OLD ENGLISH NEWSLETTER

VOLUME XXVII  NUMBER 1  Fall, 1993

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Subscriptions:  The rate for institutions is $10 US per volume, current and past volumes, except for Volumes 1 and 2, which are sold as one. The rate for individuals is $5 US per volume, current, future, and past volumes, but in order to reduce administrative costs the editors ask individuals to pay for volumes 27-28 at one time (= $10).

General correspondence regarding OEN should be addressed to the Guest 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.

With Volume 24 the Old English Newsletter moved to four issues per (American) academic year, Fall, Winter, Spring, Summer. OEN is published for the Old English Division of the Modern Language Association by the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies at the State University of New York at Binghamton. At Binghamton University, OEN receives support from CEMERS, the Department of English, and the Office of the Vice-Provost for Graduate Studies and Research. The Department of English at the University of Tennessee-Knoxville supports the Year's Work in Old English and the Department of English at the University of Arizona supports the Annual Bibliography. OEN receives no financial support from the MLA.

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NEWS

I

MLA 1993

The Old English Language and Literature Division of the Modern Language Association sponsored the following sessions at the December, 1993, meeting:

Session I: The Language of Old English Literature
Presiding: Mary Blockley (Univ. of Texas, Austin)

Hal Momma (New York Univ.)
“Grammar as Performance for Competent Anglo-Saxon Poets”

Edwin W. Duncan (Lamar Univ.)
“Word Boundaries, Scribal Practices, and Old English Prosodic Techniques”

Tracey A. Couch (Stephen F. Austin State Univ.)
“Arguments for the Clitic Status of the Old English ge-”

Robert D. Fulk (Indiana Univ., Bloomington)
“Language, Form, and Rhetoric in Old English Verse: Toward a Synthesis”

Session II: Beowulf
Presiding: Helen Damico (Univ. of New Mexico)

Josephine Bloomfield (Univ. of California, Davis)
“Reflections of Cultural Ideology in Textual Editing: Frederick Klaeber and Kinship”

Peter Richardson (Univ. of North Texas)
“Point of View and Identification in Beowulf”

B.R. Hutcheson (Wesleyan College)
“The Significance of Oral-Traditional Elements of Old English Poetry: Toward an Interpretation of Beowulf”

Session III: Unexpressed but Understood Elements of Old English Texts
Presiding: Patrick Conner (West Virginia Univ.)

Shari Horner (Univ. of Minnesota, Twin Cities)
“(En)closed Subjects: ‘The Wife’s Lament’ and the Culture of Early Medieval Female Monasticism”

David F. Johnson (Florida State Univ.)
“The Fall of Lucifer in Genesis A and Two Anglo-Latin Royal Charters: Christian Mythology and Political Mythmaking”

Thomas A. Brechet (Ohio State Univ., Columbus)
“The Development of Textuality and the Genealogies of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle”

Frederick M. Biggs (Univ. of Connecticut)
“Deor’s Threatened Blame Poem”
II

MLA in San Diego: December 27-30, 1994

The Executive Committee of the Old English Division of the Modern Language Association invites papers for its 1994 program. The committee has planned three sessions: 1. Editing Beowulf; 2. Theoretical Approaches to Old English Prose; 3. Open Session. The Committee prefers to consider papers or drafts of papers, but it will receive abstracts. (Note: All participants must be members of the MLA by the April 1 deadline.)

Write to the Program Chair: Prof. Helen Damico
Dept. of English
Univ. of New Mexico, Albuquerque
Albuquerque, NM 87131

Deadline: Submissions must be received by March 7, 1993.

Contributions are also invited for a proposed special session: The Prose of Alfred's Reign. Full papers are preferred but two-page proposals will be considered. Deadline: March 15, 1994. (Note: “Proposed” special sessions are not yet approved; final proposals are submitted to the Convention Committee in April.)

Send Submissions to: Kathleen Davis
Dept. of English
Rutgers Univ.
New Brunswick, NJ 08903-5054
FAX: 908-932-1150.

III

The Old English Colloquium Newsletter Report

From Berkeley, California, The Old English Colloquium Newsletter reports the following in Volume 20 no. 1(October, 1993):

Marijane Osborn (Univ. of California, Davis) will offer a special presentation, “Some Women and their Voices in Anglo-Saxon Poetry: A Reading.” Questions and responses from the audience will follow her reading of various works, chiefly in translation.

On Thursday, November 11, Thomas Shippey (St. Louis Univ.) will give a talk on “Traditional Wisdom and Cultural Change,” in which he will offer a comparative view of the Old English and Middle English proverb collections.

Ben Stowell (Univ. of California, Berkeley) will present the early stages of his dissertation to his graduate student colleagues on Monday, November 22, the first of the OEC-sponsored works-in-progress colloquia. He will be speaking on “The Reign of Cnut in Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian Sources.”
The annual spring conference will take place on March 19-20. The topic is “Anglo-Saxonism for the Anglo-Saxons to the Present.”

For further information, write to: The Old English Colloquium
                              English Dept.
                              322 Wheeler Hall
                              Univ. of California, Berkeley
                              Berkeley, CA 94720

IV

International Symposium on Runes

An International Symposium, “Frisian Runes and Neighboring Traditions” will be held in Leeuwarden, The Netherlands, on January 26-29, 1994. Alfréd Bármásberger (Catholic Univ. of Eichstätt) and H.A. Heidinga (Univ. of Amsterdam) have been invited as keynote speakers.

V

Berkeley Michigan Germanic Linguistics Roundtable

Scholars (faculty and students) concentrating on Germanic Linguistics are invited to submit a one-page abstract of a twenty-minute paper by February 15 to the conference organizer:

Irmengard Rauch
Dept. of German
Univ. of California, Berkeley
Berkeley, CA 94720
E-mail: irauch@garnet.berkeley.edu; Phone: 510-642-2003. FAX 707-746-7480.

The invited speakers are Jürgen Eichhoff (Pennsylvania State Univ.), Angelika Lutz (Univ. of Munich), and Theo Vennemann (Univ. of Munich). Reservations can be made at the Women's Faculty Club 510-845-5084, or at the Faculty Club 510-642-1993. The Roundtable is supported by the Univ. of California Berkeley Center for German and European Studies and the Max Kade Foundation, Inc.

VI

In Gerdagum

Loren C. Gruber is no longer editor of In Gerdagum. Correspondence regarding the publication should be addressed to: Dean Loganbill, 4800 University Drive, Apt. 17-E, Durham, NC 27707.
VII

Anglo-Saxonists' Banquet

The annual Anglo-Saxonists' Banquet at Kalamazoo will take place once again at the Black Swan restaurant. It will be held on Friday May 6. The price is $35.00 per person, which includes 2 glasses of wine and tip. For those preferring not to drive, a bus will leave Western Michigan Univ. at 6:00 and return at 10:00.

Menu: Appetizer; Salad; Entree (choice of beef, fish, or pasta); Special surprise cake; Coffee or tea.

For reservations, contact Catherine Karkov, Miami Univ., Dept. of Art, 124 Art Building, Oxford, OH 45056. E-mail ekarkov@miamiu.

VIII

Brook Symposium

The Brook Symposium Committee announces the topic for the 3rd G.L. Brook Symposium at the Univ. of Manchester (3-7 April 1995): Views of the Anglo-Saxons in Post-Conquest English Literature. Offers of papers should include a brief synopsis (no more than 250 words).


IX

Kornexl on Regularis Concordia

Lucia Kornexl's *Die Regularis Concordia und Ihre Altenglische Interlinearversion* is a comprehensive study and full edition of a central document in the cultural history of later Anglo-Saxon England. Part A gives an introduction to *Regularis Concordia*. Dr. Kornexl discusses the historical background of RC, its importance, its status as a historical and liturgical document, and its manuscripts. She also offers a brief history of editions and an extensive study of the language, including a Latin-Old English glossary of equivalent monastic and ecclesiastical terms. Part B comprises the edition, based on BL Cotton Tiberius A.iii with Latin variants from BL Cotton Faustina B.iii, and a wide-ranging commentary. There are six plates and a bibliography.

The work appears as volume 17 (1993) in the series Texte und Untersuchungen zur englischen Philologie, ed. Helmut Gneuss and Wolfgang Weiss and published by Wilhelm Fink Verlag, Munich.

Rawlinson Center for Anglo-Saxon Studies

Two Western Michigan University alumni have established a center for Anglo-Saxon studies at Western Michigan University's Medieval Institute.

The naming of the Richard Rawlinson Center for Anglo-Saxon Studies was approved September 17 by the Western Michigan University Board of Trustees. The Center will be housed in Room 115 of Walwood Union, the home of the Medieval Institute.

Earlier this year, David R. Tashjian and Georgian Rawlinson Tashjian of Cupertino, California, executed a charitable remainder unitrust valued at $150,000. The couple designated the principal of the trust to establish the center in honor of Georgian Tashjian's ancestor to recognize his enduring contributions to the academic life of the English-speaking world.

Richard Rawlinson, who lived from 1690 to 1755, was a prominent teacher, author, collector, and antiquary. He established and endowed the Chair of Anglo-Saxon Study at Oxford University and bequeathed to the Bodleian Library a sizeable collection of books and manuscripts. A contemporary of Isaac Newton, Rawlinson served as a bishop in the Church of England.

The Tashjians are longtime friends and supporters of Western Michigan University. Mrs. Tashjian earned her bachelor's degree from the University in 1936 and Mr. Tashjian earned his bachelor's degree there in 1935. They are co-authors of a biography of Rawlinson published by Western Michigan University's New Issues Press in 1990.

J.D.A. Ogilvy Graduate Travel Fellowships

The Center for British Studies, Univ. of Colorado at Boulder, announces competition for the J.D.A. Ogilvy Graduate Travel Fellowships in British Studies for 1994-95. Awards of up to $4,500 are made to support travel to Britain for graduate research and study in any aspect of British Studies. Preference will be given to students who need to go to Britain to work on an M.A. thesis or Ph.D. dissertation, but others may apply as well. The proposed travel should take place sometime between the beginning of summer 1994 and the end of summer 1995 and may be of any length. The proposed travel should be taken before the formal granting of the graduate degree and should be for academic purposes.

The application deadline is 18 February. For additional information, contact Professor Gerald Kinneavy, 303-492-8149.

Rosier Lecture

The Department of English at the Univ. of Pennsylvania is creating a permanent memorial for James L. Rosier (1932-92) by creating an endowment for a lecture in his name. It is the wish of the Rosier
family that people who would like to remember Prof. Rosier might contribute whatever sum they think appropriate to this fund.

If you wish to remember Prof. Rosier in this way, please draw your check to “Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania/Diane Hunter Fund,” and note on the check, “Rosier Lecture.” Please send your check to:

Ms. Miriam Mann
Dept. of English
Univ. of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, PA 19104

If you prefer, you may make a pledge (completable whenever you desire) instead of a contribution. The first Rosier lecture is being planned for the Spring of 1995.

XIII

Brief Notices on Publications


The Sutton Hoo Research Committee has published Bulletin No. 8, its final issue. This Bulletin contains notice of all archaeological discoveries made from 1989 (reported in Bulletin No. 7) to the conclusion of field operations in 1992. The Bulletin gives interim accounts of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery and an inventory of the 56 burials which have been excavated there; of the prehistoric settlement which preceded it, including the numerically dominant features and pottery of the late Neolithic/early Bronze Age (‘Beaker’ period); and of the environmental investigations which have been carried out in pursuit of the vegetation sequence and soil history. The work at Sutton Hoo has always been seen as a contribution to the research programs of Suffolk and East Anglia. Some of the results of these programs reported in the Bulletin, the Deben Valley Survey, and the newly discovered Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Boss Hall, will be vital for the interpretation of Sutton Hoo and the origins of the East Anglian Kingdom.

Kantor Wydawniczy Saww announces the publication of the first volume of An Outline History of English; External History, by Jacek Fisiak. The project was undertaken with Polish Master’s students of English in mind. Because the project provides a general overview of the development of the English language, it may well appeal to the general reader as well. External History covers the influence of political, military, economic and social factors on the development of language and its functioning in the English-speaking world over the centuries. Chapter 2 is devoted to Anglo-Saxon England. Pp. 167, with maps, bibliography, index. ISBN 83-85954-05-8.

The *Journal of Medieval Latin*, Volume 3 (1993) is now available from the North American Association of Medieval Latin. Articles of interest to Anglo-Saxonists include: Mary Alberi, “The Patristic and Anglo-Latin Origins of Alcuin’s Concept of Urbanity”; Robert Stanton, “Columbanus, *Letter 1: Translation and Commentary*”; Dantua Shanzer, “‘juvenes vestri visiones videbunt’: Visions and the Literary Sources of Patrick’s *Confessio*”; and Roger E. Reynolds’ review of Michael Lapidge’s *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of Saints*. The *Journal* may be obtained by individuals through membership in the Association. Membership entitles one to a 40% discount on the regular price. Those interested should write to the Acting Secretary, A.G. Rigg, Centre for Medieval Studies, Univ. of Toronto, 39 Queen’s Park Crescent East, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5S 1A1. Institutional subscriptions should be directed to Brepols Publishers, Steenweg op Tielen 68, B-2300 Turnhout (Belgium).


*Manuscripta* announces the publication of volume 36 numbers 2 and 3, July and November 1992. Each volume includes articles, book reviews, and book announcements related to manuscript research. Volume 36.3 offers abstracts from the Nineteenth Saint Louis Conference on Manuscript Studies. *Manuscripta* is published three times annually: March, July, and November. ISSN 0025-2603. Subscription price is $18.00 domestic; $20.00 foreign. Single issues are $6.50. Correspondence concerning articles, reviews, subscriptions, and exchanges may be addressed to *Manuscripta*, The Pius XII Memorial Library, Saint Louis Univ., 3650 Lindell Blvd., Saint Louis, Missouri 63108, USA.


The proceedings of the eighteenth annual conference of the Southeastern Medieval Association at the College of William and Mary at Williamsburg, Virginia, have been published as volume seven of *Medieval Perspectives* (1993). The Plenary paper is “A Twelfth-Century Prayerbook for the Queen of Jerusalem,” by Jaroslav Folda. The remaining thirteen essays address insular and continental literature, art, and historical documents of the high and late Middle Ages. For information contact the editor: Box 22-A Coates Bldg., Eastern Kentucky Univ., Richmond, KY 40475-3101.


Æstel, an independent graduate student organization based at the University of Washington, Seattle, announces the first volume of its journal. Articles of interest to Anglo-Saxonists include T.A. Shippey, “Recent Writing on Old English” and Gillian R. Overing, “Recent Writing on Old English: A Response,” as well as E.G. Stanley’s review of R.D. Fulk’s History of Old English Meter and Patrick W. Conner’s review of Words, Texts and Manuscripts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Helmut Gneuss, edited by M. Korhammer. Æstel is published annually. Rates are U.S. $20/$25 for American individuals and institutions, respectively; foreign subscriptions are $23/$28. Payment should be made by check or money order drawable in dollars on a U.S. bank or a U.S. branch of a foreign bank. Orders may be placed for subscriptions to be invoiced upon delivery. All correspondence should be addressed to: Æstel, P.O. Box 95603, Seattle, WA 98145-2603; FAX: 206-720-6157. E-mail inquiries may be sent to mcnelis@u.washington.edu.

Doctrine and Exegesis in Biblical Latin Poetry, by Daniel J. Nodes, is now available from Francis Cairns Publications Ltd. Nodes offers new insights into the content of this branch of ancient literature. In a careful study of how two areas of doctrine significant in late antiquity—the nature of God and the theory of creation—are represented in the biblical epics, Nodes shows that the poets were actively commenting on, and propagating particular views of, the vital doctrinal issues of their time. Writers covered in this volume range from the fourth to the sixth centuries: Proba, Cyprianus Gallus, Hilarius poeta, Claudius Marius Victorius, Dracontius, and Avitus, Bishop of Vienne. This study draws on the works of the Church Fathers, both Greek and Latin, and on Jewish exegetical writings. Pp. viii + 147. Price: £20/$35. ISBN 0-905205-86-3.


The UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies announces volume 24 of Comitatus. Articles of interest include “Old English Literature and the Work of Giants,” by Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, and Kellinde Wrightson’s “First English Translation of the Old Icelandic Drapa af Mariugrát.” Comitatus is published annually by UCLA graduate students. Annual subscription rates are $10.00 for individuals, $15.00 for institutions, and $13.50 for multiple orders of the same volume number. Postage and handling are an additional $2.50 to North American addresses, and $3.50 elsewhere by surface mail. Inquiries concerning subscriptions or contributions should be sent to: UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 405 Hilgard Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90024-1485. Phone: 310-825-1880. FAX: 310-825-0655.

The Newsletter of the School of Celtic Studies, No. 6 (May 1993), is available through the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. Contents include updates on various developments in the School of Celtic Studies, publications, a list of theses, in progress and completed, and articles relevant to studies in Celtic language and literature. ISSN 0790-9853.

East Lansing Colleagues Press announces Medieval Texts and Studies 12, Old English Poetry and the Genealogy of Events, by Richard J. Schrader. The author explores the use of mythmaking among Anglo-Saxons to create a place in secular and salvation history—biblical, Classical, and Germanic. The volume
The Politics of Editing Medieval Texts
Edited by Roberta Frank


Contents

Nancy F. Partner, "Notes on the Margins: Editors, Editing, and Sliding Definitions"
Ross G. Arthur, "On Editing Sexually Offensive Old French Texts"
Russell G. Poole, "Variants and Variability in the Text of Egill's Hofiðlausn"
David Townsend, "Alcuin's Willibrod, Wilhelm Levison, and the MGH"
Allen J. Frantzen, "The Living and the Dead: Responses to the Papers"

Orders and inquiries should be addressed to:
AMS Press, Inc.
56 East 13th Street
New York, NY 10003
Phone: 212-777-4700
FAX: 212-995-5413

XIV

Multimedia Publications

Cambrix Publishing announces its new CD-ROM product, The Anglo-Saxons. The contents of the CD-ROM is based on the collection of objects and manuscripts in the British Museum. The information is presented with text, graphics, and sound selections. Nine topics are accessible from the opening screen but are also linked to one another through hypermedia links and indexes. System requirements: MPC or equivalent, 12 MHz 80386X or better, 2 MB RAM (4 MB recommended), DOS 3.1 or later, Microsoft Windows 3.1, 30 MB hard drive, MPC-compatible CD-Rom drive, SVGA display, audio board, and mouse, and Microsoft CD-Rom Extensions 2.2 or later. List price $59.95. Contact Cambrix Publishing at 6269 Variel Ave., Suite B, Woodland Hills, CA 91367. Phone: 818-992-8484. FAX: 818-992-8781.
New from the Hambledon Press—

The Battle of Maldon
Fiction and Fact

Edited by Janet Cooper

The essays in this volume look at both the battle and the poem, the English and continental background to both, and late tenth- or early eleventh-century Essex, from different angles; taken together they help to produce a rounded view of the battle and the poem and of their place in the history of tenth-century northern Europe and in Old English and European literature.

Contents include:

James Campbell, “England, c. 991”
D.G. Scragg, “The Battle of Maldon: Fact or Fiction?”
Peter Sawyer, “The Scandinavian Background”
Paul E. Szarmach, “The (Sub-) Genre of The Battle of Maldon”
Ute Schwab, “The Battle of Maldon: A Memorial Poem”
Karl Leyser, “Early Medieval Warfare”
Niels Lund, “Danish Military Organisation”
Warwick Rodwell, “The Battle of Assundun and its Memorial Church: A Reappraisal”
George and Susan Petty, “A Geological Reconstruction of the Site of the Battle of Maldon”
Cyril Hart, “Essex in the Late Tenth Century”
Pauline Stafford, “Kinship and Women in the World of Maldon: Byrhtnoth and his Family”
Roberta Frank, “The Battle of Maldon: Its Reception, 1726-1906”


To order, contact:

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United States
The Hambledon Press
P.O Box 162
Rio Grande, Ohio 45674
Phone: 614-245-9624
In Memoriam: John C. McGalliard (1906-93)

On 24 July 1993 John C. McGalliard passed away. In 1931, still shy of his twenty-fifth birthday, but having received his B.A. and M.A. from the University of North Carolina, his Ph.D. from Harvard, and additional training in Paris under Meillet and Vendryes, he began teaching at the University of Iowa. His time there was interrupted by his service as a Section Head in the Prisoner of War Administration at Fort Robinson, Nebraska, and Camp Carson, Colorado during the Second World War, and by visiting appointments at the University of Virginia (1952-53) and Notre Dame (1965-66). His retirement was marked by a collection of papers in his honor, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Essays in Appreciation* (1975). After teaching for a semester at Virginia, he accepted in 1976 a full-time position at the University of Wisconsin-Madison to help Frederic G. Cassidy edit the *Dictionary of American Regional English*.

In 1941 he contributed the chapter on language to *Literary Scholarship*. His judicious review article (1961-62) on Brodeur's *Art of Beowulf* is enlivened by his efforts to reconcile Brodeur's and Magoun's differences on the composition of the poem by invoking Lord's *Singer of Tales*. His essay "Beowulf and Bede," which appeared in *Life and Thought in the Early Middle Ages* (1967), argues that "the portrait of the hero [Beowulf] fits the highest ethical ideal of the age; it could scarcely have been drawn very differently by Bede himself" (120). He also contributed the biography of Cassidy to the collection in his honor, *Old English and New*.

In Memoriam: Laurence Shook (1909-93)

On 23 October 1993, in the Basilian Fathers' Residence in the Cardinal Flahiff Basilian Center, Reverend Laurence Shook died peacefully of heart failure. He was buried the following week at the Basilian plot in Thornhill north of Toronto.

Born in Toronto, Father Shook received degrees in history, philosophy, and English literature from the University of Toronto, and completed his doctorate in English philology at Harvard University. He began teaching at St. Michael's College in 1940, and served as a part-time chaplain in the Royal Canadian Air Force during World War II. He was president of St. Michael's from 1952-58, and in 1961 he became president of the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, a post he held until 1973. During this time he was an adviser to the Canadian bishops during the Second Vatican Council. He was made officer of the Order of Canada in 1975 and served as president of the Medieval Academy of America from 1978-81.

His scholarly work included a biography of Étienne Gilson, whose works—*The Christian Philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas* and *Héloïse and Abelard*—he also translated. He is remembered among Anglo-Saxonists for his studies on *Guthlac A*, the Old English *Charms*, and the *Riddles*. 
ISAS 93 and ISAS News

ISAS President Malcolm Godden, with the assistance of Anna Morris, hosted the 6th Biennial Meeting of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists at Wadham College, Oxford, August 1-7. Sixteen sessions addressed the conference theme, “Culture and Social Context,” as well as other themes. An excursion to Winchester was conducted by Martin Biddle, and another to Deerfield by John Blair. Abstracts of papers were published in OEN 26.3 (Spring, 1993).

At the 1993 meeting the ISAS committee made a grant of £1000 available for the Dictionary of Old English, a grant which has been productive in helping to generate further funds for the project. Under the direction of Terry Hoad, ISAS has developed a program to extend membership to Anglo-Saxonists in Eastern European nations.

Tadao Kubouchi, Univ. of Tokyo
Katherine O’Brien O’Keeffe, Univ. of Notre Dame
Hans Sauer, Univ. Würzburg
Patrick Wormald, Univ. of Oxford

Plans for the Seventh Biennial Meeting, scheduled for Stanford University, August 6-12, 1995, were announced. The conference theme is “Old and New Ways in the Study of Anglo-Saxon Culture.” The deadline for abstracts, papers, and proposals is November 1, 1994. Send all communications on the Seventh Meeting to:

George Hardin Brown
Dept. of English
Stanford Univ.
Stanford, CA 94305-2087
Phone: 415-723-3014
Fax: 415-725-0755

There are 595 current members of ISAS, and a total of 732 people have, at one time or another, been involved with the association. To join ISAS, send dues ($15 US or £10; $10 or £7 for students), payable to The International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, along with professional name, title, and correct address (no more than six lines) to:

Prof. Patrick W. Conner
Executive Director, ISAS
PO Box 6296
Dept. of English
West Virginia Univ.
Morgantown, WV 26506-6296

Payments may be made with Visa, Mastercard, personal check, or money order.
AT THE ISAS MEETING...

Photos—Thanks to Phillip Pulsiano

Edward Irving, Patrick Conner

Above: Thomas Cable, Peter Baker  Right: Carl Berkhout, Antonette diPaolo Healey

Below: James E. Cross, R.I. Page  Below Right: Group photograph, grounds of Wadham College
Clockwise, from Above:  
Johan Gerritsen, Helmut Gneuss  
Akinro Yoshimi  
Martin Biddle  
Hall, Wadham College  
Terry Hoad, Jan Cermak  
Maria D’Aronco, Mildred Budry, Patrizia Lendinara
Sources at Kalamazoo

The Twelfth Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon culture will take place at the Twenty-Ninth International Congress on Medieval Studies, sponsored by the Medieval Institute, Western Michigan University, May 5-8, 1994. The organizers plan these sessions:

Session I: Literary Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture I

Presiding: James E. Cross (emeritus, Univ. of Liverpool)

David F. Johnson (Florida State Univ.)
“Hagiographical Demon or Liturgical Devil? Demonology and Baptismal Imagery in Cynewulf’s Elene”

Alice Sheppard (Cornell Univ.)
“Cuthra Cwidegiedda: Proverbs in the Old English Wanderer”

Joyce Hill (Univ. of Leeds)
“The Form of Ælfric’s Homilies”

Session II: Literary Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture II

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

Wynzen de Vries (Cornell Univ.)
“Sol Invictus: The Old English Exeter Book Riddle 6”

Paul Battles (Univ. of Illinois-Urbana-Champaign)
“Genesis A and the Justification of the Patriarchs”

Catherine Brown Tkacz (Spokane, Washington)
“More Christian Formulas in Old English: Wilie, Wuldor, Wynn, and Description of Heaven”

Session III: Women in Anglo-Saxon England

Presiding: Helen Damico

Catherine Karkov (Miami Univ.)
“Women Warriors in Anglo-Saxon Art: The Psychomachia Manuscripts”

Carol Braun Pasternack (Univ. of California-Santa Barbara)
“Reading Emma”

Karen Foster (Eastern Kentucky Univ.)
“Beowulf in the Eleventh Century: For the Ladies in the Audience”

Session IV: Iberian Perspectives on Anglo-Saxon Source Studies

Presiding: Thomas D. Hill (Cornell Univ.)

Mercedes Salvador (Univ. de Sevilla)
“‘Nemnað hy sylfe’: A Crux in Exeter Riddle 57”
Rafael Casado (Univ. de Sevilla)  
“Latin Calques in Ælfric’s ‘The Passion of St. Edmund’ ”

M. Pilar Fernández-alvarez and Catalina Montes (Univ. de Salamanca)  
“Preverbation in Old Germanic Languages: A Research Method”

Session V: Studies from SASLC: The “A-Minors”

Presiding: Paul E. Szarmach

James E. Cross (Univ. of Liverpool)  
“Atto of Vercelli, Angesius, and Archbishop Wulfstan”

Janet Ericksen (Vanderbilt Univ.)  
“Arnobius, Adalbero of Laon, and Aethicus Ister”

Daniel Nodes (Conception Seminary College)  
“Ado of Vienne”

Gernot Wieland (Univ. of British Columbia)  
“Arator”

Session VI: Imaging Manuscripts for the Twenty-First Century: Photographs and Beyond

Presiding: Mildred Budny

Mildred Budny (Research Group on Manuscript Evidence)  
“No Snap Decisions: Challenges of Manuscript Photography”

Thomas H. Ohlgren (Purdue Univ.)  
“Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts: Imaging with Kodak Photo-CD”

Leslie French (Research Group on Manuscript Evidence)  
“Computer-Based Image-Enhancement for Manuscript Studies”

Patrick W. Conner (West Virginia Univ.)  
“Modeling Medieval Scripts with Morphing Software”

Session V: Objects of Discourse: The International Context of Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology

Presiding: Charlotte Newman-Goldy (Miami Univ.)

Elizabeth O’Brien (Oxford Univ.)  
“Anglo-Saxon Burials in Ireland”

Alfred P. Smyth (Univ. of Kent)  
“Fortifications and Tactics in King Alfred’s Danish Wars”

Jane Hawkes (Univ. of Newcastle-upon-Tyne)  
“Breaking the Silence: The Road to Calvary at Sandbach”
International Medieval Congress: University of Leeds, 4-7 July 1994

As previously announced, there will be a medieval congress at the University of Leeds 4-7 July 1994. Over 650 papers have already been programmed, ranging across the European Middle Ages, and across all subject areas. Sessions which will be most directly of interest to Anglo-Saxonists are listed below. For further details contact: Keren H. Wick; IMB Unit; School of History; Univ. of Leeds; LEEDS LS2 9JT; UK. Phone: 532 333614. E-mail: his6khw@arts-01.novell.leeds.ac.uk.

Session 103: Old English Texts and Manuscript Contexts: Revisionist Approaches

Katherine O’Brien O’Keeffe (Univ. of Notre Dame)
“The Object of Reading: On Cotton Tiberius B.i”
Kevin Kiernan (Univ. of Kentucky)
“Alexander’s Ragtime Band”
Bernard J. Muir (Melbourne Univ.)
“The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry”
Respondent: Patrick Conner (Univ. of West Virginia)

Session 203: Oral Tradition and Anglo-Saxon England

John Miles Foley (Univ. of Missouri-Columbia)
“Genre and Oral Tradition in Anglo-Saxon Poetry”
A.N. Doane (Univ. of Wisconsin-Madison)
“Oral Tradition and Traditions of Singing in Anglo-Saxon England”
Ursula Schaefer (Humboldt Univ., Berlin)
“Poetry Without a Text”

Session 303: Beowulf

Hilda Ellis Davidson (Univ. of Cambridge)
“Grendel’s Mother”
Andrew Orchard (Emmanuel College, Cambridge)
“Beowulf and the Structure of Grettis Saga”
T.A. Shippey (Univ. of Leeds)
“The Problem of Antiquarianism/Anachronism in Beowulf”

Session 403: Rewriting Judith: Anglo-Saxon Responses to the Old Testament Figure

Joy Anderson (Univ. of Manchester)
“Frailty and Power in the Old English Poem Judith”
Ruth Evans (Univ. of Wales, Cardiff)
“The Dangers of Being Judith”
Mary Clayton (Univ. College, Dublin)
“Aelfric’s Judith: Manipulative or Manipulated?”

Session 503: Studies in Old English Poetry

Frank Battaglia (The College of Staten Island, City Univ. of New York)
“Grendel’s Arm and the Religion of Woden”
Keith P. Taylor (Univ. of Tennessee, Knoxville)
“Mazers, Mead, and the Wolf’s-Head Tree: A Reconsideration of Old English Riddle 55”

Fredrick J. Heinemann (Univ. Gesamthochschule Essen)
“The Battle of Maldon and Sjálfðæmi”

Session 703: The Anglo-Saxon Entourage

Bernard S. Bachrach (Univ. of Minnesota)
“Military Demography in Anglo-Saxon England”
Steven Fanning (Univ. of Illinois, Chicago)
“The Anglo-Saxon Comitatus”
David Pelteret (New College, Univ. of Toronto)
“Saint Wilfrid: Tribal Bishop, Civic Bishop or Comitatus Leader?”

Session 803: Monasticism and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England

S.R.I. Foot (Univ. of Sheffield)
“Confederations of Monasteries in Anglo-Saxon England”
Linda Kythe Nix (Univ. of Cambridge)
“Format and Layout of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and the Implications for the Transmission of Classical and Late Antique Texts
Vanessa J. Stefanak (Newnham College, Univ. of Cambridge)
“Monastic Endowments in Later Anglo-Saxon England”

Session 902: Vernacular Homilies

Charles D. Wright (Univ. of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign)
“Vercelli Homily XII on the Fear of God: Source and Audience”
Joyce Hill (Univ. of Leeds)
“Ælfric’s Rogationtide Homilies: Texts and Traditions”
Mary Swan (Univ. of Leeds)
“Memorialised Readings: Investigating Old English Homily Compilation”

Session 1003: Late Old English Prose Styles: Language, Politics, Belief

Jonathan Wilcox (Univ. of Iowa)
“Wulfstan: Style as Politics/Politics as Style”
James W. Earl (Univ. of Oregon)
“Ælfric: Style and Character”
Clare A. Lees (Univ. of Pennsylvania)
“Women’s Religious Writing”

Session 1203: Anglo-Norman Attitudes to Anglo-Saxon Vernacular Writings

Wendy Collier (Univ. of Manchester)
“A Reader of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Norman Times”
Alexander Rumble (Univ. of Manchester)
“Interpreting the Past: Twelfth-Century Translations of Anglo-Saxon Charters”

Elaine Treharne (Univ. of Leicester)
“Preserving the Best? The Copying of Old English in the Twelfth Century”

Session 1302: Approaches to Anglo-Saxon Culture

Patrizia Lendinara (Univ. di Palermo)
“New Approaches to Old English Glosses”

Sarah Larratt Keefer (Trent Univ.)
“Exorcism and Ordeal, Particularly by Bread and Cheese: The Psychology of Anglo-Saxon Justice”

Phillip Pulsiano (Villanova Univ.)
“Benjamin Thorpe (1782-19 July 1879): A Biographical Sketch”

Session 104: Inscriptions in Britain, 500-1100 AD

R.I. Page (Corpus Christi College, Univ. of Cambridge)
“Recent Developments in the Study of English Runic Inscriptions”

Katherine Forsyth (Harvard Univ.)
“Text in Context: Aspects of the Epigraphy of Early Scotland”

Mark Redknapp (National Museum of Wales)
“Nash-Williams and the Early Christian Monuments of Wales”

Session 108: Boethius in England: Old English and Middle English Treatments of the De Consolatione Philosophiae

Richard North (Univ. College London)
“The Wanderer and Boethius”

Susan Irving (Univ. College London)
“Classical Allusions and Illusions in Alfred’s Translation of Boethius”

Hugh White (Univ. College London)
“Chaucer’s Responses to Boethius”

Session 208: Cultural Relations Between England and the Continent

Jean-Pierre Foucart
“Authority in Bede and Gregory of Tours”

Colette Stévanovitch (Univ. de Rouen)
“The Saxon Genesis and the Old English Genesis B”

Marie-Françoise Alamichel (Univ. de Paris IV)
“Wace and Lagamon”

Claire Vial (Univ. de Paris IV)
“A Comparison Between French and English Royal Entries in the XIVth and XVth Centuries, and their Literary Representations”
Session 322: Gender, Production and Perception in Anglo-Saxon England, I: The Material Record

Carol Neuman de Vegvar (Ohio Wesleyan Univ.)
“Images of Anglo-Saxon Women: the Rhetoric of Models and the Discourse of Art”
Carol Farr (Univ. of Alabama, Huntsville)
“Ruthwell and the Female Audience for Sculpture”
Catherine Karkov (Miami Univ., Ohio)
“Women on the Edge: Liminality and the Female Body in Anglo-Saxon Manuscript Illumination”

Session 422: Gender, Production and Perception in Anglo-Saxon England, I: The Literary Record

Kelley Wickham-Crowley (Georgetown Univ.)
“Gendered Distinctions of Weaving: Male Texts and Female Textiles”
Gillian Overing (Wake Forest Univ.)
“Orality and Femininity: Paradigms of Absence in Anglo-Saxon Culture”
John Ruffing (Cornell Univ.)
“The Absent Women of Ælfric’s Colloquy”

Session 201: The English Church and the Norman Conquest, I

Mary Frances Smith (Boston College)
“Episcopal Lordships in Late Anglo-Saxon England”
Emma Cownie (Univ. of Wales, Cardiff)
“Religious Patronage at Post-Conquest Bury St. Edmunds”
Vicki Jordan (Boston College)
“Chronology and Discourse in the Vita Æwardi Regis”

Session 414: The Ethos of the Aristocracy in the Middle Ages

F. Theuws (Univ. van Amsterdam)
“Early Medieval Burials and the Symbolic Construction of Power”
J. Bazelmans (Univ. van Amsterdam)
“Beowulf and Bede: Change and Continuity in Aristocratic Ideologies of Exchange”
J. Koopman, Vakgroep Frans (Univ. van Amsterdam)
“La voix de son maître? Littérature officielle au XVe siècle”

Session 1215: Social Contexts in Early Medieval Europe

Philippe Depreux (Rectorat de Paris)
“An Ideal Christian Emperor: The Representation of Louis the Pious in the Elegiacum Carmen of Ermoldus Nigellus”
Madge Hildebrandt Klaas (Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison)
“Going to School in the Ninth Century: The Role Played by Monasteries in the Formalization and Institutionalization of Educational Practice”
Georges Whalen (Univ. of Toronto)
“The Anglo-Saxon Monastic Environment’s Contributions to a Hagiographer’s Success”
Call for Research Materials for the *Oxford English Dictionary*

Oxford University Press is planning a comprehensive revision of the *Oxford English Dictionary*. The Chief Editor of the *OED* is hoping to enlist the expertise of the literary and academic community to help in this task. The proposed Revision will build on the work done for the Second Edition of the *OED*, published in 1989. The main achievement of this edition lay in the complete computerization of the text of the original *OED* and its four-volume *Supplement*, which was then integrated into a single database of information about the history of the English language. Some revisions were made to this text—for instance, pronunciations were converted to the International Phonetic Alphabet—and a substantial number of new words were added. But as was made clear in the preliminary matter to the Second Edition, the greater part of the text is still substantially that which was published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by Sir James Murray and his successors. In the words of the Introduction to the Second Edition, “the full revision and updating of the Dictionary...must be regarded as a long-term goal, demanding considerable resources, and therefore to be approached in stages.”

The first of these stages is the collecting together of the vast quantity of historical and linguistic information which has come to light since the publication of the first edition of the *OED*. The early editors drew on a substantial body of learning in compiling the text, but in the light of current knowledge many of their etymologies, definitions, register labels, and first usage dates can be improved upon. Much work has since been done which has added to our understanding of how the English language has developed across the centuries, and numerous antedatings and more modern examples of usage have become available. A great deal of this information has accumulated in the files of the Oxford University Press’ Dictionary contributed by scholars working with historical texts; further evidence has been or will be uncovered by the *OED’s* researchers working in libraries across the world.

However, the very magnitude of the task of reviewing the *OED* inevitably means that not all this information can be tracked down by the Dictionary’s researchers without the help of the scholars who generated it. Many writers and academics, in the course of their work, have come across and remarked upon earlier examples of usage than those recorded by the *OED*, senses not represented at all, and new etymological and bibliographical information. These findings are often published in footnotes to books and articles, or as appendices, but in the ever-growing body of scholarly literature on texts and textual criticism many of these notes have inevitably failed to find their way into the store of information collected over the years by past and present editors of the Dictionary. The best means of ensuring that such discoveries are taken into account during the proposed revision is for scholars themselves to draw attention to their own work. The Chief Editor is therefore hoping that anyone working on a literary, social, or other historical text who has found a discrepancy between the material with which they are working and an entry in the *OED* will send their comments to the offices of the Dictionary. In particular he would like to hear of any textual meanings listed in the second edition of the Dictionary. He would also be grateful to receive references to any work in which information has been published which may have a bearing on the proposed revision of the *OED* text. All contributors will be thanked individually, and a file of the names of correspondents who have made substantial contributions will be maintained for acknowledgement in the final publication. Suggestions, comments, and details of publications should be directed to: The Chief Editor, Oxford English Dictionary, Oxford Univ. Press, Walton Street, Oxford, OX2 6DP  U.K. FAX: (Oxford) 0865 267810 (country code 44 865). E-mail: oed3@oup.co.uk.
Dictionary of Old English: 1993 Progress Report

Joan Holland
Centre for Medieval Studies, Univ. of Toronto

We are encouraged by the rate of progress this year at the Dictionary. Revision of the letter A is close to completion and we expect to publish A, our fifth fascicle, in the early months of 1994. In the letter A, several specialists have contributed individual entries: Professor Shigeru Ono has written the Ægan entry, Professor Matti Rissanen has written an, Professor Eric Stanley has written and, and Professor Shin'ichi Takeuchi has written Ægyfa. We are grateful to these scholars for their contributions in advancing the Dictionary. More than three-quarters of the entries for E, our sixth letter, have been written, and we hope to publish E in about a year's time. In addition, we have written more than one-tenth of the entries for F.

We look forward to adding a new member to our editorial team in the Spring of 1994. Mr. Richard Greenman, who is currently completing his doctorate at King's College London, has been funded for two years by the Leverhulme Trust of Great Britain. We are pleased at the prospect of having another scholar to help with the work of the Dictionary.

We have had visits from a number of scholars during the year. In February, Professor Tadao Kubouchi of the University of Tokyo met at the project with Professor Allen Frantzen of Loyola University of Chicago to discuss the organization of a fundraising campaign in Japan for the Dictionary. The success of the campaign in Japan as well as the campaign as a whole is detailed later in this report. In September Dr. Franz Wenisch of the University of Giessen was here for two weeks, working on his updating and revision of Angus Cameron's "List of Texts and Index of Editions" for the Dictionary of Old English. In October Professor Eric Stanley, a member of our International Advisory Committee, spent a week in Toronto. The Dictionary of Old English was his official host at the University of Toronto for his visit as the British Academy's delegate to the Royal Society of Canada. During this period, in addition to giving his invited lecture, he assisted with the revision of A entries. In November Professor Allen Frantzen conducted a highly successful computer demonstration of his "Seafarer" program, an interactive system showing ways in which Old English texts can be connected to a specific cultural context. His demonstration was well attended by both the faculty and students of the University of Toronto.

We have made progress also in various aspects of our computing operations. Thanks to the work of Dr. Patricia Bethel of Ottawa and Dr. Duncan Macrae-Gibson of the University of Aberdeen in collaboration with Dr. Joan Holland and the Dictionary staff, we have rechecked and corrected errors in the poetic texts of the corpus. This more accurate version of the poetry was incorporated into our Dictionary of Old English in Electronic Form, 1993 Version, issued this summer on diskette. This first version of our corpus to be issued on diskette will make our material accessible to scholars without the difficulties of downloading from mag tape. We are grateful to Professor Kevin Kiernan of the University of Kentucky, who acted as a beta-tester for the diskettes, and who offered many useful suggestions for their improvement. The Postscript laser printer which was purchased at the end of last year is now fully operational. The interface with Venue-Lisp software has been completed, and the letter A will be the first letter published with the new printer. We are also pleased that a venture with the private sector has been of material benefit to the computer applications of the project. Soft Quad, Inc., a Toronto software company, has recently given us software which will enable us to make the Dictionary files conform to the Standard Generalized Mark-Up Language. The complex task of designing the Dictionary mark-up will begin in the new year.

In June Antonette diPaolo Healey was a plenary speaker at the first meeting of the Society for Canadian Medievalists, Learned Societies of Canada, at Carleton University in Ottawa, where she delivered a paper entitled "The Dictionary of Old English: Where Things Old Are New Again." In July Ian McDougall attended a conference on "The Middle Ages in the North West" at the University of Liverpool, where he gave a paper on "Discretion and Deceit: A Re-examination of a Military Stratagem in Eglis Saga." In August Antonette diPaolo Healey participated at the Sixth Meeting of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists at Oxford, England, by reporting on the progress of the Dictionary of Old English. In October she delivered a paper entitled "Old English Glossaries: Creating a Vernacular" at the Early Dictionary Databases Conference in Toronto. In December she attended the MLA meeting in
Toronto and gave a status report on the Dictionary to the Old English Executive Committee.

Finally, we were delighted to be awarded (as of July 1) a two-year grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities under its Research Tools Program. However, additional funds are still required and the efforts put into fundraising this past year have been of enormous benefit to the project. A full report is appended concerning the European/North American Campaign and the Campaign in Japan.

---

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Contributors to the Dictionary of Old English Fundraising Campaign, 1992-93

The fundraising campaign for the Dictionary of Old English, organized by Professor Allen Frantz of Loyola University of Chicago, has raised to date $72,266 Cdn. This figure represents $46,587 raised in North America and Europe, and $25,679 raised in Japan as of 14 December 1993 by Professor Tadao Kubouchi of the University of Tokyo. The support of our colleagues, from the youngest graduate students to the most honored professors emeriti, has been enormously gratifying to all of us on the project.

Because of your generosity we have been able to generate additional funds for the project. The first $44,000 raised through Professor Frantz's campaign helped to generate $60,000 from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) and another $30,000 from the Office of the Vice-President, Research and International Relations, University of Toronto. The net effect was a match of more than 2:1, $90,000:$44,000, for a total of $134,000. Additional contributions from Europe, the most significant of which was the £1000 from the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, awarded at its biennial meeting in Oxford in August, and contributions from the campaign in Japan have given us a grand total of $162,266. This is indeed an impressive achievement at any time, but even more so in the hard economic times of the past few years.

Your generosity has had an even greater ripple effect. The money raised from SSHRC in response to your gifts to the project has been considered eligible for the matching component of our most recent grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities in June 1993, thus enabling the project to have at the start of the grant the full amount awarded.

There is another important initiative taking place at the present time. The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation of New York has allowed us to apply for a $300,000 Challenge Grant. Our application was submitted in November 1993. If we are successful, there is a matching requirement of an equal amount of other funds. No doubt, the bulk of this money would have to be raised from granting agencies, other foundations, and wealthy individuals. However, we may be able to apply any new contributions received in the Dictionary fundraising campaign as of 1 August 1993 to the Mellon Foundation Challenge Grant if there should be a positive review of our application.

Finally, we wish to acknowledge our deep gratitude to Professor Allen Frantz for being the initiator of a chain of generosity to the Dictionary of Old English. We are indebted to him for his great labor and superb efficiency in organizing and running the fundraising campaign on our behalf and for his unwavering commitment to our research. We are also grateful to Professor Tadao Kubouchi who met with Professor Frantz in Toronto in March and generously undertook to organize the campaign in Japan, which is still ongoing. The huge success to date of the campaign in Japan, widely supported by the relatively small community of medieval scholars there, is a remarkable accomplishment. We are very grateful to Professor Kubouchi for his dedication to this undertaking. We also wish to thank Professor Graham Caie for his assistance in organizing and subsidizing the British mailing, to Professor Helmut Gneuss for organizing and subsidizing the Continental mailing, and to Professor Eric Stanley for receiving the European contributions on our behalf through a British account and for acknowledging those gifts.

Two lists of contributors are appended. The first list is of contributors from North America and Europe; the second of contributors from Japan. Donors who wished to give in memory of individuals are also noted separately at the end of each list. All of us on the project are grateful to each one of you. We hope to have included all who have so generously given in support of our work, but must apologize to any of our donors inadvertently left off these lists of acknowledgements.
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J.C. Pope

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Ambrose in the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture

Jessica Wegmann and Dabney Anderson Bankert
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Preparation of the entry on Saint Ambrose to appear in the projected "A" volume of the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture, while it has confirmed for us the fundamental value of source study, has also highlighted some of its pitfalls. In this paper we would like to describe some practical difficulties we experienced in collecting the evidence and presenting it in accordance with the SASLC format, explore certain methodological problems of source studies specific to Ambrose, and suggest several desiderata.

Most of the practical problems we faced were due to the inadequacy of scholarship on the works of Ambrose and the manuscripts that transmit them. Of the four major church fathers, Ambrose has received the least attention. There is still no complete modern critical edition of his works. Although many have been critically edited in the Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum and in separate modern editions, the seventeenth-century Maurist edition by Frische and Le Nourry reprinted in the Patrologia Latina 14-17 is the only complete standard edition. As a result, one sometimes confronts discrepancies in the numbering and even in the titles of Ambrose's works. For example, the two different editions of the PL involve two sets of column references. Some reference works refer to one, some to the other, while Heinrich Schenk's catalogue of patristic manuscripts in British libraries refers at times to one, at times to the other. Likewise, the PL and CSEL editions of Ambrose's letters use different numbering systems, which complicates the task of determining which letters occur in a given Anglo-Saxon manuscript. In the entry, we have attempted to clarify these references by providing both sets of numbers. A similar confusion results from variations in the titles of Ambrose's works. For instance, for a couple of manuscripts Schenk lists the De Virginitate with the PL column numbers for De Virginibus, and vice versa. In one of the Anglo-Saxon booklists edited by Michael Lapidge, De Sacramentis is called De Mysteriis, while De Mysteriis is called De Initniadis. If a modern catalogue or medieval booklist fails to provide the incipit of the work, or some other identifying feature such as the number of books, it can be difficult to determine which work is meant. In contrast, the incipit often is given for excerpted homilies, but without identification of the work from which the homily was drawn. To standardize the titles in the entry, we have followed di Berardino's Patrology, with a few deviations as explained in the relevant entries.

Due to the incomplete state of current scholarship, there will inevitably be omissions in the entry. This is especially true for the pseudonymous and doubtful works, which have not been adequately catalogued or sorted out, with the exception of the sermons registered in Machielsen's Clavis Patristica Pseudepigraphorum. The so-called Ambrosiaster was a contemporary of Ambrose who wrote anonymously and whose identity, though the subject of considerable speculation, is still unknown. Many of his works were later falsely attributed to Ambrose. Because pseudo-Ambrosian works may often be listed under yet another name, the evidence we provide for dissemination of these works is undoubtedly incomplete.

The authenticity of some complete works and of many homilies within larger works is still being debated. The hymns constitute a particular difficulty in this regard. Saint Ambrose "is commonly regarded as the founder of Christian hymnology." Justina, the mother of Valentinian II, tried to force Ambrose to give up Christian churches to the Arians, and in order to avoid a summons to debate the edicts being passed against Catholics, Ambrose barricaded himself in one of his cathedrals with his followers. Legend has it that it was during this self-imposed incarceration that he introduced his hymns to strengthen and give hope to his flock. Already in the ninth century Walahfrid Strabo doubted that Ambrose could have written all the hymns traditionally assigned to him:

Nevertheless, it must be understood that many hymns are thought composed by Ambrose which have by no means been produced by that man. For it seems incredible that he composed some [hymns] such as are found in substantial numbers, that is, [those] which, having no sequence of thought, show a rusticity in their vocabulary which is not customary in Ambrose.

The distinctive "Ambrosian" meter was, in fact, widely imitated. Many hymns are still suspected to be by Ambrose, but only the four that Augustine attests as genuine can be accepted unquestionably.

There have been no comprehensive studies or lists dedicated to the manuscripts containing
Ambrose’s works such as those that exist for Augustine and Jerome. In order to construct the headnotes on manuscripts containing Ambrose’s works, we supplemented the very general and incomplete information on manuscript contents in Helmut Gneuss’ “A Preliminary List of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1100” by consulting the descriptions in Schenklof’s catalogue and by checking individual editions. This provided a more nearly complete list of Ambrose’s works, but only for Anglo-Saxon manuscripts now in British libraries. Even here gaps remain, however, since Schenklof does not inventory all British libraries, and does not include all the manuscripts listed by Gneuss. Among the manuscripts Schenklof does not include, we found a number that contained works of Ambrose not listed by Gneuss, and there may well be more. For those manuscripts we had reason to believe might contain works by Ambrose, we consulted the relevant manuscript catalogues. We also included manuscripts written in Anglo-Saxon centers on the continent, and those containing Anglo-Saxon glosses, as identified by Lowe in his Codices Latin Antiquiores. A particularly interesting example is Fulda, Landesbibl. Bonif. 2, probably transcribed at Luxeuil and containing some Old English. It is thought to have been the manuscript with which Boniface tried to shield himself when he was killed, and indeed it bears two “violent incisions.” Ironically, the manuscript contains Ambrose’s De bono mortis, followed by a notice of the burial places of the apostles and evangelists.

A more general question the entry raises concerns the dissemination of extracts of Ambrose’s works. Teresa Webber has pointed out that in pre-Conquest England patristic texts often circulated in florilegia rather than in originalia. We found this to be true for Ambrose. Certainly some works, the commentary on Luke in particular, were very commonly excerpted and appear as homilies in florilegia. London, Lambeth Palace 414, for example, contains numerous selections from Ambrose, primarily from the Hexameron and In Lucam, but from other of his works as well, interspersed with numerous short excerpts from other church fathers. This emphasis on florilegia makes the question of dissemination of the works as a whole more problematic. Whenever one finds evidence of an Anglo-Saxon author quoting or citing part of a work of Ambrose as a source, in particular works such as In Lucam or the Hexameron, one must question whether the author would be familiar with the work in its entirety, or simply with popular excerpts in a florilegium or homiliary.

Of course, it is more difficult to prove that an author was influenced by a particular florilegium than to argue that an excerpt from a particular work influenced that author. These difficulties are illustrated in scholarship on Ælfric. In 1959, Cyril Smetana listed the homilies in what he termed the “original” version of Paul the Deacon’s Homiliary, and demonstrated that Ælfric drew on this collection for his Catholic Homilies. However, in 1963, J.E. Cross pointed out that there were many versions of Paul the Deacon’s Homiliary and illustrated the difficulty in demonstrating which one Ælfric used. To prove that an author was influenced by a particular collection, one would have to show that he used a distinctive variety of the excerpts in that collection.

For Ambrose, some excerpted homilies appear to be more common than others. Smetana cites five by Ambrose in his reconstructed version of Paul the Deacon’s Homiliary, four of these being excerpts from In Lucam and the fifth from De Virginibus. However, we have also located many different excerpts of Ambrose functioning as homilies, including some in other versions of Paul the Deacon’s Homiliary. In fact, of the eight relevant manuscripts of In Lucam, only one appears to contain the entire work. Our entry will specify where possible which manuscripts contain excerpts, and so may make it easier for future researchers to judge whether a particular citation from Ambrose may have been drawn from a florilegium. Further study of the dissemination of Ambrose’s works in florilegia and homiliaries is needed, since undoubtedly there are manuscripts which contain excerpts from Ambrose but which are not included in Schenklof and have not been adequately catalogued.

One further aspect of manuscript transmission is not specifically provided for by the headnote format of SASLC. Certain works by Ambrose often circulated together. For example, De Fide, De Spiritu Sancto, and De Incarnationis Dominicae Sacrament o appear as a collection in three post-Conquest manuscripts: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 739 and 827, and Salisbury, Cathedral Library 140. We have found no manuscript known to have been in England before the twelfth-century that contains any one of these works in its entirety not accompanied by the other two. Similarly, all relevant English manuscripts that contain any of Ambrose’s works on virginity (excluding excerpted homilies) contain four of them together, along with the pseudo-Ambrosian De Lapsu Virginis Consecratae, attributed to Nicetas of Remesiana. Evidence that an author had access to any one of these works raises the possibility that he would have had access to the
others as well. (Curiously, Ambrose's fifth work on virginity, De Institutione Virginis, does not appear in any Anglo-Saxon manuscript.) For this reason, we note the manuscripts containing such groupings in the general headnote to the entry. Moreover, it would be useful, in particular for those undertaking future work with florilegia, to know what works or excerpts of other authors regularly appear in any given collection containing Ambrose.

A final problem we encountered in the preparation of the individual entries for Ambrose works stems in part from the number of tenus references made by scholars to Ambrose as a possible source, a possible influence, or a parallel for an Anglo-Saxon work, and in part from the number of still unidentified citations of Ambrose. References to Ambrose's influence on various Anglo-Saxon authors often do not fit readily into the headnote categories of quotation, citation, or reference. Scholars may argue that an idea derives ultimately from Ambrose through an intermediary, or they may simply note that the idea exists in works by Ambrose as well as other authors. For instance, in “Mens absentia cogitans in The Seafarer and The Wanderer,” Peter Clemoes shows that the idea of “the mind ranging widely beyond the confines of the body in which it is shut up, flying across sea and land” occurs in Ambrose’s Hexameron, Alcuin’s De Animae Ratione, and in the Seafarer and the Wanderer.22 He concludes that the poet of the Seafarer was probably influenced by Alcuin, who in turn was influenced by Ambrose, and that the poet of the Wanderer may have been influenced by the Hexameron either directly or through an intermediary. Obviously such nuances cannot be concisely indicated in the headnotes, but must be explained in the body of the entry.

A related problem is that many citations and references do not identify a specific work of Ambrose.23 For example, in “The Constitutions of the Archbishop Oda,” Ambrose is cited by name, along with a quotation apparently from one of his works, and although the editors mention that virtually the same citation occurs in the Collectio Canonum Hibernensis, the quotation has not been identified.24 Databases such as CETEDOC may eventually resolve some of these problems. We also have many references to Ambrose that identify no specific work. Alcuin is a case in point. Despite the numerous general references he makes to Ambrose (in his letters in particular), there has been only limited scholarly discussion of Alcuin's knowledge of Ambrose. In one instance, Alcuin complains in his Adversus Felicem about the use of quotations from Ambrose out of context to support a false doctrine.25 In another case, Alcuin refers twice to a work he calls De Iohel et Amos, which he apparently regards as a work of Ambrose, but which we have been unable to identify.26 Since these references cannot be listed under individual works, we have discussed most of them in the general headnote of the entry for Ambrose. They do offer evidence that particular authors may have been influenced by Ambrose, even if they do not add to the evidence for dissemination of a particular work.

Taken as a whole, the evidence we have compiled suggests that Ambrose was probably more influential in Anglo-Saxon England than earlier scholars have allowed. One promising example of how the entry strengthens the evidence is the case of Bede, for whom we have citations for some of the works Laistner lists as doubtfully in Bede's library.27 For instance, Laistner lists De Abraham as possibly in Bede's library, but, according to Jones' edition, Bede cites this work in his In Genesim eleven times.28 Likewise, current scholarship suggests that Ælfric was only minimally influenced by Ambrose. Pseudo-Ambrosian works are sources for his Life of St. Agnes and his Life of St. Sebastian, and his Hexameron was definitely influenced by Ambrose's work of the same name.29 Yet he also refers to Ambrose by name twice in his Life of St. Martin, and he wrote a homily on the story of Theodosius and Ambrose. It would appear, at least, that Ælfric considered Ambrose an authority. When all the relevant information is compiled, it may require a reevaluation of Ælfric's familiarity with Ambrose's life and works.

Although our research suggests that Ambrose was more influential than previously thought, he clearly remains in last place among the four great church fathers, and one wonders whether this was perhaps due in part to some perceived deficiencies in his works. Anglo-Saxon authors may have been aware that Jerome severely criticized Ambrose. Jerome translated Didymus' treatise On the Holy Spirit and Origen's homilies on Luke mainly in order to prove that Ambrose's De Spiritu Sancto and In Lucam were plagiarisms from Greek sources, charging Ambrose with writing "bad things in Latin taken from good things in Greek." Although both Rufinus and Augustine had nothing but praise for Ambrose's De Spiritu Sancto, Jerome described it as "flaccid and spiritless, sleek and pretty, decorated with purple patches, but defective in its logic, and lacking that restrained and manly force which compels the assent of the reader even against his will."30 Jerome concluded of Ambrose, "I have preferred...to come forward openly as the translator of another man's book.
than to deck myself out, as certain people do, like an ugly crow with someone else's plumes.\cite{footnote}

We may underestimate Ambrose's influence, however, by focusing solely on direct borrowings. Ambrose was certainly influential on other church fathers. In his position as bishop of Milan, he was a strong influence on the early career of Jerome (who only later turned against him) and was to a great extent responsible for the conversion of Augustine, whom he later baptized. Many themes Ambrose introduced in his writings were developed in the writings of the other fathers, whose influence in Anglo-Saxon England is more clearly pervasive. Therefore, it is not surprising that Ambrose is so often cited as an "ultimate" source for a passage or idea in an Old English or Anglo-Latin text through an intermediary source or that citations of him are so often tenuous. We hope that by consolidating existing scholarship on Ambrose we will facilitate further study of the dissemination and reception of his works and ideas in the Anglo-Saxon period.\cite{footnote}

Notes

2. H. Schenk, Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Britannica, Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse, 121 (1890), 123 (1891), 124 (1891), 126 (1892), 127 (1892), 131 (1894), 133 (1896), 136 (1897), 137 (1898), 139 (1898), 143 (1901), 150 (1905), and 157 (1908); rpt. Hildesheim, 1969.
3. See his descriptions of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 768 (SC 2550) and 792 (SC 2640).
6. J. Machiels, Clavis Patriciae Pseudographorum Medii \ae v\ae I A-B: Opera homiletica (Turnhout, 1990).
15. See Hofmann, p. 53.
20. See Webber, pp. 53-54, and 152.
21. The manuscripts are Cambridge, Trinity Hall 26; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 768 (SC 2550) and 792 (SC 2640); and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1751, Bodley 768 and BN lat. 1751 also contain Ambrose's De Mysteriis and De Sacramentis. See Webber, p. 51 note 26, and p. 147.
23. See unidentified citations in J.D.A. Ogilvie, Books Known to the English, 597-1066 (Cambridge, MA, 1967), pp. 62-63. The SASLC "Guide for Readers" explains that a citation includes "both the name and the words of an author," whereas in a reference, the author refers to an author or a work for some reason other than to quote the author's words.


Inaugural Diss. (Halle, 1892); Samuel J. Crawford, *Exameron Anglice or the Old English Hexameron* (Hamburg, 1921).


32. An earlier version of this paper was read by Jessica Wegmann at the 28th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Michigan, May 1993.

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**Available from MRTS:**

**THE SORCERY TRIAL OF ALICE KYTELER (1324)**
Together with Related Documents in English Translation, with Introduction and Notes
ed. L.S. Davidson and J.O. Ward

This work, the contemporary *Narrative of the 1324 Sorcery Proceedings against Alice Kyteiler* (of Kilkenny, Ireland), is a document of extraordinary importance: It is the first recorded instance of a woman being accused of having gained the power of witchcraft through sexual intercourse with the devil. This charge became standard in later European witchcraft trials. This is also the first recorded instance of a person being executed for heresy in Ireland.

This book provides the first translation into a modern language of the 14th-century Latin text. The introduction places the work in its historical context; the extensive notes provide rich detail about that context. Documents relevant to the case are provided in appendices.

Both the definition of the crime and the conflict it provoked between ecclesiastical and secular authorities shed important light on the relationship between canon and civil law at this time. Thus, the book will be of major interest to students of Irish history, women's history, legal history, religious history, and witchcraft.


Hugh of Poitiers

**THE VÉZELAY CHRONICLE**

This is the first translation into English of a priceless record of social, religious, economic, political, and institutional change in twelfth-century France. The *Chronicle*, which Abbot Pons (1138–1161) ordered his notary Hugh of Poitiers to write, is a passionate and detailed account of the emergence of urban institutions at Vézelay and the fighting between abbot, count, and bishop.

The editors have also translated all important charters, letters, and shorter texts contained in the Auxerre manuscript. By preserving the exact make-up and contents of the Auxerre manuscript, the documents are produced as twelfth-century readers wanted them to be seen and used.

The volume includes an introduction, notes, and a bibliography. It is an excellent classroom text, and will be of use to students in many areas of European history: feudal, monastic, medieval French, the Latin culture of the Middle Ages, the papacy, and urban and economic change in the West.


Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies
LN G99
SUNY Binghamton
Binghamton, NY 13902
Opening the "Electronic Beowulf"¹

Kevin S. Kiernan
Univ. of Kentucky

As part of its strategic objectives for the year 2000, the British Library has made a commitment to increase access to its collections by use of imaging and network technology. In the spring of 1993, we began as part of this initiative the "Electronic Beowulf" project, which will in its first manifestation make available in early 1994 an online, full-color, electronic facsimile of Cotton Vitellius A. xv to readers in the British Library and at other selected sites. As this electronic archive grows, it will incorporate facsimiles of many other documents that help us restore parts of the manuscript that were lost or damaged by fire in the early eighteenth century. Plans are already underway, for example, to digitize the late eighteenth-century Thorkelin transcripts of Beowulf at the Royal Library in Copenhagen, as well as the first collation of the manuscript with the editio princeps of the poem.²

The equipment we are using to capture the images is the Roche/Kontron Progres 3012 digital camera, which can scan any text, from a letter or a word to an entire page, at 2000 x 3000 pixels (picture elements) in 24-bit color (over 16 million shades of color). The resulting images at this maximum resolution are enormous, over 21MB apiece, and tax the memory, disk space, and displays of the biggest machines. Three or four images—three or four letters or words if that is what we are scanning—will thus fill up an 88MB hard disk, and we have found that no single image of this size can be processed in real time without at least 64MB of RAM. In our first experiments in June with the camera and its dedicated hardware, we transmitted a half-dozen images by phone line from the Conservation Studio of the British Library to the Wenner Gren Imaging Laboratory at the University of Kentucky, where identical hardware was set up to receive the data. Most of these images are now available in reduced form on the Internet through two anonymous ftp sites and a Mosaic presentation of this article on the World Wide Web.³

With the right equipment an electronic Beowulf will in many respects provide better access to parts of the manuscript than studying the manuscript itself. The unique copy of Beowulf is preserved in the Cottonian collection of manuscripts that suffered from a great fire in 1731. It remained in its burnt binding until the middle of the nineteenth century, when Sir Frederic Madden, Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum, undertook to restore these damaged manuscripts in his care. His bookbinder first traced the outline of each burnt leaf, cut out the center of the tracing except for a retaining edge of about 2mm, and pasted and taped the vellum leaf to the paper frame. Then he rebound the framed leaves in a new cover. The method well preserved the fragile bits of text along the burnt edges of the leaves, but the retaining edges of the paper mounts, and the paste and tape used to secure the leaves to them, hide from view many hundreds of letters and bits of letters. Today they are visible only if one holds a bright light directly behind them, an ineffectual solution if one lacks the manuscript, the bright light, or the permission to use them together.⁴ The digital camera at last provides us with a practical means of both revealing and recording these covered letters.⁵

The camera easily captures many other features, too, which otherwise require special equipment to see in the manuscript and are difficult or impossible to record in conventional facsimiles. Now, for example, scholars interested in the construction of the original gatherings of the manuscript will be able to place once conjugate leaves—the sheets that made up the booklets—side by side again, or examine in great detail the color and texture of the vellum leaves by magnifying the images.⁶ Anyone interested in the accuracy and diligence of the scribes, moreover, can investigate all of their erasures, which will be scanned both in bright daylight and with the sometimes more penetrating aid of an ultraviolet lamp. As illustrated below, students will even be able to restore or at least improve the legibility of erased, faded, and damaged passages with the help of image processing programs. Readers of the electronic facsimile will thus acquire a reproduction of the manuscript that reveals more than the manuscript itself does under ordinary circumstances.

The black-and-white figures illustrating this paper for OEN are extremely poor imitations of even the relatively tiny 100K pic-format image files suitable for the PowerPoint software and Macintosh Powerbook I used to display computer slides in my original presentation and from which I printed the figures. Both are a far cry from the 21MB tiff-format images of the original scans. In a print medium, especially one limited to black-and-white illustration, one cannot possibly do justice to an image that records many millions of shades of
color in a microscopic grid of 2000 x 3000 pixels. These black-and-white figures are accordingly only intended as points of reference, allowing me to illustrate a part of the Beowulf manuscript I have enhanced in the electronic facsimile. In this first figure the drastically reduced resolution nonetheless shows, among other things, the pencil tracings the binders made on the paper mounts on folios 179 recto and 129 recto, respectively the most damaged page and the opening page of the Beowulf manuscript. One can also see the onion-skin tape used to hold the vellum leaf to the paper mount and, at the top of folio 129, some slits in the vellum, perhaps made by the binders to help the vellum lie flat prior to pasting it in.

Figure 2 is also from folio 179, which carries a text written later than the rest of the manuscript. Whether the folio is a true palimpsest (with a new text replacing the old one, as I believe) or simply a freshening-up of the original text is disputed. In either case, however, we must face the evidence that we are dealing with a mysterious, but important issue in the history of the transmission of the poem. Here I have illustrated that simple magnification allows us to detect how the ink in the capi-
tal N has failed to adhere to the scraped vellum. The black-and-white block (magenta in the color slide) at the top of the figure not only magnifies the illegible text to the right of the N, but also uses brightening, contrast enhancement, and color-filtering to sharpen the ink vestiges, which in their enhanced state challenge our traditional reading of this part of the text. The circled area at the bottom of the figure cannot illustrate much of anything in black-and-white, but in the color slide it highlights some discoloration caused by erasing between the remaining letters when the vellum was wet. In the 24-bit color image readers can see what is plainly visible in the manuscript on this page, that a grayish film was left on some of the letters when damp erasing was done between them. In short, the electronic facsimile will permit us to examine the folio in much more detail than was ever possible in other facsimiles or practical in the manuscript itself.

The indistinct grayscale of the old black-and-white facsimiles of folio 180 verso obscured the fact that the first three lines were deliberately deleted.
in the manuscript. Things are no better, of course, with ODN's black-and-white reproduction here (figure 3), but the color slide was good enough to illustrate by the pattern of discoloration that these three lines of text were for some reason assiduously rubbed out, even though the vellum was not subsequently prepared to receive a new text. If the lines were erased in Anglo-Saxon times, as seems most plausible, we may have here an incipient revision of the poem. As sometimes happens with the vestigial ink in erasures, the text in these opening lines may be clearer now than it was two hundred years ago, when Thorkelin and his copyist, both assuming they were erased on purpose, omitted them from their copies. No modern editor since Thorkelin has ever drawn attention to the deletion. The editors notwithstanding, it may well be more important to try to figure out why the lines were erased than to enhance their legibility through image processing routines.

The color scan of folio 192 verso in ordinary light reveals several typical problems, in addition to the handful of covered letters along the top and left margins. Some of these features can be seen in the black-and-white illustration (figure 4). There is a large erasure in the middle of line 2 with a scribal correction inserted above the line, which overshadows other erasures and corrections in lines 6, 7, 16, and 18. More noticeable than the latter is the bleeding of the ink in lines 3-6. To treat the variety of problems on the page, we scanned it in October 1993 with a bright daylight lamp, with ultraviolet, and with high-level fiber-optic light held behind the covered readings. To illustrate the advantage of backlighting with fiber-optic light, we scanned the page with the covered bar of the big capital H beginning at line 8. The results were all quite gratifying, except that we ran out of hard disk space on the computer we were using for our experiments. The only immediate option we had for saving the ultraviolet and fiber-optic scans was a removable hard disk. I was hand-carrying back to the United States. All of the data was lost in transit, however, presumably when Security at Gatwick Airport in London insisted on separately scanning the removable hard disk. I therefore concocted a restored H by “simulated backlighting” by moving an H-bar from another part of the manuscript. As a black-and-white image figure 5 cannot possibly illustrate, as the color slide does, an evolution of our view of folio 192 verso, from black and white to full 24-bit color to ultraviolet scan. The black-and-scan (like Zupitza's black-and-white facsimile it was taken from) shows little evidence of what was erased in line 2 of the page. The daylight scan, like the manuscript itself in ordinary

![Figure 3](image-url)

**Figure 3**

![Figure 4](image-url)

**Figure 4**
Evolution of Images

Figure 5

light, shows more vestiges of the erased material.

As Julius Zupitza, the first editor of the black-and-white facsimile, noted in 1882, "to judge from the traces, eowrum cynne was written in the line, ... but [was] erased on account of being even more indistinct" than the damaged words below it in lines 3-6 (p. 133). The ultraviolet scan reveals that the erased reading was indeed eowrum cynne, with the first e written over a false start. The extensive erasure and correction show as well that the scribe went to special trouble here to transmit a legible text. When it was first transmitted to the University of Kentucky by ftp, this ultraviolet image file arrived totally black, as if it had been destroyed in transmission. The greenish image in the slide (now black-and-white in figure 5) was restored by using high-contrast image processing algorithms that stretched the gray range on a 256-point scale from extreme black (0) to extreme white (255). A green filter was added because it appeared to enhance the contrast even more.

As my own simulated backlighting warns, it is important to keep in mind that some of these powerful image enhancement tools are now routinely used in such unscholarly endeavors as advertising, to remove blemishes and undesirable facial hair, for instance, or to straighten a nose or whiten some teeth. With these new tools, in other words, it has become possible to create persuasive forgeries, as in this case (figure 6), where I have moved the correction from above the line into the line, and replaced the gap with the erased vellum. I am not advocating this use of the software, but rather posting an early warning of how it will certainly be misused, confounding even experts in modern forensics or medieval paleography, in the years to come.

But I would prefer to end on a more inspiring note. In June 1993, using blue light (420-460nm) from liquid light guides connected to a new "High Intensity Forensic Light Source" on loan in the Conservation Studio, I was able to read and recognize, I thought for the first time since the Cottonian Library fire of 1731, a destroyed leaf from the Life of St. Sebastian from Cotton Otho B. x fol. 54. Later in the month, during the first demonstration of the digital camera, we managed to capture and transmit the first facsimile of this fragment. The visible portions in figure 7 read "...godes w..." and "...gen beg...", the only complete word being "God's" in Old English insular script.

The first published facsimile of this text was thus an electronic facsimile transmitted by phone from one UK to another, from the British Library to the University of Kentucky. These few words cost $55 in a phone bill, but at least they arrived intact, unlike the hand-carried images at Gatwick. They seemed to all of us at either end of the phone line to portend the start of something really big, expensive, and earth-shattering. The miraculous technology we are experimenting with today to produce a full-color interactive facsimile of Beowulf seems destined to convert a multitude of medieval
Special Recovery Techniques

...godes w...

...gen begi...

British Library MS Cotton Otho B. x, fol. 54 verso

Figure 7

manuscripts and propagate their messages throughout the world.

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Acknowledgments: The British Library Digital and Network Services Steering Committee oversees the “Electronic Beowulf” project and has funded the substantial equipment purchases used in London, while the University of Kentucky has funded equipment and system support for use in Lexington. The staff most closely involved with the project so far have been David Hart and Charles Fischer of the University of Kentucky, John Bennett, an outside consultant, and from the British Library, Michael Alexander of Computing and Telecomms, David French and Ann Gilbert of Collections and Preservation, and Andrew Prescott of the Manuscript Collections. Paul Szarmach of the State University of New York at Binghamton and I are the academic directors of the project, and I am the editor of the facsimile archive.

I also wish to acknowledge Peter Baker, Patrick Conner, Carl Berkhout, George Brown, Thomas Hill, Janet Batley, Jane Roberts, Mary Richards, Allen Frantzen, Katherine O’Keeffe, David Seaman, Joyce Hill, Jim Wolf, Donald Scragg, Antonette diPaolo Healey, Chris Cane, Tak Ariga, Alfred Bammesberger, and Rich Duggan. This distinguished international group of Anglo-Saxonists and their computer thugs bravely agreed this spring to try to help us test some of the images we mounted on the two anonymous ftp sites in Kentucky and London. We were chastened as we slowly discovered that not everyone, even with expert assistance from their computing centers, was able to display the images with the hardware and software available to them, and that only two or three of us had access to equipment that showed them in 24-bit color. There is some consolation in knowing that our old manuscripts are pushing modern technology to its limits.

Notes

1. This lecture was first delivered in Washington, D.C., on 14 November 1993 for a symposium on electronic publishing sponsored by the Association of Research Libraries and the Association of American University Presses in collaboration with the University of Virginia Library and the National Science Foundation. See “Digital Preservation, Restoration, and Dissemination of Medieval Manuscripts;” Scholarly Publishing on the Electronic Networks: Gateways, Gatekeepers, and Roles in the Information Omniverse, Ann Okerson and Dru Mogge, eds. (Washington, D.C., 1994), pp. 37-43. This OEN version is slightly revised, adds endnotes for its specialist readers, and repeatedly stresses the inadequacy of the black-and-white figures to represent the image files.

2. In response to our request to include it in the project, Whitney F. Bolton donated to the British Library his copy of J.J. Conybeare’s 1817 collation of G.J. Thorkelin’s first edition of Beowulf, De Danorum Rebus Gestis Secul. III & IV, Poëma Danicum Dialecto Anglo-Saxonica (Copenhagen, 1815).

3. Readers may retrieve and view compressed jpeg files of the original 24-bit image files through two anonymous ftp sites, beowulf.engl.uky.edu in the sub-directory ftp/pub/beowulf (at the University of Kentucky) and othello.bl.uk in the sub-directory /pub/mss (at the British Library). Simply login as “anonymous” with your userid as the password. Readers may also view color slides used for this presentation through Mosaic or Cello at URL address <http://www.uky.edu/ComputingCenter/Welcome.html>. The document title is “Electronic Beowulf,”

5. Our electronic facsimile of the hidden letters and parts of letters will almost certainly lead to new readings and new paleographical arguments for restoration and emendation. Editors have until now had to depend solely on Thorkelin and his hired scribe to decipher these often shrunken, charred, and otherwise deformed shapes. We can all now see what remains of the crumbling letters they were attempting to decipher and decide whether or not their transcriptions of these problematic edges are convincing.

6. It may seem an exaggeration to speak of the color and texture of the manuscript pages in computer images. These 24-bit color images, however, record over 16 million shades of color (256^3), compared to the 256 shades of 8-bit color. The project members, including the professional photographer who set the lighting and the focus for all the images, were astounded by the fidelity of the color and texture of the images as the camera recorded and displayed the pages of the manuscript on a 24-bit color monitor in the British Library. On an 8-bit color monitor, the type available on most personal computers with excellent graphics, the images are far better than the ones in the black-and-white facsimiles of Zupitza or Malone, but easily seen as much inferior to ones shown on a 24-bit color monitor.

7. Using a color printer at the Institute for Advanced Study, Paul Szarmach recently produced an excellent full-color print from one of our 24-bit color files. As good as it is, the print does not accurately represent the color and texture of the manuscript, and unlike an electronic facsimile it is now impossible to adjust the exposure to make it more like the manuscript.

8. I use the foliation numbers recorded on the manuscript leaves and followed by most editors of *Beowulf*, including Julius Zupitza, the editor of the first facsimile (1882). Some scholars prefer the British Museum's 1884 numbering, undertaken as part of a general refoliation of the collections at the time following the theft of unnumbered pages from some of the manuscripts. This new numbering, inherited by the British Library, has caused much confusion, brought about by the need to cross-reference the numbers on the manuscript itself and its published facsimiles. In the figures, *ms* fol. 129 corresponds to BL numbering 132, fol. 179 corresponds to 182, and fol. 192 corresponds to 196. As these three examples indicate, the BL numbering is not simply three numbers in advance of the manuscript foliation. The electronic facsimile should elevate the confusion, however, by providing images of the paper frames as well as the vellum leaves, thus furnishing a record of the several different numberings recorded on the frames. Andrew Prescott is preparing an article on the various foliations for *British Library Journal*.

9. Actually Thorkelin sets them apart between rows of dots and describes them as a lacuna, while his hired scribe leaves three lines blank in his transcript. See Kiernan, *The Thorkelin Transcripts of Beowulf* (Copenhagen, 1986), pp. 82, 135 and note 56.

10. We have now rescanned this covered reading and I have processed it to make it more legible. It is available in two versions on the anonymous ftp sites in Kentucky and London.

11. N.R. Ker notes that the text “has not been identified” in his *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957, reissued 1990), p. 225. The burnt text is in fact quite invisible in ordinary light, but was recently identified by Stuart Lee with the help of the ultraviolet lamp in the Students Room. “Two Fragments from British Library, MS Cotton Otho B. x,” *British Library Journal* (1991), 83-87. If the forensic light source records correct nanometer ranges, the “UV” lamp in the Students Room includes the blue light range as well as the ultraviolet.
Beowulf Received

David Gravender

I

And, when he'd done, silence. The king's men rose,
Composed themselves around inevitable fire,
Sound settling like stones down a weir.
(Grendel croaked. Somewhere an itchy nose

Inflamed an old infatuation.) Half in umbrage,
Half out, he'd posed a question not admit-
ting answer, hove a bladeless hilt over-head.
Men took him down, bore off the blackened armor.

He was presented. A myth come to save,
Was found, yes wanting, most eager for praise.
Yet if women attended, he hardly heeded. If men
Refrained, well, he'd hardly need of them.

He knew. Laid out later, face up, eyed
A gold-leaved banner. He was consigned.

II

Unconstrained the horse-men ply their courses,
Rally flagging spirits across cracked flags.
Light bleeds from the east. Shouldered bags
Of curious treasures belabor small forces.

Remnants are all we've left. One opposite voice
Survives us all, and on the headland, a barrow
Recollecting some further shore. A sparrow's
Flight might comprehend beyond its choice

Of exits nothing we need enter—or nothing
We do. Significant shadows fall and fall
Between our separate passages, halls
Of fame echoing our praise. Something

Escapes our grasp. It cannot be mentioned here.
A cup is passed; a cup is drawing near.

III

Near and far the storied mind relates,
Apt to tell all it knows. Far fetched
Tales spell the doom one day of unmatched
Halls; jewels glimmer in ash-choked grates.

Behind long tables arms cross. A tough crowd,
Keenly gifted. 'We have learned by asking
Much of worth...'. The voice, plainly masking
What it knows, infuses sparks of vowed

Imitation. That passed, so might this.
Hung fire gutters fiercely as morning
Shivers through the empty room, reforming
Shadows on foliated walls. Grave hilt

Grip attention with something like warning,
Or something like a parting kiss.
King Alfred Speaks: William Lisle's Defense of Anglo-Saxon, 1623

Jonathan Wilcox
Univ. of Iowa

William Lisle of Wilburgham (1569?-1637), sometime fellow of King's College, Cambridge, was a poet, translator, and an early scholar of Anglo-Saxon, who published in 1623 an edition and translation of Ælfric's *Treatise on the Old and New Testament* (the letter to Sigewoard). Lisle's interest in publishing this work was spurred by a desire to demonstrate the antiquity of the idea of biblical translation in the English church, as the title of his edition indicates. Lisle prefaced his edition and translation with a discussion of the significance of Anglo-Saxon, written in twenty sections addressed "To the Readers." One section of that preface which may particularly appeal to modern Anglo-Saxonists is printed below:

Lisle was self-taught in Anglo-Saxon through a course of learning which he describes in this preface. First he learned high and low Dutch, then read what older works in English he could find—he comments that Gavin Douglas's Scottish translation of Virgil proved particularly valuable—then read existing publications of Old English, including *The Gospels of the lower Euangelistes* published under the name of John Foxe in 1571, before embarking upon reading manuscript collections of Old English. The success of this training is suggested by the retention of his translation in the modern edition of Ælfric's *Treatise on the Old and New Testament.*

Elsewhere in this preface Lisle justifies the study of Anglo-Saxon both in terms of Anglican polemic and as an antidote to inkhorn borrowings and a testimony to the expressive powers of English. Substantial excerpts from the preface illustrating the major argument have been printed by Eleanor N. Adams. However, the final section, "The Complaint of a Saxon King" (section 20), has not been reprinted since 1638. Here Lisle makes the bold rhetorical move not just of adopting the voice of King Alfred from beyond the seventh sphere but also of inventing for him a brief snatch of (syntactically unlikely) Old English. The complete section is printed below:

In this passage Lisle shows his awareness of numerous surviving Anglo-Saxon works. He refers earlier in his preface (section 14) to King Alfred's "Preface to Gregory's *Pastoral Care,***" which the content and tone of this passage echoes. He also refers here to the royal genealogies, Alfred's compilation of earlier law-codes, and Alfred's own laws, in addition to Alfred's translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care.* He further attributes to King Alfred a degree of productivity, which modern scholarship does not accept: the founding of Universities, the translation of homilies based on Gregory, and a translation of the Bible.

The second half of the excerpt shows Lisle using the voice of a long-dead king as a tactful way of flattering and advising the living king, James I. His plea for solidarity with the Imperial Families of Germany presumably reflects popular sentiment in favor of Protestant German states during the Thirty Years War, while he also tactfully supports James' chosen role of peace-maker. His climactic argument is implicitly to equate King James' learning with that of King Alfred so that the present king has a political interest in supporting the study of his Anglo-Saxon predecessors.

Lisle's edition of Ælfric's *Treatise on the Old and New Testament* is an interesting witness to an early stage of Anglo-Saxon scholarship and an example of the way that such historical scholarship relates to issues of significance in its own day. The extract presented here may particularly appeal to modern Anglo-Saxonists on account of Lisle's bold rhetorical strategy—so unlike modern scholarly style—of advancing his scholarly argument by imaginatively giving life to a long-dead Anglo-Saxon author.

Text

And hereof me thinkes I heare already the learned King Ælfræd thus expostulating and complaining: *Gil on þeos gesælig doend gesihþe godes, &c. or thus rather in our English: If in this happy making sight of God face to face, where, to endeere my present estate, I behold sometime that I had in the lower world; If any thing here (I say) might offend or greie me; this it is, that I perceiue there the nation which once I governed, which hath also many Kings, both before and after a Norman interruption, descended of my bloud, to make so small account of our writings and language; to forget the meaning of our names, and the names of places by vs conquered; yea the names whereby themselues and we are christened, whereby they have the lots of their inheritance distinguished. Were these all giuen at random, without meaning, without reason; it mattered not to remember, or forget them; to keepe or lose them. But as the first man did in the first language giue euerie thing name according to the nature: so haue wee done in ours: that, whoso vnderstandes the one, shall easily discouer the other. This, this to see alvther neglectted, may grieue any one capable of grieue. Shall I say more? Shall I stand vpon my owne...*
deserts, and reckon my owne endeavours? I dare boldly say now, they have beene great and manifold to benefit posterity. Why should they be neglected? Why of my owne Successors? haue I repaired and founded for them Universities and Schooles of all good learning to be so slighted? haue I so carefully gathered together and sorted, not only the good and holsome precepts of *Bæleg Wodenings, and Woden frealafing [marginal note: The Saxon phrase, for Bæleg which was the same of Woden, which was the same of Frealaf, &c.], whence first awaked the West-Saxon bloud royall; but the Mercian lawes also of King Offa þinferðing, þinferð ænwulthing, ænwulf Osmoding; Yea those of King Ina Cenreding Cenred Ceolwaling, Ceolwald Cypulfing; haue I of all my best and wisest predecessors, culled-out the best lawes; and enacted also of mine owne, with aduice of my noble Thanes and Aldermen, so iust, so proper and profitable for the countrey; so quickly to perish after my decease? Haue I translated with my owne hand the godly Pastorall of Saint Gregory, with many his learned Homilies; yea the whole Bible it selfe; haue I sent copies of them all to my Churches, with many Mancusses of gold, for the helpe and incouragement of my Pastors, and instruction of my people; that all should be lost, all forgot, all grow out of knowledge and remembrance? that my English in England, neede to be Englished; and my translation translated; while few now, and shortly perhaps none, shall be able to doe it? What negligence, what ingratitude is this? what may be added more to grieue a Saint? But rise vp (O!) some one to our kingdome, more therewith commancling then euer King did; more learned then euer King was; and after so many cruell warres betwixt the Britains and Saxons, (thou heire to them both) looke backe againe to the place, from whence we the latter, but more victorious and happy, came: remember that, whom you now entitle the *Emperor of Germany [marginal note: Chronicia Saxonic.] he was in our time called The keasar of Saxiland; as indeed of our Nation that great continent was peopled and named. O loue thou then the Emperiall Families thereof, howsoever discording among themselues: for thou shalt haue power to make peace, and proove the Salomon of this latter Age. This only more thinke on. Sith thou hast issue of either sex, whose hands may well become a Scepter, and head a Crowne, o for their sweet sake and ours, suffer not the renowne of our Nation to be buried in the oblivion of our language. Or, if this double bond bee yet weake; to make it strong as a threefold cable; consider thou shalt thy selve vter many set speeches, so grate, learned, and eloquent; yea write thou shalt so duine bookees, as are worthy to be had in remembrance with thy people while the world endures; shew then by thy care of ancestry what posterity shall doe for thee. To this effect, or the like, might well the Saxon King say: but I vnable to pen, or imagine words well sitting so high a person, humbly craue pardon for this bold attempt, with the rest; and so make an end. 

William Lisle.

Notes

1. A Saxon Treatise Concerning the Old and New Testament. Written about the time of King Edgar (700 years ago) by Ælfricus Abbæ, thought to be the same that was afterward Archbishop of Canterbury. Whereby appeares what was the Canon of holy Scripture here then receiv'd, and that the Church of England had it so long agoe in her Mother-tongue (London: John Haviland for Henrie Seile, 1623). A second edition was published under a different title: Divers Ancient Monuments in the Saxon Tongue: Written seven hundred years agoe. Shewin that both in the Old and New Testament, the Lords Prayer, and the Creede, were then used in the Mother Tongue: and also, What opinion was then held of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ (London, 1638).


5. Sig. fols. 3r-4v: Lisle's spelling and punctuation is retained unchanged (illustrating, for example, the absence of any strict standard for spelling such a word as grieve); the use of Anglo-Saxon type is indicated by bold face.

6. He attributes his knowledge of this translation elsewhere in the preface (§ 14) to a history of Ely.


8. Sif appears in the text but is corrected to Gif in an opening list of errata.
ipsu uasa mola
sagitta sual
ardentibus
effect

cet pasturit mihi
iam conceptdo
lorem exeperti
imputatem

Images of Women in Anglo-Saxon Art IV:
First Target of a Demonized Eros
in the Paris Psalter

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The drawings of the Paris Psalter (Paris, BN lat. 8824), are commonly accepted as Anglo-Saxon work of the second quarter of the eleventh century. One of these, on fol. 6r, within the text column containing the Latin version of Psalm 7, shows a seated woman and man embracing in a structure. To the upper right, a half-length nude male figure with flaming hair and/or horns emerges face downward from a cloud; he has fired an arrow toward the chest of the woman and aims another at the man.

Robert Harris demonstrated sometime ago that this image responds not to the Latin text of Psalm 7:12-14, where arrows are prepared by a judgmental God “for them that burn,” but rather to the vernacular text, which parallels the Latin text in this bilingual psalter, and where the Devil “makes his arrows fiery that he may shoot with them and burn up those who here burn with lust and other vices.” The difference between the Latin and vernacular texts is due in all probability to the influence on the latter of the Breviarium in Psalmos attributed to Jerome. Harris suggested that the image is an imaginative response by the artist to the vernacular text, while at the same time pointing out that the couple embracing in an enclosure is a type traceable into late antiquity, as exemplified by the scene of Dido and Aeneas in a cave in the fifth-century Vergilius Romanus (Rome, Vat. Lat. 3867, fol. 106v; Harris, 1960, pp. 66 and 94). This type of devil is seen elsewhere in late Anglo-Saxon art, notably in the Caedmon Manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11; pp. 3, 16, 20, 36) and the Liber Vitae of New Minster (London, BL Stowe 944, fol. 7r; Jordan). However, an aerial figure peppering lovers with arrows also brings to mind Eros/Amor/Cupid.

Originating as a force binding the elements of creation and uniting living beings (Hesiod, Theogony 116), Eros acquires his bow and wings in Greek sixth-century lyric poetry, notably in Anacreon. However, despite the literary references to the power of his arrows, a survey of the Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (LIMC) produces no surviving scenes of Cupid shooting at a pair of lovers. The Paris Psalter scene may reflect a lost type; a mural scene in Pompeii shows a seated embracing Venus and Adonis, accompanied by Cupid wielding two torches (LIMC III, pt.1, p. 475, no. 156). Alternatively the Paris Psalter image might be modelled on a conflation of Cupid shooting Psyche and Cupid embracing Psyche, which occur on the ends of the pedimented lid of a garland sarcophagus (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; see Schlamm, p. 26 and plate xi:1, 2), or directly on knowledge of the literary Cupid. The demonization of Eros presents no difficulties in an Anglo-Saxon context; pagan divinities both local and imported are identified as devils in Bede (Historia Ecclesiastica 1.7, II.15), and Aldhelm (Carmen De Virginitate, line 1329) calls Cupid the “most foul offspring” of Venus. Cupid would seem the ideal prototype for the Devil who slays the lustful with his bow in the Old English version of Psalm 7.

In the Paris Psalter, a demonic Cupid has directed his first arrow toward the woman. This decision on the part of the artist is possibly explained by gender roles in Anglo-Saxon legal and penitential literature on illicit sexual behavior. Many forms of sexual behavior were considered illicit in the early Middle Ages, but texts on adultery and seduction are most revealing about societal views of gender roles. In early Anglo-Saxon law adultery was an offense against the honor of the woman’s husband, who was financially compensated for his loss of honor and for brideprice (Rivers, passim). In this equation, the wife, although morally culpable, was legally the passive object of adultery. However, in the penitentials of the early period, women are subject to longer penance for adultery than men (see below). Later Anglo-Saxon legal practice varies in the treatment of the genders in adultery, but where imbalances exist, the harsher penalties accrue to women. Christine Fell cites charters of the periods of Ælfred and Æthelræd, in which compensation for adultery is balanced, both genders forfeiting estates. Cnut 53 is significantly less compassionate to women: an admitted adulteress forfeited all her property to her husband and lost both her nose and her ears (Fell, pp. 62-64; Rivers, p. 25).

Since the church adjudicated spiritual and later also temporal sanctions against adultery (Rivers, p. 25), the penitentials are a critical source. If Payer’s assumption that severity of punishment reflects gravity of offense is accepted, then in the early Penitential of Archbishop Theodore, a consenting adulteress, accorded seven years’ penance, was considered more culpable than an adulterer, given three or four years’ penance (Payer, p. 133; but see also Meyer, p. 59, n. 54). Furthermore, a man could divorce his adulterous wife, whereas a woman did not have the same option with an adulterous husband, unless he entered a
monastery (Meyer, p. 59). Yet in some cases women’s passivity is emphasized as in the early law codes; virgins and nuns are seen as potential objects of corruption (Payer, p. 21), and the vast majority of penances for heterosexual misconduct are directed at men. Evidently, in the early period women were considered either as more culpable, if consenting, or as victims, rarely as equal partners. Despite the anti-penitential canons of the Council of Châlons (813) and the Council of Paris (829), the early insular penitentials continued to be used as source material up to the twelfth century (Payer, p. 58 and passim; Davies, p. 92). The later penitentials prescribe the same four-year penance for adultery for men and women, but differ on the question of divorce: the *Old English Handbook* excludes divorce under any circumstances, whereas the *Old English Confessional* follows Theodore.

The *Paris Psalter* artist, visualizing the vernacular version of Psalm 7:12-14, chose to show the arrow striking the woman first: either condemned as temptress or defended as seduced victim, she was the target of a demonic Cupid’s cruellest darts.

**Bibliography**


MATTHEW PARKER IN CAMBRIDGE

AN EXHIBITION IN THE PARKER LIBRARY

October 1993-February 1994
Manuscripts and documents from the Parkerian and College archives exhibited in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, at the invitation of Nigel Wilkins, Librarian.
Exhibits selected and described by Catherine Hall, Library Archivist.
Typing of text and preparation of cover design by Gill Cannell, Assistant Librarian.
Photographs by Mildred Budny, reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College and Mildred Budny. The plates of the indenture and Parker's will are reduced; the others are actual size.

Front cover: The College Arms; an uncoloured impression found in duplicate copies of the Statutes [Item 12].
A-1: Parker's signature as Master [Item 5].
A-3: Parker's seal and signature as Archbishop, the Latin version, as found in XLA 14, one of the indentures founding scholarships from Canterbury to Corpus, 1569 [Item 10].
A-6: Last page of the will of Matthew Parker [Item 14].
A-7: Portrait of Parker [Item 13].
Case A: Parker in Corpus Christi College. 
Fellow (1527-1544) and Master (1544-1553)

1. Register of the Billingford Chest (f. 30).

The earliest records in the College archives showing Parker's hand or signature occur in this register. Fellows on admission, and thereafter annually, were allowed a loan of forty shillings in cash from the charitable chest founded by a former Master of the College, Richard Billingford. 'Anything' might be deposited as pledge for the loan, and Parker's own entry as a junior fellow is recorded with the deposit of an old hymnal. By 1532 he was sufficiently senior to serve as one of the two College Keepers of the Keys, noting down the pledges of his colleagues. Recognising that the existing rules were liable to result in a chest containing little but worthless items, Parker on becoming Master reformed the system to one demanding signed receipts.

2. MS 583. Matthew Parker's roll of autobiographical notes.

For information about Parker's early life and career, historians have long depended upon this roll, made up by Parker to assist his future biographers. The section shown here covers the period from 1527 to 1553, that is, from his entry into a College fellowship as a newly-created B.A. and priest, to the time when he had to resign the Mastership of the College and was stripped of all his other income-producing preferments, following the accession of Queen Mary.

3, 4. XLA. 1,2. Royal Licences to preach throughout the Kingdom in Latin or 'The vulgar tongue' of 1537 and 1549.

Parker greatly valued these licences, issued to him by name by the sovereigns he served as a royal chaplain, Henry VIII and Edward VI. The latter has added his sign manual, supplementing the official Seal for Ecclesiastical Causes. After Parker's death, the licences were sent by his son, John Parker, to Corpus Christi College, along with other items of the Archbishop's personal archive. [See Items 2, 7, 11 and 13.]

5. 'Miscellaneous Documents'. No. 25.

At the first audit after his admission, a new Master of the College expected to sign an inventory of College goods and chattels. With characteristic care for detail, Parker amended and augmented the list, before appending the form of signature he customarily used as Master, of which this is an early and particularly clear example.

6. XXXIX Nos. 116-120. Rentals of College property, c. 1550.

During his Mastership, Parker made it his business to review all sources of College income, checking current rentals against documentation in the muniments. His preliminary work was economically done on strips of waste paper or parchment, from which he made the neat model copies, carrying his elaborate reference system to terriers and title-deeds. The examples shown here, all in Parker's hand, are of one rental for Cambridge Town parishes and one for country properties, accompanied by their respective draft lists. For some properties, notably his own rectory of Landbeach, he would supplement the notebooks with information laid out in tabular form.
Et nesciimus: president et ordinarius而又才安息老矣， Angie Gaum. Etiamque in Cantabrigia se responsum et responsum ex episcopis et archibishopo, bona propter partes in tentam et Baptistam, qui etiam in metropolitana. Obras Anglican et emendationem, Hollicy, Emperor et de novo.

Mathewus Cantuar
Case B. Parker in the University of Cambridge.
Vice-Chancellor (1545, from Jan. 25, and 1548, from Feb. 7)


This bulky collection of official and personal papers relating to University business was arranged and cross-referenced by Parker in later life in order, as he explained in a preatory note, to assist future officers of the University in the performance of their duties. The page displayed shows a list of items from the University muniments being returned to the University Chest by Parker as Vice-Chancellor, 22 Oct. 1548, with additional items in the following January. This list in his own hand, although not containing a signature as such, shows how he customarily described himself in English during his term of office.


Confusingly Parker had some hand in three ‘Black Books’ of transcripts relating to University affairs. This compilation, unlike the other two in the University Archives (Collect. Admin. 5 & 9) contains as much College as University material and was designated for the future use of Masters of Corpus Christi College. Made up from originally unbound paper notebooks, the present volume bears signs of Parkerian rearrangement (for example, double pagination), as well as of additions by subsequent users. Some of the transcripts would seem to have been made by Parker when he had access to the University records, during his period of office or perhaps by the agency of his friend, John Mere (Registry of the University, 1543-1558). Records are here seen to have been of importance to Parker for their historic as much as their narrowly administrative content, regarded by him as two aspects of a single process. The page displayed here contains an extract from the official account of the popular uprising of 1381, as reported in the University's claim for damages. There is also a reference to the documentation of the attack on Corpus Christi College during the same disturbances.


The University continued to be of personal concern to Parker, even after his enforced departure from College and office, and by March 1559 he was again in Corpus. This letter is entirely unofficial, written to William Cecil, the new Chancellor. Parker was not yet Archbishop-elect; he signs himself simply M.P. ‘I shal be bolde in secrecy to wrieth it... without dout Syr thuniversitie is wonderfully decayed’. This letter comes from the early stages of a long and close connection between the two men. It is not usual to find an autograph letter among the sender's papers, and this example was purchased in 1942.


As Archbishop, Parker was in a position to be a benefactor on a considerable scale, and liked to mark his more important anniversaries by the grant of some specific favour. Here, on his 70th birthday, he follows up his recent creation of a new processional way, University Street, from the Schools to the University church. By a tripartite agreement between himself, the University and the College, he ensures that the freehold of the ground of his new street is conveyed to the University and that the walls are kept in repair by Corpus Christi College. The latter is also made responsible for the repair of the books of his recent donation to the University Library. The agreement is signed by Parker in the version of his archiepiscopal title he used for documents in English, together with his seal and those of the other two parties. The letter of attorney, part of the same transaction completed from Lambeth, in Latin, carries the Latin version of his signature with the same archiepiscopal seal.
Case C. Parker as Benefactor.  
Archbishop of Canterbury (1559-1575)

The responsibilities of being Primate of All England under Queen Elizabeth I did not weaken Parker's affectionate concern for the places in which he had spent his earlier life, above all for his old College. He marked the tenth anniversary of his consecration by gifts of plate to the City of Norwich and to the two Cambridge colleges with Norfolk connections (Trinity Hall and Gonville and Caius College) and arranged for the foundations of scholarships and fellowships with Norfolk affiliations. He thereby bound all three colleges as participants in the scheme he was devising for the long-term security of his last and greatest bequest, that of his books and manuscripts destined to come to Corpus Christi College at his death.

Meanwhile he found time to advise and instruct his successors as Master on matters of policy and on proper record keeping, with a view to making his chosen recipients worthy of the treasure to be entrusted to them.


The 'Historiola', though actually composed by Parker's Latin Secretary, John Joscelyn or Josselin, was made at the direction of Parker, who himself devised the overall scheme and supplied the bulk of the notes and transcripts of its 'raw material'. Though cast in the form of a historical sketch of the development of the College, its purpose was to reveal benefaction as the sustaining principle of past achievement, and to create a role of honour of former benefactors, culminating in Parker as the latest and greatest. A short biography of Parker along similar lines, the 'Vita', accompanied the 'Historiola'. The MS shown here is the fair copy of the original version and bears marks of Parker's own editing before copies of the final version were made for the College and the University. The woodcut, hand-coloured initial T, figuring Parker's arms and monogram of the letters of his name, with the date, was one of several such initials he had made for printed works with which he was associated.


The older medieval religious corporations of Oxford and Cambridge did not require 'coats of arms' in the strict sense, though they might display devices appropriate to their foundation. By Parker's day the possession of a 'coat of arms' was widely seen as enhancing the status of any holder, person or institution alike. Accordingly Parker arranged for the College to be granted 'arms', devised and paid for by himself. He based the design upon recognisable symbols of the two founding guilds, the pelican-in-her-piety for Corpus Christi, the lily or fleur-de-lys for St Mary. After the grant, he had printing blocks made from which the design could be stamped onto paper or vellum, along with an accompanying explanatory motto, which could serve as a frontispiece to the College's more important archival books. It may be seen, so augmented and coloured, in the volumes shown here as Items 11 & 13.

13. MS 582. Presentation Copy of Statutes etc.

Whereas the 'Historiola' enshrined the literary portrait of himself which Parker designed for posterity, this handsome volume, intended for permanent preservation in the Great Chest of the College, was embellished with a specially commissioned miniature of the Archbishop at the age of 70. He chose to be depicted as he must most often have appeared, simply dressed at his desk, surrounded by the paraphernalia of writing and sealing and with a book in his hand. A larger and more elaborate miniature of the Queen decorates the front flyleaf of MS 582 and the binding is one of Parker's own design. The volume contains an authenticated copy of the statutes and the arms he had obtained for the College and a summary of his benefactions. It is shown with the fitted wooden case in which it was to be kept.
The last paper notebook to which Parker set his hand and seal is his last will and testament. Its provisions have long been known and printed, by his eighteenth-century biographer John Strype, from the copy of the document in John Parker’s notebook at Lambeth Palace [MS 737]. The document shown here came to the College with the other items of Parker’s personal archive but was also listed as a ‘copy’. Nobody looking at it can doubt that it is the archbishop’s own signature, probably among his last, to judge by the weakness of the hand which could still sign so firmly the previous January [Item 10]. Parker died on 17 May. The ‘papered’ seal is of the Archbishop’s small signet.
Appendix B

TIME FOR A REVIVAL OF OLD ENGLISH TYPES?

by Peter S. Baker

The earliest Old English editions were printed in special types that mimicked the letter-shapes of Old English manuscripts. Complaints about these types began to surface as early as 1798, when Thomas Jefferson wrote, "The Anglo-Saxon alphabet, as known to us in its printed forms, consists of twenty-six characters, about the half of which are Roman, the others of forms peculiarly Saxon. These, mixed with the others, give an aspect to the whole rugged, uncouth, and appalling to an eye accustomed to the roundness and symmetry of the Roman character. This is a first discouragement to the English student. Next, the task of learning a new alphabet, and the time and application necessary to render it easy and familiar to the reader, often decides the doubting learner against an enterprise so apparently irksome." In 1807 James Ingram printed the Old English specimens in his Inaugural Lecture on the Utility of Anglo-Saxon Literature "with common types, because there is only one Saxon character, h, which is not represented equally well by the Roman." However, the death blow to Old English types was surely delivered by the scholars who introduced the "New Philology" to England in the 1830s. Rasmus Rask, in the preface to Benjamin Thorpe's translation of his Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Tongue, wrote thus of his decision to use "the Roman alphabet to represent Old English:

The written Anglo-Saxon characters, as they appear in M.S.S., being themselves a barbarous, monkish, corruption of the Roman, and the printed ones, a very imperfect imitation of the M.S.S. To persist therefore in the use of them (however venerable their appearance) seems to be without good reason. Benjamin Thorpe quietly adopted "Roman" type in his Analecta Anglo-Saxonia, printing only a part of one selection "in the Saxon character," so that "the student may have no difficulty when he meets with any work in that character, either printed or manuscript." In his review of Analecta, which touched off the famous Gentleman's Magazine controversy between the antiquarians and the philologists, John Mitchell Kemble dismissed Old English types as "silly" and as "bibliomaniacal folly," serving no other purpose "than that of rendering books expensive, and so throwing a new obstacle in the way of the student." Though subsequent writers to the Gentleman's Magazine attacked Kemble on many points, they offered no defense of Old English types, whose time, evidently, had nearly passed; by the end of the nineteenth century, all that remained of them were the letters ß, ßc, æ and occasionally ßg and ßp.

Now that we are accustomed to seeing Old English words in Roman dress, we find it easy to assume that those who campaigned against the use of Old English types were in the right. While some of their arguments seem to us valid, Rask's is troubling, being based on the derivation of the types from Old English script itself. His rejection of them is connected with the early philologists' contempt for manuscripts, most memorably expressed by Kemble, who in the first edition of his Beowulf derided Old English scribes as lacking both "knowledge" and "care" and their productions as "hopelessly incorrect." The desire of early scholars to abstract texts from their manuscript context, if that accounts for much of their distaste for Old English types, will meet with little sympathy among modern readers.

Kemble's complaint that Old English types made books expensive, true enough at the time, need no longer trouble us. Font-editing tools for desktop computers now enable anyone with a good eye and a little patience to set up as a type designer, and the availability of sophisticated page-layout software and high-resolution printers enables authors willing to produce camera-ready copy to design their own pages and choose their own typefaces without additional expense either to publishers or to readers. As a revival of Old English types is now possible, it is worth reviewing the advantages of using them:

• They reproduce a distinction that seems to have been important to Anglo-Saxon scribes, who regularly used different scripts for English and Latin.
• They provide our students with a gentle introduction to Old English letter-shapes, making it easier for them to confront manuscripts later on.
• Their distinctive letter-shapes remind students that Old and Modern English letters sometimes represent different sounds.


• They enable us to represent certain manuscript features (such as the various shapes of $i$) that are lost when we use modern type.

• They appeal to the antiquarian in us, and so are a pleasure to use and read.

With these things in mind, I recently set out to produce a digital typeface based on types made for Franciscus Junius around 1654 and presented to Oxford in 1677; these types were used in Junius's *Cadmonis Monachi Paraphrasis Poetica Genesios*, George Hickes's *Institutiones* and *Theaurus*, and other works of the period. The digital typeface, derived from scanned pages of Hickes's *Theaurus* (see the specimen on the preceding page), is named—I trust appropriately—"Junius."

The initial steps in making a digital font from printed pages are straightforward: 1.) scan sample pages and save the results as bitmaps—images composed of dots; 2.) locate the best instance of each letter, then use an image editing program to save the letters as separate bitmaps; 3.) with a tracing program, convert the bitmaps into outlines—mathematical descriptions—of the letters; 4.) import the outlines into a font-editing program. After following these steps my digital font looked like this:

$$\phi \epsilon \delta \phi \epsilon \sigma \theta \epsilon \pi \rho \lambda \iota$$

The typeface possesses some charm, but is not practical for modern printing. Most obviously, it is heavier and less even than modern typefaces. The reason for the difference in weight is that when old books were printed, the ink spread out from where the metal type made contact with the paper. Type designers of the time compensated for this effect, but because readers have now become accustomed to lighter type, the width of each stroke must still be reduced. The typeface looks uneven because paper was coarser than it is now, and the ink spread unevenly through its fibers. The irregularity of old type is now pleasing only to the antiquarian eye, so modern type designers, when they revive old types, generally smooth out strokes and curves.

There are other, more subtle problems with the typeface. The Old English letters are heavier and have more prominent serifs than the normal ones, suggesting that Junius's typefont contained only Old English letters, which compositors matched as well as they could with contemporary types. To achieve a harmonious effect, I edited the normal letters to make them match the Old English ones in both weight and style. The serifs of the Old English characters were often too large: the serif at the bottom of $\phi$, for example, forces extra space between that and the preceding letter (see $xy$ in line 3 of *Theaurus* specimen). I eventually adopted a size of serif that seemed an appealing compromise between the largest and the smallest, and I standardized the weight of strokes after examining some modern revivals of classic typefaces like Garamond and Caslon. Problems with spacing were due sometimes to the nature of old type and sometimes to the design of individual letters. Notice how in *opjerne* (line 1 of *Theaurus* specimen) there appears to be extra space between $\eta$ and $\theta$ because the long swept-back ascender of $\theta$ forces the letters apart. The best solution is to "kern" the $\eta$, that is, to make it overlap with the preceding letter. In metal type kerning was difficult and tedious, but in digital type it is easy. A problem with $g$ is due to its design: the cross-stroke is so long that it creates extra space around the body of the letter (see *mega* in line 3 of *Theaurus* specimen). To prevent the $g$ from disrupting the texture of the typeset line, I shortened the cross-stroke: the figure at left illustrates both the old and the new $g$.

Junius's typeface lacked matching italics, considered essential in modern typography. I was able to create some italic letters by skewing and editing the letters of the roman font, but others (including most lower-case letters) had to be designed from scratch; here I was guided by early italic designs and by modern adaptations of early italics. The result of all this labor retains, I hope, the spirit of Junius's original Old English types, and yet is better adapted to the requirements of modern printing than a simple reproduction of those types would be. "Junius" is a scalable font, available in several formats. The Windows/DOS/Unix version is part of a package that also contains "Times Old English" and "Anglo-Saxon Capitals" (illustrated below); the Macintosh version contains Junius alone. These versions are available from the ANSAXNET server:

- oetfont sofwind (TrueType for Windows/DOS)
- juniu07 sofmac (TrueType for Macintosh)
- jnii01 sofmac (Type 1 for Macintosh)

These versions are available from an anonymous ftp site, bowers.lib.virginia.edu (cd Baker):

- oetfont.exe (TrueType for Windows/DOS)
- oepsfont.exe (Type 1 for Windows/DOS)
- TrueType_Junius.sit.bin (TrueType for Macintosh)
- Junius_Type1.sit.bin (Type 1 for Macintosh)
- oepsfont.tar.Z (Type 1 for Next/Sun)

All are self-extracting archives except the last, for which you will need the Unix utilities "uncompress" and "tar." If you cannot access the ANSAXNET server or the ftp site, send a disk and a stamped, self-addressed mailer to me c/o Department of English, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA 22903. Remember to specify the version you need.

NOTES

1. I wish to thank J.R. Hall for generously sharing his knowledge of early editions and their types as I was revising this essay. Those who
9. For scanning I used the Hewlett Packard Scanjet 1150 for editing and font generation I used CorelDraw, CorelTrace, Corel Photo-Paint and Alysar Fontographer.

**SPECIMENS**

**Junius 14-point:** Ye æþanynon mid upum ðun ða yðan þer beopan þæs; pe gefapon eac þa muntar ýmbe þæne sefætan se feðande, þe pe mid ædenebumb hægæ þæs gefundfullum þendum þæn þe þæceð on þam gemanum þæne æggenestan þeode. ða yðan getacnið þyne beopan ðæþþ, þa muntar getacnið eac þa mycelynylla þisre þæþþ. ðis þrum wendon, þær pe gefapon þæne lillian blofman (þ þer æþer æggenemæþæþ, þær pe onpenton þæne posena þæc) (þ þer, þe ongeton þær æggenþæþ beopynylla).

**Junius 12-point italic:** Ic bæggæ þæ almhweigæ Scoppeone mid ealhe beoctan: þe þreb me rynfulla þær gæðæ. þæ ic þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þae...
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