman standing army of perhaps half a million men required steep levels of taxation, but he suggests that "the state's command economy" was central to the well-being of its overall economy—though it was already in decay by Maximus's time (39). Cleary does not speculate on the reasons for this decline, though the *barbarica conspiratio* of the 360s surely had something to do with it, and Maximus's withdrawal of troops could not have helped. He sees the end of the Roman economy in Britain as being caused by the removal of troops to Gaul by another usurper, Constantine, in 406. After 410 Roman administration was not restored, coinage was not supplied, and, most importantly, the island was no longer taxed. Since "the imperial taxation system was the mainspring of the economy," the British economy collapsed (40). The Anglo-Saxons were not responsible for this "but merely took advantage of [the situation]" (40).

Michael E. Jones and P. John Casey show us in "The Gallic Chronicle Restored: A Chronology for the Anglo-Saxon Invasions and the End of Roman Britain" (*Britannia* 19, 367-98) that there is still something to be learned from the exigu-

ous fifth-century sources relating to the fall of Roman Britain by the simple expedient of doing what the best of our teachers always told us to do: checking what the manuscript has to say (in this case, London, BL Add. MS. 16974). The *Gallic Chronicle* of 452 presents three incompatible chronologies. They convincingly demonstrate that the regnal dating is the original one but that some displacements have occurred in the course of transmission. Interpolations made by a Carolingian editor are also plausibly identified. Through a fine piece of detective work they show how *auctoritas* is every bit a feature of modern scholarship as it was in the Middle Ages: J. B. Bury, drawing on the work of E. A. Freeman, had dated to 408 the entry in the *Chronicle* recording the devastation of the British provinces by the Saxons; they show it must have occurred in 410 (what satisfaction their demonstration would have given Horace Round!) The entry recording Britain's passing into the hands of the Saxons they assert is a genuine record that should be dated to 441. The two authors provide an elegant demonstration that the study of chronology can be both enjoyable and important. Their promised study of the "full implications of this dating, and the finer meaning of the *Chronicle's* bald entries" (397) will be eagerly awaited.

In a second article Michael Jones argues in "The Appeal of Aetius in Gildas" (*Nottingham Medieval Studies* 32, 141-55) that the "Agitius" referred to by Gildas was not the famed Aetius but another Gallic figure, Aegidius (456-ca. 465) and that Gildas misplaced the event in his text. He proposes that the title "ter consul" be seen as a later gloss based on the misidentification of Agitius with Aetius, though he not very convincingly argues that Agitius could, in fact, have held such a title. He observes that migrant Britons were for a time in the Loire area, a center of Aegidius's attention, and points to a suggestive parallel in Gregory of Tours (see p. 149 n. 24). His conclusion from this is that the appeal went out from the Britons in Gaul to Aegidius and was subsequently recorded in a Continental source such as a panegyric. If correct, "then the appeal to Agitius can have no significance in dating the insular British events narrated in *De Excidio*" (155).

The context for the political illegitimacy implied by Vortigern's sobriquet "tyrannus" is explored by Bernard Bachrach in "Gildas, Vortigern and Constitutionality in Sub-Roman Britain" (*Nottingham Medieval Studies* 32, 126-40). The task is a tricky one because one needs to ascertain whose point of view Gildas's term "tyrannus" represents. Gildas himself portrays a bad ruler "as one who is corrupt personally, does not provide for the common defence, does not establish fair justice, mistreats the weak, and despises the church" (130). Five contemporary rulers are examined by him, Constantius (ch. 28), Aurelius Caninus (ch. 30), Vortiporius (ch. 31), Cuneglasus (ch. 32) and Maglocunus (ch. 33). Two of them gained power through the killing of a legitimate heir but otherwise no clear picture emerges of Gildas's view of mid-sixth-century tyrants, which Bachrach ascribes to the "political fluidity" of the period (133). In contrast, Maximus in the late fourth century he describes as illegitimate "because he was raised up by mutinous troops 'ritu tyrannico'" (133). He was later followed by *reges*, so described seemingly because they were anointed. Following the arrival of the Saxons, Gildas still seems to depict the survival of an administrative system. Bachrach differs from Cleary on the matter of taxation: "Indeed, there seems to be no reason to assume that Gildas

erred when he indicated that the infrastructure in Britain for collecting the military *annona* was still viable in the mid-fifth century" (135). He believes that the regime was still regarded by the Romans as legitimate, as was probably also the treaty with the Saxons, since it seems to have been supported by a council. Simultaneous with the *superbus tyrannus* and the Council were various *reges*. He notes that such kings could hold a legitimate constitutional status in the late Empire and points to the Gallo-Roman Syagrius (ca. 465-486) as an example. As for Vortigern, he puts forward the suggestion that he might have been a claimant to the imperial purple. Bachrach tries to wring what he can from this intractable source. But there are still so many imponderables with Gildas (date? location? chronology?), that I wonder how useful an exercise it is.

Michael J. Enright's "Lady With a Mead-Cup: Ritual, Group Cohesion and Hierarchy in the Germanic Warband" (*FS* 22, 170-203) examines the "interaction between king, queen and *comitatus* . . . through the integrated study of the social exchanges between the three" (170-1). Those interested in both *Beowulf* and Women's Studies will need to read this article carefully since the object of his attention is the passage describing the entrance of Wealhtheow proffering a cup of liquor after Beowulf has been given a seat of honor in Hrothgar's hall (lines 607-41). He deduces from this passage that a triangular relationship existed where "the royal consort normally played a significant if subordinate role in the establishment of order and hierarchy among the members of the warband" (171). He sees the scene as an idealized picture with the *gífstol* as its center. Wealhtheow's offer of the cup to Hrothgar he interprets as "part of an archaic ritual of lordship which she must act out when the occasion warrants" (175): "its primary purpose was to establish the lordship of the individual first served and named and the subordinate status of those served afterwards" (179). He argues on the basis of a variety of texts that seating arrangements and the order in which liquor was served reveal an acute sense of precedence (the latter is certainly plausible in the light of the order of names found in the subscription lists appended to Anglo-Saxon charters). The ritual feast is thus "simultaneously an expression of lordship, hierarchy and disparity of rank" (184). The hierarchical structure of the *comitatus*, he argues, could lead to many jealousies and conflicts: the queen has a binding role "to make a harsh life full of conflict and rivalry more bearable" (190). Her power, however, was considerably constrained: on the death of a ruler she could offer the kingship, yet did not really have a free choice: she was "a conduit to the justifiable power which she symbolizes but can not exercise in her own name" (200). In the eighth and ninth century many of her king-making powers were taken over by the clergy. Enright regards the queen as an integral part of the *comitatus* (though he errs, I believe, in his view of a steward or groom, with whom he contrasts her, as "an attending but essentially extraneous character" [202]). His view of the *comitatus* as an internally hierarchical structure is an interesting one that is worth considering further. One could say that Enright makes much of rather little primary material and I have some qualms about his use of such chronologically diverse material as the *Historia Francorum*, the *Historia Langobardorum* and Icelandic literature. But his paper reveals many potentially interesting avenues of exploration and

is supplemented by a wealth of references to scholarly literature (much of it in German) upon which he is not afraid to pass judgment, sometimes commendatory (e.g., 183 n. 37 and 185 n. 46) and occasionally comminatory (e.g., 189 n. 68).

Numerology does not find much favor with medievalists (apart from students of Dante) but clearly numbers held both a fascination and a significance in medieval art and literature. Were we to school ourselves in the *quadrivium*, we might pay it more respect. Thomas D. Hill has probed one minor facet of this topic in "Woden as 'Ninth Father': Numerical Patterning in Some Old English Royal genealogies," which appears in *Germania: Comparative Studies in the Old Germanic Languages and Literatures*, edited by Daniel G. Calder and T. Craig Christy (Wolfboro, NH, and Woodbridge, Suffolk: D. S. Brewer), 161-74. He uses as his base text the genealogy of the West-Saxon kings found in the *Chronicle of Æthelweard*, of interest to literary scholars because the genealogy includes the Scyld Sceafig mentioned in *Beowulf*. He shows from its alliterative patterning that this list has two forms, one of which traces the ancestry of Cerdic back over eighteen generations, with Woden and Scyld each being the ninth father. Nine was a number significant to the Germans, as William Chaney pointed out in the *American Journal of Legal History* 6 (1962), 151-77. This paper is not cited by Greenfield and Robinson in their bibliography, presumably because they interpreted it simply as legal history; Hill has usefully brought it back to our attention. He mentions other instances of the ninth-father in Anglo-Saxon royal genealogies and, drawing on an unpublished paper by Stefán Einarsson in the Fisk Collection at Cornell, he notes its presence in Old Norse sources as well. (One might mention that this was not simply a royal phenomenon: in one of the Norwegian codes a freedman's descendants owed duties to a manumitter's family for nine generations. The number nine also occurs a several times in the early Welsh tale *Culhwch ac Olwen* and Chaney cites other examples from Celtic sources.) In trying to recover a reliable text of the early Anglo-Saxon royal genealogies, scholars should bear the significance of the "ninth father" in mind.

Michael Richter in "Practical Aspects of the Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons" (*Irland und die Christenheit*, ed. Próinséas Ní Chatháin and Michael Richter [Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1987], 362-76) discusses some features of the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons which he feels have not gained sufficient attention. He underlines, for instance, the crucial role native Anglo-Saxon laymen played in the conversion process, notably Æthelberht and his Frankish wife, Bertha; Edwin of Northumbria, who married their daughter; and a number of kings who accepted Christianity before ascending the throne, such as Cyneigils. The aristocracy was also important in the process, although Bede tends to underplay this just as he overplays the success of missionaries. Conversion was achieved by preaching, of which Richter gives a number of examples, and also by ritual and visual aids such as the use of stone buildings, gold and silver. I cannot say that I learned much from this paper.

Hanna Vollrath examines "Taufliturgie und Diözesaneinteilung in der frühen angelsächsischen Kirche" (*Irland und die Christenheit*, 377-86). She notes that up to his account of the Synod of Whitby Bede uses the term *ecclesia Anglorum* only six times, four of these appearing in the papal letter to Augustine and thus not being Bede's words at all. The other two

appear in association with the missionaries sent from Rome. Thus, for Bede the territorial and hierarchical structure of the Church initiated by Rome was the important element. But fixed territories were inappropriate for "die politische Realität von Königreichen als germanischen Personenverbänden" (378) and she examines one instance of this in the deposition of Wilfrid from his see by King Ecgfrith. Although the pope declared that Wilfrid had been uncanonically dismissed, Ecgfrith was unmoved. His response was a product of the infancy of the Roman Church in England: as far as the king was concerned, he was not dealing with an institutional Church but only with an individual cleric. She examines in her paper whether the canon adopted by the Synod of Hereford enjoining smaller dioceses was a cause of the problem, since Theodore replaced Wilfrid with three bishops, but she rejects this hypothesis. Roman baptismal liturgy required that only a bishop might make the sign of the cross and anoint at this ceremony. It is improbable that the division of his diocese was the origin of the dispute because Wilfrid is unlikely to have opposed this owing to his being such a strong champion of Roman practices.

Though more a history of a particular man in the 1980s, Frank Delaney's *A Walk in the Dark Ages* (London: Collins) follows the path of an imaginary monk on an imaginary journey in A.D. 687 from the rocky outcrop of Skellig Michael to Byzantium. It is thus a romantic exercise, "a travel book whose intention was to make a journey of the imagination as well as of the body" (14). Sadly the body was frequently encased in a car, which could even be found on a French autoroute. Whether a monk in 687 would have turned north to Byzantium rather than essayed a trip to the now-Islamic Palestine, I have my doubts—surely Jerusalem rather than New Rome would have drawn him. Certainly he would have been oblivious of Troy, which Delaney visited. But one will not read such a book for historical facts but rather to recall places previously visited and others overlooked, or to reflect on the cultural and personal differences between the author and oneself. This man from the far west of Europe is understandably more comfortable there: in Cuthbert's territory "[w]ith the *Lindisfarne Gospels* in mind, it becomes possible while walking along the dunes to see the inspiration for many of the decorations. The sand swirls in the wind; the water shades from very dark to light and foamy . . ." (83). But the terminus of his journey in the east unnerves him. "Not for a moment did I feel easy in Istanbul," he observes (234) and this is evident throughout his discussion of that endlessly fascinating city. Travellers made of sterner stuff might prefer to consult the estimable Blue Guide for that city by John Freely instead.

The annual lecture held in Jarrow on a topic relating to Bede has been a real boon to Anglo-Saxonists over the years by stimulating a wide range of specialists to investigate and share with others issues they might otherwise not have delved into. In 1987 David Parsons talked about **Books and Buildings: Architectural Description Before and After Bede* (obtainable from the Rector, St. Paul's House, 12 High Back Close, Monkton Village, Jarrow, Tyne & Wear NE32 5PA, U.K., price £2.80 including postage). In this study Parsons cites the documentary evidence on buildings from A.D. 550 to 850, enabling him to look at texts that might have influenced Bede and also see how other writers wrote about such matters

after Bede. His sources include poems, chronicles, histories, saints' lives (especially valuable) and travelogues. Bede himself is likely to have been influenced by Gregory of Tours' *Historiae Francorum* and Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis*. I cannot forebear mentioning—any more than Parsons could—the interpolated reference in the *Gesta Treverorum* to a subterranean viaduct bearing Moselle wine from Trier to Cologne. For some reason Parsons doubts the historicity of this. I commend the idea, however, to any German readers as a worthy project to incorporate into their local *Weinfest* as a tourist attraction. More plausible sites described in the early sources are aqueducts, bridges and forts. The last sometimes provided the *locus* for ecclesiastical foundations. He goes on to cite extracts that describe the interior and plans of ecclesiastical buildings, and discusses the varying meanings of *porticus* in Anglo-Saxon and Continental sources (24-7), and the types of building materials employed. His lecture concludes with a review of the evidence for the destruction and re-use of Classical buildings during the early Middle Ages.

b. From the Tenth Century to the Norman Conquest

In "Peace and Non-Peace in the Viking Age—Ottar in Biarmaland, the Rus in Byzantium, and the Danes and Norwegians in England" (*Proceedings of the Tenth Viking Congress, Larkollen, Norway, 1985*, edited by James E. Knirk [Oslo, 1987], 255-69) Niels Lund argues that the peace treaty of 994 known as II Æthelred represents not an international treaty but "a separate peace treaty serving to divide Æthelred's major enemies, Swein Forkbeard and Olaf Tryggvason, and to ensure that law and order would obtain between the latter and those English who had paid to be rid of his plundering" (255). Here he draws on Professor Fell's claim, based on her examination of Ottar's account of his voyage round the North Cape, that *unfrið* denotes, not an absence of peace (though Lund cites an example that must have this meaning), but the absence of a set of rules. A *frið* could thus denote an agreement or a treaty. The Vikings seem often to have concluded such agreements with the Anglo-Saxons or Franks, and he cites a number of examples. Until the Vikings settled permanently in England such treaties would not have been written down, so their nature is not always easy to determine. They probably "stipulated a payment to the Vikings as well as arrangements for their provisioning during winter" (256) and also may have included a time limit. Some treaties between the Byzantines and the Russians illustrate how two diverse cultures could interact. Rules were developed to protect traders in the interests of peace: King Alfred is described as Ottar's *hlaforð* because as a trader he was under the king's protection and was probably thereby accorded the status of an aristocrat. Trading is regulated in the agreement between Alfred and Guthrum, which is specifically described as a *frið* and discussed in some detail by Lund, with two Russo-Byzantine treaties providing some comparative material. This material acts as a guide for his analysis of II Æthelred. Lund argues that Æthelred concluded the treaty only with the Norwegian, Olaf, in order to use the latter against the Dane, Swein, thus taking advantage of "the traditional Norwegian resentment against the Danes" (265). A close study of its clauses leads him to conclude that it was not an international treaty but "an agreement between an English king and a force of foreign warriors who had taken his service and would now have to

spend some time in England under as peaceful conditions as possible" (268).

Jonathan Down ponders "The Problem of the Location of the Battle of Assandun" (*Essex Journal* 22 [1987], 7-9) from both a place-name and a topographical perspective, and concludes that the more likely location is Ashdon near Hadstock, close to the Essex-Cambridgeshire county boundary, rather than Ashingdon, well inside Essex to the east of Hockley. His belief that Hadstock Church with its eleventh-century oak door represents the church mentioned in the F version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 1020, as being founded by Cnut rather strains the evidence. But his arguments that those who fell in the battle were East Anglians rather than Essex figures, that Ashdon was close to a route-way leading to Mercia where Cnut was bound, and that the topography of Ashdon is more appropriate than that of Ashingdon are more persuasive.

A posthumous paper by Bruce E. Gelsinger entitled "The Battle of Stamford Bridge and the Battle of Jaffa: A Case of Confused Identity" has finally seen the light of day in *Scandinavian Studies* 60, 13-29. Parts of his conclusion are probably wrong but the answer is less important than the question, viz., how reliable as historical evidence for the Battle of Stamford Bridge are the later Norse sources? Once we decide that they are not, it does not really matter to us as Anglo-Saxonists whether the authors set about describing a battle at Jaffa between Richard Coeur de Lion and Saladin in 1192 or one at Bouvines between the emperor Otto IV and Philip of France in 1214 as Shaun F. D. Hughes does in a response to Gelsinger's paper entitled "The Battle of Stamford Bridge and the Battle of Bouvines" (*Scandinavian Studies* 60, 30-76). Once we grant Gelsinger and Hughes their case that the three thirteenth-century Icelandic historians are unreliable reporters of this eleventh-century English action—and I think we must—we are compelled to give up "the only clear testimony that Anglo-Saxons ever used cavalry in pitched battle" (13). We are thus thrown back on the C recension of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, whose evidence is reviewed by Hughes (31-4). Hughes's paper contains interesting material on early thirteenth-century history and also the relationship between the three Icelandic sources, Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*, the *Morkinskinna* and the *Fagurskinna*, which need not detain us here. We may now expect a flood of papers identifying which particular battle these three sources drew on. . . .

N. J. Higham clears up a confusion in Domesday Book in "The Cheshire Landholdings of Earl Morcar in 1066" (*Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* [1988 for 1987], 139-47). The estate of Acton in Cheshire is cited in Domesday as belonging both to Morcar and to his elder and more important brother, Edwin. Higham shows that Acton was more probably Morcar's and was likely to have been important to him since he did not become Earl of Northumbria until the latter half of 1065, when more lands would have come his way. His elder brother's estates were in the West Midlands and probably represented those accumulated by their father and grandfather. Acton itself was the focus of a large parish, which was probably coterminous with an earlier estate. The estate would have provided retainers and servants useful to him after becoming earl. Furthermore, the estate would have furnished valuable food and rents for him whenever he was in the Midlands. Indeed, the estate "was arguably

more important to him than the hidation or valuation might suggest" (145). From studies such as this a sense of the power structure of the pre-Conquest eleventh century and its tenurial basis is beginning to emerge.

I. The Post-Conquest Period

John Hayward's theme is the career of a legendary figure from just after the Conquest, "Hereward the Outlaw" (*Journal of Medieval History* 14, 293-304). The two earliest sources, the *Gesta Herewardi Saxonis* and the *Liber Eliensis*, appear to be related and may both be from the pen of Robert of Ely, a monk who wrote between 1109 and 1131. Geoffrey Gaimar, who completed his *Estoire des Engleis* in ca. 1140 in Lincolnshire (where Hereward appears to have originated), is another source. Hereward's early life was not propitious: his father negotiated his banishment from England at the age of seventeen because of his behavior. He subsequently became a tenant of Peterborough Abbey but when King Swein attacked England in 1069, he and his followers plundered the monastery. Hayward stresses William's difficulties in subjugating England. Thus Hereward posed a threat, in that other disaffected Englishmen might have joined him—and some indeed seem to have done so, including Morcar and the bishop of that still-turbulent see, Durham. The skirmishes that followed had already acquired literary accretions (which Hayward describes) from other literary sources by the time that they were recorded. His activities appear to have been motivated by the seizure of his family's lands, the killing of his brother, and the desire to force the king to come to terms with him. Not a romantic figure, his chief merit to his contemporaries was that he was English: "All our sources demonstrate that an intense sense of English identity continued to exist" (302); the story itself "nourishes a new element by establishing a Francophobe topos" (303). His story is thus as of as much interest to literary historians as to students of post-Conquest politics and society.

The title of Rüdiger Fuchs's *Das Domesday Book und sein Umfeld* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1987) does not give a clear indication of its contents and even its sub-title, *Zur ethnischen und sozialen Aussagekraft einer Landesbeschreibung im England des 11. Jahrhunderts* does not fully indicate its scope. In fact, it is a rigorously thorough investigation of ethnic mixing in England. One hundred pages are devoted to examining the ethnic streams evident in the Anglo-Saxon period before 1066, with discussions on the early Germanic peoples who infiltrated into England, Celtic survival, the Vikings and other pre-Conquest Continentals present in Britain. Two thirds of the study, however, are devoted to Domesday Book, which proves to contain a considerable number of ethnic references—to Bretons, Burgundians and others from regions of modern-day France, to Norwegians, Vikings, Irish, Welsh, Flemings, Danes, and, of course, to English (*Angli/Anglici*), Normans (*Normanni*), and French (*Franci/Francigenae*), this last term embracing all the northern French ethnic groups (264). Such are not the only means of classifying the ethnic background of those mentioned in Domesday Book: grist for the mill is also provided by names (especially by-names) and references to legal practices (e.g., the reference in DB I, 179a2 to *consuetudines Walensium* in connexion with Archenfield [239]). His book contains a mass of incidental information: in his section on the Welsh, for instance, one will find a brief discussion of

renders of honey and cattle as illustrations of Welsh legal practices (303). This will be a book of potential interest to a wide range of scholars, not merely those interested in Domesday Book or the Conquest but also social historians and onomasticians.

Corrigenda

- Your reviewer, possibly temporarily unhinged at the liberating prospect of not writing any more reviews after this Year of Grace, last year was at eights and nines instead of his custom-

ary sixes and sevens. Simon Keynes gently brought him back to reality by pointing out that in *OEN* 22.1, 108 he should have referred to the eighth rather than the ninth century in his review of Vollrath's book and on p. 112 Æthelwulf's dates are a century late and should read "839-58."

Works not Seen

[Boccaccio, Arthur Austin.] "Concepts of Anglo-Saxon Law." *Tournaments Illuminated* 86 (1988), 15-18.

D.A.E.P.

7. Names

Three entries in this year's bibliography focus on non-Anglo-Saxon settlement in England. K.I. Sandred, in "The Scandinavians in Norfolk" (*Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.* 19, 5-28), examines the place-names in *-by* on the island of Flegg and concludes that Flegg is an old Scandinavian settlement center that was relatively unsettled until the Viking period because of its marshy character. These Viking settlers of Flegg were ordinary Scandinavian peasants as shown by the monothematic personal name elements in the *-by* names and were generally peaceful since Flegg is not mentioned in written records often. Sandred confirms Ekwall's contention that most of the place-names in *-by* are compounded from Old Scandinavian personal names except for *Stokesby* and the three *Kirbys* from ON *kirkjubý* "church village," a name given by the Vikings to existing settlements with a church and which replaces the OE names. However, Sandred argues that three of the names may have other interpretations: *Ashby*, *Filby*, and *Oby*, but he feels strongly only that *Filby* may be an appellative name based on Old Danish **fili* "plank," possibly referring to a wooden footbridge in the marshes. In "To Divide the Danes from the Norwegians: On Scandinavian Settlement in the British Isles" (*Nomina* 11, 50-71), G. Fellows-Jensen suggests that the most significant place-name generics for determining the national origin of settlers in England are *-staðir* which is characteristic of areas settled mainly by Norwegians and *-by* which is typical of areas settled mainly by Danes. She adds that *þorp*-names may indicate the time of settlement or only serve as an indication of Danish settlement. After having examined the distribution of some of the most common Scandinavian habitative generics in Scandinavia and in the Viking colonies, however, Fellows-Jensen cautions against basing estimates of settlement age or settler nationality on place-name evidence. In "Thüringer unter den Angelsachsen" (*BN* 23, 114-30), W. Piroth shows the extent of Thuringian influence among the Anglo-Saxon settlers in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Lincolnshire by identifying place-name parallels for sites in these three counties and sites in the Thuringian territory in Germany such as *Blything* vs. *Bliedungen*, *Elsing* vs. *Elsungen*, and *Holdingham* vs. *Haldunge*. Piroth provides two maps, one of the relevant section of England and the other of the relevant section of Germany, on which the parallel place-names are identified.

Five articles this year deal with specific place-names. In "Kingston Place Names: an Interim Report" (*Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.* 20, 13-37), J. Bourne examines forty-nine *Kingstons* which were royal estates from which renders were generated to support the royal household. Thirteen *Kingstons*

pre-date *Domesday*, twelve appear for the first time in *Domesday*, and six have no *Domesday* connections. Bourne says these *Kingstons* were not centers of political importance, despite expectations. She also says the study will be enlarged for later publication where she will focus on the differences between primary and secondary *Kingstons*, the geographical distribution of the name, and the relationship between *Kingstons* and major ancient routeways, major political boundaries, the ancient kingdoms, and estates which were liable for the *firma unius noctis*. J. Bleach and R. Coates, in "Three More Walcois" (*Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.* 19, 56-63), identify the three Sussex *Walcois* mentioned in *Place-Names of Sussex* with little discussion there. The first *Walcot* in Ringmer close to the boundary of the manor of South Malling is the source of names at three locations: one at Malling House which is a genuine *Walcot* name, a second at or near Wellingham Lane which is "manorially" derived, and a third, *Walkers Field*, which is also "manorially" derived. The second *Walcot* at Warminghurst they cannot locate. The third, *Cote* in Durrington, they see as a variation of *Walcot* because of personal names from that era and area which varied between *de la Walecot* and *de la Cote*. They also examine the names in light of the criteria presented by K. Cameron in "The Meaning and Significance of Old English *walh* in English Place-Names" (*Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.* 12, 1-52). In "The Place-Name Yelvertoft (Northamptonshire)" (*N&Q* 35, 2-3), G. Kirstensson presents a plausible etymology for the place-name *Yelvertoft* by deriving the first element from OE **geol* referring to some body of water such as a mere or a pool and the second element from OE *ford*. Kirstensson mentions that the first two elements in *Yelverton* in Norfolk seem to be of the same origin. In "The Evolution of Warlege" (*Sussex Archaeol. Collections* 126, 248), J.S. Hodgkinson and M.J. Leppard suggest that the *Warlege* described in *Domesday* as a manor in the Hundred of Grinstead became *Wardley* on the western edge of East Grinstead. In "A Couple of English Hundred-Names" (*Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.* 20, 10-13), O. Arngart argues that the proper etymology of *Winnibriggs* in Lincolnshire on the Leicestershire border is OE *Winnigifre*, a by-name meaning "greedy for battle" and OE *brycg* which was influenced by ON *bryggja*. Similarly, he suggests a new etymology for *Plomesgate* in Suffolk; he derives it from OE **plýmettes-geat* "the gate of the plum tree grove." Finally Arngart proposes an etymology for the *Domesday* hundred of *Hemreswel* on the Isle of Wight which he had not done in his *English Hundred-Names*; he interprets that spelling as a misspelling for **Hermues*—or **Hermutheswel*

"The *wel* of Yarmouth" which he translates as "the river of Yarmouth" or "the pool of Yarmouth."

A. Dornier, in "Place-Names in *-wich*: A Preliminary Linguistic Survey" (*Nomina* 11, 87-98), examines the generic *-wich*, the palatalized form of OE *wīc* which is itself a loanword from Latin *vicus*. Her study is confined to instances of the element south of the Ribble-Humber line. She discusses the four groups she has made from among the list of names in the accompanying gazetteer: those from singular *wīc*; those which Ekwall would appear to classify as singular on the grounds of general probability; the plural names; and those for which the grammatical number is unclear. Her tentative conclusion is that those with *wīc* in the singular are predominantly topographical. Dornier also discusses personal and livestock names and concludes tentatively that Anglo-Norman and later clerks often misinterpreted some OE elements as personal names and modified them accordingly. She also observes that livestock names from palatalized *wīc* are concentrated in the south-western counties. In "The Distribution and Usage of the Place-Name Elements *botm*, *bytime*, and *botn*" (*Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.* 20, 38-46), A. Cole examines the thirty-five examples of these elements in place-names before 1500. She treats the three elements as meaning the same thing, with *botn* the ON form occurring in areas of Scandinavian influence, *bytime* being the Mercian variant, and *botm*, the Saxon form, occurring elsewhere. Cole concludes that the three terms referred to deep valley floors initially but later came to mean a flat restricted stretch of valley floor with abruptly rising sides and which was damp and easily flooded. However, the four *botn* examples are also at the heads of valleys as A.H. Smith had noted earlier. She provides clear distribution maps for all of England, for the Pennine Bottoms where the greatest distribution occurs, and for Beamsley's "bottom." In a similar study, "The Distribution and Usage of the OE Place-Name *cealc*" (*Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.* 19, 45-55), Cole examines thirty-four examples of place-names from before 1500 with the element *cealc* (the OE word for both chalk and limestone) in them. The three major types of limestone are the Carboniferous Limestone with which only one place-name, *Calke* in Derbyshire, is associated, Juraesic Limestone with which four place-names are associated, and the Chalk of southeastern England which has twenty-seven names associated with it. Two smaller types of limestone are associated with one place-name each: Magnesian Limestone which contributes *Caulke Cliff* and Devonian Limestone which contributes *Chalk Ford*. Cole notes that the element was used mostly in connection with farming to comment on soil types, identify the source of chalk for marling soils, identify places where chalk was spread, or identify the possible routes over which chalk was carried. She also observes that *cealc* was used as a place-name element most frequently where chalk was of limited or local occurrence.

In "Furze, Gorse, and Whin: an Aside on Rutland in the Danelaw" (*Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.* 20, 3-9), B. Cox traces the distribution of the various common names for *ulex europaeus* in Rutland minor names. The majority of the names with *furze* from OE *fȳrs* are from the eighteenth century and occur in a small area in the south-west of the county. Two thirds of the *furze*-names refer to enclosures and the *furze*-names' distribution coincides with the distribution of major place-names in *tūn*. *Gorse*-names from OE *gors* have a

wider distribution and are generally recorded later, particularly at the beginning of the nineteenth century. *Whin*-names from ON *hvin* occur only within a mile of Rutland's border and coincide closely with those areas with names from ON *lyng* "heather" and also with major place-names in *thorp* from ON *þorp*. Cox concludes from this evidence that Rutland remained primarily English despite the Viking incursions and being within the Danelaw. He uses four small distribution maps effectively in the article. R. Coates argues, in "Middle English *badde* and Related Puzzles" (*North-Western European Lang. Evolution* 11, 91-104), that an OE adjective **badde* probably existed and is attested in place-names and personal names such as *Badsey*, *Badsworth*, and *Badbury*. He further surmises that its OE meaning was very near the modern meanings of "worthless" or "disgusting."

K. Cameron, in "Bynames of Location in Lincolnshire Subsidy Rolls" (*Nottingham Med. Stud.* 32, 156-64) examines the unpublished Subsidy Rolls for 1327 and 1332 and discovers respectively over 160 and over 170 surnames derived from the four points of the compass: *North*, *South*, *East*, and *West*. Cameron feels that these are descriptive terms for a person living in those parts of the township rather than the village itself, but more importantly he argues that the terms are not "in any sense" place-names but only descriptive epithets used as bynames or surnames. When such names have prepositions in them such as *de in de Northiby* and have the appearance of place-names, Cameron explains these as analogical formations. In "Willelmus Rex? vel alius Willelmus?" (*Nomina* 11, 7-33), C. Clark looks at the names in a Bury St Edmunds estate-survey c. 1100 and concludes that the thesis of name-transmission through local gentry seems less likely than when first proposed since Norman names already occur in the lists of Suffolk peasants shortly after the Conquest. Clark echoes Ekwall's observation of the London bourgeoisie and finds an absence of any xenophobic reaction against the cultural patterns of the new Norman rulers.

In "What Is in a Name?" (*Historical Dialectology, Regional and Social*, Berlin, 111-37), F. Colman cautions against relying too heavily upon OE names as evidence for linguistic reconstruction and in particular as evidence for OE diatropic variation. Colman stresses that OE dialects refer to bundles of shared linguistic features that differ from other synchronic bundles of features even though one may not identify the precise geographical location of those features as one can with modern dialects. He argues that names have different functions than common nouns and may behave differently with respect to written representation and phonology, so they must be interpreted in terms of a theory of onomastics or, for coin evidence, a theory of epigraphy. In "English Place-Names and Welsh Stress Patterns" (*Nomina* 11, 99-114), H.W. Owen examines "naturalized place-names" in the area of Clwyd in North-East Wales to determine the extent of the Mercian advance westward in the seventh and eighth centuries. He notes that such names are nearly all two-syllable names although many had three or more syllables in OE or ME. In loanwords from English, stress on the original syllable is preserved, but frequently the English initial stress acts as if it were the Welsh penultimate stress and causes Welsh pitch-prominence to occur on the second syllable. This pitch-prominence on the final syllable is "not quite secondary stress" but "partly a matter of clear enunciation, of giving each

consonant and vowel its full value." Owen identifies four distinct types of such naturalized place-names: the *Borras*-type (originally three or more syllables, reduced by apocope), the *Golfryn*-type (originally three or more syllables, reduced by syncope), the *Wepre*-type (originally two syllables), and the *Prestatyn*-type (retaining three syllables but with stress-shift instead of reduction of syllables). This last type turns out to be the exception rather than the most common pattern as had been earlier suggested. As. M. Gelling has suggested, the first three types may also explain some shortened forms of English names in England.

In "Towards a Chronology for English Place-Names" (*Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, Oxford, 59-76), M. Gelling defends place-name evidence from aspersions cast upon it in three books published in 1986 by J.L.M. Myres, P. Coones and J. Patten, and O. Rackham. She says that archaeologists and historical geographers should learn how to use place-name studies correctly and to use recent studies rather than earlier studies completed when place-name scholarship was in its infancy as they try to ascertain the events of the fifth and sixth centuries and settlement history. She identifies several principles that are demonstrated in place-name studies, but internal consistency is the primary one. Gelling points out that Myres makes silly statements such as postulating the survival of *Badon* as *Baydon* and rejecting the OE source of *Badon* as *begdūn* "berry hill" and identifying Nennius's battle-site of *Gwoloph* with *Wallop* in Hampshire, all because he has not taken place-name studies seriously. She does grant that Ekwall's *Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* has errors that are obvious now and should have been revised. Work on a new Cambridge place-name dictionary has been started, however, and should make it easier for people to get up-to-date place-name information when it is published.

In "Nominal Inflection in the Old English of the Anglo-Saxon Land Charters: Reduction of Medial *an* in Toponymy-

cal Composition. A Case for Socio-Historical Linguistics" (*Probleme der Namenbildung*, *Nomina Germanica* 18, Uppsala, 131-53), K.I. Sandred explains the phenomenon observed by Ekwall concerning the absence of *-an* endings on both nouns and adjectives in the "composition-joint," in place-names recorded in charters, particularly in Kent. Sandred cites Tengstrand's observation that this loss of *n* in these place-names occurred only in unstressed positions and, after examining place-names in additional charters, concludes that such a loss of *n* is best explained in most cases as the result of a phonological development, specifically the general tendency to reduce consonant groups between weakly stressed syllables, resulting, in this case, in *-an* endings being reduced to *-a* which then changed to the unstressed vowel written *-e*. This development which shows up in sources not much influenced by literary standards, namely land charters, suggest that the sound change in colloquial southeastern OE was not so far behind the same change in Northumbrian as had been thought.

The English Place-Name Society has published a "Select Bibliography, 1980-87" (*Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.* 200, 50-71) based on the bibliographies in *Nomina*, Vols. 5-10 and promises that publication of annual bibliographies will be resumed hereafter. Although the title says "87" and the bibliography does contain some entries for 1987, other publications in 1987 will be listed in next year's bibliography.

Works Not Seen

Peterson, Lena. "Mono- and Dithematic Personal Names in Old Germanic." *Probleme der Namenbildung*. Ed. Thorsten Andersson. *Nomina Germanica*, 18. Uppsala, 1988. pp. 121-30.

Watts, V.E. "Some Northumbrian Fishery Names, III." *Durham Archaeol. Jnl* 4 (1988), 53-59.

J. D. C.

8. Archaeology and Numismatics

a. Works of General Interest

Three reference works of general interest have nice, succinct entries which may be useful to those who wish to study the archaeology of the early Middle Ages in the broadest possible context. The first is the paperback edition of Ruth D. Whitehouse's *Facts on File Dictionary of Archaeology*, first published in 1983. In this work, there are just a few entries which could include early medieval materials, but do not, such as *Animal Style*, which says nothing about Anglo-Saxon, Celtic, or Viking material. *Swords*, too, could include an early medieval aspect, but the discussion is limited to Chinese examples. The Sutton Hoo entry is wisely reserved on the temporal element; Whitehouse says:

Although no traces of a body were discovered, the valuable grave goods deposited in the ship suggest that it commemorates a person of prestige and importance, possible (sic) King Raedwald of Essex, who died in 625 (p. 490)

but the entry is marred by the restatement of the clearly wrong assertion that boat-burial "is described in the Anglo-Saxon poem *Beowulf*."

Jane McIntosh's *The Practical Archaeologist* is another *Facts on File* publication (hardcover '86, paper '88). This book is a series of well-illustrated pictorial essays, gathered under such headings as "What is Archaeology?" "Excavation," and "Understanding the Past." Such entries as "Quest for Camelot," and "King Arthur—Man or Myth?" (there is an unfortunate tendency to excessive allusive alliteration) will be of particular interest, but this book is also quite good in the presentation of the more arcane modern dating and excavation techniques.

There are many things to like in Courtland Canby's *A Guide to the Archaeological Sites of the British Isles*. Particularly useful are the neat little drawings, projected reconstructions of such important sites as Brixworth, Northants. But there are enough disquieting errors in some important entries to suggest that the book is to be used with caution. The treatment of Bede's one monastery in two places, Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, is a case in point: neither church or monastery is illustrated, though lesser churches, like Escombe, Co. Durham, are. We are told that stained glass was found at Monkwearmouth, but the important figural stained glass at Jarrow is not mentioned. The Sutton Hoo entry is an indica-

tion of how far evidence can be pushed, even though it must be granted that question marks do appear:

Perhaps the poem was written in East Anglia? And could the author have been at Raedwald's burial?

We are given the date of 652 for Raedwald's death, an event which most students of the period seem to agree took place *circa* 625.

The Oxford History of Medieval Europe, edited by George Holmes, is more properly in the History section, but it should be remarked that the history is quite pure, and could perhaps have gained by a more extensive use of archaeological evidence and illustration in the mode of Campbell's (*et al.*) *The Anglo-Saxons*.

Volume One of the *Cambridge Guide to the Arts in Britain* is so important a book for those interested in Anglo-Saxon studies that this review will be brief, in the expectation that this essential reference work should and will gain swift acceptance. The list of contributors include (among others) Jacquetta Hawkes ('Stone Age to Iron Age'), Peter Salway and Barry Cunliffe on Roman material, Richard Bailey, Isabel Henderson, Michael Alexander, and Richard Gem on matters Anglo-Saxon.

Richard Bailey's account of "The Cultural and Social Setting" of Early Medieval Britain (100-120) is admirable in its inclusiveness, and marked with wit. He makes the point clearly that "Anglo-Saxon," used as a blanket title for a period as long as the span from Chaucer to the present day is "dangerously imprecise". His dealing with the wide variation of social levels, best exemplified by the splendors of Sutton Hoo and Cuthbert's burial in the context of other graves of the pagan/Christian transitional period is well taken:

To compare the riches of the large royal ship-burial from Sutton Hoo (deposited in c. 625) with the poverty-stricken inhumations which form the vast majority of excavated cemeteries is to recognise what variable resources were available to the different ranks within this highly stratified society. The conversion to Christianity changes nothing in this respect for it also had its rankings, its poverties and its wealth. Even St. Cuthbert (c630-687), whose retiring nature and sense of personal inadequacy were emphasised by Bede, was clothed in death in Byzantine vestments of silk with a garnet and gold pectoral cross glittering on his breast. (p. 103)

Bailey's comment on Bede's use of images of technologies new to his England is interesting:

In Bede's later life the arts of lathe-turning, of stone and mortar mixing were sufficiently familiar for him to use them as images in his commentaries, but it should not be forgotten that they were alien techniques in his youth and had to be taught to the Anglo-Saxons by overseas craftsmen. (p. 109)

His conclusion properly recognizes the source of almost all of what we have left to us:

... we would do well to recall that much of what survives has come down to us through the agency of the Church, whether it be as the guardian of material or by providing the documents recording what once existed. The achievements of the secular world are thus inevitably partially screened from us. (p. 120)

Mildred Budny's chapter on "The Visual Arts and Crafts" (123-177), while a useful survey, is less well structured. She is clearly at her best—and clearly is dealing with manuscripts and material, though there are some stylistic infelicities, which

should have been picked up by the editors, as when Dr. Budny tells us:

Eadfrith apparently made the manuscript in honour of Cuthbert's translation in 698 (although he may have made it later, up to the time of his death in 721). (p. 140)

Michael Alexander's treatment of "Old English Literature" (179-193) has some excellent translations, but there are problems in his text. It seems simply inappropriate, in a history of the arts, to quote Old English and Latin, particularly when some of the Latin is unglossed. Professor Alexander is sure on points where a great many scholars are still at sea, as in his serene assertion that the lines (of poetry) on the rood at Ruthwell "were composed before Bede completed his Ecclesiastical History in 731" (p. 183). Professor Alexander is also certain that the Ruthwell runes "now form part of a poem known to us as *The Dream of the Rood*" (p. 183). He then presents a translation of lines 1-56 of the tenth-century poem, serving as a transition to the *Beowulf* section, which starts "*Beowulf* probably existed in nearly its present form within a century of the carving of those runes on stone at Ruthwell" (p. 196). Despite these quibbles, Alexander's essay is a case for Anglo-Saxon literature *as an art*, rather than a mine for philologists, theologians, or intellectual historians.

Space precludes treatment of the final essays in the book in any detail, though Martin Biddle on Winchester, Isabel Henderson on the Arts of Late Celtic Britain, and Richard Gem on architecture are not to be missed.

Several papers in *Recent Research in Roman Yorkshire*, edited by J. Price *et al.* are of direct interest to Anglo-Saxonists, but the volume as a whole is important as a reflection on the status of land and landscape before and during the *Adventus Saxonum*. D. Whitwell writes on "Late Roman Settlement on the Humber and Anglian Beginnings" (49-78). The most burning question is the *where* of trading sites and routes, because of radical changes, as yet imperfectly understood, of water levels in the area. As for Saxon settlement, Whitwell concludes:

For evidence of early penetration and settlement in the stretches of the east coast adjacent to the Humber, the clearest indications that we have yet are in the Vale of Pickering where Dominic Powlesland has found fifth-century cemeteries and settlement sites in the two neighbouring parishes of Heselton and Sherburn. Combined with the earlier discoveries from parishes to the north and south of the Vale, mentioned above, at Wykeham, Seamer and Staxton, this recent work provides impressive evidence that the Vale of Pickering was extensively settled early in the Anglo-Saxon period.

At the present the evidence is lacking to suggest that the shore of the Humber was similarly settled during the fifth century. Perhaps with the survival of Romano-British settlement on its banks, it was another fifty or a hundred years before Anglian settlement took root there. On the other hand, the emergent picture of early Anglian settlement on the rising ground to either side of the marshes and water courses of the Vale of Pickering should perhaps make us take another hard look at the parishes to either side of the valleys of the Rivers Ancholme and Hull to see whether there are not signs of similarly early settlement (pp. 72-3)

P. A. Rahtz writes on "From Roman to Saxon at Wharrah Percy" (123-137), concluding:

I may have given the impression that the history of Wharrah is that of a series of 'steady-state' phases, punctuated by periods of drastic change. While this is to some extent true, and may have been

seen thus by those who lived there, modern archaeology tends to favour explanations for change based on internal factors rather than external ones. In the case of the transition discussed in this paper, the Roman period would be seen as one of apparent stability, but was in fact declining from internal causes—a process which may perhaps be traced back to the later second century. The Anglo-Saxon immigrants would be seen not as militant conquerors taking over land by force from a disorganised peasantry and whatever tyrants may have been to power, but as a relatively small number of Germanic farmers who had found out, by report or visitation, that eastern England, in this case eastern Yorkshire, was in a run-down state where vigorous new help might have been welcome. Hope-Taylor has suggested this for Bernicia to the north, as a result of his work at Yeavering (Hope-Taylor 1977). Such slight evidence as has been set out in this paper may be interpreted as pointing to a peaceful integration with the local community, some decades after the decline of the social and economical systems that must have been clearly defined in the fourth century. (pp. 135-6)

The main theme of Barry Cunliffe's *Greek and Roman Barbarians* is summed up in its subtitle, "spheres of interaction." The book was written, in part, as an effort to bridge divisions between classical and prehistoric archaeology, and the study of classical Mediterranean culture and that of the barbarian north.

Cunliffe's primary interest is in core/periphery relationships, and his study begins at the point at which the barbarian periphery is drawn into the expanding core of classical culture. In the author's view:

By the second century A.D. the core—the Roman Empire—had grown so quickly that it had engulfed its periphery without fully integrating it. In the vast region under Roman domination it is possible to define three distinct zones. In the centre was the inner core, Rome and Italy, consuming raw materials and manpower and cash in enormous quantities, far above its productive capacity . . . Around it lay an inner periphery of rich provinces—Spain, Gaul, Asia, Africa—producing far in excess of local needs . . . [a] third zone [was] the outer periphery, a zone from which, by process of exchange and trade, a further range of manpower and raw materials . . . were drawn into the empire. (pp. 3-4)

His approach is mildly Marxist in places, though not consistently so. To Cunliffe's credit, he includes a chapter, albeit a short one, on Roman trade with Ireland, though he too readily accepts the conventional view that Irish literature is an accurate reflection of Iron Age society. Turning to England, Cunliffe says of Traprain:

The overall impression given by Traprain is that it served as a major manufacturing and distribution centre throughout much of the period of Roman occupation, and it is tempting to see it as the principal *oppidum* of the Votadini—a seat of legitimate native power, allowed to remain in existence during the Roman interlude as the focus of the tribe. That in the early first millennium A.D. it maintained manufacturing and redistribution functions similar to those of the Middle Iron Age hillforts of central southern Britain is an indication of the comparatively low level of economic development experienced by the northern tribes, in spite of the centuries of Roman contact. (p. 167)

This makes a refreshing change from the usual descriptions of Traprain as simply the source of the famous treasure.

Martin Carver's *Underneath English Towns* is a fascinating and well-written book, perhaps most particularly so because he deals not only with Roman and Saxon towns, but later periods. He is also bold enough to write a "Discourse on

Method." In his Preface, Carver warns those who seek an account of "onward and upward" in the archaeological record will be disappointed:

Civic authorities who might be hoping to read of a steady improvement in civilisation from the time of Claudius to the twentieth-century Town Planning Acts are going to be disappointed. It is a story of frustrated greed, cyclical decline and occasional disaster; the English town emerges from its ruins underground as a passive artefact, propped, cajoled or pump-primed into temporary functions through the artificial aid of a wealth and power which decidedly preferred the green belt (p.5)

Carver's picture of an urban 'dig' deserves full quotation, both for content, and for the wit that comes from an unusual ability to see one's work from a distance, in a Swiftian way:

Pity the poor visitor to an archaeological site in one of England's historic towns. His curiosity is aroused in the street, where hand-painted advertisements, perhaps a quaint array of photographs, and an impressive list of sponsorship credits announce that this is a Roman or a medieval 'dig'. Once through the hoarding, however, he encounters a scene of irredeemable dereliction. A large brown rectangular gap lies in the land, cut above with pits, interlaced with wandering plank-paths and bolstered by pieces of scaffolding. Here and there a short run of barely recognisable walling, a cluster of wooden stakes, or a patch of bright pebbles or burnt clay relieve the dark brown carved cubes and scoured sockets. Everything is decked with little white labels, investing the peaks and hollows and shafts with some unstated significance. This straight-sided quarry contains a tableau of people of both sexes, mainly in their twenties, who dress as though recently rounded up from a refugee camp, and move as though under sedation. They strike a variety of curious attitudes, many kneeling with bowed heads scratching the ground like chickens, others apparently trapped beneath heavy drawing boards, others shovelling earth from deep holes, others dejectedly setting forth with wheel-barrows on the long climb to the summit of an adjacent hillock of homogenous debris. It is a scene which manifests system rather than purpose, and of a controlling discipline there can be no doubt. It must be either the outstation of a corrective institution or an *avant garde* street-theatre rehearsing in the absence of its director. Meanwhile, the enthusiastic and gesticulating site guide, periodically overwhelmed by the roar of traffic or lapsing into technical obscurity, speaks of roads, temples, houses and palaces, of Roman plaster, Saxon stake-holes, medieval culverts and Victorian cellars, hoping, it would seem, to restore morale with a recitation of antique images, inspiring, audacious but by no means obviously relevant. (p. 11)

The importance of this work is seen most clearly in the daring way in which Carver recreates almost palpable impressions of places and describes them—as they must have been—in unorthodox terms, as in this account of a Roman city, occasioned by the remarkable happenstance at Newport, Lincoln, when a lorry got stuck in a Roman arch:

Had the lorry been driving beneath this Roman arch at Roman street level, it would have experienced less difficulty. With the addition of traffic lights, a Roman town with its urban thoroughways, pedestrian areas and shopping precincts, its municipal rubbish tips, main sewers and public water supply (via aqueducts and piping) could have supported a modern urban society—indeed in some instances abroad it still does. (p. 12)

Carver's picture of the post-Roman period is bleak. Seen from the excavators' point of view, Roman towns were a) largely robbed of useful building materials and b) covered in dark earth, with little in it. He concluded:

This brief archaeological picture suggests that most parts of most towns were finally abandoned, as towns, soon after the 'official end' of the Roman administration. Then, or earlier, or later, they were exploited as quarries for building materials; after this, parts were laid out as gardens or most extensive areas of cultivation. Some places must have been exploited in this way within the fifth to ninth centuries, and there we have to suppose a private estate or manor of a kind for which Winchester, as so often, provides the model. Martin Biddle's presentation of his post-Roman sequence at Lower Brook Street has yet to be fully published, and will be infinitely more valuable and informative than any summary that can be made here. But it would seem (from the interim report that has appeared) that we have here a part of a town where the settlement fabric of the sixth to eighth centuries coincided with what went before and after: a burial, a workshop, an early church; perhaps nearly a hall and outbuildings. This would provide a reflection within the walls of an establishment which is otherwise overwhelmingly rural; the 'palace sites', manors or 'villae regalis' which were the favoured settlement type of the middle-Saxon aristocracy. (p. 46)

Malcolm Todd's *The Southwest to AD 1000* is the first volume of *A Regional History of England* (eds. Barry Cunliffe and David Hey) to have reached the present reviewer. The last three chapters will be of the greatest interest to Anglo-Saxonists. Todd starts his work with a notion that should be obvious, but often is not:

The briefest and most cursory acquaintance with the south-western peninsula of England is enough to convince the visitor that the most powerful influence upon the region is the sea. At no point in Devon is the sea more than 40 km away: for Cornwall the figure is scarcely more than 25. The long winding estuaries and the drowned valleys of the south coast carry sight and smell of the sea deep inland. In no other part of England are sea and land so intimately bound together. There are profound effects on much more than landscape. (p. 1)

It will be no surprise to discover that the *direct* Roman influence on the area was very scant:

The long-term effects of Roman military occupation on the South West were remarkably limited. None of the auxiliary forts in the region appear to have attracted to its vicinity that motley crew which is so commonly attested at the forts of the pre-Flavian period in much of southern Britain, and subsequently no *vici* or road-station developed over their sites as happened frequently elsewhere. North Tawton, Okehampton, Nanstallon and the rest faded into the landscape and were no more. (p. 205)

Despite this conclusion, the Roman sites excavated in Exeter in 71-77 showed some quite impressive remains. Curiously, large numbers of Greek coins were found in Exeter. The conclusion drawn by Todd seems reasonable:

The presence of so many Greek and Greek Imperial issues is best viewed in the light of the fact that Exeter may well have been the first port of call for many vessels arriving from the Mediterranean. That small change of ultimately Mediterranean origin was dispersed in the town is understandable enough. Once there, the small value bronze coins in particular are unlikely to have been distributed very widely. (p. 216)

In the later Roman period this trend to far-flung contacts is intensified, almost certainly because the tin from Devon and Cornwall became an important commodity. Curiously, though the clays of the area are ideal for making pottery, there is little evidence to suggest that this resource was much exploited. Todd has firm notions on Christianity in the area; it did not exist before 400, and the Celtic relation of the ecclesi-

astical community has in this view been overstressed. He concludes:

The South West was receptive rather than innovatory in the matter of monastic foundations. When they are viewed as a whole there is nothing in our sources to indicate that any lead in the development of monasticism was provided by personalities or communities in the region. Our most informative source for early monasteries is the *Vita Sancti Samsonis*, a work of the seventh century, possibly compiled in its original form about 650. This is an impressive document by the standards of Saints' Lives, sober, well organized and internally consistent. It mentions two monastic establishments: one called Docco, the other unnamed, established by Samson himself. (p. 245)

Another interesting wrinkle is that Byzantine coins are found in this area; probably the result of trade. Devonian tin appears in high percentages in a number of Anglo-Saxon *sceattas*, though this coin itself is exceedingly rare in SW contents. Todd knows of *none* from Devon. As the Saxons move in, the political situation becomes complex and difficult. Todd's perspective is interesting:

The long drawn out contest between Wessex and Dumnonia, as it is sketched for is in the *Chronicle*, is not the unfolding of a determined and expansionist *Westpolitik* carried out by the military might of English kings as the expense of weaker neighbours. More fundamentally it was a struggle for the possession of land by rival owners, some British, some English, all liable to resort to force. English settlers in the eastern parts of Dumnonia may be expected from the late seventh century onward, the family of Boniface among them, and during the eighth century their numbers will have grown, particularly in the fertile lands of the Exe and the Culm. Disputes were inevitable and on occasion major armies might be called out by rulers to bring matters to an issue. That is the true background to *Beandun* and *Peonnum* and the expansion of Wessex, the struggle for territory and squabbles over land, not the growth of one kingdom at the expense of another. (p. 273)

Whatever one may hold about continuity elsewhere, Todd sees it as a reality here:

What we see in the Domesday Survey is the first written record of an agricultural economy that was already several thousand years old. The eleventh-century peasant and the Bronze Age farmer would each have recognized much of his own narrow world in that of the other. The most remarkable feature of the early history of the South West is the essential continuity which underlay life on the land. The main fabric of that life was to endure until early modern times. (p. 310)

Peter Drewett, David Rudling, and Mark Gardiner give us another volume in this series, *The South-East to AD 1000*. As this volume covers the areas of Surrey, Kent, and West and East Sussex, it is of great importance. Though Roman villas were rich, clearly Italianate in form, and made use of a number of environments, there are definite signs of decay or advancement, as part of the same troubled period that occasioned the growth of Saxon shore fortification in the area. Insofar as the *Adventus Saxonum* is concerned, the new inhabitants did *not* displace or destroy the old:

The collapse of Romano-British culture in Britain cannot be attributed to a violent Anglo-Saxon settlement. Romano-British culture collapsed at the same time as, or more probably before, the arrival of the Germanic settlers and the two events are not necessarily linked as cause and effect. The Romano-British culture was closely associated with the economic system which produced and sustained it. When the economy failed at the end of the fourth and in the fifth century, a cultural vacuum was created. The surviving

sub-Roman population became archaeologically invisible, for they must have resorted to artifacts which are indistinguishable from those of the Anglo-Saxons, or which could simply be produced and were made of organic materials which leave no trace at all. The Germanic settlers brought their own culture, which was more closely adapted to the emerging patterns of production and exchange and very quickly this became firmly established as dominant in South-East England. (p. 252)

The picture provided of Kent in the period 410-650 AD, paralleling as it does both the time-set of *Beowulf* and of the East Anglian royal line at Sutton Hoo should be read by all who seek a broader content for culture and literature. The chapter on "The Middle and Late Anglo-Saxon Periods, 650-100 AD" is a lode of carefully-structured detailed information, solidly based on very recent archaeological evidence. The evidence of churches is interesting, particularly the way in which a new group in South-West Surrey came into being:

From the diversity of Anglo-Saxon church plans it is possible to isolate a group of churches in South-West Surrey which were built to a common design and probably constructed within a short period of one another as the formerly remote Wealden areas became settled and it became necessary to increase the provision of churches. Hascombe, Golalming church, Alfold and perhaps Cranleigh are all two-cell churches with originally square east ends made to a common size in the Late-Anglo-Saxon period. It is possible that they are the work of a single gang of itinerant craftsmen, but equally they may have been constructed locally, according to a master plan current in the district (Blair forthcoming; Rodwell 1986). These Surrey churches, built late in the Anglo-Saxon period, suggest that this may have been a period of considerable activity. (p. 318)

The authors of this survey discuss a fundamental societal change in the land holding of the late Saxon period:

During the Middle and Late Anglo-Saxon period, land and the concomitant powers over it were gradually being devolved from the king at the centre of the church and to lay lords. These were able to exercise at a local level closer and more effective control of their tenants. They were able to extend their power because, at the same time, the social structure of the family was becoming weakened. The bonds of kinship which tied together blood relations into a mutually supportive group were gradually being dissolved. Instead of the assistance of the king, the unity and strength this had provided was substituted by new relationships with the lords which provided the necessary security. The rather modest dues which had once been collected to sustain the king and his household were diverted to the benefit of private lords, and the size of the renders increased to sustain this new and growing level in the social hierarchy. The nature of the dues changed. From being collective tributary payments of food falling on a large group, they became rents extracted from individuals in money or through work services. (p. 340)

Richard P. Abels's *Lordship and Military Obligation in Anglo-Saxon England* is a satisfying book in many respects. Firstly, the view of Anglo-Saxon England as a kind of early democracy, with peasants flocking to the banners to defend their homelands is laid to rest. As is often the case, the best modern research validates the perceptions of the great in the past: Bede was absolutely right when he feared for the safety of his kingdom with so much land being permanently alienated, and turned into bookland, thus reducing the immediate and practical control early Anglo-Saxon kings had on the services of their aristocratic retainers. It is also satisfying to see H. M. Chadwick's notion of war and battle service as essentially vindicated. The tension between service and

bookland was resolved in the only way possible, by specifying duties for holders of bookland. The situation in the early Anglo-Saxon period is summed up by Abels as follows:

In the seventh and eighth centuries royal hosts were essentially royal war bands, composed of the king's retainers and their own followers. Each warrior fought not as a free man defending the nation of the 'folk,' as many have assumed, but as a commended man serving his lord. Land entered into this system only obliquely. Although military obligation arose from the demands of lordship rather than land tenure, the acceptance of an estate did oblige a man, according to the mores of the time, to requite the gift with faithful service. Moreover, such tenure was precarious.

Consequently, both the gift of land and the gift of service were open ended, each reinforcing and confirming the other. (p. 185)

As for the later period:

The evidence suggests that those who held bookland . . . were expected to 'defend' their property in person in the royal host. A thegn who held a great estate, upon which the fyrdfaereld lay so heavily that more than a single warrior was required to discharge the duty, would have been obliged to lead one or more other warriors to the fyrd. How the landowner might obtain the necessary fyrdmen was not the concern of the king, so long as these soldiers were suitably competent. In some instances bookholders exchanged a lifetime, or multi-life, interest, in a parcel of land for their tenant's armed service. In others they fulfilled their obligation to the king by maintaining fighting men within their own households. Whatever course a magnate chose, he would ordinarily guarantee the loyalty of his warrior-representatives by binding them to himself through commendation. Lordship and land tenure thus provided the twin pillars upon which the military organization of late Anglo-Saxon England rested. In a very real sense, the royal host never ceased being the king's following arrayed for war. In this lies one of the keys to the turbulent politics of the late tenth and of the eleventh century. (p. 186)

There are points about which one can take exception. The present reviewer cannot agree with the thrust of Abels's notion that:

While archaeology is the one area in which discoveries are constantly occurring, one need only read the report of the findings of a dig to see how dependent archaeologists are on historians' interpretations of Anglo-Saxon society. (p. 8)

There are too many instances in which "archaeology" has turned "history" on its head for this view of archaeology as backward to history to hold valid. All in all, however, Abels's book is essential, and it would be unwise to teach the background and contemporary social relevance of *The Battle of Maldon* without consulting this well-researched, reasonable, and eminently readable book.

The Medieval Reprints for Teaching series has issued two new reprints:

1) Adolf Katzenellenbogen's *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art*. First published in 1939, this is still the standard work on the subject. The book is divided into two sections dealing with dynamic and static representations of the virtues and vices respectively. There is virtually no discussion of the art or literature of the British Isles and Ireland, but it does offer the Anglo-Saxonist a handy source book for the origins and Continental parallels of a number of Anglo-Saxon themes and images.

2) Eugene Kleinbauer's *Modern Perspectives in Western Art History* is, as Kleinbauer stated in his 1971 preface, an introduction to methodology. It contains papers central to the

study of the art of any period, such as Panofsky's "Renaissance and Renascences" and Wolfflin's "Principles of Art History" as well as classic papers on individual topics, as for example, Weitzmann's "The Survival of Mythological Representations in Early Christian and Byzantine Art and their Impact on Christian Iconography" or Krautheimer's study, "The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture."

James Snyder's *Early Medieval Art* illustrates all the problems inherent in large multi-period surveys authored by single scholars. Insular art is not Snyder's field, and this is made abundantly clear in the third section of the book, "The Early Middle Ages in the North." Snyder's discussion is filled with a bleak and gloomy romanticism, causing him to interpret the leitmotif of *Beowulf* as: "In the darkness dwells a demon whose heart is filled with hate" (p. 176). The text also contains more serious factual errors. Snyder goes on to describe early Irish monks as "human crustaceans or amphibians" (p. 182) living in crude wooden huts or rough-hewn stone structures until the Synod of Whitby, after which they began to erect large stone churches. The section closes with a discussion of the Ruthwell Cross which Snyder dates somewhat too confidently to the seventh century. He also falls victim to the increasingly common error of identifying the Ruthwell poem as a portion of *The Dream of the Rood*. The cross itself he interprets as a celebration of the "victory of the ascetic Christian over the raw forces of nature," although most modern studies of the cross show it to be much more sophisticated than that. What this book demonstrates above all else is the need for both introductory textbooks dealing with narrower subjects and/or larger surveys co-authored by a number of specialist scholars.

There have been a number of recent surveys of the late Roman and/or pre-Christian north. J. L. Brunaux gives us *The Celtic Gauls: Rites and Sanctuaries*, a very general survey which relies a bit too heavily on proposed reconstructions of sites and structures. Much of the book focuses on theoretical and abstract concepts of space, time, life and death as revealed through archaeological and historical record, rather than on the material remains themselves.

In contrast, Peter Harbison's *Pre-Christian Ireland* focuses on the archaeological record rather than on theoretical interpretation. Harbison prefaces the book with a chapter on the history of Irish archaeology. This is a very wide-ranging work, which does a good job of emphasizing connections with Britain and the Continent and the importance of maritime travel and communication in the pre-Christian period. The book is structured around what Harbison interprets as three key events of the agriculture and the coming of Christianity. It contains pivotal chapters on the Boyne Valley area, megalithic tombs, and the continuing importance of both to later cultures. There is also a central chapter on the rise of metal-working. Harbison's book is perhaps most usefully read in conjunction with the de Paors' *Early Christian Ireland*.

R. T. F.

b. Archaeology

C. J. Arnold writes that the aim of his *Archaeology of the Early Anglo-Saxon Settlements* is to bridge the gap between specialist studies and general accounts of the subject. To this end he discusses archaeological evidence from two main

contexts—settlements and cemeteries—with the stress on interpretation rather than description of the evidence. The result is too great an emphasis on art historical matters and artifacts (as opposed to sites). Another problem is that Arnold deals only with the most recently excavated cemeteries as the older ones have already been published. This is fine for the specialist familiar with the older reports, but sways the evidence for the general reader. Arnold comes close to arguing for the study of theory for theory's sake in his assertion that:

Rightly, few of the hypotheses examined in this book will stand the test of time but it will have achieved its aim if it provides a foothold for fellow students who also appreciate the need to abandon what may glibly be characterized as the 'Beowulf and brooches' approach. It is hoped that it will provide a flexible structure which can be refined and developed and which may help to break down the monolithic structures and mystical nature of the subject (16).

Arnold's discussion of the material remains would have been helped by illustrations and, in some cases, by identification of his sources. His comparison of Continental and Anglo-Saxon evidence here is somewhat problematic. He states, for example, that it is unreasonable to expect Continental dress to represent accurately Anglo-Saxon styles. While this may be true to a certain extent, variations in the way dress fasteners are worn, may be as liable to change from area to area within England as they are between England and the Continent. There is only so much that textile remains and the position of dress fasteners can tell us even with further research. He also fails to consider the possibility that some of the grave goods he discusses might have served a ritual function. This section of the book includes an impressive range of charts and diagrams, but the accompanying text tends to be repetitive and the diagrams poorly integrated into it.

One important flaw in this discussion is that he does not deal with the role of monasteries, either in the production of objects, or as trading and economic centers. While he does note the relationship between important royal sites and the church, he fails to expand on this point. Arnold cautions against the too ready interpretation of the large wooden structures at Cowdery's Down, Northampton and Yeavinger as "palaces." This is a valid point, but the argument here is based largely on negative evidence. He goes on to suggest that the construction of magnificent secular buildings may only have arisen after conversion to Christianity in direct imitation of grand ecclesiastical buildings. Yet these buildings may themselves have been imitations of grand royal structures. There were few patrons or members of the hierarchy of the early church who were not also members of the aristocracy.

Arnold concludes:

As the sixth century unfolded leadership appears as an office symbolized at burial, but such big men were not necessarily the heads of any form of centralized government. Leadership in such stateless societies must have entailed internal and external roles, with political leaders having superior access to ordinary goods, women and valuables through ceremonial exchange. Their position is much more likely to have been achieved, not determined by birth. The position was won by demonstrating superior abilities, achievements and luck in oratory, dispute and peace settlements, war prowess and success in ceremonial exchange (194).

This is likely to be, at least to a certain degree, true, but it is hard to see how Arnold derives this conclusion from the archaeological evidence alone, particularly the archaeological evidence as presented in this book.

H. R. Hurst, *Gloucester, the Roman and Later Defenses*. This is Volume 2 of the Gloucester Archaeological Reports, and in it the author compares the structural details revealed by all the excavations of the Roman defenses. Hurst notes at the beginning that while there is less structural evidence for the post-Roman period, there is a wealth of documentary evidence, and this section of the report is as a result more a survey of defended circuits and a reappraisal of the Saxon and early Norman defenses. Here Hurst also deals with ideas about urban defenses and how they have changed in recent years, interpreting such defenses as structures within rather than the borders of a settlement.

Hurst's reinterpretation of the evidence indicates two successive periods of legionary occupation rather than one continuous one, with *colonia* following at the traditional date of c. 878, though not being characterized by any major rebuilding. He suggests that the wall built during the late first century military occupation was retained and reused as a town wall. The *opus quadratum* masonry of the original wall was a type of "status construction" comparable to the construction of masonry walls at Chester and other sites. Its retention as a town wall may thus have been due to its status construction, including its impressive gates. The dating evidence for the wall itself is, however, slim, resting primarily on the dating of small finds.

Chapter 5 deals with the post-Roman defenses. Here Hurst notes that while little material evidence survives, an entry in the Chronicle (A.D. 911) links Gloucester with Hereford and other burghs, and remains of defenses do survive at Hereford. The layout of the streets within the walled area also suggests re-use of the Roman wall, while the need for refortification in the Norman period suggests an Anglo-Saxon neglect of the defenses.

The report's conclusion includes a discussion of the two models previously proposed for the development of Anglo-Saxon Gloucester: 1) An urban administrative center established in the late ninth or early tenth century by the founding of the Kingsholm complex, burgh and St. Oswald's Priory. 2) A favorable topographical position and the pre-existing monastic complex of St. Peters, combined with a Mercian royal presence, cause it to become an important urban center at an earlier date. Hurst points out that there is not enough archaeological evidence to decide between the two. The report quite logically suggests that future research should include the study of mason's tool marks and local quarries—two avenues of research which have added significantly to our understanding of later medieval structures.

In *Greens, Commons and Clayland Colonization. The Origins and Development of Green-side Settlement in East Suffolk*, Peter Warner examines the origins of green villages, noting that:

Superficial geographical interpretation and an over-dependence on improperly understood pottery evidence has led to a simplistic solution to what is a much more complex problem (2).

This study combines geographical, topographical and place-name evidence with documentary sources (particularly Domesday book) and archaeological evidence to study the

relationship between settlement in moorland and wood and how it led to the development of green villages. Warner points out that an increasing body of evidence, including fieldwalking and aerial photography, suggests that claylands were developed in the Roman period. These Roman sites tend to have been deserted in the second and third centuries and, with few exceptions, there is no coincidence between the deserted Roman farmsteads and late Saxon/early Medieval settlement. He believes that reuse rather than continuity of settlement is implied. Green ditches, the boundaries of individual Roman farmsteads, retained some of their original function in their reuse as divisions between areas of enclosed and unenclosed land. In the post-Conquest period they were used to separate common from individually owned land. This does not indicate continuity of settlement, but rather a process of secondary colonization during which individuals and small groups moved on to the clay commons and cleared land for their own use. These individuals, Warner states, owed dues only to the hundred and shire but were "under commendation of superior lords and seignorial freemen who occupied more ancient estates in the heartlands of older established vills" (p. 28). This process is reflected in the dispersed green-side settlement patterns which remained basically unchanged until the nineteenth century. Warner concludes that patterns of tenement development indicate that some green-side settlements have their origins in a form of "co-operative manorial enclosure," and that reconstructed tenement and land boundaries indicate "a style of leap-frog settlement pattern which may be characteristic of other clayland areas as well" (p. 45). This pattern of greens and commons may therefore be seen as distinctive of, but not unique to, the claylands of Norfolk and Suffolk.

Michael McCarthy and Catherine Brooks' *Medieval Pottery in Britain AD 900-1600* is divided into two parts, the first dealing with technology, production, distribution and the uses of pottery, and the second a gazetteer of sites and wares. The first section is made somewhat confusing by the authors' tendency to skip back and forth between pottery groups of various dates. This is effective when discussing the development of techniques, but confusing when specific sites or types of pottery are being used to support an argument. Aside from a lengthy discussion of kilns and firing, the chapter on technology concentrates mostly on the high and late Medieval periods. The book does, however, contain a detailed discussion of the production and distribution of Anglo-Saxon pottery. Here the authors caution quite rightly against the identification of pottery with power, noting, for example, the lack of pottery evidence from Mercia during the Middle Saxon period, and the mediocre quality of the material known from high status sites in the pre-Conquest period in general. McCarthy and Brooks also discuss the increasing evidence for urban centers of production in the late Saxon period, but warn that this may in part be due to the limited number of excavations of rural sites. They also note that different manufacturing and firing techniques were in use throughout Anglo-Saxon England, but that it is not clear what, if anything, the distribution of the different techniques indicates. The section on "Pottery and Society" deals almost exclusively with Norman and Post-Norman pottery, although a number of Anglo-Saxon sources such as law texts, or the portrayal of vessels in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts could have been cited. The authors do

pose an interesting question concerning the possible dietary and health implications which may have been brought about by the adoption of pottery in the preparation and cooking of food.

Part 2 of the book is a select rather than a comprehensive gazetteer divided both geographically and chronologically. The authors state that:

Sites have been selected because they contain a useful stratified sequence, because the range of material present is in some way impressive or instructive, or else because the nature of the site itself has something to offer ceramic studies (137).

Sally Foster's "A Gazetteer of Anglo-Saxon Sculpture in Historic Somerset" (*Somerset Archaeology and Natural History* 131, pp. 49-80), deals with sculpture from all parts of the country with the exception of the Keynsham Abbey finds discussed in the report of excavations at Keynsham Abbey included in the same volume (see below). This paper is very poorly organized and inadequately illustrated exclusively with line drawings. The author also has a tendency to rely too heavily on previously proposed dates and arguments without examining them carefully. Her discussion of the Keynsham graveslab fragments, which are carved with cruciform designs of semicircles and foliate elements, also fails to note their parallel both in Irish graveslabs of the eighth to twelfth centuries and in the much earlier Hartlepool-Lindisfarne series of graveslabs. A detailed analysis of individual motifs in the manner of the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* would have been more useful than the brief general summaries of sculptural schools and regional groups Foster offers. Yet, as she rightly notes, until the complete *Corpus* is published, such gazetteers and catalogues are invaluable to the study of Anglo-Saxon sculpture in general.

This volume contains P. Rahtz and S. M. Hirst's "The Chapel of St. Columbanus at Cheddar" (157-161). This chapel, begun as a tenth century royal chapel constructed over an earlier hall, was rebuilt in the late Saxon or early Norman period, and again in the later Middle Ages. The purpose of the present article is to record the above-ground elevations, the below ground features having been dealt with in the 1979 report on the excavation of Cheddar. As only the footings of the tenth century and Saxon (or Norman) chapels survive, this paper deals primarily with the later medieval period of construction.

R. Milner-Gulland's "Greatham Church: Fabric, Date, Dimensions, Implications" (*Sussex Archaeological Collections* 126, pp. 93-103), is part of a much needed investigation of small churches of uncertain, possibly Anglo-Saxon date. Greatham is a small rectangular church with roughly coursed rubble walls which incorporates many later additions. Milner-Gulland believes that the crude masonry and irregular quoinstones, as well as the form of the blocked east window suggest late Anglo-Saxon construction. He details its similarities with St. Botolph's, Hardham, a church of either late Anglo-Saxon or early Norman date, but stresses the need for petrological analysis and systematic archaeological examination before final conclusions can be drawn. The author raises some interesting questions not only about Greatham, but also about the precision with which early churches are studied.

Robin Turner contributes a brief note on "The Sources of Indurated Conglomerate from Early Medieval Churches in

North and East Essex" in the same volume. Turner notes that:

It is a common misconception to describe the material in question as ironstone . . . it is properly termed indurated conglomerate and is formed by the percolation of iron-rich minerals through beds of gravel (120).

He identifies indurated conglomerate as a widespread but localized building material in use during the Saxo-Norman and early Norman periods.

Also in this volume is F. G. Aldsworth and R. Harris's report on "The tower and 'Rhenish Helm' spire of St. Mary's Church, Sompting" (195-44). The article is the result of a close inspection of the tower and framing of the spire conducted in 1984, which revealed that the tower was built in two distinct phases. The lowest level of the tower is of pre-Conquest date, while the second level was added in the eleventh century. The spire has been dated by dendrochronology to the fourteenth century. The authors note that in the Phase II level the capitals and half-columnar shafts at the center of each wall, a slight necking in of the tower, and filled timber voids all occur at the same level. They interpret this as evidence that the original masonry of the tower ended at this point and was capped by timber gables which supported a spire similar in shape to the present one. This spire would then be similar in form to that suggested by Rodwell for the tower at Barton-on-Humber and the tower depicted on the Pershore censor cover. A number of alternative reconstructions are also included.

In "A Saxon Church at West Blatchington" (77-91 in the same journal), J. Holmes looks at archaeological excavations, structural analysis and historical and linguistic sources to show that St. Peter's, West Blatchington "belongs to a type [of church] being built in Sussex in the tenth century by local thegns on their estates" (77). Excavation of the church took place in 1980 during which the foundations of the pre-Norman structure were confirmed. This church was shortened and largely rebuilt and a chancel was added during the Norman period. In his conclusion Holmes states that the simple rectangular plan of the original structure indicates that it must date before the year 1000 when the addition of a chancel was dictated by changes in the liturgy. While this may be the case, it need not necessarily be so. Double-cell churches existed well before this date, and single-cell churches dating to the eleventh and twelfth century are known in Yorkshire.

B. Agger and B. Gilmour write on "A pattern-welded Anglo-Saxon sword from Acklam Wold, North Yorkshire" (*Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 60, pp. 13-23). The sword was discovered in a grave uncovered by workmen in 1980 on the site of an Anglian cemetery excavated in the nineteenth century. It was double-edged and originally c. 92cm long, and its bent condition suggests that it may have been ritually killed. The unique pommel is inlaid with gilt-bronze strips and gold filigree decorated bands, and the grip is thought to have been of wood encased in ivory. Aside from the pommel the sword conforms to Behmers type 1. The pattern welding is unusually complex, consisting of twelve composite rods twisted into a pattern of straight and chevron panels welded together.

Oxoniensia 52 also contains a number of items of interest. N. Hood and G. Speake include a note on "An Anglo-Saxon gilt-bronze lozenge-shaped mount from Culham, now in Abingdon Museum" (184-85). The mount was found in a

field at Culham in 1986, and has been stylistically dated to the eighth century. The authors suggest that it may have been lost from an object carried off during Viking raids on the Abbey in the ninth century.

In "The Hook Horton hoard of 1848: A Viking burial from Oxfordshire" (186-95), M. Biddle and J. Blair re-examine records of the find and contemporary documents in an effort to establish the exact location of the hoard discovery. They also discuss the possibility that other items, particularly a stamped Hiberno-Viking silver arm ring, were originally part of the hoard. Biddle and Blair note that the type of burial recorded accords with Scandinavian burial practice as exemplified at Repton, Reading and Leigh-on-Sea, Essex. Coin evidence indicates the burial took place c. 875.

Della Hooke's "Anglo-Saxon estates in the Vale of the White Horse" (129-43), examines charters referring to the adjacent parishes of Woolstone, Uffington and Kingston Lisle and shows that land use was closely linked to topography in the Anglo-Saxon period. Hooke demonstrates that estates seem to have been divided into areas of cropland, pasture and meadowland, suggesting a diminishing agriculture possibly brought about by falling population levels and/or market demands, or possibly indicative of the introduction of different methods of agricultural organization. Hooke includes appendices dealing with the charters and recent Romano-British finds from the area.

Studies of objects and of cemeteries can be mere catalogues and descriptions—accurate, but raising no larger questions. A number of such studies have appeared this year which do indeed raise larger and more interesting questions. J. W. Huggett's "Imported Grave Goods in the Early Anglo-Saxon Economy" (*Med. Arch.* 32, 63-96) studies the distribution and significance of amber beads and amethyst, ivory rings, crystal beads, crystal balls, cowrie shells and wheel-thrown pottery. It is unusual to find rich assemblages in Kent in the early Anglo-Saxon period, but Huggett's research shows a very interesting pattern-difference:

Amethyst beads, crystal balls, glass vessels, wheel-thrown pots and, to a lesser extent, cowrie shells are all centered on Kent, with major concentrations in the Sarre-Faversham-Bifrons region. In contrast, amber beads, ivory rings and crystal beads all have more widespread distributions, with the highest concentrations being some distance from Kent, and the quantities appearing in Kentish burials being comparatively small. Only 6% of the amber beads occur in Kent, 12% of the ivory rings and 13% of the crystal beads—a complete reversal of the pattern of those items with a center in Kent. (p. 76)

There is a great deal of discussion about the primacy of trade and/or gift exchange in this period, and it is therefore interesting to see how Huggett summarizes his conclusions:

An evolutionary process in the development of exchange activities may be hypothesized, one which provides a background to the 7th-century rise of Ipswich and Hamwic. The occasional directional exchange between leaders in the event of marriages or alliances may have been accompanied by emissary trading in which royal agents acted on behalf of their leaders and remain within their jurisdiction. This could account for Clovis's claim to be able to uphold the rights of Franks in English courts, for example, but otherwise there is no evidence for this form of exchange. At the same time, the activities of itinerant merchants may account for the transfer of quantities of metalwork, beads, pottery and glassware across the Channel in both directions, a trade which became focused on certain ports of entry, perhaps representing 'gateway communities' or neutral trading sites.

Such centres were the natural precursors of the full-scale ports of trade at Hamwic and Ipswich. The concentration of exchange activities in particular areas facilitated the imposition of royal control and also restricted the movement of foreign nationals.

This process can also be seen in the light of the expansion of royal power. High-level exchanges of gifts enhanced the status of the rulers, providing goods which could subsequently be used in social transactions such as gifts to subordinates, marriage settlements, alliances and funerals. An increasingly prosperous foreign trade would have represented a threat to royal status if control of that trade was in the hands of subordinates, since the acquisition of exotic foreign imports by other individuals could undermine carefully maintained social relationships. Consequently, the imposition of royal control over traders and trading places could be viewed as an attempt to maintain as well as to enhance the royal position. (p. 93-4)

c. Excavation Reports

Susan Tyler writes on "The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Prittlewell, Essex: An analysis of the grave-goods" (*Essex Archaeology and History* 19, 91-166). The site came to light in 1923-30, during commercial excavation. The grave-goods point to a 500-700 horizon, which neatly spans the migration period which is the context of *Beowulf*, and, of course, Sutton Hoo, Mound One. It is interesting to find a small but distinctive group of Kentish goods, most particularly two gold-garnet brooches. All of the substantially complete swords were shown by x-ray to be pattern-welded, certainly indicating a high status.

Dover: Buckland Anglo-Saxon Cemetery, by Vera Evison, is the report of excavations undertaken in the 1950s of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery discovered during the construction of a housing estate. The cemetery did not contain any particularly large graves containing a lot of grave furniture, and all were single burials, except for one which contained the bodies of an old and a young warrior placed side by side. Evison believes that:

As so few of the burials are superimposed there must have been some surface marking, which, in the case of the more widely spaced graves could perhaps have been small tumuli (p. 17).

Grave goods excavated at the site included 16 pattern-welded swords, one of which provided evidence of an inlaid silver or bronze ring, and may be compared with similar swords from both Kent and Germany. Spears, arrows, seaxes, shields, brooches, pendants, bracteates and a variety of beads, pins, bracelets, rings, buckles and belt and strap mounts were also found. One of the Kentish disc brooches (published by Evison in 1964) has a cruciform motif on the front and two runic inscriptions (deemed illegible by Page) on the back. Evison sees seven phases of use ranging from the late fifth to the mid-eighth century, with few grave goods coming from the latest phases. Finds from the earliest graves (475-525) suggest a mixture of Franks, Danes and Jutes, while Phase 2 (525-75) sees the introduction of objects of Kentish manufacture. Phase 3 (575-625) is characterized by objects of exclusively Kentish manufacture and the laying out of a new cemetery plot adjoining the existing one. There is also evidence for a number of Christian burials at this time. While no particularly rich graves were discovered, the inhabitants appear to have enjoyed a certain degree of wealth and status. The evident system of burial was in family groups. Graves appear to have been aligned on a west-east orientation from the start, but Evison believes that:

Ethelbert's reign had a visible effect in the beginning of a new part of the cemetery with larger graves more widely spaced. At the same time burials with variant orientation began on the [nearby] barrow. With the establishment of Christianity, and a climate of religious consciousness, it looks as though some people made a resolute decision in favour of a non-Christian religion, and the northern part of the cemetery was used to accommodate these people and also to include a Christian woman apparently being punished for some crime (160).

Comparison of the Buckland cemetery with other Kentish cemeteries awaits the publication of the latter, but Evison does compare the site with other excavated Anglo-Saxon and Continental cemeteries. The graves themselves are divided and discussed according to layout, sex, grave goods and date, and there is a thorough discussion of both artifacts and skeletons. Specialist reports on pottery, coins, gold, beads, textiles, wood, organic material and skeletal remains are included.

B. J. Lowe [et al], "Keynsham Abbey: Excavations 1961-1985" (*Somerset Archaeology and Natural History* 131, pp. 81-156) is the report of rescue excavations undertaken during building of the Keynsham by-pass. Details of the finds, including an Anglo-Saxon strap end and book clasp have already been published. Due to existing houses and the by-pass construction, excavation of the abbey itself was only partial, and the building sequence is therefore difficult to determine. The earliest structural remains are twelfth century, but eight fragments of Anglo-Saxon sculpture and a possible Anglo-Saxon burial were discovered. The authors note that along with the discovery of two fragments of Anglo-Saxon sculpture in the nineteenth century, this discovery, "gives weight to the suggestion that a minster once occupied this site" (p. 100), a suggestion also supported by documentary and historical evidence. The Anglo-Saxon sculpture, discussed in an appendix, includes five fragments with interlace, ribbon, or possibly zoomorphic carving, a rectangular block with a cross patte (found forming one side of a burial cist), a fragment with foliate design and a section of a late Anglo-Saxon cross-shaft with deep dowel holes. Unusually, the back of this latter piece has been left plain, raising the possibility that it may have served an architectural function. One further find was a broken block carved with a design of semi-circles and foliate motifs similar to a fragment discovered in the nineteenth century. Both are likely to be fragments of grave covers. Again the authors fail to note both Northumbrian and Irish parallels for the design. A late Saxon bronze strap end incised and inlaid with silver and a gilded bronze book clasp were also found.

"Excavations at Testers, White Horse Square, Steyning, 1985" (*Sussex Archaeological Collections* 126, pp. 53-76) by M. Gardiner reports on excavations done in advance of building work. A small number of early Anglo-Saxon sherds were found at this site, and attest to continuing activity in the post-Roman period, but the majority of evidence indicates pre-historic, Roman and later Medieval activity. Late Anglo-Saxon pottery was also found in a residual context. The excavations confirm that pre-Norman settlement at this site is unlikely. The authors also note that the small number of late Anglo-Saxon and Norman finds also indicate that the area of excavation was likely to have been outside the major settlement area at this time as well.

P. S. Smith's "Early Anglo-Saxon burials from Stafford Road, Brighton, East Sussex" (31-51 in the same volume) is the report of a 1985 rescue excavation which uncovered traces of three Anglo-Saxon burials: one sixth century male burial, one sixth century female burial, and one seventh century male burial. The burials each contained a number of grave goods, including two particularly interesting type Bii brooches from the female grave. This brings the number of Bii brooches known to a total of nine, with seven of them coming from East Sussex. Smith quite reasonably suggests that East Sussex was the location of a Bii workshop.

In the same journal, James Graham-Campbell contributes a note (239-40) on "Two ninth century Anglo-Saxon strap-ends from East Sussex." One of the strap-ends is copper alloy, and the other silver. Both are incised with Trewhiddle style decoration of extremely high quality.

P. J. Huggins, "Excavations on the north side of Sun Street, Waltham Abbey, Essex 1974-75: Saxon burials, precinct wall and south-east transept." (*Essex Archaeology and History* 19, pp. 117-53), is the report of rescue excavations conducted in what was the south-east corner of the monastic complex. The cemetery was part of a larger one in use from the seventh through eleventh centuries and was associated with a timber church. The report includes a full survey of the documentary sources by K. N. Bascombe which traces the site back to its first recorded mention in 1177 and beyond that to its likely foundation as an early Saxon administrative center. Evidence of Middle Saxon use of the site was limited to rows of earth-cut graves within the cemetery. The only finds from these graves were sherds of Saxon pottery, and these suggested a mid-ninth century date. Huggins states that other, unpublished, excavations have established seventh century burials on the site, as well as the existence of timber and stone predecessors to the present church. Publication of these excavations should prove most interesting. A copper alloy plate decorated with Ringerike style ornament found in one of the graves is the only evidence of use during the late Viking period. The discovery of the plate may support the previously disputed interpretation of a nearby turf-walled hall as a Norse hall. Appendices deal with the skeletal remains, pottery, floor tiles, building materials, finds and the later features of the abbey.

"Excavations at St. Martin's Hill, Canterbury, 1984-85" (*Archaeologia Cantiana* 104, pp. 123-218), by J. Rady is the report on excavations undertaken in advance of proposed residential development. Rubbish pits and pottery discovered at the site provide evidence of occupation c. 700. These and other recent finds suggest a *wic* type settlement. A metalled track which connected Canterbury with Fordwich was also discovered. Evidence of repair and upkeep of this track indicate that it was an important road. No evidence of Saxon structures was found, though this could possibly be due to medieval and later disturbance. The number of rubbish pits, cess pits and pottery finds do suggest extensive occupation during the Saxon period. A ninth century copper-alloy strap end with Trewhiddle style ornament was also discovered in one of the pits. While no evidence of later Saxon settlement was found, charter evidence indicates the existence of a small settlement near the church of St. Martin.

For good or for ill, the metal detector brigade is with us to stay. Undoubtedly, a lot of important material is lost to the

greedy, and in the case of the recently "detected" Derrynaflan Treasure in Ireland, protracted and inordinately expensive legal costs were required to gain the chalice and paten (plus lesser finds) for the nation. In "Some Early Anglo-Saxon Objects from East Kent" (*Archaeologica Cantiana* 104, 1-7) Sonia Chadwick Hawkes reports on three finds, a cruciform brooch, a square-headed brooch, and a die. The first two were kindly provided for examination by a Mr. J. Bradshaw, who had found them with the aid of his machine. It is therefore clear that at least some who use metal detectors are more interested in knowledge than in financial gain. The die is of very great importance; Hawkes shows in her analysis how significant a single object can be, when correlated with the corpus:

With the exception, of course, of the church of St. Andres, which King Aethelbert built and endowed for Bishop Justus in 604, and its associated burials, the Rochester die is the earliest Anglo-Saxon artifact to have been recovered from within the walls of Rochester. Though out of context, the presence of this metalworker's die suggest that, within the walls from a relatively early date in the seventh century, there may have existed a high-class jewellers-workshop which could have served the needs of the episcopal establishment or of the prosperous lay community, which must certainly have grown up alongside it (p. 7).

A pair of artifacts, in "Copper-Alloy Combs from Britain and Frisia" (*Med. Arch.* 32, 212-213), one from a *terp* at Aalsum near Dokkum in Friesland, the other from Whitley. A. W. White first concluded that the Whitley comb might have been used in liturgy, but "in the absence of an avowedly religious context for the Frisian comb it would perhaps be safer to assume a lay and functional purpose for it" (p. 213).

He concludes:

At all events, there is clear historical evidence for close contacts between Northumbrian monks and Frisia in the late 7th and early 8th century under Wilfrid, Willibrord and Boniface. Links in cultural material are therefore not surprising (p. 213).

In "Cwrt Llechrhyd, Llanellwedd: An Unusual Moated Site in Central Powys" (*Med. Arch.* 32, 97-109), C. R. Musson and C. J. Spurgeon show how the Welsh were influenced by their Germanic neighbors in the late Anglo-Saxon period. Cwrt Llechrhyd has six parallels, and the series as a whole are Anglo-Saxon in origin, with three perhaps being Welsh built:

Cwrt Llechrhyd, Mathrafal and Plas-yn Dinas are more easily seen as Welsh works, though only Mathrafal offers slight evidence for this, with its tradition, and its hints of princely associations in the 12th century. For these sites there is no local place-name evidence for Mercian settlement, as there is in the areas of the other four sites. It seems reasonable to assume that they were built late in the Dark Ages, most probably in the 10th century, influenced by English burghal forts, but possibly earlier in imitation of Mercian forts associated with Offa's Dyke (p. 108).

In S. Driscoll and M. Nieke's introduction to *Power and Politics in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland*, the editors state that the purpose of collecting the essays which make up the book was to encourage archaeologists to undertake what has come to be seen as the difficult task of integrating history and archaeology. Their concept of the "traditional" view of archaeology is that it "produces knowledge of particular past living and working conditions, but little more" (p. 2), a view certainly not as universally accepted as the authors claim. Nor can it be said that the majority of archaeologists perceive

history as simply "the exploits of named individuals." The editors note that, "The idea that material culture plays an active role in the construction and maintenance of social relations is a strongly flowing undercurrent in many of these contributions" (p. 4). This is true, but it is hardly the revolutionary idea the editors apparently believe it to be.

M. Nieke and H. Duncan have contributed a paper entitled "Dalriada: the establishment and maintenance of an early historic kingdom in north Britain" (6-21). Their goal is, "to examine the surviving material culture of the area, in particular placing it within its social, political, economic and historical context . . . [with] emphasis . . . upon an analysis of how it may have articulated, or been used to articulate social relations" (p. 8). Their theories that both aristocracy and church attempted to impress through a visual display of status, and that the church adopted aspects of native material culture in order to gain authority were discussed long ago by scholars such as Grabar and Baldwin Brown, though not, it is true, with specific reference to Scotland. Their discussion of Dunadd as a major defended site at which craft workshops, trade and exchange were all centralized is good, but their argument that a pennanular brooch from Kildonan dun in Kintyre is the product of a mould from Dunadd is not convincing—at least in terms of their illustration—and undermines their subsequent argument.

In "The activities of potentates in Celtic Britain, A.D. 500-800: a positivist approach" (22-46), Leslie Alcock quite rightly notes that the rejection of literary sources in archaeological studies is wrong on a very basic level. "In our attempt to understand the past," he writes, "it is absurd to deny ourselves the assistance of any single part of the evidence" (p. 22). The material evidence he includes in his discussion of the importance of "enclosed sites" in Britain is much stronger than that mustered by Nieke and Duncan in their similar discussion of the "royal sites" of Dalriada. From the material record Alcock deduces that enormous material resources (a labour supply, food stocks and supplies) would have been necessary to construct and maintain these sites. He also suggests that all these sites were fortified, but allows the term fortification a number of definitions. The author makes careful use of literary sources—mostly laws and annals—and includes a useful appendix of enclosed sites in Britain.

Richard Warner's "The archaeology of early historic Irish kingship" (47-68), stresses the need for studying both text and monument. Warner also quite reasonably calls for a more careful use of "models" from other disciplines. His paper includes a brief survey of levels of Irish kingship, followed by a discussion of ringforts and crannogs and their possible use as mixed family settlements and for personal defense. Warner then confronts the problem of how to identify textually attested royal sites in the archaeological record, cautioning against both the "outstanding-site tendency" and the linking of kings with sites through the use of their often purely symbolic titles. Warner is at his strongest in his comparison of the structure of ringforts such as Garranes and Clogher with their very complex enclosures and entranceways. His discussion of crannogs is far too brief, limited only to Lagore, and he succumbs to the traditional practice of seeing these islands as isolated habitations rather than as part of larger, more complex, settlements. Warner's conclusions are largely negative and he points out that, "the different forms of high status

sites (and different levels of Irish kingship) warn against rigid adherence to models."

In "Northumbria: the archaeological evidence" (69-78), Rosemary Cramp discusses Anglo-Saxon funerary practice and difficulties in its interpretation. She notes that while Anglo-Saxon burial practices are identifiable, sorting them into a social hierarchy is fraught with difficulties. Cramp also discusses evidence for Northumbrian kingship, and laments the gap in our knowledge of the early economy created by the lack of evidence for industry in the area. This is a very wide ranging paper which raises some interesting points. Due to its scope, however, it lacks focus, and there is a tendency to mention in passing points which should be argued at greater length, as for example, the relationship of the structural evidence provided by Northumbrian settlement sites to that of other areas in both southern England and Ireland.

R. Hodges and J. Moreland write on "Power and exchange in Middle Saxon England" (79-95). This paper explores the contacts between Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent in the eighth and ninth centuries and its reflection in the material culture. The authors seek to demonstrate "how this relationship and this material culture might have been used to create and maintain relations of power, especially kingship in Middle Saxon England" (p. 80) using Renfrew's "Peer Polity Interaction Model." Specifically, Hodges and Moreland wish to determine whether the ideological model of the Carolingian Renaissance can be replicated by Middle Saxon elites. Their use of the Continental evidence is, however, both unsystematic and general. Much of it, the influence of Carolingian architecture on provincial French architecture, for example, has been a given for some years now. The authors also see the ninth century Winchester frescos as representing a major change in the decoration of monasteries, failing to note both Bede's discussion of the paintings at Wearmouth and Jarrow, and the evidence of painted plaster found at the former site. They conclude, not surprisingly, that "sufficient evidence exists to sustain our hypothesis that aspects of the Carolingian movement and the essence of the ideology in general made a significant impact on eighth and ninth century England" (p. 94).

R. Michael Spearman's "Early Scottish towns, their origins, and economy" (96-110), examines the very limited archaeological evidence of pre-twelfth century Scottish towns. Spearman points out that "many of these burghs were in the vicinity of major early medieval and even late Iron Age settlements and the possibility that they represent a continuity of settlement pattern and perhaps also political and economic function should be born in mind" (p. 97). Spearman suggests that the ultimate origin of Medieval Scottish towns might be found in Iron Age hillfort sites.

The widely scattered distribution of these sites has been seen to suggest the existence of regional economies under political control. If so, then there may well already have been a recognition of the political advantages inherent in the control of an urban economy. In south-east Scotland the concentration of large forts is such that even if only crudely contemporary there would be a higher degree of both political and economic activity. In this area at least there appears to have been a significant trend towards urban settlement prior to the Roman invasion and long before the documented towns of medieval Scotland (p. 99).

Spearman then suggests that the Roman presence had a strong economic impact, stimulating internal trade. The post-Roman period sees a shift to smaller more easily defensible sites such as Dunadd. He goes on to discuss the development of later medieval thane towns and lark towns, royal market towns and religious towns, concluding that:

David I's image as the founding figure of Scottish urban settlement has developed from his energetic introduction of new terminology and supporters . . . However, many of his activities were the result and continuation of economic and social developments, the course of which can be traced back over many centuries (p. 109).

Christopher Arnold's "Territories and leadership: frameworks for the study of emergent politics in early Anglo-Saxon southern England" (111-127), is primarily an abstracted version of his book *Archaeology of the Early Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, in which he proposes a number of possible reasons why the successful integration of archaeological and historical data of the post-Roman era has rarely been achieved. Arnold suggests that these types of data can best be integrated in the study of leadership and political territories in the sixth and seventh centuries.

Genevieve Fisher's "Style and sociopolitical organization: a preliminary study from early Anglo-Saxon England" (128-144), takes up the point that stylistic variability is not in itself an accurate indication of the amount of social interaction between two groups, and that it is the character rather than the frequency of associations that must be investigated. Fisher defines the sixth and seventh centuries as a period of stress. Her thesis, based largely on the work of Hodder and Wiessner, is that:

Stylistic variability . . . assumes a relatively important role in identifying, negotiating and maintaining social relationships during such a period of stress. Of particular interest are relationships of group membership and differentiation. Stylistic similarity will emphasize alliances within a group and, conversely, will distinguish group members from those with other affiliations (p. 131).

She goes on to note that different "stylistic messages" may be aimed at different audiences at different levels of society and that stylistic analysis may therefore be used to indicate subtle organizational distinctions. Fisher's method is to subject data from burials at six early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries to two sets of tests; the first set describing mortuary treatment and the second looking at single closed inhumations containing dress-fasteners. She then examines regional relationships at three areas in East Anglia, Middle Anglia and the Lark River area, through the frequency of burials containing dress-fasteners and the structure of sets of dress-fasteners. The results of her comparisons are both ambiguous and tentative. As this is part of a larger study we must await its publication to see if her conclusions are archaeologically attested.

In "Style and symbol: explaining variability in Anglo-Saxon cremation burial" (145-161) J. D. Richards suggests ways in which traditional interpretations of Anglo-Saxon pottery and current explanations of style might be successfully integrated. Richards collected information on the form and decoration of 2,440 urns from eighteen sites. This is again part of a larger study whose aim is to examine variability in all attributes of Anglo-Saxon cremation. He divides his results into a number of groups: cultural, ethnic, regional, stylistic, and "age, sex or other social group," with some degree of overlap between the five. The overall picture which emerges

is of a society with a multiplicity of social ranks and a complex iconography. His conclusion is that composite models must be used in the study of archaeological record.

In "The relationship between history and archaeology: artefacts, documents and power" (162-187), Stephen Driscoll takes what he terms the "philosophical" approach to texts, artefacts and their interpretation. "The past," he believes, "hinges on the theory by which we understand the interrelationship of human action, society and material culture, and takes it as axiomatic that our knowledge of the past derives from the present" (p. 162). Driscoll believes that our literacy and our modern formulations of history and archaeology pose a problem in our interpretation of the past. The paper itself is divided into four parts dealing with the relationship between archaeology and history, the relationship between literacy and power, methods of "reading" artefacts, and an analysis of the Pictish stones respectively. Part one espouses the need to use both documents and artefacts in the study of the past, noting that both writing and artefacts are products of "knowledgeable action" and that both are linked to social discourse. Part two focuses on the use of writing, concepts of the past, and the writing down of history as a means of gaining and maintaining power. Part three suggests that, "the best archaeology should use archaeological methods to examine issues of historical importance through questions suggested by anthropological concepts of culture" (p. 174)—here Driscoll is looking specifically to American schools of historical archaeology. This does not leave him enough space to deal successfully with his fourth subject, the Pictish symbol stones. Moreover, his discussion of the Pictish stones completely omits details of artistic motif and chronology. The result is a theoretical interpretation of the stones that lacks any material, or historical, support. And few would accept his criticism that all previous studies of the stones have failed to recognize that their symbols had referents which were meaningful to the Picts. Driscoll sees the stones as serving a four-fold function. They: 1. Were discursive, seeking to connect the social order to a cosmic order. 2. Contributed to the maintenance and legitimation of power relations. 3. Charted the development of the kingdom in their own development and transformation. 4. Recorded radical transitions in Pictish and intellectual social history. Driscoll believes that the earliest stones had a funerary function which introduced the supernatural into the discourse. The stones themselves also formed an element in the discourse, "associated with new social positions engendered by the expanding Pictish monarchy." Class II stones introduced the Church into the discourse, and here Driscoll fails even to mention the complex biblical iconography of these monuments. Class III stones illustrate the authority of the church and the repression of local Pictish interests. Although he admits that his short discussion is unsatisfactory, it is also unsatisfactory to simply refer the reader to an earlier paper in which these arguments appear in "more developed" form. The theories Driscoll develops in the first three parts of his paper fail to maintain their validity when applied to the monuments themselves.

D. O'Corrain, L. Breatnach and K. McCone are the editors of *Sages Saints and Storytellers, Celtic Studies in Honour of Professor James Carney*, a volume which includes papers on a wide variety of topics.

In "Latin grammar and native learning" (1-6), Anders Almqvist examines the use of grammatical gender in a passage

from the *Auraicept na nÉces*, concluding that the use of two sets of terms in Irish and Latin was a conscious effort by the author, "to lift native language to the same level as Latin, or even above it" (p. 2). His grammatical study serves as the basis for speculations on the penetration of Latin culture and Latin grammar into Ireland by the second or third century A.D. Almqvist sees the sophistication of the Ogam alphabet and early Irish language as standing in stark contrast to Anglo-Saxon, where, in Almqvist's view, there is little sign of "linguistic introspection." The sophisticated futharc of the Ruthwell cross, or the complex use of language in poems such as *Beowulf* surely argue against this last point.

Liam Breatnach contributes "An edition of *Amra Senáin*" (7-31), an Old Irish poem to Senán, patron of Scattery Island in the Shannon estuary. The text survives in five manuscripts, the oldest of which is the *Leabhar Breac*, though Breatnach argues that it was originally composed by Cormac mac Cuilennain, king-bishop of Cashel, who died in 908.

In "The Place of Healing in Early Irish Society" (43-55), Wendy Davies notes the surprising absence of healing miracles in the Irish saints' lives as well as the total absence of early Irish medical treatises of any form. This is odd both because of the number of medical texts which survive from the Mediterranean and Saxon areas, as well as from later Medieval Ireland, and because the care of the old, the young and the sick is an important support structure of any society. With regard to this last point, Davies concludes that, "This was a society in which the ratio of producers to non-producers was favourable and that it was no great problem to support the long-term sick; people were prepared to wait until the sick recovered, and therefore their labour cannot have been absolutely needed" (p. 52). Interestingly, however, Irish female saints tend to be credited with what few healing miracles are found in the vitae, and Davies makes the important observation that, "In the [vernacular] tales . . . there appears to be an essential distinction between the doctor/liaig function, which is male, and the healing function which is magical and largely female" (p. 49). With the increasing power of the church, faith replaced magic as an element in healing, as illustrated by the number of surviving *lorica*.

Maire Herbert's "The Preface to *Amra Collum Cille*" (67-85), looks at *Amra Collum Cille* in light of the synthesis of vernacular and Christian native learning prevalent in the post-Viking period, a period which saw a copious amount of glossing and annotation of earlier texts. Herbert believes that "the entire presentation in the preface of the churchman as political ally and intermediary [at Druim Cet] may be regarded as mimetic of current developments, and wished for developments, within the *familia* of Colum Cille" (p. 73). The argument put forth here is expanded upon in Herbert's book *Iona, Kells and Derry* (see above). This paper again highlights the need to revise our approach to learning and literature of post-Viking Ireland, and to interpret texts in light of contemporary events and attitudes rather than as antiquarian tracts.

Michael Herren's "Mission and monasticism in the *Confessio* of Patrick" (76-85), re-examines Patrick's monastic background and role in the development of Irish monasticism and the medieval church in Ireland in light of both primary Patrician documents and fifth century Gaulish monasticism. Herren concludes that there is no evidence that Patrick was actually a monk, although his writings clearly indicate that he

came from a strong monastic background. He believes Patrick's turn to Gaulish monasticism was due, at least in part, to his dissatisfaction with the British church, particularly the ecclesiastical practices of his own family. The laxity of the British church might also account for the important role he places on celibacy and monastic life in his writings. This very short paper really needs to be expanded to do its subject justice.

In "A tale of two ditties: poet and satirist in *Cath Maige Tuired*" (122-143), Kim McCone considers clerical attitudes evident in and biblical influences on a saga with a "deceptively pagan surface." McCone very clearly illumines the carefully designed and complex sets of interrelated diptychs and triptychs which characterize the saga's composition. The tale's negative portrayal of satirists is in line with contemporary church disapproval, but represents a new attitude within Irish society in general. Since this is the whole message of the tale, it clearly cannot have pre-Christian roots. McCone sees the tale as a work of clerical propaganda aimed at a contemporary audience and geared to contemporary social issues (very close to some readings of *Beowulf*). The central conflict in the tale between the Túatha de Danaan and the Fomoiri is open to interpretation on three levels: 1) a pagan battle between gods and demons 2) a reaction to contemporary Viking attitudes 3) a conscious political imitation or assimilation of relevant biblical models. These interpretations are not mutually exclusive. The tale then, is not only the complex work of a very sophisticated author, but is representative of the assimilation of poetry into ecclesiastical culture and ordering of society.

Damian McManus's "Runic and ogam letter-names: a parallelism" (144-48), deals with the pivotal role played by letter-names in the history of the futhark. McManus's paper centers on the "acrostic principle," by which any change in language affecting the initial of the name brought about a corresponding change in the value of the symbol. It should really be read in conjunction with his earlier paper on Ogam and the manuscript tradition (*Eriu* 26) as it develops and brings new evidence to bear on arguments put forth there.

In "Early modes of Insular expression" (427-28), Hildegard Tristram looks at what she calls the change from oral to literate communication during the fifth and sixth centuries in Ireland and the British Isles, a change brought about, she feels, by the coming of Christianity. Tristram postulates that, "In the Insular world, writing as a new technique did not give rise to entirely new modes of literary expression" (p. 427). She goes on to suggest that the narrative tradition inherited by the Anglo-Saxons was verse, while the Insular Celtic mode was prose, and cites Caedmon's hymn and the prose story of Cenn Fáelad from the *Auraicept ne nÉces* as evidence for this distinction. The authors of both pieces were, however, using language and learning for very different purposes, and it is dangerous at best to derive whole traditions from the limited examples Tristram provides. Tristram also cites the song composed by the scop after *Beowulf's* defeat of Grendel's mother and *The Battle of Maldon* as evidence of the Anglo-Saxon poetic tradition. She fails to note however, that the scop of the former example is Scandinavian rather than Anglo-Saxon, and that the Battle of Maldon is also described in prose in the Chronicle. It is certainly not true to say that the Anglo-Saxon policy of conversion was suppression of

pagan mythology to Christian doctrine, while the Irish method was to harmonize the two—*Beowulf*, particularly the gnomic passages of *Beowulf*, proves otherwise. Nor is it true that Irish writers before the twelfth century did not distinguish between fact and fiction. Tristram also falls prey to the common misconception that parts of *The Dream of the Rood* are inscribed on the Ruthwell Cross.

Medieval Ireland the Enduring Tradition by Michael Richter, is a survey of Ireland from the fourth to the sixteenth century. This is far too large a span of time to be covered adequately in 200 pages. The book began as a series of lectures delivered at the University of Vienna in 1981-82, and possibly due to this fact, highlights certain areas of Ireland and Insular culture, while completely ignoring others. Language and literature, for example, are dealt with in relative detail, while only two pages are devoted to Irish art and archaeology, and a further two to pre-Viking settlement. The section on settlement provides brief definitions of raths, cashels and crannogs, but does not discuss how they related to each other or how they functioned within Irish society. Moreover, the definition of crannogs as, "timber residential buildings erected in stagnant waters, usually on artificial islands" (23) is wrong. A crannog is an artificial (or enhanced natural) island, and not the structure built upon it.

In his discussion of Irish art Richter states that the artefacts that have come down to us "are almost exclusively objects associated with the Church" (p. 92). While this may be true of stone sculpture and manuscript illumination, it is not true of metalwork. Major objects such as the Ardagh and Derrynaflan chalices do have an ecclesiastical origin/function, but there is also a large corpus of artefacts including brooches, pins and carved wooden objects that clearly do not. Richter also seems overly concerned with stressing the "quality" of Irish art, a point which surely is not in doubt.

The bibliography reflects the same patchiness as the rest of the book, relying to a surprising extent on older and secondary sources.

Cornish Studies 16 is a special issue of papers dealing with Tintagel. S. Hargrove and R. Walker write on "Excavations in the lower ward, Tintagel Castle, 1986" (9-30). While the castle itself dates from the thirteenth century, trenches dug in the lower ward revealed traces of post-Roman occupation, such as a sixth century oven of Roman type and sixth century Mediterranean pottery including types Bi, Bii, Bv and East Mediterranean Coarse Ware. Of particular interest is the discovery of over 100 stakeholes whose D-shaped cross-sections indicate the use of split timbers. These:

Provide the first real evidence for the use of timber construction at Tintagel, and wattle structures, either simple windbreaks or more substantial daubed shelters are likely (19).

In "Minor sites at Tintagel Island" (31-48), Charles Thomas argues that only two of the Island's features are likely to be of early date: "King Arthur's footprint" and a rock landing place below the Iron Gate which may have been used in post-Roman as well as medieval times. The former feature Thomas interprets as marking the inauguration place at which a chieftain or king was required to stand, and links it to similar footprints found at Dunadd (Argyll) and Clickhimin (Shetland) as well as in Ireland. Pottery finds and changes in sea-level suggest that the second feature *may* also be early, but Thomas advises caution in the interpretation of both sites.

Thomas also contributes "The 1988 C.A.U. Excavations at Tintagel Island: discoveries and their interpretation" (49-60), in which he takes up where Hartgroves and Walker left off. The results of the 1988, 1981 and 1933-38 excavations, Thomas argues, suggest that a major post-Roman site underlies the inner ward of the castle. Finds from the 1981 excavation included animal bones showing signs of butchery, as well as sixth century pottery and a patch of occupation buried beneath turf from the seventh to thirteenth centuries. This latter feature had previously been interpreted as a rubbish pit. A suggestion of terracing was also discovered along the cliff face at the south end of the Island ward. Thomas concludes that:

Occupation must have been intensive since these relatively minor cuttings [of 1918, 1933-38, 1981, 1988] yielded hundreds of diagnostic sherds, let alone animal bones and teeth, signs of metalworking, fragments of daub and a range of minor artefacts. (p. 56)

C. Thorpe writes on "Incised pictorial slates from Tintagel" (69-78). Thorpe notes that at this stage discussion of the probable dates of the slates based on art historical evidence is premature, and that as both the function and the date of the pieces are uncertain they cannot be termed either 'trial' or 'motif' pieces. He wonders whether:

in view of the surprising range of motifs and designs carved on bedrock at another post-Roman citadel (Dunadd, in Argyll . . .), some attention should not be given to the exposed slate-bed faces on the island. (78)

The connection with Dunadd is a recurring theme in papers on Tintagel, and a systematic comparison of the two sites would be most welcome.

Charles Thomas's third paper in the volume discusses "The archaeology of Tintagel parish churchyard" (79-91), a site which Thomas believes was in use as a Christian cemetery as early as the late fifth century. An enclosure containing a number of mounds for "special graves," possibly the burials of individuals of particular importance appears to date from the sixth century, and may have been in use for several subsequent centuries. Thomas notes that Mound C, opened in the course of an amateur dig in 1942, contained a polygonal cist, and suggests that some, if not all of the mounds may contain the same. The construction of the enclosure and mounds falls within what Thomas had identified as Period II at Tintagel, a period of occupation from the fifth century to c. 600, which was followed by a long period of desertion. He concludes that this central period of occupation is:

Historically undeciphered but marked archaeologically by a plethora of finds from Tintagel Island, where the current interpretation is a citadel of local rulers occupied sporadically over at least AD 450-600. It is a strong contention that the Dumnonian ruling class—not more closely located than within Dumnonia—were Christians in Period II. If any of them inhabited Tintagel Island, they were not on present evidence buried there, nor was there a Period II Christian focus; the Island's chapel of St. Juliane is of much later date. One therefore proffers the conclusion that the mounds hold special graves, and that the graves (however eccentric to us) held one to a mound, members of whatever dynasty or succession held sway locally (89).

Edinburgh University Press has released a new edition of A. P. Smyth's *Warlords and Holy Men* (first published in 1984) as part of their reprinting of the new History of Scotland series formally published by Arnolds. The publishers state that each

edition will be reissued with corrections, revisions and some new material but this does *not* seem to have been the case with this volume. The only change that appears to have been made is the replacement of the cover illustration, formerly the scene of huntsmen and hounds from the Meigle cross-slab, by the Daniel in the lions den motif from the same stone. Unfortunately the caption to the picture has not been changed. Nevertheless, it is nice to know that both an important book and an important series will remain in print.

In *Celtic Art from its Beginnings to the Book of Kells*, Ruth and Vincent Megaw state that the heart of their book lies in its illustrations, and it is therefore rather unfortunate that the text often fails to address the illustrations, and it is at times difficult to follow the connection between the two. Most of the book concentrates on the pre-Roman Celts, although the final chapters deal with Insular pre-Roman Celtic art and the art of the Christian era. It is more descriptive than analytical, and more art historical than archaeological in approach. This results in an extremely popular account of Celtic art (complete with a discussion of the 'Walt Disney' style of La Tene art and headings such as "Cheshire-Cat to Mickey Mouse") which in the end says nothing new.

d. Sculpture and Iconography

The second volume of *The Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Sculpture* was prepared by Rosemary Cramp and Richard Bailey, with contributions by other hands. The volume is a remarkable achievement. The photographs are extraordinary; on the basis of personal observation, the present reviewer can state that there are many photographs here published which took extremely long periods of waiting and great discomfort in order to capture conditions of light and contrast which would reveal detail not readily seen on site. The several introductory essays provide a very clear overview of a maddeningly difficult area in an obscure time. Professor Cramp makes the point in her essay on "The Topography and Distribution of Anglian-Period Sculptures":

The picture of Anglian settlement in Cumbria, as already sketched, is woefully indistinct, relying as it does largely on place-names and the evidence of stray finds. With the exceptions of Carlisle and the current work at Dacre, not a single Anglian site has been extensively excavated, and even there evidence is very fragmentary. (p. 10)

Professor R.N. Bailey's brief essays on the historical background to the sculpture, divided into Anglian and Viking periods, cover a good deal in a very short span.

The achievement of the *Corpus* is that it provides a convenient descriptive, photographic and analytic record, one which can readily be cross-referenced, of important material, all in one place. Most Anglo-Saxonists will turn first to the account of the Bewcastle Cross, as it is deservedly the most well-known monument in the area. There are two entries on this cross, the first on the cross and its context, the second the corpus listing proper. In the first, Professor Cramp wisely avoids a survey of the scholarship, instead reviewing (inter alia) geography, history, iconographical, and decorative traditions with which the cross articulates, indicating what she sees as certainties on the one hand, and problems incapable of solution on the other. Basing her case on arguments first made in her 1965 Jarrow lecture, with the case further strengthened with further stylistic evidence, she firmly holds

that both the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses were made by craftsmen of the same generation and that "these Craftsmen were trained east of the Pennines, probably in the Jarrow workshops, since only there can one parallel the deeply cut style and the individual details of plants and animals in the inhabited scrolls" (p. 20). However, precisely when this group of craftsmen worked post 674 (when stone carvers came to Monkwearmouth) is impossible to prove. The entry for Bewcastle offers a well-reasoned account of all aspects of the cross, though Professor Page offers very little indeed in the way of useful conclusions on the Bewcastle runes. Perhaps the most interesting iconographical element is the firm identification of the bottom panel on the west face at Bewcastle as St. John the Evangelist with his eagle, despite the curious secular dress of the figure.

If one wishes to know the value of the corpus on a less splendid example of sculpture, Professor Bailey's entry on fragments at Plumblund will serve. He sums up the decoration and significance of a much-damaged and worn hogback in a brief entry, relating it to other sculpture, and broader decorative traditions:

This was an elaborate monument whose ambition is signalled by the double cable moulding and its unparalleled form of regulation. The ornament on the gable-ends is Jellinge-derived in its contouring and semi-circular indentations whilst the crossing composition of the ribbon animals can be closely paralleled in the Jellinge art of Scandinavia (Wilson and Klindt-Jensen 1980, pls. XXIV-XXV). Such animal ornament on the sides of this class of monument is rare: Gosforth 5, Brompton in Yorkshire and Derby provide parallels (Lang 1984, 125, 129), though in none of these cases are the details identical. Gosforth 4 and 5 with Cross Canonby 5 offer local analogues for the flat, sloping gable-ends. (p. 143)

Given the dangers to which stone sculpture is subject, and the very real possibility of loss, theft, or destruction, this up to date and accurate account of what has been left to us is clearly one of the most significant achievements of current scholarship on the Anglo-Saxon period.

James Lang's *Anglo-Saxon Sculpture*, latest in the Shire archaeology series, is a useful, but somewhat overcompressed book. So much has come to light in Anglo-Saxon sculpture and so much written about it in the past quarter century that distilling it down is no easy task. It is certainly for this reason that the opening chapter is somewhat dense. Readers will find the catalogue of the best sculpture perhaps the book's best feature, and for the price, there is no book that offers so many good illustrations of the masterpieces of Anglo-Saxon sculpture.

As papers from important commemorative volumes fit in here, they are therefore extracted from their original contexts. The first is Éamonn O'Carrágain's "The Meeting of St. Paul and Anthony: Visual and Literary Uses of Eucharistic Motif" (pp. 1058 in *Keimelia Studies in Medieval Archaeology and History in Memory of Tom Delaney*, eds. G. Mac Niocaill and Pat Wallace, Galway). O'Carrágain's paper is ambitious; he proposes:

... first, to provide a checklist of Irish representations of the 'Paul and Anthony' scene, as part of the preliminary work towards a forthcoming collaborative edition of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses; and second, to enquire about the possible theological significance of this scene on the monuments where it occurs. I wish to provide comparative evidence which will be of some use in interpreting the iconographic programme of the north side of the

Ruthwell cross, on which a panel representing Paul and Anthony is to be found. (p.2)

In fact, O'Carrágain exceeds the task he sets for himself. Not only do we have accounts of all the known examples of Paul and Anthony in Celtic contexts, and a discussion of how such scenes relate to the Celtic liturgy of the *co-fraction panis*, but much broader contexts, are also established. O'Carrágain puts forward the notion that there is a consistent theological tradition, represented in liturgy, sculpture and literature:

The present study has argued that a wide range of sculptors, and the author of the *Navigatio*, all saw the meeting of Paul and Anthony in the context of a single theological theme: the recognition of Christ in the eucharist. An index of how consistently the 'Paul and Anthony' scene was interpreted in the period is the frequency with which, in various different areas, the scene seems to have been associated with reminiscences of the phrase 'in medio duorum animalium innotesceris' from the canticle of Habbakuk. In addition, the ways in which monastic sculptors, and a monastic author, alluded to this liturgical phrase suggests how close was the interpenetration of literary and visual traditions in this period. On the crosses, panels are designed or juxtaposed in such a way as to suggest to the onlooker a verbal reminiscence of the canticle; while the author of the *Navigatio*, in order to suggest the same verbal reminiscence, rearranges the meeting of St. Brendan and Paul the Spiritual Hermit as a visual tableau. A visual analogue for the detail of the miraculous spring 'round like a plate [*in modum patule*]' in the *Navigatio* is provided by the many representations of Paul and Anthony on the high crosses, holding between them a loaf which is also round 'in modum patule'. Both literature and the visual arts in this period draw on, and are to be understood within, the liturgical life of the monasteries which produced patrons, writers, scribes and sculptors. But liturgical performance itself depended on a fusion of literary and visual modes. It was semi-dramatic: in it memorized texts were communally sung to the accompaniment of symbolic actions. Liturgical performance must quite naturally have nourished imaginations which associated scriptural texts with symbolic actions, and which visualized scenes so as to call to mind scriptural and liturgical texts. (p. 38)

The Ruthwell example is, in some respects, unique:

Ruthwell is the only panel provided with an inscription. It is the only panel where the saints break bread without the bird being present, and so it is of particular interest that the Ruthwell inscription directs our attention to the breaking of bread, not to the preceding miracle of the raven. Arthur Kingsley Porter attributed this difference between the Ruthwell scene, on the one hand, and the Irish panels, on the other, to a difference between the various version of the life of St. Paul. Only St. Jerome's Latin *Vita Sancti Pauli* has the incident of the 'contest in courtesy' when the raven brings the bread, St. Paul insists that St. Anthony, as his visitor, should have the honour of breaking the loaf, while St. Anthony retorts that the honour belongs to St. Paul, as the senior ('Paulus more cogeat hospitii, Antonius iure fecellebat actatis'—*PL* 23:26A). This saintly argument is resolved by the saints each grasping one end of the loaf and breaking it together. Kingsley Porter pointed out that this episode 'is not found either in the earlier Greek life of St. Paul, or in the life of Saint Anthony written originally in Greek by Athanasius and translated into Latin by Evagrius'. Thus, following Porter, Francoise Henry attributed the universal presence of the bird in the Irish 'Paul and Anthony' panels to the use in Ireland of versions of the life of St. Paul which were older than St. Jerome's *Vita*. . . (p. 39)

In another iconographical paper in the Tom Delaney volume, Peter Harbison discusses: "Exotic" Ninth- to Tenth-Century Cross Decorated Stones from Clonmore, Co. Carlow

and Begerin, C. Wexford." These include a cross-decorated stone at Clonmore, Co. Carlow, and stones in the National Museum, Dublin, and the Wexford County Museum in Enniscorthy. 'Exotic' in this instance means a very wide Insular context:

It was pointed out in the opening paragraph that all of the three stones discussed in this paper are 'exotics' which are unique in an Irish context. While one face of the Begerin stone in the Enniscorthy Museum points to possible relationships with the carvings on Irish crosses, other parallels cited for the three stones show that closer counterparts exist for them to a greater or lesser extent on or close to the other side of the Irish Sea, be it in Cornwall, Southern England, the Isle of Man or Scotland—links which, particularly in the case of Cornwall, are not always immediately obvious from the existing archaeological record. It may be said, indeed, that these three stones could suggest that, in the ninth and tenth centuries, the South-East of Ireland was at least as closely attuned to the artistic developments on the Isle of Man and on the far side of the Irish Sea as it was to those in the rest of Ireland—and the case of Clonmore, which lies a considerable distance inland, shows that this was not simply due to proximity to the sea. It also helps to explain why the figured High Crosses with perforated rings, known from North Leinster, the Midlands and Ulster, did not penetrate certain areas of the South-East of Ireland which, to judge by the stones discussed here, seem to have had a cultural identity all their own. (p. 65-6)

Harbison writes also on "Two Panels on the Wirksworth Slab" (*Derbyshire Archaeological Journal* 107 [1988 for 1987], 36-40). Using Irish parallels, Harbison identifies two disputed panels, and comes up with *The Adoration of the Magi*, *The Annunciation*, *The Nativity and Washing of the Christ Child*, and *The Massacre of the Innocents*, making "the Wirksworth Slab the most extensive group of scenes from a Childhood of Christ cycle known from Anglo-Saxon England" (p. 39). Curiously, though he uses Irish parallels to date the slab as ninth/tenth century, Harbison concludes:

It seems unlikely that the Magi scene at Monasterboice was copied from that of Wirksworth, or *vice versa*. The great similarity in some of their iconographical details suggests rather that both are derived from a common tradition whose origins lay close to the shores of the Mediterranean, and which may also have supplied some of the details for the Armenian *Washing* scene. (p. 40)

John Higgett writes on "The Iconography of St. Peter in Anglo-Saxon England, and Cuthbert's Coffin" (pp. 267-285) in *St. Cuthbert, his Cult and his Community to AD 1200*, edited by G. Bonner, D. Rollason and C. Stancliffe. The initial crux is that St. Peter was almost always clean-shaven in Anglo-Saxon England, but bearded almost universally elsewhere. Higgett investigates the phenomenon *de novo*, and reaches an interesting conclusion:

In the later middle ages St Peter was also increasingly shown as pope by dressing him in pontifical robes and a tiara, which would hide any tonsure. The fourteenth-century alabaster statue of Peter at Flawford is a beardless version of this papal Peter.

The image of Peter on St. Cuthbert's coffin lacks any specifically papal attributes. He is shown rather as one of the two princes of the apostles (along with and above St Paul) and as gate-keeper of heaven. He is also depicted as the first wearer of the crown tonsure, which was almost certainly already thought of as an image of the crown of thorns. He is *attensus ut clericus* and is therefore a priest. He is portrayed in fact as he was pictured by the Roman party in England and Ireland. It is appropriate that the earliest surviving example of this 'Roman' iconography of St Peter should appear on

the reliquary of the most famous Anglo-Saxon churchman to change his allegiance from the 'Irish' to the 'Roman' party, St Cuthbert. The connotations of the image were, however, Roman rather than Anglo-Saxon and it might even have been invented in the (Roman) south of Ireland. The Lindisfarne type of St Peter should in any case have been quite acceptable to the Irish Romanists in 698, but the still unromanized Iona and north of Ireland might well have found this partisan image of the prince of the apostles rather offensive. (pp. 244-5)

e. The Insular Tradition and Ireland

Saint Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community (eds. Bonner, G., Rollason, D., and Stancliffe, C.), is the product of an extremely successful conference held in Durham in 1987. It is the first major study centered on Cuthbert since Battiscombe's *Relics of St. Cuthbert* in 1956. Cuthbert's life spanned the transition from pagan to Christian Northumbria; he warned against the battle at Nechtansmere, in which Ecgfrith and most of his army died; he was a superb, perhaps even outgoing bishop-pastor, who had a strong longing for the eremitic life. In "Elements in the Background to the Life of St. Cuthbert and his Early Cult" (pp. 3-19), James Campbell cites some little-considered aspects of Cuthbert's world; life for the nobility was both alcoholically indulgent and vibrant; Kingship in Northumbria was unstable after the death of Aldfrith in 705. Campbell cites evidence to show that even at Jarrow and Lindisfarne itself: "A late seventh- or eighth-century monastery often had many of the aspects of a special kind of nobleman's club" (p. 12). Just as was often the case with Irish Monasteries, Lindisfarne had something of a function as a trading centre. Campbell concludes that the vitae of Cuthbert are "very committed and selective and almost certainly distorted" accounts: The rich goods in the grave, and the simple life of the saint are hard to accept, and "The real Cuthbert is hard to find and far to seek" (p. 19).

Clare Stancliffe makes a number of important points in her study of "Cuthbert and the Polarity between Pastor and Solitary" (pp. 21-44). Cuthbert came to maturity in troubled times, when many churchmen and noblemen viewed the entire tradition of Celtic Iona with deep suspicion. It is probably for this reason that Cuthbert himself, obedient to the Whitby decrees, gained such early prominence, while Aidan quickly faded into obscurity. Stancliffe's title reflects the paradox of the extremes of charity, on the one hand caring for other Christians, on the other the solitary contemplation of the divine. Stancliffe concludes that the pattern of Cuthbert's life is Irish:

If we judge Cuthbert by what he did, rather than the way in which his hagiographers strive to present him, then clearly he fits convincingly into an Irish mould—which was in its turn influenced by Antonian and Martinian ideals, while not being identical with either. The idea of laying aside office and retiring to live the religious life may well owe something to the Irish. Irish are such ascetic features as praying waist-deep in cold water, and Cuthbert's concern with penitence; but beyond that, the whole practice of retreating to island hermitages is very Irish, as also is the combination of genuine pastoral concern combined or alternating with a deep desire to cut loose from all ties and make off alone, for contemplation's sake. As far as the polarity between the pastoral and solitary callings is concerned, Fursey provides a closer analogy than either Anthony or Martin—and it is all the more telling in that there are no obvious traces of the *Vita Fursey*'s wording in the *Lives* of Cuthbert. (p. 41)

Michael Herity studies "Early Irish Hermitages in the Light of the Lives of Cuthbert" (pp. 45-63) because he believes that the historical and archaeological record of Atlantic Ireland and Northumbria (including the lives of Cuthbert) are images and actualities of the same traditions.

Benedicta Ward, SLA writes an essay on "The Spirituality of St. Cuthbert" (65-76), in which she attempts to discern the innermost life of the saint. Ward holds firmly for the notion that there is a deep religious matrix to the *Lives*, to which the biography of the person Cuthbert was clearly subordinate:

Some actual physical details about his earthly life are there, but the writers are not directly concerned with them. There is no 'spirituality' there, if by that is meant the personal mental activities of Cuthbert when he prayed or when he taught. What the *Lives* do contain is a series of pictures of real events presented for their significance in relation to God. There is no way of stripping these stories of their piety in the hopes of finding a familiar and accessible figure at the centre. The anonymous and Bede do not write in that way. They use passages of the Scriptures that Cuthbert himself knew and by which he lived to illuminate the whole man. What they show like all Christian hagiography, is that the words and deeds of this human being were gradually entirely filled, transfigured, with the presence of God in Christ reconciling the word to himself. A Christian saint is not remembered as wise or great or righteous but as a humble and sinful human being who learned, through who knows what agonies and darkness so to walk in faith in Christ through his daily life that at the point of death he revealed to others, if not to himself, that underneath are the everlasting arms. The hagiographer is one who shows this life of discipleship to readers for their encouragement and imitation. In the three passages examined from the *Life of St Cuthbert*, I do not at all suggest that the events did not take place, but that in each case the meaning of them is revealed by the use of Scripture: at Melrose, it is not Cuthbert's education linked to miraculous prophecy that is presented, but the whole basis of his life is shown to have been set by an acceptance of the faith that does the works of love; by the North Sea at Coldingham, Cuthbert was no animal-lover out for a walk, but the new Adam in whom the right ordering of creation was restored; and on Farne, the writers do not give a picture of a busy bishop longing to get away from it all to a lovely island with nature and scenery: they bring the reader into the presence of a man crucified with Christ, alone and keeping silent as he accepts death. (p. 75)

Rosemary Cramp's study of "The Artistic Influence of Lindisfarne within Northumbria" (213-2) makes a number of important points. First of all, Irish influence at Lindisfarne was dominant for only some fifty years, early circa 685, and it is very difficult to assign any specific artifacts to that period. It is paradoxical that Monkwearmouth seems heavily influenced by Insular elements in sculpture, while Jarrow was not:

If one looks for fine quality Insular elements in early sculpture one finds them not amongst the surviving pieces from Lindisfarne but at Monkwearmouth, where despite the documentary evidence for the church's construction by Gaulish workmen, there is a strong Insular element in the sculptural decoration. Some interior decoration such as the splendid lion arm-rests which supported the abbot's throne and clergy benches, also the lathe-turned balusters can be seen as having a continental ancestry. But clearly Insular are the twisted beasts on the jambs of the west entrance. Perhaps even more strikingly Insular is the panel which seems to be part of a closure screen for the altar. This is divided into small panels, one with a composition of ribbon animals, and the others with small neat interlace roundels of a type repeated on other excavated fragments from the site. These have been compared by Gwenda Adcock with the

Book of Durrow interlaces on folio 85v and with Pictish art, for example the stone at Meikle. It is possible that Monkwearmouth foundation was influenced by Christian art already in existence in Northumbria, and it is interesting that in the sister foundation of Jarrow, founded eight years later, no such Insular ornament is found, only severely classical ornament comparable with that at Hexham. (pp. 221-22).

Cramp concludes that the late seventh to early eighth century was "a period of intense and swift experimentation" (p. 223).

Richard Bailey writes on "St. Cuthbert's Relics: Some Neglected Evidence" (231-46). We know that Cuthbert relics scattered early, but Bailey discovered and discusses the recovery of parts of the fabrics buried with Cuthbert which were disposed of as high-level mementos in the 19th century, as Bailey point out:

Small as they are, these scattered fragments often provide vital evidence; in particular they frequently survive in a better state of preservation than material still at Durham and thus furnish valuable supplementary information about the original appearance of these pieces. (p. 237)

Bailey also offers new perspectives on metal and wood materials, most particularly a series of cross-encised wood fragments which he proposes are of early Anglo-Saxon date, part of the Coffin-reliquary of 698. Thus, the piece:

... implies that free-standing crosses of this shape were familiar objects in late-seventh-century Northumbria. It is but another measure of the abiding significance of the Cuthbert material that this deduction has radical implications for the study of the chronology of Anglo-Saxon sculpture. (pp. 242-43).

R. Page writes on "Roman and Runic on St Cuthbert's Coffin" (257-265), and reaches a useful and sensible conclusion:

Thus, while I can give no reason for the mixture of runic and Roman on St Cuthbert's coffin, I can at least set its inscriptions into a context that is both local and learned. It seems there was a north country practice—and one which the Christian church approved—of using runic script in the company of Roman, either mixed in with it or side by side with it. The coffin shows this was in operation by the end of the seventh century, some two generations after Edwin accepted Christianity at his council held near York. Already runes had lost any sinister associations they may have had. They had become an esoteric script, regarded perhaps with antiquarian affection by the learned and religious. (p. 265)

It is difficult to determine why he began his paper with a quotation from a fantastic piece of non-scholarship; perhaps this is an attempt at humor?

Elizabeth Coatsworth's study of "The Pectoral Cross and Portable Altar from the Tomb of St Cuthbert" (287-301), tells us a good deal about the development of metalwork. The multi-stage history of the altar is interesting, but students of literature will find what Dr. Coatsworth has to say about the pectoral of greater interest. She describes it as:

... a uniquely important piece in providing us with a glimpse of traditional jewellery style developing alongside the new monastic arts of manuscript illumination and sculpture. It is frequently said that Highborn-Saxon manuscripts such as Durrow and Lindesfarne show the influence of contemporary metalwork design, but there is very little discussion of what this means when the surviving manuscripts are from Northumbria, if from anywhere in England, and the metalwork with which they are compared is from the south. (pp. 290-91)

Coatsworth sees the association of this cross with *The Dream of the Rood* (and presumably the Ruthwell Cross poem) as direct and necessary:

Blood, gold and jewels are also associated in the opening of *The Dream of the Rood*, although we only know this in the form in which it was set down in the tenth century. Early in the poem, the cross is sometimes red with blood, sometimes adorned with treasure, changing even as the observer looks at it. The cross of the Crucifixion in the Durham Gospels, a Lindisfarne manuscript is red painted over yellow, like garnets over gold, and there is evidence of red paint on stone crosses. In its treasure-laden aspect it is overlaid with gold and set with jewels, in particular five jewels on the *eastge-spanne*, which has been translated both as cross beam and crossing. The pervasive strength of this imagery can be seen as well on the Bischofshofen cross or on the back of the Lindau Gospels. The five-fold centre, which is repeated in the crosses at the ends of the arms, finds numerous echoes in sculptured crosses, and in other jewelled examples. I find it difficult to believe that the St Cuthbert cross, which if anything is overdesigned, did not carry some, if not all, of these connotations for contemporaries. (p. 296)

The studies of fabrics in the Cuthbert coffin are of great interest, dealing as they do with the skill of Anglo-Saxon makers and the extent of Anglo-Saxon trade, but space does not permit treatment of them.

Keimelia: Studies in Medieval Archaeology and History in Memory of Tom Delaney (edited by Gearóid Mac Niocaill and Patrick F. Wallace) is a tribute to an extraordinary young Irish archaeologist who died at the age of 32 in 1979. Delaney was a good scholar, but he is perhaps equally well remembered for the songs and wit in which he satirized the Establishment. Éamonn O'Carrágain's paper (which opens the volume) is treated in the sculpture section.

James Lang writes on "Some Units of Linear Measurement in Insular Art" (pp.95-101). Continuing the work he and Richard Bailey have done on grids and measurement in Anglo-Saxon sculpture and metalwork, Lang finds similar precise measurement used on such artifacts as the high cross at Moone:

The sculptor of this fine monument used the inch unit in regular groupings within particular panels but shifted the larger module to accommodate to the size and shape of various parts of the cross. The modules always work in multiples of inches, or halves, with no random fractions. For example, one face of the tapering base depicts the Apostles in three rows, their bodies formalised rectangles. Unity in the design is achieved by all the legs protruding 2 inches below the hem of the robe, and all three rows are 14 inches deep. To accommodate to the taper, the sculptor has modified the width of the bodies in each row. The lowest are 7 inches wide (i.e., half the depth module), the middle 6 1/2 inches and the uppermost only 6 inches. The shift is governed to the half inch. (p. 97).

He finds that an inch unit is common in sculpture, and a 9mm unit in metalwork.

Leslie Webster writes on "Two Anglo-Saxon Carved Zoomorphic Mounts from Dublin" (pp. 160-67), a bone fragment, and a walrus ivory mount. These scraps are important because:

... their presence in two quite separate tenth-century urban contexts in the Viking town of Dublin is a further small but valuable contribution to the growing body of archaeological evidence from Ireland for contacts between Viking Dublin and Anglo-Saxon England. (p. 167)

Finbar McCormick writes an interesting paper on a topic that seems at first whimsical: "The Domesticated Cat in Early Christian and Medieval Ireland" (pp. 218-28). His conclusions on the early Christian cat are of more interest:

... the domestic cat had a wide, if not universal distribution, in rural Early Christian Ireland but is present in very small numbers on individual sites. Secondly, the cats present were of a relatively large size. Thirdly, most of the cats present on rural sites were mature or old individuals. This evidence suggests that cats were well-bred and cared for and kept as prized domestic pets. The literary evidence supports these conclusions. The role of the cat during the Early Christian period is perhaps epitomised in an early ninth-century poem generally known as 'The Scholar and his Cat' (Greene and O'Connor 167, 81-3). In this poem the pet cat *Pangur Ban* is a cherished companion of the scribe and on a more practical level contributes to the general quality of life by keeping the scriptorium free of mice. (pp. 223-4)

While T.B. Barry's *The Archaeology of Medieval Ireland* is primarily an account of the later period, the book is extremely useful in the generally up-to-date and accurate summary of the early Christian period. The first thirty-six pages of this book provide an overview of an important field in a very short span indeed, one which will serve both for scholars and students interested in the insular community.

Fergus Kelly's *Guide to Irish Law*, the third volume of the *Early Irish Law Series*, is an essential book. Quite aside from the vast difficulties associated with the language of these texts, Irish law codes are problematic. They are often contradictory, they are often compendia-in-stratification, and only the most skilled can make their way through the thickets and bogs which await the less skilled in these texts.

Kelly has achieved the near impossible, producing a readable and entertaining account of the law gathered under the law of persons, property, offences, and the like. The book can be read through (a pleasure, because of the fascination of the subject matter, the easy authority of the writer, and the clarity of style), or the chapter sub-headings and the index will lead the reader to the question or topic of interest. Any student of the Insular tradition in the middle ages will benefit from a reading of Kelly's Introduction, which covers Irish society as well as the law in a clear and succinct way. The final point is that this book is inexpensive, clearly an anomaly in these days. It lists for 16£, which translates into circa \$25.00. The present reviewer is certain that the work will indeed "make the fascinating subject of early Irish law accessible to a wider readership than before," as Fergus Kelly hopes in his preface.

Prionséasas Ni Chatháin and Michael Richter have edited *Ireland and Christendom: The Bible and the Missions* (Stuttgart, 1987). The book is a follow-up to *Irland und Europa: Die kirche im Fruhmittelalter* (1984). The first sections deal with Irish texts of the Bible and exegesis, the third with literary and legal material. Hermann Moisl's "The Church and the Native Tradition of Learning in Early Medieval Ireland" (pp. 258-71) investigates what happened in Ireland when the oral traditions of a pre-literate society come in contact with the literate culture of Rome and the Church. It is a valuable account of what happens to the function of the *fili* as the new order arises.

Donnchadh O Corrain writes a brilliant and incisive account of "Irish Vernacular Law and the Old Testament" (pp. 284-307). He summarizes his conclusions as follows:

The legal books of the Old Testament had a formative influence on Irish vernacular law; they provided the jurists with legal principles, precedents and, on occasion, detailed rules; and they provided accounts of institutions—the city of refuge, the jubilee and others—which could be creatively adapted and applied to Irish conditions. The Irish lawyers remained keenly aware of their debt to scriptural law and in their writings, some of which are to be dated as early as the end of the seventh century, they continued to reflect on the origins of their laws and the nature of their legal culture in a sophisticated and imaginative way. (p. 307)

It is, however, section IV that will be of greatest interest to Anglo-Saxonists, James Campbell's account of "The debt of the early English Church to Ireland" (pp. 332-46). He modestly sees his own paper as "gleanings, supplementary and hesitant remarks" (p. 333), following on work by Kathleen Hughes and Denis Bethell on the subject.

The paper is important not only for the hints it gives of strong Irish influence on the Northumbrian milieu which gave rise to the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses (*inter alia*), but to the more important observation that given what we know, Irish influence is a good deal stronger than can actually be proven. Campbell concludes:

The debt of the early English Church to Ireland is incalculable. I will conclude this paper with a question: If it is the case that "The one Old English word which may be regarded with least doubt as a direct loan from Celtic is *dy*, 'magician' and that this word *dy* seems clearly on the evidence of Old English philology to have derived from Old Irish *dnuí* rather than Welsh *dyw*, how did this come about? (p. 346)

Two fascinating papers deal with the question of Christian-Pagan relations, and of conversion. In "Pagans and Holy Men, 600-800" (347-61), Ian Wood demonstrates that it was the customary practice of Germanic chieftains to welcome missionaries, even though they differed with them, because of the importance of hospitality. Even when (pagan) shrines and/or sacral objects were destroyed, the prime mover was not punished:

"When Willibrord broke the taboos associated with the shrine of Fosite, the heathen expected him to be struck down by a god, but the only action they took was to report events to the king. . . ."

In Willibrord's case the royal response to the news of sacrilege is extremely significant; the king did not condemn the saint to death, but cast lots to see whether he or any of his companions should die. Only one of them suffered. As for Willibrord himself, he was summoned to the presence of the ruler, whom he impressed by his constancy, and he was then sent back to Francia. The emphasis on the casting of lots before risking action should be placed alongside the failure of the pagans to intervene in the original desecration of the island of Fosite; the heathen were not free to act spontaneously. (p. 356)

Wood sums up his investigations as follows:

. . . Dark Age writers do allow the historian some glimpse not just of the Christian view of mission, but also of the pagan response. They reveal paganism not as a cosmology which has to be reconstructed from the later record of the sagas, nor as a set of beliefs held perhaps by a small warrior elite and preserved only in the iconography of the bracteates, but as a set of social norms which appear to have been

accepted by a considerable number of Germanic communities. It was this more mundane paganism which provided the context for missionary activity and determined the immediate possibilities and problems. (p. 361)

Michael Richler's paper stresses, not the missionaries, but the other side of the conversion process, the lay people who received the conversion, and thus were agents of it. In large part, these were alliances with aristocratic families. The "crossover" process was gradual, as Richter points out:

As Gregory wrote to Abbot Mellitus:

'It is doubtless impossible to cut out everything at once from their stubborn minds: just as the man who is attempting to climb to the highest place, rises step by step and degrees and not by leaps'.

This was the last utterance of Pope Gregory on the English mission.

Thus we see a policy whereby Christianity would edge its way gradually into the pagan society, taking note that the previous cults were well established. It has been suggested that the letter of Pope Gregory to Aethelbert concerning the treatment of paganism reached Bede at a late stage for inclusion in his *Ecclesiastical History* and that its message, fundamental as it was, was not fully applied by Bede in his work. Perhaps he did not agree with the new strategy, despite the high regard he had for Gregory the great. A lenient attitude towards the old and the new religion simultaneously is attested in East Anglia well into the second half of the seventh century. As Bede reports, Redwald and his successors worshipped God and the idols in the same building. In this, the East Anglian kings went well beyond what Pope Gregory has envisaged. (p. 369)

This provides an interestingly broad, and broad-minded, context for Sutton Hoo.

f. Numismatics

E.J. Pirie et al. have produced *Post Roman Coins from York Excavations 1971-81 18/1 in The Archaeology of York: The Coins*. The modest title of this volume does not indicate that other materials, such as dies and trial-pieces, are also included. As for the coins of the Anglo-Saxon period, Pirie tells us:

The evidence may well be small in amount, yet it has a potential significance out of all proportion to the number of pieces involved. One may justifiably speak of York-made coins being normal discoveries at York, yet little if any of the York material recovered at 16-22 Coppergate takes an unremarkable place in the numismatic record, either because of identity or because of provenance. (p. 25)

The patterns and distribution of the coins are fascinating, there are no eighth century Northumbrian *Sceattas*, one "Porcupine" coin of *circa* 720-40 seems to derive from a Frisian model. We know of two York moneyers, Styr and Outhgrim. Three foreign coins came to light, a proto-penny (fragmentary) from Hedeby in Jutland, a Carolingian obolus, and a false Arabic dirham. Pirie comments:

The Coppergate obolus of Charles the Bald stands now as the only such single recovery from Viking territory in the north of England. (p. 29)

If it is possible, the dies and trial-pieces are more important than the coins:

However great a degree of satisfaction is felt in response to the evidence of the coins alone, it is unquestionably true that the recovery of these trial-pieces and coin dies is of the great interest since they afford an unprecedented glimpse behind the scenes of coin-production. (p. 34)

Bernard Kluge gives us volume 36 of *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, State Museum Berlin Coin Cabinet*. There are extended accounts of the nature of a number of important coins, with some very interesting Anglo-Saxon pieces having originally been found in Western Slavic areas, showing wide trade contexts for at least some Saxon coinage.

g. Coda

Mary B. Campbell's *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400-1600* deserves passing mention because it deals with two important early Christian documents of "Christian Archacology," Egeria's of the Holy Land, and Arculf's report on the same area, as recorded by Adamnan. Campbell's interpretation is important because she makes important distinctions about the nature of the genre, as in this analysis of Egeria's 4th-century account:

Egeria's record of her journey there reveals the extent to which the East was felt in the beginning of the Christian era as indeed an Other World. It speaks less of a journey through time and space than of a journey into another realm of existence, in which things and meanings bear a different relationship to each other. But most important, it records a *journey*, an experience: in Egeria's *Peregrinatio* the subject of travel literature as we know it now is first circumscribed. (p. 21)

Adamnan's account is in Campbell's view on an entirely different base:

The cumulative effect of this stress on Arculf as an eyewitness despite his replacement by the narrating voice of Adamnan is to make the text sound like evidence in the case for the supernatural and sacred. Of course, Britain was fairly recently Christianized and the Church was to some extent still actually involved in making such a case. Miracles were an important card in its hand. But the audience of Adamnan's work was bound to be an already converted one, as literacy in his time was almost entirely limited to the religious orders, and thus the sensational and experiential bent of the text must be seen to reflect a predilection shared by pilgrim, author, and audience alike. (p. 39)

Don LePan gives us *The Cognitive Revolution in Western Culture Volume One: The Birth of Expectation*. His thesis is clearly expressed:

Between the twelfth and the mid-seventeenth century, the English mind discovered within itself a whole new set, not of thoughts, but of ways of thinking; in particular, of thinking in terms of time, causation and probability. These changes in the collective mind of the people were of a similar nature to the change in thought processes (though not to those in thought content) experienced by almost all children and adolescents in modern Western society. The temporal and causal thought processes that were the common currency of medieval people are also very similar to those employed by a broad variety of primitive peoples, many of who are today—under the influence of education and the demands of increasingly complex social and technological systems—undergoing changes that parallel those which took place in our Western culture between three and seven centuries ago. (pp. x to xi)

His chapter on "Literary Perspectives" attempts to prove the thesis by citations from *The Ruin*, some riddles, some gnomic verses, and *The Dream of the Rood*. Almost any Anglo-Saxonist from whatever discipline will find this interesting, though singularly ill informed and uninformative reading. LePan cites a passage from Piaget, and some well-known lines from *The Dream of the Rood* in an interesting conjunction:

With the concept of mist or cloud growing thicker in the air being so closely linked with the concept of increasing darkness, it should not surprise us that children are easily able to believe quite literally that nightfall involves a process whereby light thickens into darkness. As Piaget puts it, 'It therefore seems quite natural to little children that night should come in order to put us to sleep, and that the act of going to bed is sufficient to set in motion that great black cloud that produces darkness'.

Interestingly, as the following lines from 'The Dream of the Rood' illustrate, the Anglo-Saxons seem to have held darkness and cloudiness in a similar conceptual unity:

bystro hæfdon
bewrigen mid wolcnum Wealdenes hræw,
scirne sciman;
(Darkness imprisoned [and] covered
with cloud God's corpse, [with its]
bright shine;) (p. 68)

R. T. F.
C. K.

OE-CALL

OLD ENGLISH COMPUTER-ASSISTED LANGUAGE LEARNING

The acronym, OE-CALL, means "Old English - Computer-Assisted Language Learning." Most university foreign language departments today offer courses in learning languages which are designated as "CALL" courses, and many departments provide future teachers of foreign languages with instruction in preparing computer programs to reflect their own pedagogical theories and techniques. CALL courses have reached the point where it is no longer necessary to use programs packaged for students with different needs from one's own or to accept pedagogical agenda which do not reflect your own philosophies of teaching in order to make use of computers in the language classroom. Because it is now possible for people with scant knowledge of computer science to design their own CALL courses and materials, it is time that Anglo-Saxonists began to acquaint themselves with the possibilities of using computers to help to improve our methods of teaching Old English to students who frequently have never studied any language but Modern English.

To assist in bringing the computer into the Old English classroom, Clare Lees and Patrick W. Conner are forming an OE-CALL group, comprising a list of people who are interested in teaching Old English by computer, who are willing to try out each other's programs and to make suggestions, and who will share their own programs and other resources for developing a broad base of OE-CALL. OE-CALL was first announced at the 1989 South Atlantic Modern Language Association meeting in Atlanta, and subsequently it was advertised on ANSAXNET, the electronic network for scholars working in the early Medieval period, and it now has a membership of about thirty people in North America and England.

Anyone who is currently developing CALL programs in Old English or who would be glad to serve as a consultant, an adviser, a tester, or simply an interested onlooker is invited to join OE-CALL by filling out the questionnaire on the next page. The organizers plan to provide a survey of authoring programs and other aids to designing OE-CALL materials in the next issue of OEN.

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MANUFACTURES

IN

THE

UNITED STATES

OF AMERICA

FROM 1790 TO 1860

BY

JOHN R. HARRIS

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

NEW YORK

1860

OE-CALL

QUESTIONNAIRE

Please fill in the following questionnaire if you are interested in OE-CALL, and return it to Clare Lees, Department of English, Fordham University, Bronx, NY 10458. If you are a member of ANSAXNET, you can request the form via e-mail from Patrick W. Conner, U47C2@WVNVM.BITNET, and return it completed via e-mail. In the coming months, a database of persons interested in OE-CALL, their addresses, hardware limitations, and software preferences will be made available to members of ANSAXNET through e-mail, and to other OE-CALL members in hard copy.

1. Have you ever used computers to teach Old English? If so, what software did you use? On what sort of hardware did it run?
2. Regardless of your answer to (1), are you interested in using computers to teach Old English?
3. Would you be interested in testing OE-CALL software? Please indicate whether you would prefer to examine software, or whether you could also implement classroom testing at your institution.
4. Are you limited to certain hardware at present? Please identify it.
5. Are you more interested in OE-CALL for beginning courses or for advanced courses, or for both?

NAME _____

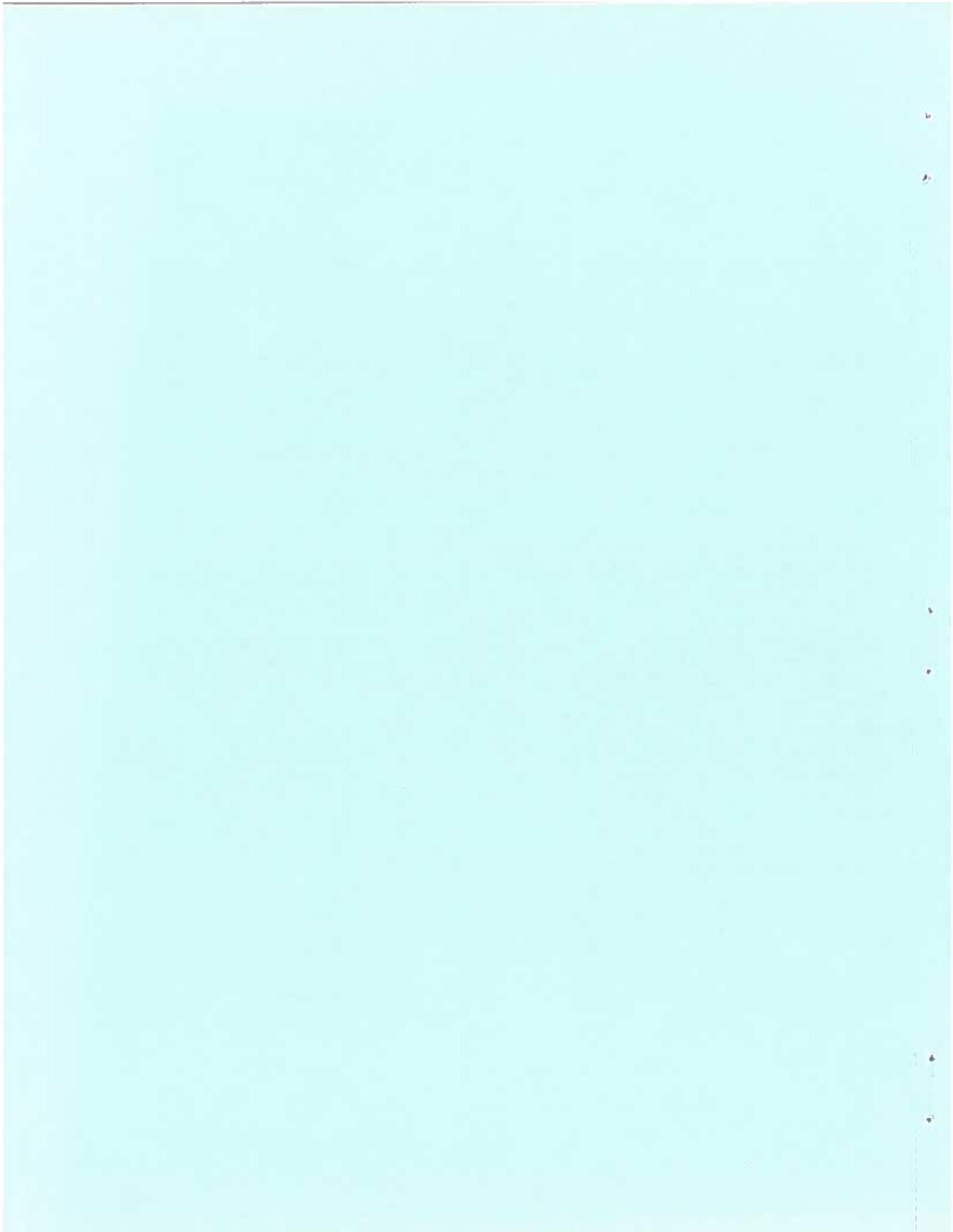
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