

OLD ENGLISH NEWSLETTER

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Of the Modern Language Association of America
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SUNY-Binghamton*

Editor,

Paul E. Szarmach

Associate Editors,

Carl T. Berkhout

Joseph B. Trahern, Jr.

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Editor: Paul E. Szarmach
CEMERS; SUNY-Binghamton
P.O. Box 6000
Binghamton, New York 13902-6000

Associate Editors:

Joseph B. Trahern, Jr.
Department of English
University of Tennessee-Knoxville
Knoxville, Tennessee 37996

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

Assistants to the Editor: Virginia Blanton-Whetsell
Helene Scheck
Dana-Linn Whiteside

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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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State University of New York at Binghamton

BITNET: PSZARMAC@BINGVAXA FAX: 607-777-4000 P.E. Szarmach
(ANSAXNET)

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I OE Division Program for 1992 MLA

John Miles Foley has organized the following sessions for the Old English Division at the 1992 MLA conference in New York City, December 27-30. Dates and times will be announced in August.

I. *Comparative Contexts for Old English Literature*

Presiding: Mary Eva Blockley (Univ. of Texas-Austin)
 Joseph Harris (Harvard Univ.)
 "Beowulf and Elegy: Comparative Contexts"
 Clare Lees (Fordham Univ.)
 "Preaching the Tradition in Anglo-Saxon England"
 Craig Davis (Smith College)
 "The Preservation and Decay of Germanic Tradition in England"

II. *Critical Approaches to Old English Literature*

Presiding: Helen Damico (Univ. of New Mexico)
 Allen Frantzen (Loyola Univ. of Chicago)
 "Writing on Old English"
 Anita Riedinger (Univ. of South Illinois at Carbondale)
 "'Home' in Old English Poetry"
 Carol Braun Pasternack (Univ. of California-Santa Barbara)
 "Sex, Death, and Anglo-Saxon Texts"

III. *Orality and Literacy in Old English Verse and Prose*

Presiding: John Miles Foley (Univ. of Missouri-Columbus)
 John Niles (Univ. of California-Berkeley)
 "Oral Poetry Acts"
 Deborah VanderBilt (St. John Fisher College)
 "Bilingualism in *Orosius*"
 Ward Parks (Louisiana State Univ.)
 "The Literary Scholar in a World of Song"

II ISAS News

The sixth meeting of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists will take place in Oxford on 2-7 August, 1993, at Wadham College. The coordinating committee would like to invite members of the Society to send proposals for papers, by 1 November 1992. The theme of the conference will be Culture and Social Context, but papers on other subjects will be welcome. The committee is organizing some sessions on specific topics but would consider further proposals for organized sessions as well as individual papers. Papers should last 30 minutes, and proposals should include a short abstract (limited to one side of a page).

Proposals from members based in North America should be sent to the Executive Director:

Patrick W. Connor
 Department of English
 231 Stansbury Hall
 West Virginia University
 Morgantown, WV 26506 USA

Proposals from other members should be sent to the president:

Malcolm Godden
 Pembroke College
 Oxford, OX1 1DW
 England

Program participants must be members of ISAS; to join, write to Patrick Connor. Current subscriptions are \$15 US (\$10 US for students) or £10 sterling (£7 for students).

III Address Changes

The editors of *OEN* would like to remind all subscribers that any change of address for the mailing list should be brought to the attention of *OEN*. *OEN* is mailed "bulk rate" in the United States. If the subscriber guarantees postage, the U.S. Postal Service will forward *OEN* to the new address. In any other event, *OEN* will not be returned to the sender; bulk mail is destroyed when undeliverable. Send all address changes to:

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

IV Franciscus Junius and His Circle

The Department of English and the Sir Thomas Browne Institute (both Univ. of Leiden) have organized a one-day symposium on Junius and his circle in Leiden on Friday, November 13, 1992. Remarkably, the person and work of Junius have received relatively little attention. Franciscus Junius (1591-1677) can be credited with having laid the foundations of the study of classical art through his *De Pictura Veterum* (1637). The book was soon translated into both English (*The Painting of the Ancients*, 1638) and Dutch (*De Schilder-Konst der Oude*, 1641), exercising great influence on the work of painters like Rubens and Van Dyck. In his later career Junius concentrated entirely on Germanic philology, especially on Old English and Gothic. His linguistic activities culminated in the impressive edition of the Gothic Gospels (1664-65).

The program will be as follows (titles are provisional):

C.S.M. Rademaker ss.cc. (Zierikzee) "Junius' Youth and Education"
Colette Natival (Paris) "Junius and *De Pictura Veterum*"
Philipp Fehl (Rome) "Junius, Rubens and Van Dyck"
E.G. Stanley (Oxford) "Junius and the English Antiquaries"
Chris Heesakkers (Leiden) "Junius and Isaac Vossius"
Jean-Claude Müller (Luxemburg) "Junius as Germanic Philologist"
Peter J. Lucas (Dublin) "Junius' Editorial Policies"
Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr. (Leiden) "Retrieving Junius' Correspondence"

The symposium is open to all interested. Attendance fee: Dfl 30.00 (students Dfl 15.00). If you would like to attend the Junius Symposium, send your name and address to:

Dr. Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr.
Vakgroep Engels RU Leiden
Postbus 9515
NL-2300 RA
Leiden
The Netherlands

V Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile

A major Anglo-Saxon collaborative project was launched this winter at a planning conference at the Univ. of Wisconsin-Madison: the publishing in microfiche format of the approximately 420 manuscripts described in Ker's *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (including supplementary manuscripts and a few late homiliaries). It will be issued as a subscription series over a seven-year period (Spring 1993 through 1999). In the first three years it is planned to bring out the Oxford and Cambridge manuscripts and about half the British Library collection. In the second three years the rest of BL and scattered manuscripts will be issued. The publisher is Medieval Renaissance Texts and Studies (Binghamton, NY). Prices will be very low, enabling individual scholars to own the whole set. The current plan is for 36 issues, each issue consisting of 8-12 manuscripts; it is estimated that each issue will be sold to subscribers for between \$50 and \$70. Format will be 60 black-and-white images per fiche. Each manuscript will be reproduced in its entirety (even if only a few words are Anglo-Saxon) and will be accompanied by a brief scholarly codicological description written after a fresh examination of the manuscript; microform stock will be checked against the manuscript for legibility and accuracy of reproduction. The descriptions will be issued both on the fiche and as a cumulative paper supplement. The series will feature cumulative indices and a final detailed general index to the contents of the manuscripts. The project is co-directed by A.N. Doane (Univ. of Wisconsin-Madison) and Phillip Pulsiano, (Villanova Univ.); principal associates are Carl Berkhout (Univ. of Arizona), Ronald E. Buckalew, (Pennsylvania State Univ.), Malcolm Godden (Pembroke College, Oxford), Kevin Kiernan (Univ. of Kentucky-Lexington), Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe (Univ. of Notre Dame), Paul E. Szarmach (SUNY-Binghamton).

Scholars interested in participating in the project are encouraged to contact any of those named above with specific proposals about manuscripts or groups of manuscripts they might be willing to undertake.

If you wish to obtain information about subscribing to the series, please write either Professor Doane or MRTS:

A.N. Doane
Dept. of English
Univ. of Wisconsin
600 North Park St.
Madison, WI 53706

Microfiche Facsimile
Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies
State Univ. of New York-Binghamton
P.O. Box 6000
Binghamton, New York 13902-6000

VI Augsburg Scholarships

The Institute of European Cultural History at the University of Augsburg announces six scholarships, five for doctoral students, and one for post-doctoral researchers for study in Augsburg on source materials from the period 1500 to 1800. The aim of the institute is to study the Augsburg source materials systematically and to evaluate them in the European comparative context. Researchers working on related subjects whose work requires reference to source material in Augsburg are invited to apply for a scholarship at the Institute. The scholarships are financially supported by Volkswagen-Stiftung and can extend from one month to twelve depending on research needs. Applicants are asked to send a curriculum vita, references, a list of publications and a detailed research plan to:

The Director Prof. Dr. Jochen Brüning
Institut für Europäische Kulturgeschichte
der Universität Augsburg
Phil.-Welser-Str. 7
8900 Augsburg
Germany

VII Conferences

Sponsored by the Cleveland State University and the John Carroll University of Cleveland, Prof. Earl Anderson is issuing a call for papers for *A Celtic Celebration* which will take place April 15-17, 1993. Seminar sessions will include: Arthurian tradition, the influence of medieval Celtic traditions on later culture, Welsh, Scottish and Irish music, art, architecture, the Irish connections of major authors such as Spenser and Swift, studies of individual Irish, Scots, and Welsh authors. Plenary speaker will be Bernard Rands, Professor of Music Composition at Harvard and Composer in Residence with the Philadelphia Orchestra, whose topic will be "Hiraeth and its Expression in Music." Of special interest is the series of concerts sponsored in part by the Society of Composers, Inc., which will conduct performances during the conference. Arts and humanities students are encouraged to participate and to submit abstracts. The best student papers will be recognized in an awards ceremony at the conference banquet. Deadline for receiving abstracts in January 31, 1993. For information, please write or call Prof. Earl Anderson, Associate Dean, Graduate College, Cleveland State University, Cleveland, Ohio 44115; phone: (216) 687-4563.

The Centre for the Study of Vernacular Literature in the Middle Ages announces its 17th International Symposium, to be held at Odense Univ., Denmark, November 16-18, 1992. The symposium is devoted to the theme *Custom, Culture, and Community in the Later Middle Ages* and reflects the growing awareness of the significance of customs—seasonal or occasional—in the lives of traditional communities and consequently their importance as a window of understanding on the societies and culture concerned. The symposium will be addressed by the following panel of speakers on the topics indicated:

Alexandra Johnston (Univ. of Toronto) "Summer Festivals in the Thames Valley Counties"
 Iørn Piø (Danish Folklore Archives, Copenhagen) "Christmas Traditions in Scandinavia"
 Marjoke de Roos (den Haag) "Carnival Traditions in the Netherlands"
 Jean-Michel Mehl (Univ. of Strasbourg) "Les jeux aux diverses saisons"
 Bent Holm (Univ. of Aarhus) "The Hellequin Figure in Medieval Customs"
 Eva Kimminich (Univ. of Freiburg) "The Battle Between Carnival and Lent:
 From Ecclesiastical Textuality to Popular Culture"
 Sandra Billington (Univ. of Glasgow) "King and Queen Games in English and European Passion Plays"

If you wish to be put on the mailing list for further details including registration form and full program, please send your name and address with your inquiry to the Symposium Committee, Medieval Centre, Odense University, Campusvej 55, 5230 Odense M, Denmark; phone: +45 66 158600, ext. 3398.

The tenth annual meeting of the Illinois Medieval Association will be held at Loyola University of Chicago on Saturday, February 20, 1993. The theme of the meeting is "Four Last Things: Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell in the Middle Ages." The featured speaker will be Fred C. Robinson (Yale Univ.); an exhibit of early printed editions of medieval literary and historical texts will be organized at the Newberry Library in conjunction with the conference. Abstracts are due November 1, 1992; please send them, and requests for further information, to:

Allen J. Frantzen
 Department of English
 Loyola University of Chicago
 6525 N. Sheridan Road
 Chicago, IL 60626

VIII

Garland Press announces the publication of:

*Old English and New:
Studies in Language and Literature in Honor of Frederic G. Cassidy*
Joan H. Hall, Nick Doane, and Dick Ringler, eds.

1. Early English

- Robert D. Stevick, "Representing the Form of *Beowulf*"
 George Clark, "*Beowulf*: The Last Word"
 Robert Payson Creed, "The Archetypal Verse Line in Cædmon's 'Hymn' and *Beowulf*"
 E. G. Stanley, "Wolf, My Wolf!"
 Mary P. Richards, "Prosaic Poetry: Late Old English Poetic Composition"
 James W. Earl, "'The Battle of Maldon,' l. 86: Old English *lytegian* = Lat. *litigare*?"
 Donald K. Fry, "A Newly Discovered Version of the Old English Poem 'Durham'"
 Roberta Frank, "Late Old English *þrymnys* 'Trinity': Scribal Nod or Word Waiting to be Born?"
 Tim William Machan, "Nonce Words in Chaucer's *Boece*"

2. Creoles

- Barbara Lalla, "Word-Mesh: Dimensions of Change in the Formation of A Creole Lexicon"
 Richard Allsopp, "What Would They Know of English Who Only English Know? The Contribution of Caribbean Creoles to the Expressive Resources of the English Language"
 Salikoko S. Mufwene, "Africanisms in Gullah: A Re-examination of the Issues"
 John R. Rickford, "The Creole Residue in Barbados"
 Jean D'Costa, "'Gangway! Sailorman mus kyan talk Jamaican!': Nautical Language in Jamaican Usage"

3. Lexicography

- John Holm, "Tracking Creole Etymologies: The Case for Cross-Lexical-Base Comparison"
 Lise Winer, "Folk Etymology in Trinidad and Tobago Lexicography"
 Allen Walker Read, "The Use of Travelers' Evidence in Historical Lexicography"
 Robert Burchfield, "Fowler Revisited: The Arguments Have Changed"
 Thomas J. Creswell and Virginia G. McDavid, "Treatment of Ethnic Slurs in Contemporary American Dictionaries"

4. American English

- John Algeo, "What is a Britishism?"
 Richard W. Bailey, "The First North American Dialect Survey"
 Dennis R. Preston, "Talking Black and Talking White: A Study in Variety Imitation"
 Michael Montgomery, "The Etymology of *Y'all*"
 Lawrence T. Martin, "Reflections of Ojibwa Mythology in Place-Names of the Upper Midwest"
 Lee Pederson, "A Georgia Word Geography"
 William A. Kretzschmar, Jr., "Interactive Computer Mapping for *Linguistic Atlas of the Middle and South Atlantic States*"
 Guy Bailey, "The Second Round of Dialectology"

IX

More information on *Notes on Beowulf*

P.J. Cosijn's *Notes on Beowulf* [*Aanteekeningen op den Béowulf*], is now available in a fully translated and annotated edition by Rolf H. Bremmer, Jan van den Berg and David F. Johnson. Cosijn's study, published in 1892, made a significant contribution to *Beowulf* scholarship, but it has been less accessible than many pioneering nineteenth-century works. This English edition provides explanatory notes detailing the sources which Cosijn consulted and includes a comprehensive bibliography, with every item cross-referenced to the notes in which it is cited. Rolf Bremmer's prefatory essay on Cosijn (xi-xxxvi) draws upon archive material and gives fascinating and informative insights into the world of nineteenth-century Anglo-Saxon scholarship.

Published as *Leeds Texts and Monographs New Series* 12 (1991), pp. xxxvi + 120. ISSN 0075-8574, ISBN 0902296221.

Discount price for *OEN* readers of £21 (+ £2 currency conversion fee for payments not in sterling; £1 postage and packing). Discount orders should be sent to:

Leeds Studies in English
School of English
University of Leeds
Leeds LS2 0JT
England

X

Special Notice

Published in cooperation with The Corpus of Insular and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts, Thomas H. Ohlgren has compiled and edited *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration: Photographs of Sixteen Manuscripts with Descriptions and Index* wherein he describes each manuscript, its location, size, origin, and significant features. Each plate is analyzed in terms of the scene(s) depicted and iconographic contents. An Index to Iconographic Contents is supplied for all of the plates for comparison among the plates. Manuscripts included are: the Athelstan Psalter, the Harley Psalter, the Bury Psalter, the Paris Psalter, the Boulogne Gospels, the Arenberg Gospels, the Trinity Gospels, the Eadui Codex, Pembroke College MS 301, the Bury Gospels (Pierpont Morgan MSS 709 and 708), the Monte Cassino Gospel Book, the Hereford Gospels, the Psychomachia of Prudentius, and the Junius Manuscript. Price: \$75.00 US (casebound only). ISBN: 1-879288-10-9. At present, the text is being offered to subscribers to the *Old English Newsletter* at a 20% discount. Thus, the price is \$60.00 US (\$4.00 shipping and handling for the first item, \$1.00 for each additional item shipped to the same US address; \$5.00 UPS and overseas). For information on orders write, call, or fax:

Medieval Institute Publications
Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, MI 49008-3851
Phone: (616) 387-4155
Fax: (616) 387-4150

XI Brief Notices on Publications

Published by the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic at Cambridge, the second H.M. Chadwick Memorial Lecture by Bruce Mitchell is now available. The lecture entitled "H.M. Chadwick, *The Study of Anglo-Saxon: Fifty Years On*," considers the importance of each chapter of Chadwick's book *The Study of Anglo-Saxon*, particularly Chadwick's "blanket opposition to compulsory Old English in any form," and the book's relation to current instructional practice in Old English. Pp. 25. Price not available. For information, write to:

Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic
9 West Road
Cambridge CB3 9DP
England

A collection of reflections and recollections entitled *Bernhard Bischoff 1906-1991* has been published by the Monumenta Germaniae Historica and includes with a bibliography of Bischoff's works these contributions: Horst Fuhrmann, "Hinführung zu Bernhard Bischoff"; Jean Vezin, "Das wissenschaftliche Werk Bernhard Bischoffs"; Helmut Gneuss, "Akademie und Universität—Wirkungsfelder Bernhard Bischoffs"; Claudio Leonardi, "Worte eines Freundes"; and Gabriel Silagi, "Der Lehrer und seine Schüler." Pp. 86. Price not available. For information write to: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Postfach 34 02 23, 8000 München 34, Germany.

The University of Toronto Press offers *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* (1991), written by Michelle P. Brown. Brown offers information on "Book Production and Consumption"; "Materials and Techniques"; "Script"; and "Illustration and Ornament." Contents include glossary, list of manuscripts, and suggestions for reading. Pp. 80 with black and white and color illustrations. Price: \$18.95 US. ISBN: 0-8020-778-5, paper.

Henry Mayr-Harting's *Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England* (1991), 3rd edition, has been published by Penn State Press. Focusing on two periods, 597-664 and 650-750, the author discusses in two parts the conversion of kings and secondly, the Christian Achievement, noting the importance of Wilfrid, Boniface, and Northumbrian Monasteries to this movement. Pp. 334 with index. Price: \$35.00 US, cloth; \$14.95 US, paper. ISBN: for cloth, not available; for paper, 0-271-00769-9.

The Oxford University Press offers *Edda: Háttatal* (1991), edited by Anthony Faulkes. This edition offers the edited text, textual notes and explanatory notes along with an introduction to the Icelandic poem and its author, Snorri Sturluson. An appendix also provides examples of Snorri's metres in other Old Norse verse. Price: \$52.00 US, cloth. ISBN: 0-19-811238-6.

Vox intexta: Orality and Textuality in the Middle Ages (1992), edited by A.N. Doane and Carol Braun Pasternack and published by the University of Wisconsin Press, considers five areas of interest: Oral Performance and Oral Text; Oral-Written Interfaces, Events in History; Staging the Poet's Presence; The Thematics of Orality and Writing; and Oral Principles in Manuscript Facts. Of particular interest to Anglo-Saxonists are John Miles Foley, "Orality, Textuality, and Interpretation"; Ward Parks, "The Textualization of Orality in Literary Criticism"; Robert Kellogg, "Literacy and Orality in the Poetic Edda"; and Ursula Schaefer, "Hearing from Books: The Rise of Fictionality in Old English Poetry." Pp. 289 with index. Price: \$45.00 US, cloth; paper not available. ISBN: 0-299-13090-8, cloth; 0-299-13094-0, paper.

The University of Wisconsin Press has published A.N. Doane's edition *The Saxon Genesis* (1991). Contents include an introduction to the *Genesis B* and Vatican *Genesis* manuscripts, the edited texts, notes, commentary, glossaries, and appendices on style of language and verse. Price not available, with index. ISBN: 0-299-12800-8, cloth.

Studies in English, an annual publication of the Department of English at the University of Saga, Japan, publishes short articles in the broad field of English Studies. For more information, contact the

editor, Masao Koike, Department of English, College of Liberal Arts, University of Saga, 1 Honjo, Saga 840, Japan.

Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses, published biannually at the Universidad de La Laguna, Spain, accepts contributions of articles, interviews, and notes on a wide variety of subjects in English. For information or submission, write to the Director de R.C.E.I., Departamento de Inglés, Facultad de Filología, Universidad de La Laguna, Tenerife, España. ISSN: 0211-5913.

The Mankind Quarterly is another publication which accepts diverse contributions. For information, write or call the Institute for the Study of Man, 1133 13th St., N.W., Suite C-2, Washington, D.C., 20005-4298; (202) 789-0231. ISBN: 0-941694-29-1.

The Newsletter of the School of Celtic Studies published at the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, announces publications, activities, lectures and seminars and general information on Irish studies. For information on subscriptions, write to the editor, Rolf Baumgarten, School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 10 Burlington Road, Dublin 4. ISSN: 0790-9853.

Studia Anglica Posnaniensia, an international review of English studies, is published annually at the Uniwersytet Im. Adama Mickiewicza W Poznaniu. [Adam Mickiewicz Univ. in Poznan.] ISSN: 0081-6272.

Teresa Pàroli announces two off-prints, *Classico e Germanico, Due Culture a Contatto* (1988) from the *Cultura Classica e Cultura Germanica Settentrionale*, now available through the Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Università di Macerata, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Macerata-S. Severino Marche, and *Attila: Nelle Letterature Germaniche Antiche* (1988) from *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*.

The Odense Univ. Press announces the publication of two supplemental volumes in its NOWELLE series. Volume 6, Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr.'s *Bibliographical Guide to Old Frisian Studies*, provides a comprehensive, alphabetical listing of publications pertaining to the field, an index of reviewers, and a subject index. Pp. ca. 200. Price: DKK 200.00 (subscription price: DKK 160.00). Also by Bremmer and Arend Quak is vol. 7, *Zur Phonologie und Morphologie des Altniederländischen*, which attempts, by way of a morphological account of Old Dutch, to give this language more prominence in comparative studies and provide a base of study in Dutch for Old Germanic language scholars. Pp. 123. Price: DKK 150.00 (subscription price: DKK 120.00). International book numbers are not available for either book.

Edited by Hugh T. Keenan, *Typology and English Medieval Literature* is volume 7 (1992) of the Georgia State Literary Studies, offered by AMS Press. Contributions of interest to Anglo-Saxonists include: Richard K. Emmerson, "Figura and the Medieval Typological Imagination"; Alvin A. Lee, "Old English Poetry, Mediaeval Exegesis and Modern Criticism"; Paul E. Szarmach, "Visio Pacis: Jerusalem and Its Meanings"; James W. Earl, "Typology and Iconographic Style in Early Medieval Hagiography"; and Catherine A. Regan, "Retrieving the Typological Dimension in Aelfric's Easter Homily." Pp. 332, with index. Price: \$45.00 US, cloth. ISBN: 0-404-63207-6.

Clarendon Press offers the revised edition of *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism, c. 1100-c. 1375: The Commentary Tradition*, edited by A.J. Minnis and A.B. Scott, with the assistance of David Wallace. While the text focuses primarily on the later Middle Ages, there are inclusions of many earlier Latin writers, namely Bede and Ambrose. Pp. 544, with index. Price: \$32.00 US, paper. ISBN: 0-19-811274-2. For information write or call: Oxford University Press, Inc., Business Office, 2001 Evans Road, Cary, North Carolina 27512; (800) 451-7556.

The University of Toronto Press now offers four additional texts in the Medieval Craftsmen Series, including: John Cherry, *Goldsmiths*; Elizabeth Eames, *English Tilers*; Christopher De Hamel, *Scribes and Illuminators*; and Matthias Pfaffenbichler, *Armourers*. Though the focus is mostly on the high Middle Ages, there are references to the Anglo-Saxon period. Pp. 72 each, with illustrations and indices. Price: \$18.95 US, each. ISBN: *Goldsmiths*, 0-8020-7711-0; *English Tilers*, 0-8020-7706-4; *Scribes and Illuminators*, 0-8020-7707-2; *Armourers*, 0-8020-7732-3.

St. Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult is now available through Boydell & Brewer (1992). Edited by Nigel Ramsay, Margaret Sparks, and Timothy Tatton-Brown, the text includes contributions from N.P. Brooks, "The Career of St. Dunstan"; Mildred Budney, "'St. Dunstan's Classbook' and Its Frontispiece: Dunstan's Portrait and Autograph"; and Michael Lapidge, "B. and the *Vita S. Dunstani*." Pp. 343 with index and color illustrations. Price: \$130.00 US, cloth. ISBN: 0-85115-301-1.

The Odense University Press offers *The Making of the Couple: The Social Function of Short-Form Medieval Narrative*, a collection of symposium papers, edited by Flemming G. Anderson and Morten Nøjgaard. Though the text is of a more general nature and concentrates more on Middle English texts, two articles are of particular interest to Anglo-Saxonists: Joseph Harris, "Gender and Genre: Short and Long Forms in the Saga Literature," and Jan W. Dietrichson, "The Making of the Couple in Old and Middle English Literature." Pp. 144. Price: DKK 148.00, plus postage. ISBN: 87-7492-847-3, paper.

King's College London Medieval Studies has announced the publication of *Books and Grace: Ælfric's Theology*, by Lynne Grundy. This latest volume of Anglo-Saxon interest in the KCLMS series studies the theology of Ælfric in comparison with that of St. Augustine. Pp. 304. c. £10. ISSN 0953-217X, ISBN 0-9513085-56.

Boydell and Brewer has announced a new series, *Annotated Bibliographies of Old and Middle English Literature*, under the general editorship of T.L. Burton. The first title in this new series should prove especially interesting to Anglo-Saxonists: *Old English Prose of Secular Learning*, compiled by Stephanie Hollis and Michael Wright. The annotations of this volume cover the prose proverbs, dialogues and romances, the computistical texts and Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion*, as well as the magico-medical literature and associated texts (including the prognostics and the lapidary). Future titles of interest to Anglo-Saxonists include: *Old and Middle English Chronicles*; *OE Translations of King Alfred's Reign*; *Wulfstan and Later OE Religious Prose*; *OE Legal Prose*; *OE Elegiac Poems from the Exeter Book*; *OE Religious Poetry I: The Caedmonian School*; *OE Religious Poetry II: The Cynewulfian School*; *OE Heroic Poetry (excluding Beowulf)*; *OE Poems of Wisdom and Learning*; *Miscellaneous Minor Poems in Old English*; and *The Language of Old English Literature*. Pp. c. 400. c. £19.50; \$59. ISSN 0-85991-330. [Publishers note: It is anticipated that most volumes in the series will be uniform in format and comparable in extent and price. Prices, however, will only be fixed at the time of publication of individual volumes, and may be subject to annual review.]

Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: Seventh Progress Report

Joyce Hill
University of Leeds

In the Sixth Progress Report issued in March 1991, the Executive Committee was able to announce that the British Academy had just made a substantial grant to *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici*, sufficient to fund a full-time Research Assistant for the coming academic year. The selection process was carried out during the summer, and Joan Hart formally took up her appointment at Manchester University on December 14, 1991. She began by working on two large-scale, mainstream, vernacular prose works, the Old English Bede and Alfred's translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*. The results were striking. The close examination of the relationship between these texts and their respective Latin sources, which is required for entry on the *Fontes* database, has led to a full recording of the way in which the Old English "translators" adapted their sources. Yet again, analysis of even these two relatively straightforward intertextual case-histories has very effectively demonstrated that the *Fontes* project invariably advances understanding by laying bare the authors' conceptual and linguistic interpretations of the traditions upon which they drew. We look forward to further qualitative progress of this kind during Joan Hart's year as Research Assistant.

Contributions from other scholars continue to accumulate; the most recent are listed in the bibliography of *Anglo-Saxon England* 20 (1991). In 1992 the list will include Anglo-Latin literature for the first time, beginning with a large number of entries on Aldhelm's poems, which have been supplied by Andy Orchard. A development with great importance for the future is that the preparation of the *Bibliography of Anglo-Latin Literature, 600-1100*, which has been in progress for the past three years and which is the indispensable prerequisite for comprehensive sourcing of the Anglo-Latin corpus for *Fontes*, has recently received funding for a further two years. It is hoped that this will give sufficient time for the *Bibliography* to be completed.

Soon after the Sixth Progress Report was written, the Academy awarded a retrospective grant to meet most of the running costs for 1990-91, and we received a further grant for running costs in August 1991 for the academic year 1991-92. This has enabled us, amongst other things, to continue to employ Wendy Collier for a few hours each week to deal with the processing of incoming data, the sending out of proofs and the making of subsequent corrections. Her efficiency is a considerable benefit to the project and we are very grateful for the contribution that she makes.

We are grateful also to King's College London for its continuing development of the source-study archive and for its hosting of the annual one-day open meeting on March 26, 1991. King's will again be the host for the 1992 meeting on March 24.

Additionally, we were able to discuss progress at Kalamazoo in May 1991 and to liaise with team working on *The Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture (SASLC)*. At the ISAS conference in New York we were allocated a session on the first day, in a part of the program devoted to the discussion of projects, and to mark the inclusion of Anglo-Latin material, Orchard gave a short paper illustrating what can be learned about Anglo-Latin poetry when attention is focused on inter-textual relationships.

The Executive Committee met at Emmanuel College Cambridge in October 1991, when it was greatly encouraged by Michael Lapidge's report on the progress of the bibliography of Anglo-Latin texts, from which it was clear that Alicia Corrêa's work on liturgical sources will have a revolutionary impact on our understanding of Anglo-Saxon contributions to tenth-century liturgy. Having amplified on this at the request of the Committee, Corrêa was immediately invited to give a paper to the open meeting at King's in 1992. The Committee also congratulated Paul E. Szarmach on the publication and generous distribution of *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: A Trial Version* (edited by Frederick M. Biggs, Thomas D. Hill, and Paul E. Szarmach, with the assistance of Karen Hammond) and Gordon Whatley on his impressive work on the corpus of saints' lives, which was circulated in draft; this will be included in the full *SASLC* volume.

The year covered by this report has been particularly encouraging and we anticipate that this good progress will be fully maintained on both the Old English and Anglo-Latin fronts in the current year.

Sources at Kalamazoo

The Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture, a continuing program scheduled in connection with the International Congress on Medieval Studies organized by the Medieval Institute at Western Michigan University and co-sponsored by the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies at SUNY-Binghamton, marked its tenth program at the Twenty-Seventh Congress at Kalamazoo, May 7-10. Begun in 1983 with an initial grant from the Program for Research Conferences of the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Symposium has in its ten years offered some 71 sessions with 160 papers and presentations, representing some 100 institutions, mainly from North America and Europe. The 1983 program, the grant for which was written with the active involvement of J.E. Cross, Robert T. Farrell, Thomas Ohlgren, and Thomas D. Hill, also had the support of the British Academy and the Government of Norway. The continuation of the Symposium has in turn depended on the encouragement and support of Otto Gründler, Thomas Seiler, and their colleagues at the Medieval Institute and on the many scholars who have participated with enthusiasm in the Symposium over its history. Many have stepped forward to organize sessions and to lead the development of new directions. These have included Catherine Karkov, Carol Neuman de Vegvar, Helen Damico, Alexandra Hennessey Olsen, Martin Irvine, and Allen Frantzen, among others.

In addition to the papers presented and discussions held, the Symposium has stimulated research in Anglo-Saxon England in a more tangible way. The Medieval Institute published the proceedings of the First Symposium as *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, Studies in Medieval Culture 20 (1986). The Symposium has developed two major funded projects. The J. Paul Getty Trust has supported the *Corpus of Insular and Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, a scholarly collaboration begun at the 1983 Symposium. Directed by Thomas Ohlgren, the project has published a hard copy catalog of manuscripts (1986), a revised electronic data base (1991), and a photographic supplement to be published this year. At the 1993 International Congress the group will present a ten-year review (see below). The Division of Research Programs of the NEH has supported *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture* with two major grants (1987-89 and 1990-92). SASLC is a reference tool providing a convenient summary of current scholarship on the knowledge and use of literary sources in Anglo-Saxon England. Departing from J.D.A. Ogilvy's *Books Known to the English, 597-1066* and incorporating more recent scholarship, SASLC will include contributions from specialists in the various subfields of Old English studies. The projected SASLC volume is intended to complement other research tools that are either completed or in progress, viz. the Dictionary of Old English, the Greenfield-Robinson *Bibliography of Publications on Old English Literature to 1972*, and the *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici*. In 1990 the SASLC committee issued *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: A Trial Version*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 74. *A Trial Version* is a preliminary publication anticipating the results of the completed project.

The Sources Symposium is now planning its eleventh and subsequent programs. The preliminary schedule for the Eleventh Symposium (May 6-9, 1993) follows:

- I./II. Literary Sources, **TWO OPEN SESSIONS**. Organizer: Thomas D. Hill; Dept. of English; Rockefeller Hall; Cornell University; Ithaca, NY, 14853.
- III. Women and Anglo-Saxon England, **ONE OPEN SESSION**. Organizer: Helen Damico; Dept. of English Language and Literature; Humanities Building 217; University of New Mexico; Albuquerque, NM 87131.
- IV. Iberian Perspectives on Anglo-Saxon Source Studies. Organizer: Maria Jose Mora; Avda. Republica Argentina 7; Apt. 5D; 41011 Seville, Spain. E-Mail: SENA@CICA.ES.
- V. Studies from SASLC: Ambrose and Augustine. Organizer: Paul E. Szarmach; CEMERS, SUNY-Binghamton; P.O. Box 6000; Binghamton, NY 13902-6000.
- VI. Codex and Contexts: Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and History (focusing on prose manuscripts). Organizer: Martin Irvine; Dept. of English; Georgetown University; Washington, DC 20057.
- VII. The "Triumphal Cross" in Anglo-Saxon England. Organizer: John Ruffing; Dept. of English; Goldwin Smith Hall; Cornell University; Ithaca, NY 14853.
- VIII./IX. *Corpus of Insular and Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, **TWO SESSIONS**. Session 1: Past, Present, Future; Session 2: Genres, Themes, and Variations. Organizer: Thomas Ohlgren; 136 Sumac Drive; West Lafayette, IN 47906.

ANSAXDAT: ANSAXNET's Sibling¹

William Schipper
Memorial University, Newfoundland

ANSAXNET needs no introduction. Begun some time after the 1985 meeting of ISAS, it now boasts more than 525 members and in a typical week as many as 250 messages can be posted. Yet, unlike HUMANIST or LINGUIST, ANSAXNET remains entirely unmoderated, so that all messages posted to the net are automatically distributed to all subscribers. Moreover, ANSAXNET has never been automatically archived, and it is up to individual members to save postings that interest them.

In the spring of 1991, shortly after the annual congress at Kalamazoo, Patrick Conner began discussion on the network about the possibility of starting a publicly accessible and searchable text database containing all messages posted to ANSAXNET, in order to make the collective wit and occasional folly of its subscribers available in a permanent archive. William Schipper, then still in Tokyo, but about to join Memorial University in St. John's, Newfoundland, learned that his new university was one of 40 SPIRES (Stanford Public Information and Retrieval System) sites in North America and more importantly, that the people at Memorial who operated SPIRES were interested in getting an archive under way; and so ANSAXDAT was born. Slavko Manojlovich, director of systems operations at Memorial's Library, obtained a copy of the source code used for the HUMANIST database, and Conner supplied a larger number of archival files going back to May 1990, with report files for 1988 and 1989. These files have now been modified to make them suitable for uploading to SPIRES, and on May 2, all 66 files, containing every posting to ANSAXNET between May 8, 1990 and April 27, 1992 were installed in the SPIRES database.

Before that was possible, however, a number of modifications to the files were necessary. It is a truism to say that no two e-mail systems are exactly alike. The important lines from the header--those with the subject information, the name and address of the sender, and the date the message was sent--differ in some subtle and less-than-subtle ways. The sender line shows the greatest variety: some contain both a full name and e-mail address, others a partial name or nickname and an address, yet others just an address. To standardize these headers Schipper spent most of this part term writing and refining a QuickBasic program that takes each line from the original file, checks whether it contains the words "From:", "Subject:" or "Date:", and branches to subprograms depending on what it finds. The "From:" line is the most complicated. In order to eliminate editing by hand this subprogram first extracts the e-mail address; then looks the address up in a list of subscribers who have posted to ANSAXNET before; if the name is not on that short list the program looks it up in a data file of all subscribers as of February 15, 1992; and if that fails, it tries to find the address in a current list of subscribers. If all this fails to turn up the name then it can be inserted manually. The entire process taken much less time that is might to read a description of how it is done. And the program can modify an entire 150 kb file (the average size for a week) in about ten minutes. New postings are now downloaded weekly from Conner's account, via anonymous ftp (File Transfer Protocol) login, then these files in turn are run through the filter Schipper has created, and are added to the SPIRES database. Now that the procedure is working smoothly, it involves about an hour each week.

At present only someone with an account on the mainframe computer (affectionately known as "Knuckles", from the letters NLCS = Newfoundland and Labrador Computing Services) can do searches for material. The library has announced that "anonymous" logins are now a "matter of weeks, not months." But until this becomes a reality all searches will continue to be conducted through Schipper. As soon as this changes subscribers will be issued instructions on how to do searches and download the results. At that time Schipper's role will diminish to uploading new files, and maintaining the database. The problem of copyright, so hotly debated a while ago, can be solved in several ways; the most cumbersome is for each subscriber to ANSAXNET to be issued a password; a copyright message can be attached to each downloaded search; or a copyright message can be displayed on the opening welcome screen. The latter seems the simplest, and has parallels in both software copyright notices, and similar notices in books and magazines. The remainder of the summer will be spent testing the system and it is hoped that everything is set to go by September.

¹ The following people should be singled out for their help: Hoyt Duggan and Jim McNelis for supplying early postings believed to be lost; Slavko Manojlovich, head of systems operations at Memorial's library; Dr. E.R. Epperly, head of the English Department at Memorial; and Michael Staveley, Dean of Arts at Memorial Univ.

It is hard to predict the future of the database. Ideally, everyone will make the fullest possible use of ANSAXDAT. The database is constructed in such a way that the whole of ANSAXDAT could be ported to another location, should someone else need take over Schipper's duties. Size is not a problem: at present the entire database occupies about 7 MB, a far cry from the gigabytes available. Thus, communication can continue in our usual talkative mode, while being assured that our utterances will be saved for posterity.

Until September the following procedure remains in force for searching ANSAXDAT. Send a message to Schipper at Memorial Univ. (see below), making your request as specific as possible. Searches can be made by sender's name, subject, and date range; it is also possible to do key word searches of the text itself. The results of the search will be posted by e-mail. Long files can also be sent on diskette via "snail mail," in which case you should specify format as well. Some members can, in fact, already testify to how useful such searches can be. For example, one might want to see whether there has been any discussion about a particular topic before beginning a paper; thus a search for postings on *Beowulf* reveals a total of 112 items. Or one might like to see all the postings an individual has made to the network; checking under Schipper, for example, brings up 118 items. The same figure could be obtained by requesting STATistics from the list server, but ANSAXDAT can also provide the full text of the postings. Another kind of search could request all postings during the month of September 1991. Or one could request all messages containing the name Ælfric. Such a search, moreover, would take just a few seconds, and the results could be downloaded in a minute or two. Above all, Anglo-Saxonists are urged to use the facility; the more use the database gets, the happier the Dean and the library systems staff will be, since use justifies the efforts they have put into it.

W. Schipper
Dept. of English
Memorial University
St. John's, Nfld.
A1C 5S7
Canada

Tel: 709-737-4406
Fax: 709-737-4000

Email: schipper@morgan.ucs.mun.ca

from Charles Dickens, A Child's History of England

Chapter III England, Under the Good Saxon, Alfred

ALFRED THE GREAT was a young man, three-and-twenty years of age, when he became king. Twice in his childhood, he had been taken to Rome, where the Saxon nobles were in the habit of going on journeys which they supposed to be religious; and, once, he had stayed for some time in Paris. Learning, however, was so little cared for, then, that at twelve years old he had not been taught to read; although, of the four sons of King Ethelwulf, he, the youngest, was the favourite. But he had—as most men who grow up to be great and good are generally found to have had—an excellent mother; and, one day, this lady, whose name was Osburgha, happened, as she was sitting among her sons, to read a book of Saxon poetry. The art of printing was not known until long and long after that period, and the book, which was written, was what is called "illuminated," with beautiful bright letters, richly painted. The brothers admiring it very much, their mother said, "I will give it to that one of you four princes who first learns to read." Alfred sought out a tutor that very day, applied himself to learn with great diligence, and soon won the book. He was proud of it, all his life.

This great king, in the first year of his reign, fought nine battles with the Danes. He made some treaties with them too, by which the false Danes swore that they would quit the country. They pretended to consider that they had taken a very solemn oath, in swearing this upon the holy bracelets that they wore, and which were always buried with them when they died; but they cared little for it, for they thought nothing of breaking oaths and treaties too, as soon as it suited their purpose, and coming back again to fight, plunder, and burn, as usual. One fatal winter, in the fourth year of King Alfred's reign, they spread themselves in great numbers over the whole of England; and so dispersed and routed the king's soldiers that the king was left alone, and was obliged to disguise himself as a common peasant, and to take refuge in the cottage of one of his cowherds who did not know his face.

Here, King Alfred, while the Danes sought him far and wide, was left alone one day, by the cowherd's wife, to watch some cakes which she put to bake upon the hearth. But, being at work upon his bow and arrows, with which he hoped to punish the false Danes when a brighter time should come, and thinking deeply of his poor unhappy subjects

whom the Danes chased through the land, his noble mind forgot the cakes, and they were burnt. "What!" said the cowherd's wife, she scolded him well when she came back, and little thought she was scolding the king, "you will be ready enough to eat them by-and-by, and yet you cannot watch them, idle dog?"

At length, the Devonshire men made head against a new host of Danes who landed on their coast; killed their chief, and captured their flag; on which was represented the likeness of a Raven—a very fit bird for a thievish army like that, I think. The loss of their standard troubled the Danes greatly, for they believed it to be enchanted—woven by the three daughters of one father in a single afternoon—and they had a story among themselves that when they were victorious in battle, the Raven stretched his wings and seemed to fly; and that when they were defeated, he would droop. He had good reason to droop, now, if he could have done anything half so sensible; for, King Alfred joined the Devonshire men; made a camp with them on a piece of firm ground in the midst of a bog in Somersetshire; and prepared for a great attempt for vengeance on the Danes, and the deliverance of his oppressed people.

But, first, as it was important to know how numerous those pestilent Danes were, and how they were fortified, King Alfred, being a good musician, disguised himself as a gleeman or minstrel, and went, with his harp, to the Danish camp. He played and sang in the very tent of Guthrum, the Danish leader, and entertained the Danes as they caroused. While he seemed to think of nothing but his music, he was watchful of their tents, their arms, their discipline, everything that he desired to know. And right soon did this great king entertain them to a different tune; for, summoning all his true followers to meet him at an appointed place, where they received him with joyful shouts and tears, as the monarch whom many of them had given up for lost or dead, he put himself at their head, marched on the Danish Camp, defeated the Danes with great slaughter, and besieged them for fourteen days to prevent their escape. But, being as merciful as he was good and grave, he then, instead of killing them, proposed peace: on condition that they should altogether depart from the Western part of England, and settle in the East; and that Guthrum should become a Christian in remembrance of the Divine religion which now

taught his conqueror, the noble Alfred, to forgive the enemy who had so often injured him. This Guthrum did. At his baptism, King Alfred was his godfather. And Guthrum was an honorable chief, who well deserved that clemency; for, ever afterwards, he was loyal and faithful to the king. The Danes under him were faithful too. They plundered and burned no more, but worked like honest men. They ploughed, and sowed, and reaped, and led good honest English lives. And I hope the children of those Danes played, many a time, with Saxon children in the sunny Fields; and that Danish young men fell in love with Saxon girls, and married them; and that English travellers, benighted at the doors of Danish cottages, often went in for shelter until morning; and that Danes and Saxons sat by the red fire, friends, talking of King Alfred the Great.

All the Danes were not like these under Guthrum; for, after some years, more of them came over, in the old plundering and burning way—among them a fierce pirate of the name of Hastings, who had the boldness to sail up the Thames to Gravesend, with eighty ships. For three years, there was a war with these Danes; and there was a famine in the country, too, and a plague, both upon human creatures and beasts. But King Alfred, whose mighty heart never failed him, built large ships nevertheless, with which to pursue the pirates on the sea; and he encouraged his soldiers, by his brave example, to fight valiantly against them on the shore. At last, he drove them all away and then there was repose in England.

As great and good in peace, as he was great and good in war, King Alfred never rested from his labors to improve his people. He loved to talk with clever men, and with travellers from foreign countries, and to write down what they told him, for his people to read. He had studied Latin after learning to read English, and now another of his labours was, to translate Latin books into the English-Saxon tongue, that his people might be interested and improved by their contents. He made just laws, that they might live more happily and freely; he turned away all partial judges, that no wrong might be done them; he was so careful of their property, and punished robbers so severely, that it was a common thing to say that under the great King Alfred garlands of golden chains and jewels might have hung across the streets, and no man would have touched one. He founded schools; he patiently heard causes himself in his court of Justice; the great desires of his heart were, to do right to all his subjects, and to leave England better, wiser, happier in all ways, than he found it. His industry in these efforts was quite astonishing. Every day he divided into certain portions, and in each portion devoted himself to a certain pursuit.

That he might divide his time exactly, he had wax torches or candles made, which were all of the same size, were notched across at regular distances, and were always kept burning. Thus, as the candles burnt down, he divided the day into notches, almost as accurately as we now divide it into hours upon the clock. But, when the candles were first invented, it was found that the wind and draughts of air, blowing into the palace through the doors and windows, and through the chinks in the walls, caused them to gutter and burn unequally. To prevent this, the king had them put into cases formed of wood and white horn. And these were the first lanthorns ever made in England.

All this time, he was afflicted with a terrible unknown disease, which caused him violent and frequent pain that nothing could relieve. He bore it, as he had borne all the troubles of his life, like a brave good man, until he was fifty-three years old; and then, having reigned thirty years, he died. He died in the year nine hundred and one; but, long ago as that is, his fame, and the love and gratitude with which his subjects regarded him, are freshly remembered to the present hour.

In the next reign, which was the reign of Edward surnamed The Elder, who was chosen in council to succeed, a nephew of King Alfred troubled the country by trying to obtain the throne. The Danes in the East of England took part with this usurper (perhaps because they had honoured his uncle so much, and honoured him for his uncle's sake), and there was hard fighting; but, the king, with the assistance of his sister, gained the day, and reigned in peace for four-and-twenty years. He gradually extended his power over the whole of England, and so the Seven Kingdoms were united into one.

When England thus became one kingdom, ruled over by one Saxon king, the Saxons had been settled in the country for more than four hundred and fifty years. Great changes had taken place in its customs during that time. The Saxons were still greedy eaters and great drinkers, and their feasts were often of a noisy and drunken kind; but many new comforts and even elegances had become known, and were fast increasing. Hangings for the walls of rooms, where, in these modern days, we paste up paper, are known to have been sometimes made of silk, ornamented with birds and flowers in needlework. Tables and chairs were curiously carved in different woods; were sometimes decorated with gold or silver; sometimes even made of those precious metals. Knives and spoons were used at table; golden ornaments were worn—with silk and cloth, and golden tissues and embroideries; dishes were made of gold and silver, brass and bone. There were varieties of drinking-horns, bedsteads, musical instruments. A harp was

passed round, at a feast, like the drinking-bowl, from guest to guest; and each one usually sang or played when his turn came. The weapons of the Saxons were stoutly made, and among them was a terrible iron hammer that gave deadly blows, and was long remembered. The Saxons themselves were a handsome people. The men were proud of their long fair hair, parted on the forehead; their ample beards, their fresh complexions and clear eyes. The beauty of the Saxon women filled all England with a new delight and grace.

I have more to tell of the Saxons yet, but I stop to say this now, because, under the Great Alfred, all the best points of English-Saxon character were first encouraged, and in him first shown. It has been the greatest character among the nations of the earth. Wherever the descendants of the Saxon race have gone, have sailed, or otherwise made their way, even to the remotest regions of the world, they have been patient, persevering, never to be broken in spirit, never to be turned aside from enterprises on which they have resolved. In Europe, Asia, Africa, America, the whole world over; in the desert, in the forest, on the sea; scorched by a burning sun, or frozen by ice that never melts; the Saxon blood remains unchanged. Wheresoever that race goes, there, law,

and industry, and safety for life and property, and all the great results of steady perseverance, are certain to arise.

I pause to think, with admiration, of the noble king who, in his single person, possessed all the Saxon virtues. Whom misfortune could not subdue, whom prosperity could not spoil, whose perseverance nothing could shake. Who was hopeful in defeat, and generous in success. Who loved justice, freedom, truth, and knowledge. Who, in his care to instruct his people, probably did more to preserve the beautiful old Saxon language, than I can imagine. Without whom, the English tongue in which I tell his story might have wanted half its meaning. As it is said that his spirit still inspires some of our best English laws, so, let you and me pray that it may animate our English hearts at least to this—to resolve, when we see any of our fellow-creatures left in ignorance, that we will do our best, while life is in us, to have them taught, and to tell those rulers whose duty it is to teach them, and who neglect their duty, that they have profited very little by all the years that have rolled away since the year nine hundred and one, and that they are far behind the bright example of King Alfred the Great.

Medieval Latin Association of North America

The Journal of Medieval Latin

The formation of the Medieval Latin Association of North America, a society based in Toronto and administered jointly by the Centre for Medieval Studies, Univ. of Toronto, and the Editorial Board of *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, based at York Univ., Toronto, is announced. Membership is open to all private scholars, whether resident in North America or abroad. Members will receive *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, published annually in the autumn, as well as a yearly newsletter, which it is hoped will be inaugurated by spring of 1993. Plans are also underway for a monograph series in Medieval Latin Studies under Brepols, who publish the *Journal* as well.

The price of annual membership is to be the member's price for *The Journal of Medieval Latin* plus \$5.00 per annum to cover the production of the newsletter and other incidentals. For 1992 the membership price will be CDN \$35.00, US \$30.00 (students: CDN \$30.00, US \$25). This reflects a \$5.00 increase in the subscription price for the journal. This is not attributable to inflation. Volume 2 of *The Journal of Medieval Latin* will be about 50% larger than Volume 1. Volumes in the planned monograph series and the editions published in the Toronto Medieval Latin Text series (published by the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies) will be offered at a reduced price as an option to members, and hence not calculated in the membership price.

The Medieval Latin Newsletter is meant to fulfil two main purposes:

- (1) to keep members informed about research in progress in Medieval Latin Studies;
- (2) to provide timely information about forthcoming conferences and lecture series dealing with this area.

It is also envisioned that the newsletter would report such items as new positions available in the discipline, appointments to chairs, group research projects, and the like. An early issue of the *Newsletter* will publish a register of members with their fields of interest in Medieval Latin.

To become a member please send your name, institution, and mailing address with your check in the right amount (in US or Canadian dollars), payable to "York University" to:

A.G. Rigg, Acting Secretary
The Medieval Latin Association of North America
The Centre for Medieval Studies
The University of Toronto
39 Queen's Park Crescent East
Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5S 2C3

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Principal interests (e.g. literary history, literary criticism, philology, manuscript studies; genre: e.g. lyric, prose, chronicles; period: e.g. Carolingian, late medieval; place: e.g. Italy, England).

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Hiberno-Latin Writings in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture*

Charles D. Wright
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

The fifty-item generic entry on "Hiberno-Latin and Irish-Influenced Biblical Commentaries, Florilegia, and Homily Collections" in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: A Trial Version*, ed. Frederick M. Biggs, Thomas D. Hill, and Paul E. Szarmach (Binghamton, NY, 1990), pp. 87-123, illustrates the expanded scope of *SASLC* as compared to its predecessor and inspiration, J.D.A. Ogilvy's *Books Known to the English, 597-1066* (Cambridge, MA, 1967). Although most of the entries in *SASLC* will correspond to items in Ogilvy's *Books Known*--indeed, the projected entries list in Appendix B of the *Trial Version* essentially replicates Ogilvy's entry headings--there are also many new entries. The greatly expanded number of texts under the new generic entry for Hiberno-Latin writings is due in part to the broader definition of the scope and purpose of the *SASLC* volume,¹ and in part to my own flexible interpretation of the criteria for inclusion of texts; but the main reason is simply that the study of Hiberno-Latin exegesis is a comparatively new field. Most of the anonymous and pseudonymous commentaries included in the generic entry for Hiberno-Latin writings had not been identified as Irish until Bernhard Bischoff published his ground-breaking study and catalogue of over thirty Hiberno-Latin and Irish-influenced commentaries in 1954.² Of the fifty texts gathered in the new generic entry, Ogilvy has entries for seven, under various headings. Of the three named Irish authors I include in the generic entry (Aileran Sapiens (no. 19), Josephus Scottus (17), and Laidcenn mac Baith (9)), Ogilvy has an entry only for Laidcenn, in his addenda (*Mediaevalia* 7 [1984 for 1981], 281-325, at 305). Of the pseudonymous works, Ogilvy has entries for the *Breuiarium in Psalmos* (15), *Expositio quatuor euangeliorum* (18) and *Commentarius in euangelium Marci* (29) of pseudo-Jerome (all under the heading "Pseudo-Jerome," *Books Known*, pp. 182-83); for pseudo-Alcuin, *Liber questionum in euangeliis* (21-*22) (under "In Mattaeum," *Books Known*, pp. 201-02); for pseudo-Hilary, *Expositio in VII epistolas catholicas* (35) (under "Hilarius Ignotus," *Books Known*, p. 158, and in the addenda, p. 301); and for pseudo-Isidore, *Liber numerorum* (*38) (under "Isidore of Seville," *Books Known*, p. 169). Of the anonymous works, Ogilvy has an entry only for the *Glossa in Psalmos* (*10) (under "Scholia in

Psalmos," *Books Known*, p. 232). Although Ogilvy cited Bischoff's article in his addenda (p. 292) in connection with another Hiberno-Latin text, the treatise *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae* of the Irish Augustine, he mentions the possibility of Irish authorship only for the pseudo-Jerome commentary on Mark (*Books Known*, p. 182) and (in his addenda, p. 301) the pseudo-Hilary commentary on the Catholic Epistles. Thus a reader of *Books Known* would not suspect that several other texts listed separately under other headings were also regarded by Bischoff as Hiberno-Latin or Irish-influenced. Under the heading "In Mattaeum," for example, Ogilvy speculates on the possible identity of three fragmentary commentaries, without noting that all three fragments were listed by Bischoff as belonging to variant recensions of a Hiberno-Latin commentary known as pseudo-Alcuin, *Liber questionum in euangeliis* (*21-22).

On the assumption that the Irish connections of these texts are of material interest and significance for the study of the sources of Anglo-Saxon literary culture, I decided to bring together these and all other relevant items in Bischoff's catalogue (along with certain other compilations more recently identified as Hiberno-Latin or Irish-influenced) under a single generic heading. I believe that this was the most appropriate way to the organize the Hiberno-Latin material, especially the anonymous and pseudonymous works, but the decision involved certain problems of definition and criteria for inclusion of texts within the specified aims and limits of the *SASLC* project. Bischoff's method of identifying commentaries as Hiberno-Latin or Irish-influenced by way of Irish "symptoms" is still the subject of debate, and the distinction between Hiberno-Latin and Irish-influenced works is obviously crucial. The generic entry includes some items whose Irish authorship is certain or virtually certain, others which are probable or possible, and others which may only have been influenced to some degree by Irish sources. In the general headnote to the entry I alert the reader to these issues, but the practical problem in constructing the entry was to indicate concisely the status of individual items according to the most recent scholarship. Fortunately, Michael Lapidge and Richard Sharpe's *Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature 400-1200* (Dublin, 1985), provided an

up-to-date and authoritative assessment of the likelihood of Irish authorship for each of the commentaries in Bischoff's catalogue. Lapidge and Sharpe list many commentaries under the headings "Ireland" and "Irish Peregrini on the Continent," but relegate others to a separate category headed "Works of Possible or Arguable Celtic Origin" (*Dubia*). To alert readers to the doubtful status of these works I simply marked with an asterisk the item numbers of all works which Lapidge and Sharpe classify as *Dubia*.

A more fundamental problem in determining what texts to include in the generic entry was that much of the recent work on Irish influence in Old English literature has focused on themes and motifs which appear to have been transmitted to the Anglo-Saxons through Irish compilations, but which cannot be tied to any one specific Hiberno-Latin text as a direct source for an Anglo-Saxon text. A strict constructionist approach to *SASLC* would rigorously exclude any text for which there is no concrete headnote evidence--no Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, versions, booklists, quotations, citations, or references. Had I adopted this approach the total number of items would have been much smaller, and perhaps less potentially misleading to the reader who assumes that the inclusion of a text automatically means that it was known in Anglo-Saxon England, even when the headnote reads "MSS-Refs none," and even though the general headnote for the generic entry plainly states that "The reader is . . . cautioned not to assume that a Hiberno-Latin text in the following list was known in Anglo-Saxon England, unless specific indications are given in the headnote" (*Trial Version*, pp. 89-90). On the other hand, to have adhered to a strict constructionist approach would have required suppressing much of the recent scholarship on the Hiberno-Latin contribution to Anglo-Saxon literary culture. Because *SASLC* is organized essentially and necessarily by texts and not by motifs, there would be no way to incorporate such evidence unless an example happened to occur in a Hiberno-Latin text for which there was some other more concrete data that could be registered in one of the categories of the headnote. For this reason, I included any Hiberno-Latin or Irish-influenced commentary which had been cited by scholars for parallels of specific motifs in Anglo-Saxon texts. For those works with no more concrete evidence for knowledge in Anglo-Saxon England, the headnote reads "MSS-Refs none," but I specify in the body of the entry the theme or motif for which the work has been cited in connection with an Anglo-Saxon text. There are seventeen such cases in the generic entry, and another seven for which

the headnote evidence is doubtful. In short, many Hiberno-Latin writings are included by criteria more flexible than those applied to many other texts, although the generic entry on Apocrypha, for example, includes works which can be regarded only as possible or indirect sources for isolated motifs or details in Anglo-Saxon texts.³

Evidence for the transmission of distinctively Irish motifs or "symptoms" suggests that Hiberno-Latin writings influenced a variety of Old English prose texts, especially anonymous homilies,⁴ but also the Old English *Martyrology*, (see nos. 1, 24, 30, *44, and 45) the prose introductions to Psalms 2-50 in the Paris Psalter (see nos. 1, 12, and *14), and the *Prose Solomon and Saturn* and *Adrian and Ritheus* (see nos. 1, 2, 3, *8, 34, 39, 42, and 50). The cumulative evidence for knowledge in Anglo-Saxon England of specific Hiberno-Latin commentaries, florilegia, and homily collections included in the generic entry (together with the so-called "Apocrypha Priscillianistica,"⁵ included under the generic entry "Apocrypha," pp. 69-70) is summarized in the following table, according to the categories of the headnote. I give the cumulative totals for each headnote category, and list relevant texts under each category by item numbers.

22 Manuscripts:

9 manuscripts written or owned in Anglo-Saxon England:

5 complete: nos. 9, 10, 13, 15, *33

4 partial: 1, 22, 35, *Apocrypha Priscillianistica

13 continental Anglo-Saxon manuscripts: *3, *4, *16, 19, 21, 26, *40, *41, 45, 46, 47, *48, *49

2 Booklists: 2 (?), 39 (?)

13 Quotations/Citations: 12 (?), 14, 15, 18 (?), 21 (?), *32, 35, 36 (?), *38, 39 (?), *44, 47 (?), *Apocrypha Priscillianistica

2 References: 17, 35

13 Texts with non-queried headnote evidence: 1, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 17, 22, *33, 35, *38, *44, *Apocrypha Priscillianistica

7 Texts with queried headnote evidence (excluding continental Anglo-Saxon manuscripts): 2, 12, 18, 21, 36, 39, 47

17 Texts with no headnote evidence: *5, *6, *7, *8, 11, *20, 24, 25, *27, *28, 30, 31, 34, *37, 42, *43, 50

I must caution that no very exact or scientific conclusions can be drawn from all of this. Any codification of information for convenient reference involves a degree of simplification and distortion of the complexities and ambiguities of the evidence.

In this case, the totals include some texts that are demonstrably Hiberno-Latin and some (those item numbers marked with an asterisk) that are only possibly or arguably so; moreover, the headnote evidence in some instances is itself doubtful or ambiguous. Under "Booklists," for example, both items are queried because it is not certain that the titles in the booklists refer to the Hiberno-Latin works in question. Thus the *Questiones sancti Hysidori tam de nouo quam de uetere testamento* (2) may be the work listed in the Leofric donation as "Liber Isidori De nouo et uetere testamento"; but as Michael Lapidge points out, this title could also refer to Isidore's *Prooemia* to the books of the Old and New Testaments.⁶ Given these qualifications, subjective impressions of the cumulative totals listed above might vary widely within a scale ranging from "impressive" to "paltry"; my own relative judgment is that they are more impressive than I expected them to be when I began to collect the evidence. Many of the works in Bischoff's catalogue are, after all, anonymous or pseudonymous compilations which may never have circulated widely. Those which were certainly known in Anglo-Saxon England do, however, include some very interesting texts.⁷ The *Glossa in Psalmos* (*10) in Vatican, Pal. lat. 68, an eighth-century manuscript copied by the Northumbrian scribe Edilbericht, includes both Irish and Anglo-Saxon glosses. Fragments in Northumbrian uncials of a variant recension of pseudo-Alcuin, *Liber questionum in euangeliis* (*22) survive in the flyleaves of an eighth-century Hereford manuscript. The brief text *De questione apostoli* (*33) survives only in "St. Dunstan's Class-

book." Pseudo-Hilary, *Expositio in VII epistolas catholicas* (35) was known to Bede, who derided its unfortunate, but typically Irish, comparison of the operation of the Holy Spirit to that of a pipe (*more fistulae*). Ælfric cited a passage from the same commentary in one of his Catholic Homilies, but was clearly suspicious of the attribution to Hilary. Extracts from the pseudo-Hilary commentary, and also from the so-called "Reference Bible" (1), a massive commentary on the entire Bible, have recently been discovered in Salisbury manuscripts dating from the eleventh century. Extracts from the *Apocrypha Priscillianistica*, including a distinctive Doomsday passage used in an Old English Rogationtide homily and possibly known in some form to Cynewulf,⁸ also survive in manuscripts written or owned in Anglo-Saxon England.

The generic entry on Hiberno-Latin biblical commentaries, florilegia, and homily collections omits many of the major Hiberno-Latin authors and texts which also were known in Anglo-Saxon England, and which will appear in *SASLC* under individual headings. In addition to works of Sedulius Scottus and Johannes Scottus Eriugena, these include theological and didactic treatises (pseudo-Augustine, *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae*; pseudo-Isidore, *Liber de ordine creaturarum*; pseudo-Cyprian, *De duodecim abusiuis saeculi*) and canonical and penitential collections (the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* and *Poenitentiale Cummeani*). When these works are added to those gathered in the generic entry, the Hiberno-Latin contribution to Anglo-Saxon literary culture will emerge as a significant one indeed.⁹

Notes

1. See Thomas D. Hill's Introduction to *A Trial Version*, pp. xv-xxix.

2. "Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter," *Sacris Erudiri* 6 (1954), 189-279, reprinted with revisions in his *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1966-81) I, pp. 205-73; English translation by Colm O'Grady in *Biblical Studies: The Medieval Irish Contribution*, ed. Martin McNamara (Dublin, 1976), pp. 74-160.

3. See, for example, the entries for the Life of Adam and Eve (*A Trial Version*, pp. 23-24), 4 Ezra (p. 29), the *Breviarium apostolorum* and *Notitia de locis Apostolorum* (pp. 49-50) and the *Actus Petri cum Simone* (p. 60).

4. In addition to the references cited in the *Trial Version*, see my forthcoming book, *The Irish Tradition in Old English Literature*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 6 (Cambridge, 1993).

5. Lapidge and Sharpe, *Bibliography*, no. 1252. For the Irish connections of this misnamed collection of homiletic and exegetical extracts, see Charles D. Wright, "The Irish 'Enumerative Style' in Old English Homiletic Literature, Especially Vercelli Homily IX," *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 18 (Winter, 1989), 27-74, at 41-44.

6. "Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England," in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 33-89, at 68.

7. For details and references for the following commentaries, see the individual entries in *A Trial Version*.

8. See Charles D. Wright, "The Pledge of the Soul: A Judgment Theme in Old English Homiletic Literature and Cynewulf's *Elene*," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 91 (1990), 23-30.

9. An earlier version of this paper was read at the 26th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Michigan, May 1991. Users of *A Trial Version* are asked to note the following erratum: at p. 106, in the headnote to item no. 29, for "Quots/Cits BEDA.Comm.Marc.: see below" read "Quots/Cits none."

The Future of Old English: A Personal Essay

Peter Jackson
Emmanuel College, Cambridge

Not long ago, I was invited to dinner at a Cambridge college. When we changed places for dessert I went to sit with a group of English literature students and their teachers (or "super-visors"). I turned to the young woman on my right and began to make conversation. "What do you do?," she asked me. "I'm an Anglo-Saxonist." "Hard luck," she replied (quite kindly). "I've never known anyone who does that."

This comment, doubtless well-meant, has often recurred to me as I have gone about my work for this article, for it is altogether typical of the blend of incomprehension and faint amusement with which the study of Old English is sometimes viewed, even by students and scholars in similar fields who ought to be its friends. As such, it may not be an irrelevant opening to a discussion of a controversy in which the place of those studies has been under attack—in particular their inclusion on the English degree course syllabus at Oxford University. Some account of that controversy may be of value to readers of the *Old English Newsletter*, most of whom live in North America and who thus may have heard of it only at second hand; for, as will be seen, the dispute has implications for the study of the subject that raise it far above the level of a merely local argument.

A few preliminary words are necessary. The English course at Oxford is divided into two parts.¹ In the first ("Moderations"), which is examined after one year, every student is required to take six papers, including one each in Victorian and modern literature, and two in Old English—one a general survey paper, the other a selection of prescribed texts for translation. A further two papers must also be taken, one of which may be in Old English. For its second part ("Finals"), examined after a further two years' study, the course bifurcates once more, and all candidates are required to take eight papers (five of them compulsory, three chosen from a range of others) drawn *either* from a general course in English language and literature (including an optional paper in Old English) *or* from a more specialized course in medieval, early modern and linguistic topics (including one optional and two compulsory papers in Old English). It will be obvious, then, that there is a large element of compulsion in the course throughout; that Old English is, however, a required subject for all students only in the first year of three; and that the

whole of the syllabus is constructed by historical period.

But at Oxford, as at any university, syllabus reform is a subject never far below the surface. Generous though the current provision for Old English may seem, at one point it was greater still, and it was only as the result of prolonged campaigning earlier this century (led by the late F.W. Bateson) that the number of medieval and linguistic papers was reduced even to its present level.² Now, having lain dormant for nearly twenty-five years, the cause has been reopened by Bateson's successor at Corpus Christi College, Valentine Cunningham, a critic whose special field of expertise is the poetry of the 1930s,³ and a prolific reviewer and talented polemicist, with a fine command of pungent English and a rare gift of caricature.

There had been a good deal of more-or-less subterranean agitation in Oxford, including an attempt to suppress the Rawlinson and Bosworth Chair of Anglo-Saxon and instead fund one in critical theory or contemporary literature (33, 41),⁴ for some years before the present controversy broke out in an article by Cunningham in the *Oxford Magazine* in May 1991 (1). There the matter might have remained, as none of the readers of the *Magazine* showed any great interest in replying.⁵ But after a long and unexplained silence, a news report about the article (with quotations from interviews with Cunningham and his sympathizers) appeared in the mass-circulation daily newspaper the *Guardian* (18 July 1991: 3), and sparked off a short though lively correspondence there (including the tribute of a leading article; 4-9). The dispute was then taken up by England's main literary weekly, the *Times Literary Supplement*, which published opposing articles by Cunningham and John Burrow (31 August 1991: 11-12) and a prolonged correspondence (13-23). But though this was the main forum of discussion, other newspapers were not silent: comments and letters in the *Daily Telegraph* (25-30) and the *Spectator* (31) maintained the reputation of those journals for solid conservatism (see below); just when it seemed at the point of death, the dispute was revived by a long and vigorous review by Richard North of the *Godden/Lapidge Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature* in the *London Review of Books* (10 October 1991: 35); and there was even a report

on the late-night BBC television program *Newsnight* (17 September 1991: 33). The last word (so far) has gone to the Anglo-Saxonists, with articles by Malcolm Godden in a new Oxford student newspaper, *Babel* (Hilary Term, January-March, 1992: 42; reprinted separately immediately following). The debate was at times bitter and, in the English fashion, occasionally rich in absurdity. Writing in the *Spectator*, Paul Johnson declared, "take away Anglo-Saxon (from English studies) and there is nothing left but idleness and an increasing clutter of nonsense, such as deconstruction, post-deconstruction and the like, all expressed in hideous jargon"(31), while the Education Correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* characterized Old English literature as "epics such as *Beowulf*, the *Battle of Maldon* and the *Dream of the Rood*, many of which begin with the exhortation 'Hwæt!, meaning Hark!'" (25).

But for the most part the argument was conducted at a higher level than this. Indeed, the point of departure—the survival of Old English at Oxford—at times became forgotten, as the debate rapidly (and quite rightly) widened into a discussion of the distinctive place and value of Old English studies in the English curriculum as a whole. For example, Jocelyn Wogan-Browne and Jeremy Smith discussed feminist approaches to Anglo-Saxon studies and the importance of new linguistic tools such as the *Old English Thesaurus* and the *Toronto Dictionary* (40), while Marilyn Deegan and Smith advertized Patrick Conner's "*Beowulf* Workstation" and other computer-based teaching aids (39).⁸ Other scholars rejected attempts to isolate or "ghettoize" Old English and argued for its central importance for the study of English literature. It is these broader aspects of the debate that I will be concerned with here; and if in what follows I appear to quote at some length Valentine Cunningham's arguments against Old English to the exclusion of anyone else's, it is not in order to pillory one scholar's opinions, but simply because so few others were willing to go into print on his side—principally a recent Oxford graduate writing in the *Guardian* (6), and an editorial leader in the same paper (4). Of the eleven letters printed in the *Times Literary Supplement* (13-23) ten were in favor of the study of Old English, the single exception being one by Cunningham himself (22).

Of course, some potential supporters may have been deterred by the unexpected conservatism of some of Cunningham's argument. For example, he has always been careful to say that his main quarrel is not with the inclusion on the syllabus of compulsory courses *per se*, but with the privileged position given to Old English within it. Old English

(or "Anglo-Saxon") he regards as a linguistic and literary blind alley, "educationally, linguistically, historically... a cul-de-sac" (11), a wearisome philological diversion from the broad current of English literature rather than the central part of it. In Cunningham's argument, the language (*pace* Tolkien) has no "essential kinship with our own,"⁷ the themes and concerns of the literature have left no trace on ours, and the very term "Old English," implying that such a connection exists, is deeply spurious. It is an engaging curiosity, no more. But even on these terms, Cunningham has little faith in the literary value of Old English texts. The *Battle of Maldon* is "some little old alliterative poem about a last stand against the Danish invader" and *Dream of the Rood*, "lovely, spiritual though it be, is a very minor work, insubstantial in extent and depth, thin on readerly pleasure, only marginal historically" (11). Is it fair (Cunningham asks) to impose the study of such "bloody stuff"⁸ on "bored and scrimshanking pressed women and men" (1) when *Hamlet* and *Middlemarch* are not similarly prescribed? Its place on the Oxford syllabus, like its place in the canon itself, is an historical anachronism. When Oxford English was a "magnificently organic philological tree or fluvial system" (11), Old English naturally found an honored place. But at a university where women's writing and postmodernism are recognized subjects of study and where a Marxist (Terry Eagleton) holds a Chair of English, "Anglo-Saxon" now resembles nothing so much as an excrescence or vestigial organ, in John Carey's words, "a little appendix ... which needs to be removed [by] a simple surgical operation" (33, cf. 41).⁹ The survival of compulsory Old English on the course feeds a "German and English, northern European, male, Aryan-supremacist myth" (21) about the origins of the language and culture which ignores the contribution of other peoples and literatures: Latin, French, Italian, Welsh. Its continued study says more about the obscure fantasies of J.R.R. Tolkien, C.S. Lewis *et al.* than it does about very much written in English since.

There is at least some of this with which (one suspects) some Anglo-Saxonists will have a little sympathy. Overblown as his rhetoric sometimes is, at his best Cunningham writes with infectious evangelical fervor. And such recent work as Allen Frantzen's *Desire for Origins*,¹⁰ or the article by Roberta Frank on "Germanic Legend in Old English Literature" in the Godden/Lapidge *Companion*¹¹ (singled out for praise by Cunningham himself in a letter in the *London Review of Books* (36) and by Eric Stanley in his review of the *Companion* in *Notes and Queries*¹²) have made many of us examine the nature of the

discipline and our own reasons for studying it in much the way that Cunningham commends. Nonetheless, there was much in Cunningham's broadside that could not be allowed to pass without reply, particularly as his attack on the subject raised questions far larger than merely its continuance—in whatever form—at Oxford. Three main counter-arguments were put forward. First, continuity. No one attempted to argue that there was much organic literary connection between the worlds of the *Beowulf*-poet and (say) Chaucer—let alone later authors. But several writers (in particular Edward Wilson, Malcolm Godden, and Richard North [13, 17, 33, 35, 41]) pointed to the appeal of Old English literature (and meter) on Hopkins, Auden, and Geoffrey Hill (and, it might have been added, Pound and Seamus Heaney¹³). Cunningham dismissed Auden as a "loony witness" (21), and of course it is perfectly fair to argue that it is precisely those writers with eccentric or adventurous intellectual interests that Old English is likely to attract. But as for linguistic continuity, there can surely be less dispute: in Stephen Medcalf's words, "to know Anglo-Saxon is to have as part of one's consciousness the semantic richness of a large part of the language we speak" (15). In particular, Cunningham made much of the claim that "the *OED* editors quite rightly decided on 1150 as the starting date of English" (11)—as if that meant they regarded Old English as a foreign tongue. But as Edward Wilson pointed out, what the editors had in fact done was to exclude words which were *obsolete* by 1150, while including full entries (with supporting citations) for words which had been in circulation at any point since then, however early their first appearance (13).¹⁴

Second, there was the argument about literary merit. Here Cunningham made things easier for his opponents by his teasing admission that he had occasionally overstated his own case in order to provoke: "I myself exaggerated the feebleness of Anglo-Saxon writing. Of course I did. That's polemics.... Of course some Anglo-Saxon, or rather West Saxon, vernacular texts are good, even great" (21). The forum of most of the debate (the correspondence columns of national newspapers) left little room for detailed literary exposition. Yet in reply to Cunningham's dismissal of the *Dream of the Rood* cited above, Edward Wilson praised "its density of reference to the Bible, the liturgy, patristic works, contemporary iconography and heroic life, as well as its metaphysical will unparalleled in English literature until the end of the sixteenth century" (13), while Stephen Medcalf aptly commented that "that man is little to be envied who does not feel that the *Wanderer*, the *Seafarer*, the *Dream of the Rood*, parts of the *Battle*

of *Maldon* and *Beowulf*, are profound poetry, or who does not, reading the kennings and riddles of lesser Anglo-Saxon verse, experience a deep excitement and illumination" (15). John Burrow made the obvious point that "set texts" were prescribed for Old English, but not for later periods, not because the Oxford examiners believed in the qualitative superiority of Old English literature to all other, but for practical reasons: the linguistic difficulties of these texts were such that there was simply no time for students to read as widely as in later periods (12, cf. 13). It might have been added that there is sound logic in prescribing texts in this fashion where only a few are available for study anyway. For the limited purpose of an examination, *King Lear* is a fair alternative to *Hamlet*, *Bleak House* to *Our Mutual Friend*. What alternatives are there to *Beowulf* or the *Dream of the Rood*?

But the third and most telling point to emerge from the discussion was the frequently expressed conviction that one studies Old English, not for its linguistic connection with the modern language (though that is undeniable), nor even for its literary value (great though that is), but to extend one's experience in time, to gain an insight into a way of thinking and feeling and viewing the world that is different from one's own. Cunningham is right to emphasize the diversity of influences at work in the history of English literature: Christian, Latin, French, Italian, as well as the often neglected Celtic strain. But none of these disciplines has the unique pertinence of Old English, precisely because it was only that language that was both spoken and written in England over centuries, and yet requires an intellectual and imaginative leap for us to comprehend today. It is "our own, and not our own."¹⁵ It would be hard to find more persuasive witnesses to this truth than these: "I was given ... the *Wanderer* to study and not only my attitude to the course but my whole internal life was changed" (an Oxford English graduate of thirty years ago; 9); "Old English ... remains one of the great experiences of my life" (a medical professor who studied the language with Charles W. Kennedy at Princeton; 19); "it is absurd to have to argue the merits of the work of this period. Anyone who has a sensitivity towards literature recognizes the quality and beauty of Anglo-Saxon poetry and prose. There are simply no real grounds for debate" (an undergraduate at Goldsmiths' College, London University, "part of one of the largest Old English groups ever to take this subject as an option"; 22). A graduate student at Cambridge, who read English at Oxford 1985-88, told me of the fascination of studying Old English in his first term, and then later periods in chrono-

logical order, so that his own intellectual and emotional maturing mirrored the growth and development of the literature. Nor is this experience at all unusual. Last year the English Faculty's consultative committee circulated a questionnaire to all Oxford undergraduates reading English asking their opinion on the place of compulsory Old English in the course. Of 218 who responded, no fewer than 135 were in favor and 59 against, with 24 indifferent (14, 33, 37, 41). The percentage of third-year undergraduates in favor was particularly high (71%). As reported by Helen Cooper, one common rider was that "if the subject had not been compulsory they would not have taken it, but it was a good thing they had had to do so" (14). On this evidence, Cunningham's "multitudes of bored and scrimshanking pressed women and men" simply do not exist.

Cunningham's case, however, isn't simply about compulsory Old English, at Oxford or elsewhere. His original article made it clear that his quarrel was as much with Middle English literature—at least pre-Chaucer—as with Old English. These quotations are representative: "the Old English and Medieval bailywick"; "that quaint medieval religious text *The Pearl*"; "the Anglo-Saxonists and Medievalists ... move across Faculty business in the tight Germanic wedge formation they've learned about in their favourite texts"; "there is no justification for *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*'s being a required text when *Hamlet* or *Paradise Lost* or *Tristram Shandy* is not.... It's surely time that Anglo-Saxon and much currently compulsory Middle English literature felt the wind of competition" (1). After their initial airing in the *Oxford Magazine*, these arguments against Middle English were quietly allowed to drop, Cunningham even using the example of later medieval literature to support his claim that Old English has no place

in the canon ("nor does it lead on to second-year Middle English and its great texts" (11)). But the point was not missed by Richard North (35) or Malcolm Godden. In Godden's words: "All that would happen if Anglo-Saxon went is that ... (there) would be pressure to get rid of later medieval literature or the history of the English language.... And after that ... there'd be pressure to get rid of Shakespeare or ... the eighteenth century. It's only against Anglo-Saxon now because that's, as it were, the oldest bit" (33).

Perhaps Professor Godden exaggerates here. No one who has read Cunningham's arguments with attention could accuse him of trying to make the English syllabus less difficult. Indeed, one of the most striking features of his polemic has been his insistence throughout that he favors greater rigor and comprehensiveness in the syllabus, not less (see esp. 36). The point at issue is not how intellectually demanding the syllabus should be, but whether the five hundred years of writing in English before Chaucer are deemed to form any part of "English literature" at all—whether one who studies it ought to be the subject of the sort of commiseration that I received from my dinner-table companion.

These large issues can merely be touched on here. The more immediate disagreement at Oxford that gave rise to them has now once more retreated below the surface. There are reports of a survey of opinion among university officers teaching English at the University and of the circulation of various alternative proposals for a thorough revision of the syllabus in the coming academic year. "Bloody stuff" or "one of the great experiences of my life"? The outcome of this dispute will be awaited with interest by Old English scholars everywhere.¹⁶

Notes

1. The course requirements are set out fully in the University's *Examination Decrees and Regulations 1991* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 39-41 and 171-82.
2. See F.W. Bateson, "Beowulf and All That," reprinted from *Oxford Magazine*, Michaelmas 5 (1966), 81, in *Essays in Critical Dissent* (London, 1972), pp. 221-23 and F.W. Bateson and Harrison T. Meserole, *A Guide to English and American Literature*, 3rd ed. (London and New York, 1976), pp. 11-15: "When Does English Literature Begin?"
3. He is the author of *British Writers of the Thirties* (Oxford, 1988) and editor of *The Penguin Book of Spanish Civil War Verse* (Harmondsworth, 1980).
4. References are to the items in the bibliography at the end of this article.
5. Cunningham's article appeared in the issue for fourth week, Trinity Term. The only reply printed by the journal (by A.W. Barnett) was not published until three issues—and several months—later (noughth week, Michaelmas Term).
6. Compare Georgina Ferry, "Beowulf in Bytes," *Oxford Today* 4.2 (Hilary, 1992), 20-21.
7. J.R.R. Tolkien, "Beowulf: The Monsters and the Critics," *Proceedings of the British Academy* (1936), pp. 245-95, at p. 278.
8. Here Cunningham quotes Philip Larkin's opinion in a letter to Kingsley Amis, as cited in Amis' *Memoirs* (London, 1991), p. 53. But Larkin adopted the same pose of disgruntled philistinism towards other canonical texts in a way that Cunningham could scarcely approve. Amis prints a note written by Larkin in the St. John's College, Oxford, library copy of *The Faerie Queene*: "First I thought Troilus and Criseyde was the most boring poem in English. Then I thought Beowulf was. Then I thought Paradise Lost was. Now I know that The Faerie Queene is the dullest thing out. Blast it" (Amis 54).
9. Compare Zoë Heller's comments: "his (Carey's) vigorous support for reforming the Oxford English syllabus and getting rid of Anglo-Saxon returns him to the lefty corner where the dangerous new breed of dons is supposed to stand." (44)

10. Allen J. Frantzen, *Desire for Origins: New Language, Old English and Teaching the Tradition* (New Brunswick and London, 1990).
11. Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 88-106.
12. 237 (1992), 75-79, at 78.
13. See Hugh Magennis, "Some Modern Writers and their *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici*," *OEN* 24.3 (Spring 1991), 14-18.
14. J.A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner, eds., *The Oxford English Dictionary*, second edition, 20 vols. (Oxford, 1989) I: xxv. The *OED* editors have no doubt that Old English marks "the beginning" of the language (xxv).
15. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, IV.i.191 (adapted).
16. I am grateful to several colleagues and friends for advice and assistance: Valentine Cunningham, Malcolm Godden, Richard Marsden, Andy Orchard, Gary Percival, James Simpson and Jeremy Smith.

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The Enjoyment and Teaching of Old and Middle English: The Current State of Play

James Simpson
Girton College, Cambridge

Why should the study of eighteenth-century literature be compulsory in so many English departments in Britain? After all, most students find it hateful and wearisome, and with reason: anything the eighteenth century offers looks like minor literature compared with other periods of English writing. I have no doubt that the only reason why university teachers wish to defend this subject is to preserve their jobs.

What absurd tosh, I can hear my astonished readers (rightly) mutter; but each of these statements is modeled on "arguments" advanced in two articles during an orchestrated campaign against Old and Middle English conducted over the summer of 1991 (the points above are drawn from an article by Valentine Cunningham (*TLS* August 30, 1991) and (the real nadir of the campaign) a *Guardian* editorial (July 19, 1991). The object of the assault was to end compulsory Old English in the Oxford English Faculty.

Whether or not Old English be compulsory at Oxford is Oxford's business (and there are good arguments either way), but Cunningham pitched his campaign in such a way as to challenge every teacher of Old and Middle English literature. His strategy (and that of the lamentable *Guardian* leader writer) was to argue that Old English should not be compulsory because it wasn't really worth studying at all: it is a minor, rebarbative literature, "educationally, linguistically, historically ... a cul-de-sac." Not only this, but Middle English was hauled in for a thumping, just (presumably) for good measure; it too (or most of it), like Old English, "produced hatred and weariness in everyone who studied them."

Cunningham has raised large issues of cultural history and value, in however unenlightening a way. Any syllabus and canon worth its salt will both imply and provoke ideas about the shape of cultural history. But Cunningham seems to think that, just because the teaching of Anglo-Saxon may have been used to further Germanist myths in its inception, it is still "ineradicably linked ... to dubious imperialist myths about the origins of the English language." He clearly needs to read, say, the article by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne and Jeremy Smith in the last number of this *CUE News*, which

makes the point that Old English teachers are as responsive as any to the cultural questions now facing any teacher of literature.

Cunningham also needs to read, incidentally, one or two entries from the *OED*, which will reveal to him that the editors did not decide on 1150 as the "starting date of English"—they rather decided on the mid-twelfth century as the cut-off point for Old English. Any word with an Old English etymology has citations from pre-1150 sources. "Propaganda" is how Cunningham describes the idea that English has an old, a middle, and a modern period. On the contrary, it would be propaganda to suggest that modern English did *not* derive in good part *from* Old English, propaganda designed, perhaps, to mask the fact that English as a language is not God-given, but an historical phenomenon subject to linguistic and political pressures.

But more than anything, Cunningham (and anyone who argues like him) needs to read Anglo-Saxon literature. Anglo-Saxon England produced a literature incomparably richer than any other vernacular literature in Europe for the period. It's a literature whose power and complexity can sustain and satisfy deep engagement—reading it is anything but an "educational cul-de-sac." But given the need to specialize incumbent upon contemporary academics, this kind of debate is often conducted on the basis of undergraduate experience distantly remembered, rather than of fresh contact with the literature and its current pedagogy. It may be the case that many students have a sharper sense of the whole field of English literature, at least in sketch, than any one of their teachers. It is partly with this perception in mind that I devised the following survey.

I leave interpretation of these statistics to individual readers. Permit me, nevertheless, to make the following points:

i) Both Old and Middle English are in a very healthy state as regards student demand; the figures show many departments where the subjects are not compulsory, but where it is not unusual for up to 20% of students to choose them (see questions 12 and 13).

ii) In those departments where Old and/or Middle English is compulsory, teachers in those subjects have no need to feel like a uniquely protected species: in 28 out of 31 relevant departments, other periods are also compulsory (see question 5).

iii) In terms of percentages of staff whose main area is either Old and/or Middle English, the

majority of departments have between 5 and 20% of staff in these fields. The overall staffing situation squares with the percentages of students who choose to do the subjects, in those departments where they are not compulsory—i.e. between 5 and 20% in both cases (cf. questions 12 and 13 with 14).

Survey of Old and Middle English Literature Teaching in UK Universities and Polytechnics

This survey was sent to 45 universities. There were 41 responses. It was sent to 29 Polytechnics; 15 replied. It should be borne in mind that 3 universities replying here are not departments of English Literature (e.g. departments of English Language), and will therefore produce some exceptional figures. The results were as follows:

Universities

1. Is Old English literature being taught in your department?

Yes: 32
No: 9

2. Is Middle English literature (up to 1500) being taught in your department?

Yes: 39
No: 2

3. If Old English literature is being taught, is it compulsory (a) as a component in degree assessment? or (b) as an introduction, after which students can choose whether or not to take a full course? (In 10 departments where ME literature is taught, it is not compulsory at all.)

(a) 6
(b) 11

4. If Middle English literature is being taught, is it compulsory (a) as a component in degree assessment? or (b) as an introduction, after which students can choose whether or not to take a full course? (In 10 departments where ME literature is taught, it is not compulsory at all.)

(a) 25
(b) 4

5. If either Old or Middle English literature is compulsory in your department, are there other periods which are also compulsory?

Yes: 28
No: 3

6. If Old English literature is not being taught, how recently was it being taught?

There are 9 departments where no OE literature is taught; the dates of last teaching are as follows: never (2); 1986 (2); 1987 (1); 1989 (4).

7. If Middle English literature is not being taught, how recently was it being taught?

There are two departments in which no ME literature is taught; the dates of last teaching are as follows: 1989; 1990.

8. If Old English literature is being taught, is it being taught only in translation?

No: 32
Yes: 0

9. If Middle English literature is being taught, is it being taught only in translation?

No: 39
Yes: 0

10. If Middle English literature is being taught, does teaching include authors in addition to Chaucer?

Yes: 38
No: 1

11. Are Old and/or Middle English being taught as languages under any other heads (e.g. philology, history) in your department? Please specify.

Yes: 21 (20 History of Language or variation; 1 Archaeology)
No: 18

12. If Old English literature is not compulsory, how many students normally choose this subject? And how does this figure compare with the overall number of students who could take it?

26 departments fall into this category, 2 did not supply figures. The percentages of students in individual departments who choose to do OE literature are as follows: 1-5% (1); 5-10% (9); 10-20% (7); 20-30% (4); 30-50% (2); 75% (1).

13. If Middle English literature is not compulsory, how many students normally choose this subject? And how does this figure compare with the overall number of students who could take it?

13 departments fall into this category. The percentages of students in individual departments who choose to do ME literature are as follows: 5-10% (3); 10-20% (6); 30-40% (1); 40-50% (2); 50 (1); 90-100% (1).

14. How many full-time teachers whose main teaching area is either Old and/or Middle English literature are there in your department? How does this compare with the overall strength of the department?

The percentages of full-time teachers in individual departments whose main teaching area is either Old and/or Middle English literature are as follows: 0% (2); 0-5% (2); 5-10% (6); 10-15% (10); 15-20% (11); 20-25% (5); 25-30% (3); 40-50% (1); 50-60% (1).

15. Do you feel that the teaching of Old English literature is threatened in your department?

Yes: 12
No: 20

16. Do you feel that the teaching of Middle English literature is threatened in your department?

Yes: 14
No: 25

17. Are there posts in either Old or Middle English literature which have remained unfilled in the last ten years? If so, how many?

A total of 13 posts remain unfilled.

18. Have any posts been created (and filled) in Old or Middle English literature in the last ten years? If so, how many?

10.5 posts have been created and filled.

19. Have any posts in either Old or Middle English literature been cut in the last ten years? If so, how many?

A total of 27 posts have been cut.

20. How many teachers of Old and/or Middle English literature (appointed to retiring age), under the age of 40 are there in your department?

There are a total of 34 such posts held by people under the age of 40.

21. How many postgraduates working for research degrees in either Old or Middle English literature do you have in your department?

There are 170 such postgraduates. 106 are within 6 departments.

Polytechnics

Of the 15 Institutions which replied, 1 taught OE literature (in translation), and 6 taught ME literature (2 in translation). This sample was too small to tabulate in full, particularly as many figures were missing from the institutions where ME literature was being taught.

Words, Texts and Manuscripts
Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Helmut Gneuss
on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday

Edited by Michael Korhammer
with the Assistance of Karl Reichl and Hans Sauer

Professor Helmut Gneuss of the University of Munich, who will be celebrating his 65th birthday on 29 October 1992, hardly requires an introduction to medievalists on either side of the Atlantic. Born and educated in Berlin, he came as a research student to Cambridge, England, in 1953, where his interest in medieval English manuscripts was first aroused. He has maintained and developed these early contacts with Anglo-Saxon culture ever since, as his numerous publications as well as his countless other scholarly activities as an editor and advisor demonstrate. His "The Origin of Standard Old English and Æthelwold's School at Winchester" has indeed been seminal, not only in triggering off or influencing several publications of his pupils. His "Preliminary List of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1100" has already become a standard work of reference in Anglo-Saxon studies. The periodical *Anglia* has profited greatly by his being editor for twenty-seven years, as have *Anglo-Saxon England*, the Henry Bradshaw Society, the *Toronto Old English Series*, the *Dictionary of Old English*, the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, the *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* and the *Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch*. In recognition of his truly remarkable achievements he was elected a member of the *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften* and a Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy and the *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften*.

His activities have brought Professor Gneuss in contact with many scholars in the world, and close ties of friendship, especially with colleagues from English-speaking countries, have grown from common interests. So it was only natural that a festschrift, to be presented to him on his 65th birthday, should have among its authors not only his own former pupils but as many of his international friends as possible; and it was equally natural that it should be written in the *lingua franca* of the modern Anglo-Saxonist community, that is, in English. The combined effort of twenty-three distinguished scholars has resulted in a homogeneous collection of papers on Anglo-Saxon culture and the Old English language. The first four of them are textual editions, two of them first editions. Several papers have as their subjects palaeographical, historical and liturgical problems;

four are devoted to Anglo-Saxon poetry, mainly *Beowulf*. The remaining contributions treat philological questions relating to the Old English lexicon.

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 "Cotton Tiberius A.iii, Arts. 26 and 27"

Franz Wenisch, Giessen
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Simon Keynes, Cambridge
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Michael Lapidge, Cambridge
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Index of words
8 plates, 2 maps, cloth, 512 pp.

Words, Texts and Manuscripts is at press and will be published in October 1992 by Boydell & Brewer Ltd. in Britain and by Boydell and Brewer Inc. in the U.S.A. The price will be £39.50 in Britain and \$79.00 in the U.S.A. However, a special subscription price of £27.50 (\$49.00) is available for the book if ordered before 31 October 1992.

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APPENDIX

Abstracts of Papers in Anglo-Saxon Studies

edited by Robert L. Schichler
with the assistance of Glenda Lee Coppedge

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.

For future issues of this feature, organizers and conference coordinators should send abstracts to the feature editor:

Prof. Robert L. Schichler
Department of English
Arkansas State University
State University, AR 72467-1890

An Author-Index follows.

I. "Battle of Maldon: 1000th Anniversary," Coppin State College, September 28, 1991 (abstracts arranged in order of presentation):

Larry W. Caldwell (University of Evansville)

"Ideological Fracture and Narrative Task: The Battle of Maldon as Emblem"

The Christian-vs-pagan "elements" debate so characteristic of Anglo-Saxon literary scholarship between 1880 and 1950 is altogether obsolete. It has been superseded, first, by New Critical views asserting the internal coherence of individual works such as Beowulf and The Battle of Maldon (and, by implication at least, of the society which produced

them); second, by historicist readings seeking to comprehend individual works within a socio-cultural "context"; and third, by post-modernist readings emphasizing fragmentation and indeterminacy. The Battle of Maldon, then, can no longer be constrained merely to represent the "survival" of pagan Germanic values under the veneer of Christianity, nor even to adumbrate the "inherent" conflict between Christianity and Germanic religion (Dobbie, Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records VI, xxx); rather, the poem may now be seen to emblemize complex cultural tensions in Anglo-Saxon poetry as a whole. Thus, Byrhtnoth's conflicting (indeed, irreconcilable) roles as warrior and leader, as loyal retainer to Ethelred and captain of the Essex fyrd, define both a fundamental ideological fracture as well as a recurrent and complicated narrative task.

Earl R. Anderson (Cleveland State University)

"Loyalty, Cowardice, Betrayal, the Roman Idea of a Comitatus and The Battle of Maldon"

This paper builds upon a suggestion that I made earlier (in "The Battle of Maldon: A Reassessment of Possible Sources, Date, and Theme," in Modes of Interpretation of Old English Literature [University of Toronto Press, 1986]: 247-72) that the thematic contrast informing The Battle of Maldon is not one of loyalty versus cowardice, but rather of loyalty versus betrayal. The sons of Odda, as Anglo-Danes, have mixed loyalties to begin with, and their conspicuous flight from battle at a critical moment can be viewed as a dangerous, calculated maneuver by a traitor to inspire fear and disorganization in the English ranks. Historical examples such as the treacherous acts of Eadric Streon as reported in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and elsewhere provide analogues.

So far as the words and deeds of Byrhtnoth's faithful retainers are concerned, the informing contrast of the poem is courage versus cowardice; however, the language of the poem is ambiguous when it comes to the sons of Odda, described in terms that could relate to treachery equally as well as to cowardice. Ambiguity of this sort has its analogue in chronicle descriptions of Eadric Streon. Modern readers have missed this ambiguity, probably under the undue influence of Tacitus' description of the comitatus in De Germania, and the ideal of suicidal loyalty for one's lord that Tacitus brings forward there. We all need to be reminded one more time that (1) the ideal of suicidal loyalty was an ethnographic trope that had nothing to do with Germanic actualities but rather was borrowed from earlier accounts of Celts, Persians and Macedonian Greeks; and that (2) the true basis of Germanic military organization was the kindreds under patriarchal leadership, not the comitatus under the leadership of a regional

warlord or princeps. During Tacitus' time, the comitatus was an organizational system that had evolved within the matrix of the kindred-based system and had become a rival and threat to it. As a method of foreign intervention, the Roman government supported the comitatus warlords by means of alliances and subsidies, which had the effect of aligning the warlords with each other and with Rome as against the kindreds. (This is not unlike contemporary U.S. methods of foreign intervention.)

The comitatus system eventually gave rise to early Germanic kingship, except among the Saxones who (according to Bede) apparently maintained the earlier kindred-based system. What should be kept in mind so far as Maldon is concerned is that the comitatus as an institution was very limited in terms of time and scope: it does not define for us Germanic military organization and ideals. We know as much as we do about it because Tacitus was interested in it, and Tacitus was interested in it because he was a Roman and the Romans had seized upon it as an institution that they could understand and influence. Interesting as it may be as an aspect of early Germanic history, the comitatus should play no role at all in our interpretation of The Battle of Maldon.

John M. Hill (United States Naval Academy)

"Transcendental Loyalty in the Battle of Maldon"

Most editors and readers of Maldon see the Germanic revenge code at work in this late poem, indeed perhaps brought to an idealized pitch. This view, however, raises serious questions of both an historical and an anthropological kind. Ethical values and social norms hardly stay constant across time in cultures subject to great stresses and change. Moreover, we have no norm of revenge from ancient times against which to assess the expression of similar values and injunctions in various cultural moments considerably removed from any tribal society of which Tacitus could have heard. The best we can do is begin with Tacitus' (probably heterodox and not necessarily entirely Germanic) idealizations as evidence for some such code and then turn to the closest Anglo-Saxon expressions of revenge need for points of comparison.

As soon as we do so, problems emerge. In Beowulf we find no expressions of suicidal revenge. In Icelandic sagas the same is true. One can take one's time to exact revenge--not wait too long but also not act too hastily or too quickly. In Beowulf we look at an aristocratic world; in the sagas we engage a world of farmers and local chiefs; in

neither case does the sort of behavior we see in Maldon occur. Moreover, global, ethnological studies of revenge codes in both historical and latter day tribal societies do not come up with anything resembling the behavior and injunctions of Byrhtnoth's loyal followers. What we need to countenance, then, is that Maldon is a startling expression of the revenge code precisely because it is a radically transcendental version of that code, whereby loyalty to one's lord is transmogrified into a loyalty beyond life, and faith with one's fellow retainers is redefined in extremis. The speeches of the loyal retainers raise all of the key values of Anglo-Saxon social life to an otherworldly pitch, pulling in the bonds and identifications of lineage, nobility, kinship, fosterage, the lord-retainer relationship, and even the ties of the hostage with his host solidly behind this transmogrification and redefining. Indeed, as this is so, we should line Maldon up, not with Beowulf, Brunanburh and Waldere, but with such poems as The Dream of the Rood.

E. Tomlinson Fort (Univ. of St. Andrews, Scotland)

"The Money of the First Danegeld:
The Hand and Crux Coinages of
Æthelred the Unready"

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records that after their victory at Maldon the Danes were paid a tribute of 10,000 pounds by the English. Much of this payment and the subsequent payments made throughout the reigns of Æthelred and Cnut must have been made up of the coinage circulating in England at the time. This hypothesis is confirmed by the massive number of hoards of late Anglo-Saxon coins that have been found throughout Scandinavia and Denmark.

Because of the large amount of surviving material, it is possible to gain a much more complete picture of the English coinage in the late tenth century than it is of the English coinages that circulated earlier. In the 1950s Michael Dolley firmly established the sequence of types issued in the name of King Æthelred. However, a great debate still continues among numismatists over the length of time that each of Æthelred's substantive types was issued.

This paper deals with the Hand and Crux types, the coinage that seems to have been in circulation at the time of the Battle of Maldon. It examines the problem of whether there were two substantive Hand types (First Hand and Second Hand) as Dolley postulated or whether the Second Hand is simply a later phase of a single Hand coinage as some other scholars have argued. It considers the hypothesis advanced by some scholars that

Æthelred's coinage was reformed on a cyclical basis. In addition to this, the paper surveys other aspects of the administration of the coinage through the surviving law codes, an examination of die-links between moneyers and mints, the regional die-cutting styles. Finally, it looks at the question of the circulation of the coinage using both the surviving documentary sources, charters and estate surveys, as well the evidence from hoards and single finds.

Mary Crawford Clawsey (Coppin State College)

**"Harold's Housecarls at Hastings:
No Replay of Maldon"**

The familiar legend that Harold Godwinson's housecarls died around him at Hastings to the last man, widely accepted by modern historians as well as novelists and playwrights, has no basis in any contemporary account.

Of the two manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that cover the battle, one (E) says merely that Harold fell along with his brothers Gurth and Leofwine, and the other (D) adds that Harold "feah mid þam mannum þe him gelæstan woldon" but does not say that those men were all killed, nor does the Chronicle use the word "housecarl" in this context.

Other eleventh-century sources--Ingulph, Adam of Bremen, William of Poitiers, William of Jumieges, Guy of Amiens, Baudri, and the Bayeux Tapestry--describe a widespread and indiscriminate slaughter of the English, often adding that the survivors were put to flight.

Twelfth-century accounts--the Chronicle of Battle Abbey, Florence of Worcester, the Brevis Relatio, the Abingdon Chronicle, Orderic Vitalis, Eadmer of Canterbury, William of Malmsbury, Geoffrey Gaimer, and Henry of Huntingdon--give only terse accounts (Harold was killed; William became King) or say that Harold was killed along with most of the nobility of England. Only after more than a century does any chronicler mention Harold's "amis" or "socii"--words that might be interpreted to refer to the housecarls.

In short, although Hastings certainly saw the death of the housecarls as an institution, the legend that Harold's all died with him seems to have taken shape in the nineteenth or twentieth century.

II. The Annual Meeting of the Modern Language Association of America, San Francisco, December 27-30, 1991:

Session 295: "Recent Writings on Old English"

T. A. Shippey (University of Leeds)

There are currently two antithetical views of Old English studies. One points to its many ongoing projects, as a sign of health. The other points to the accelerating exclusion of the field from doctoral programs (USA) and undergraduate teaching (UK), as a sign of malaise. The cure often proposed by holders of the latter view (Frantzen, Hermann, Irving) is rejection of the philological heritage and conversion to "literary theory." Those who decline this option are viewed as analogues of the Frisian Duke Radbod, famous for his last-minute rejection of baptism.

Is the opposition inevitable? If so, the clash is between a fact-oriented and an observer-oriented ideology. Acceptance of the former was the basis for the field's nineteenth-century prestige. Can such prestige be regained without it? If so, a trauma must be faced, not silently minimized: this is "Germanicism," a subject still defined by twentieth-century politics (Cambridge Companion). The taboo-areas of gender and violence also need to be confronted (Hermann, Overing), and freed from "the specular fallacy": looking into the past and finding only what is acceptable to the present. The notion that we are now capable of analyzing the past "without preconceptions" (Calder) is unproven.

Finally, the distinctive quality we have to offer (Frantzen, Kiernan, O'Keefe) is 1300 years of contextuality. Yet we have still made little or no progress in many major linguistic and literary fields. To follow the "philological phase" and the "literary phase" of Old English studies, we badly need a contextualizing "historical phase."

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

This brief paper takes issue with certain aspects of Tom Shippey's evaluation of recent work in Old English. The paper considers philology as a critical practice and suggests that the crucial problem facing philology is to reimagine the interrelationship of text and context. It argues for a double maneuver: the first acknowledging the materiality of "text" (and its implications), the second reconceptualizing our approach to and relationship to history. The materiality of text requires acknowledgement of its visual array and the difference in style of literacy which gave rise to it. From another perspective, its material condition asks for recognition of a text as a social object and asks for a critical method which takes that into account. Finally, the paper suggests some advantages of moving away from traditional historical approaches. For a corpus of texts which elude conclusive dating, a problem-oriented history,

which self-consciously creates both its hypotheses and its data, may assist in the making of new fields of inquiry.

Kevin S. Kiernan (University of Kentucky)

What strikes me as most hopeful if not joyous in the recent writings on Old English is their particularizing features, which give new priority, new urgency, to neglected or forbidden subjects: embarrassing exposés of the post-Anglo-Saxon giants who went before us; amateur excavations of their enta geweorc, those fantastic walls erected between us and the things they found and wanted us to see; artifacts they inadvertently misplaced or deliberately hid from us that now, newly brought forth and polished, reveal secret messages they misread or overlooked; and thrilling rumors that some of the most powerful forces controlling our interpretations and imaginations are doped or departed dragons. Anglo-Saxonists are the gatekeepers to Modern English, the last survivors who can explain to the newcomers where the others went and what they left behind that is still being used. We should welcome the kind of scrutiny that will discredit the limiting view of Old English as a pure dialect and will look instead, especially in the taboo areas of the Danelaw, at the living creole that was beginning to manifest itself in late Old English manuscripts. There is plenty of need for theorizing, not a New Philology, much less a No Philology, but a ReNew Philology, a diachronic linguistics that tries to connect rather than sever Old English from the New English, that seeks to understand the origin and use of this attested, mixed language, as well as its development in the hidden years after the Norman Conquest and before the start of the thirteenth century, when all the different Middle Englishes starting showing up.

Gillian R. Overing (Wake Forest University)

The developing body of recent critical scholarship in our field presents us with exciting perceptions and challenges, and enriches our discipline overall, both our professional exchanges and our work in the classroom. Enough scholars and teachers in our field have been inspired to respond--whether in positive or negative fashion--to this new work, while others have been revitalized by it and still others have convened and participated in this MLA session, so that we may be assured that it has, indeed, arrived. Such work is well established, as demonstrated not only by the work of Allen Frantzen and John Hermann, but also by a number of other scholars not mentioned here today--for example, Pat Belanoff, Helen Bennett, Marilyn

Desmond, Marilyn Deegan, James Earl, Sarah Higley, Martin Irvine, Clare Lees, Seth Lerer, Karma Lochrie, and John Tanke. This new scholarship frees us from some old and tiresome labors of justification for the inclusion of critical theory, and enables us to see any enforced choice between past and present, or philology and recent theoretical approaches, as artificial and unproductive. We need a variety of theoretical tools to engage with the many silences, problems and omissions which restricting scholarship to any single approach will necessarily create. Another important emphasis in this recent work is the recognition of our connectedness, not only as Anglo-Saxonists to other forms of scholarship but as present subjects to the past texts that we study; this new scholarship refuses to allow us to fear, deny or trivialize these connections, but rather encourages us to examine them and to include them in our dialogue with the text.

Session 388: "Old English Poetry: Various Poems, Various Approaches"

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

"Byrhtnoth and Beowulf as Milites Christi"

Byrhtnoth is frequently presented as a "Christian warrior," while Beowulf is presented as an "arrogant pagan." A close look at The Battle of Maldon and at Beowulf, however, shows that almost identical statements are made about both men concerning their relation to God. Consequently, they must both be one or the other. The Christian alternative seems most likely.

Mary Ellzey Housum (Shepherd College)

**"Abraham's War with the Northern Kings
in Genesis A"**

The Genesis A poet adds complexity to his depiction of the Sodomites in two preliminary episodes that in the Bible seem unrelated to their later destruction: Lot's decision to live in Sodom and the war with the Northern kings. The poet is using these episodes to re-enforce his theme of covenant, reward, and punishment; although in the comparable sections of the Vulgate the Sodomites are portrayed rather neutrally, The Genesis A poet depicts them as weak and humiliated as well as sinful people. By drawing attention to the Sodomites' sinfulness before the destruction, the poet increases the degree and duration of their sin, their willfulness, and God's abhorrence of them. By adding references to Lot's and Abraham's fidelity to

God, he heightens the contrast between them and the Sodomites. In the war, although the Sodomites are not the guilty party and although they end up on the winning side, they are treated with neither sympathy nor dignity. Rather, the poet focuses on negative aspects of their involvement: their subservient, isolated situation throughout the war; the especially helpless position of the Sodomite women; and the contrast between the Sodomites and Abraham. So, the poet has done much more through his expansion of the Vulgate than simply depict traditional battle scenes. By his additions to and arrangement of the Biblical material, by his creation of patterns and parallels, the poet has presented the Sodomites in a much darker light than his source and has foreshadowed the destruction of Sodom, suggesting, even before the climax, the damning consequences of sinning and breaking one's covenant with God.

Catherine Brown Tkacz (Nat. Endow. for Humanities)

"Christian Formulas in Old English Literature"

In 1974 Albert Lord hypothesized that Christian formulas may well have developed in Old English poetry. Recent studies showing that the Bible, including the Vulgate, is formulaic, make the prospect of such formulas more likely, given that the Bible constitutes a powerful influence on Old English literature. And indeed, Christian formulas did exist in Old English literature: for instance, the popular biblical account of the Three Young Men in the Fiery Furnace led to the formula ne feax ne hraegl, which occurs in six texts, always in a precise metrical, lexical, and syntactical environment. (Interestingly, this formula and its context are quite similar to the Byzantine Greek formula for the same material.) The words associated with it--e.g., wlite, (un)gewemmed--have explicitly Christian meanings, and the formula is used only in overtly Christian texts. Given its roots in the story of the Three Young Men, its presence in Daniel and Azarias is no surprise. Given the influence of that popular trio in hagiography, its appearance in the Old English Martyrology and Juliana is readily understandable. Less usual are its other two uses in Old English: its role in the Andreas is rooted in typology, while in Genesis B it appears with striking effect, inverted. The meaning of each of these texts is clarified by understanding that the formula is present and how it is used. In addition, identifying an exclusively Christian formula advances our understanding of Old English literature as a whole.

Session 492: "The Battle of Maldon: Some Millennial Views"

Geoffrey Russom (Brown University)

"The Metrical Dialect of Maldon"

Sievers defines strict Old English versecraft as conformity to the stress patterns of verses in poems like Beowulf. The Maldon-poet, who employs some uncommon verse patterns, is often regarded as a nonstandard metrist, but nothing in Sievers' theory rules out the hypothesis that selection of these patterns was a matter of individual taste. The word-foot theory, on the other hand, provides an absolute standard of strictness: a poem is strict to the extent that its verses approximate basic patterns of two words. By this standard, Maldon is clearly less strict than Beowulf. In Beowulf, deviation from two-word patterns is relatively conservative, especially in the heavy D and E types. All deviations from the D4 pattern of seon / sibbe-gedriht 387a, for example, are like secg / weorce gefeh 1569b. In the second foot of 1569b, the word group weorce gefeh, with its trochaic first element and prefixed second element, conforms rather closely to the morphological structure of compounds like sibbe-gedriht (the only native compounds with this stress pattern). In the much shorter Maldon, we find the D4 verse a- // lyfan / landes to fela 90a. The anacrusis and expanded first foot of 90a have traditional parallels, but no D4 verse in Beowulf has a second foot like landes to fela, which conforms less closely to the morphological structure of a compound. Similar contrasts are observed in other verse types.

Eugene Green (Boston University)

"Metonymy and Identity in The Battle of Maldon"

For the poet, the naming of Anglo-Saxon warriors who stood fast in battle or fled is an integral but insufficient act; the closing extant line, for example, reveals his taking pains to distinguish a loyal Godric from a deserter mentioned earlier. To commemorate and to identify these warriors, brave or cowardly, more adequately, the poet also uses two other rhetorical devices: metonymy and variation. His use of metonymy establishes a relation between the battle line itself, first designated by the deictic her, and the character of almost every warrior. He then broadens this relationship to include the mepelstede as the center for swearing loyalty and the wudu as the resort of cowards--a linking of geography and character.

Rhetorical variation pertains especially to semantic classes of verbs (those of cognition, position, and movement) as they help to depict the character of each warrior in the poet's catalogue. Metonymy and variation as rhetorical devices effectively contribute to a fuller identity of the recalled Anglo-Saxon participants, whose mettle relies on their love of their land and one another. In a broader sense, the linkage of character, land, and community in the poem speaks for a theme central to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. The poet's achievement in the poem has a resonance, then, for his people and their history. His esthetic choice of rhetorical devices complements his sense of the Anglo-Saxon ethos.

III. The Twenty-Seventh International Congress on Medieval Studies, the Medieval Institute, Western Michigan Univ., May 7-10, 1992. As in previous years dating from 1983, the Institute and CEMERS at SUNY-Binghamton co-sponsored a Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture, whose abstracts are here presented first, followed by abstracts for various other sessions as received from the participants.

Session 6: "Liturgy and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England"

R. W. Pfaff (Univ. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill)

"How an Anglo-Saxon Sacramentary Doesn't Work"

While any given Anglo-Saxon sacramentary may seem to work when taken by itself, a glance at the broader picture--that there is only a handful of roughly complete extant massbooks thought to have been used in England before 1100--quickly reveals four problems. First, the surviving witnesses do not furnish us with reliable information about the mass liturgy in Anglo-Saxon England as a whole because the span of dates they cover ranges from only c. 970 to c. 1100. Second, variations in which constituent parts survive for each book make thoroughgoing comparisons impossible; some lack calendars, some have the sanctorale missing, one has lost everything in the temporale before Easter week, and so on. Third, while three of these books apparently belonged to individual bishops and at least three to great monastic establishments, only the confused collection of texts in the Red Book of Darley (perhaps for the use of an itinerant priest) witnesses to the mass in anything like a parish church context--with seemingly nothing for the minster churches of which we are now increasingly

aware. Finally, the extant massbooks mostly (there are two or three exceptions) do not provide us with complete information about the mass as does a missale plenum. So there are considerable risks in using these witnesses.

Patricia Hollahan (University of Illinois Press)

"The Lord's Prayer as Old English Verse:
A Closer Look"

The Pater Noster, taken from the Gospels of Matthew (6:9-13) and Luke (11:2-4), has enjoyed special status in Christian liturgy as the Lord's own prayer. By the Anglo-Saxon period, it was used in the Mass, throughout the Divine Office, in penitential practices, and in private prayer. It appears, for example, in a baptismal service of the eleventh century in a discursive form, and with the Apostle's Creed as the subject of a Latin colloquy meant for catechetical instruction. As early as Bede's letter to Archbishop Egbert, we have evidence that it was regarded as one of the two basic expressions of the faith that were to be known by heart by all Christians and that those of the English who could not learn it in Latin were to learn it in their native tongue. Prose translations by both Ælfric and Wulfstan survive, and the Pater Noster also appears in Old English in glossed psalters, and in three metrical translations.

A closer look at the poems known as Lord's Prayer I (from the Exeter Book), Lord's Prayer II (from CCC 201) and Lord's Prayer III (from Bodleian Junius 121) reveals very different approaches to translation and to the prayer itself. These poems are significantly distinct from Solomon and Saturn I, which deals with the subject of the Pater Noster, but does not quote it at any time. Lord's Prayer I is a minimalist transformation of most of the Latin text into Old English verse, with little material added beyond what is called for by the poetic form. Lord's Prayer III is more elaborate than the Exeter version, drawing simple correspondence between the terms of the prayer and Christian moral life. Lord's Prayer II is by far the longest of the three, and very different from them in tone. The Latin text becomes a sort of frame for an elaborate expansion/meditation which is clearly part of a larger family of liturgical verse.

By careful examination of these three poems in their manuscript contexts, we can hope to achieve a better sense of how the Anglo-Saxons understood this most basic Christian prayer and to gain new insight into the relationship between liturgy and literature in the late Anglo-Saxon period.

Thomas H. Bestul (University of Nebraska, Lincoln)

**"Form and Content
in the Anglo-Saxon Prayer Collection"**

The collections of private prayers from early Anglo-Saxon England have been examined in respect to the sources of the individual prayers contained in them, but they have been less often regarded as entities and in relation to the broader religious and social context in which they are situated. When we take this broader view, we can begin to see that such collections as *The Book of Cerne* and the *Book of Nunnaminster* are documents that reveal some of the same cultural, religious and intellectual currents of Anglo-Saxon society of the time. The *Book of Nunnaminster*, for example, seems to be a firmly Gregorian book in the prominent place it gives to the passion of Christ and a prayer attributed to Gregory, yet it is also Irish in its inclusion of the *Lorica of Laidcenn*. The prayerbooks also may be seen as the result of the Carolingian desire for appropriate texts to support the life of prayer, which manifests itself most notably in the production of new and corrected liturgical books, Psalters, and Bibles. The prayerbooks in their composition and design and in their use of common liturgical formulas well illustrate the absence of sharp boundaries between communal and private prayer that seems to characterize the spirituality of the Anglo-Saxon church. The prayerbooks are best regarded as a means of continuing or extending the public worship of the church.

Session 44: "Studies from Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture"

R. W. Pfaff (Univ. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill)

"The Shape of the Anglo-Saxon Liturgy"

The title, which echoes that of Gregory Dix's famous book of 1945, implies both that there is a meaningful entity which can be called Anglo-Saxon liturgy and that it has a discernible shape. An attempt to establish in what sense(s) this is in fact true must ask a pair of linked questions. First, what differentia enable us to speak at all meaningfully of the Anglo-Saxon liturgy; that is, what distinguishes it from the early medieval Latin liturgy of any other Western European area? Second, how have the patterns of study which have laid the subject open to us affected our discernment of this looked-for shape?

Among specific matters to be adumbrated are whether this "shape" looks to be ascertained most usefully through hagiographical, structural, or archaeological approaches; the degree to which the subject is skewed by inevitable overtones of the perennial question of the character and effects of the Norman Conquest, and also by the teleological presence of the Sarum Use as a kind of final cause; and the consequences of the curious fact that (until very recently) the subject has to a surprising degree been pursued outside the university contexts which have been normative for Anglo-Saxon studies otherwise.

E. Gordon Whatley (Queens College, CUNY)

"Saints Known to the English: A Preliminary Overview of Acta Sanctorum in SASLC"

The "Acta Sanctorum" section of Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture itemizes and briefly describes the three hundred or so saints' vitae and passiones of which copies are known to have been in England during the Anglo-Saxon period. Like the SASLC project as a whole, the saint's lives portion is a collection of evidence and information, not a work of historical synthesis or critical interpretation. But it is hoped that both kinds of scholarship will be further stimulated and facilitated by the materials assembled in "Acta Sanctorum." Although this paper's author is still busy compiling and sorting those materials (with help from other Anglo-Saxonists), here he ventures on some tentative synthesis and a modicum of interpretation. The bulk of the paper offers some broader views of Anglo-Saxon hagiography, which work on the SASLC project has suggested: e.g., continuities and disparities, between the early and later Anglo-Saxon periods, in the reception and transmission of hagiographic texts; the nature and scope of the larger hagiographic endeavors of Bede, Aldhelm, and Ælfric. The last portion of the paper essays a closer look at certain saints' legends, as treated by Aldhelm and Ælfric, in the light of the source information assembled in "Acta Sanctorum."

Session 83: "Sources and Approaches to the Study of Women Saints' Lives"

Irmgard Lensing (University of Münster)

"Virgin Martyrs and Vladimir Propp"

Medieval literature tends to objectify the world beyond the senses into action. Ælfric's virgin martyrs' lives are a fine example of this. Writing in a plain and simple style, Ælfric draws additional

attention to the action. The plots of the various lives are remarkably homogeneous. Corresponding segments of action are easily identified and vary only little from one life to the other. The structuring method which Vladimir Propp has developed in analyzing Russian fairy-tales seems adequate for an analysis of the virgin martyrs' lives because it assumes the primacy of the predicate.

The basis of Propp's theory is the conception of language as a system. Accordingly, individual acts of the characters in the tale are defined from the point of view of their significance for the cause of the action and are called "functions." In their adoption of Propp's theory French and American structuralists have generally accepted the suggestion by Alan Dundes to replace Propp's term "function" by the term "motifeme" for the operational unit. Propp gives a double definition of the fairy-tale: From a syntagmatic approach he establishes a structural formula for the succession of motifemes as they appear in diachronic reading of the texts. In addition to this, he combines logically related motifemes in "spheres of action." Participants are defined as congruent to them.

Propp postulates a static group of exactly seven spheres of action for the tale. In constituting the spheres of the virgin martyr's life, however, it seems useful to proceed gradually, each step meaning a further simplification of the participant's scheme: In a first step the indispensable motifeme (challenge of the virgin's chastity) can be regarded as forming a separate sphere. On the textual level the corresponding participant is often represented by the dramatis persona of the bridegroom. In a second step the same motifeme (challenge of chastity) can be included in a sphere consisting of all those motifemes which mean a challenge of the faithful virgin in general. The dramatis personae of the bridegroom and the judge are then regarded as representatives of one participant only. Some of the lives actually lack the bridegroom, in which case the judge himself challenges the virgin's chastity.

The final step of the analysis reduces the constellation of participants to the simple opposition of the sphere of the judge and the sphere of the saint. These two spheres are contradictory terms. Each motifeme from the sphere of the judge meets an exact semantic counterpart within the sphere of the martyr. For instance, proposal is opposed by refusal, torture by invulnerability. In the life, motifemes from the two spheres alternate correspondingly. Thus the acts of the virgin martyr form a complementary cord to those of the judge.

The alternation of the motifemes in the syntagma of the text mirror the dynamism of the struggle between the two forces. According to Levi-Strauss, myth tries to bring the inconsistencies of the world

into accord. Legend rather projects these inconsistencies into the opposition of Christianity and paganism, and it pleads for Christianity. In Ælfric's England the fight of Christianity against paganism is a highly topical problem in real life. The "Lives of Saints" belong to a work which makes Ælfric one of the chief literary advocates of the Benedictine Revival in England.

Karen Swenson (Virginia Polytechnic Institute)

"Juliana's Role and the Mannjafnaðr"

Genre dictates that we read Juliana as the enactment and fulfillment of a known teleology; we see both the temporal process by which Juliana achieves her martyrdom and the timeless fact that Juliana as a figure of Christ, conquers temporal processes. This temporal process and this timeless fact are depicted through agonistic narrative and dialogue. The central structure of Juliana is the long verbal battle between Juliana and the fiend, a battle which may be analyzed as mannjafnaðr, or a formal, competitive comparison of men. Aspects of the oral mannjafnaðr structure also pervade the text as two cultures--pagan and Christian--each use standards of strength and truth to assert the superiority of their rival lords. The two cultures use similar techniques (assertions, boasts, insults) and have similar goals (winning the verbal battle and possessing Juliana). These similarities lead to a consideration of Juliana both as the representative of one lord and as the female body over which rival cultures and lords do battle. As a representative speaker, Juliana from the start assumes the rhetorical posture of a Germanic hero, a posture she will retain throughout the dialogues which comprise much of the text. As the body, however, Juliana becomes emblematic of woman's life, sexuality, and death, which are the actual focus of this battle of definition. Control of Juliana through definition of her is the goal of the contestants. Through generic conventions, the reader, like Juliana herself, is drawn into complicity with the culture which defines her death as glorious martyrdom of obedience to a unique lord, but attention to the text's mannjafnaðr elements reveals similarities between the two cultures which vie for control.

Margaret Wong (Rice University)

"Germanic Mythological Motifs in Juliana"

The changes Cynewulf made to the story of St. Juliana (as it is found in the Acta) suggest that the poet anticipated the reaction of an Anglo-Saxon

audience who remembered the traditions of Nordic paganism in their own pasts, and who, he knew, would respond to certain "Odinic" coloring in his rewritten narrative. Because critics have sought to place Juliana within the parameters of the Christian story of good versus evil--a story which, in its exemplary form, recounts Christ's battle with Satan--they have disregarded or failed to explore adequately its Nordic influence in general and Germanic mythological motifs in particular. In fact, a focus on the Germanic elements Cynewulf imported into Juliana reveals that Heliseus, not a satanic extreme as has been alleged, but a Germanic ideal, is an exemplary representative of the pagan religion, embroiled not in a simplistic battle between good and evil, but in a compelling struggle for power with Juliana, the ideal representative of the Christian religion. Cynewulf's didactic message that the proponents of paganism fail against a servant of the true God is given persuasive force not simply because Juliana's defeat of Heliseus plays out the Christian narrative of Christ's triumph over Satan. Rather, Cynewulf convinces because, by showing that Heliseus' failure arises from his attempts to use pagan, particularly Odinic, methods to defeat Juliana, he demonstrates that Heliseus is ultimately abandoned by his gods and that the rewards supposedly his as a result of his piety to these gods ultimately belong to Juliana.

Session 125: "Literary Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture I"

Maria José Mora (Universidad de Sevilla)

"The Line Drawings in the New Minster Liber Vitae and the Story of the Monk of St. Peter's at Cologne"

The so-called Last Judgement scene on folio 7r of BL ms Stowe 944, the New Minster Liber Vitae, has recently been re-defined by David F. Johnson as an individual judgement scene representing the efficacy of intercessory prayer. Comparison with the 12th century Latin miracle of the monk of St. Peter's at Cologne adds further evidence in support of this new interpretation. In the miracle story the monk is saved from eternal punishment through the intercession of the Virgin Mary and St. Peter, and is sent back to life to do penance for his sins. The narrative offers a close parallel to the central register of the Stowe drawing: Peter uses his key to drive away the devil and recover the monk's soul. Both the story and the illumination seem thus to be concerned with intercession, and illustrate the same doctrinal point: the power of keys, that is, the

power of absolution granted by Christ to Peter and the Church.

In both the miracle story and the drawings, however, the context reflects a change of emphasis from Peter's power to remit sins to Mary's rising role as universal mediator in the 12th century. The history of the transmission of the Latin text and the conflicting roles of Mary and Peter in the narrative suggest that this was originally a Peter story, later adapted for the collections of Marian miracles. The drawings in the Liber Vitae represent an earlier stage in this process: on 7r Peter still retains the central position he would have occupied in the miracle story, but the illumination on 6r already introduces both Mary and Peter as the two figures to whom the monks pray for intercession.

E. C. Teviotdale (Davidson College)

"The Picture Inscriptions in the Cotton Troper"

The Latin hexameters that accompany the eleven surviving paintings in the Cotton Troper (BL Cotton Caligula A.xiv, ff. 1-36), an eleventh-century manuscript whose specific place of origin is unknown, are the most extensive verse picture inscriptions to survive from Anglo-Saxon England. They were almost certainly composed for their present context, and their author most probably knew the manuscript and its paintings first hand. Like most Anglo-Saxon verse, they are rich in alliteration. They also contain a sprinkling of arcane vocabulary, a resonance of the hermeneutic tradition of Anglo-Latinity. But the author of the inscriptions did not write quantitative verse with ease, and metrical blunders are not uncommon. The language of the inscriptions only rarely points to a specific literary source. There are a few instances, however, of demonstrable reliance on an antecedent narrative. The versifier certainly found direct inspiration in the Vulgate, and he also may have known Bede's Expositio Actuum Apostolorum, the account of St. Lawrence's martyrdom in the Passio Polycronij (which is included in the Cotton-Corpus legendary), Venantius Fortunatus's De (vita sancti) Martini, and Ælfric's translation of Sulpicius's Vita Sancti Martini. In two instances, features of the inscriptions appear to have been inspired by neighboring trope texts.

Suzanne Hagedorn (Cornell University)

"Authors and Authority in De Ave Phoenix and the Old English Fenix"

It is a truth universally acknowledged by scholars of Old English literature that the Carmina De Ave

Phoenix served as the source for the Old English Fenix. This paper explores some of the similarities and differences between the two poems, focusing on ideas of authorship, both in the literary and in the physical sense. As the world simply exists in what appears to be an eternal present in De Ave Phoenixe, so does the poem, with its disembodied, barely present authorial voice. In contrast, the Old English Fenix posits a world that was deliberately made by a divine creator in time. In keeping with this idea of authorship, the Old English poet emphasizes the relationship between author and text and draws attention to the process of creating literary art, and hence, meaning.

Session 165: "Literary Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture II"

Emily Cooney (Cornell University)

"Translator as Editor: The Retelling of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica"

The translator of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica into Old English modifies Bede's program in the first twenty-two chapters of Book I, transforming his description of an English Paradise and its gradual fall into a more secular statement of England's early history.

Bede carefully constructs Book I to demonstrate why the advent of Christianity is vitally important for the English people. Here he introduces themes which situate the remainder of Britain's history to Bede's own time, culminating in his distress over modern Northumbrian political misfortunes in Book V, chapter twenty-three, and the problems within the English Church he laments in his letter to Bishop Egbert some four years later. Bede emphasizes Christianity's role in uniting Britain's diverse peoples, implying that Christianity is the only secure basis for civilization, as well as the sole way to eternal redemption.

The Old English version changes both the organization and emphasis of Bede's Book I. The translator strays from the general policies that characterize his editing of Bede's Latin work in Books II-V; he uncharacteristically translates several letters and an epitaph. His choices, however, suggest that the translator consciously rejects Bede's paradigm of England's fall from grace and disagrees with Bede's vision of the Church as the foundation of the English nation. Writing over a century after Bede's death, the translator does not share Bede's concerns about doctrinal orthodoxy, and he is uninterested in the Continental, most specifically the Roman, history of the English Church. Rather, Bede's translator is interested in English issues, and

he intends his translation to be a different type of document than Bede's ecclesiastical history.

Timothy Jones (University of Illinois, Urbana)

"Almsgiving and the Phoenix's Nest"

That the Old English Phoenix is an allegorical poem is a truth almost universally agreed upon. The exact nature of the allegory is a matter of debate. J. E. Cross has found a complete four-level allegory of the type that patristic exegetes look for in holy scripture. On the other hand, Stanley Greenfield prefers to read the poem as homiletic "circumambulation." Both scholars focus their attention on the description of the phoenix's nest in lines 447-465, Cross finding evidence of two nests, Greenfield only one. This passage depends on an explication of the phoenix myth by Ambrose, but the Anglo-Saxon poet has made some key changes. In particular, the materials of the nest are changed from chastity, mercy and justice in Ambrose to prayer and almsgiving. Furthermore, the poet connects these virtues with the explication of the nest by employing a variation of Ecclesiasticus 3:33: "Just as water quenches fire, so almsgiving quenches sins." This paper examines these alterations in the context of Anglo-Saxon writing on almsgiving, including the literary and homiletic uses of Ecclesiasticus 3:33, in order to comment on the author's poetic art, audience, and the possibility of allegorical interpretation.

John F. Vickrey (Lehigh University)

**"The Seafarer 111-15:
Dives and the Ultimate Futility"**

The Seafarer contrasts a fictive speaker and dives, some person (or persons) of power and affluence. As presently understood, the passages of contrast take dives only to his physical death in lines 97-102. I argue that lines 111-15 take the contrast further by saying that dives will know himself damned and his wealth destroyed. These textually corrupt lines are now thought to mean "govern with moderation [his] malice against friend and against foe, even though he might want him (to be) full of fire or (might want) the friend he has made (to be) burned up on a pyre." But somewhere between healdan and bealo text has been lost: the noun bealo (112) cannot be the direct object of mid gemete healdan (111), for the Christian cannot bear any malice, nor can mid gemete mean "with no measure at all."

Lines 111(-), I surmise, declared the ideality, what ought (scyle 111) to be. Lines (-)112-15 declared the actuality, that too many love wealth and despise

God, and so suffer. With Holthausen's lufan and the surviving wiþ leofne ond wið laþne bealo these lines echo Luke 16:13 / Matt. 6:24: "No servant can serve two masters; either he will hate the one and love the other You cannot serve God and Mammon." The þeah þe clause (113-15) discloses the fates of dives and his master. He (113) refers to dives, hine is reflexive; the infinitive (to be supplied) is perhaps witan. Dives will know himself fyres ful in Hell or his master forbærned at Judgment. The personification implicit in Luke 16:13 (duobus dominis) identifies wine (115) as Mammon. Geworht (115) puns on wyrcean "to fabricate" in allusion to Mammon="riches" and on wyrcean "to become friends with" in ironic reference to Luke 16:9: "facite vobis amicos de mammona iniquitatis." The intimation that the worldling's wealth is really his lord and that this will be burnt on bæle completes the fictive speaker's indictment of secular life.

Session 206: "Coinage in the Early Middle Ages: Ireland and the British Isles"

Michael Kenny (National Museum of Ireland)

**"Pennies, Deniers and Dirhams:
The Growth of Coin Usage
among the Hiberno-Norse (c. 900-950)"**

The spread of coin usage among the various Viking communities is an interesting but rather difficult subject, due in part to the great diversity and disparate nature of the Viking colonies and settlements. Political factors and economic influences which were significant in one area were totally irrelevant in another and it hardly needs to be pointed out that the rate of change and development varied immensely from one community to another. The Vikings who settled in England used the Anglo-Saxon penny both as a trading medium and as a prototype but also produced their own distinctive coinages up to the demise of York as an independent political entity. The traders and raiders who sailed down the Russian rivers came in contact with the Byzantine Empire and the Islamic Abbasids and Samanids. They made use of the Byzantine miliaresia and Abbasid dirhams and the former especially were copied at a later stage in Sweden, Finland and Russia. There are indeed numerous examples of Scandinavian imitations using "Anglo-Saxon" obverses with "Byzantine" reverses and vice versa, which serves to illustrate the point that the Viking attitude towards coinage, even well into the eleventh century was quite different from that of the Anglo-Saxons.

This paper deals with one specific community, the Hiberno-Norse, and covers the half century 900-50 A.D. during which coin came to play an increasingly significant part in their economic affairs. The hoard evidence shows that they used whatever came to hand--Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Viking pennies, Carolingian deniers and Kufic dirhams. The distribution pattern would suggest that most of the material entered the country through Dublin but what is not clear is the extent to which coins circulated as such, or how they were actually used. The paper discusses this question, examines the provenance of the material and the likely routes by which it arrived in Ireland and compares developments in Ireland with those which took place among the English Vikings.

Mark Blackburn (Fitzwilliam Museum)

**"Alfred of Wessex and Ceolwulf II of Mercia:
New Perspectives from their Coinages"**

Despite the comparative richness of contemporary histories of Alfred's reign, little is known of his contemporary, Ceolwulf II, the last independent king of Mercia. He is mentioned twice in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle--once in 874 when he was installed as king following Burgred's defeat by the Vikings and again in 877 when Mercia was partitioned between him and the Vikings. A Mercian king-list assigns him a reign of five years, presumably 874-79, and there are a handful of charters in his name. How quickly and widely his authority was recognized and the nature of his relationship with Alfred are topics on which the written sources have little bearing. However, a recent reassessment of Ceolwulf's and Alfred's coinages has provided us with new insights.

The position of London during the 870s and 880s is of central importance to our understanding of Alfred's relationship with the Mercians. Here numismatic evidence suggests that the traditional interpretation of events, whereby the Vikings controlled London for much of this period and were only ousted by Alfred after a siege in 886, is incorrect. It seems clear that coins were being struck there in Alfred's name well before 886. The famous London Monogram coins which have usually been assigned to that year appear to belong to the early 880s, and prior to that Alfred struck the Cross-and-Lozenge issue in London.

Ceolwulf also struck the same Cross-and-Lozenge type at London. What is surprising, however, is that his coins seem not to precede those of Alfred, but to follow them. The sequence of minting at London appears to have been: Burgred until 874, then Alfred in the mid 870s, Ceolwulf II in the later 870s,

and then Alfred again from c. 880. Ceolwulf's authority, at least in the southern-most part of Mercia, was evidently not recognized for a period after Burgred's defeat and exile, and Londoners looked to Alfred for their protection. Whether the extension of Ceolwulf's power in the South coincided with the 877 partition of Mercia is a matter we can only speculate on.

Catherine Karkov (Miami University)

"Coinage Associated with Æthelflæd of Mercia"

Sometime around the year 910, Mercian mints began issuing a new and iconographically unusual series of coins. These coins are known traditionally as the "exceptional" or "ornamental" types of Edward the Elder. They feature towers, flowers, or the hand of god on the reverse rather than the traditional cross or portrait bust. It has recently been suggested that the unusual imagery of the coinage may have been Æthelflæd's way of distinguishing coins issued by her mints from those issued by her brother's mints. This suggestion is supported by the fact that when Edward seized power in Mercia at Æthelflæd's death, the Mercian mints reverted to issues of earlier types. This return to traditional types may have been part of Edward's efforts to discourage any form of Mercian separatism.

Material evidence associated with Æthelflæd and the period of her control of Mercia is rare, and the above suggestions therefore become particularly intriguing. This paper explores these propositions in greater detail. It looks specifically at the history of Mercia in the years 910-918, to see which, if any, events might be specifically connected to the new coinage. It also examines the broader background of Mercian art and earlier types of coins as possible iconographic sources for the new "exceptional" types.

Session 250: "Reconceiving the Codices of Old English Poetry: Beyond the New Philology"

Patrick W. Conner (West Virginia University)

"Culture and Speculative Codicology: Mapping Booklet III of the Exeter Book"

The poems in booklet three of the Exeter Book are either the most heterogenous collection of materials we have in Old English running, as they do, from obscene riddles to elegies to apocalyptic pieces. I think that I can explain how they got the way they are by considering the way texts were made and then augmented in Anglo-Saxon England.

I shall attempt to show that Booklet III of the Exeter Book is based on two distinct collections of riddles which have been assembled in one manuscript. Before they were so assembled, however, other non-riddlic poems were added to the riddlic manuscripts or gatherings in which they were kept. These additions reflect cultural tastes before and after the Benedictine revolution, and the additions of the poems are ordered around each collection of riddles in such a way as to reflect layers (to use an archaeological image) of changing cultural concerns.

The advantage of describing Booklet III in the way I have is that it allows us to move a bit closer to an appreciation of an evolving monastic vernacular literary culture in tenth-century England, one that begins by borrowing heavily on Carolingian types and tropes and ends with the development of a monastic poetry dependent on the same philosophies which underlay the Concordia Regularis and the anointing of King Edgar as Christus Domini.

Laurel Amtower (University of Washington)

"Text and Audience: A Codicological Reading of the Junius Manuscript"

This study proposes that there may be a deliberate interpretive strategy behind the scribal punctuation in Junius 11, and attempts to reconstruct the Junius texts on the basis of this punctuation as a means of reconstructing a cultural understanding of the poem. The basis for this study is an analysis of codex Junius 11, which takes into account the various scribal markings of the manuscript--the large and small capitals, the pointing, and the spatial breaks between sections--and their relationship to the texts of the poems. The findings suggest that, despite the assumptions of modern editions, the punctuation of the manuscript indicates a certain degree of rationale. In particular, the sectional breaks which occur throughout the text seem to fulfill a very specific function: they tend to appear in climactic or powerful moments, interrupting the narrative by means of a moralizing transition which prepares the audience for the pause. Each section thus both begins and ends with a moralizing statement, with the result that the didactic element of the narrative is always brought to the forefront of the action. This scribal presentation, then, may be seen as offering a series of "cues" which draw the reader's attention to the moral or symbolic significance of the narrative, and which de-emphasize the actual storyline. This would indicate that the presentation of the poems reflects a coherent and systematic

understanding of their significance, which is then transferred to the reader by means of the affective power of the received text.

Carol B. Pasternack (Univ. of Cal., Santa Barbara)

"The Reader and the Codex in the Production of Old English Poetry"

Turning the pages of the Old English poetic codices, a reader finds verse sequences demarcated by a visual hierarchy of capitals and punctuation and a verbal system for marking beginnings and endings. Our practice has been to take these pages as representing anthologies of poems, that is collections of individual literary pieces, each a representation of an author's intention and each with a definite beginning, middle, and end, even if parts of the intended text have been lost or distorted in its transmission. Hence, our editions represent them with individual titles, divide the text into lines of verse, number the lines from each "poem's" beginning to its end, and freely excerpt them from their manuscript contexts. In this paper I propose that, rather than taking the manuscripts as representing something else that we must discover behind the pages, we analyze them at the level of their physical existence, questioning them, as Foucault advises, "as to their mode of existence" in order to understand how these texts might have functioned for Anglo-Saxon readers and what assumptions about vernacular verse and books might have contributed to their form and use. In particular, I examine the Vercelli Book's presentation of texts, verse and prose, especially focusing on verse and the two sequences we now read under the titles Andreas and The Fates of the Apostles. As is true of the verse sequences in the other poetic codices, their format requires a degree of participation on the part of the reader that modern, authorial texts do not demand, and functions within a textual matrix particular to vernacular manuscripts in which poems, readers, poets, and scribes together produce "poems" appropriate to that manuscript presentation and its moment of reading.

Session 290: "Old English Texts in Their Manuscript Contexts"

Mildred Budny (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge)

"New Light on Old English Texts in Manuscripts at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge"

Recent research for a new catalogue on Anglo-Saxon manuscripts at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, has revealed fresh evidence on the character, structure, and layout of many Old English texts in that renowned collection, which preserves one of the three largest collections containing Old English. My illustrated catalogue of Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, will be published in two volumes by the Medieval Institute Publications of Western Michigan University in time for the International Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo in 1992. This paper aims to introduce members of the Sources of Anglo-Saxon England Symposium at the Congress to some of the fruits of that research, with special reference to its relevance for Old English textual studies. Examining the manuscripts in detail for the catalogue has made it possible--and in some cases necessary--to reassess the manuscript contexts of many different types of Old English texts.

Texts to be considered comprise both prose and verse, and include the unique surviving copies of some texts. Among them are the prose and verse "Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn" in MSS 41 and 422, Part A; the macaronic poem "Ealdhelm" in MS 326; the "A" version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Laws in MS 173, Part A, especially the episodes on "Cynewulf and Cynheard" and "The Battle of Brunanburh"; King Alfred's Pastoral Care in MS 12, especially the epistolary preface; the Corpus Old English Bede in MS 41; collections of homilies by Ælfric and others in MSS 419, 421, and 162, Part I; and Archbishop Wulfstan's Sermo Lupi ad Anglos and other texts in MS 201.

The paper focuses upon features of manuscript construction, layout, punctuation, correction, and patterns of use, as they may affect our perception and interpretation of Old English texts. It also considers how the Corpus catalogue, with its many plates (amounting to more than 760 full pages), might complement the new project to produce Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile.

Ronald E. Buckalew (Pennsylvania State University)

"The Manuscript Contexts of Ælfric's Language-Teaching Texts"

Ælfric's three language-teaching texts--his Old English Latin Grammar, its usually appended Latin Old English Glossary, and the well-known Latin Colloquy--offer a rich variety of manuscript contexts and an intriguing network of manuscript relations.

The MS context varies with the prominence given the respective works, their treatment, and the

presence and nature of other materials. The Grammar is the primary text in the fifteen MSS in which it occurs, as far as we can tell, since three of our texts are now binding fragments. Otherwise, the Glossary normally follows the Grammar, but the Latin Colloquy is now only once with it and then separated by other works. Of its three texts, two are in MSS consisting primarily of language-learning materials, and the third MS, though primarily Latin monastic rules and related materials, is glossed in Old English to give it a secondary language focus like the one Grammar MS which was bound early following a continuously glossed hymnal. Of the other Grammar (and Glossary) MSS, several are heavily glossed into the twelfth century in Latin, English, and Old French, and most of the rest add specifically language-learning materials, such as colloquies, brief grammatical pieces, or other glossaries. Other educational matter (computistical, aphoristic) occurs in three MSS.

All such accretions in these MSS made them even more valuable as textbooks and added to the many different kinds of linkages they share. Besides a variety of textual relations among the Grammar and Glossary MSS, the links include several Leofrician Exeter hands in the Cambridge University Library MS, the same hand in the Faustina Grammar MS as in Hatton 115, and a brief grammatical piece found in four Grammar MSS. One of these four, a Canterbury MS now at Durham, has a frontispiece derived from Cotton Tiberius A.iii, in which a text of the Colloquy occurs. A second contains glossary material related to the Brussels and Cleopatra Glossaries, which in turn are related not only to Ælfric's but to the Antwerp Glossary in an Abingdon MS of the Excerptiones de Prisciano, the main source of Ælfric's Grammar. This MS in turn contains another of three Colloquy MSS and glosses related to Ælfric's Grammar. The third Colloquy text, moreover, occurs not only in a MS of the Grammar and Glossary but one which also has a version of Book 3 of Abbo of St. German's Bella Parisiacae urbis, another copy of which is in another MS of the Grammar which contains still another text of the brief grammatical piece mentioned earlier. All this does not exhaust the connections but should give some sense of their richness. In recent years we have come to appreciate the importance of looking at individual MSS in their entirety in order to try to better appreciate how the original scribes and users perceived them. Not only do these MSS give us ample opportunity for this, but they give us special insight into the network of Old English scribal culture. Having all of these manuscripts readily available on microfiche, so that one could observe all these contexts and relationships at first hand, should prove of

enormous value to Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Latin studies.

Phillip Pulsiano (Villanova University)

"Of Blood-Letting and Bee-Keeping:
The Psalms in their Manuscript Contexts"

This paper begins with a statement of what is well known, namely, that many of codices containing the psalms (both those that are glossed in Old English and those that are unglossed Latin texts) contain an abundance of added material--material that is never recorded in the editions of the psalters (although it is not unusual that certain of these items are published separately, especially those containing Old English). BL Cotton Vitellius E.xviii, to take a familiar example, contains charms to prevent theft, keep bees, and improve crops; medical recipes for cattle and sheep; lists of lucky and unlucky days; rules for encoding secret writing; rules for finding Septuagesima, and the like. Other texts may contain added prayers, Latin interlinear and marginal glosses, to which we can add incised drawings, illustrations (full page, display lines, and initial letters), and musical notation. And there is more. In all, modern readers of the edited texts gain little sense of the scope and proportions on these codices; the result is that something very essential to an understanding of these texts is lost in the process of transmission from vellum leaf to typeset page. In some instances, this added material may bear directly upon the texts of the psalms; in other instances, the connection may seem, at first, remote. Whatever the case, what we lose above all is a sense of how the original compilers of these texts understood their unity, their composition, and even their purpose: one text may be for private study, another for presentation, still another for reference; with each new arrangement of text and with each added item, the character of the codex changes. What I argue in this paper, then, is that if we are to understand something of the way the Anglo-Saxon culture viewed these ubiquitous and important texts, we must understand something of the physical codex as well.

Other Sessions

Session 3: "Glossography: Problems in Scribal Transmission and Text Editing"

Ronald E. Buckalew (Pennsylvania State University)

"The Textual Tradition of Ælfric's Glossary"

While the history of Ælfric's Glossary is usually linked with that of the Old English Latin Grammar to which it is found appended (seven of the extant medieval MSS of this Anglo-Saxon bestseller having the Grammar and Glossary together), each also has its own textual history. Three eleventh-century MSS of the Grammar complete at the end lack the Glossary, and four others are incomplete. Yet we also have Nowell's sixteenth-century transcript of an apparently lost MS of the two together, plus another sixteenth-century transcript of a lost MS with a large portion of the Glossary and one of our earliest MSS of either work (c. 1000) that contains a number of excerpts of the Glossary in a MS of Alcuin on Genesis, both of which also have a few excerpts from the Grammar. Besides these ten texts of the Glossary that have some associated Grammar material, we have four others of the Glossary that have none: two other sixteenth-century transcripts of portions of lost texts (one being Leland's), a collection from c. 1100 of excerpts in a MS of Cassian's Collations, and finally, but hardly least, a complete version of the Glossary in a Cotton MS in which the Latin lemmas are retained but all of the OE glosses have been replaced with their Old Cornish equivalents. This Vocabularium Cornicum constitutes the chief surviving text of Old Cornish. These materials, along with Ælfric Bata's Glossary excerpts added to a text of Ælfric's Colloquy, and the tantalizing textual connections among Ælfric's Glossary, the unique Antwerp Glossary, and the glossary excerpts added to a text of the Cleopatra Glossary in BL Cotton Otho E.i, all present us with both challenging textual questions and some surprising results, especially in one chain of linked MSS that emerges.

Joseph McGowan (University of Pennsylvania)

"Difficult Lemmata and Glosses
from Some Latin-Old English Glossaries"

Despite considerable good work on Anglo-Saxon bilingual glossaries in the past twenty-five years, the nature of glossarial texts has generally precluded the sort of textual commentary usually devoted to the prose and poetry of the period. This paper takes up the matter of close examination of individual glossary entries with the goal of providing textual commentary; three entries will be discussed as examples: OE glosses to Lat. cerastes in the Cleopatra glossaries (sources in the Vulgate Genesis and the apocryphal Alexander the Great material); the entry Hyadas: raedga(e)sram in the Corpus, Epinal, and Erfurt glossaries (a possible Manilian source for the lemma, explication of the OE gloss); the major Cleopatra glossary entry mesaulum:

cafertun (probable source of the lemma and implications for the meaning of the OE gloss in this context).

Session 5: "The Uses of Manuscripts in Literary Studies: In Memory of Judson Boyce Allen"

Marilyn Reppa (University of Illinois, Chicago)

"The Art of Preaching and the Vercelli Book"

Since its discovery in a Vercelli monastery, scholars have wondered why a late tenth-century manuscript book, most likely from southern England, and consisting entirely of Old English prose and verse devotional works, came to rest in Northern Italy. Even more compelling, however, is the question of why the manuscript, now known as the Vercelli Book (codex 17 in the Vercelli library), exists at all. There are few, if any, thematic clues to its origin. The manuscript is not illuminated. It is scarcely rubricated. There are no glosses or nota bene signs. The marginalia consist of a dog, a couple of warnings to copy carefully or risk a beating, and what appear to be a couple of pen trials. Its contents consist of twenty-three prose homilies and six devotional works in verse, several of which are not found elsewhere. There is no discernable principle of arrangement, however. As D. G. Scragg points out, although several homilies address various feast days, their order does not follow the order of the church year. Although there is considerable thematic overlap, there is no overall theme. Although prose and verse works follow one another, they are neither distinguished from one another nor linked.

I propose that the method for studying the Vercelli Book be shifted from a thematic one to a performative one--that the manuscript be considered from the point of view of rhetoric, thereby linking the homilies and verse works to an inchoate art of preaching. Using The Dream of the Rood as the exemplum, I demonstrate how the verse devotional work can be read as a model both for arriving rhetorically at compunction--the desire to know God--through the faculty of memory and for demonstrating compunction to others. As such, The Dream of the Rood can be read as a model for internalizing and preaching the homilies in the Vercelli Book. One can read it as demonstrating inventio and actio: compunction as a process of invention; the demonstration of compunction as delivery. Together they provide a model for preaching based on imitation, or imitatio Christi. By teaching the reader both what and how to preach, the Vercelli Book becomes an important example of the medieval ars praedicandi in

existence as a practice centuries before the first handbooks were written to describe it.

Session 16: "Old English Literature I"

Linda R. Gray (Indiana University)

"Ornament in Beowulf: An Anglo-Saxon's Way of Seeing"

The correspondence between the structure of Beowulf and the interlace designs of Anglo-Saxon art, first posited by John Leyerle, has become a well-established principle. Interest in interlace has not thus far been extended, however, to the poet's overt use of ornament as a trope in the poem, although ornament plays a major role in Beowulf. Perhaps it has escaped notice for so long because it seems to be everywhere, like the weapons it frequently adorns. Yet ornament in Beowulf, in the sense of pattern or decoration, is more than an element of the martial theme; it emerges in the poem as a hermeneutical principle, a way of seeing that carries with it assertions of value. On the most literal level, the poet exalts people and weapons through ornament. Ornament also occupies an important place in the variational sequences with which the poet refines his descriptions. His use of ornament in these descriptions suggests that he expected his audience to find it as compelling as he did. On a more metaphorical level, the poet describes as ornamental the patterns created by one surface superimposed on another. He uses the trope of ornamentation to highlight crucial moments in the poem and to focus attention on particular objects within them. An understanding of the role ornament plays in the poem must suggest revisions in the conventions of translating Beowulf where these obscure the poet's vision of an ornamented world.

Lisa Darien (University of California, Berkeley)

"Peah seo bryd duge!": The Freoðuwebbe in Anglo-Saxon Literature and Society"

Although the Old English compound word freoðuwebbe, "peace-weaver," is neither a common word nor particularly difficult to understand lexically, it has been the object of some scholarly discussion. Most of this discussion, however, has failed to delineate the specific functions of the peace-weaver in Anglo-Saxon literature and society. In this paper, I argue that the role of the freoðuwebbe is best understood in the light of the Germanic tribal kinship practices of the Anglo-Saxons. After clearly defining how women

functioned as both inter- and intra-tribal peace-weavers in Anglo-Saxon society, I examine the ways in which their role was made difficult (or even impossible) by those same kinship practices that generated a need for a freoðuwebbe. From this anthropological and historical discussion, I turn to the examination of a literary source, the poem Beowulf, which adds further resonance to the problems of the peace-weaver. By describing the different ways in which five women--Hildeburh, Wealhþeow, Modþryðo, Freawaru and Hygd--do not succeed in their attempts to weave peace both within and between tribes, the poem clearly demonstrates the almost inevitable failure of the peace-weaver. I conclude the paper by observing that if freoðuwebbe is defined functionally, therefore transcending gender, then Beowulf himself (who is, significantly, a semi-mythical being) can be seen as the only effective peace-weaver in the poem. Thus, given the reality of the difficulties of this role in light of Anglo-Saxon kinship practices, it is not surprising that most peace-weavers fail; indeed, the Beowulf poet seems to agree with this assessment in that the only freoðuwebbe he allows to succeed is a mythic hero.

Session 32: "Medieval Sermon Studies I"

Mary Olson (Purdue University)

"Stylistic Unity in Vercelli Homily 19"

Vercelli Homily 19, like the other homilies in the Vercelli MS, is a collection of exempla, exhortations, and catechetical material, borrowed from other sources and spliced together by the homilist. It is one of five homilies in this manuscript for rogationtide. A number of stylistic devices provide unity and add emphasis and intensity to the themes. The effectiveness of these devices is most readily seen when we view the homily as oral rather than written literature.

The first such device is the repetition of the word ealle in its various forms. The word occurs thirty-nine times and is particularly concentrated in the creation narrative, the Jonah story, and in the story of Mamertus. In these settings it provides, in addition to a cohesiveness of repetition, an implied emphasis on the unity of creation and of mankind within that creation.

Rogationtide is a three-day observance, and the second device involves numerous triadic echoes throughout the homily. The homilist begins with a description of the nature of the Trinity which is itself full of triadic imagery; the triads are reiterated throughout, especially in the story of Jonah. We

can find at least twenty-five examples of such imagery.

This type of homily has been criticized as being a patchwork of material, lacking a cohesive design. This criticism may have validity if we look only at themes. If, however, we consider its effectiveness as spoken word, we can see that its use of imagery provides it with a cohesion that is not immediately discernable from an analysis of its contents alone.

Session 43: "The Topos of Exile"

Wendy R. Larson (University of Wisconsin, Madison)

"Exile and Community in Guthlac A"

This paper examines Guthlac A as a text in which exile is explored as a term with many shades of meaning. The exile which Guthlac endures in the fen is clearly different from that of his demon tormentors. They suffer a dual exile: eternal spiritual exile from God and, by losing their barrow, deprivation of any physical home on earth. In contrast, Guthlac no longer has a place in the human community, but his ties to the spiritual community of God are strengthened. What is the worst of all possible punishments for the demons is the means by which Guthlac attains heaven. Likewise, although the demons are in a group, a kind of community, it is a community founded on isolation from God. The monastic community of Crowland is also founded on exile: it is built on the very spot where Guthlac ousted the demons. The contrast between the two communities makes it clear that community is not simply a matter of numbers, but of relationships, most importantly the community's relationship with God.

In a poem which appears to be directed towards a specific monastic community, and which has a special emphasis on the experience of younger monks (Guthlac is very sympathetic about the difficulties of cloistered life for young men), Guthlac's lesson about the nature of "turning away" from society as an exile is an important one. Upon entering the cloister, a monk must also, like an exile, reject the world outside. Yet, this poem demonstrates that this sort of exile is only temporal. The scenes of the righteous soul being welcomed into heaven which both begin and end the poem remind the audience that at the end of an exile, whether a literal exile such as Guthlac's, or that of any faithful Christian soul living out life on earth, a home in heaven is waiting.

Session 53: "Kuhn's Laws I"

Patricia Bethel (Ottawa, Canada)

"On Kuhn's Laws of Sentence Particles as the Intersection of Two Tendencies in OE Verse"

In an examination of approximately 15,000 lines of Old English verse, I hope to show that the circumstances under which a violation of Kuhn's Law is likely to arise occur relatively rarely in Old English verse largely because two widespread features which combined would favor violation of Kuhn's Law are characteristic respectively of the first and second hemistiches, even when the half-lines belong to the same metrical Type.

In OE verse, the initial dip is potentially longest among B- and C-Types and the medial dip among 1A-Types. There is a general but not invariable tendency to allow greater latitude to the 1A(*)n-Types in the first half-line than in the second, where 1A(*)n-Types are largely supplanted by 2A-Types. Among B- and C-Types, there is a clear leaning toward a disyllabic initial dip in each half-line, with a slight tendency to allow a longer initial dip in the second half-line. In the second half-line, there appears to be a greater complexity among B- and C-Types and light hypermetric verse in the second half-line than the equivalent metrical Type in the first. Not only is the half-line often longer if it occurs in the second hemistich, but there is a far greater likelihood that it will be introduced by a relative, a junctive, an interjection, or a negative.

The greater tendency to use such an "isolable element" in the second half-line is also a feature of that anacrusis detached from the first stressed word. The preference in OE for 1A(*)n-Types in the first half-line means that the circumstances in which a particle precedes the second stress are liable to arise in the first half-line (where anacrusis often consists of a prefix), whereas elements likely to introduce a half-line tend to cluster in the second.

B. R. Hutcheson (University of Southern Maine)

"Kuhn's Laws and Bliss's Theory of Ornamental Alliteration: A Re-Evaluation"

In this paper I demonstrate that Kuhn's Laws, as formulated in "Zur Wortstellung und -Betonung im Altgermanischen" (PBB 57), are of little use in determining stress on finite verbs and other words that Kuhn termed Satzpartikeln. Kuhn's first law, often cited in support of low stress levels on Satzpartikeln in the opening of the verse clause, in fact makes no statements about stress, for Kuhn stresses some Satzpartikeln in this position but does not stress others. All Kuhn's first law properly

states is that Satzpartikeln will be placed early in the clause; it makes no assertions about stress.

Kuhn's Laws, as he himself formulates them, also suffer from a vague and problematic terminology. Thus he uses the word Auftakt to mean "anacrusis"--the usual denotation of the word in English--in some passages, but as a synonym for Satzauftakt in others. Moreover, the notion of a Satzauftakt is unclear in itself: is it synonymous with Eingangssenkung--a word Kuhn does not use--or does it refer more loosely to everything that precedes the first noun, qualitative adjective, non-finite verb form, or other word that is always stressed in OE poetry? I suspect the latter, but this is never explicit.

In the second section of this paper, I show that Bliss's notion of ornamental alliteration is based upon a faulty reading of Kuhn. To formulate his rule of ornamental alliteration, Bliss focuses on twelve verses from Beowulf (Metre of Beowulf §19); yet to make these verses conform to his reading of Kuhn's Law, he must emend two of them (§21n2). I argue that such violence to the text is not justified.

Geoffrey Russom (Brown University)

"Do Kuhn's Laws Perform any Useful Work?"

Kuhn's Laws are supposed to regulate placement of grammatical words, but this work is sometimes performed by quite different laws. The placement of conjunctions in Old English poetry, for example, is subject to laws of ordinary grammar so strict as to make Kuhn's Laws redundant. Kuhn's Laws also fail to explain important features of verse syntax. One such feature is a bias against verses of type B in which the only element before the first stress is a prefix or monosyllabic article. This bias affects verses appearing late in the clause, contrary to Kuhn's prediction. The correct prediction is made by the word-foot theory of Old English meter. Within this framework, the first dip of type B constitutes a foot, but the second dip is the weakest subpart of a foot that corresponds to a compound word. The more salient particles mark the first dip clearly as an independent metrical unit, while inconspicuous elements like prefixes are more appropriate in the second dip as substitutes for internal weak syllables of compounds. Prepositions, which Kuhn assigns to the same class with prefixes and articles, often stand alone in the first dip of type B, like conjunctions. The relative salience of prepositions is recognized by current syntactic theories but cannot be expressed in Kuhn's taxonomy. I suggest, in conclusion, that Kuhn's

Laws will disappear as our understanding of Old English grammar and meter is refined.

Session 55: "Old English Literature II"

David Lasson (University of Texas, Austin)

"The Battle of Maldon, Felix Culpa, and Oðer Twega: Some Other Aspects of the Maldon-Poet's Artistry"

Thoughtful critics have shed much valuable light on Maldon by trying to reconcile what is generally accepted as Byrhtnoth's character flaw, his ofermod, with the otherwise admirable--some say saintly--portrait that the poet provides. But the application of the fortunate fall motif to Maldon and its overly zealous general provides another possibility: that Byrhtnoth is admirable because of his flaw, not in spite of it.

The idea of felix culpa enters the liturgy not later than the seventh century by way of the "Exultet," sung on Holy Saturday. The hymn sings of the sin of Adam as "truly necessary" and as a "happy fault." The earliest MS of the Gregorian Sacramentary (Vat. Reg. 337) does not contain the "Exultet," but Ealhwine (Alcuin) saw that it was included in the Sacramentary of Adrian that was drawn up under his direction.

Suicidal fighting is much more a topic for discussion among the critics of Maldon than it is among the characters in it: only two of the twelve members of Byrhtnoth's werod state that they intend to die avenging their lord. Even though it is unsupported by the poem, this critical emphasis is understandable given that oðer twega (207b) has traditionally been translated "one of two things." But because the lexicographical evidence for this reading is inconclusive at best, and since it does not fit the sense of the passage, one is wise to accept John D. Niles' suggestion that the phrase be translated "the second of two things." When this is done, the wælstow is thus transformed from a field of slaughter into a field of self actualization, where the faithful retainers are given an opportunity to keep beots made to their lord.

When Byrhtnoth allows the Vikings landes to fela, he also allows his own men the possibility of achieving the augmentation of hyge, heorte, and mod that Byrhtwold speaks of. And in so doing, he awards glory to his faithful retainers--glory that he has so dearly bought for them.

Gernot Wieland (University of British Columbia)

"Ge mid wige ge mid wisdome":
Alfred's Double-Edged Sword"

Alfred's Preface to the Pastoral Care is one of the more thoroughly examined prose pieces of Old English literature. The emphasis in most of these discussions has been on Alfred's educational program and the correctness or incorrectness of his description of the historical situation of the period; in addition, the sources on which Alfred relied in his composition have also been thoroughly examined. There are, however, two phrases which, to my knowledge, so far have received only little notice; I refer to Alfred's statements that he remembered how the English kings "ut hiora edel rymdon; ond hu him speow ægðer ge mid wige ge mid wisdom." This paper examines these two statements further and makes three points:

First, the phrase "ut hiora edel rymdon" does not seem to correspond to historical facts. The greatest period of territorial expansion by Anglo-Saxon kings came not during the period of "wisdom" by which Alfred clearly means Christian wisdom, but during the ignorant pagan time. And most post-Conversion expansions by Christian Anglo-Saxon kings took place at the expense of other Christian Anglo-Saxon kings, so that (Christian) "wisdom" did not necessarily translate into success in war.

Second, the source for the connection of "wisdom" with "wig," aside from the biblical "sapientia and fortitudo" (Daniel 2:20) seems to come from the Continent, more specifically from the Carolingian court. Charlemagne, rather than any Anglo-Saxon king, fits the description of a king who "speow ægðer ge mid wige ge mid wisdom," and Alcuin in his letters repeatedly draws the two concepts together.

Third, some of Alfred's translations, especially his translation of the psalms, in a curious way show Alfred's commitment to be successful in wisdom as much as in war: several of the martial images of the Latin psalms have been translated by Alfred in a non-martial way; the Old English Psalm 9:7, for instance, avoids the martial framea of the Latin and replaces it with "seo redelse and þæt geþeapt," i.e., with a non-martial interpretation of the martial image.

In the phrase "ge mid wige ge mid wisdom," then, Alfred does not describe any historical situation in Anglo-Saxon England, but sets himself an ideal, an ideal whose source seems to lie in the court of Charlemagne.

James E. Anderson (Univ. of Southwestern Louisiana)

"The Finnsburg Story in Itself and in Beowulf"

From the two available Old English narratives of the fight at Finnsburg, Beowulf 1063-1159a and the

separate Finnsburg Fragment, this study reconstructs the events of the Finnsburg legend with several departures from the Klaeber and Wrenn-Bolton notes and glosses:

1. The story in Beowulf attributes to Hengest and the Danish forces only one voyage to Finnsburg, not two;

2. Beowulf 1107-8a refers not to the preparation of funeral fires but to a ritual gesture of oath-swearing that is found elsewhere in Old English poetry;

3. In Beowulf 1143 the word Hunlafing, the name of Hengest's sword rather than of a man, contributes to a vivid tableau image of Hengest as brooding oath-breaker;

4. Beowulf 1148-50a, on Guðlaf and Oslaf, refers to a second tragedy of kinship that may be deduced from the Finnsburg Fragment.

Once it has been thus reread in itself, the Finnsburg episode appears to be anything but a digression in Beowulf. Instead, this magnificently told story is carefully placed, elaborately framed, and directly related to the half-submerged theme of Danish fratricide in Part One of the poem.

Session 92: "Old English Literature III"

Gail Ivy Berlin (Indiana University of Pennsylvania)

"In Ancient Writings Truly Gathered': Solomon and Saturn as a Collected Text"

Composite texts are a common feature of Old English literature, as evinced by the number of poems whose modern titles bear such designations as "A" and "B," or I and II. The tendency among critics has usually been to examine the individual segments, such as Genesis A or Guthlac B, in isolation, the assumption being that, as once independent works, they should contain their own principles of unity. While this approach is valuable and sound, it has led critics to overlook possible principles of cohesion among the segments. Indeed, in the case of Solomon and Saturn, a tripartite work with one prose fragment sandwiched between two verse dialogues, the text is generally printed in such a way as to discourage such inquiry. Of the three principal editions of Solomon and Saturn, only the earliest includes the prose section where it belongs; more recent editions either relegate it to an appendix or suppress it altogether. And yet it is clear that whoever assembled the manuscript considered these three works to form a profitable association.

This paper addresses the question of what the three texts collected together in Solomon and

Saturn can tell us about the way in which a medieval scribe/compiler viewed literary works. Close reading combined with a study of manuscript layout reveals (1) that there are differences as to the way the texts are enjambed that signify a difference regarding their function within the group as a whole; (2) that the grouping of these three texts, while certainly not based on notions of organic unity, nonetheless shows a concern for structure and thematic progression; and (3) that the compiler's sense of a whole spills over beyond the bounds of a single work. In brief, the collected text, like a treasure hoard, was considered ever expandable and always incomplete.

Robert L. Schichler (Arkansas State University)

"As Whiteness Fades to Fallow:
Riding into Time in Beowulf"

In the morning ride after the hero's triumph over Grendel, the movement of men and horses conveys a sense of lively equestrian sport, contrasting sharply with the poem's numerous elegiac scenes where wailing and lamentation have come to replace the sound of the harp and where riding joys have come to cease abruptly upon separation of horse and rider. Furthermore, the riding and recitation of this particular section are skillfully interwoven within a larger envelope design: one which both begins and ends with the defeat of an enemy of the people who has fallen on feonda gewæld (Grendel at line 808; Heremod at line 903). This scene of exultation on horseback thus appears emblematic of the triumph of a community over an oppressor who, in the eyes of the poet, essentially has been condemned to hell.

The glorious expedition is set entirely within the temporal framework of morning: beginning at line 837 when the folk-leaders first behold the results of Beowulf's customary "nightwork" against a demonic opponent, and ending with the passage of morning (917b-18a) to an afternoon of celebration and treasure-giving at the mead hall. Moreover, the progress of morning and subtle changes in morning light appear to be reflected in the changing coloration of the horses. For they are at first regarded as blancum (856)--i.e., "white" or, more likely, "shining"--appropriate reflectors of the sun's horizontal rays in its initial dazzling brilliance after a night of darkness. Time passes as they prance and the sun's oblique, southerly rays gradually become angled downward (or possibly become filtered through a gathering haze) so that the horses, and then the street, come to be graced with an identical, all-encompassing hue: both become "fallow" (fealwe mearas 865b; fealwe stræte 916b), marking quite naturally the sun's ascent and

corresponding shift in lighting as the morning wears on. Further, the horses' change from blanc to fealo seems indicative of their increasingly heated condition as sweat comes to stain their coats in their exertion. Thus, while fulfilling an alliterative need, the poet subtly suggests, through his use of "color" words, both the excited state of the horses and the sun's various effects: the increasing, yellowing warmth and temporal progression of the heavenly body corresponding nicely to the self-generated warmth and spatial movement of horses and riders from the mere to the mead hall.

Finally, this episode seems a representative example of a theme and technique employed by the poet throughout the work. For the horses at mereside after Grendel's defeat point forward to images of "whiteness" or "brightness" that will come to frame and center Beowulf's future encounter with Grendel's mother at the mere, while they make a statement about the nature of the "bright-sign-of-victory" motif--that initial brightness or morning illumination--that occurs repeatedly upon defeat of forces of darkness in Beowulf: glimpses of glory present themselves in this world but are not long-lasting, for the early morning's brilliance must inevitably fade into the light of common day, with darkness and possible edwenden soon to follow.

Edwin Duncan (Lamar University)

"The Case Against Bliss's System
of Scanning Old English Poetry"

Since its initial publication in 1958, A.J. Bliss's The Metre of Beowulf has been a standard reference for studies in OE versification, and while other systems of scansion and classification have since been developed, Bliss's system remains the preferred method for many, including among others Peter J. Lucas, Patricia Bethel, K. Stephens, and Jane Roberts.

Certainly Bliss's theory has its strengths, and few would deny that his emphasis on the interrelationship of meter and alliteration constitutes a real gain in our understanding of OE verse structure. Similarly, his system of metrical types and subtypes provides a viable framework for detailed studies of the metrical patterns that occur in OE poetry. Nevertheless, several aspects of his system are problematic. For one thing, his overreliance on Kuhn's Law leads to difficulties, including assertions of "non-functional" alliteration and lack of stress for verbs in such verses as Secge ic þe to soðe. For another, his explanation of the relationship of meter to alliteration is untenable for three reasons. First, his hypothetical "breath groups," or verse divisions, are empirically

undemonstrable and are not, as he implies, syntactically more logical than Eduard Sievers' metrical feet. Second, his definition of "length" often forces the conclusion that "breath groups" of one word and two syllables are identical in length to "breath groups" of four or five words and six or seven syllables. Third, even by accepting his definitions of "breath groups" and their relative length, one finds that the exceptions to his corresponding rules for alliteration run into the hundreds for *Beowulf* alone.

Thus, despite the insights Bliss's work has provided OE studies, its continued use as a basis for analyzing OE verse or presenting related data is inadvisable. A preferable alternative is a return to Sievers' system with slight modifications.

Session 94: "Kuhn's Laws II"

Robert Stockwell and Donka Minkova (UCLA)

"Against the Notion 'Metrical Grammar'"

Three usages of the term 'metrical grammar' in Old English metrical studies are reviewed: (1) as rules to match metrical form to surface rhythm; (2) as morphosyntactic regularities found mainly in verse; and (3) as properties of verse that are not uniquely definable by the axioms of any metrical theory or of any syntactic one, but only by a mixture of the two. The mixed usage originated in Kuhn 1933 and is criticized here. The principal criticism is that 'upbeat' is used ambiguously between a prosodic sense and a syntactic sense. Given the ambiguity, we argue that Kuhn's laws are empty of empirical content. There is, however, one reading of 'upbeat' which is unambiguous, that of Kendall 1983, 1991. We note that, though coherent, Kendall's interpretation introduces a NEW problem into the Kuhnian equation, a distinction between abstract meter (obeying Kuhn's laws) and surface meter (standard scansion). The problem is whether the abstract meter, arrived at with the guidance of Kuhn's laws treated as absolute, has any reality or value.

Session 199: "Experiments in Editing Old English Verse"

Paul E. Szarmach (SUNY-Binghamton)

"Abbot Ælfric's Rhythmical Prose and the Computer Age"

Now that prose is beginning to receive long-overdue attention from students of Old English--what with both old and new philologists identifying

important issues for discussion--it seems reasonable to isolate for further investigation what might prove to be an original development in the corpus, viz., Ælfric's rhythmical prose. To be sure, there have been several major studies in the scholarly treatment of Ælfric's rhythmical prose, but there seems not to be any easy consensus on how to present it to the modern reading audience. Thus, the venerable W. W. Skeat and John Collins Pope offer prose texts in loose poetic lines, while G. I. Needham and the authoritative school text Mitchell-Robinson give margin-to-margin lines as one would expect in any regular prose text. The computer, however, now casts its long shadow over this issue, offering, it would appear (democratically almost), any option the reader would want--at a single keystroke even. The presence of technology might be seen to be, in a sense, a post-modern plot to kill the editor, much as post-moderns have killed authors. After a brief description of what Ælfric's rhythmical prose is, this paper reviews the strategies editors have hitherto used to present it and considers some options that the computer may offer. The difficulties posed by this prose form are a major focus, but even more important perhaps is the question, raised again in recent conferences (Manchester, 1990, and Toronto, 1991), what does it mean to edit a (rhythmical prose) text--or, shall editors dare to eat a peach?

Peter S. Baker (Emory University)

"The Animated Edition"

One of the liveliest debates in Old English studies concerns whether editors should attempt to recover their authors' originals, as textual criticism has traditionally aimed to do, or print scribal versions, as many modern editors prefer. The highly processed traditional text has the virtue of being accessible to the contemporary reader (especially the student), since its irregularities have been largely eliminated and its punctuation and capitalization modernized. The scribal version, on the other hand, has the virtues of being less conjectural and of confronting the modern reader with a reading experience that (in theory at least) resembles that of the medieval reader.

In light of this editorial debate, manuscript variants--traditionally printed in tiny type at the foot of the page or the back of the book--have acquired added importance. Many readers have expressed the desire to see editions that print all scribal versions in parallel columns so that they can judge the variants for themselves and, in effect, construct their own edited texts. This vision of editorial democracy seems to have no place in it for the

expertise of the editor, who normally is more qualified than most readers to judge the relative merits of manuscript readings. At the same time, however, the modern specialist reader, having a lively sense of the variability of medieval texts, is quite right in being less willing than ever before to become a passive consumer of text as manufactured product.

In my view, the current editorial debate is an artificial one, forced upon us by the necessity of issuing editions of medieval works in printed books, which differ profoundly from the medium familiar to medieval readers and writers. Printing promotes the immutability of texts, while texts preserved in manuscripts were variable. The computer might seem at first to carry us even farther than print does from the spirit of the manuscript, but in fact the computer is the first medium since the manuscript itself that is capable of representing the variability of the medieval text.

In this presentation I describe a computer program that can perform all the functions of the traditional critical edition, presenting text, commentary and glossary. But the text it presents is variable, consisting of base text and a database of variant readings, including editorial emendations; the edited text is produced dynamically by merging selected variants with the base text. The editor makes an initial choice of variants and emends the text where necessary; then the reader can build on the text as defined by the editor by selecting variants from the database or by adding variants to it. The reader can quickly and easily make scribal versions, and can additionally make such choices as whether to display modern or manuscript punctuation, capitalization, and diacritics.

While this program is designed with the needs of Old English scholars in mind, I believe that the concept of the "animated edition"--one that dynamically creates the edited text--has the potential to be widely useful; for while medieval texts are more variable than most, modern texts are variable as well. The computerized edition can provide an attractive and economical alternative to the printed book.

Fred C. Robinson (Yale University)

"A New Students' Edition of Beowulf"

Bruce Mitchell and I have signed a contract with Blackwell's to produce a new students' edition of Beowulf as a companion volume with The Guide to Old English, now in its fifth edition. Many items of format are predetermined by its companion status; like the texts in The Guide, Beowulf will appear with commentary at the foot of the page, and the

glossary will follow the same format as that in The Guide, except that it will be more detailed. Textual notes will appear at the bottom of the page in different type from commentary. The editors have sought the opinions of scholars and teachers in the field before making decisions as to the principles to be adopted regarding emendation, presentation of text, discussion of cruxes, introductory and supplementary material. In making final judgments the editors are attempting to be guided by the overruling consideration that this is a text prepared for the student reading the poem for the first time, not the scholar, whose needs and preferences sometimes run counter to those of the beginner.

Session 221: "Material Culture of Anglo-Saxon Texts: A Graduate Student Interdisciplinary Study"

Christopher Paris (Texas A&M University)

"Beowulf's Treasure-Hoard and the Cup: Objects of Heritage in a Meta-History"

Ritual meanings attached to objects of Anglo-Saxon material culture in Beowulf's treasure-hoard translate from "signs" to "symbols" for its localized Germanic-hæþen and Christian audience. Rituals as social significations associated with these objects exist in both cultures; hence, artifacts of material "inheritance" in the hoard figuratively translate as abstract "heritage." This abstraction is cultivated in an epic that is an historical depiction of its culture's evolution, and is linguistically negotiated in a single centralizing noun, yrfe (Beo. 3051a). Yrfe, as a calque in the Anglo-Saxon lexicon, permits the translation and documents a shift from a Germanic material social logic to a culturally identifying historical conception of evolutionary Anglo-Saxon heritage.

Yrfe's Germanic etymology from Gothic arbi and PIE orbhyum yields the literal and material meaning--"inheritance"; but yrfe's Greek, Hebrew, and Latin cognates of Biblical culture offer the abstract dimension of "heritage." Hence, Gothic/Anglo-Saxon arbi/yrfe as a selective word choice could become a targeted linguistic unit upon which the abstract meaning could be superimposed to extricate its material Germanic social logic from linguistic and cultural limits. And semantic evidence in the Anglo-Saxon corpus demonstrates that yrfe's meaning would shift from the material to the abstract based on semantic intention. Yrfe as material inheritance occurs frequently in the Laws and Chronicles to denote chattel. In contrast, contextual occurrences in ASPR (Gen., Mx.1, Ps.,

Ele.) denote yrfe-“heritage” as a cultural religious ethic.

“Yrfe” qua “heritage” translates the hoard into the evolutionary inheritance of the Anglo-Saxon cultural identity--i.e., “heritage.” Objects of the hoard are incorporated with prior narrative action in ritual fashion. Two significant artifacts are the “decorated cup” and the “standard.” The cup becomes the symbol of ritual interweaving folc unification, and the standard emerges as the symbol of cultural identity. Their significations are compatible to the Beowulf audience’s hæþen and Christian audience members. The epic’s achievement of translating “inheritance” into “heritage” for both cultures establishes an epistemological environment that is ripe for cultural transition, unification, and evolution.

Session 260: “Old English Syntax”

Andrew Troup (University of Texas, Austin)

“Sentence Boundaries and Clause Boundaries in Old English”

Old English se can be used as either a demonstrative or a relative pronoun. When se appears independently--without a noun following it--readers or translators must decide which of the two types it is. This morphological problem in Old English has a syntactic implication that is perhaps even more important. Because the presence of a relative pronoun indicates that the following clause is subordinate, any decision about se will necessarily affect the status of syntactic boundaries, whether between sentence and sentence or between clause and clause. We would do well to ask whether or not the distinction between these two types of boundaries is clear in the minds of most Old English speakers.

This paper argues that we can eliminate a great deal of ambiguity in the status of Old English sentences and clauses if we discard two biases that we have inherited from modern grammar: (1) the bias that will not allow us to consider the possibility of se acting as both a demonstrative and a relative at the same time, and (2) the bias that leads us to consider the difference between sentence boundaries and clause boundaries to be consistently great.

Session 273: “The Psalter in Medieval Life and Culture”

Ruth Wehlau (Brock University)

“The Re-Creation of Psalm 18 in The Wonders of Creation”

The Old English poem The Wonders of Creation is considered by most critics to be a poem about writing poetry. It contains an introductory passage on the subject of poetry and wisdom, followed by a sample poem based partly on Psalm 18. This poem-within-a-poem is unique in Old English poetry in that, although it clearly draws on Psalm 18 for its language and imagery, it is far from being a translation of the psalm. I would like to suggest that it is an example of the monastic practice of ruminatio combined with the traditional practices of Old English poetic composition.

There are several reasons for supporting this theory. First, Bede connects rumination with the writing of Old English poetry in his description of the composing of Caedmon’s Hymn. Second, according to LeClerq, the practice of lectio divina and ruminatio involves not only reading and meditating on the word of God but also the imaginative reconstruction of those words. As the sample poem in The Wonders of Creation is not a translation, but a reconstruction, it is quite likely to be the result of monastic rumination. The association between the divine act of creation and poetic creation was a common theme in Old English poetry. Since Psalm 18 is itself a poem about the Creation, it would have been particularly appropriate for a poetic re-working. Third, in The Wonders of Creation, the poet is asked to contemplate the cosmos, which contains signs to be read; thus the creation of the poem can be seen as the result of ruminating on the book of God.

Session 288: “Apocalypticism in Anglo-Saxon Literature”

Edward L. Ridsen (St. Norbert College)

“Beowulf and the Signs of Doom”

One would expect a poem influenced by apocalyptic texts or thinking to exhibit a substantial number of the Signs of Doom, those images associated with events to take place before the end of the world that traditionally permeate apocalyptic texts. Beowulf does so. Using Christian and Germanic sources, I have enumerated sixty different signs of doom, some shared by both traditions from diverse sources, such as Revelation, Bede’s “Fifteen Signs,” Völuspá, and Muspilli. Forty-six of these signs appear in the poem either exactly or in

identifiable analogues in a total of ninety-three different instances. These numbers suggest the validity of approaching the poem through the metaphor of apocalypticism, both Germanic and Christian.

Consistent apocalyptic images contribute to the poem's sense of impending doom and fortify its arguments for how one should live in a world shadowed with apocalyptic fears: Whether Germanic or Christian, one must face the coming end-times with steadfast courage. Such data also encourage a multi-level, if not a strictly allegorical, reading of the poem.

Michael Masi (Loyola University, Chicago)

"Ælfric and the Apocalypse"

There have been many studies which are engaged in an extended debate about the spread of general terror among the European populace as the year 1000 approached and the end of the world became a possibility. Dorothy Bethurum, in her edition of Wulfstan sermons in 1952, questioned the assumption of many scholars since the nineteenth century that the fear of the millennium was a documented phenomenon. She found that the majority of official ecclesiastical texts, such as papal bulls, and the official secular texts in England, such as the charters, do not reflect such a widespread fear of the end of the world. George Duby as well assailed historians who made claim for what Duby calls a "mirage historique" which is a fabrication of modern sensational historical writing. Henri Focillon suggests, however, in his posthumous book of 1969 on the year 1000 that the pervasive official silence does not indicate the general populace was unaffected by the fear of the approaching millennium. On the contrary, it seems that there is an accepted policy on the part of the papacy and officialdom to downplay the millennium to avoid a general panic. As a subtext to much of the official writing of the time, we may see attempts to diffuse the significance of that date. Focillon's approach, based on continental evidence, seems applicable to Ælfric whose references to the millennium are couched in terms more designed to bring about a general repentance and return to spirituality rather than foster terror for the year 1000.

Martin Green (Fairleigh Dickinson University)

"The Poetics of Doomsday: The Old English Judgment Day Poems Revisited"

This paper revisits Judgment Day I and II and Christ III to reassess their artistic strategies and conceptual structures, to provide notes toward a poetics of doomsday.

None of the Judgment Day poems is an apocalypse in a technical sense, lacking the common apocalyptic narrative framework involving a mediating figure as giver of the revelation, and downplaying the elaborate sequence of the signs of the times. Rather than working out of apocalyptic tradition directly, the JD poems owe much of their conceptual structure to the homiletic tradition. The emphasis of the OE homilies is on Christian conduct in this world as shaped by eschatology, emphasizing gode lare for the benefit of souls in the present. Like the homilists, each of the poems rhetorically shapes the traditional judgment day materials to bring out the homiletic meaning of the events: the importance of Judgment not merely as a future expectation but as a present reality, which infuses the present with eschatological urgency.

As important as the reality of future eschatology is, the OE Judgment Day poems invoke the sense of realized eschatology central to the Christian sense of time by including consideration of the seminal events in Christian history--the Incarnation and Passion. While the three poems share a sense of the eschatological unity and urgency of time, they differ in how they conceptualize the judgment itself and the reward for repentance and the punishment for failing to do so. Finally, the poems all stress the inadequacies of human speech to render the sights, sounds, and terrors that await at dom þam miclan.

Session 345: "Genres of the Exeter Book"

Polly Harasack (Catholic University of America)

"Semiotics and the Riddles of the Exeter Book"

The function of riddles is inherently semiotic, more so than other poetic genres. The Riddles in the Exeter Book testify to the Anglo-Saxons' interest in how language signifies something other than itself, and in how one object can be made to signify another.

In the context of modern semiotic and structuralist theories, the riddles operate according to a generic author-reader "code" which functions to communicate meaning. In Shklovsky's terms, the riddler "defamiliarizes" the familiar, and the riddle-solver "refamiliarizes" it using conventional riddling rules. In general, these rules require the riddle-solver to give a figurative meaning to statements in the riddle which make no sense literally. Similarly, in De Doctrina Christiana, Augustine urges students of Scripture to assign a figurative meaning to any

statement which "does not literally pertain to virtuous behavior or to the truth of faith."

There may be a comparable compiler-reader code for the Exeter Book itself, which requires figurative, metaphysical interpretations for poems, like the Riddles, which do not literally reflect the general devotional theme of the compilation. Like Augustine, the Anglo-Saxons might have found unity, not in what something is, but in what it signifies. Generically, then, the Riddles fit in as a kind of poetic exercise in understanding and interpreting figurative language--an exercise in seeing how one thing can signify something else.

Alexandra Hennessey Olsen (University of Denver)

"Genre and the Critique of Heroism"

The study of literature, like the study of other areas of human endeavor, is influenced by the preconceptions of its students. Sociologists point out that every society constructs an idea of reality according to the conceptual frameworks of its members. Despite the importance of modern forms of literary criticism, one of the conceptual frameworks most available to literary scholars is that of genre. The concept of genre influences the way that we read particular works, but preconceptions about the genre of a work can prevent us from reading that work except as it has been read traditionally. Some of the short poems of the Exeter Book provide a case in point, for consensus interpretations of those poems are dominated by nineteenth-century ideas about their genres and the societies for which they were composed. Such is especially true of Deor and Wulf and Eadwacer.

Deor and Wulf are the two surviving Old English poems which are stanzaic in form and have refrains; they are also contiguous in the manuscript. Their form and placement suggest that they are of the same genre. In addition, they are monologues whose speakers make reference to heroism and heroic legend and have been linked in the minds of readers as works which promote heroic values assumed to be Anglo-Saxon. In contrast, I suggest that the speaker of Wulf and Eadwacer is a woman who operates in the public as well as in the private realm and that the heroic background of Deor is of little importance. The two poems are allusive and elusive but are of interest to us in the twentieth century because they speak to our particular understanding of the universal human condition.

Session 347: "Anglo-Saxon Foundlings: Reclaiming Neglected Texts"

Elaine M. Treharne (University of Manchester)

"The Old English Life of St. Giles"

The unique Old English Life of St. Giles contained in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 303, is representative of the tradition of anonymous vernacular translation of Latin Saints' Lives which, until recent years, has attracted little scholarly attention.

The Latin Vita and dissemination of the Cult are relatively late occurring from the end of the tenth century. It is partly due to this late date that the methods of, and reasons behind, the composition of the first Latin Vita and its political expediency are ascertainable.

The Old English Life is worth close study. It was probably translated from Latin in the second half of the eleventh century and copied into Corpus 303 in the twelfth. The literary and linguistic elements of the Life combine to make it a noteworthy text. The language, for example, exhibits transitional features; some of the translation techniques of the vernacular author can be evidenced; the style of the text follows in the Ælfrician metrical tradition; and the spread of the cult in England can be documented by this and following versions of the Life adding historical and political implications to the text.

Although previous editions of the Life have been published in the last thirty years, they do not offer a thorough study of the text but choose to detail specific features such as a lexicography and meter without placing the Life in its literary and historical context. This paper aims to redress this imbalance and show that the Life of St. Giles is a text of previously unacknowledged significance in the canon of Old English.

Marie Nelson (University of Florida)

"Three Fighting Female Saints"

"Three Fighting Female Saints" is a continuation of a paper I presented at last year's Medieval Institute Conference. That paper, titled "From Written to Spoken Word: Helena's Intransigent Search for Knowledge," presented what I think is the essential character-defining quality of Cynewulf's Elene--an absolute determination to find answers. It gave attention to what seemed, as I attempted to translate the Old English stories of Judith, Juliana, and Elene into readable Modern English, to be something I had to do--find ways to identify with my female heroes. This was necessary, I thought, if the words they spoke were to ring true in the language of our time. In this paper, I present speeches by Judith and Juliana that function as acts of self

definition in Modern as they did in Old English. The speeches chosen show Judith first submitting herself to the will of God, then demonstrating her ability to lead warriors who had formerly been unable to defend their people; and Juliana first defying the authority of her father, then defending her own integrity through direct confrontation with the devil whom Satan sends to accost her in prison. I conclude by placing all three female heroes in a context that both conforms to, and goes beyond, the Anglo-Saxon expectation that women should consistently play life-serving roles.

Session 382: "Classical Influences in Anglo-Saxon Literature"

Jo Koster Tarvers (In*Scribe Communications)

"The Ars Oratoria in Anglo-Saxon Prayer"

Those few studies of Anglo-Saxon prayer that have considered its rhetorical features have tended to treat prayer in terms of later medieval rhetorical systems, like the ars dictaminis or ars notaria. These systems treat a written text as an artifact, isolable and analyzable; such systems may, however, not be applicable to the prayers in Anglo-Saxon texts. These latter often give greater consideration to the rhetorical features of occasion and delivery--that is, to an ars of praying rather than to one of prayer. In this paper I consider the performative aspects of the rhetoric of Anglo-Saxon prayer, and outline an ars orandi rather than an ars oratoria for this literary and religious form.

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

"Beowulf, Sirens, and the Liber Monstrorum"

The treatment of Hygelac in Beowulf is often taken as evidence of the poet's knowledge of the Liber Monstrorum. If the poet knew of Hygelac in this way, it is not unlikely that he knew of other "monsters" from the same source. Other features of this work may also appear in the poem. Witness, for example, the Beowulf-poet's wordplay surrounding se iren preat (330b), as the "iron-threat" and as the "siren-threat." This connection finds contextual support in an extended collocation of sexual, musical, and marine images, as well as other mythological themes, which lead up to and find literary focus in the "punch line" announcement of Beowulf's arrival at Heorot.

Zacharias P. Thundy (Northern Michigan University)

"Ealu scer wen: Horace, Augustine, and Apocalypse"

Since there is sufficient evidence in Beowulf that the poet was acquainted with classical Latin literature, the works of St. Augustine, and the Bible, I suggest that Horace, Epistola 1.2.67-69 ("Nunc adhibe, puro / Pectore verba, puer, nunc te melioribus offer / Quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem testa diu"), Augustine, De Civitate Dei 1.3, and Apocalypse 14:8-10 color the textual fabric of Beowulf 769. Augustine echoes the pagan view that children must read Virgil, the greatest and best of poets, in order to impress their young minds deeply that Virgil may never be easily forgotten. Augustine, while quoting Horace in this section, talks about the fall of the pagan cities and the Roman Empire, which fell because their guardian gods had already fallen. The Old English poet is also talking about the fall of Grendel and the terrible distress suffered by the guardians of Heorot who worship false gods. Couple these ideas with Apocalypse 14:8-10, where the angel announces the fall of Babylon; the angel says that the wine of the wrath of God will be poured out to all who worship the beast and his image. Here the biblical author is talking about the fall of Rome; there the Old English poet is talking about the fall of Grendel. Both use similar metaphors. In a different but related context, Horace and Augustine are also using similar metaphors that the Beowulf-poet uses. I put all these together, and I get the equation: ealu scer wen = Horace + Augustine + Apocalypse.

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