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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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Guide to the Contents of this Issue

NEWS

I

OEN and Computer Pangs

The editors and their associates continue to suffer from computer pangs, and the delay in the publication of this issue is in good part symptomatic thereof. Most readers who have commented on the new (partial) appearance seem to be favorable, but not all is cause for rejoicing, as the editors themselves know too well. The experiment with computers and related programs needs to continue so that *OEN* can try to keep up with a lively field, where publication and professional activity produce a record difficult to compile and correspondingly elusive to describe accurately and to comment upon properly. The ultimate aim remains the same, viz. a timely and inexpensive communication that provides accurate and well-written information, while the proximate aim remains the same, viz. a composite production that reflects the international interests of Anglo-Saxonists. The new modality eases some of the problems in collaboration, production, layout and design, proofing, etc., while offering sometimes unforeseen other problems such as balky machinery, non-standardized computer languages, problematic OE characters, etc. A few more issues of *OEN* should begin to yield a positive balance sheet in technology transfer.

Those who wish to send *OEN* articles and not simple announcements, i.e. any item longer than a page, should endeavor to send a hard copy as well as a diskette, wherein the article is typed in WordPerfect 5.1 so that Old English characters may be rendered properly. Otherwise, text created in earlier versions of WordPerfect or converted into ASCII format is acceptable. The editors will always be happy to receive any contributions for consideration, of course, but they would obviously prefer to have contributors assist in the production of their work, which in turn will improve *OEN* production schedules.

II

1990 MLA Old English Division Program

Program Chair Peter S. Baker has organized the following program for the December 27-30 MLA meeting in Chicago:

Session I: Relations between Old English Poetry and Prose

Presiding: Peter S. Baker (Emory University)

1. Kevin S. Kiernan (University of Kentucky)
   "The *Wyrd* Fate of Alfred's Prosimetrical *Boethius*"

2. Mary Blockley (University of Texas, Austin)
   "'Verse Influences on Old English Prose and Kuhn's Law Revisited"

3. Carol Braun Pasternack (University of California, Santa Barbara)
   "Anxieties of Female Governance/Reading Social Formations in Prose and Poetry"

Session II: Old English and Computer-Assisted Language Learning: A Demonstration

Presiding: John Miles Foley (University of Missouri, Columbia)

1. Patrick W. Conner (West Virginia University)

2. Clare A. Lees (Fordham University) and Marilyn Deegan (Centre for Literature and Linguistic Studies, Oxford University Computing Service)

3. Coleman C. Myron (Duquesne University)

Session III: *Beowulf*

Presiding: Constance B. Hieatt (Western Ontario University)

1. Roy Michael Liuzza (Tulane University)
"On the Dating of *Beowulf*"

2. Janet Thormann (College of Marin)
"The Body of the Mother in *Beowulf*"

3. Robert E. Bjork (Arizona State University)
"The Role of Speech in *Beowulf*"

The MLA Convention Office is currently in the process of assigning days, times, and places for these sessions. At this time it is not known what other MLA sessions of interest to Anglo-Saxonists might be scheduled.

The Program Chair for 1991 is Constance B. Hieatt. The venue is San Francisco.

III

Teachers of Old English in Britain and Ireland (TOEBI)

On Saturday 2 December 1989, 38 teachers of Old English from 22 universities in the British Isles met in Manchester under the auspices of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies and the Computer in Teaching Initiative-Centre for Literature and Linguistic Studies. The conference considered the present state of teaching Old English. The discussion began with the results of an outline survey of the numbers of undergraduates and postgraduates studying Old English in the present session, and whether any undergraduate teaching was by means of dual language editions. The survey showed that Old English teaching remains healthy in many English departments, but that its existence depends largely on the longevity of existing staff. New appointments in Early Medieval Studies are becoming increasingly difficult to secure. Recent and proposed developments in the structure of British universities threatens Old English teaching. The participating centers established TOEBI as a corporate body to facilitate the dissemination of ideas and to act as a pressure group. TOEBI is presently applying for affiliation to the Committee for University English. The conference decided to extend the survey already conducted by designing a more extensive questionnaire, the object of which would be to assemble more information about the staffing and teaching methods of Old English courses.

The teaching of Old English at the undergraduate level is most important for the continuation of the subject, but TOEBI observed that Old English is at the forefront of instruction in basic grammar and in the history of the English language, two areas recommended in the Kingman Committee report as necessary for the study of English at the university level. Also, since the elements of morphology involve some mechanical learning, they can be taught by mechanical means. Old English courses on computer are widely available, and the teaching of Old English might well be used to develop English

students' computer technology. The afternoon session was devoted to a display of language courses on computer which are already written for Old English or can easily be adapted to it.

The meeting noted the lack of satisfactory textbooks for present-day students, and set up a subcommittee consisting of Jeremy Smith (Glasgow), Hugh Magennis (Belfast), Jocelyn Wogan-Broune (Liverpool), Richard North (University College, London) and Marilyn Deegan (Oxford University Computing Service) to coordinate current efforts to fill the gap. They will report to TOEBI in October 1990.

IV

The Toller Memorial Lectures

The Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies at the University of Manchester has published the annual lecture given in memory of Thomas Northcote Toller. Readers who would like to subscribe regularly to the series, or would wish to be informed of each lecture as the Centre publishes it, should write to the Secretary, Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies, University of Manchester, Manchester M13 9PL, England.

The lectures so far published or projected are:

1987 Janet Bately, "Manuscript Layout and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*"

1988 Audrey L. Meaney, "Scyld Scefing and the Dating of *Beowulf*—Again"

1989 Helmut Gneuss, "The Study of Language in Anglo-Saxon England"

1990 Michael Lapidge, "Textual Criticism and the Literature of Anglo-Saxon England"

1991 Hanna Vollrath, "Queen Emma's Ordeal"

The price of published volumes is £3.00.

V

H.M. Chadwick Memorial Lectures

The Cambridge Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic has inaugurated an annual series of H.M. Chadwick Memorial Lectures. The first lecture series by D.A. Bullough, "Friends, Neighbors and Fellow-Drinkers: Community and Conflict in the Early Middle Ages," is available. Please write to the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, University of Cambridge, 9 West Road, Cambridge CB3 9DP, England. Please include your money order (made payable to the University of Cambridge) for £2.50 or US $4.00.

VI

New Hagiography Society

Interested scholars have founded a Hagiography Society to promote communication among scholars in different disciplines whose research involves the study of early Christian or medieval saints' legends. During 1990-91 the society will publish its first newsletter, containing a directory of researchers in hagiography and a list of works in progress, and will sponsor two sessions at the 26th International Congress on Medieval Studies at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo. For further information please write: Prof. Sherry L. Reames, Dept. of English, Univ. of Wisconsin-Madison, 600 North Park Street, Madison, WI 53706

VII

Medieval English Studies Newsletter

Published twice yearly in July and December by the Centre for Medieval English Studies at the University of Tokyo, *MESN* (ISSN 0915-9193) offers news and articles about Old and Middle English language and literature. While focused on activities in Japan, the journal nevertheless maintains an international perspective. Recent issues have, e.g., surveyed Medieval Studies in various countries. The latest issue, Special Issue no. 3 (August, 1990), is "A Bibliography of Publications on Medieval English Language and Literature in Japan from April 1987 to March 1989." There are eight sections in the Bibliography with two sections devoted to OE interests: "Old English Language and Literature in General" and "Old English: Individual Authors and Works." The special issue on bibliography appears in alternate years, beginning with 1986. In 1991 all three special issues will be re-edited and published as one.

Correspondence and subscriptions should be addressed to: Centre for Medieval English Studies, c/o Prof. Tadao Kobouchi, University of Tokyo, 3-8-1 Komaba, Meguro-ku, Tokyo 153, Japan.

An annual subscription is 2000 YEN payable through Giro (account no.: Chusei Igiritsu Kenkyu Shiryo Centre, Tokyo 4-79798 JAPAN). Overseas subscribers may also pay be check in the following currencies: $15.00 USD, $18.00 CD, £9.00, 25.00 DM.

VIII

Conferences Past, Present, and Future

The Japan Society for Medieval English Studies sponsored its Fifth Congress at the University of Tokyo, December 2-3, 1989. The congress offered sessions on Old and Middle English topics as well as on medievalism. Papers of interest to Anglo-Saxonists include: Koichi Jin (Tokyo Metropolitan Univ.), "On the Old English Substantive Verb"; Tamotsu Matsunami (Aoyama Gakuin Univ.), "The Origin of the Existential Sentence in Old English"; Jun Terasawa (Hitotsubashi Univ.), "'Prosaic' *Heretoga* vs. 'Poetic' *Folctoga*"; Yoshihiro Yoshino (Rikkyo Univ.), "A Few Neglected Aspects of Referential Relation in Old English"; Tadakatsu Miyazaki (Yokohama City Univ.), "OE *Exodus* l. 202a *weredon waelnet*."

"The New Medium," the first joint conference of the Seventeenth International Association for Literary and Linguistic Computing and the Tenth International Conference of the Association for Computers and the Humanities, took place on June 4 through 9, 1990 at the University of Siegen in Germany. As its title suggests, the conference focused upon the challenging role of computers in the

humanities. Lectures treated such varied topics as archaeology, archives, computational linguistics, computer-assisted learning, computerized manuscript bibliographies, content analysis, digital screen media, editorial problems, hypertext, lexicology, lexicography, literary computing, networks, research databases in history, scanning and simulations, and modeling.

Fontes Anglo-Saxonici held its fifth open meeting on March 27, 1990 at King's College London. The session began with a report on the *Fontes* project by the Director, Peter Clemoes. A lecture series followed, featuring the following papers: "The Poetic Art of Aldhelm: Use of Sources," A. Orchard (Queen's College Cambridge); "Ælfric and the Smaragdus Problem," Joyce Hill (University of Leeds); "Ælfric as Source," Mary Swan (University of Leeds); "Sources of St Sebastian, St George and St Eustace," Alex Nicholls (King's College London); "A Virgin Acts Manfully: the Latin and Old English Versions of the Life of Eugenia," Gopa Roy (University College London).

"Bede Day," a conference jointly organized by the Departments of Mediaeval, English, and Scandinavian and Old Germanic in the University of Groningen, will be held on November 2, 1990. The general theme of the event will be the influence of Bede in England and on the Continent. The provisional program includes: "Bede's Influence at Home and Abroad," J.E. Cross (Liverpool); "Bede and the *Heliand*," T. Hofstra (Groningen); "Legends of St. Oswald," A.M. Jansen (Nijmegen); "Bede and the Carolingian Renaissance," G.A.A. Kortekaas (Groningen); "Beda Hagiographicus," K.E. Lutterkort (Amsterdam) and "Bede, St. Lawrence, and Goscelin of Canterbury, W. de Vries (Groningen). Enquiries should be sent to Dr. T. Hofstra, Scandinavian Languages and Old Germanic, Faculty of Arts, University of Groningen, P.O. Box 716, 9700 AS Groningen, The Netherlands.

The Second Annual Michigan-Berkeley Germanic Linguistics Roundtable will take place at Ann Arbor, April 12-14, 1991. The invited speakers are: Stefan Sonderegger (Zurich), Robert Peter Ebert (Princeton), and Irmengard Rauch (Berkeley). For further information contact: R.L. Lippi-Green, Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1275.

The First G.L. Brook Symposium, "English Historical Metrics: Prosody from Old English to the Renaissance," will take place in Manchester on April 17 through 19, 1991. The three-day symposium will consist of a keynote lecture, given by Thomas Cable, twelve papers spread over Thursday and Friday, and two open workshop sessions. Invited speakers include Marie Borroff, Gilbert Youmans, Hoyt Duggan, Ann Matonis, Richard Osberg, Robert Stockwell, Donka Minkova, Geoffrey Russom, Heinz Giegerich, and Martin Duffel. Topics range from Kuhn's Laws to the prosodies of Chaucer, Boccaccio and Shakespeare, and represent the broadly based interests of those participating in the event. For further details please write to Dr. C.B. McCully (Brook Symposium), Department of English Language and Literature, The University, Oxford Road, Manchester M13 9PL. Tel: (061)275-3143.

IX

New Series: *AEMS*

Robert Farrell (Cornell Univ.) and Catherine Karkov (Miami Univ. of Ohio) are general editors of a new series, *American Early Medieval Studies*. Associate Editors are: Richard Bailey (Univ. of Newcastle-upon-Tyne), Carol Farr (Univ. of Alabama), Michael Ryan (National Museum of Ireland), and Alan Stahl (American Numismatic Association). The series will in the near future announce the names of other associated scholars.

The purpose of the series is to provide a swift and relatively inexpensive venue of publication for works that deal with art history, culture, history, and archaeology of the period 400-1100. Manuscripts that cover more than a single discipline are especially welcome. Further details will be available by the end of the year. Those with inquiries should contact: Prof. Catherine Karkov, History of Art Department, 1222 Art Building, Miami University, Oxford, OH 45056.

X

Celtic Bibliography

The Celtic Studies Association of North America has published *A Celtic Studies Bibliography for 1986-88* (Philadelphia, 1990). Edited by Ann T.E. Matonis and Jean Rittmueller, the book is the second bibliography published by the Association. The first volume, covering 1983-85 and published in 1987, is still available from the address listed below. Some 220 Celtic and Medieval Studies journals were searched for the 1990 volume, 180 for the 1987 volume; the 1990 volume has 2363 entries, 800 more than its predecessor volume. Both volumes crossreference entries and list reviews for books published in the current and previous period. The 1990 volume has an author index.

Both volumes should be of interest to scholars in OE working with Celtic-Latin materials because the Bibliography includes sections on Hiberno-Latin and British Latin (229 items plus 39 cross-referenced items in the 1990 volume, 114 items in the 1987 volume), Breton-Latin literature, bibliographical and manuscript studies, *festschriften* and collected essays, and history in the Celtic language areas. Both volumes are available from: Treasurer of CSANA, Dept. of English, Univ. of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, OH 45221.

US orders should include a check for $16.25 per volume ($14.95 plus $1.30 postage); add 35 cents for an additional book. Non-US orders should include a check for $16.50 in US Dollars drawn on a US bank ($14.95 plus $1.55 postage); add $1.00 for each additional book. There is no ISBN.

XI

Brief Notices on Publications: Books

Twayne's English Authors Series offers *Beowulf* by George Clark. In this comprehensive and accessible volume Clark analyzes *Beowulf*'s place in the heroic narrative tradition, providing an in-depth explication of the poem's narrative strategy. Clark also looks at the scholarly and critical issues that *Beowulf* has generated through the years. It is available from G.K. Hall & Co., 70 Lincoln Street, Boston, MA 02111-2685. Tel. (617) 423-3990. Telex 94-0037. FAX (617) 423-3999. Pp. 144 + notes, references, bibliography, and index. ISBN 0-8057-6996-X. $21.95 cloth.

Robert P. Creed works directly from the manuscript text of *Beowulf* and questions every assumption every editor and metrist has ever made about the poem, while building a prosody of *Beowulf* in his *Reconstructing the Rhythm of Beowulf* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1990). Creed shows how John Mitchell Kemble produced the verses that every editor has accepted by working "from the top down." The nine-chapter book includes three appendices. Pp. xv + 216. ISBN 0-8262-0722-7. $42.50 cloth.

King's College London Medieval Studies has reprinted *Eleven Old English Rogationtide Homilies*, originally edited by Joyce Bazire and J.E. Cross for Toronto Old English Series 5 (1982) and out of print for some time. A second preface added in this republication notes reviews of the first edition and records recent work on analogues and sources for the homilies, notably Homilies 1 and 2 in the edition, which are variant texts of Vercelli Homilies XIX and XX. Pp. xxxii + 143. £8.75 plus postage and packing. ISBN 0-9513085 3 X/ISSN 0953-217X. Order from: King's College London Medieval Studies, Department of English, King's College, Strand, London WC2R 2LS.

Akio Oizumi and Toshiyuki Takamiya have edited *Medieval English Studies Past and Present*, which is published for the Centre for Mediaeval English Studies, Tokyo, by Eichosha-Shinsha Company (Tokyo). The two-part book aims to show the wide range of Medieval English scholarship. The first part is devoted to a survey of Medieval English studies in a particular university or region in the past as well as in the present; there are 28 articles by an international array of contributors. The second part is a tribute to distinguished medievalists, who may have died in the past decade or so, memorializing them and marking their contributions to Medieval English studies; there are 32 obituaries. Pp. 350. 5,000 YEN.

The History and the Dialects of English, a Festschrift for Eduard Kolb, edited by Andreas Fischer, is available from Carl Winter Universitätsverlag (Heidelberg: Winter, 1989). This substantial volume includes sections on "Writing the History of English," "English Etymology," "Old English," "Middle English," "Modern English," and "Modern English Dialects." It also includes a list of publications by Eduard Kolb and doctoral dissertations which he has supervised. Pp. 277. ISBN 3-533-04142-5. DM 70.00 cloth.

Hiroshi Ogawa has written *Old English Modal Verbs: A Syntactical Study*, *Anglistica* 26 (1989), which is published by Rosenkilde and Bagger (Copenhagen). Ogawa studies both poetry and prose works, considering the uses of modal verbs. He shows that the frequency and uses of modals vary according to the genre and style of different texts in a way that traditional theory cannot explain. Pp. xii + 319. No price, no ISSN given.

Alfred Bammesberger and Alfred Wollman have edited *Britain 400-600: Language and History*, *Anglistische Forschungen* 205 (1990), which is published by Carl Winter (Heidelberg). The volume is the documentation of a symposium held at Eichstätt, West Germany, 3-5 October 1988. There are three major chapters in the book: "The Historical and Cultural Background of Dark Age Britain"; " The Prehistory of the Celtic Languages in Britain"; and "The Prehistory of Old English." Altogether there are 22 papers. There are illustrations. Pp. 485. ISBN 3-533-04279-7/3-53-04271-5. DM 118 (DM 150, cloth).

Geraldine Barnes, John Gunn, Sonya Jensen, and Lee Jobling have edited *Words and Wordsmiths: a Volume for H.L. Rogers* (Dept. of English, University of Sydney, 1989). The book contains seventeen essays on Old, Middle, Modern English and Old Norse. Essays of interest to Anglo-Saxonists include: John Gray, "The Finn Episode in *Beowulf*: Line 1085(b) *ac hig him gepingo budon*"; Alex I. Jones, "Lexical Structure in *The Battle of Maldon*"; N.M. Robinson, "The Living God in Ælfric's *De Falsis Diis*." For copies write to Miss Cathey Eke, Secretary; Dept. of Early English Literature and Language; Univ. of Sydney; Sydney NSW 2006, Australia. Price: AUS $18 (or equivalent) inclusive of postage. ISBN 0-86758-309-6.

The American Philosophical Society announces the publication of its latest *Transactions*, Vol. 79, Part 5. *The Virtuous Pagan in Middle English Literature* by Cindy L. Vitto primarily focuses on the role of the virtuous pagan in *St. Erkenwald* and *Piers Plowman*, but it also provides extensive theological background. Those interested should write to The American Philosophical Society, 104 South Fifth Street, Philadelphia, PA 19106. Pp. 90 + bibliography and index. ISSN 0065-9746. $15.00 paper.

Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies has reprinted N.F. Blake's edition of *The Phoenix*. The new edition includes the extensive introduction, text, notes, appendices, and glossaries of the original volume, but brings the bibliography up to date. Please send orders to The University of Exeter Press, Reed Hall, Streatham Drive, Exeter EX4 4QR. Pp. 125. ISBN 0-85989-342-1. £5.00 paper.

Anglo-Saxon Studies: A Select Bibliography by C.P. Biggam is available from Bocgetael Engliscra Gesiþa (The English Companions). Biggam compiled the bibliography primarily for "amateur Anglo-Saxonists," those "whose principal occupation is outside Anglo-Saxon studies and related subjects," and for students. Though it excludes journal articles, papers in books of essays and dissertations, it contains references for many aspects of Anglo-Saxon scholarship such as Old English language and literature, Anglo-Latin, paleography, illumination, history, numismatics, onomastics, archaeology, fiction, and children's books. Write to Janet Goldsbrough-Jones, Gerefa, 38 Cranworth Road, Worthing, West Sussex, BN11 2JF. Pp.49. ISBN 0-9505704-2-7.

Tim W. Machan has edited *Vafþrudnismal*, available from Durham Medieval Texts, Number 6. This edition is intended for students who are generally acquainted with Old Norse language and literature and who are reading Eddic poetry for the first time. It includes an introduction, which discusses various codicological, philological and cultural issues concerned with Eddic poetry, a bibliography, textual and explanatory notes, a glossary, and an index of names. Send orders to the Univ. of Durham, School of English, Elvet Riverside, New Elvet, Durham DH1 3JT, England. Pp.106. ISBN 0-9505989/ISSN 0955-0666.

Paragon House introduces a translation by Katharyn Dunham of Roland Bechmann's *Trees and Man: The Forest in the Middle Ages*. This extensive and innovative study explores the interrelationship between man and the forest ecosystem in the Middle Ages, a time when "man discovered the forest's limits." Please write to Paragon House, 90 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. Pp. 298 + appendices, notes, bibliography, and index. ISBN 1-55778-034-X. $24.95 cloth.

Klaus Faiss has written *Englische Sprachgeschichte* (Tübingen: A. Francke Verlag, 1989). Major sections of the book treat phonology, nouns, pronouns, and verbs in great detail. Bibliographies follow each chapter division within the major sections. The book is available from Francke Verlag Tübingen, Dischingerweg 5, D-7400 Tübingen 5, Germany. Pp. 422. ISBN 3-7720-1757-6. No price available.

A Guide to Western Historical Scripts: From Antiquity to 1600, by Michelle P. Brown, traces the evolution of scripts in the West from the world of Antiquity to the early modern period. It is divided into nine major phases of development, each of which includes a synopsis, a select bibliography, comments on regional and chronological diffusion, full-page illustrations, and other relevant information. Write to: University of Toronto Press, 340 Nagel Drive, Buffalo, NY 14225 (USA); 10 St. Mary Street, Toronto, Ontario, M4Y 2W8 (Canada); International Book Distributors Ltd., 66 Wood Lane End, Hemel Hempstead, Hertfordshire HP2 4RG (UK). Pp. 138. ISBN 0-8020-5866-3. $40.00 cloth.

The *International Medieval Bibliography* is one of the world's leading bibliographies of medieval studies. The *IMB* appears twice a year and lists articles within twelve months of their publication. The Bibliography contains over 4,000 entries per issue and is classified and cross-referenced according to 58 thematic headings and thirteen geographical areas. Indexes of authors, subjects, manuscripts, personal names and placenames and an index-list of journals and miscellanies covered in each issue is also available. For ordering information please write to: The Subscriptions Secretary, IMB, School of History, University of Leeds, Leeds LS2 9JT, United Kingdom.

Earlier this year the Philadelphia Rare Books and Manuscripts Company listed three 17th/18th c. books for sale, which might be of interest to Anglo-Saxonists. They are: 1) William L'Isle's 1623 printing of Ælfric, *A Saxon Treatise Concerning the Old Testament* (STC rev. 160); 2) John Spelman's *Alfredi Magni...vita* (1678); 3) John Spelman's *The Life of Aelfred the Great* (1709). For further information contact: PRB&M, P.O. Box 9536, Philadelphia, PA 19124, or call 215-744-6734.

XII

Brief Notices on Publications: Journals

The April 1990 issue of *ANQ* (formerly *American Notes and Queries*) is devoted to the topic of "Old English Studies: Current State and Future Prospects." This special issue, edited by Nicholas Howe, contains contributions by: Mary Blockley (Old English Language); Kevin S. Kiernan (Old English Manuscripts); Paul E. Szarmach (Old English Prose); Fred C. Robinson (Old English Poetry); Edward B. Irving (*Beowulf*); Daniel Donoghue (Old English Meter); Roberta Frank (Anglo-Scandinavian Poetic Relations); and Michael Lapidge (Anglo-Latin). The volume also contains notes by Joseph Eska, Gillian Overing, and Andrew Welsh. Individual copies may be ordered at $5.00 US each (postpaid) from the University of Kentucky Press, 633 South Limestone Street, Lexington, KY 40508-4008.

Three issues of the *Newsletter of the School of Celtic Studies* are now available from the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. Edited by Rolf Baumgarten, Newsletters 1 through 3 (November 1987, 1988, and 1989) overview the activities of the School of Celtic Studies, review publications, announce seminars, and report on projects in progress. Please write: School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 10 Burlington Road, Dublin 4, Ireland.

Hwaet! is a nonprofit journal of interdisciplinary medieval studies conceived, written, produced and distributed entirely by graduate students, and published twice yearly. The Fall 1989 issue features a selection of papers read at the annual New England Medieval Studies Consortium Conference, specifically those by Duncan Fisher, Russell Potter, Sylvia P. Heffley, Gregory W. Gross, and Dina M. Consolini. The Spring 1990 issue will soon be available. Those interested should write to *Hwaet!*, Box 1852, Brown University, Providence, RI 02912. $5.00 individual and $8.00 libraries (single issue); $7.50 individuals and $13.00 libraries (full year).

The University of Nottingham annually publishes *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, an interdisciplinary journal for historical and literary studies from Late Antiquity to the Reformation. Copies of all issues, except vols. I, II and IX, are currently available. Individual back numbers may be purchased at the price of the current volume (£5.00 Sterling or $10.00 US per issue). Discounts will be offered for multiple-volume purchases. Please send orders to Don MacQueen, Assistant Treasurer, *NMS*, Department of Philosophy, University of Nottingham, Nottingham NG7 2RD. Those wishing to publish should send papers to Michael Jones, Editor, *NMS*, Dept. of History, Nottingham NG7 2RD.

Special Notice:

An International Directory of Renaissance and Reformation Associations and Institutes has been published by the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies at the University of Toronto (Canada) in cooperation with the Renaissance Society of America. The Directory is a listing of 213 different associations, centers, or institutes throughout the world devoted to some aspect of the Renaissance or the Reformation. It also includes many Medieval centers whose field of interest reaches into early modern history. The listing gives addresses and phone numbers, names of officers, areas of specialization, publication series, fellowships, courses, and other such details on the institution. It is complemented by an index of place names, journal titles, areas of specialization, and names of Renaissance or Reformation individuals mentioned in the Directory. The Directory can thus be a useful tool for scholars wishing to find out what institutional resources are available in their particular field of R&R study in other (sometimes unexpected) areas of the world; or it can offer suggestions for alternative publication venues; or ideas on places where to do research during sabbatical leaves. The Directory is available for $13 (plus $2 for postage). Please make your $15 check payable to the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, and mail it to the CRRS (IDRRAI), Victoria College, University of Toronto, Canada, M5S 1K7.

ISAS NEWS

The Coordinating Committee for the Fifth Meeting of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists invites members of the Society to propose papers or sessions for the Society's biennial meeting, scheduled for July 22-26, 1991 at the State University of New York at Stony Brook (Long Island). The Committee has set the theme "The Preservation and Transmission of Anglo-Saxon Culture," having invited eight speakers to address the subject.

The eight are: Carl T. Berkhout (Univ. of Arizona); Rosemary Cramp (Univ. of Durham); Helen Damico (Univ. of New Mexico); Robert Deshman (Univ.of Toronto); Robin Fleming (Boston College); Janet Nelson (Univ. of London, King's College); Fred C. Robinson (Yale Univ.); William Stoneman (The Scheide Library, Princeton Univ.).

The Committee solicits additional papers from the membership on the theme, thus intending to provide a forum where Anglo-Saxonists can consider where they are and where they are going, particularly in the light of recent theoretical developments in the historical humanities. Invited and submitted papers on the theme will consider the assumptions, origins, developments, and interdisciplinary perspectives of the common field. Old and new agendas for scholarship on Anglo-Saxon England, traditional and innovative models of understanding, and theoretical and technical problems and advances can serve as emphases for submissions.

The Committee also plans several sessions on open topics in the full range of subjects that constitute the study of Anglo-Saxon England. Members may also choose to offer organized sessions to the Committee. The Committee will give special consideration to submissions from members who are new to the field and/or who have not recently given papers at ISAS meetings.

Papers for theme or open sessions should be 20 minutes long; sessions should not have more than three papers. While abstracts will be welcome, completed papers will have higher priority.

All program participants must be members of ISAS. Annual ISAS dues are $10.00 US or the equivalent in sterling.

To join ISAS, contact:

Dean Mary P. Richards
Executive Secretary, ISAS
College of Liberal Arts
2046 Haley Center
Auburn University, AL 36849-3501

PHONE: 205-844-4026

For further program information, contact:

Prof. Paul E. Szarmach
ISAS Meeting
CEMERS; SUNY-Binghamton
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PHONE: 607-777-2730

ANSAXNET:PSZARMAC@BINGVAXC
FAX: 607-777-4000 P.E. Szarmach

NEH Summer Seminar

The Oral Tradition in Literature

June 17-August 9, 1991

Center for Studies in Oral Tradition
University of Missouri/Columbia
John Miles Foley, Director

Description

Over the last several decades, scholars have begun to appreciate the significance of the oral traditions that lie behind many important works of literature. This seminar will attempt to formulate an interpretive method that will facilitate the understanding of oral traditional works *sui generis*. By considering both primary oral texts, such as various Yugoslav, Native American, and African genres, and works with roots in the oral tradition, such as the Bible, the Homeric epics, *Beowulf*, *The Song of Roland*, and *The Poem of the Cid*, participants will explore theories of creation and transmission, oral performance, and the implications of structure for meaning from a comparative perspective. Discussion will focus on the difference the works' orality makes to their faithful interpretation by members of a highly literate and print-oriented culture. The approaches employed will have no special allegiance but will reflect the inherent pluralism of this field. The seminar is designed to appeal to teachers and scholars from many disciplines: modern, medieval, and ancient languages and literatures; folklore; anthropology; linguistics; and history.

Application Process

Forms are available from:

John Miles Foley
Center for Studies in Oral Tradition
301 Read Hall
University of Missouri
Columbia, MO 65211

The (postmark) deadline for applications is March 1, 1991.

Kalamazoo 1991

The Twenty-Sixth International Congress on Medieval Studies at Western Michigan University (Kalamazoo), May 9-12, 1991, may prove to be the "Year of the Anglo-Saxon(ist)s." In addition to the usual opportunities to give papers at open meetings, these papers, symposia, and activities are scheduled:

I. Insular Conference. Catherine Karkov (Miami Univ. of Ohio), Michael Ryan (National Museum of Ireland), and Robert T. Farrell (Cornell Univ.) have organized a program on Insular culture. The (partial) list of speakers and papers includes:

Richard Bailey (Newcastle Univ.), "'Insular,' 'Merovingian,' and 'Carolingian': A Reassessment"

Cormac Bourke (Ulster Museum, Belfast): "The Insular Crozier: Symbol and Artifact"

Signe Horn Fuglesang (Institut for Kunsthistorie, Oslo): "The Origins of the Urnes Style and its Application in the British Isles"

Raghnall Ó Floinn (National Museum of Ireland): "Innovation and Conservatism in Irish Metalwork of the Romanesque Period"

James Graham-Campbell (Univ. College, London): "Pictish Silverwork"

Peter Harbison (Irish Tourist Board): "The High King Maelsechnaill's High Crosses—In Ossory Too?"

I.B. Henderson (Newnham College, Cambridge): "Panelled Zoomorphic Ornament in the Book of Kells and in the Repertoire of Mature Pictish Sculpture"

A.J. Hawkes (Newcastle Univ.): "The Figural Iconography of the Rothbury Cross-Head"

Kathleen M. Openshaw (Univ. of Toronto): "A Visual Exemplum for the Remission of Sins in an Anglo-Saxon Psalter"

Michael Ryan (National Museum of Ireland): "The Iconography of the Derrynaflan Paten"

Roger Stalley (Trinity College, Dublin): "The Tower Cross at Kells and Current Problems in Irish Sculpture"

II. Ninth Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture. The Ad-Hoc Committee for the Symposium plans six sessions thus:

1) two sessions, *Studies of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture*, organized by Paul E. Szarmach (SUNY-Binghamton);

2) two sessions, *Theory and Method in Anglo-Saxon Studies: Readings on Women in Old English Literature II*, organized by Alexandra Hennessey Olsen (Univ. of Denver) and Helen Damico (Univ. of New Mexico);

3) two open sessions, *Literary Sources*, organized by Thomas D. Hill (Cornell Univ.);

III. Bessinger Symposium. John C. Leyerle (Univ. of Toronto) and Helen Damico are organizing four sessions to honor Jess Bessinger on the occasion of his retirement.

IV. Plenary Speakers. The two plenary speakers for the Kalamazoo Congress will be Jess Bessinger (New York University) and Rosemary Cramp (Durham Univ., *emerita*).

Maldon Millenium

I. Maldon Collection. Basil Blackwell Ltd. is pleased to announce the publication of *The Battle of Maldon, A.D. 991*, a collection of essays on the battle, the poem and their background. The book is illustrated with more than a hundred photographs, plans and diagrams, including facsimiles of all the pre-Conquest written sources on the battle, which are also transcribed, translated and provided with a commentary. The book is edited by Donald Scragg and the contributors are: Richard Abels, Janet Bately, Mark Blackburn, Nicholas Brooks, Mildred Budny, Elizabeth Coatsworth, Wendy Collier, Marilyn Deegan, John Dodgson, Roberta Frank, Alan Kennedy, Simon Keynes, Michael Lapidge, Margaret Locherbie-Cameron, Niels Lund, Gale Owen-Crocker, Stanley Rubin and Kathryn Sutherland.

II. Maldon Millennium Conference. The conference to celebrate this decisive event in Anglo-Saxon history and literature will take place at the University of Essex, Colchester, England, 5 to 9 August 1991. A provisional list of speakers and the titles of their papers includes:

James Campbell (Worcester College, Oxford), "England c.991"

Peter Sawyer, "The Scandinavian Background"

D.G. Scragg (Univ of Manchester), "The *Battle of Maldon*: Fact or Fiction"

Roberta Frank (Univ of Toronto), "The *Battle of Maldon*: Its Reception 1726-1906"

C.J.R. Hart, "Essex in the Late Tenth Century"

Karl Leyser (All Souls College, Oxford), "Tenth-Century Warfare"

Neils Lund (Univ of Copenhagen), "Danish Military Organization"

Katherine Mack (Williams College, USA), "The Late Anglo-Saxon Aristocracy: Landholding and Political Influence"

Warwick Rodwell, "Hadstock, Assandum, and the Archaeology of Anglo-Scandinavian Essex"

Pauline Stafford (Huddersfield Polytechnic), "Brihtnoth and his Family"

Ute Schwab, "The Retainers' Speeches as 'Auto Epitaphia'"

Paul E. Szarmach (State Univ. of New York, Binghamton), "The (Sub-) Genre of the *Battle of Maldon*"

Henry Loyn, "Concluding Paper"

The conference will also have excursions to Maldon and Colchester.

For further information please write to Conference Administrator, Michael Wheeler, Europa Travel International, 71 Crouch Street, Colchester, Essex CO3 3EY for application and registration information.

Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture Renewal

The National Endowment for the Humanities, Division of Research Programs, has renewed its support of *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture* by awarding a grant for $158,226, which will underwrite Years IV and V of *SASLC* (1990-92). The project was originally begun with NEH support for 1987-89, continuing for the just ended Year III with an extension of NEH funds and as a project of CEMERS at SUNY-Binghamton.

In what is expected to be the concluding phases of its work *SASLC* will focus on *Saints Lives*, Liturgy, and the remaining entries on major figures, works, or genres. See the article by Gordon Whatley in this issue of *OEN* for more background information. To mark and summarize the first two years of research as well as to solicit criticism in anticipation of the final, complete volume, the Project committee plans to issue "Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: A Trial Version." The committee will send this volume, which will contain nearly 300 pages, to *OEN* subscribers *gratis* in the hope of encouraging readers to join in the remaining work. The revised target date for publication of *A Trial Version* is now late November, 1990. The final, complete volume, which may exceed 800 pages, is projected for 1993.

SASLC aims to produce a reference work providing a convenient summary of current scholarship on the knowledge and use of literary sources in Anglo-Saxon England. Departing from J.D.A. Ogilvy's *Books Known to the English, 597-1066* and incorporating more recent scholarship, the *SASLC* work will include contributions from specialists in the various sub-fields of Old English studies. Because evidence for the knowledge and use of a source comes in different forms, entries in *SASLC* will to some degree vary. Basic information will appear in summary form at the beginning of each entry under five headings: first, the manuscript evidence; second, the mention of a work in relevant medieval library catalogues; third, the existence of an OE translation; fourth, significant citations by Anglo-Saxon writers; and fifth, specific references to an author or work. *SASLC* entries will also include less clearcut evidence such as allusions to unnamed sources. *SASLC* entry-writers will not attempt to present new research on source problems and related questions but rather they will offer in summary form the consensus of current scholarship. Often source questions will be left open to differing opinions and future work. Entries will contain a discussion of the relevant bibliography.

SASLC has had a triple institutional base: Cornell University, Brigham Young University, and SUNY-Binghamton. At this renewed stage the University of Connecticut, Queens College-CUNY, the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill have joined the institutional base. *SASLC* is a direct outcome of the 1983 Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture, held at the Medieval Institute, Western Michigan University, and granted major funding by the National Endowment for the Humanities, Division of Research Programs.

For further information on *SASLC* write to:

Prof. Paul E. Szarmach
Project Director, *SASLC*
CEMERS; SUNY-Binghamton
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FAX: 607-777-4000 P.E. Szarmach

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Dictionary of Old English: Support

Antonette diPaolo Healey

The *Dictionary of Old English* project is now in the final year of a five-year grant from its principal funding agency, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRCC). The outlook for government funding for research in Canada, particularly in the humanities, is very bleak at the moment and we are concerned about the future of the project. To assure its continuation, we need to attract private and corporate support. We are appealing to the larger community of Anglo-Saxonists for help in finding new sources of support because private foundations in Canada are few and, by international standards, poorly endowed.

The cost of the project is mainly in personnel: eight editors responsible for writing and revising the entries, a copy-editor, a programmer, a part-time computer editor, and a part-time administrative assistant. Some members of the staff have been with the project for more than ten years. If we are forced by lack of funds to cut this experienced team, there will be a serious loss of momentum in our work and of morale for the members left.

We envisage various ways in which donors can support the project. Individuals might wish to fund a (named) editorial position for a set length of time. Professional societies of physicians and lawyers might be willing to fund the work of the dictionary editors assigned to write entries on the medical and legal vocabulary of Old English. Computer firms interested in natural language processing and its implications for artificial intelligence research might be interested in how we are analyzing language as we write the *Dictionary*, and consequently donate hardware and software to the project, as was done by Xerox USA. Individuals might be willing to subsidize the cost of producing different fascicles of the dictionary. The dollar amount would vary, dependent on the size of the letter: a small letter such as 'æ' (ca. 700 words) would entail support of the project for six months; a medium-sized letter such as 'a' (ca. 1500 words) would require a year's support.

Contributors would be acknowledged in a variety of ways. Their generosity would be highlighted in each fascicle of the *Dictionary* and in the scholarly papers written during the period of their support. If an editorial position were funded at the level of two-thirds salary or more, the designated position could be named after the benefactor, a practice already established at the project by naming the two editors supported by the Mellon Foundation as the "Mellon Editors." If the costs of a fascicle or of the *Dictionary* itself were underwritten, we would be honored to name the fascicle or the *Dictionary* after its donor.

If you know of individuals or organizations who might be willing to be benefactors, they can be assured that the response to the publications of the project, including the initial fascicles of the *Dictionary*, has been gratifying:

> *This project has made remarkable progress. Already, valuable publications (including a computerized corpus of the entire extant body of writing in Old English and a microfiche concordance) have appeared and have made this one of the monuments to scholarship in our century even before the primary work has begun to appear.*
>
> from the 1985 report to the Congress of the United States on the State of the Humanities by the American Council of Learned Societies.

> *The Dictionary of Old English...is one of the most significant humanistic projects of our time...it will take its place among the standard tools for research in medieval history and culture. Although the general public may be unaware of the Dictionary of Old English...everyone who consults a dictionary during the twenty-first century and later will profit, as the learning of the scholarly lexicographers sifts down to the commercial dictionaries.*
>
> comments by one of the assessors from SSHRCC, evaluating the present and future impact of the Dictionary.

> *The publication of fascicle D of the Dictionary of Old English marks a watershed in Old English studies. The information here and in the entries in the Microfiche Concordance to which it gives us easy access will provide material for*

scholars to work on and worry over for years to come...Fascicle D [is] the first part of a work which will stand, and deserves to stand, as the definitive dictionary of Old English well beyond the second millennium.

Professor Janet Bately, King's College, University of London

The new entries [in fascicle D]...display a standard of erudition and clarity characteristic of the best scholarship.

Professor Allen J. Frantzen, Loyola University of Chicago

The modest size of this publication is entirely out of proportion to...the tremendous influence it will have on Anglo-Saxon studies...Already [it is] a superb achievement of lexicography;...we will wonder how anyone ever got along without it.

Professor Daniel Donaghue, Harvard University

We hope that the project will be able to achieve the financial security it needs to retain its trained staff so that in the not-too-distant future the promise of these first fascicles can be fully realized.

We would be most grateful for any help the community could give us. For further information, please write to:

The Editors
Dictionary of Old English
Room 14285, Robarts Library
University of Toronto
Toronto, Ontario, Canada
M5S 1A1
Phone: 416-978-8883
FAX: 416-978-5711

E-mail: healey@doe.utoronto.ca for BITNET/EARN and INTERNET networks

The Old English Colloquium

The Old English Colloquium at the University of California at Berkeley sponsored two events last spring. The first, a linguistics symposium titled "Early Germanic Syntax & Semantics," took place in March. Speakers and their paper topics included: Gary Holland (Univ of California, Berkeley), "Kennings, Metaphors, and Semantic Formulae"; Peter Richardson (Univ of California, Berkeley), "Narrative Uses of Tense and Aspect in Early English Poetry"; Robert Stockwell and Donka Minkova (Univ of California, Los Angeles), "On Kendall's Theory of Syntactic Displacement in *Beowulf*"; Paul Kiparsky (Stanford Univ) "Indo-European Origins of Germanic Syntax"; Irmengard Rauch (Univ of California, Berkeley), "Was the *Genesis B* Poet Bilingual or Interlingual?" A roundtable discussion on Grammaticalization lead by Elizabeth Traugott (Stanford Univ.), moderated by Mark Amodio (Vassar College) and responded to by Fred Amory (San Francisco State Univ), Laurel Brinton (Univ of British Columbia) and Eve Sweetser (Univ of California, Berkeley) followed.

The second symposium, "Maldon After 1,000 Years" took place in April. The Maldon symposium, replacing OEC's annual spring *Beowulf*-marathon, began with a reading of *The Battle of Maldon* by David Lasson (Univ of California, Berkeley), coordinator of the event. Speakers were Dolores Frese (Univ of Notre Dame), "*Worda ond Worca*: *The Battle of Maldon* and the Lost Text of Aelflaed's Tapestry"; Earl R. Anderson (Cleveland State University), "The Roman Idea of *Comitatus* and Its Inapplicability to *The Battle of Maldon*"; Marijane Osborn, (Univ of California, Davis), "Ships, Hawks, and the Turning Tide: The Naive Reader at Maldon"; Nancy P. Stork (Stanford Univ), "*Maldon* and the Dictionaries"; Edward I. Condren (Univ of California, Los Angeles), "*The Battle of Maldon*: A Metaphor of Politics and Ethics"; John Niles (Univ of California, Berkeley), *Maldon* and Mythopoesis" and James W. Earl (Univ of Oregon), "The Future of *Maldon* Studies."

A Directory of Individual Liturgical Sources

Canada's Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council has awarded Sarah Larratt Keefer a three-year grant to create a "Directory of Individual Liturgical Sources" that stand behind Old English poetry and a database of material from which this Directory will be shaped. The project has grown out of the "lacuna" that exists in present classification methods for international projects like *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* and *SASLC*; at the moment, there is no right or convenient way—no standard edition or main manuscript version—by which to refer to an individual piece like the Lord's Prayer or the *Te Decet Laus* when it appears as a source in a vernacular poem. Since Keefer's *Fontes* responsibilities consist wholly of liturgical poetry, the solution of this problem would appear to be an essential first step, the Directory being a proposed solution.

There are many possible spin-offs to this Directory, e.g., expansion into prose texts or an examination of the widest possible range of liturgical services. But for purposes of what the business world calls "product manageability" Keefer has restricted the project field to the Office and the Mass, excluding the psalter except for psalm verses that have a function (as antiphon, versicle, etc.) independent of a recitation of their whole psalm *as* psalm. She has also confined source work to Old English poetry, since prose is far more difficult to organize, needing a wholly different methodology. The aim is publication of a volume, divided into Mass and Office sections, in which individual pieces are listed under a classification system to which source scholars can refer. Each entry will, it is planned, contain a brief abstract of liturgical development and use in Western Christendom and England up to 1066 and will list all Latin and vernacular versions by manuscript and folio; the presence of variants to a norm will be noted for each manuscript version, such that liturgical anomalies in an individual prayer that might appear as source to a poem can be traced to all known pre-Conquest Latin or Old English versions of that prayer in order to see if there is any record of anomalies elsewhere. Finally, each entry will be indexed to a bibliography generated by the work so that scholars can easily pursue background and commentary.

Because the inclusion of the texts themselves would make the volume prohibitively long, Keefer plans to develop a database of texts and all textual variants for each liturgical item together with manuscript information and history. The database will allow for future development of information.

In order to develop a design that best serves the community of Anglo-Saxonists Keefer has issued a call for suggestions, observations, and criticisms from Anglo-Saxonists in general and particularly from those working in Liturgy who might be willing to share information on texts. Please contact Sarah Larratt Keefer at

Institutional address:
Box 314
Otonabee College
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Peterborough, Ontario
CANADA K9J 7B8

e-mail address: SKEEFER@TRENTU.CA.

Home address:
630 Bolivar Street
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CANADA K9J 4S2

PHONE: 705-742-1649
FAX: 705-748-0203

Keefer will acknowledge all contributions by postcard or e-mail.

Fifth Progress Report

Fontes Anglo-Saxonici

A Register of Written Sources Used by Authors in Anglo-Saxon England

The *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* project has been advanced in the past year in a number of important ways. Wendy Collier, appointed in 1988 as a part-time Research Assistant funded by the University of Manchester, has standardized procedures for the reception and processing of data, the sending of proofs, and the making of subsequent corrections, so that the whole operation from the receiving of entries to their inclusion on the database now works swiftly and efficiently. Contributors who submit material will therefore find that there is no delay in "publication," which will then be listed in the bibliographies of *Anglo-Saxon England* and the *Old English Newsletter*. The first of these listings appeared in *Anglo-Saxon England* 18 (1989) in a special section of the annual bibliography and the Executive Committee of *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* wishes to record its thanks to the journal's editors.

There have also been further useful developments in computing. The database at Manchester is now on-line, thanks to Manchester University's provision of a PC (Opus III, IBM compatible) which is linked to the mainframe; and the University's Regional Computer Centre is designing a custom-made report screen so that data can be retrieved and printed in response to any request for information stored on the database.

The project's own reference collection at Manchester, which is used to simplify the checking of entries, has continued to expand, and the Executive Committee has been particularly grateful for two noteworthy gifts: a complete set to date of *Anglo-Saxon England*, presented by Professor Clemoes, and twenty-three Early English Text Society volumes presented by the Council of EETS. The reference collection will eventually be available to readers working at Manchester with the database.

The source-study archive at King's College, London, has also steadily increased in size and now includes microfilm of Latin and Old English manuscripts, as well as relevant articles and monographs. A second year's funding by the College allowed the project to retain Dr. Peter Orton as Research Assistant and to draw upon the part-time services of Dr. Bill Griffiths. When some current building works at the College are completed, scholars will be able to arrange to visit the archive for research purposes.

Last year we were delighted to report that Dr. Michael Lapidge had received a personal three-year grant from the Leverhulme trust (from January 1989) for the compilation of a comprehensive list and bibliography of Anglo-Latin texts. At the meeting of the Executive Committee of *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* in October 1989, Dr. Lapidge was able to describe the very significant progress that had been made on this project, thanks to the excellent work of the full-time Research Associate, Dr. Alicia Correa. The *Bibliography*, when completed, will clearly be an indispensable tool for the *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* project, as indeed it will be for all scholars working in the field for whatever reasons.

The project has been reported on and discussed at three meetings in the course of the year: an open meeting at King's College, London, on March 21, 1989; a session at Kalamazoo in May; and another during the ISAS conference in Durham, in August 1989, thanks to the President, Professor Cramp, who kindly found us the required time. This last was attended by over 40 scholars and resulted in, amongst other things, a request for Professor Ogura to publicize the project more fully in Japan, in the form of an article in *Mediaeval English Studies Newsletter*. The 1990 open meeting in the UK was on March 27 at King's College, London.

The Executive Committee wishes to thank those universities which have generously provided practical and financial support for the project and to acknowledge the help and advice which has come from a number of other research projects in the field, notably from the Dictionary of Old English and the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture. Finally, the Committee would like to acknowledge the generosity of the British Academy in making a grant for running expenses for the fourth successive year.

Further information about the project is obtainable from Dr. Joyce Hill, School of English, University of Leeds LS2 9JT; Dr. Donald Scragg, Department of English Language and Literature, University of Manchester, Manchester M13 9PL (for Old English); Dr. Michael Lapidge, Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, University of Cambridge, 9 West Road, Cambridge CB3 9DP (for Anglo-Latin).

Peter Clemoes	Director
Joyce Hill	General Secretary
Donald Scragg	Executive Secretary for Old English
Michael Lapidge	Executive Secretary for Anglo-Latin

The other members of the Executive Committee are: Janet Bately, Frederick M. Biggs (from 1987), James E. Cross, Helmut Gneuss, Malcolm Godden, Thomas Hill, Thomas Mackay, Paul E. Szarmach, Gordon Whatley (from 1989).

Early Studies in Germanic Philology

Editor: Rolf H. Gremmer Jr (Leiden)
Advisory Board: E.G. Stanley (Oxford) and Peter Ganz (Oxford)

Early Studies in Germanic Philology is a new series to be published by RODOPI, Amsterdam. The series aims at promoting and facilitating the historiography of Old Germanic Studies and is especially directed towards the period from 1550 to 1800, from the beginnings of Germanic Philology to the new era of scholarship introduced by Rasmus Rask and Jacob Grimm.

Early Studies in Germanic Philology will make accessible a number of facsimile editions of works from the above period. These reprints will be preceded by an introduction—in either English or German—of some ten to fifteen pages which contains such elements as information on the author, a brief analysis of the contents, the reception of the work and a (select) bibliography to stimulate further study. The range of works to be published includes grammatical treatises, first editions of texts, historical studies and explorations in runology.

Early Studies in Germanic Philology aims particularly at reaching a wider audience than just university libraries. The price will be approximately Dfl 60.00 per volume. The first volumes are scheduled to appear in 1990.

A selection of publications which are in preparation includes:

Bonaventura Vulcanius, *De Literis et Lingua Getarum sive Gothorum* (Leiden, 1597), Rolf H. Bremmer Jr, ed.

Petrus Merula, *Willerami in Canticum Canticorum* (Leiden, 1598), J.P. Gumbert, ed.

Franciscus Junius F.F., *Observationes in Willerami Abbatis Francicam Paraphrasin Cantici Canticorum* (Amsterdam, 1655), Norbert Voorwinden, ed.

Jan van Vliet, *'t Vader Ons in XX Duytsche in Noordsche Talen* (Dordrecht, 1663), Rolf H. Bremmer Jr, ed.

Anglo-Saxon England 19 (1990)

The Contents of *ASE* 19 are:

Record of the Fourth Conference of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists at Durham, 7-11 August 1989.

M.L. Cameron, "Bald's *Leechbook* and Cultural Interactions in Anglo-Saxon England." Draws attention to various exotic substances which are prescribed in Anglo-Saxon medical recipes, and shows that these substances imply a network of trading contacts with the Mediterranean and the Near East.

Gillian Fellows-Jensen, "Place-names as a Reflection of Cultural Interaction." A brief sketch of the sort of evidence which place-names offer concerning the settlement of early England.

Margaret Clunies Ross, "The Anglo-Saxon and Norse *Rune Poems*: A Comparative Study." A detailed study of the two Norse *Rune Poems* which throws into relief the characteristic features of the Old English *Rune Poem*.

M.R. Godden, "Money, Power, and Morality in Late Anglo-Saxon England." Studies the semantic field of OE words for wealth, particularly *rice*, and shows how attitudes of wealth developed in the late tenth century, particularly in the writings of Ælfric.

Sarah Larratt Keefer and David R. Burrows, "Hebrew and the *Hebraicum* in Late Anglo-Saxon England." Shows that one recension of the Vulgate Psalter *iuxta Hebraeos*, which is known as the Theodulfian recension, attracted a number of glosses in the earlier ninth century in which there is genuine knowledge of Hebrew; Keefer and Burrows argue that these glosses must have been known in England by the mid-tenth century, when they were apparently used by the author of the *Kentish Psalm 50*, and later at Canterbury, where they were used by the scribes of the Eadwine Psalter.

George Beech, "England and Aquitane in the Century before the Norman Conquest." Collects and examines the disparate but revealing evidence for contact between England and Aquitane; in particular, evidence from the cults of various saints is correlated with evidence of commercial contact.

Paul Sorrell, "Oaks, Ships, Riddles and the Old English *Rune Poem*." An analysis of the Old English *Rune Poem* in light of the Anglo-Saxon riddle tradition.

Susan E. Irvine, "Bones of Contention: The Context of Ælfric's Homily on St. Vincent." An examination of the English evidence for the cult of St. Vincent in the later Anglo-Saxon period, particularly at Abingdon, and Ælfric's relationship to this cult.

Patrizia Lendinara, "The Abbo Glossary in London, British Library, Cotton Domitian i." An edition and study of a previously unpublished eleventh-century glossary from Canterbury, and an analysis of the role played by Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in the Anglo-Saxon curriculum.

T.A. Heslop, "The Production of *de luxe* Manuscripts and the Patronage of King Cnut and Queen Emma." A study of the script and decoration of a number of lavishly illuminated early eleventh-century manuscripts, particularly gospel books; Heslop suggests that many of these books may have been produced under royal patronage.

Veronica Ortenberg, "Archbishop Sigeric's Pilgrimage to Rome in 990." A study of the text known as the 'Itinerary of Archbishop Sigeric,' and an attempt to identify all the churches which Sigeric visited on his way to and from Rome in 990 to collect his pallium, as well as an attempt to recreate what the various churches in Rome may have looked like in the late tenth century.

Bibliography for 1989. Comprehensively covers the contributions published in all branches of Anglo-Saxon studies.

Six of the contributions originated in papers read at the Fourth Conference of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists.

Malcolm Godden, Simon Keynes, Michael Lapidge

OLD ENGLISH

VERSE TEXTS

FROM MANY SOURCES:

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INTERNATIONAL BOOKSELLERS AND PUBLISHERS
COPENHAGEN 1990

EARLY ENGLISH MANUSCRIPTS IN FACSIMILE
VOLUME XXIII

This volume is a gathering of facsimiles of all Old English verse texts which have not previously been published in facsimile and a number of texts which have already been published when it seems convenient to have these previously published facsimiles alongside the newly published ones. The volume presents facsimiles of verse texts from 91 manuscripts located in 39 libraries in England, Europe, the United States, and the Republic of Ireland; from four printed books (in those instances where these are now primary witnesses to verse texts, such as Abraham Whelock's Bede and Wanley's *Catalogue* for bits of *Seasons for Fasting* and Hickes' *Thesaurus* for *Durham*; and eleven inscriptions in both Roman and runic letters. The editors present ultra-violet photographs of *The Meters of Boethius* text in the badly burned Cotton Otho volume, and these photographs show more of the text than does the manuscript. Alongside each page of the Otho manuscript the editors supply a facsimile of the corresponding text in Junius' seventeenth-century transcript. Also included are: Junius's transcript of *Judith*, *Maldon*, *Solomon and Saturn*, *Maxims II*, the metrical charms, and poems from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. At several points the photographs of manuscripts suggest that the edited forms of the poems to which Anglo-Saxonists have become accustomed look somewhat questionable in the light of the manuscript evidence for the editions; e.g., not all poems seem to begin or end where editions indicate. This volume may accordingly prompt some major reassessments.

The Editing of Old English Texts

The Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies was host and co-sponsor with the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies at SUNY-Binghamton of a major conference on "The Editing of Old English Texts," May 25-27, 1990, at the facilities of the University of Manchester, including the John Rylands Library. More than 70 interested scholars and students attended the weekend meeting, which sought to describe present attitudes and interests in editing as well as to consider practical and theoretical problems in the editing of various Old English texts.

Highlights of the program included:

Session 1: Donald Scragg: Introduction to the conference and review of Helmut Gneuss' "Guide to the Editing and Preparation for the DOE"
Malcolm Godden, "The Early English Text Society and Editing Old English"

Session 2: Carl Berkhout, "The Earliest Editors of Old English"
Kathryn Sutherland, "Editing for a New Century: Elizabeth Elstob's Anglo-Saxon Manifesto"
J.R. Hall, "The First Two Editions of *Beowulf*: Thorkelin's (1815) and Kemble's (1833)"

Session 3: A.N. Doane, "Editing Old English Oral/Written Texts: Problems of Method"
Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, "Editing and the Material Text"

Session 4: David Howlett, "New Criteria for Editing *Beowulf*"
J.D. Pheifer, "How Not to Edit Glossaries"

Session 5: David Drumville, "Editing Old English Texts for Historians and Other Troublemakers"
Richard Dammery, "Editing the Old English Law-Codes"

Session 6: Marilyn Deegan and Peter Robinson, "The Electronic Edition"

Session 7: Clare Lees, "Whose Text is it Anyway? Contexts for Editing Old English Prose"
Hugh Magennis, "Editing Old English Texts for Student Use: The Example of the *Legend of the Seven Sleepers*"

Session 8: Antonette diPaolo Healey, "The Search for Meaning"
Graham Caie, "On Editing the Anglo-Saxon Poems in MS CCCC 201"
Theodore Leinbaugh, "Textual Problems in the Liturgical Homilies of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*"

Final Session: Panel Discussion
Joyce Hill, Michael Lapidge, Alexander Rumble, Donald Scragg

The organizers of the conference, Donald Scragg and Paul E. Szarmach, are preparing a conference volume that will include most of the papers given and other relevant contributions. The publisher will be Boydell and Brewer.

British Programs

The Center for British Studies at the University of Colorado at Boulder announces the J.D.A. Ogilvy Graduate Travel Fellowships in British Studies. The awards are open to graduate students in any field whose studies require research or short-term courses in Britain. The University of Colorado also offers a second type of fellowship. The British Foreign and Commonwealth Office (F.C.O.) grant covers a full year's tuition at a British Institution, plus a monthly allowance and travel. Graduate students in political science, economics, law, business, and journalism are eligible.

The Department of English of the University College London introduces a new M.A. in Old and Middle English literature. Through thematic studies, the M.A aims to make students aware of the continuities of the native English tradition before and after the Norman conquest. The course lasts one year (full-time) or two years (part-time) and is open to anyone with a good B.A. degree in an Arts subject. The program does not require prior knowledge of the subjects taught. Those interested should write to Dr. Richard North, Department of English, University College London, Gower Street, London WC1E 6BT. Tel. 071-378-7050, ext. 3122.

The Queen Mary and Westfield College of the University of London offers a full-time M.A. in Medieval Studies. The curriculum, focusing upon medieval language, methods and techniques in Medieval Studies, and two options drawn from a range of choices, allows the possibility of both comparative and interdisciplinary study. A good B.A. in an Arts subject is required. Aspiring medievalists should write to: The Registry, Queen Mary and Westfield College (University of London), Hampstead Campus, London NW3 7ST. Tel. 071-435-7141.

The Warburg Institute has a two-year full-time course leading to a M.Phil. degree in Combined Historical Studies which is open to postgraduate students. The Institute's Library and its associated Photographic Collection aim to provide the means of research into the processes by which one culture influences or is influenced by another. Several long- and short-term Francis A. Yates Fellowships are available. For further information about the Institute and its programs please write to: University of London, The Warburg Institute, Woburn Square, London WX1H OAB. Tel. 071-580-9663.

The Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of Leeds offers an M.A. in Medieval Studies. Information may be obtained from the Deputy Director, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Leeds, Leeds LS2 9JT.

The Centre for Medieval Studies in the University of Liverpool has an M.A. available for full- or part-time students. The program is divided into three sections: the core course, which consists of classes in Latin and Palaeography, the options, which allows students to concentrate on two disciplines, and the dissertation. The program requires applicants for admission to have an honors degree with a medieval component, but candidates with other qualifications are also invited to apply. Details about the program may be obtained from Dr. Pat Starkey, Administrator, Liverpool Centre for Medieval Studies, Department of History, The University of Liverpool, P.O. Box 147, Liverpool L69 LBX.

Middle Saxon England

Stephen O. Glosecki
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This report summarizes a selection of archaeological and historical lectures delivered at Rewley House, 19-21 January 1990. The Middle Saxon series was organized by the University of Oxford's Department for External Studies, Trevor Rowley and Helena Hamerow, Directors. I am grateful to the Graduate School of the University of Alabama at Birmingham for a grant that enabled me to attend. Thanks are also due to Martin Biddle, Angela Care Evans, Janet Goldsbrough-Jones, Helena Hamerow, Rachel Saunders, Keith Wade, and Robert Whythead.

Martin Biddle (Professor, University of Oxford), "Archaic England." Biddle introduced the Middle Saxon period, the time between Augustine's mission in 597 and Alfred's birth in 849, as a time when English society made advances comparable to those of post-Homeric Greece. These years saw the growth of a distinctively English identity, marked by various achievements: recovery of the art of writing; advances in manuscript illumination, metalwork, and sculpture; the forging of a heroic tradition based on Migration-age lore; Christian conversion, which fostered monasticism and the learned arts; and the institution of coinage, a key indicator of economic growth.

William Filmer-Sankey (Institute of Archaeology, Oxford), "Middle Anglo-Saxon Burial Practice: a Pagan View." With a survey of cemetery excavations at Snape, Brandon, Spong Hill, West Garth Gardens, and Latford, Filmer-Sankey offered a revisionist view of the initial character of the conversion. Emphasizing the diversity of pre-Christian burial rites, he saw a spectrum of sub-cults in what we blandly call "pagan." He showed how Merovingian Christianity long tolerated traces of pagan rites — the depositing of grave goods — whereas this practice vanished soon after the conversion in England. The sudden loss of native customs, he argued, attests to a "jackbooted" advance by the English Church, which forbade mixed burial rites or any other persistent heathen habits. Nor could the array of ancient cults offer a unified front to oppose the new religion. Thus Filmer-Sankey broke with the old view of a mild Gregorian mission. Temples were remodeled rather than burned, he admitted, but idols were smashed, which equals violence: "If *you* turned up at *your* church one Sunday morning, and found it converted to a mosque, how would you feel?"

John Blair (Queen's College, Oxford), "The Local Church in Middle Saxon England." Blair argued that one-priest parish churches were unknown in Middle Saxon times, when pastoral duties were discharged by emissaries from ecclesiastical centers. Long before 800 a network of minster churches (e.g., at Tetbury, Hanbury, Thornbury, Reculver, and possibly Brandon) had established itself. Unlike the later medieval cathedrals, Middle Saxon minsters were groups of small buildings scattered around a church. Their residents tended local shrines and retreat houses; they traveled the circuit of pastoral chapels, where the visiting priest would say mass, receive a meal, and then return to his minster. Thus these monastic communities served congregations scattered over the surrounding estates; eventually, tension mounted between secular and ecclesiastical authorities vying for power and revenue. With laws passed to protect the minsters from local lords, a well-organized clerical network evolved; Blair considered this administrative system the basis of Middle Saxon urbanization.

Barbara Yorke (King Alfred's College, Winchester), "The Development of Kingship During the Middle Saxon Period." Emphasizing the dim origins of Anglo-Saxon dynasties in the late fifth and early sixth centuries, Yorke said that some settlements grew into small kingdoms no larger than 300 hides (roughly half the size of the Isle of Wight). Later on, royal heirs believed their ancestors had set up extensive kingdoms shortly after mooring their ships; but the evidence suggests more gradual growth, a patchwork of kingdoms taking shape mainly during the sixth century. Generally, the kingdoms evolved with little regard for Roman regional boundaries. Dynasties first emerged on the eastern and southern coasts, e.g., in Lindsey, East Anglia, Essex, Kent, and Sussex. Wessex followed, Ceawlin being the second Bretwalda mentioned by Bede. After Northumbria and Mercia came of age around the turn of the seventh century, Wessex shifted south — to Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Dorset — in face of

the Mercian advance. At this time Wessex absorbed Sussex, while smaller kingdoms, caught between hammer and anvil, sometimes paid tribute to more than one overlord. Throughout the sixth century warfare was endemic, attack was the best defense, and tribute-taking formed the economic base of the fledgling kingdoms. Over-kings siphoned off wealth from all of Anglo-Saxon England, thus establishing an infrastructure for the later Viking extortions.

By 800 all the smaller kingdoms had been absorbed; on the eve of Alfred's birth viable dynasties survived only in Wessex, Essex, East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria. Also by this time trade had grown as important as tribute in the expanding Middle Saxon economy. By the end of the period, collecting estates had become the primary pursuit of kings, nobles, and bishops alike; tension between landlord and tenant prefigured the age of feudalism. Land capital became so far depleted that kings like Ceolwulf of Northumbria found themselves with no estates free for rewarding victorious thanes. Kings compromised their power by delegating authority to ealdormen, some of whom, the scions of displaced dynasties, nursed their own designs upon the throne. During the Norse invasions, a killing-off of unruly ealdormen actually gave anxious kings more leeway in the distribution of power.

David Hill (University of Manchester), "Offa and Wat's Dyke — 'A Dead Feature in an Empty Landscape?'" Hill began with a description of the Dykes, "the two greatest monuments of Anglo-Saxon England...longer than the more famous Roman Antonine and Hadrian's Walls added together" (see his *Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 75). Built mainly of turf, the Dyke averages eighteen feet in width; highland sections may contain four times the bulk of material excavated from the ditch below the rampart. Hill then mounted a merry attack on his predecessor, Sir Cyril Fox, whose work reduced Mercia's greatest monument to "'a dead feature in an empty landscape'...just an awful ditch running up and down the hills." Between 1971 and 1983 Hill excavated 122 sites, finding a continuous rampart running from the estuary of the Dee right down to the mouth of the Severn. Whereas Stenton dated the Dyke to a peaceful decade at the end of Offa's reign, Hill argued that such monumental defenses do not arise in times of peace. The Dyke was built to check Welsh expansion, he maintained, probably at the outset of Offa's reign, when Powys was pushing east into Mercia. Marking a strongly defended frontier, it linked a series of forts from top to bottom.

Michael Metcalf (Ashmolean Museum), "Regionalism as Revealed by Monetary Circulation in Middle Saxon England." Metcalf first mentioned the Middle Saxon transformation, whereby a simple agrarian economy grew into a system that could support a complex civilization with cathedrals, cities, monasteries, etc. One outstanding achievement was the institution of a money economy, with the first *sceattas* being struck in Kent and Essex. Eventually there averaged one mint per kingdom, although some kingdoms apparently never struck coins at all. Single finds usually diminish in proportion to their distance from the mint: coins from Hamwic, for instance, fall off rapidly outside the town; thus far, none have appeared north of the Thames. However, more London coins have been found 200 kilometers up the Thames than in London itself. This coinage must have been used for long-distance trade, probably the trade in wool from the Cotswolds, where Rochester and Canterbury coins also appear. Cross-Channel commerce was "the motor which drove this money economy." While the West Saxon and East Anglian mintage circulated locally, coins from Canterbury, Rochester, and London moved up the Thames Valley along "a southeastern corridor" that exported wool and imported silver. In the earlier Middle Saxon period, coins circulated mainly in the Southeast; by the end of the period a money economy had extended itself throughout Anglo-Saxon England.

George Speake (Banbury College of Art), "Craft, Design, and Technology: The Saxon Achievement." Calling the most famous Anglo-Saxon artifacts "accidents of survival," Speake maintained that the rare treasures of royal graves played little part in everyday life and scarcely reflect quotidian culture in the land of the living. Turning to humbler grave goods, he focused on the craft and material of the Middle Saxon carpenter. Oak was used for the Sutton Hoo ship; rust from the rivets shows its dense grain, although the strakes themselves rotted away long ago. Burr-wood cups from the hoard bear marks of the pole-lathe. Goods from other graves — particularly coffins — illustrate building styles, plus a preference for oak and ash. Planks were adze-dressed and then planed; board ends were not sawed, but rather scored and cut with axe-blows. Sometimes mortice and dovetail joints appear, along with dowels and screwed pegs or, alternatively, iron cleats and nails. Speake noted the occasional use of willow and

cherry, then turned to metalwork. Among the Sutton Hoo finds, he asserted, those "things called shield mounts may be nothing of the kind"; such ornamental plates and foils appear on various wood and leather artifacts. By the age of Alfred, treasures in the style of Sutton Hoo had disappeared; gold and garnet gave way to gilt-bronze and niello. The legacy of the old cloisonné is the labyrinthine carpet page.

Dominic Tweddle (York Archaeological Trust), "Anglo-Saxon Sculpture: Genesis and Evolution." Tweddle noted three main categories: architectural sculpture, monuments, and freestanding crosses. No surviving church represents the height of Anglo-Saxon ornamental architecture. Carvings remain in pillared naves and doorways (e.g., at Reculver), on scroll-embellished surfaces (Monkwearmouth), and on ornamental fragments from fallen buildings (Reculver). These sculpted blocks sometimes appear in reconstructions. Plant and animal ornament adorns friezes and string courses; cable design decorates column terminals (Reculver). The mysterious "decorative slabs" may come from altars, rood screens, chairs, lecterns, and other permanent furnishings. Monumental sculpture survives in recumbent slabs and upright grave markers, some carved in swirls of interlace. Freestanding crosses fall into three subdivisions: square, circular, and composite (e.g., round base with rectangular shaft). Their original functions are obscure, serving to commemorate events; mark graves; act as boundary crosses, as mentioned in charters; designate areas of sanctuary; or represent "church substitutes" — shrines where visiting priests said mass.

Though the old carved stone now looks pale and drab, it was originally colorful, even gaudy. Sculptures at Reculver have pin and rivet holes — mounts for metal trappings; carved eyes also have pinholes for fitting glass beads. Traces of blue, red, and white remain from bright paint liberally applied. The stone itself was quarried as needed. Tweddle points out that organized quarrying was "a late development," not a regular part of Middle Saxon industry. Although Anglo-Saxon buildings reincorporated plenty of Roman brick and stone, Roman mason-craft died out in post-imperial Britain; the art of sculpture was reintroduced with Christianity.

Glenn Foard (Northamptonshire Archaeology Unit), "Nucleation and Replanning: the Origins of Villages in Eastern Northamptonshire." Foard emphasized findings at Raunds, where Saxon hamlets arose on the periphery of an abandoned villa. While the Imperial roads, farms, and hamlets had been dispersed evenly throughout the estate, Saxon settlements were much less evenly distributed. Thorough reorientation followed the Roman period; Foard saw no continuity between the Roman and ensuing Saxon pattern of settlement. The Saxon villages evolved at unequal rates and in relative isolation. While neighboring villas had bordered right on the River Nene, the Saxons shifted away, settling along smaller tributaries. A consistent pattern emerged: paired groups of shards on either side of a stream indicate Saxon nucleation; these small clusters of homesteads spawned later villages. Farmsteads grew more distinct by the tenth century, when manorial enclosures, marked off by rectangular ditches, started to appear. The Late Saxon boundary ditches, enclosing tenant's house and plot, reflect centralized planning, a meticulous reorganization of preexisting nucleated sites. Aside from some rearrangements after the mid-fourteenth-century plague, the Middle Saxon pattern of settlement persisted in eastern Northamptonshire right down to the Parliamentary enclosure acts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Bob Carr (Suffolk County Council), "Brandon: a Settlement within an Identity Crisis." The finds at Brandon have been almost entirely (98%) Middle Saxon. Settlement began about 650 and ended circa 850, when the community shifted south; no evidence of pagan Germanic occupation has appeared. Brandon lay on the northwestern border of East Anglia, near "the rather Gollum-like figures who inhabited the fens." Because in Saxon times the River Ouse flooded its environs every winter, Brandon was in effect an island, containing two cemeteries, a church, domestic structures, plus a waterfront industrial area.

The settlement revolved around its timber church. Most other buildings — devoid of stalls or storage — were probably domestic. Land was reclaimed along the waterfront: earth-filled wicker embankments supported light wooden buildings. Brandon's chief industry was linen-making: flax stems remain from the heckling, loom weights from the weaving, ash heaps from the dying. The flax was grown locally, along with barley and rye, rot-resistant grains suited to wetland soil. Among Brandon's many artifacts, a pinhead worked in gold filigree bears the four evangelical symbols; other "intensely religious finds" lend weight to the view that Brandon was a monastic community.

Helena Hamerow (Somerville College, Oxford), "The 'Middle Saxon Shift' Reconsidered: Archaeology and the Mobility of Rural Settlements." Hamerow argued that the "horizontal stratigraphy" of "wandering settlements" reflects the prevailing habitation pattern in rural Middle Saxon England. She focused on finds from Mucking, where Saxons settled before 450 and remained until circa 700. There were four overlapping phases of settlement; these show eastward drift along a windswept terrace over the Thames, until the final shift took the hamlet north, away from the river, toward better farmland. As in Denmark and Saxony, Germanic agricultural methods account for these "wandering settlements": after a few generations, yards were cultivated, homesteads moved into former fields. Mucking, therefore, was not a "failed" agricultural community, the victim of disruption and "de-settlement." Such mobility was the rule, not the exception, in rural Middle Saxon England.

Mark Brisbane (Southampton City Council), "Hamwic: a Port and Production Center of the Eighth Century." With roughly 5,000 inhabitants, eighth-century Hamwic was very much a consumer, draining sustenance from the countryside, absorbing more than it produced. The port was a nonagrarian center of government, crafts, and commerce. Coins have turned up in a tight pattern — seventy *sceattas* in Hamwic, far fewer outside the town. Arranged in an orderly grid, streets were well managed, with potholes patched and roadways resurfaced. One roadbed overlay an obsolete cemetery, its bones broken up by heavy traffic. A ditch enclosed the entire settlement, neatly marking town limits. The church adjoined a centralized graveyard that superseded penannular ditch burials, an old practice probably eradicated by minster authorities. Aside from the church and a few industrial sites, buildings exclusively domestic have appeared. But only seven percent of the site has been dug; especially by the waterfront, Brisbane expects to find warehouses and other commercial structures.

Keith Wade (Suffolk County Planning Department), "The Origins of Ipswich." Work at Ipswich has uncovered no streets besides the present system; thus the layout of today's town preserves Middle Saxon arrangements. Seventh-century shards — predating Ipswich ware proper — show that the town's major industry evolved early; at the height of the Middle Saxon period, Ipswich supplied East Anglia, Northumbria, Kent, and even some western shires with its distinctive pottery. Continental ceramics also entered the port along its main trade route, connecting Anglian Ipswich with the Rhineland. Millstones and whetstones were imported as well, and there was a substantial trade in Rhineland wine. Other native industries were subordinate to ceramics. Loom weights reflect local textile-making; needles, combs, and beaters remain from antler work; cobbler's wastes from leather work; crucibles and molds from bronze forging. Builders favored individual post-hole structures in Ipswich, where an early form of cellared building — "not just a sunken hut" — evolved. Continuous habitation above the site has obscured the Middle Saxon cemetery, whose limits remain unknown. Mixed styles of inhumation were used, the dead being interred in simple holes, in coffins, in burial chambers, under small mounds, on biers, and inside penannular ring ditches, as in early Hamwic. Two unique graves were also found: one containing a boat (or boat-shaped coffin), the other a rich deposit in a very large coffin. The latter, atypical grave — which produced a shield, sword, buckles, spears, and palm cups — may represent the burial of a rich foreigner, possibly an Alemannic merchant. Wade said that, despite meticulous excavation of the sample sites, further work must be done before we can attain a full understanding of life in Middle Saxon Ipswich.

Computer-Assisted Approaches to Teaching Old English

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Marilyn Deegan, Oxford University Computing Service
Clare A. Lees, Fordham University

Foreign language departments in universities and colleges throughout Canada, Great Britain, and the United States have had computer laboratories since the early seventies, originally for drilling their students in the morphological and syntactical patterns of natural languages, because teachers believed that drills provided the most efficient means of teaching those parts of a language which must be memorized. New theories of foreign language instruction coupled with recent developments in software design have led, however, to something approaching a revolution in computerized instruction in natural languages, far removed from the rote drills of the past.[1] While teachers of Old English do not have so many students that efficiency alone will argue for the use of computers, it is nevertheless time for us to explore whether recent developments in CALL (Computer-Assisted Language Learning) technology may not have more to offer the Old English student than merely to provide a patient and efficient drill instructor.

Our discipline, moreover, continues to concentrate on its pedagogical commitment, as witnessed by the SAMLA session at Atlanta in 1989 on Old English language and literary pedagogy (where the present paper was read in an earlier form), a session planned for the annual meeting of the Modern Language Association meeting in Chicago in 1990, entitled "Old English and Computer-Assisted Language Learning," and a similar session planned for Kalamazoo in 1991. English scholars met at the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies and the newly formed Computers in Teaching Initiative Centre for Literature and Linguistic Studies at the University of Manchester in December 1989, at a conference entitled "W(H)ither Old English?" to discuss many of these same issues.[2] A survey of Old English curricula throughout the South Atlantic region of the United States presented at the SAMLA meeting revealed the necessity to develop courses in Old English which attract students, because few programs continue to require the study of Old English, even for students pursuing the doctorate.[3] Whether necessity leads us to be innovative or innovations create their own necessity, Anglo-Saxonists today are looking for new approaches to teaching Old English, and with that in mind, we hope to provide the readership of *OEN* with a survey both of the issues involved in employing computers in Old English courses, and some of the materials available for such use.

The advantages of traditional methods of language instruction in Old English are well-known and account, in large measure, for the continuing popularity of grammars and readers such as Sweet's *Primer* and *Reader*, Bright's *Anglo-Saxon Reader* and Mitchell and Robinson's *Guide to Old English*. Comprising primarily of chapters on grammar and translation exercises, these teacher-led texts provide a thorough grounding in traditional grammar and philology and enable the student to translate, interpret, and even edit Old English with some confidence. However, we can identify three limitations in this approach. First, Latin-based grammars and the nineteenth-century models of philology that they utilize have been increasingly called into question by linguists and rarely conform to the methods of grammatical analysis now used either in modern language instruction or linguistics. Second, traditional grammars and readers have failed to adapt to the changing profiles of our students: they provide instruction for the student who has some knowledge of traditional linguistics together with at least one other Germanic language and, perhaps, Latin. In other words, traditional methods require students already schooled in traditional methods, and this is a requirement which few students now fulfill. Third, and perhaps most importantly for the way that Old English is perceived by the beginning student, grammars and readers integrate language-learning with literary analysis in a very circumscribed way: in their choice of linguistic theory and in their choice of "classic" literary texts which exemplify the language,

grammars and readers have been extremely effective in canonizing the subject.

Until the development of CALL, traditional methods could be supplemented by language laboratory courses. Such courses were designed to provide more basic instruction in the language than text-based materials by enabling students to work at their own pace under the supervision of the teacher. Courses such as A. J. Hamer and Joyce Bazire's *Language Laboratory Course in Old English*, however, comprise little more than exercises on tape, often coordinated to existing textbooks, and thereby perpetuate some of their restrictions.[4] In this model of instruction, the grammar becomes a reference book whilst the canon of literary texts to be translated remains the same. Also perpetuated is the attitude that study of the language is somehow of secondary importance to literary study—an attitude which is itself a factor in the contemporary decline of interest in History of the Language courses (as the SAMLA 1988 survey bears out). While early CALL courses continued to be as text-based as language laboratory courses, more recent developments have substantially increased the range of possibilities for both student and teacher; partly by enhancing the advantages of language laboratory courses, and partly by offering the potential for restructuring the teaching of Old English *ab initio*.

The major advantage of CALL courses is that they facilitate interaction in the learning process. Since students, rather than teachers, control the process of learning, CALL courses can be tailored to individual needs within the group format and teachers have greater flexibility in responding to such needs (as is exemplified, for example, by Patrick W. Conner's "*Beowulf* Workstation"). Indeed, students' abilities to learn by themselves are greatly strengthened by HELP menus and windows which can be designed to provide, for example, morphological, syntactical, and lexical information—even textual and cultural material. Of course, CALL courses cannot replace the teacher: at best, they provide an additional resource which makes basic language instruction a creative process for the student. Moreover, CALL courses can be used to revive interest in linguistic analysis. It is an easier task than most would suppose to construct courses where students are encouraged to examine language change and variation, for example. Already designed to avoid the pitfalls of traditional methods, the best Old English CALL courses are those which will eventually replace rather than supplement text-bound traditional grammars and readers. And the best of all will re-integrate language and literary study.

Because basic grammatical instruction should occupy the students' time at the computer, CALL courses in Old English may lead to a bit more space in the classroom for history, culture, and literary analysis when students are most excited about these things—that is, when they are just beginning to discover them. Furthermore, classroom work which is not bound to chapters in a primer allows one to work more fully with the linguistic complexities which occur most frequently in the texts. The student gains a better sense of the "contours" of the language than when focusing on a book which gives multiple minor paradigms and their multiple exceptions more room and, it would appear, more weight than the major paradigms. Thus, the computer's most significant contribution to the training of future Anglo-Saxonists may be the integration of language and literary approaches in the same class. A detailed knowledge of Old English grammar is—of course—essential, as the Anglo-Saxons themselves knew, but as a means to an end; dialectic and rhetoric are also necessary for the comprehension of a text, our primary sources tell us, and whatever the modern equivalents of the trivium may be, all three parts need to be represented in the beginning Old English classroom. Indeed, since introductory curricula make it impossible for all but the most dedicated medievalists to include more than one course in their preparations, CALL courses should give students a means of working extensively with grammar in preparation for class, so that the communal nature of the classroom can be dedicated to the whole text. In such a context, we can build on the students' literary acumen to explain a text's complexity, so that our students do not take away superficial attitudes about Old English poetry and prose, attitudes which may result in marginalizing our texts in their minds.

The *OEN* has taken an interest in computing since the early days, and it is a pleasure to report that the pioneering CALL course, O. D. Macrae-Gibson's computerization of Constance Hieatt and Brian Shaw's "Beginning Old English," has been consistently remodeled to keep pace with developments in computing facilities. Written in Basic, originally for the Commodore PET, the first version consisted primarily of grammatical drills and excerpts for translation. Increasingly, however, the course is moving away from text-based models. For example, it now

includes crossword puzzles, cloze exercises, and similar activities to engage the student's interest in the language.[5] The University of Glasgow's STELLA (Software for the Teaching of English Language and Literature and Its Assessment) project is also working in the same direction, with exercises in Old English which include gap-filling, crosswords, parsing, and text-adventure games.[6] A similar approach to intelligent CALL (ICALL) is used by Marilyn Deegan in her prototype "Morphology Tutor for Old English" (initially planned for use at Fordham and Loyola Universities). Outlined originally in Deegan's University of Manchester dissertation of 1989, the Morphology Tutor employs a rule-based system to generate the morphology of Old English, the internal mechanism of which would be a generator (and eventually parser) with some simple syntactic rules built in. The generator will be written in Prolog, with the linguistic description handled in the categorial grammar of linguistic formalism. Instead of having sample sentences built in, the system would produce grammatically correct strings from a series of choices made by the students through a window-based interface. The plan is that this would have a simple lexicon provided which could be extended by the teacher through the addition of extra words with a simple formal lexical description of them. So far, the system as proposed can generate the strong nouns of Old English, along with the appropriate forms of the definite article.

Authoring Programs make it possible to create OE-CALL programs of one's own design, with little or no training in computer languages or typical programming techniques. An authoring program is basically a library or collection of routines an "author" is likely to need; these may be executed by commands in what is known as a "high-level" language, a programming language which is closer to human language (or the sort of human language which people have taught monkeys to use) than to the binary instructions the machine expects. Such languages are notably easy to learn: the authoring program translates them into the machine's code, and the pre-written routines which one thus summons have already been professionally designed, written, and debugged. All of this is usually combined with a good user-interface to make writing a computerized lesson even easier.[7]

One of the easiest to use is the Private Tutor System, an award-winning authoring system for language teaching on the Macintosh designed by Stephen Clausing at Yale, and originally vended cheaply through Kinko's software exchange. It allows one to design drills which accept a variety of right responses and to alter the acceptable responses as the designer perceives the need to do so: Private Tutor permits a frustrated student to pass to another example, it permits the designer to insert graphics, and it permits the teacher to keep a tally of student work. Although the package runs on Macintoshes, one can write drills on any computer which produces an ASCII text file. Clausing has already produced twenty or so lessons in German using this system, and they have some obvious value to the OE instructor, although the need to memorize habits for speaking German as well as reading it make the lessons a bit more rigid than should be necessary for Old English.[8]

Most authoring packages work by providing some means of allowing the author to develop a hypermedia presentation of the material. Hypermedia, which includes "hypertext" and "hypergraphics," designates the association of texts or graphics (or both) in hierarchical arrangements so that at various points in an explication or narrative, the reader might make choices about how to continue in the text, or which part of the picture to expand. In pedagogical materials, the reader may choose how much detail on a point is necessary before proceeding to the next point. The very great strength of hypermedia in instruction is that it does not require the student to learn in a linear fashion of someone else's design, but allows instruction according to the student's logic for his/her own learning. The author of an Old English program, for example, would create the resources the program contains and develop a means for evaluating the student's achievement in Old English, but the student should decide what to learn first and how to proceed in order to meet the instructor's standards for evaluation. Presumably, the final evaluation would be based on actually translating a text at the appropriate level. Simply put, hypermedia permits many paths to be followed to reach the same goal.

GUIDE, which may be used on either a Macintosh or a DOS-governed microcomputer, is an authoring system for designing presentations of both instructional and non-instructional materials. With it, a variety of drill-based lessons can be designed which ask the student to "return" to basic materials he/she has not mastered, before proceeding; in a literature course, it can be used to annotate selections for transla-

tion in order to provide as much or as little support as a student might need at different levels of difficulty. Another possibility is the Cognate Language Teacher (CLT), developed by Westfield College, University of London, which comes with an authoring shell and can be used by those with no computing experience on IBMs and compatibles with the standard graphics cards. CLT helps students to learn a new language by using their prior knowledge of another, cognate, language; for example, Spanish/Catalan and German/Middle High German. Instruction is based on translation: hence, a passage is displayed on screen and the sentence to be translated is highlighted. Students work through the sentence using the cursor and parse with the assistance of colour-coding for parts of speech. Their translations are then recorded on the electronic notepad for checking by the instructor. In addition, students can request HELP on, for example, syntax, morphology, or etymology. A request for HELP on etymology will bring down a window with the headword, paradigm, and additional information (in sequence). The programmers have also included unsolicited "pearls of wisdom" which appear from time to time as the students work through a particular text and offer information on literature and background textual details. Since the package comes with an authoring shell, it is relatively easy for teachers to prepare their own course in Old English translation using the same facilities as the existing courses.[9]

The standard authoring program for the Macintosh is called "Hypercard"; it provides the environment for Patrick Conner's "*Beowulf* Workstation", which will be demonstrated in Chicago in December, 1990, at the annual MLA meeting. Conner's program attempts to prove that there is no reason to relegate computers to basic courses alone; the computer can help to reduce the *Beowulf* course's reputation as grueling and at the same time increase the intensity with which the student must confront the text. Students best prepare for class with complex older texts such as *Beowulf* if the instructor creates an environment for them where numerous resources help them to translate and think about the text before they come to class.[10] The interface of the "*Beowulf* Workstation" presents the students with the text for two hundred lines in two scrolling windows. In one window, the student annotates the material, creates a translation, adds any notes he/she cares to add, and prints it all out to bring to class. The other window provides a hypertext version of the poem, which allows the student access to numerous translations of the same passage, to explications of syntactical, literary, or even palaeographical commentary. Pull-down menus allow the student access to grammatical commentary and paradigms, analogues, genealogical charts, lists of proper names, graphics of all sorts of related things, and copies of important critical articles with hypertext links (and the capacity for the students to add their own links), while an online dictionary of the poem's vocabulary both supports the students' translation and reduces the influence of Klaeber's glossary on the interpretation of the poem. For beginning students, the dictionary can contain translations of full lines as well as translations of individual words. Preparing over 200 lines of *Beowulf* per week is not nearly so painful when the computer absorbs the drudgery of looking up words in the back of the book, of going to another book for forgotten inflections, of seeing how several experts have rendered the passage (and of rejecting them, if one likes), and even of being able to call up an image of the manuscript, to see what was "really" written. Moreover, there is no reason to limit this program to *Beowulf*. Using the "*Beowulf* Workstation" as a shell, the instructor can now produce any Old English text for which he/she is willing to develop a range of resources so that the student can study it thoroughly, and with enjoyment.

Patrick Conner's "Workstation" demonstrates that instructors need not be restricted to the texts for which good student editions exist. Anglo-Saxonists are exceedingly fortunate in having the whole corpus encoded for the Dictionary of Old English; it can be bought fairly cheaply from either Toronto or the Oxford Text Archive.[11] Simply turning an advanced student loose on the whole corpus of Old English texts is bound to lead to fascinating discussions and discoveries. Indeed, an advanced student's use of the DOE can be nicely facilitated by the Micro-OCP, which is a version of the Oxford Concordance Project updated and available for use on IBMs and compatibles. Students can use this text analysis program to produce word lists, indexes, concordances, and vocabulary statistics, with considerable sophistication. The concordances, for example, list words in their contexts, with references and frequencies.[12] Indeed, using such tools, one might develop an independent study course based on a set of texts with a small, specialized vocabulary.

Certain non-issues tend to cloud any use of computers by humanists. These include issues of

hardware, compatability, and apprehension about using computers. In 1990, software exists to allow one to create any kind of instructional programs on any kind of machine likely to be available in institutions of higher education. Therefore, it is probably better to choose the machine which is generally available on campus and not to try and accomodate hardware which is not in place; whatever the choice, a much greater selection of hardware will be available in five years and it may be desirable to be able to convert programs at that time. Fortunately, software developers are beginning to see the necessity of creating techniques for translating programs. The Microsoft Corporation's products frequently are built to exchange files between Macintosh and DOS versions, and Claris's new MacWrite II for the Macintosh can read text files directly from IBM-formatted disks. Such software, coupled with networks which run all kinds of hardware, are harbingers of a day near at hand when compatability in all kinds of configurations will be assumed. While one cannot yet run a HyperCard program on a DOS machine, one can nevertheless make an imitation which will run on a DOS machine, although the two may not look the same. Many humanists, just beginning to use computers, tend to think that the machines are truly understood only by scientists or engineers, but an English teacher should no more accept unquestioningly the arguments put forth by a non-textually oriented colleague about the kind of machine which is best for Old English-CALL than he/she would accept the same colleague's notions about choosing textbooks and designing syllabi for English courses, and for the same reasons. Scientists frequently do not understand the computer needs of humanists, and many find it difficult to appreciate that the design of a computer's interface is more intrinsically tied to the way students use a machine than the speed with which it executes floating point calculations. The individual who wants to implement an OE-CALL course should rather establish an electronic mail account and join the HUMANIST. and ANSAXNET lists, where people who are confronting the same problems of bringing together text-oriented subjects and computers can offer valuable insights to the neophyte.[13]

Computer apprehension can be overcome simply by forcing oneself to master one application in addition to word processing. Learn to use a spreadsheet for grades, play a couple of the "text adventure" games, or refresh your Latin, Greek, or Hebrew with programs made for those purposes.[14] Once the inexorable, simple-minded logic computers use becomes obvious, you will gain the confidence to run OE-CALL software for your students, and eventually make your own.

NOTES

1 For examples of a wide range of computer applications in language teaching, see Mary-Louise Craven, Roberta Sinyor, and Dana Paramskas, CALL: Papers and Reports. (LaJolla, CA, 1990). A very useful newsletter on CALL projects and software is the Athelstan Newsletter on Technology and Language Learning, eds. Michael Barlow and Suzanne Kemmer, also by Athelstan Publications; teachers and researchers in the United States are eligible for a complimentary subscription. An international CALL journal has been established for exchanging information on CALL and on computer-assisted translation, computer-assisted composition, and multi-lingual systems at the University of Exeter. For a copy of The International CALL Journal and subscription information, write to Intellect Books, Suite 2, 108/110 London Road, Oxford, OX3 9AW UK.

2 A report of this conference by Marilyn Deegan was filed in February 1990, on HUMBUL [MAY@LEICESTER.AC.UK.BITNET], a British electronic bulletin board dedicated to reporting items of interest to Humanists, and on ANSAXNET [U47C2@WVNVM.BITNET]. A report by D. G. Scragg on the same conference is scheduled to appear in OEN.

3 The session, developed and chaired by Allen J. Frantzen, is described in the meeting's program, published in the South Atlantic Review 54.3 (1989): p. 49. In the same session the state of Old English studies was discussed by R. F. Yeager, "Previous Surveys on Anglo-Saxon Studies," and by Allen J. Frantzen, "Report on the 1989 Survey of Anglo-Saxon Studies in SAMLA Institutions."

4 A. J. Hamer and Joyce Bazire, Language Laboratory Course in Old English, (Liverpool, 1984). See also Barbara Raw, A Programmed Course in Old English, (Keele, 1969). Other such courses are listed by N. J. Marples and O. D. Macrae-Gibson, A Critical Discography of Readings in Old English, (Kalamazoo, 1988).

5 The latest version of Beginning Old English is now being vended through the authors, Constance B. Hieatt, University of Western Ontario, and O.D. Macrae-Gibson, Aberdeen University.

6 A program to teach Old English meter is currently being developed under the auspices of STELLA. For details of "Learning Old English" and other related programs (cur

rently being written for DOS-based systems), write to J. G. Anderson, STELLA Project, Glasgow University, 6 University Gardens, Glasgow G12 8QQ, UK [STELLA@VME.GLASGOW.AC.UK].

7 In addition to the programs reviewed here, readers may also like to know about CALIS (Computer Assisted Language Instruction System) for the IBM, which supports the development of many kinds of exercises and drills as well as providing links to video and audio devices. For further information, contact Humanities Computing Facility, 104 Languages Building, Duke University, NC 27706. A similar system for the Macintosh is called MacLang; for further information contact RDA (1-800-654-8715) or Delta Systems (1-800-323-8270).

8 For information on Private Tutor, contact Intellimation, P. O. Box 1922, Santa Barbara, CA 93116-1922, tele: (805) 968-2291 or 1-800-LEARNER. [Intellimation has taken over vending Kinko's software and expects to be able to fill orders by the fall of 1990.]

9 For details of the Cognate Language Teacher, which runs on IBMs and related machines with the standard graphics cards (CGA, EGA, Hercules), contact Brian Murphy, Westfield College, University of London, Hampstead, London NW3 7ST, UK.

10 Those interested in examining the value of computers in teaching literature should consult Computers in Literature, a newsletter produced by the Computers in Teaching Initiative, Centre for Literature and Linguistic Studies, Oxford University Computing Service. It contains short articles, editorial material, and announcements concerned with the use of computers in literary and linguistic teaching and research. (Contributions for future issues are solicited as well as software reviews and announcements of conferences, workshops, and other events of interest in this area). For a free copy and to add your name to the mailing list for further free publications from the Centre, contact Dr. Marilyn Deegan, Research Officer, CTI, Centre for Literature and Linguistic Studies, Oxford University Computing Service, 13 Banbury Road, Oxford OX2 6NN, UK. Tel: 0865-273221; E-Mail: CTILIT@VAX.OX.AC.UK.BITNET. A most important resource for translations of Old English texts to use in teaching is a databank at Durham, England, entitled MTET (Medieval Texts in English Translation). The MTET collection of translations donated by users who have developed translations of medieval texts for their classes is available under a LISTSERV arrangement, which allows an instructor to order texts from a main directory with simple commands. For further information, write to MTET's developer and editor, David Rollason at the Department of History, The University of Durham, Durham DH1 3EX, England; or e-mail DAVID.ROLLASON @DURHAM.AC.UK. A description of MTET is available from ANSAXNET; contact U47C2@WVNVM.BITNET. For extensive, well-written reviews of software relevant to humanists in general, see Bits & Bytes Review: Reviews & News of Computer Products & Resources for the Humanities. For subscription information and a sample issue of this newletter, write to Bits & Bytes Computer Resources, 623 Iowa Avenue, Whitefish, Montana 59937, or telephone (406) 862-7280.

11 For further information about the Oxford Text Archive, contact Oxford University Computing Services, 13 Banbury Road, Oxford OX2 6NN, UK. The Dictionary of Old English corpus is online at Oxford University and may be accessed there, or from interactive terminals throughout the U.K., via the OTSS (Oxford Text Searching System). An interface is now being written to make ad hoc concordances and to search the corpus using Basis or the OCP with the Old English character set. Persons in Canada, the United States, or Latin America should contact Tak Ariga at the Dictionary of Old English, the University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada, for information about purchasing the corpus.

12 Information about the Micro-OCP is available from Anne Yates, Oxford Electronic Publishing, Oxford University Presses, Walton Street, Oxford OX2 6DP, UK.

13 To join the HUMANIST network, an international list of scholars in all humanistic fields who discuss online everything from hardware capabilities to obscure literary allusions, send a short professional biography to HUMANIST@BROWNVM.BITNET. To join ANSAXNET, an electronic bulletin board and list of early medievalists, most of whom are Anglo-Saxonists, send an e-mail message to U47C2@WVNVM.BITNET. Files on many scholars interested in OE-CALL are available through ANSAXNET, and the network has recently installed a server which will make available any OE-CALL software participants wish to share.

14 For a listing of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew programs, see John J. Hughes, Bits, Bytes & Biblical Studies: A Resource Guide for the Use of Computers in Biblical and Classical Studies. (Grand Rapids, MI, 1987). Hughes' Guide is one of the most indispensable references for humanistic computing available; not only does it list a great deal of software useful for textual scholars, but it also provides exceptionally clear explanations for humanists of both basic and advanced computing concepts, terminology, and procedures.

Hagiography in Anglo-Saxon England: A Preliminary View from SASLC

by E. Gordon Whatley, Queens College & CUNY Graduate Center

The Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture (SASLC) is a collaborative scholarly effort to produce a reference guide to all the authors and written sources known to have been in use, or available for use, in Anglo-Saxon England during the period from the sixth to the late eleventh century. These sources are chiefly, though not exclusively, Latin and include both insular and continental works. *SASLC* is intended to replace an existing pioneer effort of the same kind, J. D. A. Ogilvy's *Books known to the English A.D. 597-1066* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), a much-maligned book but a remarkable achievement for an individual scholar. This paper is a progress report on the hagiographical portion of *SASLC*, a separate section provisionally entitled *ACTA* SANCTORUM. My aim is simply to introduce the basic format of *SASLC*, to give samples of the kind of hagiographical information it will provide, to survey briefly the main Anglo-Saxon and modern sources from which this information is being compiled, and to suggest some of the types of hagiographical research that the completed *SASLC* will make possible.[15]

The *ACTA SS* section of *SASLC* will comprise, at present estimate, about 330 short articles, each between a half-page and a page-and-a-half of printed text. These entries will be arranged alphabetically by saint, beginning, most likely, with SS. Abdon & Sennen, and ending with Zoe. Each article will deal with a separate hagiographical text of anonymous authorship, or one by a named author known only through this text. For example, Felix of Crowland is known solely as the author of the Latin life of St. Guthlac; similarly Pontius the Deacon is associated with the *passio* of St. Cyprian of Carthage. The names of Pontius and Felix will be listed among the main entries of *SASLC*, but for the articles on their works the reader will be referred to the entries for SS. Cyprian and Guthlac in the *ACTA SS* section. Conversely hagiographical works by major authors such as Bede, Alcuin, and Sulpicius Severus, and those by lesser authors such as Abbo of Fleury or Wulfstan the Cantor of Winchester, will be dealt with in the articles about those authors in the main body of *SASLC*.

Format of a representative *SASLC* entry: SS. Abdon & Sennen.

As I indicated just now, the first entry in the current, very preliminary draft of the *ACTA SS* section is for the early Christian martyrs Abdon & Sennen (alias Sennes). Their Latin passion is not, properly speaking, a distinct hagiographical work, since it is part of a larger epic cycle devoted to the figures of Lawrence, Sixtus, and Hippolytus, around which were clustered the death narratives of numerous other martyrs of the mid-third-century Decian persecution. But in this case, Abdon & Sennen deserve their own individual *ACTA SS* entry, rather than a simple cross-listing, because they are commemorated separately, with their own feast day (July 30), in most early calendars and martyrologies[16]; their story is excerpted from the Lawrence/Sixtus cycle as a separate text in some manuscripts (e.g. London, BL Harley 3020); and their story is translated as a separate homily by Ælfric in his *Lives of the Saints*. The entry for Abdon & Sennen in the preliminary working draft of *SASLC* is reproduced below in Appendix 1.

The entry is in part devoted to conveying specific pieces of essential information in the form of "head-notes." After the name of the saints, and the title of the work associated with them, come the relevant citations in key reference works, including, first, the *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina (BHL)*, the standard classification system of all Latin saints' lives. This identifies which specific version of a saint's legend was represented in Anglo-Saxon collections. In the case of Abdon & Sennen the Bollandists distinguish two main medieval versions of the *passio, BHL* 6 & 7, but the Anglo-Saxons were apparently familiar only with *BHL* 6.[17]

The second reference source, *CPL*, Eligius Dekkers' *Clavis patrum latinorum* [2nd ed., *Sacris Erudiri* 3 (1961)], is a standard reference

guide to Latin texts composed before ca. 800, including numerous anonymous hagiographical texts. In this instance, *CPL* cites a more recent and reliable printed edition of the titled work, and dates it in the sixth century. The third reference source, Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, in the 1956 rev. ed. by Herbert Thurston and Donald Attwater (*BLS*), is included because it provides a detailed summary of the story of Abdon & Sennen, with a useful digest of scholarship and bibliography.

The heading concludes with cross-references. Here the reader is reminded at the outset that the *passio* of Abdon & Sennen is associated textually with that of Lawrence and his companions. To give another example, in the entry for the early eighth-century anonymous prose *vita* of St. Cuthbert there are cross-references to the prose and verse *vitae* by Bede, as well as to his *Ecclesiastical History*, and also to the anonymous *Historia sancti Cuthberti* (tenth century), all of which are important texts associated with Cuthbert's cult in Anglo-Saxon England. In the case of Abdon & Sennen the cross-reference is important because, inter alia, in the *SASLC* entry for **S. Laurentius** there is information about a recently discovered eighth/ninth-century palimpsest fragment of a "passio S. Laurentii" in Edinburgh, which may also have originally contained the story of Abdon & Sennen.

The next three sets of headnotes, viz. for *MSS*, *A-S Vers*, *Quots/Cits*, set forth in brief the basic "hard" information about the place of the titled text in Anglo-Saxon literary culture (the abbreviations for Old English texts are those developed for use with the *Dictionary of Old English* project; those for Latin works were devised by Michael Lapidge of Cambridge U. for use in *SASLC* and in a complementary but larger project known as *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici*[18]):

MSS. Here are listed in alphabetical order, by city & library, the *extant MS copies of the work that are demonstrably of Anglo-Saxon provenance*; in this case they range in date from the tenth century (Harley 3020) to the late eleventh century (Salisbury 222). In some *SASLC* entries the *MSS* headnote is followed by one entitled *Lists*, viz., *booklists* surviving from the Anglo-Saxon period, which provide evidence of the quondam existence, in English libraries or private possession, of MS copies now lost or alienated.[19]

AS Vers. New versions or summaries of the titled work written in Anglo-Saxon England, either in Latin or the vernacular. For Abdon & Sennen these comprise a short summary in Bede's *Martyrologium*; another, independent summary in the ninth-century *Old English Martyrology*; and a fairly full if free translation by Ælfric in his *Lives of the Saints*.

Quots/Cits. Briefer quotations from and/or citations of the titled work by Anglo-Saxon authors: so far I have found only one author who refers to the source *passio* by name: viz., Bede, who mentions the *passio S. Laurentii* more than once in the several entries he culled from it for his *Martyrologium*.

The *commentary* portion of the article includes the briefest possible identification of the title saints; some indication of the history of the title work, as far as this is relevant; and key points and problems as to the currency of the title work in Anglo-Saxon England, with pertinent bibliographical information.[20] The commentary is supposed to reflect the findings of published scholarship through 1987, rather than try to incorporate new research. But occasionally the author of an article may, where possible and appropriate, add unpublished information. (For example, thanks to a microfilm copy, I was able to indicate which version of the *passio* of Abdon & Sennen the Harley MS contains and in what form it occurs, information that is not provided by the Harley catalogue or, to the best of my knowledge, in other published notices on the MS.)

Sources of Information.

The basic information concerning the Anglo-Saxons' knowledge of Christian hagiography comprises three categories: major hagiographical works; hagiographical manuscripts; and lesser hagiographical works and miscellaneous documents.

Among the major works of hagiography by Anglo-Saxon writers, based wholly or largely on earlier hagiographical sources, are the following. From the early Anglo-Saxon period, i.e. the eighth and ninth centuries, we have Bede's *Martyrologium*, Aldhelm's *De virginitate*, both in Latin, and, in the vernacular, the *Old English Martyrology*.[21] Between them these three works provide evidence for the early Anglo-Saxons' knowledge of a little over two hundred works of Latin hagiography. From the later Anglo-Saxon period, from the tenth and eleventh centuries,

the main hagiographical source is Ælfric, who drew on about fifty hagiographical works for the saints' lives in his *Catholic Homilies* and *Lives of the Saints*.[22] In addition there are thirty or so anonymous pieces in Old English prose, the great majority of which, like Ælfric's, derive from Latin sources and deal with non-English saints.[23]

Valuable evidence of the Anglo-Saxons' hagiographical knowledge, but less familiar to most people today, are the surviving hagiographical manuscripts known to have been written or owned in England during the Anglo-Saxon period. The most important of these for *ACTA SS* (i.e. those containing the largest numbers of texts) are Paris BN Lat. 10861, early ninth century;[24] London BL Harley 3020, tenth century; the so-called Cotton-Corpus legendary (portions of BL Cotton Nero E.i & CCCC 9, mid-eleventh century;[25] Salisbury Cath. MSS 221 & 222 (formerly Oxford Bodley Fell 4 & 1), of the late eleventh century and probably copied from the same exemplar as the Cotton-Corpus legendary. There are numerous other manuscripts that will have to be analyzed and their contents incorporated in one way or another in *SASLC*, most of them containing only a few texts or less. Others date from the early twelfth century and must therefore be considered less valuable than the earlier manuscripts (though still worth considering where appropriate) as evidence of the Anglo-Saxons' hagiographical collections. In some foreign libraries there survive manuscripts that are definitely of Anglo-Saxon provenance (e.g. Paris BN lat. 10861, mentioned above), while others, of continental provenance, have "insular" connections and constitute evidence of possible Anglo-Saxon hagiographical knowledge. Several of these remain to be checked.

In the third category are miscellaneous literary works and documents, hagiographical or otherwise, by Anglo-Saxon writers, that have earlier saints' lives among their known sources: for example, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, and various Latin saints' lives, e.g. of Cuthbert, composed by him and others in the eighth century,[26] along with several Latin lives of English saints, including Edmund martyr, and Bishop Ethelwold,[27] from the tenth century reform era; the five Old English verse narratives (*Elene*, *Juliana*, *Guthlac A* & *Guthlac B*, *Andreas*); and a few Latin verse compositions, including Wulfstan of Winchester's life of St. Swithun,[28] that in turn draw on earlier saints' lives.

Overview.

Professor Ogilvy devoted eight pages to listing just over a hundred anonymous saints' lives known to the English in the Anglo-Saxon period.[29] He had no separate entry for Abdon & Sennen, although in his notice for the *passio* of S. Laurentius he did mention Ælfric's separate piece on the two Persian saints.[30] But he did not mention the English manuscript copies of the *passio* in its various forms, or the martyrology entries, or the other material to be found in the sample entry in Appendix 1. Not surprisingly, *SASLC*'s *ACTA SS* is going to be much longer than eight pages. Already we have more than tripled Ogilvy's number of listings (the total may well increase as some of the more obscure manuscript catalogues and literary sources are checked) and the amount of information to convey about each listing greatly exceeds anything he envisaged. With this new information in hand, it will be possible to approach the study of Christian hagiography in England in a more comprehensive and more thorough fashion than has been possible up to now. *SASLC* will provide for the first time a full census of, and guide to, all the native and non-native hagiographical texts known and produced in Anglo-Saxon England: all, that is, for which there is evidence today. The kind of information it offers is of potential value not only to scholars and students of Old English studying, or preparing editions of, texts such as the *Old English Martyrology* or Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints*; it should also prove valuable to people from various disciplines working in Christian hagiography, either as editors of texts or as cultural or literary historians, who wish to determine how English manuscript copies of a work vary from continental recensions, either to prepare a critical edition, or to assess the Anglo-Saxons' reception and interpretation of a particular continental saint's legend.

For the first time, it will be possible to study in detail the relationship between English and continental hagiological customs and interests. For example, one will be able to compare the selection and types of *vitae* and *passiones* current in, say, eighth-ninth century England with those in the contemporary legendaries that scholars such as Poncelet, Delehaye, and Siegmund, have designated as belonging to the "Roman," "Gallic" or "Spanish" type.[31] No one has ever been able to speak of the "British" or "English" type of legendary before, because there has not been anything resembling a thorough conspectus of

the hagiographical works that the early English evidently had in their own legendaries.[32]

In a different vein, *SASLC* will facilitate closer study of the role of hagiographical texts in England itself, specifically, for example, the extent to which liturgical devotion, as evidenced in the calendars, missals, and other liturgical books of the later Anglo-Saxon period, corresponds to the copying and study of hagiographical works. Of similar value and interest for students of Anglo-Saxon history and culture would be a study of the degree of continuity (or lack of it) in the veneration of saints and the transmission of hagiographical texts over the course of the long Anglo-Saxon period. The relative paucity of calendars from the ninth century and earlier, and the absence of a conspectus of manuscripts and texts, has discouraged this kind of study in the past. Simply compiling the data for the preliminary drafts of the *ACTA SS* section of *SASLC* gives one the impression that there is a marked lack of continuity in hagiographical tradition between the age of Bede and Aldhelm, on the one hand, and that of Ælfric and Wulfstan on the other. In Appendix 2 below, the saints commemorated with narrative entries in the eighth- and ninth-century English martyrologies are listed alphabetically in the left-hand column. These may be compared one for one with the saints, in the right-hand column, for whom texts were provided in the tenth/eleventh-century English legendary ("Cotton-Corpus"). One can see at a glance that numerous saints whose *vitae* were known in the early period are missing from the later legendary, and vice versa; and in the cases where the two periods do share the same saint, there is often evidence that they did not have the same version of the life or passion (some examples in Appendix 2 are AGATHA, CHRISTINA, COSMAS & DAMIAN, ERASMUS, and EUGENIA). A good deal of English hagiography in the later Anglo-Saxon period appears to have been reimported from the continent. The hagiographical evidence, in other words, offers the possibility of another perspective on the question of ecclesiastical decay in ninth-century England and the impact of the Viking incursions. Conversely the hagiographical evidence is potentially of considerable value in increasing our understanding of the role of continental traditions in promoting and shaping the monastic revival in the tenth century.[33]

In the more strictly literary sphere, a re-examination of the process of hagiographical composition in England is now necessary in the light of the greatly increased range of literary models that we now know were available to Anglo-Saxon writers. Moreover, in the study of individual texts, it should be possible to focus much more accurately on the often subtle and creative relationship between the vernacular adaptations of saints' lives and their Latin sources, since *SASLC* will make more easily available the means to reconstruct in many cases the local English variant version of a given Latin saint's life or passion. Invariably in the past, including the recent past, close critical comparisons and interpretations of Old English hagiographical texts and their Latin sources, so-called, have been made on the basis of inadequate or misleading printed editions of the Latin texts, such as those in the Bollandists' *Acta sanctorum*. Such a method is obviously unreliable since it can lead to false claims for the originality or ingenuity of the Anglo-Saxon author. The completest possible sourcing of a work is the indispensable prelude to its proper interpretation and appreciation. The *ACTA SS* portion of the *SASLC* project aims to provide scholars with the basic information for sourcing and studying Anglo-Saxon hagiographical writing with a new comprehensiveness and rigor.

APPENDIX 1. SAMPLE ARTICLE FROM SASLC, ACTA SANCTORUM

Abdon & Sennen, passio [ANON.Pas.Abd.&Sen.]: BHL 6. CPL 2219. BLS 3:213. See also SS. AGAPITUS & FELICISSIMUS, HIPPOLYTUS, LAURENTIUS, SIXTUS.

MSS
1. London BL Cotton Nero E. i (HG 344)[34]
2. BL Harley 3020 (HG 433)
3. Salisbury 222 (former Oxford, Bodl. Fell 1, HG 623)

A-S Vers
1. BEDA.Mart., 138.1317.[35]
2. Mart (B19.fb)[36]
3. ÆLS 24 (B1.3.24)[37]

Quots/Cits BEDA.Mart. (ref. to ANON.pas.Laurentii)

Among the early episodes in the epic legend of St. Lawrence and the Decian persecution is the story of two Persian sub-kings, Abdon & Sennen, brought to Rome to be martyred in the arena for their Christian faith. It is more likely that A. & S. (whom the Bollandists, AS Nov. 2.2:404, regard as authentic martyrs, with evidence of cult from late 4th c.) suffered later under Diocletian and had no historical connection with Lawrence, Sixtus, and Hippolytus (BLS). Their story is combined with that of the latter as early as the 6th c. (CPL). There is disagreement as to whether a shorter or longer version of the passio (which adds the stories of several other saints besides A. & S., Lawrence, et al.) is the earlier of the two (Cross, 1983, pp 202-3; and see S. LAURENTIUS). BHL 6, the account of A. & S., is part II of the larger cycle that includes Polychronius (I), Sixtus (III), Laurentius (IV), Hippolytus (VI). See BHL 2:1001-2. Whereas the 11th c. Cotton-Corpus & Salisbury legendaries (see LEGENDARIES) contain a text of the whole cycle in the longer version (Zettel, 1979, p 23), that in Harley 3020 (10th c.) contains only parts I & II (BHL 6884 & BHL 6) of the longer version, viz., the story of Polychronius & Parmenius, followed by that of A. & S. In the MS, f.62v, it is entitled merely "passio sanctorum martirum Abdonis et Sennis." [EGW, personal finding].

Zettel (1979, pp. 227-8, superseding Loomis, GR 5358, p. 1), discussing Ælfric's separate account of A. & S., confirms Cross's findings (1983, pp 203-5), in his sourcing of the 9th c. OE Mart, that the English from Bede's time had texts of the longer passio. As often is the case, both Cross and Zettel's studies indicate that both OE authors had texts before them that differed in minor details from that of the printed edition. Zettel adds, however, that Ælfric's source text was not in this instance significantly closer to the text in the Cotton-Corpus legendary than to Delehaye's edition.

Delehaye's edition (1933) of BHL 6, etc., based on three MSS, supersedes the earlier printed editions. Cross (ibid.), 201, lists additional early MSS from continental libraries and points (204-5) to some variants that may have been present, though in corrupted form, in the OE martyrologist's source.

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ANON.pas.Abd.&Sen. = ed. H. Delehaye, "Recherches sur le Légendier romain," Analecta Bollandiana 51 (1933): 34-98, esp. 75-80.

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Loomis, Grant. "Further Sources of Ælfric's Saints' Lives," Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature 13 (1931): 1-8.
Zettel, Patrick. "Ælfric's Hagiographic Sources and the Latin Legendary Preserved in BL MS Cotton Nero E. i + CCCC MS 9 and Other Manuscripts." (Diss. Oxford, 1979).

APPENDIX 2: HAGIOGRAPHICAL TEXTS IN EARLY AND LATER ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND

SAINTS' LIVES KNOWN IN 8/9TH C. ENGLAND (mainly BEDE'S Martyrologium and the OE Martyrology). APOSTLES & ENGLISH SS NOT INCLUDED.	SAINTS' LIVES PRESERVED IN 10/11TH C. "COTTON-CORPUS LEGENDARY" [other sources in square brackets]. APOSTLES & ENGLISH SS NOT INCLUDED.
[NB. BHL numbers are supplied in cases where 8/9th c. texts of a given legend differ from 10/11th c. texts.]	
ABDON & Sennen	ABDON & Sennen
ADRIANUS (HADRIANUS) & Natalia	ADRIANUS (HADRIANUS) & Natalia
AFRA & soc.	[AFRA & soc., MS Dublin Trin. Coll. 174]
AGAPE & Chione & Irene	AGAPE & Chione & Irene
	AGAPITUS Praeneste
AGATHA BHL 133	AGATHA BHL 134
AGNES	AGNES
ALBANUS	[ALBANUS: Ælfric'S OE life, from Bede's]
	ALBINUS Andeg.
ALEXANDER & soc.	ALEXANDER & soc.
ALEXANDRIA	ALEXANDRIA: see passio GEORGII
	AMANDUS
AMBROSIUS	AMBROSIUS
ANANIAS & PETRUS & SEPTEM MILITES	
ANASTASIA	ANASTASIA
ANASTASIUS	
ANATOLIA	
ANDOCHIUS & THYRSUS & FELIX	
	ANIANUS
ANTONINUS Apamea	
ANTONIUS [quoted in vitae Cuthb.]	[ANTONIUS in MS Worcester Cath. F. 48]
APOLLINARIS Rav.	APOLLINARIS Rav.
ARSENIUS	
ARTEMIUS (ARTHEMIUS)	ARTEMIUS (ARTHEMIUS)
	ASCLA
	AUDOENUS.ep. (Ouen)
	AUDOMARUS
AUGUSTINUS Hippo.	AUGUSTINUS Hippo.
BABYLAS	BABYLAS
	BASILIDES & soc.
	BASILIUS
BASILLA	
BENEDICTUS Nurs.	[BENEDICTUS, in GREG. MAGN. Dialogi II]
	BENEDICTUS & Scholastica, translatio
BENIGNUS	
BERTINUS	BERTINUS
BLANDINA & soc. (in EUSEB./RUFINUS)	
BLASTUS	
	BONIFATIUS Tars.
	BRIGIDA
	BRITIUS (BRICCIUS)
CAECILIA	CAECILIA
CAESARIUS	CAESARIUS
CALLISTUS & Calepodius & soc.	CALLISTUS & Calepodius & soc.
	CASSIANUS Aug. ep.
CASSIANUS Ludimagister	
CASSIUS Ep. Narn.	
CHRISTINA BHL 1748b	CHRISTINA BHL 1756
CHRISTOPHER	[CHRISTOPHER, OE life, MS BL Cotton Otho B. X, etc.]
CHRYSANTHUS & Daria	CHRYSANTHUS & Daria
CHRYSOGONUS	CHRYSOGONUS
CIRYCUS & IULITTA	CIRYCUS & IULITTA
CLEMENS pap.	CLEMENS pap.
COLUMBA Hien. ep.	
COLUMBA Sen. BHL 1892 or 1894	COLUMBA Sen. BHL 1893
	CONON

CORNELIUS
COSMAS & DAMIANUS BHL 1967

CYPRIANUS & JUSTINA & soc. Nicomed.
CYPRIANUS Carth.
CYRILLA (pas. SIXTI, LAURENTII & soc.)
DIONISIUS ep.

DONATUS Aret.

ELEUTHERIUS & Anthia

EMERENTIANA (passio AGNETIS)
ERASMUS ep. BHL 2578
EUGENIA & soc. BHL 2666
EULALIA Barcinone BHL 2696
EUPHEMIA
EUPLUS (EUPLIUS)

EUSEBIUS Vercelli ep.

FAUSTA & EVILASII
FELICITAS & 7 filiis
FELIX Nolanus presb.

FELIX Tubzac./Tibiac. BHL 2895b
FERREOLUS & FERRUCIO Vesont.

FURSEUS

GENESIUS Arl.
GENESIUS Rom.

GEORGIUS BHL 3363/79
GERMANUS Autiss.
GERVASIUS & PROTASIUS.

GORDIANUS & EPIMACHUS
GREGORIUS Magn. BHL 3637
HERMES (pas. ALEXANDRI & soc.)

HILARION
HILARIUS Pict.

HYACINTHUS & PROTUS (pas. EUGENIAE)
IANUARIUS & SOSIUS & soc.
INVENTIO SANCTAE CRUCIS
IOHANNES & PAULUS
IOHANNES BAPT. (inventio capitis)

JULIANA ("Würzburg" recension)
JULIANUS & BASILISSA
JUSTUS Bellov.

LAURENTIUS (see SIXTUS)

LUCEIA (LUCIA) Romae
LUCIA Syrac.

CORNELIUS
COSMAS & DAMIANUS BHL 1970
CRISPINUS & CRISPINIANUS
CYPRIANUS & JUSTINA & soc. Nicomed.
CYPRIANUS Carth.

DIONISIUS ep.
DOMITILLA (FLAVIA) & soc.
DONATUS Aret.
DORMIENTES (SEPTEM)
ELEUTHERIUS & Anthia
ELIGIUS ep.

ERASMUS ep. BHL 2580
EUGENIA & soc. BHL 2667?
EULALIA Emeritae BHL 2700
EUPHEMIA
EUPLUS (EUPLIUS)
EUSEBIUS Romae presb.

EUSTACHIUS
EUTYCHES & VICTORINUS & MARO
EXALTATIO SANCTAE CRUCIS

FELICITAS & 7 filiis

FELIX II pap.
FELIX Romae presb. (Felix in Pincis)
FELIX Tubzac./Tibiac. BHL 2894

FIRMINUS Ambian.
FRUCTUOSUS Tarrocon. & soc.
FURSEUS
FUSCIANUS & soc
GALLICANUS
GAUGERICUS
GENESIUS Arl.

GENOVEFA
GEORGIUS BHL 3373-4
GERMANUS Paris.
GERVASIUS & PROTASIUS.
GETULIUS

GREGORIUS Magn. BHL 3639, 3641
HERMES (pas. ALEXANDRI & soc.)
HIERONYMUS presb.
[HILARION in MS Worcester Cath. F.48]
HILARIUS Pict.
HUGBERHTUS Leod.
HYANCINTHUS Port. Rom.

INVENTIO SANCTAE CRUCIS
IOHANNES & PAULUS
IOHANNES BAPT. (inventio in ÆCHom I,32)
JUDOCUS
JULIANA ("Corbey" recension)
JULIANUS & BASILISSA

LANDBERTUS
LAURENTIUS (see SIXTUS)
LEODEGARIUS
LONGINUS
LUCEIA (LUCIA) Romae
LUCIA Syrac.
LUCIA & GEMINIANUS
LUCIANUS

LUPUS Trecens
MACEDONIUS & Patricia & Modesta
MAMAS (Mammes)
MAMILIANUS ep. Panorm. (?)
MARCELLINUS & PETRUS
MARCELLUS Cabillon.
MARCELLUS pap.
MARGARETA (MARINA)

MARIA MAGDALENA

MARIUS & MARTHA & soc.

MARTIALIS Lemov.

MARTINUS Tur. BHL 5610 (Vit.Martini)

MAURITIUS & Soc.

MENNAS Aegypt.

MILUS & SENNEUS
NAZARIUS & CELSUS

PANCRATIUS

PAULUS Erem.
PELAGIA paen.
PERPETUA & FELICITAS (BHL ?)
PHOCAS Sinope

PRISCA
PROCESSUS & MARTINIANUS
PROCOPIUS Caes.

QUADRAGINTA MARTYRS ("SEBASTENI")
QUINTINUS

RUFINA & SECUNDA

SATURNINUS & Sisinnus Rom.
SCILLITANI
SEBASTENI (MARTYRES XL) BHL 7539
SEBASTIANUS & soc.

SILVESTER pap. BHL 7733?

SISINNIUS & MARTYRIUS & ALEXANDER
SIXTUS & LAURENTIUS & HIPPOLYTUS

MARCELLINUS & PETRUS

MARCELLUS pap.
[MARGARETA, MS Hereford Cath. P.2.v; OE lives]
MARIA Aegypt.

MARIAE B.V. ASSUMPTIO

MARINUS puer

MARTINA
MARTINUS Tur. BHL 5610
MARTINUS Tur. BHL 5611-16 (Epp. & Dial.)
MARTINUS Tur. BHL 5619-23
MARTINUS Tur. (Inscriptiones & Notae)
MARTINUS Tur. (Ps.-Martinus)
MAURITIUS & Soc.
[MAURUS in Ælfric & MS Hereford Cath. O.6.xi]
MAXIMUS, SEVERA, FLAVIANUS & soc.
MEDARDUS
MENNAS Aegypt.
MICHAELIS-archang.

NEREUS & ACHILLEUS
[NICHOLAS, vita, late MSS; & OE life]
[NICHOLAS, miracula, late MSS]
PANCRATIUS
PANTALEON
PATRICIUS (confessio)
PATROCLUS Trec.
[PAULUS erem., MS Cambdge Corp Chr Coll 389 etc.]

PERPETUA & FELICITAS BHL 6633

PIATO
POLYCARPUS
POTITUS
PRAXEDIS
PRIMUS & FELICIANUS

PROCESSUS & MARTINIANUS

PUDENTIANA
QUADRAGINTA MARTYRS ("SEBASTENI")
QUINTINUS
REMIGIUS
RICHARIUS
RUFINA & SECUNDA
RUMWALDUS infans
SABINA (SAVINA) Trec.
SABINA Romae
SABINUS Spol.
SALVIUS Valencenae
SATURNINUS & Sisinnus Rom.

SEBASTENI (MARTYRES XL) BHL 7538
SEBASTIANUS & soc.
SERAPIA
SERGIUS & Bacchus
SILVESTER pap. BHL 7739
SIMPLICIUS & Faustina & Beatrix

SIXTUS & LAURENTIUS & HIPPOLYTUS

SPEUSIPPUS & soc.(TERGEMINI), BHL 7828,7829	SPEUSIPPUS & soc.(TERGEMINI) BHL 7829
STEPHANUS prot. (inventio, BHL 7854)	STEPHANUS pap. [not Ælfric; MS Dublin Trin. Coll. 174]
	SULPICIUS Bitur.
SYMEON stylita	
SYMPHORIANUS (Quattuor Coronati)	SYMPHORIANUS (Quattuor Coronati)
SYMPHORIANUS AUGUSTUD. BHL 7969?	SYMPHORIANUS AUGUSTUD. BHL 7967
SYMPHOROSA & Filiis	SYMPHOROSA & Filiis
THECLA BHL 8024?	[THECLA, MS Orleans 342, BHL 8024]
THEODORETUS	THEODORETUS
	THEODORUS Amaseae
	THEODOSIA
THEODOTA & filiis	THEODOTA & filiis
	THEOGENES
	THEOPHILUS Adanensis
	THYRSUS & LEUCIUS & soc.
	TORPES Pisan.
	TRUDO Hasban. (Trond)
	TRYPHON
URSICINUS medicus	
VALENTINUS Interamnensis (Terni)	VALENTINUS Interamn. (Terni)
VALENTINUS Romae (pas. MARII & MARTHAE)	
VALERIANUS Trenorchii	
	VEDASTUS Atrebatensis
VICTOR & CORONA BHL 8559	[VICTOR & CORONA, MS Dublin Trin Coll 174, BHL 8561
VICTOR Massiliensis	
VICTOR Mediolani	
VICTORIA Romae	
VINCENTIUS Caesaraugustanus	VINCENTIUS Caesaraugustanus
VITALIS Rav.	VITALIS Rav.
VITUS & MODESTUS & CRESCENTIA	VITUS & MODESTUS & CRESCENTIA
	WANDREGISILUS
WINNOCUS	WINNOCUS
ZOE Rom.	

NOTES

1. A description of SASLC appeared in the Old English Newsletter, 21.1 (Fall, 1987), pp. 24-25.

2. See the 8th c. "Epternach" recension (MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 10837, of Anglo-Saxon provenance) of the so-called Hieronymian Martyrology, ed. H. Delehaye and H. Quentin, Commentarius in Martyrologium Hieronymianum, Acta Sanctorum, Nov. 2.2: 404-05; and (from the same manuscript) the early-8th-c. Anglo-Saxon Calendar of St. Willibrord, ed. H. A. Wilson, Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. 55 (London, 1918), plate VII and p. 9. In addition, Abdon & Sennen's July 30 feast day appears in all twenty Anglo-Saxon calendars, dating from the 9th to the late 11th c., in Francis Wormald, ed., English Kalendars before A.D. 1100, Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. 72 (London, 1934).

3. The Bollandists' classification system in BHL is not without its problems, as a glance at their new Supplementum, ed. Henricus Fros, Subsidia Hagiographica 70 (Brussels 1986) reveals (e.g., newly discovered variant versions of a particular vita have, in some cases, had to be given BHL classification numbers of such a kind that the new variants appear, misleadingly, to be more closely related to other versions than is actually the case). Some modern scholars have argued, for example, that the passio Laurentii survives in two main versions, a shorter earlier and a longer later version. BHL, however, divides the passio into numerous separate parts, effectively obscuring the true character of the legend's textual transmission in the early Middle Ages. But despite such drawbacks, the BHL system is much better than no system at all.

4. In the headnotes the code numbers in parentheses (e.g., HG 344) after each manuscript citation are from Helmut Gneuss, "A Preliminary List of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1100," Anglo-Saxon England 9 (1981), 1-60. The abbreviations for titles of vernacular OE texts (e.g. Mart for Old English Martyrology) are published in Antoinette di Paolo Healey & Richard Venezky, Microfiche Concordance to Old English: The List of Texts and Index of Editions (Toronto, 1980). Code numbers in parentheses after these titles are the reference numbers from the list of MSS and printed editions of OE texts prepared for the forthcoming OE dictionary project and published in Roberta Frank & Angus Cameron, A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English (Toronto, 1973). For the Latin text abbreviations, see Michael Lapidge, Abbreviations for Sources and Specification of Standard Editions for Sources (Binghamton, 1988).

5. The working list of pre-Conquest English manuscripts is that of Helmut Gneuss (see n. 4). For the booklists, see Michael Lapidge, "Surviving booklists from Anglo-Saxon England," in Lapidge & Gneuss, eds., Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 33-89.

6. In the appended sample, the articles and books cited in the commentary are listed in full at the end of the entry, for the convenience of readers of this paper. In SASLC, however, individual entries will not have separate bibliographies; there will be two comprehensive bibliographies, one for primary sources, the other for secondary sources, at the end of the volume.

7. R. Ehwald, Aldhelmi opera omnia, MGH Auct. Antiq. 15 (Berlin, 1919), pp. 226-323, 350-471; J. Dubois & G. Renaud, Edition pratique des martyrologes de Bède, de l'Anonyme lyonnais et de Florus (Paris, 1976); G. Herzfeld, An Old English Martyrology, EETS 116 (London, 1900), now superseded by G. Kotzor, Das altenglische Martyrologium, 2 vols., Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-hist. Klasse, Abhandlungen N. F. 88 (Munich, 1981). The sources of most of the entries in the Old English Martyrology have been identified and discussed by J.G. Cross in numerous articles.

8. B. Thorpe, ed., The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church. The First Part, Containing the Sermones Catholici or Homilies of Ælfric, 2 vols. (London 1843-46); Malcolm Godden, ed. Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. The Second Series. Text, EETS SS 5 (Oxford, 1979); W. W. Skeat, Ælfric's Lives of the Saints, 2 vols., EETS 76, 82, 94, 114 (London 1881-1900; rpt. 1966).

9. For editions and MSS see the listings for "Sanctorale," B3.3, in Roberta Frank and Angus Cameron, eds., A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English (Toronto, 1973), pp. 101-05.

10. Michelle P. Brown, "Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 10861 and the scriptorium of Christ Church, Canterbury," Anglo-Saxon England, 15 (1986), 119-37.

11. In addition to Zettel's dissertation, cited in Appendix 1, Bibliography Part II, see also his "Saints' Lives in Old English: Latin Manuscripts and Vernacular Accounts: Ælfric," Peritia, 1 (1982), 17-37.

12. See, e.g., Bertram Colgrave's editions of the lives of Cuthbert, Gregory the Great, Guthlac, and Wilfred (Cambridge, 1985).

13. E.g., Michael Winterbottom, ed. Three Lives of English Saints (Toronto, 1972).

14. Alistair Campbell, ed., Frithigodi monachi breviloquium vitae beati Wilfredi et Wulfstani cantoris narratio metrica de Sancto Swithuno (Zurich, 1950).

15. Books Known to the English 597-1066, pp. 43-52.

16. Ibid., p. 48.

17. A. Siegmund, Die Überlieferung der griechischen christlichen Literatur in der lateinischen Kirche bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert, Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Benediktiner-Akademie 5 (Munich, 1949), pp. 200-04, with references to earlier work by Poncelet & Delehaye. See also G. Philippart, Les légendiers et autres manuscrits hagiographiques, Typologie des Sources du Moyen Age Occidental, fasc. 24-25 (Turnhout, 1977).

18. An exception is Wilhelm Levison, "Conspectus Codicum Hagiographicorum," MGH SRM 7 (Hannover and Leipzig, 1920), pp. 529-706, which mainly focuses, however, on the lives of Merovingian saints.

19. Obviously, Appendix 2 represents a very rough and ready approach, and some, if not all, of the discrepancies between the two lists may be the result of regional differences, and the distorting effects of manuscript preservation and loss.

20. "HG" refers to Gneuss, "A Preliminary List..." See above, n.4.

21. Bede's Martyrologium, ed. Dubois and Renaud (see above, n.7), p. 138, lines 13-17.

22. Items in the Old English Martyrology (see above, n. 7) are identified individually according to a system designed for Fontes Anglo-Saxonici by Donald Scragg.

23. Ælfric's Lives of the Saints (see above, n. 8), vol. 2, pp. 54-66. See also Frank and Cameron, Plan for the Dictionary of Old English, p. 74.

Appendix A

Old English Bibliography 1989

by

Carl T. Berkhout

OLD ENGLISH BIBLIOGRAPHY 1989

by

Carl T. Berkhout

1. General and Miscellaneous Subjects. 2. Language (a. Lexicon, Glosses. b. Syntax, Phonology, Other Aspects). 3. Literature (a. General and Miscellaneous. b. Individual Poems. c. Prose). 4. Anglo-Latin and Ecclesiastical Works. 5. Manuscripts, Illumination, Diplomatic. 6. History and Culture. 7. Names. 8. Archaeology and Numismatics. 9. Book Reviews.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Analecta Bollandiana
ANQ	[formerly] American Notes & Queries
AntJ	Antiquaries Journal
ArchJ	Archaeological Journal
ASE	Anglo-Saxon England
ASNSL	Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen
BGDSL	Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur (Tübingen)
BN	Beiträge zur Namenforschung
CCM	Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale
CMCS	Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies
DAI	Dissertation Abstracts International
EA	Etudes Anglaises
EHR	English Historical Review
ELN	English Language Notes
ES	English Studies
FS	Frühmittelalterliche Studien
IF	Indogermanische Forschungen
JEH	Journal of Ecclesiastical History
MA	Medieval Archaeology
MÆ	Medium Ævum
MLR	Modern Language Review
MP	Modern Philology
MS	Mediaeval Studies
N&Q	Notes and Queries
NM	Neuphilologische Mitteilungen
OEN	Old English Newsletter
PQ	Philological Quarterly
RB	Revue Bénédictine
RES	Review of English Studies
SchM	Schede medievali
SN	Studia Neophilologica
YES	Yearbook of English Studies
ZAA	Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik

Appendix B

Research in Progress

prepared by

Phillip Pulsiano

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

Abels, Richard (U.S. Naval Acad., Annapolis): English Tactics, Strategy and Military Organization in the Late Tenth Century, TBP D. G. Scragg, ed. The Battle of Maldon A.D. 991.

Acevedo, Carmen M. (Univ. of Georgia): A Comparison of Several Tenth-century Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts with John C. Pope's 1967 Edition of *Ælfric's Homilies: A Supplementary Collection* and Translations of Eighteen Heretofore Untranslated Ælfrician Homilies, Pope's I through XVII, Including XIa, dIP (dir. John T. Algeo).

Aitches, Marian A. (Univ. of North Texas): *Beowulf:* Myth as a Structural and Thematic Key, dC.

Bately, Janet (King's Coll. London): *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* TBP D. G. Scragg, ed. The Battle of Maldon A.D. 991.

Berkhout, Carl (Univ. of Arizona, Tuscon): The Earliest Editors of Old English, aIP.

Bethel, A. C. Patricia: Syntax of the Medial and Initial Dip in Non-classical Old English Verse, aIP; Metrical Analysis of the Psalms of the Paris Psalter (after Bliss), aC.

Biggam, C. P. (Univ. of Strathclyde, Glasgow): A Lexical Semantic Study of Old English Colour Terms, dIP; The Evolution of Basic Colour Terms in English, aC.

Biggs, F. M.: see under Szarmach, Paul E.

Blackburn, Mark (Cambridge Univ.): Æthelred's Coinage and the Payment of Tribute, TBP D. G. Scragg, ed. The Battle of Maldon A.D. 991.

Brooks, Nicholas (Univ. of Birmingham): Weapons and Armour, TBP D. G. Scragg, ed. The Battle of Maldon A.D. 991.

Bundy, Mildred (Cambridge Univ.): The Byrhtnoth Tapestry or Embroidery, TBP D. G. Scragg, ed. The Battle of Maldon A.D. 991.

Caie, Graham (Univ. of Copenhagen): On Editing the Anglo-Saxon Poems in MS CCCC 201, aIP.

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Dammery, Richard (Trinity Coll., Cambridge): Editing the Old English Law-codes, aIP.

de Vegvar, Carol Neuman (Ohio Wesleyan Univ.): The *Echternach Gospels* Lion: A Leap of Faith? aIP; 'Anglorum extremis de finibus': Perceptions of Peripherality in Northumbrian Art, aIP; Drinking Horns in Migration-Period Europe: Context and Ornament, bIP; The Origin of the Genoels-Elderen Ivories, TBP *Gesta;* Saints and Companions to Saints: Anglo-Saxon Royal Women Monastics in Context, aC; The Sutton Hoo Horns as Royal Regalia, TBP R. T. Farrell and C. Neuman de Vegvar, eds. Sutton Hoo: Past, Present and Future; Celtic Influence (on Anglo-Saxon Art); The Franks Casket; Sutton Hoo, TBP Medieval England: An Encyclopedia; Visigothic Sculptors at Anglo-Saxon Hexham, TBP Malcolm Thurlby, ed. Tenth Canadian Conference of Medieval Art Historians.

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Donoghue, Daniel (Harvard Univ.): Anglo-Saxon Readers, bIP; Layamon's Ambivalence, aC [relation with A-S past]; Postscript on *Style,* aC; Rev. of B. Mitchell, *On Old English,* TBP *AN&Q;* Rev. of Mary-Catherine Bodden, ed. and trans., *The Finding of the True Cross,* TBP

Speculum; Rev. of M. Tajima, *Old and Middle English Language Studies,* TBP *Speculum.*

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Fry, Donald K. (Poynter Inst. for Media Studies): The Venerable Bede: A Reference Guide, bIP; Abbess Hild and Cædmon: Inventors of English Poetry, aIP; *Calæs* and *Cellod,* aC; Exeter Riddle 31: Featherpen, aC.

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Godden, Malcolm (Exeter Coll., Oxford): The Early English Text Society and Editing Old English, aIP.

Gruber, Loren C. (Northwest Missouri St. Univ.): Those Sutton Hoo Spoons Once Again: A Reverie, aC; Notes on *Beowulf,* bIP.

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Hill, Thomas D.: see under Szarmach, Paul E.

Hollahan, Patricia: see under Friedman, John, and Keefer, Sarah L.

Hooker, Richard (Stanford Univ.): True Stories of the Self: Confession and Narrative in *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer,* aIP.

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Jansen, Annemiek (Univ. of Groningen): St. Oswald: Studies in the Literary Tradition, dIP (dir. A. A. MacDonald).

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Muir, Bernard J. (Melbourne Univ.): An Edition of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry, bIP (Toronto); Colouring Words: Manuscript Studies from Melbourne University, bIP (Univ. of Melbourne).

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Newton, Murry D. (Univ. of East Anglia): On the Making of *Beowulf,* with special attention to the pre-viking kingdom of East Anglia, bC (Boydell and Brewer).

Ohlgren, Thomas H. (Purdue Univ.): Anglo-Saxon Art in the Context of Old English Literature, bIP; Insular and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts: A Photographic Supplement, bIP.

O'Keeffe, Katherine O'Brien (Texas A&M Univ.): Editing and the Material Text, aIP.

Olsen, Alexandra Hennessey (Univ. of Denver): Late Latin Modularity and the Old English *Phoenix,* aIP; The Aesthetics of *Andreas:* The Contexts of Oral Tradition and Patristic Latin Poetry, TBP John M. Foley, ed. De gustibus: Studies in Honor of Alain Renoir.

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Owen-Crocker, Gale (Univ. of Manchester): Hawks and Horse-trappings: The Insignia of Rank, TBP D. G. Scragg, ed. The Battle of Maldon A.D. 991.

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Anglica Posnaniensia; with Kirsten Wolf (Univ. of Manitoba), Exeter Book Riddle 57: Those Damned Souls, Again, TBP *Germanic Notes;* with Kirsten Wolf, The 'hwelp' in *Wulf and Eadwacer,* aC; with Joseph McGowan, Four Unedited Prayers in BL, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, aC; New Old English Glosses in the *Vitellius Psalter,* aC.

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Thundy, Zacharias P. (Northern Michigan Univ.): *Beowulf:* A New Perspective, bIP; *Beowulf* and Horace, aIP; Livy: A New Source for *The Battle of Maldon,* aC; *Beowulf* and the Apocalypse, aC.

Treharne, Elaine M. (Univ. of Manchester): A Critical Edition of the Lives of SS. Margaret, Giles and Nicholas in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 303, and a Linguistic, Palaeographical and Codicological Analysis of the Manuscript as a Whole, dIP (dir. D. G. Scragg); A Palaeographic Analysis and Edition of Folios 117 and 170 of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 320, aC; Sources and Parallel Texts of Folios 117 and 170 of CCCC 320, aC; "They should not worship devils ... which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk": The Sensibility of the Virtuous and the Life of St. Margaret, aC; The Date of Three Od English Saints' Lives, aC.

Wolf, Kirsten: see under Pulsiano, Phillip.

Youngs, Susan (Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison): An Edition of CUL MS. Ii.1.33, Item 44, dIP (dir. A. N. Doane).

Appendix C

Abstracts of Papers in Anglo-Saxon Studies

edited by

Robert L. Schichler

APPENDIX C

Abstracts of Papers in Anglo-Saxon Studies

edited by

Robert L. Schichler,
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In each Spring issue the editors of OEN publish abstracts of papers in Anglo-Saxon Studies given at the various conferences and meetings in the previous year, i.e., June to May. The success or value of this feature depends on the cooperation of conference organizers and session chairmen, from whom the editors hope to receive conference information, abstracts, and confirmation that papers were given as announced. Since the editors cannot publish what they do not receive and publication requirements preclude any attempts to look back beyond the year immediately preceding, the editors ask for the cooperation of all concerned to ensure the flow of information to all Anglo-Saxonists. For this appendix of abstracts, the editors issue the caveat that not all abstracts of papers given at the conferences mentioned below were available. Typically, OEN covers the meetings listed here by soliciting abstracts, but for other meetings OEN must rely on the organizers. Abstracts should not exceed one page, double-spaced; the editors will shorten abstracts longer than one page.

An Author-Index follows.

I. The International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, Fourth Meeting, University of Durham, August 7-12, 1989. (Abstracts presented in alphabetical order.)

George T. Beech (Western Michigan Univ.)

"England and Aquitaine in the Century before the Norman Conquest"

The notion that English-Aquitaine relations date only to the middle of the 12th century as a result of the marriage of Henry II with Eleanor of Aquitaine needs qualification. Recent research has demonstrated that Aquitanians participated in the conquest of England in 1066 and that a few stayed on to settle in the country in the later 11th century. This paper is concerned to show that the two peoples knew each other and had established significant contacts well before the battle of Hastings. A pilgrimage network linked Evesham abbey and its cult of St. Ecgwine with Poitiers, the capital of the Duchy of Aquitaine, and in all probability dates to the reign of King Cnut, who had established political contacts with Duke William the Great of Aquitaine (+1030). It was from this time that the cults of several Aquitanian saints (Radegund, Hilary, and Martial) were either introduced or began to flourish in a number of southern English monastic houses including Evesham. Monastic links also existed at this time between St. Martial of Limoges and St. Augustine, Canterbury. Numismatic evidence points to the presence of Englishmen in southern Poitou near Limoges as early as the mid-10th century though there is no other indication of trade between the two peoples before 1066. English and Aquitanian artists, architects, possibly sculptors, and certainly manuscript illuminators, knew and borrowed from one another during the 11th century. In the final analysis their relations with Aquitaine clearly did not rival in importance those of the English with other, closer cross-channel peoples such as the Bretons, Normans, and Flemings. Still, limited as they were, these exchanges show that English contacts extended further to the southwest than previously suspected and may help to explain why Aquitanians participated in the Conquest in 1066.

M.L. Cameron

"Bald's Leechbook and Cultural Interactions in Ninth-Century England"

Bald's Leechbook, the compilation of which can reasonably be dated to the closing years of the reign of Alfred, contains much material derived from Latin translations of Greek medical works of the early Byzantine period. This enables us to examine not only the acquisition of ideas from the Graeco-Roman civilization, but also a trade in drugs with much of the known world. A study of the sources of borrowings in the Leechbook shows that its compilers were acquainted with Latin versions of most of the post-Galenic medical literature of the Mediterranean region and that a great deal of the medical lore of the Hippocratic school and the principles of Galen's medicine, although in epitomes and extracts only, were familiar to at least one Anglo-Saxon physician of the time of Alfred. Information on this has already been published by several researchers and will not be dealt with in detail here.

When the Anglo-Saxon medical writer borrowed Mediterranean remedies he was faced with the problem of availability of ingredients. If we examine Bald's Leechbook with this in mind we find that: (1) he often omitted certain remedies from a group of remedies which he transferred to his own work; (2) he sometimes transferred a remedy from which he omitted certain ingredients; (3) in other instances he transferred remedies unchanged. Omitted remedies usually contained many exotic ingredients; ingredients omitted from other remedies were also exotic; remedies transmitted entire usually contained ingredients which presumably could be obtained in England. It further appears that if an exotic ingredient was one which could be transported without losing its efficacy then it was entered in the Old English compilation. Such things as pepper, cinnamon, ginger, petroleum, and others which were used in the dried or preserved state or which did not deteriorate in the natural state were entered. Such things as fruits or herbs useful only in the fresh state or which deteriorated easily were note entered. From this we may infer a trade in nonperishable drugs. A study of these nonperishables indicates that at the time of Alfred there was available in England a surprisingly large selection of drugs from as far away as India and Indonesia, as well as from the Near East and African regions. Certain of these drugs are selected here for a discussion of how they may have reached England and whether any ancillary ideas came with them.

Patrick Conner (Univ. of West Virginia)

"Guthlac A and the Benedictine Revival"

Two major sources of Guthlac A, The Rule of St. Benedict and Abbot Smaragdus of St. Mihiel's mid-ninth-century Commentaria on The Rule, suggest that the Old English poem provides a hagiographic model designed

primarily to train the soul within the Benedictine monastic rule. In this way, the poet gave literary shape to the central dogmas of the English Benedictine Reformation of the second half of the tenth century.

These two sources infuse the whole poem, and a critic can draw upon them to explain the poet's inclusion of many details which are not an obvious part of the Guthlac hagiography as established by Felix. For example, Abbot Smaragdus' mid-ninth-century Commentaria on the rule, a copy of which was at Glastonbury in the mid-tenth century, accounts for the poet's reference to Guthlac as a saint in ussum tida by positing a Frankish notion of a history of monasticism which viewed the early Apostolic church as one with a universal ascetic bent, and which declared that the limited numbers of true monks in the Abbot's own time were a result of the growing decadence of the world. Moreover, the Rule supplies the image of certain orders which paid lip service to a monastic life, presumably for whatever worldly prestige this provided, and which in fact had little or no provisions for a regular life. The poet's description of the false monks who condemn true monastic behavior is most likely influenced by Benedict's characterization of the Sarabaites' willful behavior in the face of positive models: "whatever they think of or choose to do, that they call holy; what they like not, that they regard as unlawful." Smaragdus offers clarifications of the passage which explain the Old English poet's particular emphasis and focus.

The prologue to Guthlac A may be a structural counterpart to the prologue of the Rule or to the metrical prologue to the Commentaria, although it is by no means a recasting of the Latin prologue but rather gleans its materials from throughout the Rule. The angelology with which the poem begins, for example, owes much of its imagery to chapter VII of the Rule as well as to the precepts on the first degree of humility already cited, although the notion of the malignant devils Guthlac fights is also to be found in the prologue of the Rule as well: "And if we wish to dwell in the tabernacle of his kingdom, except we run thither with good deeds we shall not arrive. but let us ask the Lord with the prophet: "Lord, who shall dwell in thy tabernacle, or who shall rest upon thy holy hill?" (BR, Prologus, pp.8-10). This is the source for the primacy of the beorg in that battle. The central phrase is, of course, the beginning of the fourteenth psalm, "Lord, who shall dwell in thy tabernacle, or who shall rest upon thy holy hill?" The Rule continues to describe the righteous man who qualifies for the transcendent honor, at first using the words of the psalm to describe "him who walketh without blemish, etc." to which it adds the qualification that also to "rest upon the holy hill," one must also wrestle with and conquer the devils that curse him. Thus it is, at the same time that the poet first describes Guthlac's virtue, he also finds it appropriate to connect that with his hilltop home: "Now we can tell what a man near to us in holy orders made known, how Guthlac governed his spirit according to the will of God, forsook all evil and earthly pomps, remembered a home on high in heaven." The idea inherent in both the Rule and Guthlac A that the tabernacle on the hill and the beorg respectively are physical images for the ineffable achievement gained only after struggling with the demons of this world is, of course, at the heart of monastic life as well as the poem.

Given its sources in the Rule and Smaragdus' mid-ninth-century commentary on the Rule, Guthlac A must be a tenth-century composition. The terminus a quo for this composition cannot antedate Dunstan's return from exile in 957 by much, for we assume that much of Dunstan's orthodox information concerning monastic practice, and possibly even Glastonbury's copy of Smaragdus' Commentaria, comes from his contact with continental models during his exile. That means that the poem probably could not have been composed much before c.960, and even that might be a little early. By 960, only Glastonbury, Abingdon, Muchelney, and Athelney had been founded as reformed monasteries. The terminus ad quem is the script itself, which I take not to be much later than 970, when compared to other surely dated Square Minuscule texts. We cannot, on the basis of the evidence available to us, more narrowly isolate the date of composition of the poem, and some scholars will feel uncomfortable with having the poem dated to even so narrow a range of dates as 960-970. Still, when we bring together what we know about the manuscript with the information that the poem is indebted to the Rule of St. Benedict and the Smaragdus' commentary on the Rule, there really are no probable alternatives to this dating.

Craig R. Davis (Smith College)

"Cultural Assimilation in the Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies"

David Dumville (1977) interprets the Anglo-Saxon royal genealogies as ideological instruments reflecting political relations that were obtained at the time of their formulation. I take Dumville's argument a step further by suggesting the centrality of the royal genealogies in the process of broader cultural assimilation. After the conversion of the various Anglo-Saxon royal houses to Christianity in the seventh century, myths in which the old gods, particularly Woden, sired the founders of current dynasties proved uniquely adaptive. In the eighth century, these royal pedigrees became a kind of ideological workshop. Innovative genealogists, in the service of the different royal houses, began to extend the pedigrees back into time beyond the euhemerized Woden in search of ever more prestigious apical ancestors. With the rise of the house of Wessex during the ninth century, the pedigree of the West Saxon kings was lengthened even further to incorporate old Germanic heroes, fallen gods and, eventually, patriarchal figures from the Bible. The West Saxon line was shown to descend in patrilineal succession from Noah, Adam and pater noster id est Christus. The royal genealogies thus became the backbone of the authorized West Saxon world-view, the new linear matrix along which could be coordinated the disparate traditions important to the culture. These genealogies reveal the chronological prioritization of previously distinct cultural traditions according to their ninth-century level of prestige: a vertical hierarchy of cultural values was transposed into temporally linear form.

Robert Deshman (Univ. of Toronto)

"A New Look at the Disappearing Christ"

About the millennium Anglo-Saxon artists began to depict the ascending Christ from the apostles' point of view: disappearing into clouds with only his feet visible. This talk reconsiders the imagery's relation to literary and pictorial tradition and its optical "realism."

Meyer Schapiro astutely realized that the imagery showed Christ ascending unsupported by the cloud which

went with or before him. Only in the late tenth century did Anglo-Saxon authors begin to associate the cloud directly with the old exegetic concept that Christ needed no help to ascend, and so the timing of the pictorial invention is more closely linked to contemporary literary developments than has hitherto been realized. Moreover, it has not been sufficiently recognized that the iconography developed from earlier Ascension scenes that showed Christ ascending independently of the angels. The religious meaning of the disappearing Christ has less to do with Christ's omnipotence than his elevation to heaven of his pure, unburdened human flesh, which was symbolically equated with the cloud.

If the Anglo-Saxons were able to perceive the disappearing Christ as optically "realistic," then the phenomenon should probably be understood in the context of the liturgy, through which the faithful re-experienced events in Christ's life, rather than the artist's subjective personal experiences.

Gillian Fellows-Jensen (Univ. of Copenhagen)

"Place-Names as a Reflection of Cultural Interaction"

Taking as a starting-point the unsatisfactory nature of such fictional place-names as Drumble, Coketown and Doomington, all used of Manchester, the paper shows how two genuine place-names, Manchester and Knutsford, can provide a settlement-history in miniature of the Lancashire-Cheshire border area, showing the involvement of at least five different linguistic groups in the settlement process: Celts, Romans, English, Vikings and Normans.

Studies of categories of names can reveal even more about cultural interaction, but the evaluation of evidence is problematical. Sometimes it can be difficult to choose between a topographical appellative and a personal name as the specific of a place-name. The specific of Knutsford, for example, may be either OE cnotta, Scand knútr 'hillock' or the Scand personal name Knútr.

Even when it seems certain that a specific is a personal name, it can be difficult to assess the significance of the personal name. Was it borne by the powerful leader of a tribal group or by a small manorial tenant? The paper examines the occurrence of personal names in place-names in areas outside England that were settled by Germanic tribes and, referring to M. Gysseling's view that Frankish names ending in -ingheim may reflect the influence of neighboring Romance constructions such as -iaca villa and the Gallo-Roman concept of landed property, suggests that the Frankish naming-pattern may have influenced the early Anglo-Saxon settlers in England. The Viking-period names consisting of a Scandinavian personal name plus -bý, however, are considered to have arisen spontaneously, as men who had received small grants of land marked their rights over their property by coining new place-names which incorporated their own personal names.

Robert D. Fulk (Indiana Univ., Bloomington)

"Linguistic Evidence for Dating"

Ever since the publication of Ashley Crandell Amos' Linguistic Means of Determining the Dates of OE Literary Texts (1980) there seems to have reigned a scholarly consensus that the linguistic evidence for dating is negligible. Two forthcoming articles re-examine major criteria for dating, and conclude that they are valid, after all. This paper is based on the Introduction of the book (nearing completion) of which those two articles form chapters. It examines the more fundamental question of methodology in evaluating the linguistic evidence, supporting its conclusions by reference to handbooks of argumentation and of methodology in the social and behavioral sciences. One reigning misconception is that, in order to convince, philological proof must be absolute, on the order of the deductive logic of mathematical proof. On the contrary, argumentation in the social sciences is inductive, relying on the methodological axiom that proof derives from the establishment of relative probabilities: nearly all scientific conclusions are based on probabilities, since "Logical certainty is achievable only within a closed, totally defined system like a game." Scientific argumentation, on the other hand, is the realm of the "credible, the plausible and the probable," where "by whatever design the hypothesis is tested the results are never certain but are approximations stated in terms of probability. Essentially, anything (or nothing) can be "proved" when probability is ignored. A related misconception is that linguistic proof can and must be "objective" to be convincing. But "Objectivity may not be easily achieved in the behavioral sciences," especially since subjective choices almost always have to be made in the very act of designing experiments—including the linguistic tests for dating verse. Many of the most important counterarguments raised to the linguistic dating of verse—e.g., the claim that observable variation in metrical practice is actually stylistic, or dialectal, or scribal, or merely haphazard—violate these and other methodological axioms. Moreover, Amos' conclusions in particular rest on the argument that linguistic evidence cannot be reliable because clear chronological differentiation would inevitably be disrupted by such factors as style, dialect, etc. The methodological flaw in this reasoning has been pointed out in another context. The paper will examine in detail specific counterarguments that have been raised to the linguistic evidence, demonstrating that they are invalid on methodological grounds, and thus if there is linguistic evidence for dating (and there is), it must be accepted at face value.

Richard Gameson (Trinity College, Oxford)

"English Manuscript Art in the Mid-Eleventh Century"

Having stressed the problems arising from the uncertain origin and dating of much of the surviving material, this paper examined the distribution of scriptoria known to have been producing decorated manuscripts in the mid-eleventh century, the types of texts that were decorated, the forms of decoration they received, and the various contexts in which they were used. The material was then reviewed in terms of: (1) continuities with practices of the late tenth century, (2) modifications of earlier styles and ideas, (3) apparent innovations of mid-century date. Finally, the influence of Anglo-Saxon manuscript art on Continental scriptoria was examined, taking as a test case the distribution of the foliate frame.

H.F. Hamerow (Somerville College, Oxford)

"Mobility of Settlement in the Anglo-Saxon Landscape"

It now appears that many, if not most, medieval 'nucleated' villages did not develop directly from Early, or even Middle Saxon settlements. Nucleation itself appears to be a remarkably late phenomenon. The present study confirms that the stubborn image of the stable Anglo-Saxon village as the direct ancestor of the medieval village is no longer tenable in view of the growing archaeological evidence for mobility of settlement in the Early and Middle Anglo-Saxon periods. This finding is crucial to our understanding of the development of the rural English landscape, and to the interpretation of excavated settlements, field surveys, and place-name evidence.

The sporadic 'wandering' of rural settlements in England and on the Continent occurs throughout the Migration Period. In Anglo-Saxon England, this mobility is most clearly in evidence at the 5th-?8th century settlement of Mucking, Essex. The shifting of the Mucking settlement and the ultimate abandonment of its pagan cemeteries can be related to more generalized changes in the Middle Saxon landscape. Possible explanations for these changes, the 'Middle Saxon shift' model in particular, are critically examined in light of recent excavations and surveys. It is concluded that this model, which infers a widespread shift in settlement from poor, elevated locations to 'prime' sites in the 7th-8th centuries, is no longer tenable, and that the apparent foundation of 'new centers' in the 7th and 8th centuries may often be a consequence of the limited size of field surveys and excavations. There is growing evidence to suggest, furthermore, that, while Late Saxon settlements often lie beneath medieval villages, they in turn rarely overlie Early or Middle Saxon settlements. It thus appears that any generalized shift or nucleation of Anglo-Saxon settlement occurred substantially later than archaeologists have tended to believe.

Robert Hasenfratz (Univ. of Connecticut)

"The Line Drawings of the New Minster: Liber Vitae in their Context"

The two line drawings in Liber Vitae of New Minster and Hyde abbey (B.L. MS. Stowe 944, f. 6v-7r) are among the best-known and most-admired line drawings in the corpus of Anglo-Saxon art. The frontispiece (f. 6r) shows King Cnut and Queen Emma presenting a cross to the monastery while monks and lay people look at a colonnade from below. The "Last Judgment" scene which follows on ff. 6v-7r contrasts the fate of the blessed and damned souls, showing the judgment of the dead in the middle of three registers, while monks and saints look on (f. 6v). David Wilson sees this drawing as the culmination of the Utrecht Psalter style in its English context (185).

But, though the drawings have been generally admired, they have not, I believe, been entirely understood. Most commentators, for example, interpret the frontispiece as a commemoration of the king and queen's gift of a cross to the New Minster. Yet this drawing, along with the "Last Judgment" scene, can perhaps be better understood in terms of the use to which the book which contains them was put in the daily lives of the monks. Libri Vitae, as Helmut Gneuss has recently pointed out, are books of "confraternity" ("Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English Terminology," in Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England, eds. Lapidge and Gneuss, 140) in which the monastic community kept a record of its members, benefactors, and the members of other monasteries which had established confraternity wit the monastery. These two illustrations, I believe, may have a good deal to do with the Liber Vitae's use as a register of monks and confraternal members, living and dead, for which the community was to offer up intercessory prayer. The New Minster Liber Vitae (edited by Birch) stipulates that the names listed in the book are to be commemorated daily in the mass and in the singing of psalms ("Quatinus cotidie in sacris missarum celebrationibus vel psalmodiarum concentibus eorum commemoratio fiat," 12).

The frontispiece showing King Cnut and Queen Emma may very well have stood open on the altar during the mass, which was to be celebrated "pro rege" (12). Similarly, the "Last Judgment" scene seems intended to stimulate the prayers for the defunct whose names were to be read during the mass. Knowing the probable use which the illustrations served may help us to understand them better. For instance, all commentators on the Last Judgment scene suggest that St. Peter rescues the small figure in the middle register — the "soul in jeopardy" — by repulsing the demon with his large key. But this same figure, now supine, seems to appear (with heavy outlining) immediately below in the register depicting hell. Since the illustration represents a future event, the fate of the soul in jeopardy, apparently damned, is still in the hands of the monks, who are to sing psalms for the defunct souls registered in the Liber Vitae. The illustration thus encourages the monks in their intercessory prayers.

Further, the bottom register of f. 7r seems to have a direct, heretofore unrecognized connection to the Anglo-Saxon homiletic tradition. In the Old English Apocalypse of St. Thomas (contained in Vercelli XV and two other analogues), St. Peter, dispatched to lock the gates of hell, cannot bear the grievous sound of the damned so he turns his back to the doors, locks them, and throws the key over his shoulder into hell: "Þonne wended sanctus Petrus Þanon to helladura. 7 he beluced Þa helleduru... 7 Þonne wended him sanctus Petrus Þanon fram Þære helladura. 7 he donne weorped da cearfullan cæge ofer bæc in on Þa helle. Ðis he ded fordam Þe he ne mæg locian on dæt micle sar 7 on dam myclan wanunge 7 on dam myclan wope Þe Þa earman sawla dreogad mid dam deoflum in helletintrego" (Vercelli Homilies IX-XIII, ed. Paul Szarmach, 38/150-154). The leftmost portion of the bottom register seems to depict the same action, though here it is presumably St. Michael, not St. Peter, who locks the door and throws the key in with his back turned. Other parallels to the homiletic tradition are discussed in the paper.

Isabel Henderson (Newnham College, Cambridge)

"Interaction between the Northumbrians and the Picts: the Visual Evidence"

Aristocratic Northumbrians were exiled in Pictland at the beginning of the seventh century. From 634 to 664 the church in Pictland and Northumbria was Columban. From 655 to 685 the Northumbrians occupied southern Pictland. After the Synod of Whitby, Wilfrid, as Bishop to the southern Picts, imposed Roman practices. Cuthbert kept in touch with at least one foundation in occupied Pictland. By 731 the two peoples had a treaty of peace, and the Pictish church, with the encouragement of Northumbrian churchmen, had accepted the authority of

Rome. These prolonged contacts, secular and ecclesiastical, had repercussions for the art of both nations.

The artist of the Book of Durrow (7th century, ?Northumbrian) derived his naturalistic calf Evangelist Symbol and the body scrolls of his Lion Symbol from Pictish animal art. The artist of the Echternach Gospels (early 8th century, ?Northumbrian) used a complete Pictish animal design. A single master design lies behind the incised bulls from Burghead, Moray; the minor variations are the result of moving sections of the master to fit the individual stones. The view that shield appliqués lie behind the Pictish symbols can be strengthened by reference to sixth-century Anglo-Saxon shield appliqués such as the pair of fish from a grave at Spong Hill, Norfolk. Such portable versions of the symbols can account for the transmission of the designs from field monuments to scriptoria.

The shared Columban phase in the seventh century finds expression in the use of the Latin cross with hollowed arms but without a ring in both areas and on Iona. The recognition that the board incised with a cross of this type was part of St. Cuthbert's coffin of 698 (R. Bailey) gives the coffin an appropriate spiritual affinity with the Columban churches of North Britain.

The Northumbrian model whereby building in stone stimulated the production of sculpture is re-enacted in Pictland at the beginning of the eighth century. The method of constructing Pictish stone box-shrines is tangible evidence of the influence of Northumbrian builders. The Herebericht slab at Monkwearmouth provides a close formal analogy for the Pictish cross-slab, and the architectural sculpture there bearing Insular designs in shallow relief mirrors early Pictish sculpture. However, the complexity of the interlace on the earliest slabs suggests that a decorative repertoire differing from the fossilized decorative art of the symbol-stones was in use on Pictish metalwork before the appearance of the relief slabs.

The influence of the Jarrow school of sculpture is clearly seen in the decorative and iconographical repertoires of the great Ross-shire slabs. The damaged top of the Elgin Cathedral slab shows a hitherto unrecognized image of a bust-length figure with a breastplate of spirals grappling with snakes. The conflation of the Insular imagery for Christ Crucified and Christ Triumphant is unique, and further demonstrates the creative and intellectual synthesis which characterizes Pictish sculpture of the second half of the eighth century.

Catherine Hills (Univ. of Cambridge)

"Angles, Saxons, and others at Spong Hill"

This paper arises from my work on the fifth/sixth-century cremation cemetery at Spong Hill in central Norfolk. I have tried to assess whether the material as a whole can be more closely paralleled in Schleswig-holstein, specifically at the sites of Süderbrarup and Bordesholm, or in Lower Saxony, especially at Westerwanna. This might have some bearing on the relative contributions of Anglian and Saxon culture to Anglo-Saxon East Anglia. Parallels between single artifacts can be misleading, which is why it is so important to look at large sites to establish what is truly "typical" of any one site or period.

There are difficulties involved in such an exercise: the pattern of survival of archaeological evidence is not the same as the original patterns of manufacture, use and discard. Artifacts were not necessarily used in the past to demonstrate affiliation to an ethnic group: an "Anglian" pot or brooch might have been worn by a Saxon, or even a Briton. Selection from the infinite potential range of attributes is to some extent subjective and arbitrary. A more elaborate statistical methodology might have been used, but clear patterns do emerge from very simple calculations.

Comparison of Spong Hill, Süderbarup and Westerwanna does show pattern. Extensive correspondences do exist between the first two, whereas differences between Spong and Westerwanna are more marked. This involves the range of types of grave-good and pot decoration, their proportions within each cemetery, and combinations within graves. Differences which do exist can often be explained chronologically: earlier features of Süderbrarup are lacking at Spong Hill, later types at Süderbrarup. The overlap, centered on the fifth century, is still considerable and supports Bede's location of Angles in East Anglia. The major discrepancy is stamp decoration on pots, which is rare in Schleswig-holstein, fairly common in Lower Saxony, and found on one third of Spong Hill pots. Why did a "Saxon" feature become the predominant characteristic of Anglo-Saxon pottery in East Anglia when otherwise the ancestry of pottery, grave-goods, and burial rites seems to be closer to Anglian?

John Hines

"Anglo-Scandinavian Acculturation in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries"

This paper offers an account of the mixing of elements of Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian character in certain fixed and interpretable patterns in various fields of human culture following the first phase of Viking-period Scandinavian settlements in England. Much of the data, and some of the implications of the data, have been noticed before, but not attributed with the significance that the concept of the integrated functioning of superficially diverse subsystems of human culture would emphasize. Cultural subsystems as diverse as religious art, literature and language can be regarded as primary, positive data for the construction of an initial model of the process of acculturation. The model may be evaluated by the extent to which it is able to account for phenomena in the totality of late ninth- and early tenth-century remains in the relevant areas, both known material of the kind listed here and perceived voids such as burial evidence. Problems which test the limits of the model include its relevance to extensive change in the townscapes of certain towns, e.g., Lincoln and York, and the prominent find-material which seems to represent the ritual deposition of weapons in rivers. What from different viewpoints could be regarded as either explanation or interpretation of the process of acculturation can be offered in terms of demography, psychology and ethnology; in particular, the proposition that the process expresses a claim to a certain ethnic identity links present areas under research and review in socio- and historical linguistics and archaeology.

Sarah Larrat Keefer (Trent University) and David R. Burrows

"Hebrew and Hebraicum: the Presence of the Sefer Tehillim in Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter"

A close examination of the neglected Latin Hebraicum text preserved in the twelfth-century triplex psalter Trinity College, Cambridge MS R.17.1 shows a substantial variance from Jerome's third psalter-translation, for which he returned to the original Hebrew. In many places, but nevertheless with noticeable inconsistency, the Hebraicum in Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter adheres even more closely than does Jerome to readings found in the Sefer Tehillim, the Hebrew Book of Psalms, and indicates a substantial familiarity on the part of the unknown corrector with the structure of the Hebrew language.

This Hebraicum is therefore evidently a copy by the Eadwine-scribe of a lost psalter-version, significantly different from that of Jerome. A vernacular quotation from it in the tenth-century Kentish Psalm 50 poem suggests that the latest date for its correction and compilation was ca 975. The nineteenth-century Bible scholar Berger identified marginalia in two Theodulfian Hebraica as being further hebraized and appearing 'in large part' in Eadwine's Hebraicum; this provides a terminus a quo of the early ninth century, the period of the Theodulfian school at Fleury.

An intensive comparison of the codex copied into Eadwine but nicknamed 'Yediah' ("The Lord alone knows") with Jerome's Hebraicum, the Septuagint, these hebraized Theodulfian scholia and the Sefer Tehillim itself, provides evidence suggesting that Yediah was earlier, not later than the scholia as Berger had suggested, and that its inconsistencies might be the result of the glossing of a Theodulfian Hebraicum by a monastic learning Hebrew, and the subsequent copying of the glossed learning-book into a recension that preserved the glosses within the text itself.

Kevin Kiernan (Univ. of Kentucky)

"Digital Image-Processing and the Beowulf Manuscript"

During the past few years, I have been experimenting with digital image-processing in editing the text of Beowulf. By digitizing a video tape made at the British Library of damaged passages from the manuscript, I was able in 1983 to improve the legibility of several passages with the image-processing equipment in the Cardiology Laboratory at the Chandler Medical Center of the University of Kentucky. With these results I was able to persuade the officials at the British Library and Kontron Electronics, a British computer firm, to join forces in Summer 1987 in the Conservation Laboratory of the British Library, where these image-processing techniques were then directly applied to the Beowulf manuscript itself. With the aid of a VCR and a half-dozen slides, the presentation incorporates a brief explanation of the techniques with a demonstration on two badly damaged passages in Beowulf.

Peter Kitson (Univ. of Birmingham)

"The Nature of Old English Dialect Distributions"

This paper shows for the first time from linguistic evidence the approximate geographical extent of the main Southumbrian dialect divisions. The material used is the wealth of localizable forms in Anglo-Saxon charter boundaries. the paper is illustrated with slides of distribution maps throughout, drawing on a complete mapping of the toponymic vocabulary and prepositions in charter boundaries and analysis of their phonology. The dialect divisions emerging from this material relate intelligibly both to modern ones and, more importantly, to the stages in the conquest of England reported by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and other early sources. It shows, among other things, that the "Kentish" of the grammarians is a residue of the language of the earliest (pre-Mount Badon) settlement of the whole southeast from the west border of Hampshire round to East Anglia; that there is substantial difference between the West Saxons of the upper Thames Valley and those who entered by Southampton Water, with north Wiltshire not the Winchester area being the heartland of standard West Saxon; and that the linguistic affinities of the north Chiltern area conquered by the Anglo-Saxons in 571 are Hwiccean not West Saxon.

This does not exactly address the theme of cultural interactions between the Anglo-Saxons and other peoples (except in passing, in connection with loan-words from British in south-western dialects). But it shows certain cultural interactions between different early groups of Anglo-Saxons much more clearly than before, and presents much more clearly the material from which the relation of Old English dialects to continental Germanic ones can be assessed.

Thomas W. Mackay (Brigham Young Univ.)

"Alcuin's Commentary on the Apocalypse: A Study in Sources and Style"

A century and a half ago Cardinal Mai published the editio princeps of Alcuin's Commentary on the Apocalypse. This text exists in a single Vatican manuscript (Vat. Lat. 651) and is incomplete, for it contains only five books, explaining Apoc. 1-12. (These five books do not correspond to the seven-fold division of Bede noted by Alcuin in the preface.)

Nevertheless, to understand the work in the exegetical tradition of the west, we can compare Alcuin's composition with other commentaries that he mentioned as sources: Jerome (who reworked Victorinus), Primasius (including copious extracts from Tyconius), Bede of Jarrow, and Ambrosius Autpertus. Primasius and Ambrosius Autpertus have been recently edited for Corpus Christianorum; I am editing Bede for the same series. I am also verifying the text of Alcuin published by Cardinal Mai, paying particular attention to possible variants from the text Alcuin quotes that could indicate which portion of the manuscript tradition of his sources he knew.

In my paper I will address the question of whether (and to what extent) the approach taken by Alcuin reflects that of his sources or represents his own exegetical development. Of particular interest is the relation of his text and method to what is in bede's commentary. Since Alcuin also mentions passages from Augustine and Gregory (the latter through extracts made and circulated by Aufufus), it is also instructive to determine the extent to which he used them and how accurately the text was quoted.

As will be shown with handouts of parallel passages, Alcuin's method is not to compose his own commentary, merely paraphrasing on occasion, nor is it to fashion a mosaic of quotations from his numerous sources. Rather, he freely quotes and summarizes essentially from a

single great source. Even when a name such a Victorinus may prominently appear in Alcuin, the verbal context demonstrates that the reference is at second hand, for Alcuin continues to rely on his primary source.

This paper is a preliminary statement of problems relative to a full critical edition of Alcuin's text with notation of fontes and introductory consideration of his place in the Latin exegetical tradition of the Apocalypse.

O.D. Macrae-Gibson (Aberdeen Univ.)

"Teaching Old English with Computers"

State-of-the-art developments in Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL) are in the area of attempted simulation of real linguistic situations — expensive, not very satisfactory, and fortunately not relevant to Old English. More practical types of exercise, allowing initiative to the student but only in various sorts of manipulation of a provided text, are perfectly adaptable to Old English and as useful as in other languages (a specimen was demonstrated). But particularly valuable to us is a quality of the computer whose misuse has brought it into some disrepute in living languages, its capacity to exercise a student efficiently on points where there exist positively "right" and positively "wrong" answers. Grammatical exercises need not present a forbidding aspect if tactfully written (examples were demonstrated). The computer can be given an actual knowledge of the grammar, but it is doubtful whether exercises so based have any advantage to the student over those — easier to program — which have answers to the particular questions to be raised built in. The latter is the structure of necessity for exercises in translation, a traditional and still valid method of testing understanding, and one which a well-programmed computer can handle very effectively, allowing variant acceptable versions with all reasonable flexibility, and offering helpful comments on unacceptable ones. Two examples were demonstrated. The one, intended for students at an early stage, calls first for syntactic analysis and then for translation of the elements thus identified; the other, for more advanced students, allows any desired amount of translation, in any structure, to be entered before the computer is asked to check it.

John S. McKinnell (Durham Univ.)

"The Origins and Genre of Vainglory"

Despite its sometimes unusual vocabulary, Vainglory is particularly lucid in both theme and structure. Its theme, how to distinguish between "godes agen bearn" (line 6b) and his opposite, seems clearly derived from I John, ch.3, v.10, but the poet is unlikely to have used this text directly and without a commentary. The first part of this paper will argue that the whole poem is probably to be read as a meditation loosely based on Bede's commentary on this chapter of scripture, or on some closely related source. When the poet states that he has been told many wonders by a "frod wita" (line 1a), who explained to him the teaching of a "witega" (line 3b), I would therefore interpret this as a conventionalist statement of actual indebtedness to Bede and St. John.

The second section of the paper will try to elucidate some problems in interpreting the poem by reference to Bede's commentary, and will argue that those elements of Vainglory which cannot be derived from it are all commonplaces that were in general currency both in patristic writings and in Old English poetry.

The last section will analyze the structure of the poem and demonstrate that it is similar to that of a number of other poems in the same part of the Exeter Book, some of which have traditionally been classed as "religious elegy" while others, generally less popular, have been labelled "poems of wisdom and learning" or "pious moralizing." I will argue that these poems were probably regarded by their poets and audiences as belonging to a single genre, which might be thought of as meditation or verse sermon, while the term "elegy" should be reserved for shorter secular poems. Finally, I will suggest that a search might now begin for the patristic passages which may have inspired other poems in the same group, notably The Wanderer and The Seafarer.

Douglas Moffat (Univ. of Michigan)

"The Authority of Old English Poetical MSS"

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the relevance of Kenneth Sisam's assessment of scribal practice in Old English poetical manuscripts in the current critical climate. Sisam's essay, written in 1946, remains the fundamental statement of what I would call the traditional view of manuscript transmission as applied to Old English verse. He attempts to demonstrate that the scribes of the poetical manuscripts worked in a mechanical manner and were prone therefore to making careless copying errors. The copies they produced were inferior to their exemplars and lacked "authority." They were necessarily distant from the original compositions of the poets themselves.

The assumptions underlying Sisam's argument are readily apparent to contemporary literary investigators because of current critical debate. Sisam clearly believed in a polarity between the active, creative author or singer and the passive copiest, and in the act of manuscript transmission as being necessarily characterized by increasing corruption of a once pure original. This view and the related desire to recapture the lost purity of the original composition is not fashionable these days. The notion of a somewhat pure original might still be acceptable, but the idea of a mechanical copiest having no meaningful interaction with the work being copied seems no longer tenable. Certainly we are much more willing to study closely the work of the transmitter as an inherently valuable production, not simply a debasement of a pure text we would rather have but as an equally interesting creation.

Sisam's argument has been questioned recently, though not on strictly theoretical grounds. Kevin Kiernan attacks Sisam directly because it is necessary for him to prove that the scribes of the Beowulf manuscript, particularly its second scribe, played an active role in shaping the poem we now read. It must follow then that for Kiernan the Beowulf scribes possessed a sure grasp of Old English poetic technique. Similarly, Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe argues that textual variants in the copies of Cædmon's Hymn result from the sort of "lexical exchange" which would occur in formulaic composition. Once again, scribes are afforded considerable familiarity with verse composition. Finally, W.G. Stanley, though not making an argument for the poetic capabilities of scribes, nevertheless argues for our deference to scribal decision, particularly in the case of language.

My own view is somewhat traditional. I don't think the polarity Sisam posits is tenable. The efforts of Old English scribes are inherently interesting, particularly if one views them from the perspective of literary historian or historical linguist. but as a literary critic I find the scribes of the poetical manuscripts wanting. It is not enough that these scribes were native speakers of the language we study. It must also be clear that they possessed considerable knowledge about Old English verse technique, and my investigation leads me to conclude that their abilities there were none too great.

While unanimous agreement on the fundamental aspects of Old English verse technique is simply not possible, I think it is generally accepted that the line is formed of two alliterating half-lines. My study of the double texts of Old English verse indicates that missing alliteration and missing half-lines are very unlikely to occur in both manuscripts. If one is trying to prove that Old English scribes possessed considerable poetic knowledge and skill, the evidence of missing half-lines and faulty alliteration presents a serious obstacle. Surely such errors made by an attentive and knowledgeable Old English scribe would be very unlikely. They would be similar, I think, to a scribe of Chaucer omitting a line from a couplet or allowing faulty rhyme. It may be that the Old English scribes of the poetical manuscripts did possess some poetic abilities, but the evidence suggests either that they did not or that they did not exercise it while copying the manuscripts that we have. And as literary critics I think our primary concern is with the poet who possessed the technical skill to produce the poem, not with the scribe who copies it. I do not advocate that we open the floodgates of conjectural emendation in the actual editing of texts but that in assessing the literary quality of the Old English verse that we maintain the skepticism about the manuscripts that Sisam counseled.

Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (Texas A & M Univ.)

**"Thinking Insular/Insular Thinking:
Some Cognitive Structures in Solomon and Saturn"**

To the extent that they are studied at all, the three dialogues of Solomon and Saturn (CCCC 422) have generally been treated with condescension, embarrassment, discomfort, or distaste. Early studies read the dialogues as monuments to "superstition," a more modern (and polite) version of which is "popular imagination." Until very recently the prose dialogue was all but ignored. The common strategy behind approaches to the poems has analyzed them in terms of their use of source material from Oriental legend, but these approaches have yielded mixed success: background study has revealed more about what the texts are not than about what they are. In fact, the tendency to legitimize the Solomon and Saturn material in terms of its putative sources has obscured the texts to the unusual degree that their English foreground all but vanishes in the scrutiny of their exotic background. As a result, the "dialogue form" crumbles before comparisons with Platonic dialogue and Christian apologetics, any "extravagance of expression" is suspect as Irish, and an otherwise unique treatment of the Pater Noster necessarily reflects Hebrew and Greek alphabetic mysticism and Northern runic magic.

Quite apart from the value of this background information, the dialogues of Solomon and Saturn require consideration on their own terms, and a fundamental beginning lies in a study of the cognitive structures informing them. Although they differ among themselves in form and content and are almost certainly written in origin, they evidence the concrete, situational, operational cognitive structures of oral thinkers. In Solomon and Saturn II the oral, riddlic tradition is redacted through a literate transmission of information. The knowledge that results is an exotic processing of literate "fact" through oral "logic." The text lacks the formal analytic characteristics of classical dialogues because the oral mindset suffusing the poem perceives the point of debate in a sequence of moments. Each issue is debated discretely, with the language of the attack suggesting the reply and the counter. Solomon and Saturn I juxtaposes oral and literate in its conceptualizing the power of the Pater Noster. In this text, speaking the words of the prayer (a notion implicit in the oral mindset) invokes its power, but this power is understood situationally and concretely as residing in its letters (a notion suggesting a literate mindset). Both texts exhibit the agonistic rhetoric of verbal contest.

J.D. Pheifer (Trinity College, Dublin)

"The Transmission of the Early Anglo-Latin Glossaries"

Little detailed work has been done on the relationship between the principal early Anglo-Latin glossaries, Epinal-Erfurt, Erfurt II-Werden II and Corpus, and the alphabetical Latin glossaries of continental origin. W.M. Lindsay's analysis of the relationship between Epinal-Erfurt and the Leiden Glossary has recently been supplemented by Dr. Lapidge's article on the connection of the Leiden group of glossaries with the School of Theodore and Hadrian in ASE 15, which I applied to the Anglo-Latin alphabetical glossaries in ASE 16, but the bias of all these studies is towards the Anglo-Latin glossaries represented by Erfurt II-Werden II and the material common to Erfurt II-Werden II and the continental glossaries in Epinal-Erfurt and away from the core itself. Yet it is in this core if anywhere that the precise relationship of the Anglo-Latin glossaries to their continental counterparts is to be traced as Gustav Loewe, the pioneer of glossary studies, indicated in his Prodromus when he placed the Amplonian (Erfurt) glossaries between the Abavus and Affatim glossaries on the one hand and the St. Gallen and Abstrusa-Abolita glossaries on the other. By chance or design his arrangement reflects the bifurcation of the continental tradition between the glossaries of north-eastern France and Italy and the intermediate position of the English group. Lindsay showed some awareness of this pattern in the series of articles he contributed to the Classical quarterly and the American Journal of Philology in 1917 but the wartime breakdown in communications relegated consideration of his work to Wessner's addenda to the first volume of Goetz's Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum (1923), which is still the most recent survey of the Latin glossaries, and Lindsay's monograph on the Corpus, Epinal, Erfurt, and Leiden glossaries (1921) virtually ignores the question of transmission. Wessner had no difficulty in showing up Lindsay's inconsistencies but his own account of how the core was transmitted from Italy to England via Switzerland and France is no longer tenable since the redating of the Epinal MS. to the last quarter of the seventh century by Malcolm Parkes. Parkes's dating, taken in conjunction with Lapidge's article, suggests that the core was transmitted directly from Italy to England and back again to France. No firm conclusions can be drawn, however, without full collations of all the glossaries concerned, including the

Monte Cassino and Vatical glossaries from which the Corpus Glossariorum gives only extracts. My paper is a preliminary reconnaissance of this unfamiliar territory.

Margaret Clunies Ross (Univ. of Sydney)

"The Anglo-Saxon and Norse Rune Poems: A Comparative Study"

Recent studies of the Old English Rune Poem have stressed the extant text's divergences from a presumed traditional model under the influence of Christian modes of thought. At the same time, the Old Norwegian and the Icelandic Rune Poems, though much later than the Old English text, have not been examined for comparable developments in a Christian milieu within the medieval Scandinavian poetic traditions. This study re-examines the Norwegian and Icelandic poems' contents, style and register and concludes that they maintain their generic affinities with wisdom poetry, like their Old English counterpart, while exploiting the resources of skaldic diction and rhetoric from a Christian perspective.

Thomas A. Shippey (Univ. of Leeds)

"The Distichs of Cato and the Durham Proverbs: A Comparison"

Proverbiality is widespread in the surviving Old English corpus. More than a hundred gnomic sayings appear in one poem or another, besides those poems which consist entirely of "maxims" or "precepts." Other proverbs are used or alluded to by Bede, Ælfric and King Alfred. Clearly the "wise saying" had high distribution and high prestige in Anglo-Saxon England.

The two major collections of Old English sayings have, however, had little attention. They are the Distichs of Cato (ed. R.S. Cox, Anglia 1972) and the Durham Proverbs (ed. O. Arngart, 1956, and further Speculum 1981). These are similar to each other in some respects, in that the former group is clearly translated from a Latin original, while the latter has a Latin parallel text. There is also some overlap of material between the two collections. However, differences are as striking as similarities.

It is to begin with probable — though this will be tested — that in the Durham Proverbs translation is from Old English to Latin, while with the Distichs the reverse is true. The format of the sayings is also often different, the Distichs usually consisting of "imperative and explanation," while the Proverbs exemplify many formats, including the maxim, the metaphorical proverb, the "Wellerism." Finally, the nature of the advice given is strikingly different in practicality, applicability, and degree of cynicism.

It is striking, though, that the Old English Distichs contain many changes from the Latin manuscripts still extant, which are consistent enough to suggest a degree of censorship, both by omission and more obviously by alteration. This censorship may have been deliberate, but at times shades into simple cultural misunderstanding. Furthermore, non-Catonic elements have been allowed to infiltrate the Distichs, some of them surprisingly like the Durham Proverbs in format and point.

This paper investigates the way in which a famous Latin text was rehandled by Anglo-Saxon translators and the way in which an apparently native corpus was Latinized. It will be suggested that a "culture clash" of sorts took place in both cases, with the higher prestige of Latin being used by Anglo-Saxons, but at the same time being significantly altered by and accommodated to the cultural expectations of native translators and users.

The relation of both collections to Old English poetry will be noted. It will be suggested that the processes of "cultural interaction" observed may provide a model for reading some Old English poems.

Jeffrey L. Singman (Univ. of Toronto)

"Mutual Intelligibility between Old English and Old Norse"

Erik Björkman's assertion that the English and the Northmen could easily understand one another in their own languages has since, by dint of repetition, become well-established fact, finding its way into the standard histories both of the English language and of Anglo-Saxon England. Yet this opinion derives ultimately from the Icelandic sagas, which have long since ceased to be looked upon as reliable historical sources: no better evidence has been produced.

Modern linguistic field work has revealed that mutual intelligibility between related languages is typically asymmetrical, the degree of understanding on each side being governed by both linguistic aptitude and social incentives. A social group with more linguistic experience tends to be better able to understand a new dialect or language. However, also important is the relative prestige of the two languages: speakers of a low-status language more readily understand speakers of a high-status language.

As a class, the Scandinavian settlers had the advantage of greater linguistic experience. At the same time, there is evidence that the language of the English, rather than losing its privileged status in the face of the Danish conquest, became a desirable social skill for the Danes. Consequently, both skills and incentives would have favored the Danes understanding English rather than vice versa.

This hypothesis would in fact make sense of the apparently contradictory medieval evidence: the English, on the one hand, appear to have considered Danish incomprehensible, while there was a belief current in post-Viking Scandinavia that the two languages had been one before the Norman Conquest.

Anna Smol

"Boethian Order and Poetic Knowledge in The Order of the World"

In his British Academy lecture of 1972, James Cross suggested translations and sources of a few passages in The Order of the World, identifying certain medieval notions of a geocentric universe in the poem. His notes on the poem's statements about the real world and their sources in both scriptural and non-scriptural texts corroborate a reading that approaches the poem from different premises adopted by previous commentators and that recognizes a source which is both non-scriptural and more unusual, vernacular — the Old English Meters of Boethius.

I believe that The Order of the World is a carefully structured work which not only makes statements about the correct reading of signs but also creates for us, within the poem itself, the experience of trying to read correctly an actual sign from the text of creation. What has never been appreciated fully is that the poet's vision of this

literal text created by God derives from a Boethian view of creation. Strong correspondences exist between The Order of the World and Meters 11 and 13, both lexically and in the selection and placement of details. The poem also shares generally with the Old English Meters ideas about the harmonious ordering of a diverse creation and a concern with the limitations of human vision. Recognizing the use that the poet has made of the Meters allows us to understand more fully his scope for invention in the context of Boethian studies in Anglo-Saxon England.

Paul E. Szarmach (SUNY-Binghamton)

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

Alcuin of York's Liber de Virtutibus et Vitiis is clearly one of the important opuscula in the Middle Ages. There are more than 140 manuscripts containing witnesses to the text, extending chronologically from near the time of composition through the end of the Middle Ages and representing Sweden and Poland as well as Spain, Italy, and Western Europe generally. It should come as no surprise that this treatise finds its way into Anglo-Saxon Latin and vernacular literature. The relationship of this insular intellectual activity to the continental tradition of this text remains, however, a relatively unexplored area of investigation. In this paper I will try to sketch the textual background to the Anglo-Saxon versions and the re-workings of the Liber in both the Latin and the vernacular. Recently published work has begun to assist the process of understanding, but I intend to use my as yet unpublished research on the earlier textual tradition of the Liber. While my perspectives here are those of textual criticism, I hope to throw some light on intellectual history, showing how in one case an insular son, so to speak, writing on the continent, influenced his later countrymen. Thus, the continental tradition of the Liber, the insular Latin tradition of the Liber, and the Old English translations and adaptations are the three main areas of this investigation.

Stephen N. Tranter (Univ. of Freiburg)

"Egill and Athelstan"

Icelandic clerics of the saga writing period demonstrably had a sense of cultural affinity with England, and in particular with the English culture of the Benedictine Reform which had influenced their spiritual development during the Conversion. This is evinced by their treatment of hagiographic material of that period, from Ari's use of Eadmund's martyrdom, probably following Ælfric, as a foundation date for his chronology, to the inclusion of a saga of Edward the Confessor in Flateyjarbók. Typical of the pro-English stance is the favorable depiction of even such an inglorious monarch as Ethelred in Gunnlaugs saga and Dunstanus saga, and the unfavorable contrasting of William the Bastard with Edward the Confessor in Flateyjarbók. The remarks of the First Grammarian, echoed in Gunnlaugs saga, that Icelandic and English were once the same language, are symptomatic of the same sense of cultural affinity. The portrayal of Egill's confrontation with Athelstan in ch. 55 of Egils saga Skallagrímssonar should be viewed with this Anglophile tendency in mind. It then becomes evident that the confrontation of the pagan poet with the Christian king has been manipulated so as to show the latter in the best possible light. Egill's stanza hrammtangar lætr hanga is a challenge veiled as praise, blaming Athelstan's poor planning for Þórólf's death and threatening vengeance by skillful use of the figure of Hödr, Baldr's slayer, in a king-kenning. The saga-writer, recognizing the inherent venom of the verse, places the account of Athelstan's recompense immediately following, against the evidence of the subsequent skaldic strophe, to show the king's Christian counter-challenge: generosity. Athelstan enjoins Egill to share silver between father and kin; Egill fails to live up to the king's expectations, proving himself thereby morally inferior.

Hildegard L.C. Tristram (Univ. Freiburg)

"The Origins of the Rhetoric of Anglo-Saxon Preaching"

Old English homiletic writing is an art form, meant for public delivery, in which Anglo-Saxon prose produced its finest achievements. Four different kinds of style can be singled out: the plain style of some of the anonymous homilies and some of Ælfric's controlled and masterly mature rhythmical style and Wulfstan's emotional grand style. Preaching was indeed considered the prime field in which to display prose aesthetics, but it was not original prose in the sense of giving verbal expression to non-linguistic experience or rendering a new sense to a prae-textus. Much of it was not translation prose either, not even in the sense in which medieval writers understood translation. Intensive source hunting in the sixties and seventies has shown that Anglo-Saxon preachers delighted in piecing their sermons together from quotations, translated or copied verbatim or approximately, as if by memory, and taken from a well-defined group of sources. I have termed this method "source eclecticism."

Rhythmic prose rhetoric, the florid style and source eclecticism do not seem to have been confined to Anglo-Saxon homilists. Irish vernacular and Hiberno-Latin sermons from the 7th century (Columbanus) to the 11th century (homilies from the Lebor Brec) contain the same basic characteristics, even though they took on different shapes in English, Irish and Hiberno-Latin. The question arises: is the similarity due to borrowing or to a shared reception of common models? It will be argued that it was probably not a monocausal affair of "either...or" but a complex affair of both. The shared tradition will be traced back to the verbal aesthetics of public addresses in 5th-century Gaul (Sidonius Apollinaris, etc).

Karen Vaneman (Grand Valley State College)

"The Dangers of Living on an Island with Britons"

As it becomes increasingly clear that the Celtic peoples of Great Britain survived and remained there in large numbers after the Germanic migrations onto the island, so it becomes clear that attention to likely problematics arising from their coexistence could refine our understanding of aspects of early Anglo-Saxon legal codes.

One area in which the customs and values of Celtic and Germanic societies differed significantly was in the extent to and way in which each used marriage to direct the reproduction of the group's metapersons and the flow of property and authority. With this came distinctions in definitions of and attitudes about marriage and in assumptions about sexual and gender behaviors. The

unilateral Celtic union was far more easily formed and dissolved than was the bilateral contractual Anglo-Saxon marriage through which the politically senior families with daughters could in effect control and direct the reproduction of the group's males.

Since acceptance of Celtic practices would have undermined the Anglo-Saxon power structure, maintaining among Anglo-Saxons the Germanic practice and establishing it as the proper one on an island where another norm was customary must have at times drawn the attention of kings working to establish an Anglo-Saxon kingdom. The law codes issued under Æthelberht, Wihtred, Ine, and Alfred do indeed reflect not only the coexistence of different sets of assumptions about possible and acceptable sexual relationships and gender behaviors; but they also reflect differences among these rulers' tolerance of and legal approaches to the diversity of customs within their realms.

Gernot Wieland (Univ. of British Columbia)

"The Anglo-Saxons in Bavaria (739-850)"

This paper examines the Anglo-Saxons' cultural influence on Bavaria, specifically on the sees (from South to North) Salzburg, Freising, Passau, Regensburg, and Eichstätt. (Würzburg, though belonging to present-day Bavaria, will be excluded since historically it is part of Franconia.) Boniface had established the first four of these sees in 739, and Eichstätt in 744. The first bishop of Eichstätt, Willibald, certainly was an Anglo-Saxon, and the first bishop of Regensburg, Gaubald, is said to have been an Anglo-Saxon as well. A priori, then, conditions exist in which the Anglo-Saxons could have influenced early Bavarian culture, but to date only one publication (Levison, England and the Continent in the Eighth Century) has examined this influence, and it has done so from a primarily historical perspective.

In order to determine the Anglo-Saxon cultural influence on Bavaria, this paper will concentrate on manuscript evidence, specifically on manuscripts brought by the Anglo-Saxons to Bavaria, on manuscripts written by Anglo-Saxons or their German students in Bavaria, and on works by Anglo-Saxon authors in manuscripts which can be shown to have been at Bavarian libraries before 850. In addition, this paper will examine works written by Bavarian authors, especially Arbeo of Freising, in order to determine the extent to which they knew and echoed Anglo-Saxon authors.

The following preliminary results have been reached:

Salzburg: no manuscript coming from England has survived, but one scribe whose name, Cuthbert, suggests he was an Englishman wrote one manuscript (Vienna cod. 1224) and added corrections to another (Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek, Fragm. I/1).

Freising: one fragment possibly came from England (München, Hauptstaatsarchiv, Raritätenselekt 108, now lost); three manuscripts (clm 6237, 6297, and 6433) were written by a scribe whose name, Peregrinus, suggests that he was a foreigner and whose style of writing suggests that his home was Northumbria; Peregrinus also collaborated on a fourth manuscript (clm 6299). Two further manuscripts (clm 6382 and 6233) of the Freising library have been corrected by Anglo-Saxon hands, though not by Peregrinus. The writings of Arbeo suggest that he had read the Vita Cuthberti written by an anonymous monk of Lindisfarne.

Passau: no evidence exists of that early period.

Regensburg: two manuscripts of the Regensburg scriptorium (clm 14080 and 14653) were written in part in the Anglo-Saxon insular style, but there is no name of any Anglo-Saxon scribe; one manuscript (with fragments in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Lat. Fol. 877, in Regensburg, Schloss Hauzenstein, Graf Walderdorff Collection, and Regensburg, Bishöfliche Zentralbibliothek CIM 1) came from England to Regensburg.

Eichstätt: no manuscripts in the Anglo-Saxon insular style are extant, but the nun Hugeburc of Heidenheim (in the Eichstätt see) wrote the Hodoeporicon from Willibald's dictation, presumably, since she was an Anglo-Saxon, in the Anglo-Saxon style. It is also argued that the exemplar of clm 1086, an Eichstätt manuscript, was written in the Anglo-Saxon style.

This brief survey indicates that all but one of the Bavarian sees were to some extent subject to direct Anglo-Saxon influence, though this influence rarely extended beyond the end of the eight century. Nonetheless, at about the same time when the Bavarians ceased to write in the Anglo-Saxon insular style, they began copying the works of Anglo-Saxon authors. Before 850 the Freising library, for instance, had eight manuscripts (clm 13084, 6284, 6315, 6320, 6404, 6314, 6404, 6413) containing works by Alcuin, Bede and Aldhelm, and a further one (clm 1086) with Willibald's Vita Bonifatii and Hugeburc's Vita Willibaldi and Vita Wunnibaldi. The Bavarians thus continued to study works by Anglo-Saxons and the Anglo-Saxon influence, though less directly now, persisted.

Patrick Wormald (Oxford Univ.)

"The English Origin of English Law"

The "Common Law" is one of the clearest marks and enduring legacies of English identity. Paradoxically, it has been almost unchallenged orthodoxy for over a century that it owed its existence to Henry II, a king most at home in the châteaux of the Loire. Since Brunner showed that the pivotal jury of presentment derived from the instruments of Carolingian royal justice, and Maitland went on to draw a damning contrast between the arrangements laid down in "Glanvill" and those reflected in the purported Leges Henrici Primi, little attention has been given to the possibility that the distinctiveness of English law had its origins in a period when the English kingdom was itself most distinctive: the period between Alfred and Edward the Confessor, when, as recent studies have demonstrated in a number of fields, English government was both aggressive and innovatory, and when the continental picture is overall one of stagnant or declining royal power.

The prevailing view takes little enough account of the royal law-codes themselves, their import largely eclipsed by the problematic Leges Henrici. It takes no account at all of the evidence, in charters, charter-chronicles, Domesday Book and even saints' lives, of law as it was practiced. This evidence strongly suggests that the English criminal law enforced from Alfred's time was very similar in principle and in effect to that operated by Henry II. The corollaries were judicial machinery that was more firmly under "state" control than anywhere else in contemporary Europe, and a law of property which (however innocent of "Feudalism") gave royal justice the sort of supervisory and interventionist role that is reflected in famous sentences of "Glanvill." It can thus be argued that, at the very least, the "Angevin Leap Forward" was made possible by a significant Anglo-Saxon inheritance.

English law may owe less to the post-conquest French regime than is usually supposed, but this does not mean that Frankish influence was not important. The clue to the legal achievement of preconquest kings lies in recognizing that the "Carolingian" ideology and institutions which Brunner detected in the early common Law were absorbed and implemented in the tenth rather than the twelfth century. "Cultural interactions," especially with Francia, were crucial to the emergence of the English legal system, because the makers of the English kingdom were self-consciously the heirs to the Carolingian achievement, and because in England, unlike Francia, the Carolingian model survived intact into the age of the "Learned Laws."

II. "The Cult of Saints in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance: Formation and Transformation," Twenty-Third Annual Conference, Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies at SUNY-Binghamton, October 20-21, 1989, abstracts in alphabetical order by author:

Barbara Abou-El-Haj (SUNY-Binghamton)

"Saint Cuthbert: The Post-Conquest Appropriation of an Anglo-Saxon Cult"

Cuthbert's cult follows a pattern for Medieval saints, traceable over centuries, nevertheless discontinuous. More than two hundred years intervened between Bede's prose life and the record, mostly of royal donations, drawn up, amplified and rewritten in a series of chronicles beginning in the mid-tenth century; records of additional miracles; the economic, spiritual and artistic structuring of the cult in architecture, liturgy and illustration followed its transfer from Lindisfarne to Chester-le-Street to Durham.

But these are not simple expansions; they are shifts in emphasis arising from the post-Conquest consolidation, particularly violent in Northumbria and at Durham, where it was marked by assassinations of the Conqueror's early appointees: Earls of Northumbria and a Bishop of Durham, and William's ferocious retaliatory raids. In these years Durham was incorporated in the Norman ecclesiastical hierarchy and Cuthbert's community of clerks lost its shrine to a new community of Benedictine monks installed by Durham's first Norman Bishop, William of St. Carilef (Calais), and the cult was activated as a part of a sweeping campaign of economic and spiritual reform.

William was followed by the notorious Ranulf Flambard. The monks advanced the cult independent of the vicissitudes of Anglo-Norman political and ecclesiastical politics and also in response to it. Between 1100 and 1104 the monks completed their most elaborate additions to the cult and confirmed its possession by acquiring the last segments of Cuthbert's ancient patrimony, illustrating a new copy of Bede's life and recent miracles strategically related to these activities and preparing for them, particularly their orchestration of the discovery of Cuthbert's incorrupt body, disputed, publicized before a suitable audience, and out-maneuvering Flambard on the day Cuthbert was translated into the partly finished Norman cathedral.

Magdalena Elizabeth Carrasco (New College of the Univ. of South Florida)

"The First Illustrated Life of St. Cuthbert"

In 1083, Bishop William of St. Calais installed a community of Benedictine monks at Durham. The following century witnessed a significant expansion of the cult of St. Cuthbert (d. 687), whose relics were housed at Durham: a new Romanesque cathedral was constructed, a translation of the relics was celebrated in 1104, and two new groups of miracles supplemented the familiar biography of the saint, Bede's Vita prosaica. The most tangible evidence of this revival in devotion to Cuthbert is an illustrated manuscript preserved as MS 165 in University College, Oxford. Evidence of style, subject matter, and paleography point to an origin in Durham and a date of c. 1100. Each of the fifty-five chapters of the text is accompanied by a tinted pen drawing, forming the earliest extant post-Conquest manuscript with a cycle of religious narrative illustrations. This cycle has been studied by Otto Pächt in the context of pictorial narrative, and Malcolm Baker has disentangled the relationship between MS 165 and other narrative cycles of St. Cuthbert, including a second manuscript produced at Durham at the end of the twelfth century (London, British Library, MS Add. 39943). More recently, Barbara Abou-El-Haj has interpreted the miniatures in the context of the Norman appropriation of Cuthbert's cult in the decades following the Conquest, placing special emphasis on the miracles associated with Cuthbert's relics and shrine. What has received relatively less attention, however, is the role played by the manuscript in articulating and affirming the spiritual ideals introduced by the Benedictine reform of 1083. As Baker has pointed out, "the revival of monasticism in the north, first at Jarrow in 1073-74, then at Wearmouth about 1076-78 and finally at Durham, was accomplished with the achievements of earlier Northumbrian monasticism and

the tradition of Bede and St. Cuthbert very much in mind." Thus Symeon of Durham reports that William of St. Calais "did not set a new way of monastic life but, with God renewing it, re-established the old." The creation of a densely illustrated manuscript devoted to Cuthbert was part of the equipment necessary to furnish his renovated shrine, following a pattern found at other contemporary shrines. But the context of the post-Conquest reform suggests that in this case, hagiographic imagery served a more specific function of asserting the continuity between the newly founded community, and earlier monastic life at Lindisfarne. Cuthbert was both a monk and a bishop, and his life synthesizes the dual ideals of ascetic contemplation and active pastoral work. The goal of this paper is to demonstrate, by means of a detailed comparison between text and illustration, the ways in which these spiritual ideals were conveyed by the visual imagery.

Christine Garrison (University of Rochester)

"Christina of Markyate and Æthelreda of Ely: Images of Female Sanctity in Twelfth-Century England"

The present paper focuses on the life of the twelfth-century English recluse Christina of Markyate and on a twelfth-century version of the life of the seventh-century abbess St. Æthelreda. It argues that the holy woman, as found during this period, was one who approached the prevailing Christian ideal of feminine sanctity by renouncing her sexuality, often punishing her body through extreme acts of asceticism to avoid sexual temptation. In renouncing her sexuality, moreover, such a woman also renounced her sex, becoming, like the Virgin Mary, an individual who stood above and apart from other women. Such renunciation is often presented in terms of a woman's taking on masculine qualities, the literature of the period repeatedly describing holy women as overcoming their female weakness to become "manly." By becoming such a "non-woman," the twelfth-century holy woman allowed male religious to worship her as a saintly aberration from the norm while never compelling them to come to terms with her or the other members of her sex as worthy and equal human beings in their own right.

Christina of Markyate both lived and is portrayed as living a life of ascetic renunciation, her recognition deriving from her extraordinary visionary gifts and "manly" moral steadfastness rather than from any official position within the institutional Church. While Æthelreda was memorialized by Bede as foundress and first abbess of Ely monastery, as well as for her virginity and asceticism, her twelfth-century biographer alters Bede's portrayal to bring it into conformity with prevailing images of female sanctity. Like Christina, then, Æthelreda comes to be seen as a chaste, ascetic woman whose holiness derives from these qualities and from her extraordinary spiritual gifts of healing and prophecy. Moreover, while Bede presents Æthelreda as strong and capable in her womanhood, the twelfth-century hagiographer portrays her as overcoming her inherent feminine moral weakness through ascetic withdrawal. The desire for such withdrawal leads her to turn over much of the administration of Ely—and thus any claim to a leadership role within the Church—to the hands of the men around her.

Thomas D. Hill (Cornell University)

"Guthlac A and the Land of Canaan"

One of the central themes of the Old English Guthlac A concerns the warfare between Guthlac and the Demons who inhabit the fens of Croyland. This conflict, which is at the same time spiritual and territorial, has as an unrecognized model the history of Israel's territorial warfare against the Canaanites, the peoples who formerly inhabited the Promised Land. The parallels are both textual and thematic, and recognizing them permits us to see more of the artistry of this Life of a native English Saint.

[abstract prepared by session organizer, F.M. Biggs]

Ted Johnson-South (Cornell University)

"Changing Images of Sainthood: St. Cuthbert in the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto"

My purpose in this paper is to examine the change in the popular image of a medieval saint. This study is focused on the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto, which reached its final form near the year 1030. Two particular features distinguish the Cuthbert of the Historia from the Cuthbert of the early Lives. First, nearly a third of the Historia concerns the relationship between Cuthbert and the West Saxon kings; most importantly, Cuthbert is cast as a king-maker who appears to Alfred in a dream and promises that he will be made "rex totius Britanniae." This contrasts vividly with Bede's Cuthbert, who shuns the exercise of temporal power and who is strictly Northumbrian in outlook.

Second, out of ten miraculous episodes in the Historia (all but one of which is posthumous), four depict Cuthbert avenging the theft of Community property, while two more present him as a king-maker who receives property in return for his patronage. Again, this concern with temporal power and property contrasts markedly with the earlier Lives.

Both of these points are illuminated by a further observation: throughout the Historia St. Cuthbert is portrayed as a living presence. Eleventh-century kings grant estates directly to St. Cuthbert, purchases are made with the "money of St. Cuthbert," and inhabitants of the Community's lands are the "people of St. Cuthbert." In fact, the Historia is a history not only of St. Cuthbert, but of an entire monastic community. That community was an economic and political as well as a spiritual force, and as such it would have been concerned both with protecting its property and with reaching an accommodation with the rising West Saxon power. In a sense, saint and community have become indistinguishable; just as the Community's identity becomes subsumed in Cuthbert's own, so St. Cuthbert's character comes to reflect the preoccupations of the Community.

Janice R. Norris (SUNY-Binghamton)

"Missionary Nuns and St. Boniface"

This paper investigates the increasing development of material concerning the women who accompanied Boniface on his German missionary endeavors in the mid-eighth century. It is significant that with each subsequent biography of the Apostle to the Germans that

the information about some of his female companions undergoes revision. The original vita by the monk Willibald was written within thirteen years of Boniface's death. There is no specific mention of any female missionaries; his assistants from England are referred to as servorum Dei. It is in the Passio, written about the year 1000, that we first encounter a brief mention of two nuns, Tecla and Leoba, whom Boniface called to Germany ("de sua provintia evocaret feminas religiosas"). The author also writes that they were dispatched to Kitzingen and Bischofsheim respectively. It is with the biography by Othlo, a monk of St. Emmeran (1013-1072), that we get the most complete information about more English missionary nuns. He gives the names of six women, some further information about who they were (all but one of the women were related in some way to the monks already serving with Boniface), and where they were settled in Germany. It appears that as the desire for a more detailed biography of Boniface grew, so did the materials on his female companions. Perhaps the life and work of Othlo, himself, holds some key to this development.

Othlo was in exile at Fulda between the years 1062 and 1067. It was during this period that he, using the life by Willibald and the assembled letters of Boniface and his circle, in addition to local tradition at Fulda, wrote his biography of Boniface. Othlo was also the author of several other biographies: that of St. Magnus, St. Wolfgang of Radisbund, and St. Alto, among others. Among his prolific writings there are also several works which are autobiographical in tone (Dialogus de Tribus Quaestionibus and Libellus de Sui Temptationibus). It is my intention to examine these works by Othlo in order to ascertain if it appears that something in the view of the biographer brought these women to the fore. If this should prove not to be the case, the source for an increased interest in the Anglo-Saxon missionary nuns and their association with Boniface should be sought at Fulda or in the ecclesiastical province of Mainz.

Mary Lynn Rampolla (Colgate University)

"A Mirror of Sanctity:
The Vita Wulfstani and the Cult of St. Wulfstan"

The Norman Conquest of England in 1066 had an enormous impact on all aspects of Anglo-Saxon life and society. Not the least of these in the eyes of contemporaries was the attempt on the part of the newly established Norman clergy to purge the English calendar of most of the traditional Anglo-Saxon saints. Not too surprisingly, the post-Conquest period witnessed a flurry of hagiographical activity as English monks compiled lives of their patron saints in an attempt to prove their legitimacy to their skeptical Norman masters. What is perhaps more interesting is the attempt on the part of the monks of Worcester cathedral priory to introduce a new English saint—Wulfstan, the last Anglo-Saxon bishop of England.

Although several lives of contemporary bishops and abbots were written in the early post-Conquest period, only the Vita Wulfstani, written between Wulfstan's death in 1095 and c. 1113, claimed to be the biography of a contemporary saint. The Vita was clearly meant to promote a new cult of the recently deceased bishop; it notes the bishop's promise to "be the more present" to his flock after his death, and records several miracles performed at his tomb. Moreover, in an attempt to spread the cult to a wider (perhaps Norman) audience, the monks commissioned William of Malmesbury to translate the English life into Latin sometime between 1124 and 1140.

Although the cult never secured more than a local following, it remained of great importance to the Worcester monks, who initiated formal canonization procedures in the early thirteenth century. But it is to the Vita itself that we must turn in order to understand what the cult meant to those who promoted it in its earliest days.

The Vita is in many ways a traditional saint's life; nevertheless, within its conventional framework, it reflects many of the interests and concerns which made Wulfstan not only a "mirror of sanctity," but a saint for his own times, who answered the needs of the monks of Worcester in the half-century following the Conquest. Especially interesting is the fact that nearly half of all the miraculous cures attributed to Wulfstan in the Vita are cures of the insane. A close examination of the Vita suggests that the author, an English monk who had lived through the Norman Conquest, used "madness" as a metaphor for social disruption and a loss of identity. In the Vita's descriptions of the insane, the victims flee from their family and friends; they no longer remember who they are. This loss of identity parallels the concern, expressed throughout the Vita, to rediscover and redefine the identity of the English monks in the post-Conquest period. Wulfstan's importance stems from the fact that it is he who cures these people of their madness, healing them and restoring them to themselves and their families. In other words, he gives them back a sense of their own identity.

The cult of Wulfstan served the same function in the corporate life of the Worcester monks that his miracles fulfilled for the madmen he cured. In venerating Wulfstan, an English Benedictine monk of their own times, the monks of Worcester could find a sense of their own identity in a time of great upheaval and social disruption, and reaffirm the value of their own traditions in the face of Norman criticism.

Susan J. Ridyard (Lucy Cavendish College, Cambridge Univ.)

"The Cult of the Saints
in the English Monastic Reform of the Tenth Century"

The later tenth century was one of the most crucial periods in the formation of the cult of the saints in medieval England. As monasteries were founded or refounded throughout Wessex and Mercia, the ancient cults of the conversion-age saints were revitalized and new saints were created from among the leaders of the monastic reform movement. This paper focuses upon the adoption and adaptation by the tenth-century monastic communities of the cults of the conversion-age saints. It explores the function of those cults in both the monastic and the secular politics of the later tenth century.

The monastic reform movement of the 960s and 970s had profound social and political implications. First, the foundation and endowment of monastic communities could be achieved only at the cost of a significant intrusion into local patterns of landholding and privilege: the arrival of the monks meant a tenurial revolution which was perhaps rarely appreciated by the local society. The adoption by the monks of the cults of traditional local saints must accordingly be seen as one of several measures by which they sought to secure their assimilation into, and to regulate their relations with, a local society which had every reason to regard their activities with some distrust. Second, a

further dimension is added by the close association between the monastic reformers and the assertive West Saxon kingship of Edgar. The extension of the West Saxon dominated reform movement into the ancient kingdoms of Mercia and East Anglia paralleled and reinforced the expansion of West Saxon royal power. The adoption of the traditional cults of those kingdoms not only by West Saxon monks but also by West Saxon monarchy accordingly had implications which transcended the local and monastic. It was in some measure a gesture of conciliation, a statement of respect for the ancient traditions of the formerly independent kingdoms. But it was also a spectacular statement of the realities of power: it was a potent symbol of West Saxon control.

John F. Vickery (Lehigh University)

"Dives and the Fictive Speaker in the Seafarer"

This paper investigates what the poetic evidence, specifically one of the best of the Old English elegies, may tell us about the attitudes toward sainthood in Anglo-Saxon England. It contrasts the narrator with the figure of the rich man (Dives) at three points early in the poem in order to show a development in the character of the narrator. This poetic strategy is used, it is argued, to heighten the perception of the narrator withdrawing from the world and becoming a Saint. The essay has implications for the other Old English elegies, and for our understanding of popular belief in Anglo-Saxon England.

[abstract prepared by session organizer, F.M. Biggs]

E. Gordon Whatley (Queens College, CUNY)

"Hagiography in Anglo-Saxon England: A Preliminary Report from SASLC"

This paper provides an overview of information about Saints' Lives in Anglo-Saxon England drawn from the initial work of organizing the section for the "Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture." Because the Bollandists have worked mainly from continental libraries, the English evidence has not yet been sufficiently studied. Ogilvy's Books Known to the English, the basis for the SASLC project, is perhaps the most complete study of this area to date. Ogilvy's work, however, is severely limited: it is now apparent that there are three times as many saints known in Anglo-Saxon England as he records. Thus it is essential to set out the major sources for this information, and to offer some suggestions about how these sources are to be interpreted.

[abstract prepared by session organizer, F.M. Biggs]

III. The Annual Meeting of the Modern Language Assoc. of America, Washington DC, December 27-30, 1989:

Session 121: "Traditions and Poetry in Old English"

Ellen Wert (University of Texas, Austin)

"Design for Victory: The Battle of Brunanburh"

We know so little about the external factors which determined the aesthetics of Old English poetry, yet we freely use the label "conventional." Our knowledge of commemorative song in heroic age traditions would lead us to expect panegyric verse, especially songs of the deeds of the living warrior-king, to be represented in the corpus of Old English poetry, but we seem to have none. However, when we reconsider The Battle of Brunanburh on the basis of genre and compare the structure, imagery, and sentiment of the tenth-century Old English poem with that of four Welsh battle poems from the sixth through twelfth centuries, we find that in the selection of materials and details and in its general presentation, the victory song is a systematized, conventional form of panegyric. Recognizing the close similarity in the design of the battle poems, we must place Brunanburh in the panegyric tradition and redefine our notion of "conventional." Brunanburh is thus not only an anomaly in the Old English poetic tradition but also the sole representative of a sub-genre of Old English poetry. Further, The Battle of Brunanburh gives us an example of the kind of verse that the court poet was expected to produce, thus affording us greater understanding of the interdependent relationship between the warrior-king and the scop—an external factor greatly determining the aesthetics of the Old English poetic tradition.

Session 232: "Medieval Text and Image I"

Pauline Head (York University)

"Peripheral Meanings: Frames in Old English Poetry and Anglo-Saxon Manuscript Illumination"

A frame circumscribes an area of representation, acting, to some extent, to mark the limits of the text and to guide the reader's perception. In distinguishing an object of attention from its "less important" surroundings, a frame mediates between the general and the specific, and between the reader and the text. It is expected to shape an identity, to direct the reader's gaze away from the "inessential," away from the peripheral (the frame itself), and onto the primary subject matter.

The borders of Anglo-Saxon manuscript illuminations are highly decorative and elaborately structured. While, at a glance, they herald — and capture the viewer's attention on behalf of — the image, these frames also steal attention for themselves. Like Anglo-Saxon pictorial borders, Old English poetic frames articulate the limits of narrative or descriptive passages, and yet are so predominant and elaborately crafted that they attract (as well as direct) the reader's attention.

In this paper, I examine pictorial borders in several Anglo-Saxon illuminated manuscripts (the Lindisfarne Gospels, the Athelstan Psalter, and the Benedictional of St. Æthelwold), comparing them to framing structures in Daniel and Beowulf. I posit that frames in Old English poetry and Anglo-Saxon art — because they are complex and meaningful — work against their expected function of delimiting signification. Anglo-Saxon frames frequently trace a limit which they also question. Since frames (in general) are so "central" to the structure both of texts and of the reading process, the unusual function of Anglo-Saxon frames should be a key to understanding concepts specific to Anglo-Saxon reading. As indicated by framing structures, "rædan" did not mean to be directed towards an absorption in a meaning given within the poem or painting, but involved an enjoyment of the text's complexities and a questioning of its limits.

Session 598: "Origins of Old English Poetry"

John M. Hill (United States Naval Academy)

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

If we see Beowulf as Sigemund-like, and if we focus mainly on his fights as dramas of light against darkness, we will overlook aspects of his role in the poem: his status as a figure of tribal law, and the ways in which he negotiates foreign social territory, winning, as it turns out, unusual acceptance--official status as Heorot's legal guardian against Grendel's terror.

The mythological background for Beowulf's progress to, and role in, Heorot can be seen by associating Beowulf's role with the war god Tiu. Tiu, perhaps originally the sky God, is the god of war as legal settlement, whereas Odin is the god of war as frenzy and terror. Tiu, the god of the pledge (a hand), would bind terror and thus metaphorically loosen the bonds of terror. These functions are profoundly present in Beowulf: in the motifs of the hand, in the language of binding, terror, and unbinding, and in the precise illegalities of Grendel's feud, of his refusal to settle. A legalistic vocabulary of favoring, counsel, petition, meeting, settlement, law, entrusting, and special office accompanies Beowulf's progress to Heorot (thus, we need to reconsider ding gehegan as more than figurative). By taking the Tiu perspective, as it were, and by associating Tiu with the sky and with light, we find that a lively "paganism" concerning legal and martial settlement is present in Beowulf and in fact is the framework into which the poem's "Christian" theism fits itself.

Robert D. Fulk (Indiana University)

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

Max Kaluza showed in 1896 that in the first thousand lines of Beowulf there is strict observance of a metrical difference between etymologically long and short vowels (i.e., those with and without the Proto-Germanic "broken accent") in final position under secondary stress, and he recognized that this discovery might have some dating value if other verse were examined and shown to differ from Beowulf in this respect. Alan Bliss later demonstrated that Kaluza's law applies to the whole of the poem, and at the same time argued that the length distinction may actually be morphologized in Beowulf, rather than an active phonological process. Bliss's argument seems to have been prompted by the belief that if Kaluza's law were not morphologized, Beowulf would have to be dated to the early seventh century at the latest. But in fact there is no reliable evidence for the elimination of the distinction before the middle of the eighth century, at which time final high vowels begin to be lowered in the charters. Since it can be demonstrated that the morphological distinction Bliss envisages is not possible, it follows that Beowulf must have been composed before ca. 730--unless it is a Northumbrian composition, in which case it may be as much as a century later. As for other Old English verse, no other poem observes Kaluza's law as faithfully as Beowulf. Genesis A does not offer any unambiguous violations of the law, but then the incidence of examples is rather low. On the other hand, it has not been recognized before that Kaluza's law also applies to internal syllables, and thus regulates resolution. Among the longer poems I examined, only Genesis A, Daniel, Exodus, and Beowulf regularly observe the law in medial position, while poems such as Andreas, the Meters of Boethius, and the signed works of Cynewulf exhibit clear violations. This is in accordance with the older view that these four are the earliest of the longer poems.

Mary P. Richards (Auburn University)

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

Much of the late Old English poetry composed in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries is or was preserved in a collection of prose materials and had prose sources. The poems under discussion include those from a penitential and homiletic collection preserved in Oxford MSS Hatton 113-114 and Junius 121: "Judgment Day II," "Gloria I," "Pater noster III," the "Creed" and Psalms; others from parts A and B of Cambridge MS Corpus Christi College 201, containing the Old English translation of the Benedictine rule, homilies and legal materials: "Judgment Day II," "An Exhortation to Christian Living," " A Summons to Prayer," "Pater noster II," and another copy of "Gloria I"; The Battle of Maldon; and Seasons for Fasting. The prose sources for Seasons for Fasting and its close relationship to many of these other poems sheds light on the process of poetic composition in the early decades of the eleventh century.

Apparently these poets undertook their writing very methodically by consulting materials characteristic of the age and working in a poetic tradition reflective of the late Anglo-Saxon period. This approach influenced the choice of formulas, alliteration, and metrical patterns reflected, for example, in a significant percentage of short A3 verses. Among classical Old English poems, only The Battle of Maldon, composed in the late tenth or early eleventh century very probably from prose sources, shows comparable percentages of verse types. Clearly Old English poetry evolved toward a topical and utilitarian medium in the last century of the Anglo-Saxon period to the point where its aims, whether the chronicling of history or the teaching of the masses, coincided with those of monastic prose writers and its themes reflected contemporary issues among the English people.

Session 697: "Beowulf and Theory"

Ward Parks (Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge)

"Performance in Beowulf"

Whether it was itself composed orally or in writing, the Old English Beowulf is profoundly indebted to the world of orality on which it draws and into which it offers itself as performed artistic utterance. In an obvious sense, then, an informed interpretation of the poem must, in one of its movements, de-textualize the text as thing and reconstitute it imaginatively as event. Yet the performance event entails more than just a specific performance occasion; it presupposes oral performative diachrony, or an interperformative chain of tellings and retellings. Evidence that the Beowulf-poet implicitly conceived of narration as an interperformative act can be found in three types of passages in which the narratorial function comes into special prominence: in moments of pronominal self-reference when

the narrator says "I heard"; in the community orientation of his gnomic commentary; and in the digressions, which assume contextualization within a world of song. In sum, the notion of interperformativity may indeed characterize the Beowulf narrator's orientation towards his world of discourse more sensitively than textualized notions can do.

Anne Reaves (University of Texas, Austin)

"Tripartite Structure in Beowulf"

In studying the narrative in Beowulf, I believe the general ring theory discussed by John Niles can be specifically traced in a background-relationship-result triad, which appears throughout the poem in significant permutations. No conflict can occur until background is given which will explain both the situation and the identity of the aggressor. Once that is detailed, the relationship between two forces is clear, and this relationship makes the result inevitable. Continued examination of Beowulf demonstrates that each of the three sequences involving a separate foe repeats the background-relationship-result triad three times: incremental repetition with important variations. This same pattern occurs in other verse, such as the "Hildebrandslied" and the "Ludwigslied," suggesting that these elements are inherent in heroic oral formulaic poetry of Germanic origins.

IV. The Twenty-Fifth International Congress on Medieval Studies, the Medieval Institute, Western Michigan University, May 10-13, 1990. As in previous years dating from 1983, the Institute and CEMERS at SUNY-Binghamton have co-sponsored a Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture, whose abstracts are here presented first, followed by the abstracts for various other sessions as received from participants.

Eighth Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture

Session 2: **"Ælfric"**

Malcolm Godden (Exeter College, Oxford)

"Ælfric and His Sources: the Struggle with Authority"

Ælfric begins his Catholic Homilies with a list of the patristic and Carolingian authorities that he follows in his work, adding that their authority is willingly accepted by all orthodox believers, and the text itself is studded with references to his authorities for specific homilies or details. Yet the example of Chaucer and Malory warns us against taking such statements at face value, and closer analysis in the case of Ælfric often shows that his relation to his authorities is similarly problematic. Ælfric had an ambivalent attitude to his sources: grateful for their authority in the war against those contemporaries who thought differently, and for their help in interpreting the Bible and Christian tradition, but aware that they did not always answer his needs or those of his own time. In some cases where the authority whom he cites fails to support him the explanation may simply be that Ælfric was using an expanded or adapted version of the source, different from any that has come down to us; but often it is clear that Ælfric took a different view from his chosen mentor, and was prepared to insist on it, though unwilling to proclaim his disagreement with authority. While generally following one source, he will silently reject the argument of his authority to introduce his own views or those of another source at a critical point in the argument. From repeated examples it becomes possible to build up a list of topics on which Ælfric held strong views, possibly in response to the controversies and dangers of his own time: such matters as the origin and nature of the soul, the bodily resurrection, the salvation of the rich.

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

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

One of Ælfric's chief sources for the nativity sermon that opens his Lives of Saints is Alcuin's brief treatise on the nature of the soul, De Animae Ratione Liber ad Eulaliam Virginem (PL 101.639-47). Peter Clemoes has suggested that Alcuin's treatise provides a direct source (and therefore a terminus a quo of about 799) for portions of The Seafarer and may also have exerted some influence on ideas present in The Wanderer. It has not been previously noted that there exists a source for Alcuin's text—the much earlier De Opificio Dei by Lactantius—that even more closely agrees with ideas present in The Seafarer. Since the ideas expressed by Lactantius, Alcuin, and Ælfric on the flight of the soul are largely traditional (pre-Christian sources for this tradition can be traced, and other patristic writers such as Ambrose draw on that tradition), it would be hazardous to try to assign a direct source for the passage in The Seafarer without further evidence. Nevertheless, the image of the flight of the soul informs not only the theological writings of Alcuin and Ælfric but also the imaginative poetry of the Anglo-Saxon period.

Session 38: **"Theory and Method in Anglo-Saxon Studies: Textual and Material Culture"**

Ursula Schaefer (Albert-Ludwigs Univ., Freiburg)

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

In an often-quoted passage from Asser's Vita Alfredi, the future king's mother promises to give a certain "Saxonicum poematicae artis librum" to that one of her sons who could learn it the fastest ("quisquid . . . discere citius iustum codicem possit"; Asser, chap. 23). From all we know we must infer that discere means "to learn by heart." However, with that in view it seems to us modern, "literate minds" (Havelock) all the more contradictory that the knowing by heart of a book should have as its price the possession of this very same book.

Yet it is not so much the question of material possession that I want to pursue here. I rather want to focus on the special relation between the capacity to read (and write—the two did not necessarily go together in the Middle Ages) and the codex that contains written material to be read. For us "moderns" the capacity of reading (and writing) is inseparable from the concept of what a book and its use are. In view of the Middle Ages, in particular the centuries before 1000 A.D., I want to show that we have to reconsider for one how the skill of reading (and writing) was acquired (the striking point in this regard being that memorization up front played an important role). Moreover, I will show that, even after having acquired the capacity of reading, the

command over what "is written" or what "the books say" was still rather independent of the material book.

Kelley M. Wickham-Crowley (Georgetown University)

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

The image of weaving creates a warp through which all aspects of Anglo-Saxon culture must pass to create whole cloth. Peace-weavers, interlace, word-weaving, loom weights on archaeological sites, patristic views of Eve and the Incarnation: taken together, what can they tell of women in this society and the assumptions we have made about weaving as women's work? Culturally, the peaceweaver is repeatedly cited as a female social and political role, despite an occurrence of the term to refer to a male angel, a suggestive contrast. In literature, riddles refer to weaving implements in what seems a technical way: would we be fair in assuming a female audience, or is it more likely that the techniques of weaving were known to both sexes? In art and discussions of narrative technique, we discuss motifs of interlace and word-weaving while avoiding the implications of such plaiting when considered alongside the physical record and our gender assumptions.

Archaeologically, we have some interesting aspects to consider against these views. Evidence shows that warp-weighted looms were common; these looms limit the size of individual pieces of cloth, their finishing (often involving the addition of tablet woven braid at the edges), and the amount of cloth produced. We have typically accepted that women alone wove and that it was low status work, due to evidence such as a Carolingian law mentioning fines payable to masters for molesting women of the weaving hut and because patristic tradition connects Eve, Mary, and the Incarnation with ideas of weaving. Yet while some "sunken huts" (e.g. West Stow, Suff.) have been proposed as weaving huts because of deposits of loom weights, points such as the ubiquitous need for cloth, the sophisticated technology suggested by the implement list in Gerefa, and the problematic weaving swords/battens made from recycled, pattern-welded swords suggest why easy solutions may prove rash. Excavations in Gloucester (1975) provide evidence for the first time that harness looms appeared earlier than previously thought, in ninth- to tenth-century contexts, and that these coincide with increased production, broader trade possibilities, and a division between warp-weighted, domestic looms and commercial harness loom production. These distinctions between looms become gender-related. Do we believe that such technology was created by women, and then taken over by men? Or are we willing to believe that men, perhaps particularly those in monasteries, practiced weaving and, late in the Anglo-Saxon period, commercialized it, creating the sexual division we now accept?

Session 74: "Theory and Method in Anglo-Saxon Studies II: Textuality and History"

Deborah L. Vanderbilt (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

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

Cædmon's Hymn, because of its double nature as an oral text pulled into service for a very literate text, offers interesting perspectives on the theoretical issues of orality, literacy, textuality and history. In its most immediate context, Cædmon's Hymn is an oral event; Bede records how Cædmon first spoke the words of the Hymn under direct inspiration of God. Cædmon's Hymn does show the influence of written biblical and liturgical texts. Nevertheless, it also maintains a connection to the oral poetry of the Anglo-Saxons, first in its form and second in the importance attributed to the presence of the speaking voice in the narrative.

In the second (chronological) context of the Hymn, it is transformed into a new textual and hagiographical relic. As Bede's explanation of his translation of Cædmon's Hymn shows, the poem has become for him an Augustinian sign--the signified is more important than the sign itself. But subsequently, as Cædmon's Hymn is reintroduced into various manuscripts by anonymous scribes in the vernacular, it appears to regain its material significance as a relic of Cædmon. Interestingly, however, it is in this context--the reintroduction of the vernacular--that the relic receives new life in the ways outlined in Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe's recent article.

The translation of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica into Old English offers yet a third context for the Hymn, and in this context we can examine broader issues that help to illuminate the above phenomena. Comparing the authorial "voices" in the Latin and Old English Bede, we see that the translator maintains Bede as historical auctoritas in his text but also communicates an authority of his own tied to his use of the vernacular and its vestigial orality; the latter is an authority of presence. Narrative changes such as increased concretization, heightened inscription of chronology, etc. further suggest that the use of the vernacular breaks down in some way the textualization process begun by Bede; at the very least, this third context of the Hymn exemplifies a different direction in the textualization of "vernacular" event.

Ruth Waterhouse (Macquarie University)

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

To a twentieth-century reader of Ælfric's "Life of Æthel-thryth," what seem comic elements are combined with aspects offensive to a feminist reader. The episode where Æthelthryth bathes her community is foregrounded much more than in the Bedan source; as evidence of her saintly life, it cannot help but seem comic today. However, a study of the semantic field of its key term baþian (and its related noun forms) and of its intra- and intertextual allusions brings out a higher level of symbolic signification whose hortatory function is still relevant today. Study of the semantic field of other terms also shows how what seems simple language use can acquire multiple connotations.

The stress upon Æthelthryth's virginity lends itself to a twentieth-century feminist reading of the Life, which would almost certainly react against the patriarchal hegemony exercised by her husband, King Ecgfrith, and presupposed and perpetuated by Bede and Ælfric's discourses. A closer examination of how Ælfric advances the proof of Æthelthryth's virginity shows his recognition of the audience's understandable incredulity, and how he counters it in such a way as to bring out the distance between the saint's exemplary behavior and the more pragmatic behavior that can be expected of the lay folk for whom Lives of Saints was written.

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

"The Ideology of Form: Wæpnedsong and Wifsong"

This paper compares the wæpnedsong and the wifsong, The Wanderer and The Seafarer, on the one hand, and The Wife's Lament and Wulf and Eadwacer, on the other. In both genres, the speakers lament social isolation. But while the male voice opposes the Christian vision to the secular as a way of overcoming that isolation by devaluing it, the female voice poses no such resolution. What do the oppositions within each genre's texts and the oppositions between the genres tell us about Anglo-Saxon history? Following Jameson's theories of The Political Unconscious, I argue that these cultural artifacts are "symbolic resolutions [or non-resolutions] of real political and social contradictions" (80), that what both genres display are historical conflicts between social systems, and that the constellations of conflicts differed for men and for women because of political realities of kinship structures, of the Church's institutions, and of
inchoate feudalism.

Session 110: "Anglo-Saxon Art"

Edward L. Risden (Purdue University)

"The Gosforth Cross and Reading Beowulf"

The mid-tenth-century Gosforth Cross exhibits a syncretism of Christian and Germanic culture. Carved scenes apparently of Ragnarok appear on its four sides, though scholars have differed in approaching this "text" as wholly Norse, wholly Christian, or "janusian"--both at once, the story of Christ in terms a Nordic audience could understand, a "pagan iconography of Christian ideas" (S. Bugge).

As the viewer moves from south, to west, to north, to east sides of the cross, a narrative appears. Monsters break loose and attack the heavens, then the warning horn sounds as gods and men come under siege, then come battle and the world-fire, followed by the act of sacrifice and renewal of the world. These scenes may be polysemous throughout, explaining the new religion in the metaphors of the old.

Beowulf, an artifact both Christian and pagan, may serve a function parallel to the Gosforth Cross, using Christian matter to resolve a mutually Christian and Germanic world. Christian allusions such as Cain, the Flood, and Apocalypse-like monster battles may represent a "Christian iconography of pagan ideas" to reconcile converts to their pagan past or to facilitate simultaneous consideration of two mythologies, so that one may be applied to understanding the other. Cross and poem exhibit an eschatological awareness central to both cultures, and both seem to offer a juxtaposition of two warring but not unreconcilable worlds.

Carol L. Neuman de Vegvar (Ohio Wesleyan University)

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

Of the art surviving from the early Anglo-Saxon period we have much for which no certain origin point is known. Hypotheses of origin have depended on comparison to works of known provenance and/or relatively secure date, and sequences and schools proposed on these grounds. When possible, links are made to relatively well-known centers, such as Jarrow or Lindisfarne. "Well-known" in the early medieval context can mean one of many things: thoroughly excavated, or, more often, extensively documented in sources from the same center, or at least from the same period and region.

In the early Anglo-Saxon period, the vitae of saints are among our better sources for context in the major art-producing centers. Regretably, we have no surviving complete vitae of the royal women monastics; Bede's synopses of now-lost vitae and his contextual references are our primary documentary guide to their foundations. In addition, there are useful references in the Bonifacian correspondences, and in the lives of male saints (Wilfrid, Cuthbert, Guthlac) to whom the royal abbesses were close companions or respected associates. Further, finds in chance or purposeful excavation at Hartlepool, Whitby and other relevant sites have turned up evidence of the daily lives of their occupants. The available data yield a complex yet enlightening picture of life in these centers: relative wealth, literacy, and contact with the outside world, among other factors, suggest that these centers may well have been in a position to have produced some of our as-yet-sourceless art.

In my paper I give a brief overview of the data from the sources and examine both extant examples of art associated with these centers, including the Hackness Cross and the Hartlepool slabs, and the probable nature of lost art produced there, including the issue of the possible locations of scriptoria in convents and double monasteries.

Mildred Budny (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge)

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

The portrayal of authors and texts in Anglo-Saxon art encompasses a wide range of images and media, and spans several centuries, from the conversion to Christianity, the religion of the book. The genre displays an intricate relationship with traditions elsewhere, in late antique, Byzantine, Merovingian, Irish, Carolingian and Ottonian art. By examining the surviving corpus, tracing the course of its development, and setting it in context, it is possible to discern the position of the Anglo-Saxon versions within the context of the genre, and to assess their distinctive contributions to it.

Session 146: "Literary Sources I"

Susan E. Deskis (Harvard University)

"The Proverbial Context of Joy and Sorrow in Beowulf"

The contrast between joy and sorrow is a common theme in Old English poetry, reaching its fullest development in such elegies as The Wanderer and The Seafarer. However, the dichotomy also appears briefly twice in Beowulf, where it draws its connotations not only from the elegiac tradition, but also from the rich fund of proverbial lore treating the alternation between gladness and grief. The temporal order in which the two emotions appear may vary in proverbs, as in Beowulf, but their juxtaposition is one of the most frequent contrasts in both Latin and vernacular proverbial sources.

The first evocation of this contrast in Beowulf occurs as Hrothgar awaits the hero's response to his summons after the death of Æschere: "Þær se snotera bad, / hwæÞer him Alwalda æfre wille / æfter weaspelle wyrpe gefremman" (1313b-15). The change of verb tense is common to proverbial utterances, and the connection between the contrast implied in these lines and that of the sententiae is strengthened by an assemblage of analogues. These latter treat not only the alternation of joy and sorrow in human experience, but also the role of God in dispensing both. The dichotomy appears again at the end of Hrothgar's sermon: "Hwæt, me Þæs on eÞle edwenden cwom, / gyrn æfter gomene" (1774-75a). A similar collection of analogues illuminates these lines, which appear proverbial in their form--X after Y--and their function--a "summing up" of Hrothgar's preceding speech.

I conclude in this paper that the Beowulf-poet uses his own and the audience's familiarity with a common proverbial contrast in order to evoke, in these brief references, a theme central to his narrative.

David F. Johnson (Cornell University)

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

The study of motifs, formulas and parallel passages in Old English literature has traditionally sought to provide insights into the techniques of the composition of that literature. The Oral-formulaic school of criticism comes immediately to mind in this context, with its discussion of such themes as "the Beasts of Battle" and "the Hero on the Beach." While much of what this school claims for the secular/heroic element in Anglo-Saxon poetry is still controversial, scholars concentrating on the Christian tradition (the origins and dissemination of its motifs and themes) find themselves on somewhat firmer ground. The study of Christian motifs in Anglo-Saxon prose and poetry can, for example, add to our knowledge of the techniques of homily composition, and such study is especially useful where the anonymous homilies are concerned--works which are clearly not dependent on any one authority. Motif study has much to teach us about language, popular religious ideas and imagery.

Such a motif study forms the focus of this paper. The "Seven Joys of Heaven" theme is found in Old English religious prose and poetry and attains to the status of a commonplace in Latin homiletic writings. It has already received relatively much scholarly attention, but a related though less frequently attested series has gone all but unnoticed. In this paper I call attention to what I have termed the "Five Horrors of Hell" motif, and identify the contexts, both Latin and vernacular, in which it appears. I discuss its relation to the enumerative Seven Joys motif (the form in which the latter is most frequently encountered in the Latin florilegia, many of which have an Insular, if not Irish, affiliation), and I consider its genesis and dissemination. Two matters of significance are the motif's appearance in the Old English Vercelli homily IX, and its conspicuous absence from the entire corpus of Ælfric's homilies. Finally, I conclude that the Five Horrors of Hell motif should be added to the pool of motifs, patterns and textual features which, when taken together, point to an Insular origin or inspiration.

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

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

Twice in the prologue of Guthlac B the poet speaks of the Fall of humanity in terms of a bitter drink that Eve served to Adam. While the idea for this metaphor was probably inspired by a comment in Felix's Vita Guthlaci about the bitterness of death, two other very general influences on these passages have been proposed: the commonplace Christian motif of the poculum mortis (specifically as expressed in the hymn Rex aeterne Domini), and the apparently pre-Christian Germanic motif of death by drink. Examples of the latter motif are rare and far removed from the Old English poem. Examples of the former are plentiful, even in Old English, yet in every instance so far adduced as a possible source for Guthlac B it is the devil rather than Eve who dispenses the drink, in direct contradiction to the poem. This paper identifies four much closer analogues for Eve's bitter drink in sermons by Gregory the Great, Rabanus Maurus, and Odo of Cluny, and in a sermon on the Purification of the Virgin in the Old Icelandic Homily Book. Each of these analogues contrasts Eve and Mary Magdalene as dispensers of the cups of death and life: Eve because she handed death to Adam in the form of an apple, and Mary because she was the first witness of the resurrected Christ. As explained by Gregory, who was the earliest and most accessible of these writers, mankind's salvation and Fall were both brought about by a woman: "de qua manu vobis illatus est potus mortis, de ipsa suscipite poculum vitae." I argue that the Old English poet's reminiscence of the Fall depends upon a version of this Gregorian formula and that, as is evident elsewhere in the prologue, his understanding of the Fall and its implications for Guthlac are conditioned by exegetical learning rather than the influence of pagan Germanic lore.

Session 182: "Literary Sources II"

Durrell Dew (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)

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

Discussions of the Anglo-Saxon "Journey Charm" often debate whether the poem is a pagan, magical charm which has been almost completely Christianized or is a primarily Christian prayer retaining virtually no magical context. However, attempts to separate pagan from Christian elements tend to assert one or the other as original, invariably justifying the preconceptions of the critic. I propose instead to approach the poem from the perspective of genre. The formal characteristics of the "Journey Charm" allow us to place it within the tradition of a specific genre of Irish charm: the lorica. Although scholars have previously perceived the relationship of the "Journey Charm" to the lorica, there has been no detailed comparison of the poem to the Irish loricae. A lorica, or "breastplate" charm, is a figurative, protecting charm probably derived from Isaiah 59:17, especially as elaborated upon by St. Paul in Ephesians 6:14 in which he admonishes the Ephesians to "stand firm then, with the belt of truth buckled around your waist, with the breastplate of righteousness in place" (induti loricam justitiae). Loricae and similar prayers in early Irish monasteries were not used solely for worship but were often composed as charms for protection against disease and

various dangers, including those one might encounter on a journey.

These loricae can be identified by the stylistic characteristics and structural features previously described by Louis Gougaud, whose study of the genre is fundamental: the litanic and prolix style; the invocation of the trinity for protection; invocations of the angels and saints; and a listing of various spiritual and material dangers facing the individual reciting the charm. This paper examines these formal characteristics and their relationship to the "Journey Charm."

Sarah Larratt Keefer (Trent University)

"Reconstructing the Old English Metrical 'Creed'"

The Old English metrical Creed is the only liturgical prayer-poem that is preserved in just one poetic version from pre-Conquest England. Without variant or independent renditions, it therefore offers a unique opportunity to explore the Anglo-Saxon attitude towards the Apostles' Creed. Unlike modern critical theory that seeks to "deconstruct" a text for ultimate meaning while discounting both sources and final verse product, this study instead "reconstructs" the Reform Period approach to one of the most fundamental of all liturgical pieces.

An examination of the embedded Latin tenets and the particular rubric form they take casts light on the relationship between the original Latin liturgical text and the vernacular verse composition drawn from it, while the structural division of this poem provides insights into the view of the traditions surrounding the Apostles' Creed taken by the contemporary ecclesiastics. Finally, a study of the amplifications on each tenet, and their lexical and thematic relationship to other Old English liturgical verse, enables us to successfully reconstruct the way in which this all-important liturgical piece was regarded by the pre-Conquest Church whose influence gave rise to a vernacular verse based on it.

J.R. Hall (University of Mississippi)

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

Flavius Josephus (39-ca.95 A.D.) was a great Jewish historiographer who wrote in Greek to reach a Gentile audience. In the mid-sixth century, Cassiodorus had his followers translate into Latin two of Josephus's three major works, Jewish Antiquities and Against Apion. Cassiodorus also refers to a prior translation of the third major work, The Jewish War, but scholars are divided on whether the reference is to a literal Latin rendering (sometimes ascribed to Rufinus but perhaps done no earlier than the eighth century) or to a Christian Latin adaptation now dated to the late fourth century but attributed by medieval writers of the ninth century and later to Hegesippus. As Hegesippus died in the late second century, he could not have composed the Christian adaptation of The Jewish War, which for the sake of convenience may be ascribed to Pseudo-Hegesippus. The Anglo-Saxons were not directly acquainted with the work of the original Hegesippus, but it can be demonstrated that the work of Pseudo-Hegesippus was known in Anglo-Saxon England and at Anglo-Saxon centers on the continent. Although it has been asserted that Bede knew the literal Latin rendering of The Jewish War, the evidence seems to me doubtful. Similarly, Bede knew the Latin translation of Against Apion only through secondary sources. Much different is the case of Jewish Antiquities, the Latin translation of which was used by Bede and Alcuin. In fact, among early Latin churchmen only Jerome (who knew the work in Greek) relies more heavily upon Antiquities than does Bede. Whether other Anglo-Saxons drew upon the work is uncertain: Ælfric's one reference appears derivative; an illustration in BL Cotton Claudius B.iv said to have been influenced by Josephus may have been inspired by Scripture instead; the several parallels between Antiquities and Exodus are clearly suggestive but stop short of proof.

Session 218: "Old English Liturgical Poetry"

Patricia Hollahan (University of Illinois Press)

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

Kentish Psalm 50 is unique among Old English psalm translations in that the poet gives his audience not only an expanded translation of the psalm but also a frame that puts it in its "historical" setting, David's dual sins of adultery with Bathsheba and murder of her husband Uriah, and stresses its moral application to the life of the individual. The frame and translation work together to provide the audience with a meditation on the subject of sorrow and atonement for sin that is particularly significant as a piece of Old English liturgical poetry for two reasons: (1) Psalm 50 is part of a long-recognized grouping of psalms--the seven Penitential Psalms--whose use goes back to the early Church liturgy and was a prominent feature in Anglo-Saxon monastic devotions; (2) David, especially in terms of this psalm, was regarded in commentary tradition as an important exemplar of Christian repentance. That the poet draws on this tradition and more generally on the practice of penance is evident in both the dramatic frame and the expansions on the Latin psalm. In short, in the Kentish Psalm 50 we see the work of an artist who was able to use poetic sensibility to serve the ends of devotion, enjoining his audience, in the words of St. Augustine, "Whoever thou art that hast sinned and hesitatest to exercise penance for thy sin, despairing of thy salvation, hear David groaning. To thee Nathan the prophet hath not been sent, David himself hath been sent to thee."

Patricia H. Ward (College of Charleston)

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

The seventh section of Christ I has attracted more scholarly attention than any other of the twelve sections of the poem. Before Thomas D. Hill's discovery of the "O Joseph" antiphon as "the most probable liturgical source for this section of Christ I," criticism of lines 164-213 was mainly textual: who speaks which lines? One small group of scholars, including Burlin, supported Cosijn's assertion that there are only three speeches. The other, larger group, including Cook, Krapp and Dobbie, and Campbell, followed Thorpe's division of five speeches. Since the discovery of the antiphonal source, the main question seems to be, does the poet depend more on the antiphon or on a source similar to the dramatic analogues cited by Cook to shape his dialogue, and, what can any of these tell us

about who speaks which lines? Although Hill is careful to say that the antiphon provides "only the inspiration, not the vorlage, of the Old English poem," he does state, "The antiphon concerns the conflicting emotions which Joseph expresses in the dialogue and the conclusion of the antiphon with its reference to the annunciation is echoed in Mary's final speech in lines 196-213." Hill thus supports the division of speeches between Mary and Joseph advocated by Cook and Campbell. C.G. Harlow, on the other hand, makes a strong case for Cosijn's line division; believing the antiphon is at best a "parallel," Harlow asserts that although an antiphon like "O Joseph" may have been the justification for the seventh section of the poem, "the poem takes the place of the antiphon, rather than deriving from it." Harlow proceeds to support her division of speeches by noting parallels in the analogues and by showing how the poet may be adapting a feature found in the Greek analogues, that of having one character repeat part of the other character's speech. Despite the often convincing evidence presented by Harlow, I am inclined to follow the speech divisions of Cook et al., particularly since liturgical parallels (responses and antiphons) and even scripture support the portrayal of a confident Mary and fearful Joseph. By summarizing the debate and examining the liturgical parallels, I hope to show that the poet's free handling of his antiphonal source, as in other sections of the poem, is still quite dependent upon the antiphon that inspired it. Although the shaping of this section may not be due to typological associations inspired by the antiphonal phrases of "O Joseph," the poet is guided primarily by the way in which the doubting of Mary is treated in the liturgy, and the "O Joseph" antiphon does hint at the way the lines of dialogue should be divided.

Thomas D. Hill (Cornell University)

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

The Old English Solomon and Saturn I is a fascinating and maddeningly difficult poem which hovers on the borderline between magic and religion. It might best be described as a work of Christian magic concerned with the powers of the Pater Noster which is envisaged not as a prayer with specific conceptual content, but rather as a powerful incantation whose letters are champions which can defeat the powers of evil in armed combat. One of the claims for the Pater Noster which the poet makes is that the personified Pater Noster can afflict the devil with boiling drops of blood. This claim has never been discussed and no parallels for it have ever been adduced. There are however relevant analogues in Old Norse-Icelandic religious literature in which the saint or holy man (or woman) scalds the personification of pagan evil with tears and prayers and thus effects the cleansing of the land. The source of this motif is unknown, and I would argue that it derives from Germanic folk belief about the power of tears to affect the dead and was adapted into a Christian context relatively early during the conversion of the Germanic-speaking peoples in England and Northern Europe.

Session 326: "Aspects of Insular Culture: New Perspectives from Ireland"

Michael Kenny (National Museum of Ireland)

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

The archaeological evidence for the history of Viking-age Ireland has grown immeasurably over the past few decades. A high proportion of the material recovered, both through excavations and metal detecting, has come from the north midlands, underlining the wealth, strength and importance of the kingdom of Meath, especially in the tenth century. The concentration of wealth especially around Lough Owel and Lough Ennell, the heartland of the ruling dynasty, has also provided a new perspective upon the relationship between Meath, the strongest political entity, and Dublin, the country's most important commercial center. This economic and political relationship has been somewhat neglected by historians who have concentrated upon the rise to power of Brian Ború at the end of the century.

An interesting element in the Meath finds is the considerable number of coin hoards which have come to light. The geographical and chronological concentration of these hoards is highly significant, particularly in the light of the traditional belief that only the Vikings used coins. This paper argues that the hoard evidence opens up a whole new perspective on this vexed question and that it lays to rest, in no uncertain manner, the picture of mutually exclusive societies of coin users and non coin users. It makes the point that since many of the "hoards" are so small, the very term is something of a misnomer and suggests, from an analysis of the evidence, the possibility of wider usage of coins than hitherto believed. The sheer insignificance of coins in bullion terms needs also to be emphasized, and I argue that coins discovered in two's, three's, and four's are just as likely to have been lost in trading as in raiding and could conceivably have been lost out of circulation. I also suggest that the undoubted relations which existed between Meath and Dublin over a long period were such as to have ensured a knowledge of, and use for, coins among the people of Meath.

Ken Bender (Cornell University)

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

Recent archaeological work in Lough Ennell has shown that this lake once contained many artificial islands and other features. Since archaeological work completed in non-contextual situation is meaningless, an attempt to determine the relative importance of this lake and the surrounding countryside was made through an examination of the surviving Irish annals. It seems that this lake was quite important throughout the Early Christian time period and the later Middle Ages. This paper presents some conclusions about the annal references and their bearing on the study of the lake and its archaeological features.

More specifically, an examination of early Irish literature reveals that Lough Ennell and its immediate surroundings were the home of at least two royal dynasties, a monastic community and at least one very revered individual known as St. Cron. Some of the archaeological features, such as crannogs and forts, can be named from references found in the annals, and certain passages seem to indicate that those holding power in the area were not to be disturbed.

Further entries reveal that Lough Ennell and its islands were the scene of violent warfare, and several deaths are recorded. This study has also traced the name of the lake back to its origin and has examined the names of many of the islands and adjoining parishes in an attempt to further elucidate facts about the lake. All of these facts come together to form an interesting history of one of Ireland's central lakes, and form a background in which archaeologists may carry out their examinations.

Catherine Karkov (Cornell University)

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

It has long been recognized that the monastery of Clonmacnoise (Offaly) was the home of an important and influential school of stone sculptors throughout the Medieval period. The exact manner in which stylistic and/or iconographic dissemination took place has, however, never received sufficient attention. This paper focuses on a select group of grave-slabs whose designs are considered to be characteristic of the school. These same designs also occur on grave-slabs at a number of other monasteries in the Shannon Valley and Irish Midlands. Their distribution indicates that artistic exchange was likely to have taken place by water.

The first half of this paper is devoted to a discussion of the grave-slabs themselves, considering such issues as date, iconography and circumstances of manufacture. The second half deals with the riverine systems of communication, which the distribution of the grave-slabs indicates once existed. Finally, this system of exchange is placed within the larger context of riverine and lacustrine systems of trade, travel and communication, characteristic of both secular and ecclesiastical establishments in
the Medieval Irish midlands.

V. Other Sessions

Session 23: "English Medieval Prosopography"

Janice R. Norris (SUNY-Binghamton)

"English Women in Religious Life before 1066"

This paper is a prosopographical study of English women in religious life during the Anglo-Saxon era and focuses upon the foundation period for female monasticism in England, the period before the Viking invasions. At least forty-one houses were destroyed and, at the time of the Conquest, only nine female religious houses remained.

For purpose of convenience, I have grouped the women into the traditional categories of virgin (or unmarried woman), widow and wife. Women in each of these groups were active in religious life, the majority of which was focused on a monastery.

Frequently a king or nobleman would give lands to the Church for the foundation of a convent and place a daughter as head of that foundation. Often several generations of women from the same family would be appointed as abbesses. A common pattern for widows was to retire to a convent founded by the family, where a daughter was abbess.

An interesting insight has come from this brief study on family connection through the female line. There are numerous examples of women, married into another kingdom, who return or are brought back, often through several generations, to head a convent founded by or for a mother, grandmother, aunt or grand aunt. There was a strong female connection within families. Genealogies of women in religious life present a particular problem. The most "holy" of women do not reproduce: there is no tongue-in-cheek "niece" for these women. Rather than being dead to their families, nuns remained very much a part of them. Information uncovered implies that these women understood the strength of female relationships and, because many of them were childless, relied on female relatives rather than the patriarchal family structure, for support and continuance of their work.

Session 51: "Old English I"

Nancy L. Conner (Brown University)

"Father Knows Best...Sometimes: Parental Advice in Cynewulf's Elene and Juliana"

Recent criticism has focused on the theme of wisdom in Old English poetry, especially as it is passed on from father to son in such poems as Precepts or Beowulf (e.g. Hansen). In Elene and Juliana, Cynewulf manipulates an identifiable parental advice topos in order to invest his female saints with authority. Elene, Christian queen and a leader of the Roman army, already possesses a great deal of authority. She gains even more--and within her opponent's own sphere--when Judas relates the family lore and advice passed down to him by his father. Juliana, on the other hand, initially appears to have little authority of her own, yet she gains authority throughout the poem. She begins to do so by recognizing her father's urgings to marry Heliseus and to worship pagan gods as bad advice.

By examining the language of several poems which contain the parental advice topos, I have identified certain stock characteristics attributed to the imparter (age, wisdom, and affection) and to the hearer (youth, inexperience, emotion, excess) of advice. Cynewulf manipulates or inverts these characteristics, signalling to his audience where the authority lies, despite appearances. In doing so, he opens up a conventional
celebration of the transmission of wisdom from father to son to give these women their place among the powerful and the wise.

Session 79: "Old and Middle English Poetic Continuity: Layamon's Brut"

Kenneth Tiller (University of Notre Dame)

"The Old English Narrative Roots of Layamon's Brut"

This study traces the narrative devices of binary opposition and parallelism through Old English literature in Layamon's Brut, dealing with representative passages from Beowulf, The Wanderer, "The Battle of Brunanburh," and Ælfric's Lives of Saints. Using selected passages for the Brut, the continuation of Old English narrative techniques, especially balance and opposition, is discussed. From the standpoint of narrative structure, these passages resemble those of the earlier works. Furthermore, Layamon's Brut, like Beowulf, uses parallel themes as a frame for the entire narrative. The Brut, therefore, should be read as a continuous cycle, not as a set of loosely connected episodes.

Session 92: "Medieval Sermon Studies: In Memory of Eugene A. Green II"

James E. Cross (University of Liverpool)

"Archbishop Wulfstan and Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés"

Dorothy Bethurum demonstrated that Wulfstan used one sermon by Abbo for one of his vernacular homilies (Bethurum no. XV), but her investigation was limited to the five Abbo sermons in print (PL 132). In collaboration with Alan Brown, Cross argues that Wulfstan read a full collection of Abbo's sermons, by considering manuscripts associated with Wulfstan against manuscripts of Abbo's homiliary. As part of the discussion, he considers the debate on the distinctive correcting and glossing hand, which Neil Ker attributed to Wulfstan himself.

Thomas L. Amos (Hill Monastic Microfilm Library)

"Early Medieval Sermons and Their Audience"

Sermons occupy an anomalous position in the historical literature. By their very nature most sermons were, we believe, primarily items of oral discourse, or monuments of oral culture, or of the oral elements in literate cultures. They were delivered as spoken addresses to a particular audience. As sources for the history of the sermon, we rely on their written remains in the forms of individual sermons and homiliaries. The sermon as historical source thus becomes a point of contact between literate culture and oral culture.

In this paper, I examine the early medieval sermon as a vehicle of communication between an emerging literate clerical culture, which wrote, read or spoke the sermons, and the culture of the illiterate vernacular groups for whom these sermons were mainly intended. This examination focuses primarily on two areas: what we can say about the differences between the two cultures, and how early medieval sermons reflect those differences to bridge a gap between the two groups.

In exploring these problems, this paper draws on the work of cognitive psychologists, cultural anthropologists and historians who have examined the effects of literacy as an area of historical and human development. One consistent thematic pattern which emerges from these works is the idea that members of predominantly illiterate cultures may not be as able to internalize abstract concepts as are members of literate cultures. If this pattern is valid, it has significant implications for the early medieval sermon. It helps us to understand the emphasis on the externals of Christianity in those sermons in terms of teaching morality as types of good and bad actions, reducing abstract ideas to formulaic statements and the seeming failure of sermons to reflect the theological disputes of their day. The internal structures of the sermons reveal the understanding that their authors had of this gap through the devices which sermon authors used to get their messages across to their largely illiterate audiences.

In the nature of contemporary sermon studies, much good work has been done and is being done on editions, sources and other aspects of the sermon as literary document. Within the context of this work, however, it is helpful on occasion to return to the functions that these sermons originally fulfilled. We may never be able to reconstruct entirely the sermon as oral document or completely assess the impact it had on its audience. We still need to do as much of this reconstructive work as we can. Frank Lloyd Wright's dictum that "form follows function" may also be useful for sermon studies, if we can pin down such a relationship.

Session 127: "Philology Old and New, As Applied to Medieval Texts I"

John F. Vickery (Lehigh University)

"The Old English Finn-Stories: The Monsters and the Critics"

Few scholars now believe that the word eoten in the Finn Episode in Beowulf literally means "giant" or that it is a figurative and derogatory term for the Danes' enemies. Most believe that eoten there means "Jute." Yet arguments such as Tolkien's are not conclusive. He shows that eoten might mean "Jute" but not that it must. He argues too that the Finn Episode is "'historical' and political." But this may be circular reasoning, for if eoten means "giant" then the Finn Episode and perhaps The Finnsburg Fragment also have an "unhistorical"—i.e., a fabulous—dimension.

Moreover, evidence not yet remarked may bear on the identity of these eotenas. Beowulf 1155 says that the Danes carried away eal ingesteald eorðcyninges and Finnsburg Fragment 32 that Garulf died ealra ærest eorðbuendra. Elsewhere in these compounds eorð- means "terrestrial, of the world": eorðcyningas are "kings of the earth" and eorðbuend are "the people(s) of the earth." Because the sense "terrestrial" sits very oddly in Beowulf 1155 and Fragment 32, the strong disposition has been to take eorð- here to mean "land" in the sense "territory of a prince or people." Possibly eorð- "land" in the Finn stories is a Latinism, but this does not seem very likely. Possibly Old English eorðe/eorð- had the sense "land" other than as a Latinism. But this entails the coincidence not only that eorð- in the sense "land" survived in two texts which are regarded as two versions of the same story but also that in both stories the eorð- compounds refer to Finn and his men.

The sense "earth, of the ground" is well attested for eord- compounds in Beowulf. Thus it seems possible that eord- means "earth-, of the ground" in the Finn stories. The old association between giants and earth itself strengthens the possibility that (originally, at least) eoten in the Finn Episode did mean "giant."

Session 163: "Philology Old and New, As Applied to Medieval Texts II"

Anita R. Riedinger (Southern Illinois University)

"'I Now Pronounce You Wer and Wife': Toward Etymological Equity in Marriage"

In an era known to some as the Dark Ages, men and women were very nearly equal. This was true in literature, language and life: Constantine and Elene command armies; so, too, did the real-life Æðelflæd. In Anglo-Saxon society, both men and women owned land, named heirs, and were equal partners in marriage. This marital equality was reflected in the words wif "woman, wife" and wer "man, husband." The word wif survived, becoming modern English "wife," while the word wer all but disappeared from the lexicon. Before it did so, however, wer had narrowed its primary meaning to "husband," only rarely denoting "man." This change is evident c. 1025 in Apollonius of Tyre, in which wer means only "husband" or "husband-to-be" and only mann means "man." This limited meaning is still extant in the Ormulum and The Owl and the Nightingale. A major reason for its disappearance lies in its narrowed definition: the equality implicit in wer and wif ceases to mirror reality. A new word, "husband," comes in its stead. A Scandinavian loan-word, hus-bonda, or its feminine equivalent hus-bonde, is first recorded in English c. 1000 A.D., when it meant "master"--or "mistress"--"of the house." Social equality is still semantically apparent late in the Old English period. After the Norman Conquest, women's rights were gradually but drastically curtailed. Simultaneously, grammatical gender began to disappear from English. By the mid-thirteenth century, there is no "mistress"; there is only a "master" of the house. And by the end of the century, in Dame Sirith, the housse-bonde has taken a wif; that is, the "master of the house" and his "woman" are wed. They are thereafter known as "husband and wife." This change is foreshadowed even in the Old English Apollonius of Tyre, for though the heroine Arcestrate weds a wer, she is in every way the hero's inferior; thus language and literature start to conflict slightly before the Conquest. By the time the Wife of Bath marries her five housbondes, life, language and literature seem once again united, although the Wife protests.

Session 191: "Old English Language I: Versification"

Thomas Cable (University of Texas-Austin)

"Levels of Representation in Old English Meter"

A traditional account of Old English meter runs as follows: in a stress-timed language, a variable number of unstressed syllables can occur before, between, and after the stressed syllables; Sievers' Five Types impose constraints that exclude many patterns of stress; Kuhn's Laws impose further constraints on stress and also on syntax. Thus, we get exactly the metrical and syntactic patterns that occur, and there are no unexplained gaps in the data. An alternative account of the Old English meter questions both the completeness of the predictions and the adequacy of the accepted principles: there are indeed gaps in the data, which even the combination of Sievers' Five Types and Kuhn's Laws cannot explain; instead of Five Types for the half-line, there are four metrical positions--realized as four syllables or the resolved equivalents--with one optional expansion of unstressed syllables; that optional expansion is the dip into which Kuhn put most of the particles and many of the proclitics. Kuhn's Laws have it backwards. They are epiphenominal, as are Sievers' Five Types, once they are seen as the results of a simpler system and not the system itself. Old English meter is basically syllable-count rather than stress-timed. The alternative explanation has not only simplicity but also greater descriptive and filtering adequacy. Moreover, the principles that do the description and filtering hook up with well-known principles of general prosody (especially those of stress-timing vs. syllable-timing).

Haruko Momma (University of Toronto)

"Beyond Beowulf: Prosodical Plurality in Old English Poetry"

Old English metrics, a highly developed area in the field of Anglo-Saxon studies, has now reached a stage in which its practitioners occupy themselves either with interpreting ambiguous or problematic verses or perfecting highly abstract theories. Despite the depth of their work, however, metrists in the past tended to base their argument almost exclusively on Beowulf, perhaps on the assumption that the poem represents Old English versification at its purest and most correct.

Beowulf, however, contains various metrical patterns that are quite different from the "norm." My paper shows that some metrical types that are supposedly anomalous in Beowulf are in fact found extensively in Old English poetry. For example, the gnomic formula of type ´XXX´ is considered by Beowulf metrists as too rare to be considered a standard metrical type (e.g. 183b wa bid Þæm de sceal); but the same formula occurs in seven other poems of varied genres. Other verses having a syntactic pattern similar to that of the gnomic formula (namely, verses which locate sentence particles after the first stressed element) also seem to puzzle Beowulf metrists (e.g. 2093a to lang ys to reccenne; 1177b bruc Þenden Þu mote); but again such verses are found extensively in other Old English poetry, and are even used formulaically in some works (e.g. Widsith 62a mid Seaxum ic wæs ond Sycgum). Such evidence indicates that Beowulf is not composed of a homogeneous meter but accommodates different types of meter and syntax. The prosodical pluralism in Beowulf should warn us against undiscriminatingly applying a metrical system extracted from the most common yet not compulsory type of meter in Beowulf to all verses occurring in the work, let alone to those in other Old English poems.

Geoffrey Russom (Brown University)

"Old Saxon Evidence for the Old English Elision Rule"

Sievers observed that in Old English type-B verses the number of syllables between the stresses (in the

second "thesis") almost never exceeds two. In my Old English Meter and Linguistic Theory, this restriction follows from first principles, and admits of no genuine exceptions. Like Sievers, I explain apparent exceptions by a rule of elision that allows a vowel in the thesis to be disregarded if followed immediately by another vowel, as for example in Beowulf 517b, he Þe æt sunde oferflat. Elision is so seldom necessary in Old English poetry, however, that Sievers regarded its status as uncertain.

Old Saxon verse employs far more unstressed syllables per half-line than does Old English verse. The Heliand has thirteen half-lines comparable to Beowulf 517b. This is a high percentage of the twenty-seven type-B half-lines in the poem with three or more syllables between the stresses. Many type-B half-lines with two syllables between the stresses are available for comparison. There are well over 500 of these, but only twenty-two have adjacent vowels in the second thesis. Most of the fourteen anomalous B half-lines without elision seem to result from a common type of scribal error detectible through comparison of the C and M manuscripts. In six cases the anomaly appears in one MS only, corresponding to a regular half-line in the other MS. I conclude that elision was a well-defined traditional option not only for Old English poets but for West Germanic poets generally.

Session 227: "Old English Language II: Syntax"

Mary Blockley (University of Texas-Austin)

"What's nu ða?: Beowulf 426b and other 'Peculiar Combinations'"

If the following sounds more like meter than syntax, the blame can be given to the persistent uncritical acceptance of Kuhn's Laws in studies of syntax as well as of meter. Four sets of paired adverbs are, if taken as non-compound, in frequent violation of these Laws: nu git, ða git, nu ða, and ða gen. Kuhn's Laws require stress on both of the adverbs in each of the two occurrences of nu ða in Beowulf. The rule against double alliteration in the b-verse, as Klaeber notes, is decisive for scanning these as C-types, with only the nu stressed. The Paris Psalter contains twelve instances of nu ða, and in each of them the meter requires stress on the nu and disallows it on the ða. This is also true of some (though not all) examples in other poems. In none must stress be given to the ða. Elsewhere in the ASPR the metrical stress of nu ða is indeterminate. Within Beowulf there are many instances where the meter dictates the stress for the combinations nu git and ða git (also, though less immediately relevant, for ða gen). The poets recognized that the stress for the combination nu ða was not like that of other adverbial combinations. A more radical view begins with the idea that the metrical stress assigned to one of the last two syllables is a result of other principles than Kuhn's restrictions on Sievers' types.

John W. Schwetman (Sam Houston State University)

"Metrical Grammars of Old English Poetry: Why Do So Many Nice People Want to Do That Sort of Thing?"

There must be something about the language of Old English poetry that invites investigators to attempt to form generalizations about poetic form or style based on the analysis of syntax. Such studies have produced "Kuhn's Laws," Sievers' "Rule of Precedence," "Bliss's Rule," judgments by writers like S. O. Andrew and D. Slay, and a sizable number of studies based on them.

However, these attempts do not generally yield satisfactory results when viewed from a linguistic perspective. Some of them are based on an erroneous view of the importance of word order to the syntax of the Old English poetic language; they view the language of the poetry to be primarily synthetic rather than analytic. Others mistake stylistic preference for linguistic necessity. They describe performance, not competence, and produce rules with adequacy only as literary critical observations, not as linguistic rules.

Perhaps it is the apparent leanness of the language of Old English poetry that leads to such attempts, for no one seems inclined to write such descriptions of Robert Browning's The Ring and the Book or William Wordsworth's The Prelude. Regardless of the reason for their production, such efforts towards generalizations about the language of Old English poetry based on syntactic analysis are also fraught with difficulty.

Andrew Troup (University of Texas-Austin)

"On the Existence of Compound Relative Pronouns in Old English"

According to Bruce Mitchell, three groups of relative pronouns introduce the majority of relative clauses in Old English: (1) the indeclinable particle Þe, (2) the declinable pronoun se (masculine), seo (feminine), Þæt (neuter), which can also function as a demonstrative, and (3) the compound relatives, which are combinations of se, seo, Þæt, and Þe. Because relative pronouns in English (and most other languages) agree with their antecedents in number and gender–but take case from their own clauses–a problem arises for the compound relatives, which have two elements. The second element, Þe, is always assumed to take its case from the relative clause because it is indeclinable. The first element, however, a form of se, seo, Þæt, may take its case from the relative clause or from the principal clause. In fact, it may be unclear which clause assigns case to the first element of the compound relative.

Taking a different view of the problem, Elizabeth Traugott writes that there are only "two main types of relative pronoun in OE": (1) Þe, and (2) se, seo, Þæt. As a "third very rare relative" Traugott accepts only combinations of se, seo, Þæt and Þe in which the first element clearly takes its case from the relative clause. Is there really such a thing as a compound relative in Old English, or are there only two major relative pronoun groups with the vast majority of the apparent compounds containing examples of the two major types used side by side for emphasis?

The conclusion I have reached is that the combinations of se, seo, Þæt and Þe function syntactically as two separate units, whereas semantically and stylistically they function as a single unit–a compound. Mitchell and Traugott are both accurate (to some degree) in their contrasting analyses of relative pronouns in Old English.

Session 254: "Philological Approaches to Anglo-Saxon Texts"

Sherry Brennan (Loyola University-Chicago)

"Heremod and Beowulf: A Genealogy of Editorial Interpretation"

A culturally motivated displacement of the name of Heremod, the character of Beowulf and the use of genealogical records occurs between J. M. Kemble's edition of Beowulf (1833 and 1837) and that of Fr. Klaeber (1922-50). Where their texts read most alike--where they, as editors, must fill in the gaps most assiduously to perpetuate their readings--a genealogical analysis can trace the history of this particular displacement.

In the first passage on Heremod (Klaeber 901-15), Kemble reads heremod (Klaeber 901) as a noun, "the warrior," referring to Sigemund, while Klaeber reads it as a proper noun, building the character Heremod in his notes. In lines 913-15, hine, referring back to heremod, is compared to Beowulf. Hine is not a philological or grammatical problem, yet it cannot be read until heremod is read. As Beowulf exists in this passage only in terms of a comparison, reading hine--both semantically and interpretively--becomes particularly imperative.

For Kemble, hine leads to the Anglo-Saxon genealogies where a mythic trio of Teutonic god-heroes appears as the ancestors of English kings--Sigemund, Heremod (suppressed here but discussed elsewhere by Kemble), and Beowulf. Kemble's suppression of Heremod in this passage allows Beowulf (who, according to Kemble, is defined as the father of the Teutonic tribes by the genealogies) to be read as more glorious than Sigemund. For Klaeber, hine also leads to the genealogies of Heremod and Beowulf, but here to prove that Heremod is the fallen evil ruler, succeeded by Beowulf, the God-like one.

Session 299: "Classical Influences in Anglo-Saxon Literature"

Alexandra Olsen (University of Denver)

"Late Latin Modularity and the Aesthetics of the Old English Phoenix"

The Old English Phoenix is famous as an example of a poem that permits us to study how an Old English poet treated materials that he borrowed from Continental Latin sources, recasting his material in a form of interest to his audience. The study of poems like The Phoenix has been primarily carried out by scholars who suggest that Latin culture and ways of thinking dominated the vernacular poetry to the exclusion of the continuance of the vernacular tradition. However, they have also tended to view Latin culture as single and undifferentiated and have failed to discuss the diversity of the Latin literary tradition. I address one aspect of that diverse tradition which I believe has been overlooked in reference to Old English poetry, the "modularity" characteristic of Patristic and Carolingian Latin Poetry. I believe that so doing helps us to understand the aesthetics of The Phoenix in a new and valuable way. In particular, I discuss the last eleven lines of The Phoenix, the macaronic lines, which demonstrate modularity and which help us to understand the changes in English poetics.

Adam Davis (University of Missouri-Columbia)

"The Non-linguistic Use of Latin in the Old English Charms"

While it is virtually impossible to make a non-controversial assertion about language, it would seem safe to say that it generally seeks communication. Yet the "nonsense" charms in Old English represent a conundrum: they make clear use of phonological, morphological and syntactic features of known communication-systems (languages), and demonstrate stability in transmission not usually typical of any but the briefest nonsense-chants, yet they commingle systems and features in such a way as to defeat communication. Yet they are not strictly nonsense, for in performance they have illocutionary force with widely-acknowledged psychotherapeutic effects, and they serve also to confer status upon the charmer as she gains linguistic control of the politically, religiously and intellectually privileged, male realm of Latinity. Close examination of the Anglo-Saxon charm against poisonous swellings shows that the nonsense is actually organized by sound-patterning which is meant to have extratextual effects and to be accompanied by ritual performatives, and avails itself, of the deep, resonant lexical associations of individual morphs in a way typical of oral traditional song.

Session 310: "Towards the Problem of an Early Medieval German Rhetoric"

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

"Semantic Resonance and the Composition of Beowulf"

This paper argues that the key to the elusive connection between sound and sense in Beowulf lies in "the psychological history of the West" and a fresh appreciation of an older, participative view of language, in which the connection between sound and meaning is organic, and not arbitrary and conventional, as it is in an age of rational dissociation. Our critical problem may originate in an anachronistic projection of an a priori separation of sound and sense. Many particular connections, therefore, have been proposed, but no general explanation. In 1934, J. O. Beaty described the "echo-word," in groups sounding enough alike to be mutually suggestive in sense as well. His insights have been extended into "alliterative collocations" which "interanimate" one another, "extensions" of general meaning, "echoic repetitions," and the use of these in "generative composition," and so on, into formulaic and type-scene criticism as further aesthetic appreciations of the poem's "larger rhetorical patterns." But the Beowulf-poet may have been closer and thus more alert to the radical derivation of words from Indo-European roots, so that in his mind phonological and semantic patterns were still parallel and interrelated in fact, and thus consciously rather than intuitively available for poetic use. The ninth-century Sanskritic concept of dhvani, "reverberation" or "suggestion," as a special case of sphota theory, in which meaning erupts into sound and organizes it into language, presupposes that language is organic rather than only conventional. An analogous Germanic understanding of such "semantic resonance," not as an accident, but as the very nature of language, may have been available to the Beowulf-poet, either through tradition or through his position vis-à-vis tradition.

Session 332: "English Hagiography and the Norman Transition"

Robert Stanton (University of Toronto)

"Restauratio posteritatis: Osbern of Canterbury's Vita Sancti Elphegi"

Osbern of Canterbury's prose Vita sancti Elphegi (ca. 1080-1090) is a conscious and skillful attempt to assign martyrial status to St. Ælfheah, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was murdered by the Danes in 1012. A metrical vita of the same saint is now lost, although a lively account of the translation of Ælfheah's body in 1023 remains extant. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and one continental account briefly treat the Archbishop's death, noting that he was killed because of his refusal to pay ransom. Osbern's account, apparently reflecting local tradition, alters the picture considerably: the saint's evangelical activities are now portrayed as a direct threat to the strength of the Danish occupying force. Osbern's depiction of the Danes is conservative--it falls squarely in line with the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and later English historical writing--but it serves a conscious function in the creation of a legitimate basis for Christian martyrdom.

Osbern combines hagiographic topoi and fiery rhetoric with a vivid imagination to produce a vita which is conventional but immediate. The value of oral tradition is specifically acknowledged: Osbern says that the Danes spared certain English people as witnesses to their cruelty, adding that their accounts can now serve to restore posterity (both to Ælfheah and to Christ Church Canterbury, which fostered his cult). The vita must be examined in the context of Christ Church's attempt to strengthen its position under the new Norman ecclesiastical regime.

This paper examines in detail the prose vita's language and style, its use of local oral tradition, its relation to earlier accounts, and its influence on later English historical treatments. The genesis of the work (as described in Eadmer's Vita sancti Anselmi) and the attendant political circumstances are studied in relation to the highly self-conscious artistic result. What emerges is the creation of a legitimate English martyr, acceptable not only to English believers but also to the new ecclesiastical regime.

VI. Conference on "The Editing of Old English Texts," Manchester Center for Anglo-Saxon Studies, co-sponsored with the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, SUNY-Binghamton, May 25-27, 1990.

Graham Caie (University of Copenhagen)

"On Editing the Anglo-Saxon Poems in MS CCCC 201"

In this paper I recommend that editors of individual Old English works should pay close attention to the manuscript context. Works are normally extracted from context, given a modern title that influences the reader's interpretation, and presented as neat, isolated items, when in fact they may be closely connected physically or thematically with surrounding items.

To give an example of the importance of manuscript context, I shall take the poems in the mid-11th century MS CCCC 201 that I am editing: Judgment Day II, An Exhortation to Christian Living, Summons to Prayer, Lord's Prayer II, and Gloria I. The first of these has attracted some critical comment, but the others have been neglected and the group as a whole rarely noticed. I should like to suggest that this collection of poems, in spite of differences in dating, authorship and manuscript hand, might be considered in this manuscript as a collection of devotional exercises and that the compiler of the manuscript saw them as a unit, possibly for the use of a priest to a lay penitent. I intend to demonstrate thematic and linguistic links between the poems, and by a comparison with a Wulfstanian prose homily in MS Hatton 113 to demonstrate how these poems lead the reader on a journey of penance to final absolution in the Gloria.

Richard Dammery (Trinity College, Cambridge)

"Editing the Anglo-Saxon Laws"

In 1568 John Day of Aldersgate printed the editio princeps of the Anglo-Saxon laws, entitled Archaionomia. It was published in the name of William Lambarde, though it was prepared from transcripts provided by Laurence Nowell. Several of these transcripts were discovered after the publication of Felix Liebermann's monumental edition (Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen, Halle 1903-16), and they provide important evidence about the manuscripts used by the early antiquaries. Thus, although Liebermann's edition represents one of the great nineteenth-century editorial achievements in the field of medieval studies, it would be wrong to call it definitive. His texts are largely accurate, but Liebermann's treatment of the law-codes is flawed in three fundamental respects:

(1) in his consideration of the textual transmission;
(2) in his naming and classification of the law-codes;
(3) in his division of the texts into chapters.

Through the use of examples, this paper seeks to show that one's interpretation of the law-codes is conditioned detrimentally by the presentation of the texts in Liebermann's Gesetze, and it offers some suggestions about how one might address these failures when re-editing the Anglo-Saxon laws.

Marilyn Deegan and Peter Robinson (Oxford University)

"The Electronic Edition"

The use of computers in the editing of medieval texts has been increasing rapidly over the last ten years. This presentation examined some of the issues involved in this area, and demonstrated some possibilities for the future.

First of all, Marilyn Deegan discussed some of the ways in which computers have helped scholars with every stage of the preparation of the traditional edition. The advent of easy-to-use word processing software has facilitated the transcription and preparation of texts and variants; glossary making is aided by concordancing and text retrieval packages; the availability of large text corpora (like the Toronto Corpus of Old English) in machine-readable form facilitates the finding of sources and parallels; electronic typesetting machines used by publishers make the preparation of final copy faster and less prone to error.

Peter Robinson then demonstrated some of the possible features of an "Electronic Edition," using a Macintosh Hypercard stack. This drew together a reconstructed text and translation of the first verse of the Old Norse poem "Gróugaldr" with transcripts of this verse in four manuscripts, reproductions of these manuscripts, collations of these and another forty manuscripts, tables of orthography, cross-references, commentary, and dictionary entries. Finally, forty-four manuscripts were recollated by the computer against a different master text as the audience watched: "electronic editions" may permit scholars to make and remake their own editions from the information they provide.

A.N. Doane (University of Wisconsin, Madison)

"Oral Texts and Editors"

If an editor assumes that an Old English text was of oral origin or meant to be projected orally, that is, that the text was an oral production first and only incidentally a written one, then s/he is obliged to consider the theoretical relation of vocality and textuality and the implications of these notions for editorial methods in Old English. Texts produced orally do not descend and do not show variants of some more original text. Further, the idealized schema of "meter" cannot be used as an editing tool or even one that controls printed layout. Each orally produced text is an actual form in its own right, not a more or less distorted reflection of an ideal text. The orality of the text, and the influence of oral practice and oral thinking on writing, may be reflected not just in the string of letters making up the "text," but also in such "incidental" marks and features in the manuscript as suprasegmental spacing and accenting that might show influence of oral thinking on written production. these are features that ought to be accounted for by the editor whether s/he conceives of the edited text as a "record" or a "score." This paper considers the theory of this problem and the practice by attempting an "oral" edition of the Old English "Sudden Stitch" charm (Krapp-Dobbie, Charm No. 4).

Malcolm Godden (Exeter College, Oxford)

"Editing Old English and the Problem of King Alfred's Boethius"

A review of the history of the Early English Text Society reveals many of the problems of editing Old English. The current program of re-editing reflects an awareness of the limitations of many earlier editions and of a shift in requirements and emphasis. As an example of the problems, one can consider the standard edition of Alfred's Boethius: a monument to philology, but a virtually impenetrable barrier to Alfred's own thought and expression. It is a hybrid of two distinct versions, one all in prose and the other using both verse and prose, with different structural arrangements and different readings in matters of detail. Both versions can be shown to go back to the author. A straightforward and accessible edition could be based on the twelfth-century manuscript of the prose version, but an edition of the verse and prose version remains a major desideratum: it reflects the author's own revision, but its nature and structure are obscured by the standard edition and it has never been properly appreciated. But there is a problem over accidentals. The only manuscript of this version was badly damaged in the Cotton fire, and although its basic structure and all readings of substance can be recovered from the Junius collations the prose version remains the only witness for the precise form of many words. Should the editor combine readings from both versions — and if so, should the hybrid quality be marked by the array of brackets and italics which so disfigures Sedgefield's edition — or is it possible and valid to reconstruct for the missing text spellings and inflections reflecting the usage of the early tenth-century Cotton manuscript?

J.R. Hall (University of Mississippi)

"The First Two Editions of Beowulf: Thorkelin's (1815) and Kemble's (1833)"

Although Grímur Jónsson Thorkelin rendered a great service to his contemporaries by editing the first edition of Beowulf (1815), his text and translation were severely — and justly — criticized for their great inaccuracy. Yet Thorkelin had a good idea of the issues an editor should address. For example, in his preface he dates the historical setting of the poem and the time of the poem's composition, suggests how the poem (which he regarded as originally Danish) came to be translated into Old English, introduces the questions of the poem's pagan and Christian elements, cites an authority on the date of the manuscript, refers to the loss of text in the manuscript from the Cotton fire, and discusses the margin-to-margin appearance of the poem in the manuscript as well as the manuscript's unsystematic morpheme division. The next edition of Beowulf (1833), by John M. Kemble, shows little if any advance in editorial conception but does show great improvement in execution. Kemble's text is much more accurate than Thorkelin's, and Kemble's understanding of the poem is much superior; further, unlike Thorkelin, Kemble attempts to distinguish in the printed text between editorial restorations and actual manuscript readings. But Kemble's contempt for the manuscript (which he did little to describe) prevented him from achieving great textual accuracy, and his contempt for Thorkelin's edition prevented him from crediting Thorkelin with many restorations he adopted and from benefitting fully from Thorkelin's treatment of editorial matters.

Antonette diPaolo Healey (University of Toronto)

"The Search for Meaning"

This paper describes those features in an edition which are most valuable to lexicographers as they map out the shape of the language. The single most important feature is an accurate transcript of the manuscript, and a plea is made to editors to show a tolerance for possible forms so that these words can be admitted into the lexicon. The ill treatment accorded words beginning with the compound prefix gebe- is described by way of illustration.

Because of the nature of their work, lexicographers dip in and out of scores of editions a day. The most essential information must be immediately available for them to write entries efficiently: the clear identification of the base manuscript not only in the introduction but in the text itself (this is especially important when the base changes); the accurate recording of all lexical variants and principal spelling variants; a

glossary which is an index verborum; the presentation of the Latin source (if there is one) together in one volume with the Old English text.

Lexicographers would also find it helpful if editors would more frequently offer supporting evidence for meanings of poorly attested words, seeking help from the cognate Germanic languages, from Middle English and Modern English. Even words which are frequently attested can profit from an editor's examination of external evidence for specialized meanings as is illustrated by the ironic use of beÞurfan in comparative constructions. Moreover, lexicographers are especially indebted to those editors who take care in stating when a definition is uncertain, providing a list of possibilities and their reasons for choosing one meaning over another if any present themselves. This paper concludes with a cautionary lesson both to editors and lexicographers on how a word can take on a life of its own when it is incorrectly treated by them.

D.R. Howlett (Dictionary of Medieval Latin, Oxford University)

"New Criteria for Editing Beowulf"

In this paper, D.R. Howlett considers passages which editors have assumed to be intact or only slightly damaged for indications that the poet composed in precise parallel and chiastic units, which can be recognized by the repetition of words, the statement and restatement of ideas, and the balance of paired fits. The integrity of units identified on lexical and semantic grounds can be confirmed by the counting of verses, words, and syllables, which reveals perfect symmetries and divisions by extreme and mean ratio.

Magna est veritas.

Clare A. Lees (Fordham University)

"Whose Text is it Anyway? Contexts for Editing Old English Prose"

One relatively unexplored dimension of editorial theory and practice is the provision of different texts for varied readers, especially students. Accordingly, this paper poses the question of whose text is it in order to examine the interrelationship between the canon of Old English works in textbooks and anthologies and the broader research paradigms of the discipline of Anglo-Saxon studies. I concentrate on one aspect of this interrelationship: the lack of attention paid to prose, particularly hagiography, in the teaching canon. Prefaces to textbooks and anthologies indicate that radical differences in the selection of texts in early and late twentieth-century collections are now justified by, and concealed by, ambiguous appeals to "tradition." In fact, the view of Anglo-Saxon culture presented in the canon now concentrates on the poetic, the Christian, the aristocratic, and the masculine. This homogeneity provides evidence for attitudes toward teaching and Anglo-Saxon studies today but says little about the historical and material contexts of Old English works. A brief examination of the manuscript contexts of the best-known collection of Saints' Lives, Ælfric's Lives of Saints, (specifically, the relationship between the Preface and the collection, and that between the Ælfrician Life of Eugenia and the anonymous Life of Euphrosyne) demonstrates just how problematic is the conventional view of these works as a single-authored, unified text.

In sum, I suggest that we consider the production of texts as a dynamic, historically grounded, and culturally determined process. The recognition of these material processes, such as the institutionalization of teaching and of the function of the author in contemporary Anglo-Saxon studies, will help us to redefine our notions of the binarisms of authors and editors, teachers and students, texts and contexts. In practical terms, these dynamic interrelationships can be presented best by electronic editions, designed for both students and scholars.

Theodore Leinbaugh (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill)

"Editorial and Textual Problems in Ælfric's Lives of Saints"

Ælfric's Lives of Saints presents a number of editorial and textual problems. Our chief manuscript witness to this work, Cotton Julius E. vii, contains several items by Ælfric that are not saints' lives (including five liturgical homilies) as well as items not written by Ælfric. Since the Julius manuscript does not reliably reflect Ælfric's original plan for the Lives, we cannot be certain whether he intended to include the five liturgical homilies presently found in the Julius manuscript or whether these are the additions of a later compiler. Before answering this larger question, it will be necessary to study the manuscript affiliations, the sources, and the textual history of the individual liturgical homilies in order to better understand how Ælfric viewed them and what role he may have meant for them to play in his educational scheme.

My paper examines Lives of Saints I and its relationship to four other texts: a revised version, item IX in Belfour's collection, a largely parallel Latin sermon presumably written by Ælfric, Sermo in Natale Domini et de Ratione Anime (found in MS. Boulogne-sur-Mer 63), the source for this Latin sermon, Alcuin's De Ratione Animae Liber ad Eulaliam Virginem, and King Alfred's version of Boethius's Consolation of Philosophy, which is the probable source for brief sections of Lives of Saints I and Belfour IX. I generally accept Malcolm Godden's views on the relations between these texts (but for one caveat) and conclude my paper by examining textual problems that can be illumined by identifying Ælfric's sources.

Hugh Magennis (Queen's University, Belfast)

"Editing Old English Texts for Student Use: The Example of the Legend of the Seven Sleepers"

Conscious of the need for editions of Old English texts — particularly of prose texts — of a wider range than is currently available, I have recently been preparing an edition of the Legend of the Seven Sleepers. This text was chosen because it presents an attractive story, congenial to a modern audience, but also because it is highly representative of Old English literature. It illustrates the significant genre of hagiography and it throws interesting light on aspects of West Saxon literary activity in the late Old English period. Editions of other hagiographical texts and of other types of texts could also usefully be produced to supplement existing teaching materials.

The presentation of text in my edition was guided by a number of underlying principles, the first being that although the text should be based firmly on the manuscript evidence it should be supplied in a readable and accessible

form. The editorial approach followed was that of the "corrected base text." The text in a student edition should be presented in modern punctuation and in as uncluttered a layout as possible, with a minimum of textual signalling. A fully parsing glossary should be included but not a translation of the Old English. The text of the Latin source (if there is one) should be given, accompanied by a translation. The Introduction should avoid the minutiae of scholarly discussion and should emphasize practical considerations, particularly in the treatment of language. My own edition has sections on vocabulary and syntax as well as a summary of unusual linguistic forms.

Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (Texas A&M Univ.)

"Editing and the Material Text"

Solomon and Saturn I, as a poem surviving in two manuscripts (CCCC 42 and CCCC 41), illustrates some of the difficulties in the traditional practice of textual editing for Old English verse and raises issues about the editing of Old English verse in multiple manuscripts, the relative significance of two manuscript records, the question of manuscript authority, the validity of a composite text and of an authoritative edition. The editions of Solomon and Saturn I are united in reducing variance and ignoring manuscript format, spacing, capitalization, and punctuation. The principles behind such an editorial stance conceive of the text as essentially separable from the manuscripts which transmit it and ignore the material text in an attempt to recover an ideal, anhistorical version.

The material text (that is, the poem as transmitted and presented in an individual manuscript) is the fundamental unit in which the poem appears in the world. Not only is the manuscript the vehicle of transmission, it contains, both in its variants and in its visual array, a discrete body of information which requires representation. The double problem which historically sensitive editing, then, seeks to address is to present a readable text (situating the poetic work in our time) and to represent the variants and visual information of the individual manuscript states (acknowledging the importance of the material text as a form in which the poem entered history). In this way, an edition permits a poem to exist in dialogue with the present.

J.D. Pheifer (Trinity College, Dublin)

"How Not to Edit Glossaries"

The modern tradition of editing glossaries began with F.J. Mone and Cardinal Mai in the 1830s and reached its peak between the 1880s and 1930s in the achievements of Georg Goetz and W.M. Lindsay, since when comparatively little has been done. Advances in paleography now make it necessary to revise the received opinions regarding the relationship of key texts and some important continental glossaries remain unedited. The nature of the problem can be illustrated from the so-called Auxilius Glossary in two Italian manuscripts, Vatican lat. 1469 and Monte Cassino 90, which on inspection prove to be two quite different works, and the confusion between them caused Lindsay to overlook the importance of Monte Cassino 90, not least for the study of the Anglo-Saxon glossaries. Lindsay also failed to appreciate the complex prehistory of the Anglo-Saxon glossaries themselves, with unfortunate consequences for his edition of the Corpus Glossary, and his mistaken belief that the existing texts of the Abolita and St. Gallen glossaries were meager epitomes of huge ur-texts has proved still more harmful, as witnessed by the edition of the hypothetical Abba Glossary produced under his direction by conflating the St. Gallen and Asbestos glossaries. These errors can only be rectified by truly critical editions of the principal English and Italian glossaries, which are sorely needed.

Kathryn Sutherland (University of Manchester)

"Editing for a New Century: Elizabeth Elstob's English-Saxon Manifesto"

The publication in 1709 of Elizabeth Elstob's edition of Ælfric's An English-Saxon Homily on the Birthday of St. Gregory appeared to some of her contemporaries to threaten a dangerous act of cultural and political reassessment. In her brief career as a Saxonist Elstob could claim to be the first scholar to present the language of the Anglo-Saxons in its originative relation to the English spoken in her own day; she compiled the first critical edition of an Ælfric sermon, complete with a parallel modern English translation and notes; and she produced the first Old English-Modern English grammar. In particular, what the example of Elstob reveals is that the editing of old works embodies an act of imagination that delivers to the modern age the idea of the past via a theory of texts. Her editorial strategy in the 1709 volume is explicit, taking the form of an overt intervention into the frame of the edited material. Her aim in so doing is to shift the ground of conventional historical inquiry from the martial deeds of heroes to the learning and piety of famous women. In remodelling, as the informing method of her edition, the subject matter of her chosen homily — St. Gregory's mission to convert the English — Elstob demonstrates the convertible characteristics of various historical phenomena: of the Saxons and the Reformed English Churches; of the Old and Modern English languages; and, most significantly, of male and female authority. As an experiment in self-authorization, Elstob's edition of Ælfric's conversion homily becomes, in its eighteenth-century context, a passionate plea for social transformation. Her editorial theory, grounded in an exploration of the large implications of conversion, turns editing into a greater exercise in appropriation than the merely biographical.

Tabled Paper:

John D. Niles (University of California, Berkeley)

"Oral Praxis, Written Texts"

Much in Old English poetry that lacks meaning when read in a learned Latinate context becomes simple and meaningful when set in relation to a native tradition of popular verse. Ragged texts, particularly ones with "faulty" meter, are a case in point. Rather than being the result of scribal corruption, as is usually assumed, metrical irregularities can derive from the conditions of oral composition or dictation. To judge from comparative evidence drawn from the realm of traditional balladry, not many singers or reciters have a concept of a metrically "correct" line. What matters to them is the flow of sense

and syntax within a loosely defined musical or phrase. If an Old English text is of uncertain derivation, there is no need for editors to emend it on the basis of a metrical theory that may or may not have corresponded to the author's praxis. In twenty-seven instances where Klaeber emends the text of Beowulf, for example, the MS reading is satisfactory as regards sense and syntax and may accurately reflect the rhythms of a speaker's voice.

VII. Other Conferences:

Gli Inventari dei Libri tra Medioevo e Rinascimento, Palermo, Italy, May 31 to June 10, 1990.

Patrizia Lendinara (University of Palermo)

"Medieval Book-Inventories: A Source of Information about Anglo-Saxon Culture"

We are not allowed to speak of inventories as far as the Old English period is concerned, but simply of booklists. These lists have been compiled out of different reasons (to record a gift or a bequest, etc.) and have different aims, lengths, and styles.

What will be first taken into examination here is the typology of the descriptions of the books listed and the information supplied by the booklists both with regard to the external aspect and to the content of the books, e.g., the way to record the content of the books and the peculiar concerns of the compilers of the lists. What will be stressed is their aptitude towards the books listed and their content.

Worthy of note is also another feature that is common to the larger part of the Old English booklists: their position in the respective manuscripts where they have been written and the relationship of their content to these manuscripts.

As to the content of the lists, that is, the works mentioned in them, a comparison between the booklists' entries and other "sources of Anglo-Saxon culture" [manuscripts written or owned in England, translations, paraphrases and echoes of Latin (and Greek) works, Classical and late Mediaeval] shows a large agreement, but also some exceptions, which can be accounted for in many instances.

I discuss two different examples: 1. Books I and II of the BPU by Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, which are mentioned in a booklist but for whose circulation in England there is no other witness; 2. Venantius Fortunatus, whose name is never mentioned in the booklists, but whose works were certainly known in England.

The Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association, from the panel on "The Beast in Early Medieval Literature," in Missoula, Montana, April 27, 1990.

Alexandra Olsen (University of Denver)

"The Sea Beasts of Battle"

Andreas shares many formulas and other formulaic elements with Beowulf, including the themes and type-scenes known as the Sea Voyage and the Hero on the Beach. One they do not share is the Beasts of Battle, which like the Hero on the Beach usually occurs before a scene of battle. This fact seems reasonable when we consider that the battles in Beowulf are real, those in Andreas metaphorical. In ll. 369b-372a, however, three sea animals — the whale, the seagull, and the "hornfisc" — appear where we would normally expect the Beasts of Battle. I would argue that this passage, which has no source in the Latin, is either a variant version of the Beasts of Battle or a separate type-scene with no known analogues which has a similar affective impact.

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