OLD ENGLISH NEWSLETTER

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Editor: Paul E. Szarmach

Associate Editors: Carl T. Berkhout

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

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

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

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How to Reach OEN

NEWS

Frank Receives Highest Award

Roberta Frank, Professor of English and Director of the Centre for Medieval Studies, has been named University Professor at the Univ. of Toronto, the highest rank the university grants its faculty members. Frank, who has studied the languages of the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian peoples of the North Atlantic during the Middle Ages, has made outstanding contributions to the areas of textual criticism, poetics, style, history and mythology over the past 27 years. Recognized internationally as an authority on Old Norse skaldic poetry, she has made significant contributions to the Dictionary of Old English. The addition of Frank along with two others on June 8, 1995, brings the number of University Professors to 23.

II MLA 1995

The Old English Language and Literature Division of the Modern Language Association will sponsor the following sessions at the December, 1995, meeting in Chicago:

Session I: Style in Old English Texts

Presiding: Roberta Frank (Univ. of Toronto)

Christopher A. Jones (Idaho State Univ) "... meatim sed et rustica' Ælfric's Latin Style Reconsidered"

R.J. Reddick (Univ. of Texas-Arlington) "Style, Rhetoric, and Textuality in the Parker Chronicle"

Anita R. Riedinger (Southern Illinois Univ.) "The Formulaic Style in the Old English Riddles"

M.J. Toswell (Univ. of Western Ontario) "Style in Old English: The Test of the Hapax Legomenon"

Session II: Beowulf

Presiding: Patrick W. Conner (West Virginia Univ.)

Dabney A. Bankert (Univ. of Illinois) "Beowulf, the Celts and the Critics"

James H. Morey (Emory Univ.) "Death and the Succession in Beowulf"

John Tanke (Univ. of Michigan) "Riddles of the Hoard in Beowulf"

Session III: Rhetoricizing Anglo-Saxon Material Practices

Presiding: R.D. Fulk (Indiana Univ.)

Lois Bragg (Gallaudet Univ.) "Runic Epigraphs: Reconsidering The Husband's Message"

Shari Horner (Univ. of Nebraska-Kearney) "'Da nacodon word': Corporeal Hermeneutics in Ælfric's Lives of Saints"

Michael S. Nagy (Saint Louis Univ.) "Rhetorical Allusion and Bardic Begging in Deor"

Research on Anglo-Saxon Sculpture

"Sources and Audiences for Anglo-Saxon Sculpture," an ongoing research project organized by Dr. A. Jane Hawkes (Univ. of Newcastle-upon-Tyne), is devoted to exploring the different iconographic, stylistic and compositional sources for Anglo-Saxon sculpture, as well as the ways in which style, image, and design can be manipulated to appeal to different audiences in different contexts.

Initial work began in 1991 and focused on three key monuments of early Anglo-Saxon sculpture: the Rothbury, Bewcastle, and Ruthwell crosses. These three monuments were chosen because, while linked stylistically and in their use of a variety of late antique models—ranging from coins to consular diptychs and sarcophagi, each was designed to make a unique statement within a specific context.

Preliminary results of the project will be published as part of *The Insular Tradition*, ed. Catherine Karkov, Michael Ryan, Robert Farrell (SUNY Press), due out in 1996. In this volume A Jane Hawkes identifies images of imperial power (crown, sceptre and *mappa*) and explores the way in which they are used to convey the dual nature of Christ on the Rothbury cross; Catherine Karkov focuses on the use of related images of imperial power and Anglo-Saxon kingship in the simplified design and commemorative program of the Bewcastle cross; Carol Farr examines the female iconography of, and hypothesizes a female monastic audience for, the Ruthwell cross.

Further information on the project is available from:
Dr. A. Jane Hawkes
Department of English Literary and Linguistic Studies
University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne
Newcastle-upon-Tyne NE1 7RU.

IV Medieval Forum

The Medieval Studies Council cordially invites all to participate in the Seventeenth Medieval Forum to be held at Plymouth State College April 19–20, 1996. Scholars, teachers, and aficionadoes interested in the Middle Ages are invited to participate. Undergraduate students need to be sponsored by their professor. Participants are encouraged to submit papers or propose entire sessions on any aspect of Medieval studies. The Forum is especially interested in forming sessions on the "Seven Deadly Sins." If you wish to propose a paper, a complete session, to moderate a session or just to attend the Forum, please contact:

Professor Manuel Marquez-Sterling
Director, Medieval Studies Council
Plymouth State College
USNH
Plymouth, New Hampshire 03264

Phone: 603-535-2425.

V

The Cathedral Experience

On October 5–7, 1995, The Center for British Studies at the University of Colorado, Boulder, will host "The Cathedral Experience" Conference, which seeks to provide a cultural re-construction of the centrality of cathedral life and government as a center of social services and community in the Middle Ages. Interdisciplinary in nature, conference papers will focus on social, political, literary, and musical aspects of the cathedral's functions with particular attention to institutions fundamental to our own culture. Conference speakers include: John Simpson, Dean, Canterbury Cathedral, "The Monastic Cathedral, Eleventh Century Canterbury"; John Burton, Surveyor to the Fabric, Canterbury Cathedral, "The Experience in Stone"; Sarah Beckwith, Univ. of Pittsburgh, "The Topography of Corpus Christi in York: Urban Conflict in a Cathedral City"; Madonna J. Hettinger, College of Wooster, "Laboring in the Shadows: The Cathedral as Place and Personal Identity for Medieval Workers"; Bruce Holsinger, Columbia University, "Polyphones and Sodomites"; David Vickers, Musical Director, St. Aidan's, Boulder, "Healing Chant"; Barbara Palmer, Mary Washington College, "Cultural Community Centers: Art, Drama and the Medieval Church."

VI

Future of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Problems, Trends, and Opportunities in Research Februrary 15–17, 1996

The Arizona Center for Medieval and Rennaissance Studies at Arizona State University will be hosting its second annual interdisciplinary conference on Medieval and Renaissance studies on the general topic of problems and new directions in the study of the Middle Ages and Early Modern period. ACMRS will also host *The Medieval Book: A Workshop in Codicological Practice*. This pre-conference half-day workshop led by Richard Clement, Univ. of Kansas, will focus on the making of the medieval codex. Participants will discuss the preparation of parchment and paper, the making of pens and ink, and then will make and prepare several quires in preparation for writing. For information contact: Robert E. Bjork, Director, ACMRS, Arizona State Univ., Box 872301, Tempe, AZ 85287–2301, E-mail: atreb@asuvm.inre.asu.edu, Phone: 602–965–5900, FAX: 602–965–1681.

VΠ

The Golden Age of Northumbria

A conference will be held at Newcastle-upon-Tyne July 22–26, 1996, to coincide with the exhibition *The Golden Age of Northumbria* from June to August at the Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle-upon-Tyne to celebrate Visual Arts Year 1996. For further information contact: Dr. A. Jane Hawkes, Dept. of English Literary and Linguistic Studies, Univ. of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, NE1 7RU, England, Phone: 0191–222–7619, FAX: 0191–222–8708, E-mail: a.j.hawkes@newcastle.ac.uk.

VIII Alcuin of York Conference

The third conference, sponsored by Germania Latina, entitled, "Alcuin of York and his Influence on European culture will be held September 22–23, 1995 at the Univ. of Groningen, The Netherlands. Scholars presenting papers include: Patrizia Lendinara, "Mixed attitudes to Ovid: the Carolingian Poets and the Glossographers"; Charles D. Wright, "Alcuin's Ambrose"; Mayke B. de Jong, "From scholastici to scioli: Alcuin and the Formation of an Intellectual Elite"; Mary Garrison, "Soical World of Alcuin: Nicknames at York and at the Carolingian Court"; Donald A. Bullough, "The Cultural Importance of Alcuin: a Comparative Discussion of the Manuscript Evidence"; Karl Lutterkort, "Illius exemplo dormientes excitate animos: Aspects of Bede's Literary Influence on Alcuin"; L.J. Engels, "Alcuinus praeceptor: the Didactic Works"; and C.H. Kneepkens, "Alcuin and the Logic of His Time."

IX The Past at Present: Varieties of Historicism in Medieval and Early Modern Studies

The Medieval and Renaissance Seminar, Univ. of Western Ontario will host a conference on March 1–2, 1996, which is a follow-up to the 1995 conference, "The Cultural Work of Ritual, Symbol, and the Other." Like that conference, this one will address the relationship between the revolution in methodology which has taken place in the humanities and social sciences over the past decades and the past which is the commoon object of study for medieval and early modern scholars. In this case, the focus will be on any aspect of the topic of "historicism." Papers will come from a large array of disciplines and relevannt periods.

X Bad Rulership

MAJESTAS, the interdisciplinary society for the advancement of scholarly research concerning ideas, symbols, and institutions of rulership in conjunction with the Charles Homer Haskins Society for Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and Angevin Studies will be sponsoring a joint conference entitled, "Bad Rulership." It will be held November 2–5, 1995 in Houston Texas. Papers of particular interest to Anglo-Saxonists include: Derek Baker, "Bad Rulership, Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries; and Edward R. Haymes, "Viking Concepts of Bad Rulers." For further information on the conference contact Richard A. Jackson for details. FAX: 713–743–3216; E-mail: rjackson@uh.edu.

XI Brief Notices on Publications

Durham Medieval Texts announces Ælfric's Prefaces, ed. Jonathan Wilcox. This is a new edition of each of Ælfric's prefaces. The editor has provided a complete apparatus, including translations of the Latin and a full glossary of the Old English, along with a contextualizing introduction and bibliography of further scholarship. The Introduction includes such subjects as: Ælfric's Works, Style, Historical Context, and a Textual Introduction. Pp. vii + 202. Copies may be obtained from Medieval Texts, Department of English Studies, Elvet Riverside, New Elvet, Durham DH1 3JT, England. ISBN 0 9505989 7 6.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 1 MS F: Facsimile Edition, ed. David Dumville, has been published by Boydell & Brewer. This facsimile edition was published because of the delay in the bringing out of the textual edition for MS. F. It is hoped that this edition will encourage a wider awareness of and debate about this version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. The Introduction contains sections on The Codex, The History of the Manuscript, and Previous Editorial Work on F. ISBN 085991 125X. Published price: \$135.00/£75.

For U.S. orders contact:

Boydell & Brewer

P.O. Box 41026

Rochester, NY 14604-4126

PHONE: 716-275-0419; FAX: 716-271-8778.

In the U.K. contact:

Boydell & Brewer

P.O. Box 9

Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF

The proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Conference of the Southeastern Medieval Association at Arlington, Virginia, have been published as volume 10 of *Medieval Perspectives* (1995). One article of interest to Anglo-Saxonists is Caroline Dennis, "Exeter Book Riddle 39: Creature Faith." For information contact the editor, Ordelle G. Hill, Box 22–A Coates Building, Eastern Kentucky Univ., Richmond, KY 40475–3101.

Boydell & Brewer Ltd. has published *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf-Manuscript*. The six studies in this book seek to consider the motivation and background to the compilation of the *Beowulf*-manuscript, and in particular to address the question of the precise role and meaning both of the ancient monsters who stalk through the sources and of the heroes who battle against them. All five texts from the *Beowulf*-manuscript are examined in turn for the ways in which contrasting worlds and cultures are combined and reconciled in a manner so characteristic of Anglo-Saxon England. The twin themes of pride and prodigies are suggested by tracing changing of attitudes towards the conceptof pride and establishing a close link between the proud pagan warriors depicted in Christian tradition and the monsters they fight. An Appendix contains new editions and translations (some for the first time in English) of the *Liber Monstrorum*, *The Letter of Alexander to Aristotle*, and *The Wonders of the East*. Pp. 352, ISBN 085991 4569. Published price: \$71.00/£39.50. For U.S. orders contact Boydell & Brewer, P.O. Box 41026, Rochester, NY 14604–4126; PHONE: 716-275–0419; FAX: 716-271–8778. In the U.K. contact Boydell & Brewer, P.O. Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF.

In Memoriam: Jackson Justice Campbell

A Remembrance by

Joseph B. Trahern Jr., Univ. of Tennessee

Patrick Hermann, Univ. of Alabama

Jack Campbell, Professor of English *emeritus* at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, died of cancer at home in Champaign on October 18, 1994. Born in Oklahoma on January 9, 1920, he received the A.B. at Yale in 1941, the A.M. at the University of Pennsylvania in 1946, and the Ph.D. at Yale in 1950. He taught at Yale from 1948–51, at Illinois from 1951–54, at Princeton from 1954–64, and again at Illinois from 1964 until his retirement.

Jack Campbell's major publications included the Yale Shakespeare edition of *Troilus and Cressida* (1955), *The Advent Lyrics of the Exeter Book*, Princeton (1958), and a number of highly influential articles, including "The Dialect Vocabulary of the Old English Bede" (*JEGP*, 1951), "Learned Rhetoric in Old English Poetry" (*Modern Philology*, 1966), and "Cynewulf's Multiple Revelations" (*Medievalia et Humanistica*, 1972). A glance at the highly selective bibliography in the Greenfield-Calder *New Critical History of Old English Literature* will show that only a small handful of American scholars are cited more frequently.

Despite his own substantial accomplishments, which he never seemed to count for much, Jack was inordinately proud of the scholarly achievements of his students; it is doubtful that anyone in recent years directed as many dissertations in Old English as he. And given the fact that Old English was required at both Princeton and Illinois in the early years he taught there, his students included literally dozens of the major scholars of our generation, including the substantial number of distinguished medievalists working under D.W. Robertson, Jr. in the late 1950's and early 1960's and a goodly number of medievalists who came out of Illinois under the tutelage of Jack, Robert E. Kaske, and Richard Green.

A moving and altogether upbeat memorial service for Jack was held at the University of Illinois on November 5, 1994. Jack's daughter and his two sons welcomed guests, played some of Jack's favorite Bach on the piano, and reminisced about their father. Marcia Dalbey, Martin Camargo, Jane Chance, Ray Farrar, Frank Hodgins, Kenneth Kinnamon, and Joe Trahern all spoke. It is impossible to list all of the students Campbell influenced, but among them, in addition to those named above, are: Edward Donald Kennedy, Catherine Regan, John Conlee, Robert Lucas, Spenser Cosmos, Thomas Hall, Willard Rusch, Michael Phillips, Pamela Clements, Mark Allen, Patricia Hollahan, Donald Bzdyl, Allan Robb, Richard Trask, Gene Crook, Daniel Poteet, Douglas Butturff, Patrick Geohegan, Judith Newton, Theodore Buermann, Patrick Gallagher, and James Doubleday.

All Jack's students and colleagues wanted to share in his gift of *brio*—his energy, vitality, and brilliance. And we wanted to learn more about soul and spirit, not only as *mod* and *hyge*, but in their modern incarnations as well. How large-hearted Jack was, how deeply his words could pierce, how rich were his joys, how deeply etched were the lines on his face, how completely was his life given over to the cultivation of soul and spirit and of mind. In *The Battle of Maldon*, one of the poems Jack introduces so gracefully and succinctly in his anthology *Poems in Old English*, the first person to speak upon the death of the heroic and beloved chieftain Byrhtnoth is Ælfwine, who laments a two-fold loss: *me is pæt hearma mæst; he wæs ægðer min mæg and min hlaford*. These words still speak for countless numbers of his former students and colleagues.

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

Tenth Progress Report

The Management Committee is delighted to be able to report that at the end of 1994 the British Academy awarded a grant to Fontes Anglo-Saxonici which has allowed us to appoint two research assistants from January 1995: Rohini Jayatilaka and Mark Atherton. Rohini Jayatilaka will be working for the project part-time until September 30, 1995; Mark Atherton will be full-time over a similar period, although the precise duration of his appointment cannot yet be finalized. These appointments will allow for substantial progresss to be made on the Old English homilies, which is the first area targeted for completion. Initially, therefore, they are concentrating respectively on Pope's Supplementary Homilies and the Vercelli Homilies. The grant also allows us to continue employing Dr. Wendy Collier for a limited number of hours a week in order to carry out her invaluable work of processing incoming contributions for entry onto the database. For Old English texts Anglo-Saxon England 23 listed 69 entries on Wulfstan's Canons of Edgar and 73 on Wulfstan's homilies. Entries are currently being processed on further Wulfstan homilies, "Maccabees," and the Capitula of Theodulf.

In parallel with this, 1994–95 has been a year of considerable activity in the Anglo-Latin field. Andy Orchard has largely completed the analysis of the work of all named poets (amounting to 1600 entries) and Anglo-Latin prose has now been embarked upon by Neil Wright, who is working on Aldhelm's *De Virginitate*. A numbering system is now being established by Andy Orchard and Michael Lapidge which can be applied to the anonymous Anglo-Latin verse. This system is a necessary preparation for the inclusion of this important and substantial body of material.

The contributor's guidelines have been rewritten for the use of those making contributions electronically rather than on paper, the programming facility has been very considerably improved by the installation of Paradox 5.0 at Manchester, and there is now a complete copy of the database at Cambridge, which is the center for the work being done on the Anglo-Latin texts. Following a decision made at its annual meeting in October 1994, the Managment Committee is also following up the possibilities of publication on CD-ROM.

The annual one-day meeting was held in King's College London in March 1994, and in May there was the usual opportunity for discussing progress at the Kalamazoo Congress and liaising with the team working on *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture*. In 1995 there is additional opportunity of reporting on progress at the ISAS conference in Stanford and arrangements have been made to include *Fontes* in the program.

Anyone who is interested in contributing either on Old English or Anglo-Latin texts and who has not yet contacted Dr. Scragg or Prof. Lapidge, as the case may be, is warmly invited to write to the former at the Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies, Univ. of Manchester, Manchester, England M13 9PL, or the latter at the Dept. of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, Univ. of Cambridge, 9 West Road, Cambridge CB3 9DP.

Malcolm Godden Chairman of the Managment Committee

Joyce Hill General Secretary

Donald Scragg Director for Old English

Michael Lapidge Director for Anglo-Latin

ISAS '97

International Society of Anglo-Saxonists Eighth Meeting

Palermo, Italy

July 6 (Sunday)-12 (Saturday), 1997

ANGLO-SAXON STUDIES IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

For further information, write to:

Patrizia Lendinara Cattedra di Filologia Germanica Facoltà di Magistero Università di Palermo, Piazza I Florio, 24 90139 Palermo, Italia

> PHONE: 091-6956553/572 FAX: 091-321665 E-mail: Lendi@CUCUNIPA.IT

Old English Studies in Germany, ca. 1965-95

Hans Sauer, Univ. of Dresden

Introduction

The editor of the OEN has invited me to present a survey of the state of OE studies in Germany and I gladly take up this opportunity. Giving such a survey at the present moment seems particularly appropriate, because some of the leading scholars (especially Helmut Gneuss and Hans Schabram, also Karl Heinz Göller, Herbert Pilch and others) have just retired, or are about to retire and accordingly a change of generations is taking place. It also gives an opportunity to survey briefly the changes brought about by German reunification. Because OE is studied within the German university system, I begin with an outline of this system, which differs in a number of aspects from the American and the British system (section 1). I go on to characterize the scholars specializing in OE (section 2), and then I have a brief look at former East Germany and at the situation since reunification (section 3); strictly speaking there is no East Germany any longer, of course. Finally I mention a few association, conferences, and publishing houses (section 4), and give a brief conclusion, which also points out the limits of my survey (section 5)—since the generation of scholars that is now retiring began their careers in the 1960. I take this period as my starting point. The bibliography (section 6) mainly tries to collect the titles of the books written by the scholars mentioned or in their honor-it would far exceed the limits of an article to include all their papers, too. I have tried to be as objective as possible, but inevitably the presentation will reflect some of my own biases (and also the gaps in my knowledge).

Universities, syllabuses, examinations and degrees

a) Structure: Germany is a federal republic (Bun-

desrepublik Deutschland). Since its reunification in 1990 it has consisted of 16 states, the eleven "old" states Baden-Württemberg, Bayern (Bavaria), Berlin, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen (Hessia), Niedersachsen (Lower Saxony), Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rheinland-Pfalz (Rhineland/Palatinate), Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein, and the five "new" states Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen (Saxony), Sachsen-Anhalt, Thüringen (Thuringia)—Berlin and Brandenburg are planning to fuse into one state in the near future. Education, including schools and universities, is in the responsibility of the states, NOT of the federal government. Therefore it is, of course, difficult to make generalizations, because regulations can vary from state to state and partly also from university to university.

Some features are characteristic of the whole of Germany, however: almost all universities are state universities, there are hardly any study fees and tuition fees, and the academic year is divided into two semesters, a winter semester and a summer semester (but their precise dates vary).

b) Degrees: There is no B.A. in Germany; the first degree taken is either the M.A. or the so-called state-exam (*Staatsexamen*), which is a prerequisite for those students who want to become teachers (some subjects are now introducing a B.A., but to my knowledge English is not [yet] among them). Students can also take both examinations, since most credits they gain are valid for both. Usually two or three subjects are studied, e.g. English and German; English and French; English, History and Social Studies, etc. After two years, most students have to take an intermediate examination. The final examination can be taken after four years (= eight semesters), but unfortunately many students take one,

two or even three years longer. Many English syllabuses require students to take an introductory course in either OE or ME or the history of English, and at many universities there are also professors offering lectures and seminars on the history of the language and on Medieval English Literature, including OE topics and texts. There are exceptions, however: to my knowledge, the English Department in the university of Frankfurt/Main, for example, does not offer (or expect) any historical knowledge of its students (there is a professor in the Norse Department, however, offering OE courses). For the M.A. as well as for the state exam, students usually have to write a thesis, and this thesis can also be written on OE language or literature at a number of universities (where there are professors prepared to supervise in this area), and a few of those later develop into doctoral dissertations. In Bavaria there is, for example, also an option to do one part of the written state examination on OE language.

c) Doctoral dissertation: After having taken their M.A. or their state exam, most students leave the university in order to get a job (e.g. as teachers of English, etc.), but a few stay on to write a doctoral dissertation and to acquire the degree of Dr.phil. (Doctor of Philosophy, equivalent to Ph.D.). Their number is relatively small (and still fewer do it in OE): on the one hand, most jobs and professions do not require a doctor's degree (e.g., teachers of English at primary and secondary schools do not need one), on the other hand, there are relatively few university assistantships and scholarships available. Traditionally there have been no postgraduate (= doctoral) programs in Germany (due to the non-existence of a B.A., there is not really a distinction between undergraduates and graduates). Students and assistants mainly write their doctoral dissertation; if they still need credits, they largely acquire them in regular seminars, sometimes in advanced seminars

(Oberseminar) offered by professors. After having submitted their thesis, doctoral candidates also have to pass an oral examination; at some universities, they have to defend their thesis (in addition or alternatively). As a rule, all German dissertations must be published. A new development (sponsored by the federal government) has been the establishment of special classes for doctoral candidates (Graduiertenkollegs) at a number of universities, usually on an interdisciplinary basis, and connected with a grant; as far as I know, none of those specifically involves OE, however.

d) Habilitation and professorships: Of those who stay on to teach at university after the completion of their dissertation (Dr.phil.), some go on to write their Habilitationsschrift, which is a kind of second dissertation. The Habilitation (which also includes a kind of examination at the end) normally is a prerequisite for becoming a professor (although it does not guarantee an appointment); it confers the degree of Dr.phil.habil. on the successful candidate, who can then call himself or herself Privatdozent/in. The Habilitation is apparently a central European speciality originating in the early nineteenth century; it is also done in Austria, Switzerland and Poland. Usually the Habilitationsschrift is written in a different field from the doctoral dissertation (although there have been exceptions); as a consequence, scholars who do/did their dissertation on OE (like Angelika Lutz, myself, and others), have to move to a different field for their Habilitationsschrift. Conversely, sometimes people who did their doctoral dissertation in another field, do/did their Habilitation then on OE (e.g. Wilhelm Busse, Kurt Otten, Ursula Schaefer in Germany, Andreas Fischer in Switzerland, and others). This system is apparently intended to make people specialists in more than one field; it is connected with the fact that there are no professorships just for OE (or ME, etc.)—often they are, e.g., for English language

or for English literature (with medieval language and literature being just a part within that), but there are also a number of departments that have professorships for modern English language and literature as well as for historical linguistics and Medieval English language and literature, e.g. Aachen (H. Weinstock), Berlin (Humboldt University and Free University), Bochum (H.J. Diller), Cologne (M. Görlach), Düsseldorf, Erlangen, Göttingen, Greifswald, Heidelberg, Munich, Regensburg, Rostock, Tübingen (J. Fichte), etc. The disadvantage is that scholars have to leave the field of their first specialization even if they could relatively easily continue to publish in it-sometimes they can come back to it later on. At the moment, there are few young scholars who have done their Habilitation with an emphasis on Medieval English language and literature. Posts are still advertised in this field, however. These scholars therefore have a good chance of getting a professorship—sometimes it is now even difficult to fill posts in this field because of the scarcity of suitable candidates. It is, of course, hard to predict how long this situation will last.

Scholars and research

Although some OE is taught at many German universities, there are few where there is a clear emphasis on OE in research. Usually this is due to a professor whose main area of research happens to be in OE. This is the case in Munich, Göttingen, Freiburg, Eichstätt, and also in some other places.

a) Munich: Helmut Gneuss (born 1927) came to Munich in 1965 and has thus taught there for 30 years. He is not only an internationally recognized scholar in his own right, but he has also directed ca. 20 dissertations, most of them in the field of OE. Moreover, he has been active as an editor (e.g. of Anglia and of Anglo-Saxon England) and as a member of several advisory

boards (e.g. of the Dictionary of Old English project in Toronto). His own work includes publications on loanformations in OE,1 on liturgy, especially hymns, on questions of editing OE texts, on the Battle of Maldon, on the so-called Winchester vocabulary (i.e. the specific OE synonyms for certain Latin words taught by bishop Æbelwold in his school in Winchester and taken up by his pupils, most notably Ælfric), on the awareness and study of language in Anglo-Saxon times and far beyond (i.e. right into the nineteenth century). He is also an authority on A-S libraries and MSS and he has been preparing a catalogue of MSS from the A-S period (OE as well as Latin ones); the first fruit of this project is his preliminary list which almost immediately became a standard reference work. The emphasis on linguistic studies and on the philological interpretation of texts, including editions, is also reflected in the work of his students. Many of their dissertations are critical editions of OE texts (one aim of this emphasis has also been to provide the editors of the DOE with reliable texts), others have developed the concept of the Winchester vocabulary further, especially Walter Hofstetter, who has written the most comprehensive survey of it so far, etc. Several of Gneuss's students and junior colleagues have become professors elsewhere, in particular Klaus Ostheeren (born 1933; in Cologne 1973-1981 and in Münster since 1981), Karl Reichl (born 1943, in Bonn since 1978; he has worked a lot on ME and on oral poetry), Hans Sauer (born 1946; in Würzburg 1989-1993 and in Dresden since 1993), and Angelika Lutz (born 1949, in Erlangen since ca. 1994). Among the teaching staff in Munich are Mechthild Gretsch, Walter Hofstetter, Michael Korhammer, and Lucia Kornexl. Gneuss is retiring in 1995, but he will certainly continue to be active as an Anglo-Saxonist. His successor will probably also be a medievalist.

b) Göttingen: Hans Schabram (born 1928) came to

Göttingen in 1968 (after having taught in Giessen 1964–68) and retired in 1993. His main interest is in OE language and in the philological analysis of OE texts. He published a book on the OE synonyms for superbia, establishing a clear distinction between Anglian and West-Saxon usage (oferhygd in Anglian, ofermod in WS), and also subgroups within these divisions, one of them represented by what soon afterwards became known as the Winchester group (which used modig), and in a number of articles he discussed specific OE words and passages in OE texts. His students also did their dissertations mainly on topics of OE language or as critical editions of OE texts and glosses; Franz Wenisch, for example, developed the study of OE dialect vocabulary further (including the assignment of OE texts to specific dialects), identifying more dialect words, but also rejecting a number of earlier ascriptions as untenable (i.e. identifying them as common OE words).3 Wenisch is also working on an index of OE texts, specifying their date and dialect (as far as this is possible). Roland Torkar discovered that one of the texts printed by Liebermann among the Anglo-Saxon laws is really a translation from Alcuin; C.D. Wetzel studied the word-division in OE MSS (at the end of the line), which yielded important results not only for scribal practices, but also for the syllable structure and the morphological structure of OE. He is now working on a study of OE prepositions, partly also with a view to their dialectal distribution. 4 Hans Schabram's chair has not been filled since his retirement two years ago, but it is expected that another medievalist will be appointed to it soon, and Klaus R. Grinda and Claus Dieter Wetzel are keeping up the teaching of OE in Göttingen.

c) Freiburg im Breisgau: Herbert Pilch (born 1927) came to Freiburg in 1961 and retired in 1995. He has not only worked in OE and ME, but also in phonetics and phonology and in Celtic languages. He wrote his doctoral dissertation on the loss of the prefix ge-; later on, he published an OE grammar according to synchronic and structural principles and, together with Hildegard Tristram, a history of OE literature with particular emphasis on motifs and topoi. Hildegard Tristram (born 1941) did both her dissertation and her Habilitationsschrift on OE (but she has published in other fields, too): her dissertation was an edition of OE prose homilies and her Habilitation a study of the motif of the six ages of the world in OE as well as in Old Irish literature. Ursula Schaefer (born 1947) wrote her Habilitationsschrift on the question of literacy and orality in OE, using the term vocality to account for the fact that all OE literature which survives has come down to us in written form and was probably also largely composed in written form, but often still employs techniques and patterns of the earlier oral tradition. This study is connected with a large interdisciplinary research project on oral and written literature based in Freiburg for more than ten years now (Sonderforschungs-bereich Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit) that also organizes conferences and publishes a series (ScriptOralia) in which over 60 monographs and collections of papers have appeared so far (not all on OE, of course). From the school of Freiburg also come Sabine Volk-Birke, Gunhild Zimmermann, who did her dissertation on the structure and purpose of the OE poetic MSS, and Stephen Tranter (an Englishman who settled in Germany), a specialist in meter, who works mainly in Old Norse and Old Celtic, but also in OE. Herbert Pilch has now retired and his successor is more into modern linguistics; Hildegard Tristram, Ursula Schaefer and Stephen Tranter have left Freiburg: Tristram is now in Potsdam, Schaefer at the Humboldt University in Berlin, and Tranter in Jena, so the future of OE studies in Freiburg seems a little uncertain at the moment.

d) Eichstätt: Alfred Bammesberger (born 1938) came to Eichstätt in 1980 (after having been at Freiburg

for twelve years). He is not only interested in OE, mainly in the language, but also in many other languages as well as in comparative Indo-European and Germanic philology, and he has published a large number of books, articles and reviews. He wrote his dissertation on the OE deverbal jan-verbs and he published linguistic notes on OE poetry. He is preparing a new etymological dictionary of OE to replace the etymological dictionary by F. Holthausen, still the only one of its kind; some preliminary results of his research in this field were published in a volume with corrections and additions to Holthausen. Bammesberger's new etymological dictionary is all the more eagerly awaited since the new DOE, the first five instalments (= letters) of which have now appeared, is a huge improvement on existing OE dictionaries, but it excludes etymological information (which is understandable in a way but nevertheless regretted by some Anglo-Saxonists).5 Bammesberger is also working on OE runes. Mainly in connection with his projects he has furthermore organized a number of conferences in Eichstätt, especially on etymological dictionaries, on OE lexicography, on OE and continental runes, and on language and history in Britain ca. 400 to ca. 600; the proceedings of all of these conferences have been published, too. Among those teaching OE at Eichstätt are now also Ursula Lenker and Inge Milfull.

e) Regensburg: Karl Heinz Göller (born 1924) came to Regensburg in 1967 and retired in 1991. He has covered all periods of English literature in his teaching, research and publications, with one emphasis on Arthurian literature. He also wrote a history of Old English literature as well as the chapter on OE literature in the most recent edition of W.F. Schirmer's successful history of English and American literature. Among those who wrote their dissertation on an OE topic in Regensburg are A. Becker on Franks Casket,

Reinhard Gleissner (born 1942) on the OE riddles with a double entendre, and Jean Ritzke-Rutherford (born 1943) on light and darkness in OE. Göller's successor (Dieter A. Berger) concentrates more on modern English literature, but a professorship for mediaeval English language and literature also exists and it is expected that someone will be appointed to it in the near future.

f) Stuttgart etc.: Gerhard Nickel (born 1928) has been in Stuttgart since 1969 (after having taught in Kiel from 1963-69) and will retire in 1996. He has mainly worked in applied and contrastive linguistics, but he did his Habilitationsschrift on the expanded (continuous, progressive) form in OE and, together with a research team (J. Klegraf, W. Kühlwein, D. Nehls, R. Zimmermann, J. Strauss), he produced an edition of Beowulf and the minor heroic poems including introduction, translation, glossary and commentary which was meant to replace F. Holthausen's edition. Of his students, Wolfgang Kühlwein (born 1940; professor in Trier since 1970) analyzed the semantics of OE word-fields ('hostility', 'blood'), but later turned mainly to modern and contrastive linguistics. Kühlwein's student Jürgen Strauss (born 1943; professor in Trier, too) also wrote his dissertation on the semantic analysis of an OE word-field ('lord', 'master'), but again later mainly concentrated on modern linguistics.

g) Münster: In the sixties and seventies, Karl Schneider worked in Münster, mainly on runes and etymology. Some of his students also did their dissertation on etymologic questions, others studied the structure and meaning of OE texts. The methods of some of the etymological studies have been questioned, however, because they assume that the (reconstructed) original meaning lives on at later periods, and do not take sufficient account of later change of meaning. As mentioned above, Klaus Ostheeren is now teaching in

Münster (since 1981).

h) Apart from the scholars mentioned so far, there have been several others who published in OE, but (to my knowledge) often either only occasionally or without belonging to or having established a "school" (yet); I mention them in alphabetical order and hope I have not omitted too many:

Wilhelm Busse (born 1942; prof.in Düsseldorf since 1982) wrote his *Habilitationsschrift* as a critical review of interpretations of OE poetry and also published a number of articles in this field.

Klaus Faiss (born 1940; prof. in Mainz since 1976) wrote his dissertation on the concept (word-field) of 'grace' in Cynewulf, he also published on obscure compounds and wrote a history of the English language.

Jörg Fichte (born 1941; prof. in Tübingen) published an introduction to OE and ME.

Wolfgang Obst (born 1944; prof. in Augsburg) dealt in his *Habilitationsschrift* with the meter of *Beowulf*.

Kurt Otten (born 1926; prof. in Heidelberg 1975–ca.1994) published a book on king Alfred's *Boethius*, probably still the best monograph on the subject.

Hans Peters (born 1952; now prof. in Dortmund) published a few articles on Scandinavian loan-words in OE.

Berthold Schik (born 1937; lecturer in Kiel) wrote his dissertation on the *comitatus* in Beowulf.

Detlef Stark (lecturer in Hannover) on the weak verbs in OE.

Ewald Standop (born 1921; prof. in Cologne 1959–1973 and in Würzburg until his retirement in 1989) studied the OE modal verbs and wrote a few articles on *Beowulf*, he also contributed the chapters on OE and ME literature in a history of English literature he wrote together with E. Mertner. One of his students in Cologne was Tilman Westphalen, who did a very detailed study of the last few lines in *Beowulf*, he is now professor in Osnabrück.

Klaus Weimann (Heidelberg) published an introduction to OE.

Götz Wienold (born 1938; prof. in Konstanz 1970-ca.1994; now in Japan) tried to apply modern literary theory to OE poetry.

There are (or were) several medievalists at the Freie Universität Berlin, but they either work mainly in ME (Klaus Bitterling) or in the history of the language (Klaus Dietz); Manfred Scheler wrote his dissertation on OE loan-syntax, but did not remain in the OE field.

There are also a few scholars who have professorships in other subjects but publish on OE, too, e.g. Elmar Seebold (prof. of German philology in Munich), who wrote several articles on the question of OE dialect vocabulary.

East Germany and the situation since reunification
Although English was also taught at university level in
the former GDR (German Democratic Republic =DDR,
Deutsche Demokratische Republik), it was not particularly favored, and Medieval English studies were still
less so. The only scholar still active in OE studies
(among other things) was Martin Lehnert (1910–92),
professor at the Humboldt University in Berlin from

1951 to 1975. He wrote an introduction to OE in 1938 which is still being reprinted and fairly widely used; later he published selections from *Beowulf*, a German *Beowulf* translation and an OE reader together with a glossary. Rolf Berndt (born 1927; prof. in Rostock ca. 1965 till ca. 1994) did research on ME and published an introduction to ME (which in reality contains a fairly detailed ME phonology), and later also a history of English.

After reunification in 1990, changes affected the former East Germany far more than the former West Germany because it was mainly the East that had to adapt to the standards of the West. This applied also to the universities where a lot of restructuring went on. Professors and lecturers associated too closely with the old regime (especially with its secret police, the Stasi = Staatssicherheitsdienst) lost their jobs, some were also made redundant because departments and academies had been overstaffed (according to Western standards), and even those who could stay on had to re-apply for their posts first and were closely scrutinized. On the other hand, new departments and entire new faculties were established in a number of universities, e.g. in Chemnitz, Dresden, and Potsdam, and many professors moved from West to East (including the present writer) to fill posts which had been newly created or where there were no qualified applicants from the East. The importance of English as a language and also as a school and a university subject has risen considerably, and in the wake of this growth, Medieval English studies have also been strengthened. There are professorships for Medieval English language and literature at, e.g., Berlin/Humboldt University (at present: Ursula Schaefer), Jena (now: Stephen Tranter), Greifswald, Halle, Magdeburg, and Rostock—appointments have vet to be made for most of the latter, but, as I mentioned before, due to the lack of scholars qualified in this area

it is difficult to fill all these posts adequately. The history of English and earlier literature is also covered at Dresden (Hans Sauer) and Potsdam (Hildegard Tristram). Of the younger colleagues, Christine Jacobs from Potsdam and Christine Ehler from Berlin (Humboldt University) are working in OE; both spoke at the last ISAS conference at Stanford in August 1995.

Associations, conferences and publications

a) Associations and conferences: There is no organization devoted exclusively to OE or to Medieval English, but the Anglistentag and the Mediavistenverband cover these areas at least partly and accordingly also count many of the German Anglo-Saxonists among their members. The Anglistentag (Verband deutscher Anglisten) is the association of German university teachers of English (until recently restricted to professors, but now open to all teaching English at university level who have got a doctorate); its members are automatically also members of ESSE (European Society for the Study of English). The Anglistentag organizes a yearly conference, usually in late September and at different universities; one of its five sections is sometimes devoted to Medieval Studies or to historical linguistics; its proceedings are normally published. The Mediavistenverband (Mediaevalists' Association) is an interdisciplinary association of German Medievalists, including, e.g., literary historians, historical linguists, historians, art historians, etc. It also holds an annual conference at varying universities, usually under a specific theme; the proceedings of these conferences have also been published.

b) Publishing houses: A number of publishing houses have printed studies on OE topics; the following may be specifically mentioned: The Max Niemeyer Verlag in Tübingen (formerly in Halle) is one of the oldest German publishing firms specializing in philol-

ogy; it was founded in 1870 and accordingly celebrates its 125th birthday in 1995.6 Niemeyer is the publisher of Anglia, the oldest journal devoted to English philology, where also many articles on OE (and ME), including editions, have appeared over the years and hopefully will continue to appear: its editors for English language and Mediaeval English language and literature have been Helmut Gneuss (Munich) and Hans Käsmann (Heidelberg) from 1965 to 1995; from 1996 onwards, the editors responsible for this area will be Karl Reichl (at present, University of Bonn) and Hans Sauer (Technical University of Dresden).⁷ Niemeyer also publishes Buchreihe der Anglia, Linguistische Arbeiten (LA), in both of which studies on OE have appeared, and since 1988 also the yearly proceedings of the Anglistentag. Among earlier standard works published by Niemeyer are, e.g., Liebermann's Gesetze der Angelsachsen and the OE grammar by Sievers/ Brunner (3rd ed. 1965). The Wilhelm Fink Verlag in Munich publishes, among other things, the Texte und Untersuchungen zur Englischen Philologie (TUEPh), where many of the Munich dissertations devoted to OE topics (and also a few others) have been printed. The Carl Winter Verlag in Heidelberg publishes, e.g., Anglistische Forschungen (AF), where, among others, a number of Alfred Bammesberger's books have been printed. The Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft in Darmstadt reprinted several volumes of the Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa and other classics in the 1960's, but does not have much OE material in its program now. Other publishing houses where mediaeval and/or OE studies have appeared are Lang in Frankfurt/Main (and other locations); Gunter Narr in Tubingen (among other things publisher of ScriptOralia); Jan Thorbecke in Sigmaringen (with an emphasis on historical publications; has also published some of the proceedings of the Mediavistenverband);

the Artemis Verlag in Munich and Zürich is publishing the *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, which includes OE and ME literature (editor for that section: Hans Sauer).

Conclusion

OE studies have been thriving in Germany for the past thirty years and I hope that they will continue to do so. Apart from a few exceptions, the emphasis has been more on philology, i.e. studies of the language, of manuscripts, of texts and their transmission, including critical editions, studies of motifs, and on literary history, and less on critical theory.

The preceding survey has, of course, been very sketchy and probably also not free from my own biases, although I have tried to restrict the number of value judgements. I have also restricted my survey in several other ways: I have concentrated on OE language and literature, but I have largely excluded fields such as history of the English language (histories of English of course usually also deal with the OE period), onomastics, history, theology and church history (where, e.g. Hanna Vollrath has done important work), archaeology (where, e.g., Torsten Capelle has published), art history etc.; I have also excluded scholars dealing mainly with Middle English (e.g. Klaus Bitterling, Hans-Jürgen Diller, Peter Erlebach, Willi Erzgräber, Manfred Görlach, Hans Käsmann, Dieter Mehl, Theo Stemmler, Horst Weinstock, Theodor Wolpers, etc.); furthermore OE studies in Austria (e.g., Peter Bierbaumer, Dieter Kastovsky, Hans Ernst Pinsker, Herbert Schendl etc.) and in Switzerland (e.g. Andreas Fischer), and I have said nothing about OE studies in the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century, where many well-known names would have to be mentioned. e.g. Christian Grein, Richard Wülcker, Moritz Trautmann, Julius Zupitza, Eduard Sievers, Felix Liebermann, Max Förster, Rudolf Imelmann, Levin Schücking, Ferdinand Holthausen, Johannes Hoops, Else von Schaubert, Hermann Flasdieck, and others, or Karl Brunner in Austria or Andreas Heusler, Otto Funke, Karl Jost in Switzerland, and others, furthermore Germans working abroad (e.g. Ute Schwab in Messina, Gernot Wieland in Canada, or, formerly, Frederick Klaeber in USA) and English and American scholars working in German-speaking countries, but all this could be the subject of a separate and much longer study.⁸

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The following bibliography largely follows the outline given above. It is very selective and lists mainly monographs, but only a small selection of the articles which most of the scholars mentioned have also written (a full list of them would make the bibliography much longer). For these, the volumes of the *Old English Newsletter* and of *Anglo-Saxon England* would have to be searched systematically.

For publications as well as for institutions and persons, the following should also be consulted:

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- -Die Wissenschaft von der englischen Sprache: Ihre Entwicklung bis zum Ausgang des 19. Jahrhunderts (Munich, 1990).

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-Anglia. Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie.

-Anglo-Saxon England.

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- -Brigitte Langefeld, The Old English Version of the 'Enlarged' Rule of Chrodegang [1985].
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- -"Altenglische Literatur," in: W.F. Schirmer, Geschichte der englischen und amerikanischen Literatur, 6th ed., ed. by Arno Esch (Tübingen, 1983).

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- -Alfred Becker, Franks Casket (Regensburg, 1973).
- -Jean Ritzke-Rutherford, Light and Darkness in Anglo-Saxon Thought and Writing (Frankfurt, 1979).
- -Ute Hettling, Die beiden altenglischen Sankt-Guthlac-Gedichte im Lichte patristischer und mittelalterlicher Theologie (Regensburg, 1982).
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f) Gerhard Nickel, Stuttgart:

- -Die Expanded Form im Altenglischen (Kiel, 1966).
- -Ed., together with J. Klegraf, W. Kühlwein, D. Nehls, R. Zimmermann, J. Strauss, Beowulf und die kleineren Denkmäler der altenglischen Heldensage. Waldere und Finnsburg, 3 vols. (Heidelberg, 1976–1982).

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- -Wolfgang Kühlwein, Die Verwendung der Feindseligkeits-bezeichnungen in der altenglischen Dichtersprache (Neumünster, 1967).
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g) Karl Schneider, Münster:

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- -Egon Werlich, Der westgermanische Skop (Diss. Münster, 1964).
- -Hartmut Beckers, Die Wortsippe *hail und ihr sprachliches Feld im Altenglischen (Münster [?], 1968).
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- -Gerold Deffner, Untersuchungen zur Langzeile in Aelfrics Heiligenleben (Diss. Münster, 1976).
- -Gertrud Hülsmann, Der Caedmon-Hymnus. Versuch einer Neudeutung ... (Diss. Munster, 1980).
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h) Others:

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- -Obst, Wolfgang, Der Rhythmus des Beowulf (Heidelberg, 1987).

- -Otten, Kurt, König Alfreds Boethius (Tübingen, 1964).
- -Peters, Hans, "Zum skandinavischen Lehngut im Altenglischen," Sprachwissenschaft, 6 (1981), 85-124.
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- -Seebold, Elmar, "Kentish and Old English Texts from Kent," in: Words, Texts and Manuscripts [Festschrift Gneuss, see above], pp. 409-434.

i) Former German Democratic Republic:

Martin Lehnert, Berlin, Humboldt University:

- -Altenglisches Elementarbuch (Berlin, 1939; 9th ed. 1978).
- -Beowulf. Eine Auswahl (Berlin, 1939; 4th ed. 1967).
- -Poetry and Prose of the Anglo-Saxons, 2 vols. [the 2nd vol. is an etymological dictionary] (Berlin, 1955-56; 2nd ed. 1960-1969).

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- -Beowulf: Ein altenglisches Heldenepos [German translation]
 (1986)
- -Aspekte der anglistischen Forschung in der DDR. Martin Lehnert zum 65. Geburtstag. Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR. Gesellschaftswissenschaften (Berlin, 1976)
- Rolf Berndt, Form und Funktion des Verbums im nördlichen Spätaltenglischen (Halle, 1956).

j) History, Archaeology, e.g.:

Harald Kleinschmidt, Untersuchungen über das englische Königtum im 10. Jahrhundert (Göttingen, 1979)

Torsten Capelle, Archäologie der Angelsachsen (Darmstadt, 1990)

k) Austria:

Manfred Markus, ed., Historical English. On the Occasion of Karl Brunner's 100th Birthday, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, Anglistische Reihe, 1 (Innsbruck, 1988).

Notes:

- 1. This is a field which has still not been exhaustively treated. Gneuss looked mainly at psalter glosses and thus dealt largely (but not exclusively) with religious vocabulary; there are also, for example, fairly many loan-formations among the OE plant names, see Hans Sauer, "Towards a linguistic description and classification of the Old English plant names," in: Words, Texts and Manuscripts [Festschrift für Helmut Gneuss, see bibliogr.], 381–408.
 - 2. The Winchester vocabulary apparently fell into disuse after the Norman Conquest and left no traces in Modern English.
 - 3. For a recent survey of research on OE dialect vocabulary, see Hans Sauer, "Old English Word Geography: Some Problems and Results,"

in: Anglistentag 1991 Düsseldorf: Proceedings, ed. by W.G. Busse (Tübingen, 1992), 307-326.

- 4. The work of Gneuss, Schabram, and their followers has recently been attacked by Peter Kitson, who puts more stress on the evidence of documents (charters) than on that of literary texts, but I do not think that he has invalidated their approach (of course I am not unbiased here).
- 5. A fair number of reviews and review-articles have been written about the DOE in the meantime, see, e.g., Hans Sauer, "The New Dictionary of Old English (DOE)," in: Mitteilungen des Verbandes Deutscher Anglisten, 3/2 (1992), 41-53; Lucia Kornexl, "Progress in Historical Lexicography: The Dictionary of Old English," Anglia, 112 (1994), 421-53.
- 6. The Niemeyer Verlag has published its own commemorative volume for this occasion: Beiträge zur Methodengeschichte der neueren Philologien. Zum 125jährigen Bestehen des Max Niemeyer Verlages, ed. by Robert Harsch-Niemeyer (Tübingen, 1985) which includes a survey by Hans Sauer, "Anglistik im Max Niemeyer Verlag".
 - 7. And I take this opportunity to invite possible contributors to submit articles for consideration in Anglia.
- 8. Apart from the literature mentioned at the beginning of the bibliography, see also, for example: Medieval English Studies Pastand Present, ed. by A. Oizumi, T. Takamiya (Tokyo, 1990) [contains, among others: Hans Sauer, "Medieval English Studies in Munich," 113–125]; Hans Sauer, "Max Förster" [to appear in: The Dictionary of Medieval Scholars, ed. by Helen Damico]; Manfred Scheler, ed., Berliner Anglistik in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. 1810-1985 (Berlin, 1987). For information concerning the present article. I thank Helmut Gneuss, Reinhard Gleissner, Hans Schabram, and Claus Dieter Wetzel.

APPENDIX A

Abstracts of Papers in Anglo-Saxon Studies

edited by Robert L. Schichler with the assistance of Arthur Pigg and Miki Smith

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

For future issues of this feature, organizers and conference coordinators should send abstracts — and, if possible, a WordPerfect 5.1 or 6.0 version of the abstracts on diskette — to the feature editor:

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An Author-Index follows.

I. The Annual International Conference of the Texas Medieval Association, San Antonio, September 8-10, 1994:

Session 1: "The Early Church"

Kendall F. Downs (West Texas A&M Univ.)

"Ernulf of Rochester and the Development of Canon Law"

The major figures in the development of canon law are well known. Even in the case of Gratian, of whose personal life we know very little, much has been written about his thought as it has come to be known from his great work, the Decretum. Ivo of Chartres is even better known to us, through his more extensive theological writings as well as his numerous letters. In addition, we are able to know a great deal about what contemporary and later scholars thought of these great men and their works through the glosses which began to adorn the margins of these works as soon as they began to be copied. Perhaps most importantly, we know more about these men because we desire to know more about them, and rightly so. Their lives and thought have been painstakingly reconstructed because of the magnitude of their contribution.

Unfortunately, such is not the case with Ernulf of Rochester, whose meager writings have relegated him to the odd footnote and whose life and works have not been studied in sufficient detail. What is proposed here is to take a preliminary look at this modest bishop, student of Lanfranc, friend of Anselm, and member of the same Bec circle which produced many of the most notable religious figures of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Who was this man who was sought out by Henry I to become bishop, for whom the monks of Peterborough Abbey shed tears when he was taken from them, and whose advice on theological and canonical matters was sought by bishops and scholars?

It has always been recognized that much of what we know about the past, especially the more distant past, is partly a question of what has been lucky enough to have survived. St. Anselm of Canterbury, for example, is well known not simply because of his theology and saintly life, but because his voluminous writings have come down to us nearly intact. While it cannot be denied that his works have survived largely because they were considered worthy of saving and copying, it must also be recognized that others may have made more modest contributions which have been forgotten or ignored because they did not leave behind an extensive body of work. I believe Ernulf of Rochester

may have been just such a figure, someone whose intellect and possible contributions to theology and canon law have been passed over because his writings have not in general survived.

Session 3: "Art and Iconography"

Karin S. Colburn (Ambassador Univ.)

"The Beowulf-Poet's mæl: The Limits of Swords, History, and Time"

It is no small coincidence that the Anglo-Saxon mæl means time, occasion, season, mark, or sign, yet when mæl is compounded with a prefix such as brogden-, græg-, sceaden-, wunden-, or hring-, it refers to a pattern-welded or damascened sword. As an iconographic marker of feud, as primary instrument for gift exchange within the public performance of loyalty between lord and thane, as treasure buried with an honored king, as the weapon that commits fratricide or kinstrife, even as the sign of bonding in wedding rituals that produce fictive kingships, the sword marks virtually all significant occasions within the Germanic culture. The fatalistic gloom evoked by the pervasiveness of feud intensifies the imagery of the sword. The Germanic perception of the passage of time and the development of history is aptly represented iconographically by the serpentine markings on the blades of damascened or pattern-welded swords. The combination of the symbolic and practical uses of swords makes the two sets of varied meanings of mæl coalesce, and, therefore, the significance of swords becomes almost incomprehensible. Gillian Overing tells us that "the familiarity with the sword sign and its visual and semantic connotations would have been far greater for the contemporaneous reader or listener."

It is indeed enigmatic then that the swords that receive the most literary attention in the *Beowulf* poem fail either in a life-threatening moment or immediately after completing some noble deed. Despite the poet's praises for Hrunting and Naegling, "foran ealdgestreona" (foremost of treasures) the swords' edges are too dull to kill either the "aglæcwif" or the dragon. Even the giants' sword with which Beowulf cuts Grendel's mother in half and decapitates the dead Grendel melts in Grendel's corrosive blood — "Pa pæt hildebil / forbarn brogdenmæl" (1666b-67a) — leaving only a hilt

as a historic memorial of ominous times past, present, and future. As Edward B. Irving states, "when weapons fail all that is left is the naked will," and in the *Beowulf* poem, even human will eventually is deficient.

In this essay I argue that repeated failure of swords in fulfilling their multivalent societal roles in the Beowulf poem offers a direct representation of the downward-spiraling Germanic perception of time and the comprehension of history - past, present, and future - within the feuding societies of the poem. The continued dependence upon swords in spite of the grave potential of their inadequacy offers a fatalistic perception of the Germanic culture and its seeming inability to break free from its serpentine historical cycle that revolves downward toward an inevitable end. John Leyerle claims that the Beowulf poem is designed with an interlace structure similar to crafted metalwork in Anglo-Saxon artifacts, but I argue that the interlace motif perpetuates an image of an endless knot, a set of perceptions of time and history that does not match the tone and devolving action of the poem. The interlace design connotes a cyclical image of time rather than the fatalistic perception of the history and time of a feuding society. The serpentine image engraved on damascened sword blades seems much more applicable to the deterministic tone of the poem. The ambivalent nature of time and lack of any real sense of progress in the poem reflects the impending doom of such a feuding culture. This essay challenges and further develops John Leverle's, Roberta Frank's and Eric John's theories regarding Germanic perspectives of time and history as those perspectives affect the pervasive tone of the Beowulf poem.

Session 19: "Beowulf"

Allan P. Robb (Baylor Univ.)

"Statements of Creation, with Especial Reference to Bede and Beowulf"

Probably the two best-known statements of the idea of creation by God in Anglo-Saxon literature are those found in the story of Cædmon in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and in the passage in *Beowulf* where the scop sings of the creation during the party celebrating the completion of Heorot. There are, however, several other statements of the creation made in a wide

variety of Old English documents. In this paper, I examine a selection of these statements with a view of determining what uses the authors make of them, and how and why the various statements differ.

David A. Oakes (Texas A&M Univ.)

"Giants, Dragons, and Isolation: The Elements of Horror in *Beowulf*"

Most scholars would consider Beowulf to be a great classic of literature that reflects many of the values held by the Anglo-Saxons. Few, however, realize that one fascinating aspect of Beowulf lies in the fact that it is also a brilliant horror story. There are several elements of modern horror fiction that also appear in this great Old English poem. For example, one common technique used to create a sense of terror is to establish a situation of isolation from civilization so that the protagonists can no longer feel safe. In addition, a close look at the society of the Anglo-Saxons, as it is portrayed in Beowulf, reveals that they lived in a time where there were bastions of civilization in the midst of a dangerous, unknown world. There is no safety in this world, even in areas that are considered civilized. The swamps and fens of England held very real terrors for these people. Moreover, as shown in Beowulf, even the bastions of civilization, the mead-halls, were not safe from the depredations of a hideous monster such as Grendel. Certainly the monsters in Beowulf were effective in creating a sense of fear, but there were other events in the poem that would play upon the terrors held by many Anglo-Saxons. Sprinkled in with the battles between the hero and monsters are small horror stories of people who endured exile, were the last survivors of their tribe, or had betrayed the Germanic heroic code. seemingly minor incidents reflected things, such as exile, that were greatly feared by the Anglo-Saxons. Horrors such as these were, perhaps, even more terrifying to the Anglo-Saxons because they involved their fellow humans instead of monsters, and thus had a greater chance of happening. Two of the monsters, Grendel and his mother, however, also reflect the horror that evil can do to humans because both are descended from Cain and act human in some way. The realization that Beowulf can be considered a horror story not only adds a new, fascinating aspect to this great poem, but also

shows the universal power of tales that were designed to generate fear in their readers or listeners.

Jennifer L. Fish (Baylor Univ.)

"'When the Watcher Sleeps': Guardians in Beowulf"

Weard (meaning "guardian" or "watcher") appears throughout Beowulf and refers to, among others, the coastguard, Hrothgar, Beowulf, and the dragon. This paper follows the use of the word weard in the poem and observes that guardianship in Beowulf is a team sport: Guarding never succeeds in isolation and involves, rather than merely "holding on," trusting others and therefore also involves risk. Hrothgar reveals the main problem of guarding in his "sermon" when he explains how guarding fails when the "watcher sleeps, the guardian of the soul" (1741b-42a). This problem shapes this paper's central argument and its analysis of the guardians in Beowulf.

Tina Good (California State Univ., Fresno)

"Beowulf as a Prescriptive Maxim"

Much of Anglo-Saxon literature seems almost obsessed with defining the nature of the world during a time of great social transition and upheaval. Anglo-Saxon communities were struggling to reconcile new ideologies with existing traditions, and Christianity was challenging pagan beliefs and customs. explication was not just a method for passing on traditional narratives or for making boasts, but also a means for conveying wisdom derived from texts and inner contemplation. Written texts were becoming stronger sources of authority for governing social behavior as opposed to the once unquestioned authority of longstanding traditions which had not previously needed written documentation. The maxims exemplify the reconciling of oral tradition with written authority while blending a seemingly natural order with the social order. In effect, they make the culture's traditions lawful by making them textual, and in that textuality they become natural. Beowulf also textualizes oral traditions and thereby gives the social order lawful authority. Furthermore, it suggests what can happen if the maxims underlying the social order are not followed. Thus the maxims and

Beowulf not only describe community traditions, but they also prescribe the customs and behaviors that must be adhered to if the existing social order and the warrior communities themselves are to survive.

The maxims — Maxims I, in particular use the order of the natural world as a model for social order, mixing descriptivity and prescriptivity in such a way as to suggest that the social order being promoted is natural and therefore god. The social hierarchy, wisdom, the warrior ethic, and the role of the queen are not only natural but necessary to the very existence of the community. Maxims also govern the social orders of the various communities in Beowulf, and the epic itself becomes a maxim advocating the social norms inherent in the traditional warrior community of the Anglo-Saxon period. The maxims and Beowulf were not just textual narratives of an existing society but prescriptions for social control and maintenance of a rather tenuous hierarchy and existing ideology.

<u>Session 23</u>: "Anglo-Saxon Life and Literature"

Tracy Crouch (Stephen F. Austin State U.)

"Linguistics, Rhetoric, and Translation: King Alfred's *Boethius*"

King Alfred's prose translation of Boethius's Consolation of Philosophy demonstrates the practice of a rhetorically-based theory of translation which emphasizes content and the conveyance of information. Observation of translation practices such as the selection of the unit of text which one takes as the unit of translation allows us to see how parameters of linguistic processes are reset over time. This textual unit grows progressively smaller throughout the Middle Ages. At the time of Alfred's work. however, language study emphasized rhetoric over structure. The textual unit relevant for translation was large - a book, a poem, a paragraph, or a narrative such as the story of Orpheus. Correspondingly, a written text as a whole was thought to have an intention that stood outside human language's ability to communicate. If a reader, such as Alfred, could interpret this extratextual intention in a Christian framework, he was not only authorized but, indeed, obligated to do so.

When the influence of one entity or theory

on some other entity or theory is discussed, it is often in terms of constraints or limitations placed by the influencing element. Influence can also come in the form of license when it serves as an enabling or authorizing agent. Language theory in the Anglo-Saxon era influenced the theory and practice of translation at that same time, not always by narrowing the parameters of accepted practices as has occurred in other times and cultures (for example, by restricting the size of the textual unit under consideration or determining lexical choice), but instead by offering a rhetorical and philosophical view of language and its correlative place in culture and the universe which allowed and enabled a very broad notion of translation.

Paula Bilstein (Ohio State Univ.)

"Dazed and Confused: Creating Meaning in *The Wife's Lament"*

The Wife's Lament has been many things to many people — an elegy, a frauenlieder, a death-song, a riddle, and a penitential lament. The narrator died in the 1960s, only to be resurrected a decade later, and then subjected to periodic killings off in the 1980s. She has even changed gender, although that particular line of argument has lost ground in the face of unrelenting grammatical studies.

What I am interested in, however, is not so much how The Wife's Lament is problematic, buy why. The sites of uncertainty which I find most interesting, both within the critical material and the poem itself, are the question of genre, the state of the narrator, and the role of the male figure or figures. Although this statement can only be speculative due to the nature of the poem, I believe that by examining the points at which uncertainty and confusion are created in the text — in part by close textual analysis, and by historicizing some of the social issues driving the narrative — it is possible to read the poem as a commentary on the role of women in the political system of Anglo-Saxon kinship. In my paper, I explore these areas. along with a discussion of some of the more important past critical approaches to the text, particularly as they intersect with the problem of genre.

I have concluded that *The Wife's Lament* has in some ways fallen victim to the old assumption that Anglo-Saxon poetry was somehow not as complex or as reflexive as modern works; as

if the people who composed it were not perfectly capable of manipulating irony and using the indefinable, intangible parts of texts as metaphors just as much as they used other, more concrete ones. Essentially, I believe that the play of genres the poem exhibits would have encouraged the audience for *The Wife's Lament* to begin questioning the poem, and that the two additional sites of uncertainty — the conditions of the narrator's existence and the ambiguous nature of her relationship to the male character in the poem — would have hinted at the kinship structure as the focal point of that questioning.

While it is impossible to fully re-construct the cultural pressures which prompted The Wife's Lament, I think that the recurring instances of confusion and uncertainty in the poem are too numerous and specific to certain aspects of the kinship system to be anything but deliberate. Some Anglo-Saxon poetry is wonderfully clear; the warriors in The Battle of Maldon exist in a defined landscape, carefully delineated, with overtly stated relationships and articulated plot sequences. The Wife's Lament, on the other hand, belongs in that group of riddles and riddling poems, like The Seafarer and The Wanderer, in which ambiguity is an invitation for the reader or listener to interact with the text.

Kent G. Hare (Louisiana State Univ.)

"The Eighth-Century Mercian Kings and the *Bretwaldas*"

The traditional consensus that the Anglo-Saxon Bretwalda, "ruler of Britain," exercised a real overlordship in southern England is undermined by the two main sources: the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, s.a. 829; and Bede, Ecclesiastical History of the English People, II.5, whose list of seven kings (with no special title beyond rex) was drawn on by the chronicler with one addition, Egbert of Wessex. The very form of the word is uncertain, complicated by variants within the Chronicle manuscript tradition, all but one copy employing instead a better translated Brytenwalda, "mighty" or "wide ruler." Bede's seven kings ruled "imperially," denoting an extensive rule over many peoples; but kings other than his seven likewise ruled "imperially," especially the powerful eighth-century Mercian kings Æthelbald and Offa. The ninth-century compiler of the Chronicle omitted both these kings, how-

ever, leaving an inexplicable gap which has begged filling ever since. Recognition of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as originating in a program of Alfredian propaganda argues that the chronicler provided Alfred the Great with a valuable precedent for English overlordship by harnessing the seven "ancient" kings of Bede to the House of Wessex while ignoring the Mercians as seeds for a rival tradition of lordship. Working with far less evidence than that marshalled by the eleventh-century Irish kings, the Alfredian chronicler created a concept, that of Bretwalda as "ruler of Britain," which has deceived more recent historians into seeing in earlier Anglo-Saxon history an institutional continuity and archaism that is of no less, but likewise of no more, historical reality than were the High Kings of Ireland. There was no Anglo-Saxon office of Bretwalda with which the oft-forgotten kings of Mercia could be invested.

II. The Annual Meeting of the Rocky Mountain Modern Language Association:

Alexandra H. Olsen (Univ. of Denver)

"Germania Latina:
Old English Formulaic Poetry and
the Whitby Life of Gregory the Great"

Germania Latina may be defined as the exchange between the late Roman and Germanic cultures of the early Middle ages: Latin influenced the vernacular and the vernacular, Latin. One work that expresses ideas drawn from the Latin tradition with imagery drawn from the vernacular tradition is the Whitby Life of Gregory the Great. This early Anglo-Latin work was written at Whitby, the place where Christian poetry in Old English was first written. It is not surprising to find a Latin work from Whitby that shows both a subtle and nuanced relationship between the languages and an influence from Old English poetry.

III. Germania Latina III, Groningen, September 22-23, 1995:

Patrizia Lendinara (Università di Palermo)

"Mixed Attitudes to Ovid: The Carolingian Poets and the Glossographers"

Alcuin's debt to Ovid is deemed small and

at second hand. It is not so with Theodulf of Orléans, who makes a large use of the poet. Though Ovid did not yet belong to the school canon, his work enjoyed some popularity in the second half of the eighth century, also thanks to the intermediary service of grammarians. Paris, BN, lat. 7530, a manuscript whose content has been associated with the interest of Paul the Deacon as a teacher, contains a glossary with fifty entries drawn from the first book of Ovid's Metamorphoses. This early evidence for a study of Ovid provides remarkable clues to the way his work was explained and exploited. Also the Liber glossarum, which, according to Bischoff, was compiled at Corbie with the support of Charles the Great, has several entries drawn from Ovid's works.

IV. The Annual Meeting of the Modern Language Association of America, San Diego, December 27-30, 1994:

<u>Session 57</u>: "Speech and Women's Power in Early Narrative Texts"

Alexandra H. Olsen (Univ. of Denver)

"Speech and Women's Power in Beowulf"

Traditionally, the study of *Beowulf* has been governed by the assumption that, since men were responsible for public functions like king, warrior, and avenger, they also held the power in the world of the poem. Critics of Beowulf have tended to minimize the importance of women in the poem because of the obvious importance of male heroism. Think of how many studies deal with the beot (heroic boast), a speech-act that characterizes the hero. Other forms of speech are ignored or denigrated, those by old men who no longer play the heroic role and those by women, who, it is assumed, held passive and private roles as hostesses. peaceweavers, and ritual mourners. Anglo-Saxonists need to adopt the view advanced by Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski that power is the ability to influence decisions, as women like Wealhtheow clearly do. A true understanding of women's roles in Beowulf requires a reconsideration of power and of speech acts, which Elizabeth Closs Traugott and Mary Louise Pratt define as goal-directed actions. A promising approach to Beowulf involves the use of speech-act theory to analyze the poem from an angle hitherto little utilized.

Speech-act theory helps us appreciate that speech in *Beowulf* is of equal importance with heroic action.

Session 157: "Language and Subjectivity"

Don Chapman (Univ. of Toronto)

"In-Forming, Re/Forming, and (Trans)Forming: The Politics of Compounding in Wulfstan's Sermons"

Recent academic discourse has seen a swell of puns on compounds, especially in titles, like Adrienne Rich's "When We Dead Awaken; Writing as Re-Vision." Such word-play, which foregrounds post-structuralist concerns for signs and interpretation, abounds also in the not-so-recent homilies of Wulfstan, where the defamiliarized language underscores Wulfstan's political agenda of reform.

Wulfstan frequently pairs together two compounds sharing a common element, like manswican ne mansworan (WHom 8c 162), heofonwaru & earðwaru (WHom 11 106), and freolstida & fæstentida (WHom 13 69). Such word-play highlights the composite structure of words, revives meanings that have been suppressed by convention, exposes the unspecified relationship between the concatenated elements, and generally emphasizes the interplay of signifiers, as words interanimate and overlap one another and tend to identity. Thus the pair æwbrecan (adulterer) and rihtæwe (lawful wife) (WHom 10a 11-12) renew the conventional senses of breading and keeping of the marriagevow, and the pair deodscype (nation) and geðeowod (enslaved) become swallowed up by each other, so that the nation and servitude mirror each other.

As with modern word-plays, Wulfstan's pairs usually involve politically loaded words, though Wulfstan seeks to entrench rather than undermine institutional authority. Still Wulfstan's jeremiads, with their urgent pleas for self-scrutiny and repentance, draw his sermons toward post-structuralist discourse, as his compound word-plays, like a sort of verbal underlining, invite reflection and reanalysis of traditional, automatized language. In short, Wulfstan's reformed and transformed compounds call for a reformed and transformed audience.

Session 230: "Oral Theory: Old Problems and New Directions"

Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (Univ. of Notre Dame)

"Mouths, Hands, and Texts: Locating the Body on the Oral-Literate Continuum"

This paper examines implications of performance theory and of Zumthor's "vocalité" ("l'aspect corporel des textes médiévaux") as a first step in a study of the body in the production of Old English written texts. Zumthor claims the body for orality in the name of the speaking voice when he links the body and the text in performance (redescribing the oral as "vocalité"). The role of the body lies in the realm of the production of the text: what is uniquely "oral" is a performer's bodily mediation of the text, a mediation producing meaning. Questioning the limitation of the idea of bodily performance to the purely oral, the paper considers the role of the scribe's body in a reading of a number of scribal colophons which link os and manus in the production of texts. In these oft repeated colophons, writing is physical labor: "tres digiti scribunt, totum corpusque laborat." Presence is not the sole preserve of the oral; scribal performance too is evanescent, and its end product is an event (if variance is any measure) just as is vocality.

Given these extensions of performance, what does it mean when the book speaks? In the specific absence of a performer, the text's parodic act of performing itself calls into question the notion of an integrated body. The paper considers the case of the "Metrical Preface to Wærferth's Translation of Gregory's Dialogues" as a complex instance of the class of talking objects. The multiplication of referents in this poem necessarily produced by the iteration of the copying process complicates the issue of the speaking object. While the poem clearly distinguishes between text and book, it simultaneously collapses that distinction, embodying that collapse in the "speaking" voice of an object whose verba are made physical by another's hand "swa beos boc sagað."

John D. Niles (Univ. of California, Berkeley)

"Five and a Half Functions of Traditional Verse"

The conventional twofold account of the functions of poetry — that poetry is meant to

teach and to entertain — has only limited power to engage the full range of cultural issues to which traditional verse represents a response. Nor can anthropologist William Bascom's fourfold classification of the functions of folklore - to allow for escape from social restrictions through fantasy, to validate rituals and institutions, to educate those in need of education, and to maintain social control by inculcating norms of conduct — be taken as fully satisfactory, for Bascom sees all four of these functions as satisfying a single overarching purpose, that of maintaining the stability of culture. In this paper I discuss the functions of traditional literature under six headings: the ludic, the sapiential, the normative, the constitutive, the socially cohesive, and the adaptive. Central to my discussion is the fact that cultures do change over time. Using Beowulf as a main point of reference, I raise the possibility that major traditional works of literature play a role in the processes of cultural change by generating counter-worlds that are sites of controversy concerning key issues that affect a society. Little can be gained by regarding a work like Beowulf as an inert repository of wisdom. It is rather the result of a collective, even restive engagement with the question of what wisdom is, in a world that is always in the process of formation.

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

"The Implied Tradition in Old English Verse"

This discussion examines Old English verse texts in relation to the idea of the author, principally as developed by Julia Kristevan and Michel Foucault. Distinguishing inscribed texts from written texts and orally composed performances, I note that the body of the poet is absent from the scene of reception and that the language and form of the texts do not imply an author, as is theorized for twelfth-century vernacular texts by Franz Bäuml and for modern written texts. Instead of acquiring its authority from the presence of the poet or an implied author, inscribed verse conveys its truth-value through an implied tradition, which, like the implied author, is created through the language of the text. Because the implied tradition works through rhetorical pattern more than content, it is not as conservative as many

have theorized traditional texts as being. Indeed, the content may be innovative, with the consequence that the culture may change even while it maintains conservatism as a value. In addition, because the intertextuality of implied tradition structures a doubleness or ambiguity that the individual plays with or resolves, the meaning is open to varied construction by diverse readers and listeners. This doubleness extends to the very nature of the implied tradition in the corpus of Old English verse in that the intertexts typically are Latin as well as Old English. My discussion closes with reflections on our modern reception of this textual and cultural ambiguity and a reminder that the tradition implied by manuscript texts is not an actual representation of all the utterances that shaped ideas of truth in Anglo-Saxon England, but a body of texts deemed appropriate for inscription in manuscripts and hence authenticates as tradition only a small segment of the culture.

<u>Session 233</u>: "The Prose of Alfred's Reign: Inscribing Nationhood"

Eugene Green (Boston Univ.)

"Speech Acts and the Question of Self in Alfred's Soliloquies"

Comparisons of Alfred's translation with Augustine's Latin text and Boethius' Consolation in Old English reveal how uses of speech acts in dialogues disclose various approaches to the identity of self. The dialogue in the Old English Consolation presents Wisdom as directive, his aim designed to rehabilitate Mod ("Mind") and to restore belief in God's rule as universal and right. The effect of speech acts in this work is largely hortative, to urge the self to recall and to renew a commitment to God as part of identity. Speech acts in Augustine's Soliloquia provide an opportunity for discovery of the self's identity as an interiority, a search within to discover the presence of God. Here the dialogue with Ratio relies on speech acts. not to remind, but to explore, as if each invitation to address issues of God's truth carries a promise of discovery. Alfred's translation of Augustine retains a similar purpose for speech acts, yet the effect is less to explore interiority than to indicate junctures between the self and the community. To begin, the dialogue between Gesceadwisnes ("Consciousness") and the self as *ic* induces a communal sense of mind, the well-disposed will recognizing memory and reason as mutually allied. Moreover, this *ic*, under the guidance of its interlocutor, readily prays for God's beneficence and testifies, more fully than Augustine does, to the human dependence on His law and custom. This witness to God's beneficence spurs *ic* to join *Gesceadwisnes* in exploratory dialogue, aiming to have the self recognize identity as analogous to allegiances that retainers have with their king.

Ray Moye (Carolina Coastal Univ.)

"Alfred and the Keys of the Spirit"

Gregory the Great's Liber Regula Pastoralis, completed around 591, consists of four parts. The bulk of the work is in Part 3; this is where Gregory provides detailed instruction on how the priest is to admonish and guide his various parishioners. In the Old English Pastoral Care, King Alfred opens this section with the insertion of a sentence in which he compares the teachings which follow to "keys." This symbol of the key is the controlling metaphor of his translation, signifying that the text is a guide intended to teach its readers how to interpret and apply Scriptural law.

In Alfred's insertion the key is also described as "holding" knowledge. It becomes synecdochic, standing for the vault it can unlock. These vaults are Alfred's chapters, which are enclosed and contained as discrete units through repetition and wordplay. They are the keys that hold the knowledge of how to interpret Scripture.

This symbol, therefore, points us towards a better understanding of Alfred's method of translation and his purpose. The book is to be used to instruct his leaders how to interpret the Scripture on more than the literal level so that they can better apply it to specific situations confronting them. Each chapter in Part 3 is a "key" that unlocks the meaning of Scripture by teaching how it should be read. Alfred is promoting this type of literacy in his translation and underscoring this fact by using this symbol to open the most significant section of the work.

Session 562: "Editing Beowulf"

Joseph McGowan (Univ. of San Diego)

"Editing the Prose Texts of the *Beowulf* MS: Implications for a New Edition of the Poem"

This paper draws upon research work toward a new edition of the three prose texts from the Beowulf portion of British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius A.XV (namely, the Old English versions of the Vita Sancti Christophori, De mirabilibus orientis, and Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem), and shows the significance of the findings for future editorial work upon the Old English epic Beowulf. The application of findings from study of the Beowulf manuscript's prose texts shall concern matters of paleography, textual criticism, dialect, and the place of the "monstrous" in Old English literature and other matters of interpretation.

The first area for comparison of results concerns the manuscript itself. Using ultraviolet light and other current means for gaining every possible bit of information the damaged codex has to offer, the first step in establishing critical texts from the prose works of the Beowulf MS must be an examination of the manuscripts themselves (for Wonders of the East, this includes BL, Cotton MS Tiberius B.V and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 614), an examination as rigorous as that applied in recent years to the Beowulf-poem portion of the manuscript. This attention to the manuscript echoes the affirmation, made in particular by Kevin Kiernan (in Beowulf and the Beowulf Manuscript, The Thorkelin Transcripts, and elsewhere) that one, in the first instance, examine what the manuscript has to offer before drawing any other conclusions. The results of this examination will show the disconcerting frequency of errors in the manuscript versions of the prose texts (errors paleographical - haplographies, dittographies, transpositions, erasures and touch-ups - and otherwise), a point relevant to judgments concerning the reliability of the Beowulf MS and the debate over the stage of textual transmission of the poem and the prose texts.

Study of the language and dialect of the prose texts of the *Beowulf* codex will also furnish interesting information for future editors and textual critics of the poem, evidence both corroborating and contradicting currently held

views about the state of the text of the poem and its language and diction. A study of the content of the prose texts will supply information equally interesting concerning the nature of Beowulf, particularly the "monster" episodes. Following Kenneth Sisam's suggestion, a number of critics have suggested the notion of the "monstrous" as a possible rationale for the composition of the Beowulf MS, however superficial an organizing principle this may have been for the medieval scribe who copied (or copied and assembled) this manuscript. Recent suggestions, particularly by Professor Michael Lapidge, of links (e.g., possible attribution of the Liber monstrorum to the Aldhelmian school) between the texts of the Beowulf MS and the Liber monstrorum beyond a simple mention by both of Hygelac, seem to gain support from examination of the thematic and literary (particularly allegorical) treatment of monsters in the Anglo-Saxon period.

Kevin S. Kiernan (Univ. of Kentucky)

"Editing the Electronic Beowulf"

Beginning with the digital camera setup in the British Library, this computer slide presentation shows how the Electronic Beowulf program has evolved to take best advantage of its particular databases. The electronic archive now comprises all of the Nowell Codex, including hundreds of backlit images of letters covered by the paper frames in Beowulf; the eighteenth-century Thorkelin transcripts of Beowulf; J. J. Conybeare's 1817 collation of the manuscript with G. J. Thorkelin's first edition of the poem (1815); parts of other important nineteenth-century collations, editions, and transcriptions; and other ancillary materials. The program provides access to these databases through menus and submenus, and allows the editor (and ultimately any user) to link appropriate parts of the databases, such as newly disclosed backlit readings or Thorkelin restorations, with the corresponding edges of the manuscript.

To illustrate the unusual accessibility of an electronic manuscript, a single slide displays all fourteen manuscript occurrences of the spelling *Biowulf* in the second scribe's part of the manuscript. In other slides close scrutiny of the three remaining *eo*-spellings of the name, greatly enlarged by the computer, reveal that at least two of the cases were later altered from

original io-spellings. The only remaining example comes from the folio in which, according to Julius Zupitza, "all that is distinct...was freshened up by a later land." To enhance the debates over the meaning of these revisions in the manuscript, I end by suggesting that the iospellings may have phonological, instead of merely orthographical significance, indicating an Anglo-Danish pronunciation of Beowulf.

Session 686: "Theoretical Approaches to Old English Prose"

Paul E. Szarmach (Western Michigan Univ.)

"Ælfric and the Problem of Women"

While it might still be possible in some quarters to ask "Can there be a subject duller than Old English Prose?", the last decade has doubtlessly shown considerably more critical and scholarly interest in this large area of Old English literature. Part of this increased activity derives from a set of questions proposed by feminist scholars of all intellectual persuasions who need more texts than the slender corpus of Old English poetry might allow to establish the grounding of their analysis. The large and central question, both specifically within Anglo-Saxon studies and generally without, is "Did women have it better then?" There are, however, many other major new questions about the reality and representation of women and how to approach such issues as the idea of gender in an early medieval context. This paper seeks to extend the developing conjunction of Old English prose and women's/gender studies by focusing on key issues of the representation of the feminine in Ælfric and specifically two figures: Æðelðryð [Audrey] and Helena, mother of Constantine. I seek to bring forward to Old English studies a major theme now heard at conferences: if you want to do (literary) history, know your theory; if you want to do theory, know your (literary) history — or at least how to read historically. For the story of Æðelðryð, feminist concern for power and the body confers another possible and credible reading; for the story of Helena, an applied formalism and intertextual source study invest an understanding for another depiction of female agency. Old English prose and current theory have much to offer to each other.

Kathleen Davis (Rutgers Univ.)

"'The Door of This Book': Translation and Author-ity in Alfred's *Pastoral Care*"

Translation theory has recently shifted from evaluative comparison of translations against their sources, to recognition that translation is productive writing that not only reflects contemporary culture but also participates in a culture's ongoing negotiation of "truth": it enables a community to engage and re-produce the authorities upon which it already relies without apparent violation of their integrity. As a decision process, translation necessarily rewrites, and it must therefore re-mark the context that has called it forth. Further, recent studies show that national cultures in formative or transitional stages typically initiate massive translation programs such as Alfred's. This paper considers Alfred's opening section of Pastoral Care (his translation of Pope Gregory's powerful Liber Regulae Pastoralis) in its cultural and linguistic context, and suggests that it strongly re-marks the presence of the king's authority, as well as draws the book's discussion of the "governance of souls" into the domain of royal governance and legal prescription, thus producing a merged spiritual and political subject. Of particular interest is Alfred's use of word pairs, which, contrary to their frequent misconception as tautologies, are an important universal feature of early lan-Finally, Alfred's reformulation of Gregory's closing, banishing the unlearned from "the door itself of this book, that is from the beginning of this speech," bars the unlearned from access to the king's power and simultaneously invests the written word of the book with that power, thus furthering both the literary and the national program.

Nicholas Howe (Ohio State Univ.)

"For a New Historicist Reading of Old English Prose"

This paper argues for a reading of Old English prose informed by (rather than slavishly derivative of) recent developments in New Historicism. It considers Old English prose texts that reveal gaps in the cultural fabric or that contain a variety of voices. Ælfric's Colloquy, for instance, negotiates between Latin and

vernacular as well as between exposition and gloss to depict the ways in which a social order of clerics is created. The voices in the *Colloquy* do not represent farmers, fishermen, and the like, but rather belong to boys of undeterminable social background who are *playing* at being farmers, fishermen, and the like to learn Latin and to enter a new social order.

Another set of Old English prose texts particularly valuable for a historicist reading are translations of Latin tales about the cultural other or elsewhere. Such works as Wonders of the East and Alexander's Letter to Aristotle, as they appear in BL, Cotton MS Vitellius A.XV, provide evidence of the cultural work Anglo-Saxons did to set themselves in Christian geography. Just as these works are translations from Latin to be read in the vernacular, so they are translations of the culturally other to be read in the familiar world. As ethnographic depictions, these prose texts have value that goes far beyond serving as glosses for their manuscript companion, Beowulf. A theoretically informed and historicizing approach to Old English prose would, finally, break with disciplinary tradition by ranging more critically through the diversity of extant texts.

V. The Thirtieth International Congress on Medieval Studies, the Medieval Institute, Western Michigan University, May 4-7, 1995. As in previous years dating from 1983, the Institute and CEMERS at Binghamton University co-sponsored a Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture, whose abstracts are here presented first, followed by abstracts for various other sessions as received from the participants:

Thirteenth Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture

Session 1: "Studies from SASLC: The B-Pluses"

George H. Brown (Stanford Univ.)

"B-Plus and B-Minus: Bede and Pseudo-Bede"

Bede was the most cited, quoted, and echoed Anglo-Saxon author. So it is not surprising that the SASLC entry will be extensive and probably never quite complete. Five years ago I sent the SASLC editors a forty-page entry, which I

thought would represent my final contribution. When it became clear that the entry would not be published in the near future, I began collecting items and notes for updating and revising it. From Gneuss, Gwara, and my own research I have been able to list several additional MSS (mostly fragments) from Anglo-Saxon England containing works of Bede. However, the largest additions are to the use of Bede's homilies, because I have found them cited with his name in a number of MSS of early homiliaries. I will include references to Bede in the Old English Martyrology, pointed out by Cross. I have also been able to add other Anglo-Saxon citations, quotations, and references to various Bedan works.

Although Bede at the end of the Historia Ecclesiastica published a bibliography of his works that was well known in the Middle Ages and should have served as a hallmark of authenticity, a number of spurious works were nonetheless attributed to him even in the Anglo-Saxon period. Finding the factitious texts and their influence has proved adventuresome. Fortunately, many of the scientific writings falsely attributed to Bede were catalogued by Jones (1939). Among the inauthentic exegetical commentaries, the influence of the Collectanea Bedae has been noted by Cross, Hill, and Kitson. A subdititious homily made its way into the homiliary attributed to Alcuin. Frantzen has furnished valuable information about the penitentials ascribed to Bede. Although a significant number of pseudo-Bedan texts have been unearthed, the search for more of these works and their influence continues.

Barbara Borkert (Univ. of N.C., Chapel Hill)

"Patterns of Quotation for Jerome in the Liber Scintillarum"

The Liber Scintillarum is a book of sentences, drawn from the Scriptures and the Fathers (including extensive quotation from a wide range of works by Jerome) and organized under eighty-one headings by Defensor, a monk of Liguge, c.700. The work has a rich manuscript tradition; copies appear in libraries throughout western Europe from the eighth through the seventeenth centuries. Anglo-Saxon interest in the Liber Scintillarum can be traced to the eighth century, when it was copied in Munich by an Anglo-Saxon scribe. Although the exact nature of its transmission to England

is presently undetermined, several English manuscripts attest to Anglo-Saxon knowledge of Defensor's work, most importantly the eleventh-century BL, Royal MS 7.C.IV, which includes a running interlinear Old English translation of the Latin.

This paper seeks to illuminate the role of the Liber Scintillarum in conveying and shaping knowledge of Jerome's work among the Anglo-Saxons. To this end it pursues several lines of inquiry: probable routes of transmission for the Liber Scintillarum from the Continent to England; possible relationships between the manuscripts of the work current in Anglo-Saxon England, focusing on their relative demonstration of knowledge of Jerome; and the value of Defensor's quotations from Jerome as evidence for connections between the Liber Scintillarum and Anglo-Saxon homilies, specifically the Vercelli homilies.

Patricia H. Ward (College of Charleston)

"The Influence of Jerome in Christ I"

For the SASLC Jerome project I have collected all the references in editions and articles that suggest Jerome as a possible influence on various passages in Christ I. One problem with these references is that very often the images in Christ I are commonplace. Lines 124b-40a, however, may owe their development to Jerome's discussion of the two natures of Christ and Melchisedech as a type of Christ in his Tractatus on Psalm 109. Lines 124b-40a follow logically from the preceding lines of the fifth lyrical section, in which Christ's coeternity and coequality with God are emphasized. At 124b, though, the emphasis shifts to the mystery of the Incarnation and the unity of Christ's divine and human natures in one person subjects which are also developed by Jerome in his interpretation of Ps. 109.1 ("The Lord said to my Lord: Sit at my right hand..."). The sixth lyrical section of the poem begins with a straightforward adaptation of the "O Emmanuel" antiphon which further develops lines 124b-27a. Lines 130-35 call attention to the Annunciation and the translation of the name Emmanuel, which has already been given in line 124b. What follows is a logical departure from the antiphonal source, which introduces the comparison of Christ and Melchisedech. Here the poet is certainly recalling Psalm 109 and the interpretation of Melchisedech as a type of Christ given by the author of the epistle to the Hebrews. Jerome discusses Melchisedech extensively in his commentaries on Genesis, Zecharia, Ephesians, Psalms, and in his letter 73 to Evangelus. Just as the "O Emmanuel" antiphon addresses Christ Incarnate as the bringer of laws, Jerome emphasizes in his commentary on Psalm 109.4 that Melchisedech is a type of Christ Incarnate. The Christ I poet's comparison of Christ and Melchisedech fittingly sets up his further exploration of the mystery of Christ's Incarnation in the seventh section of the poem.

Joseph S. Wittig (Univ. of N.C., Chapel Hill)

"Boethius' Logical Works in Anglo-Saxon England"

Aristotle's "Organon," along with Porphyry's Isagoge, had become a staple of late antique philosophy, and Boethius not only translated each of these works but also compiled commentaries on most of them and wrote five treatises on various aspects of dialectic. This paper addresses the problem of assessing the extent to which Boethius' logical works, circulating on the continent beginning in the ninth century, were known in Anglo-Saxon England. It endeavors to establish a context within which to re-evaluate Ogilvy's claims, the various references to "Boethius" in the York poem and the booklists, and the general level of Anglo-Saxon familiarity and engagement with "dialectic."

<u>Session 53</u>: "The Audience for Insular Art I: The Medieval Audience"

A. Jane Hawkes (U. of Newcastle upon Tyne)

"An Iconography of Female *Humilitas:*The Wirksworth Slab and its Audience"

The carved decoration of the remarkably well-preserved coped stone slab set in the wall of the parish church in Wirksworth, Derbyshire, has elicited a steady trickle of interest among antiquarians and scholars since it was discovered, face-downwards, in the early nineteenth century, functioning as a paving stone and grave cover.

Initially studied for its figural style, interest has also centered on the identity of the carved scenes and their possible sources. One result of these iconographic inquiries has been a significant difference of opinion over the interpretation of some of the figural scenes. Because of the relatively good quality of the carving, most of these differences of opinion are not the result of difficulties in deciphering the sculpture. Rather, they arise from the modern preconceptions lying behind the studies, preconceptions surrounding Anglo-Saxon liturgies and the artistic models circulating in pre-Norman England.

As a contribution to this debate, the identity of the scenes and their possible sources will be re-examined, while subsequent consideration of the overall iconographic program will suggest the likelihood that the control lying behind the selection and arrangement of the scenes was one which was responding to the existence of a significant female (monastic) audience at Wirksworth.

Carol Farr (Univ. of Alabama, Huntsville)

"Gospel Gazing: The Eighth-Century Eye"

Scholars are trying to understand the possible meanings expressed by the full-page images and marginal decoration in large-format gospel books, especially those in the Durham A.II.17 fragments and Book of Kells. Viewed within modern scholarship's construction of the Insular church, the images evoke a flood of interpretation. A critical point remains open within the modern discussion: the contexts in which the books may have been viewed. Modern views on the point fall into two camps. One view places the images within the context of monastic thought, the objects of private contemplation isolated from any level of public viewing. The other sees them as related to themes and texts of the liturgy, perhaps even viewed within the context of specific liturgical feasts.

One may see that the two categories of contemplation and liturgical viewing were fluid because both ways of viewing participated in a unified process of understanding. Decoration in gospel manuscripts can be shown to have been related to the process of reading by its textual articulation. The distinctions modern scholarship attempts to make between books used for liturgical reading, for study, and as relics (such as the Stonyhurst Gospel of John) are too rigid. Glosses and liturgical apparatus suggest that a single manuscript may have served any of these functions. Connecting the

exegetical relationships of the manuscripts' imagery to public functions of gospel books coordinates more informatively with the revision of Insular monasticism being developed by historians and archaeologists.

Victoria Ann Bruno (Cornell Univ.)

"Audience and Reception of Early Insular Gospel Books: Lindisfarne and the 'Northumbrian Renaissance'"

Scholarship in the field of Insular art acknowledges the multiplicity of styles which comprise Northumbrian art of the late seventh and first half of the eighth centuries: a phenomenon attributed to the varying responses of individual monastic communities to the influx of Mediterranean models. The assimilation of Mediterranean motifs, techniques, or overall classicizing aesthetic, has been interpreted as a visual statement of the triumph of the Roman Church in England. To what degree is this an accurate explanation of the rhetorical appeal of early Insular art in its various manifestations? The characterization of the Lindisfarne Gospels as the quintessential fusion of native Insular and Mediterranean traditions of book production and illumination poses specific problems of audience and reception in the context of the "Northumbrian Renaissance."

This study examines how modern definitions of what constitutes a renaissance, and the value judgment implicit in those definitions, have mediated discussions of early Insular Gospel books stylistically and/or textually related to the Lindisfarne Gospels. This initial discussion sets the stage for the primary questions to be addressed: what is the evidence for the survival of native Insular traditions of book production and illumination in the Lindisfarne Gospels and related manuscripts; what does this suggest about the function of Gospel books in relation to intended audience; and what does this contribute to a reconstruction of Anglo-Saxon attitude to the cultural production of the "Northumbrian Renaissance"?

<u>Session 92</u>: "The Audience for Insular Art II: The Modern Audience"

Nancy Netzer (Boston College)

"National Identity and the Image of Insular Art in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries"

With few firmly dated and localized examples the study of Insular manuscripts and metalwork has been an arduous task that has challenged the skills of some of the finest medieval historians, paleographers, archaeologists, codicologists, philologists, and art historians. The process of assigning these works to Insular centers in England, Ireland, or the continent and of devising a relative chronology for them has often been treacherous and riddled with controversy over the past three hundred years.

In this paper I review the scholarship and what can be pieced together concerning the display of these objects in England and Ireland (primarily Dublin and London) in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to suggest that in many cases the first priority has been to exploit these objects in the service of a nationalistic agenda rather than to engage in scholarly inquiry to place them in their proper chronological and regional contexts. I focus on the exhibition of Irish and Anglo-Saxon antiquities and reproductions of them in the two great international industrial exhibitions in London (1851) and Dublin (1853). I also consider the ways in which these objects were published and (where evidence ia available) exhibited by the principal institutions that possessed them: the Royal Irish Academy, National Museum of Ireland, Trinity College Library, National Museum of Scotland, and British Museum.

Eamonn Kelly (National Museum of Ireland)

"Sheela-na-gigs: Symbol and Meaning in Transition"

Sheela-na-gigs are grotesque carvings of naked females which posture in such a manner so as to display and emphasize the genitalia. The name sheela-na-gig is a local name for a carving on the wall of Kiltinane Church, Co. Tipperary, recorded in 1840. The name comes from the Irish language, although its meaning is uncertain. The most likely interpretations are Sighe na gCioch meaning "the old hag of the

breasts" or Sile-ina-Giob meaning "Sheela (a name for an old woman) on her hunkers." No tradition or folklore has been recorded in Ireland which provides any useful insight into their origin and function. Most of the modern popular beliefs concerning them are of very recent vintage, reflecting human preoccupations during the latter half of the twentieth century rather than those of medieval Ireland which produced them. This paper focuses on the meaning and function of Sheela-na-gigs within the historical and political context of Ireland between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries.

George H. Brown (Stanford Univ.) and Helen Damico (Univ. of New Mexico)

"Bede's World"

Near the site of Abbot Ceolfrith's church and Bede's monastery, the Jarrow 2000 project is constructing an extensive reproduction of an eighth-century cultural setting for the contemporary visitor. Art and architecture of the period will be featured in a new museum and the surrounding area is being transformed under the direction of Rosemary Cramp and other specialists into an Anglo-Saxon village, farm, and riverfront.

<u>Session 134</u>: "Women and Anglo-Saxon England I"

Stephanie Hollis (Univ. of Auckland)

"Anglo-Saxon Women: Medical Knowledge and Miracles of Healing"

Payne (1904) regarded Tacitus' report that wounded Germanic warriors were treated by women as evidence of an indigenous tradition of medical knowledge, but pointed out that only men are identified as *medici* or as leeches in Anglo-Saxon sources. More recent scholarship postulates the existence of women as domestic and unofficial healers having knowledge of popular lore but excluded from the literary tradition of medical knowledge except insofar as they were treated by educated male practitioners. Rubin (1989), for instance, argues for the existence of lay men who were professionally trained leeches, denies the existence of similarly trained women ("sexual equality of opportunity

was quite unknown in those days"), but is willing to assume that "midwives and 'wisewomen' must have given advice and help in the villages."

Monastic women had greater opportunities for contact with Latin-based medical knowl-This paper examines three kinds of sources: the Boniface correspondence (which reveals that Anglo-Saxon abbesses were among the earliest recipients of exotic substances which figure in Latin medical remedies); hagiography and Bede's History (whose authors' intention is to record instances of miraculous healing); manuscripts containing female grammatical forms in which medical remedies are preserved. These sources confirm monastic women's access to medical knowledge; whether we infer that they participated directly in the study and transmission of Latin and vernacular medical literature depends upon the extent to which we assume that male monastics (whose knowledge and use of this literature has always been taken for granted) had a monopoly on literacy. The sources examined also show that double monasteries attracted lay people seeking healing, and this paper suggests the possibility that female religious, like their male counterparts, may have acted as practitioners to the laity.

Susan Kelly (Indiana Univ.)

"Ubi unus clericus et Ælfgyva: Ælfgyva and the Bayeux Tapestry"

Despite centuries of examination, there are still some elements of the Bayeux Tapestry that have escaped firm identification by historians. Perhaps the most enigmatic of these is the scene of a cleric touching the face of the lady Ælfgyva bearing the inscription ubi unus clericus et Ælfgyva. The difficulty of identification arises not from a dearth of possible candidates, but rather from a wealth, ranging from William's infant daughters to the Abbess of Barking. J. Bard McNulty, in his article "The Lady Aelfgyva in the Bayeux Tapestry" (Speculum 55 [1980]: 659-68) suggests that the solution to the puzzle lies in the iconography of the scene. His examination of Ælfgyva and the tapestry results in a list of criteria that the true Ælfgyva must meet. His conclusion is that Ælfgyva of Northampton is the only woman who fits all of the conditions. I suggest, however, that by using McNulty's iconographical method there is a second, more plausible woman: Emma of Normandy, the wife of two English Kings, Æthelred and Canute, and the mother of two more, Harthacnut and Edward the Confessor.

Ælfgyva's name and the proportions in which she is drawn imply that she is an adult woman of Anglo-Saxon customs. The border-figures reveal that the relationship between Ælfgyva and the cleric is one of sexual improprieties. I suggest that the archway that frames her, ignored in McNulty's analysis, signifies that Ælfgyva is an ally to William's claims to the English throne. Finally, although I agree with McNulty as to the importance of the placement of the scene within the tapestry, I believe that it represents William's claims rather than the claimants of a third party.

Emma of Normandy, who took the name of Ælfgyva upon her arrival in England, was quite significant to William and his claims to the English throne. She was at the very base of over sixty years of Norman connections with the English crown. From her arrival in England in 1002 until her death in 1053, Emma was directly involved with the English court by marriage or motherhood for all but three years. Although on the surface the reference to a sexual scandal as an iconographical representation for Emma may seem to hurt William's claims, this scandal is not only benign to William's cause, but in fact, beneficial.

Anna Smol (Mount Saint Vincent Univ.)

"The Female Critic and the Mother Tongue: Elizabeth Elstob's Anglo-Saxonism"

She was referred to as "The Saxon Lady" and "our Saxon Nymph" by deferential antiquarians who treated her as if she herself were a rare artifact. Others, whether in censure or in admiration, called her the "most unfeminine of scholars" and a woman of "masculine abilities." In one way or another, then, Elizabeth Elstob was made acutely aware of the traditional boundaries of her gender and the ways in which she transgressed them. In one of her letters, she proudly points out her unique position as a female Anglo-Saxonist when she offers a friend "a small Transcript from the Saxon, written I believe by the first Woman that has studied that Language since it was spoke." In other letters. Elstob's pride in her scholarship is replaced by apologies for writing at length and fears of being thought a "Babbler."

alternations are typical of Elstob's anxiety over authorship, and she looks persistently for justification of her endeavors, primarily through her attempts to find and fix a tradition of female learning and patronage with its origins in an Anglo-Saxon past. Elstob always tries to find, as Virginia Woolf put it, mothers to think back through; one result is that Elstob highlights the roles of certain Anglo-Saxon women in a way that has not happened often since then.

In examining Elstob's works, I focus on the ways in which she uses the figure of the mother to express her views of the origins of her language, church, and nation; how this maternal image then allows Elstob to make a space for female scholarship; and how it characterizes Elstob's primitivist beliefs about Anglo-Saxon culture. For example, her repeated references to Old English as "this Original of our Mother Tongue" imply a "natural" connection to women which is made explicit on the title page of her grammar: "Our Earthly Possessions are truly enough called a Patrimony, as derived to us by the Industry of our Fathers; but the Language that we speak is our Mother-Tongue; and who so proper to play the Criticks in this as She defends the Mother the Females." Tongue's "simplicity" and "plainness," its "genuine" and "natural" qualities, which make it appropriate, in Elstob's view, for the expression of the "first Notions of things," as if it were the language actually spoken by mothers to their children who are learning to express themselves for the first time.

Such views of the language's primitive simplicity persist well into nineteenth-century philological studies. What changes, though, is Elstob's "satisfaction." Her idea of Old English as an ideal subject of study for women is replaced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by the reality of university-trained philologists concerned about making English studies difficult enough to be taken seriously in their universities.

<u>Session 157</u>: "Literary Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture I"

David F. Johnson (Florida State Univ.)

"Grendel and the Limits of the Demonic"

The precise nature of Beowulf's famous first adversary has been the subject of a fair amount of direct and indirect debate by critics for some time now. The concerns of this debate parallel to some degree the larger issue of the poem's moral or religious underpinnings, its "peculiar spiritual atmosphere" which has been the occasion of so much controversy. Many of those who have argued most firmly for the poem as predominately Christian or even as Christian allegory have tended to view Grendel as a representation of Satan, a demon, or at the very least a demonic figure. Others, who prefer to downplay the integration of Christian and pagan elements in the poem, have taken pains to explain away any overt references to Christian demonology, and have argued instead for the primacy of the original, pagan meaning for many of the terms and descriptive phrases applied to Grendel. The problem has continued to confound, and the range of critics' solutions is broad. They have referred to Grendel alternately as a troll, a beast, a devil, a monster, a man, a spirit, and even an incubus, the night monster or nightmare. He bears in many respects a close resemblance to the Old Norse draugr, the "undead man or ghost" of the sagas. The resulting profile of Grendel is an ontological stone soup.

This paper looks closely at the sentential statement found in Beowulf 705b-707 and attempts to situate it among the many Christian demonological epithets the poet applies to the monster. I argue that the poet's use of this sententia serves to delineate the limits of Grendel's powers. It signals the imminent end of them, but it also emphasizes by implication that Grendel's ravagings have been allowed to continue for twelve years by God's express permission. This, I would suggest, is the true nature of the theological commonplace that lies behind these lines. The representation of the devil as God's servant, whose powers were entirely subordinate to God, evolved into a well-established tradition. It held that demons were by nature evil in their desires and gained permission from God to torment man.

In speaking of the polysemous uses of words such as wyrd and metod, Fred Robinson remarks that "one meaning fits the world of the dramatic speaker, while another is suggested to the Christian audience." The same might be said of lines 705b-707. These lines tell us that the Geats in Hrothgar's hall will, if Fate so decrees, survive the ordeal, but they also constitute an allusion to an important and widespread demonological doctrine. This allusion proves the richer for the way in which it re-

minds us of the moral import of Grendel's attack on the Danes. And it comes at precisely that moment in the poem when Grendel is confronted with his limits: whether demon, man, or monster, his God-given license to test Hrothgar and the Danes is about to be revoked.

Susan E. Deskis (Northern Illinois U.)

"Narrative Elements in Old English and Old Norse Gnomic Poetry"

This paper presents some observations on the relations between gnomic and narrative discourse types in poetry that is primarily gnomic in composition. The narrative sections under consideration are the Frisian Wife episode of *Maxims I* (lines 93-106) and the adventures of Óðinn with Billing's *mær* and with Gunnlöð, both from *Hávamál* (sts. 96-102, 104-110).

One function of the narrative passages is to reinforce the balanced portrayal of sexual relationships in each poem. For example, the Frisian Wife passage describes the emotional involvement of both husband and wife, while the adventures of Óðinn illustrate the gnomic pronouncements that both men and women use deceit in dealing with each other.

Analogies to other genres help to elucidate the narrative/gnomic relationship. The fable provides a clear exposition of the way in which narrative action offers a specific example of the general truth expressed by the proverbial moral. The elegy, with its apparent tendency in West Germanic towards vaguer and more generalized narrative descriptions, may offer an instructive parallel explaining the greater specificity of narrative segments in Old Norse versus Old English gnomic poems.

The paper concludes with the suggestion that the gnomic-plus-narrative compositional unit could be adapted to specific contextual requirements and represent one way in which thematically useful narratives circulated among and between genres.

Session 200: "Literary Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture II"

Patricia Wallace (Florida International Univ.)

"Queenship and Knowledge in the Second English *Ordo* and the Old English *Christ I"*

This paper discusses the close correspondence between the performative role of the queen specified in the Second English *ordo* and the ideology of queenship as found in the Old English *Christ I*. In contrast with the *ordo*'s positioning the king as a central authority above the Christian body, the prayer over the queen's ring demands that she go beyond the populace of the converted to invite the "barbarae gentes" into "agnitionem ueritatis." She is charged with going into another realm to lead non-Christians into an understanding of God, specifically a "knowledge of truth."

The figure of the Virgin Mary in Christ I, a poem notorious for its problematic structure, presides over such a transformation of the foreign or uninitiated. In fact, it is this process of leading the ignorant into an understanding of divine truth that governs the structure of the poem. Moreover, as a central figure in what is most likely the opening poem of the Exeter Book, the image of Mary extends beyond the confines of Christ I. She is an essential gateway onto a rich collection of poetry that seems to have an epistemological project of its own.

Thomas N. Hall (Univ. of Illinois, Chicago)

"Prophetic Vision in The Dream of the Rood"

One of the central challenges of The Dream of the Rood is figuring out what to make of the dreamer's opening vision, in which the cross shifts in color and appearance so that the dreamer first sees a single golden and bejewelled cross, then sees a bloody cross through the first one, then sees the first change in coverings and hues until it becomes the second, then sees the two alternate in a seemingly recurrent pattern, so that even the number of crosses comes into question (does he see one or two?). Attempts to explain this kaleidoscopic pattern of imagery have rested on a variety of liturgical, iconographic, theological, linguistic, and philosophical arguments, but the passage has rarely been discussed as a manifestation of visionary experience, and the poem's relation to medieval concepts of vision remains largely unexamined. This paper argues that the dreamer's vision of the cross conforms in a number of specific ways to the definition of prophetic vision as formulated by Gregory the Great in his Homilies on Ezekiel. According to Gregory, a theophanic vision such as the one experienced by the prophet Ezekiel unites events from multiple temporalities, but when the prophet tries to convey the essence of his vision in human language, it inevitably devolves into a series of fragmented, overlapping images. To the mind of the prophet, these seemingly disjointed images actually occur simultaneously and are representative of the multiple dimensions of his vision which come to him in unison, but as Gregory says, "the Holy Spirit does not reveal simultaneously in outward language what it reveals in a single instant to the heart of the prophet." Through exploring Gregory's understanding of this kind of visionary experience, this paper traces the connections between Gregory's definition of prophetic vision to Augustinian concepts of time and vision and adopts Gregory's terminology to discuss the peculiarities of the vision of the cross in The Dream of the Rood.

Suzanne Craymer (U. of N.C., Chapel Hill)

"Jerome and Genesis A"

Attempting to attribute passages of Old English poetry to a major patristic author, such as an Augustine or Jerome, often should involve consideration of intermediary sources. This paper depicts the type of consideration necessary by detailing the complex relationship of Genesis A and Exodus to Jerome. Because the paper uncovers no reliable evidence that Jerome serves as the direct source for any of the poems' passages, it must separate probable cases into two major categories. The first category involves passages too general to carry any weight or falsely attributed to Jerome. though the first category eliminates numerous passages, the second category substantiates enough correspondences to suggest that the Genesis A and Exodus poets could have derived their knowledge of Jerome through Bede. Examining the second category further, the paper investigates the few apparent uses of Jerome not found in Bede. Because these passages appear in scripture or in other prominent exegetes, the possibility that the Genesis A and Exodus poets had direct access to Jerome's texts cannot be confirmed, despite fairly specific use of his exegesis. This careful consideration of some cases where Jerome's influence has been alleged illustrates only an unclear picture; therefore, the paper reveals the difficulties in determining specific patristic sources for

Old English literature in general.

Debra E. Best (Univ. of N.C., Chapel Hill)

"Jerome's Influence on Old English Poetry"

A group at UNC-Chapel Hill has been doing preliminary work towards SASLC entries on Jerome. We began our search for Jerome's influence on Anglo-Saxon works by examining carefully all scholarly editions and those books and articles which seemed relevant. This paper provides an overview of the results with respect to Old English poetry.

Preliminary research suggests that twenty of Jerome's works influenced twenty-three Old English poems. Of these attributions, only five suggest specific textual borrowings, with the remaining citing Jerome as a "source" for what is actually a broad tradition used by the poet. In only one instance has Jerome's influence found general acceptance, and many of the claims for him as the source of traditional material either do not stand up to scrutiny or refer to notions too general to be useful. Once these items are dismissed, we find fifteen Old English poems influenced by sixteen works by Jerome. Most of the references to tradition require further investigation to determine whether Jerome has been cited as a direct source. as the source of an important tradition, or in an incidental reference to a general tradition.

Session 244: "Women and Anglo-Saxon England II"

Stacy S. Klein (Ohio State Univ.)

"Relationships Between Women in Old English Texts: Cultural Definitions of Femininity"

This paper examines some of the ways in which Anglo-Saxons represented relationships between women, that is, the ways vernacular writers depicted women assisting (or hindering) one another at times of political, familial, sexual, and spiritual crises. It is perhaps the rarity of such relationships in Old English writings which has led scholars to ignore this rich subject, but examining female-female relationships offers an avenue to better understanding patriarchal constraints on women's lives in Anglo-Saxon England.

The paper begins with the corporeal: Lucy's

attempts to heal her sick mother and Agatha's sexual initiation among a family of female prostitutes in Ælfric's Lives of the Saints. It then turns to more abstract relationships between women: Ælfric's popular homilies which hold out heaven as the eternal company of one's sisters, and his hagiographical narratives which depict women modeling themselves in the images of dead saints, self-fashionings which often take place through mystical conversations. The paper concludes with the heroine and her maid in the Old English Judith, a relationship marked by its expansion from the poem's source and notable for the ways in which epithets and namings virtually extinguish class differences between the two women.

Critical accounts of Anglo-Saxon women have focused primarily on women who work alone — the isolated freoduwebbes, bereft widows, lone warrior-queens, and desolate elegists, who dominate Old English poetry. Sustained attention to the female-female interactions in England's early writings provides a useful means of rethinking these solitary figures. In its methodology, this paper draws on feminist theorists such as Chodorow, Faderman, Rich, and Hooks, who have demonstrated the importance of female-female relationships in cultural definitions of femininity.

Kathleen Davis (Rutgers Univ.)

"Toward an Understanding of Hildeburh: The Tales of Branwen and Guðrun"

Scholars have long noted the narrative similarities that Hildeburh's story in Beowulf's Finnsburg Episode holds with the tale of Guðrun in the Norse Völsung-Nibelung cycle and with that of Branwen in the Welsh Mabinogi: each woman is given in marriage by her family to an overseas king; a visit by her kindred sparks violence; the consequent battle results in the death of her relations on both sides brothers, husband, and her child or children. Recent study has downplayed these similarities by focusing on differences in characterization, labeling Guðrun as vengeful, and Branwen and Hildeburh as passive and tragic peace-weavers. Such differences between the women, however, do not indicate a major difference in their stories. All these women are daughters, wives, and potential mothers of kings, and all their marriages, and tragedies, result from an attempted alliance between kings at a time when dynastic succession was perilous, and when internecine as well as inter-dynastic struggles for kingship were frequent and violent. This paper concentrates on the female function in this political network, and suggests that these tales are not simple revenge tragedies, but tell of complex intra- and inter-dynastic struggles for kingship.

The narrative detail surrounding Branwen and Guðrun, informed by historical and cultural analysis, reveals a ruthless internecine struggle for succession in each woman's homeland, and shows that the marriage-alliance intersection of this struggle with inter-dynastic strife between her own and her husband's kin propels the devastation in her husband's hall. Both tales address the risky and ambiguous differentiation between an alliance and an over-lordship, and in both the women attempt to negotiate peace settlements, in both they are betrayed by their kin and their husbands, and in both the women's pre-warrior-age children are murdered in cold-blood by a maternal relative.

Using correspondences between these narratives and the Finnsburg Episode (such as a shared hall and a pyre for the woman's son, brother, and husband), along with the text of Beowulf itself, I suggest that the scenario outlined above pertains as well to Hildeburh, whose tacit treatment by the poet may arise not only from an expectation of audience familiarity but also from suppression of direct discussion of bloody kin-betrayal associated with the maternal. The suppression of this subject matter is mirrored by its context - Wealhtheow's diplomatic speech regarding the problems of succession and the threat of kin-betrayal in Heorot — but this suppression fragments the discussion into multiple allusions and sub-narratives throughout the text (e.g., Grendel's sharing Hrothgar's hall, Hrothulf's eventual takeover, the bloody Swedish kin-struggle for succession, and Beowulf's own succession to the Geatish throne). I argue that the traditional assumptions that Hildeburh's marriage was to settle a feud, that her son was of warrior-age and fell in active combat, and that her marriage to Finn had been long and peaceful, are not explicitly supported by the text; on the contrary, the text is open to a reading that the Frisian conflict was precipitated by treachery on both sides, that Hildeburh had attempted a peace settlement, and that her son was cut down by a maternal relative in a contest for succession. Her retrieval to her homeland after the killing of her husband and children underlines the importance of the feminine to male sovereignty.

Marjorie Brown (Binghamton Univ.)

"Juliana: Arrows of Seduction"

In writing the Old English poem Juliana, the poet known as Cynewulf has chosen to integrate Christian legend with a Germanic martial style and to present a woman as a convincing "hero" of the Christian faith. The poet does so by not only increasing Juliana's goodness and the villains' evil, but also by suppressing any possibility that she might enter into a sexual relationship even if it is a legal marriage. Thus Juliana serves an Anglo-Saxon religious agenda that rejects secular love and marital relationships and associates sexuality with the crimes of the devil.

Cynewulf's poetic account of St. Juliana's passio derives from a Latin source resembling the hagiographic legend printed in the Acta Sanctorum (Feb. 16). The Acta S. Iulianae may therefore serve as a general contrast to the later work. Cynewulf alters his poem from the Latin version by emphasizing the conflict between the heroic saint and her human and diabolical tormentors, eliminating some of the minor characters, and changing the focus and content of the story to center on marriage and bodily sin.

Juliana refuses all secular forms of *lufu*, although her Latin counterpart seems willing to marry her pagan persecutor. In their pride, anger, and lust, the Old English tormentors represent mortal sins, while Juliana is a model for the virtues. Whereas the Latin version depicts the traditional hagiographic tortures of a virgin saint, with sexual overtones, Cynewulf's Juliana becomes an abstract model of goodness, whose beauty Cynewulf describes in terms of heavenly light. In keeping with this model of saintliness, the devil who visits her in her cell portrays his assaults on sinful mortals as "arrows of seduction" that enter the body to tempt it to sensual pleasures.

Cynewulf alters the *passio*'s ending by neglecting to describe the senator's wife who buries Juliana's body in a mausoleum. Her mortal remains disappear in the psychomachia that he constructs, adding to the impression of profound anxiety about the female body and its potential connection with sin.

Janice Grossman (Hamilton College)

"Tropes of Femininity and Monstrosity in Old English Poems"

This essay examines some literary implications of modifications in the metaphor of Mili Christi in the late Anglo-Saxon period. Stephanie Hollis has recently argued that the theological image of warriors for Christ, frequently employed in the early years of the conversion to represent Christians of either gender, became over time increasingly identified with masculinity, and female religious increasingly described by tropes of wifely fidelity and submission. Hollis then traces various consequences for monastic women of this conceptual shift and resulting bifurcation; she says little about litera-Indeed, the usual attribution of Old English poetry to an early period tended to preclude consideration of the ways in which poems like Judith, Juliana, and Beowulf might enact such relatively late shifts in the cultural conception of gender. I argue, however, that the inscription of these poems in manuscripts which date from no earlier than the late tenth century suggests the continuing social relevance of their depictions of femininity; that these manuscripts are products of a scribal culture which does not (and cannot) share our modern ideas of textual fixity also leaves open the possibility that these poems were continually (albeit perhaps unconsciously) reshaped in response to contemporary cultural difficulties. In either case, Old English poetry reveals a pervasive anxiety regarding the depiction of female warriors. In the poems which now bear their names, both Judith and Juliana manage to perform successful feats of physical violence; each woman appears motivated to do so, at least in part, by the private desire to preserve her own bodily or spiritual integrity. In each poem the heroine's power is quickly brought under masculine control, enlisted to support broader nationalistic or religious enterprises, and reconceptualized as intercessory rather than directly potent. In Beowulf the redefinition of female power, an operation depicted here as violent struggle, becomes more explicitly problematic but is, for that, no less complete. Grendel's mother does not subsume her private and familial concerns beneath a nationalist agenda, nor does she (any more than does her son) seek out non-violent or intercessory means to achieve her ends. Far from celebrating her unruly aggression, however, the poem figures it as monstrous, socially isolating and ultimately impotent. By acknowledging the possible threat of unregulated female aggression only in order to demonize and quell it, the poem accomplishes a number of goals: it legitimizes the restraining of female power; it assists the bifurcation of genders by constructing a difference between male and female exercises of aggression, the former portrayed as orderly, public, and successful, the latter as chaotic, private, and impotent (in so doing the poem may also respond to the problems of over-similarity raised by the earlier battle between Beowulf and Grendel); it provides a cautionary counterpoint to positive depictions of appropriately limited female power in Judith and Juliana.

Research Group on Manuscript Evidence

<u>Session 381</u>: "Rediscovering and Reconstructing Lost Manuscripts"

Mildred Budny (Corpus Christi Coll., Cambridge)

"The Tip of the Iceberg: Reconstructing Lost Manuscripts from Fragments"

Manuscripts, by definition, are hand-written copies of texts. But what constitutes a manuscript fragment, and how do we go about reconstructing lost manuscripts from one or more of them? Surveying the tip of this huge iceberg, the paper concentrates on the surviving manuscripts and fragments written or owned in England up to the year 1100, for which Helmut Gneuss's preliminary list numbers some 950 items preserved in collections around the world. The list grows and shrinks as attributions are revised and new material emerges; evidence for the existence and history of the group also comes from material outside that place and time-range.

The conditions of preservation and dispersal mean that each and every surviving manuscript, in whatever state, is but a fragment, or fraction, of what once existed, even if the manuscript itself seems to survive complete, with all its original leaves, including any endleaves or pastedowns, plus its original binding and clasping mechanisms intact. Moreover, the destruction of libraries, bindings, architectural settings, de\ABcors, and patterns of life and thought

have robbed all manuscripts from the past of their full original contexts.

Damage, despoliation, destruction, and even conservation and rebinding have drastically reduced our count of survivors. To attempt to reconstruct the count of what once existed, we must turn to the manuscripts themselves, to piece together their fragmentary evidence, along with literary, historical, and documentary texts, ranging from chronicles and saints' lives to book-lists and library catalogues, which mention specific books or numbers of books. Many later library catalogues of medieval collections, in England and elsewhere, contain items from our group, and probably other members as well, but not recognized or recognizable as such.

The fragmentation of the survivors is due to a wide range of causes, both accidental and deliberate. Various techniques help us to see beyond their current state, to reconstruct their original forms. Among the examples considered are Old and New Testament fragments now in Tokyo, London, and elsewhere; Gospel Book fragments in London and at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; and Old English homily fragments now in Kansas and at Corpus.

The challenges of manuscript fragments encompass a myriad range: their discovery, rediscovery, and recovery; their present contents, both original and acquired; their states and locations, both present and past; their contents (present, intermediary, and original); their handling and conservation; the identification of their texts; the assessment of their dates, origins, and provenance; and the reconstruction of their original manuscripts, usually carried out only descriptively, rather than physically (although there are notable, sympathetic attempts by various conservators to reconstruct medieval binding structures). The techniques and methodologies for dealing with manuscript fragments are in the process of intensive evolution and refinement, so that many can help the quest of investigating, understanding, preserving, and transmitting the legacy of the past.

Armed with our knowledge of the hidden and mysterious depths of the iceberg, we can look squarely at its tip and see the survivors for what they are. Too often scholars cite Gneuss's list of surviving manuscripts and fragments made or owned in England to 1100 as if it constitutes *the* evidence for the popularity or otherwise of certain texts in Anglo-Saxon England, without regard for the undoubted vast

losses of books from the period. If we find ourselves in passage on a Post-Modern Titanic, we would do well to chart our course safely by recognizing the tip of the iceberg for exactly what it is.

Timothy Graham (Western Michigan Univ.)

"Lost, Hidden, and Disguised Elements in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts"

Many Anglo-Saxon manuscripts have suffered loss, damage, or alteration across the centuries. Various types of evidence can assist the modern scholar to reconstruct the former state of a manuscript, and to evaluate how and why alterations were made. For some of the manuscripts damaged in the Cotton fire of 1731, there exist early eighteenth-century facsimiles of a few of their pages. Such prephotographic facsimiles should, however, be treated with caution, as their artists sometimes allowed themselves license. This can be seen when it is possible to make a direct comparison between a facsimile and the page that it represents, as in the case of the opening page of St. John's Gospel in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 197B, and its 1847 facsimile. Early microfilms provide an important, and neglected, source of evidence, for they sometimes record a state of a manuscript that has now been superseded. This is so with several of the manuscripts at Corpus Christi College rebound in the 1950s. For example, pre-1950s microfilms record a portion of an inscription in CCCC 190 that has since been lost, and attest to an alteration of the quire structure at the end of CCCC 144, the Corpus Glossary. Detailed knowledge of the habits of the collectors of manuscripts can assist in explaining losses within their manuscripts as can be demonstrated by the case of Matthew Parker (1504-75). In several manuscripts at Corpus Christi College that lack leaves at the front or back, and that consequently begin or end with beheaded or truncated texts, the imperfect texts have been erased. The erasures are attributable to Parker's efforts to tidy up the appearance of his manuscripts. The removal of a leaf at the beginning of CCCC 173, the earliest copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, also appears to be Parker's work. The leaf probably contained the text of a post-Conquest charter for Christ Church, Canterbury; corroborative evidence in CCCC MSS 111 and 140, Cambridge University Library MS Ii.2.11, and the Exeter Book of Old English poetry, suggests that Parker had a habit of removing documentary materials from one manuscript context in order to transfer them to another that he believed more appropriate. Loss, damage, and alteration, while regrettable, can nonetheless provide revealing insights into the history of the use and treatment of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.

Other Sessions

Session 20: "The Vercelli Book in Context"

Angela Kelly (Univ. of Western Ontario)

"Speech and Power in Andreas and the Vercelli Book Homilies"

Andreas, like many Old English poems, is a work made up largely of set speeches, and, because of this feature, a potentially helpful critical approach to the poem is that of speechact theory. Great importance is attached to words in the poem, and the various characters are distinguished on the basis of the words they use. Matthew is praised as one who first began to write the gospel in words with wondrous skill (line 13); Andreas teaches readers by example always to praise the Lord with words; and when God first speaks, it is with beorhtan stefne ("bright voice" 96) in a promise to Matthew that he will enjoy eternal paradise. Conversely, the adversaries — whether the devil, the Jews, or the Mermedonians — are defined as wærlogan ("promise breakers") and inflict Matthew and Andreas with edwitspræcon ("reproachspeech"), huscworde ("insulting speech"), teoncwide ("painful talk"), and hospword ("insulting word"). Interestingly, while the language of the Mermedonians and of the devil is described as being very destructive, frequently it is only reported indirectly and is, in fact, powerless. Their language is incapable of effecting significant and lasting change in the world.

There are two categories of people within this poem: Christian and non-Christian. Those who use words to support the Christian way of life have power; those who do not are powerless. The poem is, of course, strongly didactic and readers are instructed to do as the characters do and turn toward Christ, thus negating all that is non-Christian within the self, just as the poet eventually negates all that is non-Christian

within the narrative. The relationship between Christian conversion and performative language in Andreas and the ideological implications of the way in which the poet ascribes performative power to the language of his characters as well as to his own language are important in terms of understanding the poem's relationship to the Vercelli Book as a whole. Like the Vercelli homilies, Andreas is penitential in nature insofar as it encourages readers to renew and strengthen their commitment to Christian ideology, a commitment encouraged through, and accomplished by, the performative power of language. The purpose of my paper is to analyze the relationship between language and power in Andreas, and to ascertain not only whose language is performative but also how that language obtains its performative force.

Michael Matto (New York Univ.)

"Ending the Rivalry between Soul and Body I and Soul and Body II"

Critical assessment of Soul and Body I and Soul and Body II has generally assumed the existence of an ur-poem Soul and Body which represents the point at which the textual histories of these two poems have diverged. Many critics have sought to recover or reconstruct this ur-poem, with mixed success. Those who have written on Soul and Body I and Soul and Body II generally champion one text or the other as being structurally and thematically closer to the original than its counterpart. The main point of contention is the 41-line "blessed soul" section that appears in the Vercelli Book but not in the Exeter Book.

My suggestion is that we have in Soul and Body I and Soul and Body II two distinct poems, not as determined by the lexical similarities or shared source, but rather by implied scribal interpretation, manuscript context, and contemporary reception. Consideration of Soul and Body I and Soul and Body II as distinct poems allows us to give valid readings of both texts without impugning the validity of one or the other. I would argue that Soul and Body I represents a homiletic penitential tradition (which is appropriate to the homiletic nature of the Vercelli Book) while Soul and Body II is an example of elegiac lament in the planctus tradition, the speaker voicing a complaint against the agent responsible for its sorrow. Read in this way, each is allowed to stand on its own terms, Soul and Body I with its blessed-soul's address and Soul and Body II with its spiteful ending. Soul and Body I and Soul and Body II certainly spring from a shared ancestor, but in transmission the two divergent texts have indeed become two different poems.

Session 38: "Axioms of OE Meter I"

B. R. Hutcheson (Marshall Univ.)

"Bliss's Caesura: A Problematic Concept"

In order to determine whether two Old English metrical patterns are metrically distinct, A. J. Bliss suggests a statistical test, which is to replace the subjective criteria used by most previous metrists (*The Metre of Beowulf* [Oxford, 1958], p. 4). He argues that if two metrical patterns can be shown to have a different distribution over either on-verse vs. offverse or over on-verse with double vs. single alliteration, the distinction between the two types can be assumed to be metrically significant. Bliss demonstrates that the placement of the caesura in a verse of OE poetry is metrically significant on this definition of metrical significance.

In my paper, I review several of what have by now become standard objections to Bliss's theory of the caesura, the most telling of which is that, whereas Bliss demonstrates that the caesura is metrically significant for some types, he proceeds to assume that it is for others as well, when in fact it is not. Fewer than a third of the patterns that Bliss distinguishes from one another solely on the basis of caesura placement in *The Metre of Beowulf* actually meet the requirement of significant differences in distribution, which is of course the only justification for the distinction in the first place.

Taking my cue from O. D. Macrae-Gibson ("The Metrical Entities of Old English," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen 87 [1986]: 59-91), I separate the metrical types of Old English poetry into subtypes based upon the particular syntactic makeup of the verse; unlike Macrae-Gibson, wno accepts the caesura, I reject it entirely. When verses are separated in this way, Bliss's distinction disappears: verses with the same syntactic makeup never show any significant differences in distribution from one another based upon caesura placement, though

they often show significant differences in distribution from other syntactic patterns. In my paper, as the result of personal prompting from Macrae-Gibson, I modify my earlier conclusions (in *Old English Poetic Metre* [Cambridge, 1995]) that such syntactic patterns should be grouped under the same subtype when they do not show statistically significant differences in distribution from one another, concluding instead that they should be kept distinct to provide an important test of poetic style.

Session 40: "Beowulf I: Overviews"

Tim D. P. Lally (Univ. of South Alabama)

"Design for Terror in Beowulf: Design Revised"

In "Point of View and Design for Terror in Beowulf" (NM 63 [1962]: 154-67), Alain Renoir focuses his analysis on Grendel's approach to Heorot as "highly representative of the descriptive technique of the poem." This paper's thesis is an argument that description and narration which precede Grendel's approach to Heorot create a context into which it fits and from which it proceeds. The methodology of the paper includes formalist criticism similar in its assumptions to Renoir's (e.g., analysis of descriptive techniques implicit in the imagery of Beowulf and Grendel), thematic criticism (e.g., the contribution of pagan and Christian references to the design for terror), and structuralist criticism in the American sense of architectonics or larger design rather than the linguistic model derived from de Saussure (e.g., the series of frames with increasing tightness of focus which precede Grendel's approach to Heorot). The paper's conclusions are that Renoir's excellent analysis can be revised by adjusting it to its formal, thematic, and structural context. When Renoir writes that "the terror which the scene so powerfully evokes in the audience is entirely the result of masterfully selected visual details," we can now possibly substitute for "entirely" "partially" and then offer a contribution that aspires to account for the entirety of the effect of terror. The aim of the paper is a respectful revision of the argument in support of Renoir's insight into the emotional power of "one of the very most graphic passages in English literature."

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

"Why Women are Unimportant in Beowulf"

This paper looks at recent critical treatments of women in Beowulf, comparing approaches, relating them to the poem, and offering an explanation of why women in fact do not figure importantly in the poem. Approaches tend either to blame the poet for neglecting women, and scholars for not blaming the poet, or to blame scholars for neglecting the fact that the poet does not neglect them; and a general dissatisfaction with older views has produced no new consensus. Results have been problematic because such approaches neglect the provenance of the poem, and because they are not guided by a general theory of literature. The interpretive tradition surrounding Klaeber's edition, moreover, complicates all criticism.

This paper argues that *Beowulf* is for the most part epic and therefore external and actional. Accordingly, the human predicament itself — life, death, and survival, not the interim and internal machinery of the psychosocial maintenance of life — is foregrounded. The domestic operation of life is a given rather than a problem, and for that reason sufficiently transparent so as not to require literary attention. The fundamentally pre-psychological provenance of the poem, therefore, actually precludes, not only the importance of women as females, but also the importance of men as males. Beowulf is asexual.

Attention to the nature of *literary* importance explains the general absence of modern personalities and their problems in the poem. principle the literature of any age deals with what is exceptional and irregular, rather than with what is ordinary. If everyone cut up her own children or married his mother, Medea and Oedipus would not merit literary treatment. If Hamlet were decisive, there would be no play, etc. Women are unimportant in Beowulf because domestic (court) life and human sexuality were not yet dysfunctional. The pagan view of life, death, and survival, however, was not working, and this is what the poet is concerned to show. Focusing on women, therefore, risks anachronism.

Christina Dokou (Pennsylvania State Univ.)

"Grendelle: The Dead Mother in Beowulf"

Although detailed attention has been given to almost every character, primary and secondary, in *Beowulf*, few scholars have taken sufficient notice of Grendel's mother. Usually perceived as an extension of her son's figure, she is either ignored or cast under the generic title of "monster."

This paper aims to analyze the function of Grendel's mother anew, seeing her as a pivotal character in the entire epic, by following current French feminist theories. Inverting the traditional Freudian Oedipus complex and its Lacanian application to the acquisition of language and social status, theorists like Hélène Cixous, Lucy Irigaray, Margaret Homans, et al. posit "the death of the mother" as the psychological prerequisite for an individual's social and linguistic maturation inside patriarchal structures. In examining Beowulf's conflict with Grendel's mother (here referred to as "Grendelle"), and taking into account the relation of the other mother-figures in the text to his female adversary, this study (1) establishes a mother-son relationship between Beowulf and "Grendelle," (2) unfolds the mechanism through which the masculine society of Heorot directs and rewards the hero for killing the mother, and (3) argues that Beowulf's heroic status is centrally related to this act, which re-affirms paradigmatically the shaken patriarchal credos of the Danes.

In conclusion, in this reading the traditionally focal killing of Grendel becomes instead the prelude to the psychologically crucial encounter between Beowulf and his mother-figure, from whose death he gains a new level of speech and tokens of masculinity. Only after the slaying of Grendelle does the hero fully achieve his position both as subject to patriarchal principles (embodied in king Hrothgar) and as the psychological mainstay upon which those principles depend for their renewed affirmation.

Rolf Bremmer (Rijks Universiteit Leiden)

"Grendel's Arm and the Law"

It has never been satisfactorily settled where exactly Beowulf puts Grendel's arm (836): under the roof inside the hall — or outside the hall, against the wall over the door. The arm

being exhibited has usually been interpreted as a trophy, much as Victorian aristocrats would hang up their tigerheads on the wall. Also, the meaning of stapol (926) has been much of a stumbling block for the exegetes. This paper argues, with the help of Anglo-Saxon and Frisian legal sources, that hanging up the arm should be seen against the background of the legal custori (II Æthelstan 14.1, Liebermann) of exposing the chopped-off hand of fraudulent moneyers over (MS. H: up; MS. Ld: ufan; Quadrip.: supra) their workshop, no doubt as a token (cf. tacen 833) to the beholders that justice was still being carried out in the country. A similar practice was current on the continent, e.g., in Medieval Frisia. Frisian laws add that the hand of the fraudulent moneyer should be chopped off on the (thing-)stapele ("scaffold, executioner's block"). The latter meaning lends support to Whitbread's (1969:57) suggestion, based on the excavations at Yeavering, that the stapol in Beowulf is a kind of dais.

Of course, the legal texts mentioned above are not the immediate sources for the passage in *Beowulf*; they are expressions of the shared Germanic undercurrent. This undercurrent should not be forgotten when drilling for the sources of Anglo-Saxon literature and culture.

<u>Session 70</u>: "Pictish and Anglo-Saxon Iconography"

Gail Ivy Berlin (Indiana Univ. of Pa.)

"The Fables in the Bayeux Tapestry: An Anglo-Saxon Perspective"

The Bayeux Tapestry, a remarkable embroidery depicting the events leading up to the Norman conquest of England in 1066, consists of a central strip containing the main narrative events flanked by decorative margins that appear above and below. Although the plan for the main narrative seems to be of French design, the workmanship has been proven to be English and the margins seem not to have been a part of the French program of design. This fact raises the question of whether the English could have covertly commented upon the events leading up to their subjugation in the borders of the tapestry.

This paper focuses on the vignettes representing Aesop's fables that appear in the border below the main portion of the tapestry showing Harold boarding his ship and sailing for Nor-

mandy. It addresses the question of how the fables in the margin relate to the narrative in the main body of the tapestry. Few authors have dealt with this problem in depth. The most recent commentator is David J. Bernstein (1987), whose excellent study is limited to only three of the fables in question. My study addresses the seven fables associated with Harold's crossing.

I argue that the margins represent a particularly English point of view. I support this hypothesis in two ways. First, I examine the only extant manuscript of Aesop's Fables written on English soil and nearly contemporary with the Bayeux tapestry, a Latin manuscript of the eleventh century. Because, as recent studies of Aesop's fables have shown, the morals following the fables are by no means standardized, establishing what the Anglo-Saxons may have thought the fables meant is pertinent. So far, no other scholar has sought to establish the meaning of the fables through the use of contemporary manuscript sources.

Secondly, I argue that the design of the seacrossing in the tapestry parallels a technique of Old English poetry, the type-scene in which an army advances. In this type-scene, as typified for instance by Grendel's advance on Heorot, statements that an armed host is advancing are interspersed with commentaries of various kinds, such as predictions of the outcome, glimpses of past events, and judgments about the action taking place. In brief, the type-scene is a vehicle for critical assessment of narrative action. I demonstrate that the sailing of Harold to Normandy is the embroidered, pictorial equivalent of this traditional Old English literary type-scene.

Scott Lee Howe (Univ. of Texas, Austin)

"Pictish Cartography: Mapping the Symbol Stones"

The need for a set of comprehensive, large-scale maps of Scotland's Pictish symbol stones (A.D. sixth-eighth cent.) can escape no one curious about these enigmatic monuments. Indeed, they likely remain so baffling because a systematic study of the stones and their unique geographic contexts cannot be conducted with any efficiency using current sources, some ninety years after the publication of Early Christian Monuments of Scotland. From this frustration, the current project was begun.

The survey area covered in this project (actual reproductions of Ordnance Survey maps stored on computer floppy disks via Adobe Photoshop Software) comprises over 1,000 square kilometers. The project catalogues all 198 class-one stones (those which bear no Christian icons). The survey area corresponds with the earliest recorded geographical boundaries of the Pictish kingdom, recorded in the twelfth-century Poppleton manuscript, translated in A. O. Anderson's Early Sources of Scottish History. This manuscript describes the Pictish kingdom, before its conquest in 843 by Kenneth Mac Alpen, as being divided into seven parts. The significance of these divisions lies in a formal analysis of the repertoire of Pictish symbols and their distribution within these parts.

It is the basis of this thesis that the Pictish symbol stones be regarded as icons which function to legitimate the power of a hierarchical ruling class, much as heraldry and patronymics do in later medieval cultures. As the presentation of the maps on the computer will demonstrate, the stones illuminate early conceptions of feudalism in Scotland as well as clarify the origins of medieval genealogical structures. The paper's conclusions crucially depend on evidence provided by the project's maps, which are designed to present the distribution of the symbol stones in format which facilitates meaningful study.

James E. Anderson (U. of Southwestern La.)

"The Words and Pictures of the Franks Casket, Front Panel"

Probably the most widely known of the five richly carved and inscribed sides of the Franks Casket, of about turn-of-the-eighth-century Northumbrian workmanship, is the front panel with its startling juxtaposition of pagan and scriptural stories, the violent action of the Weland saga on the left against the Adoration of the Magi on the right. In this duality of images there is an implied unity of theme, the giving of gifts, suggested by the prominence of sacred vessels in both pictures. In the Weland scene the smithy's gift is treacherous and false: the chalice being handed to Beadohild, pictorially associated with the tongs of weapon- and armor-making, is full of the drugged potion that will subject the human lover to divine retribution. But the gifts of the Magi cancel the old

heathen dispensation of vengeance by the gods and herald the flesh-and-blood Victimhood by which humanity is exalted. This allusion to the Eucharist as true gift is confirmed by the decorative runic border of the front panel, whose verses describe the discomfiture of the fish as devil-figure, an allegory also presented in the whale-poem of the Old English Physiologus. The extrametrical words in the border, hronæs ban, play cleverly on "whale's bone," the material of the Franks Casket itself, and hronæs bana, the Eucharist as "whale's bane," the sacred material which the casket was made to house.

Session 77: "Axioms of Old English Meter II"

Robert D. Stevick (Univ. of Washington)

"Some Phantom Axioms of Old English Meter"

A phantom that has been a lifelong familiar spirit can take on a life of its own — but only if we let it. In the realm of Old English Meter, I think, we are surrounded by phantoms, several of them having assumed the status of axioms.

If they were axioms in fact, the recent surge in publications on meter should show a field of knowledge that is progressively self-correcting instead of the difference and disparity that seem only to increase. Moreover, if phantoms depended on the nourishment of new evidence, they would long since have vanished. The metrical "foot" is one of them, though now virtually an empty notion as the result of a sequence of hard-headed analyses. "Displacement of particles" is another, this one showing few signs yet of fading from existence. It takes its being from the models of this century's generative grammars, or last century's categorical grammars. "Constraints" — also represented as "filters" - have been conjured to account for presence of some patterns and absence of others (and there are many patterns not yet noticed, though they lie in plain sight). Some constraints no doubt operate within the meter of Old English, but some others no doubt have been cooked up to explain historical anomalies mistaken for essentials of the meter. Furthermore, what if word-stress patterns, which have been the backbone of Old English metrical theory, turn out to be illusory?

Help in ferreting out phantom axioms can be

found in such precautionary practices as these: neutralizing metaphors in the formulation of the axioms; recognizing positions of word-stress as potential rather than actual; reformulating some ostensible constrains ("can't occur") as merely observations that certain patterns don't occur for reasons of language history and the traditions of the leoocræft.

Mary Blockley (Univ. of Texas, Austin)

"Axiomatic Implications of (A) Non-Occurring Heavy Verse"

Nobody's metrical theory at present forbids a Sievers Type D in which the first, alliterating word is a monosyllable, the second word is disyllabic but resolves under stress to a monosyllable, and the third word is an unstressed prefix followed by a monosyllable. There is nothing to prevent resolution in this pattern, and the pattern would still be metrical if resolution were suspended, as can be seen from verses like eald enta geweorc (Beowulf 2774a) that have two unstressed syllables in the dip, one from the second word and one from the third word. Despite its indifference to resolution or, I would argue, because of that indifference - no examples of this pattern appear, in Beowulf, or in any of the over 13,000 lines of verse scanned by Rand Hutcheson for a book forthcoming from Boydell and Brewer. What insights can be gained to refine our notion of the poetry from a verse apparently forbidden by the scop though permitted by the metrists? The non-occurring verse form differs from minor but occurring verses such as wlanc Wedera leod (341a) only in the word boundary, and from verses like Monig oft gesæt (171b) and holm up ætbær (519b) only in having a resolving word in the second position, rather than in the first or not at all. One possibility is that the relationship between alliteration and resolution is even stronger than suspected — that a resolvable sequence must not be allowed to remain ambiguous between resolution and non-resolution, and hence must be placed at the margins of the verse, or under alliteration. A corollary is that resolution is unsuited to the second lift of a heavy verse except under circumstances where that lift can be marked with alliteration.

Session 79: "Beowulf II: Overviews"

Eileen A. Joy (Univ. of Tennessee, Knoxville)

"'Seizing Hold' of Beowulf as Cultural Memory"

Walter Benjamin, in "Themes on the Philosophy of History," writes that "to articulate the past historically does not mean to recognize it the way it really was. It means to seize hold of a memory as it flashes up at a moment of danger" (Illuminations 255). It is my contention that the text of Beowulf contains within it certain movements on the part of Beowulf which go against the grain of the Church ideology associated with the poem's écriture as well as the values associated with the Teutonic culture which provides much of the subject matter of the poem; and further, that these movements (which I typify as semiotic and presymbolic) contain within them the "memory" of a culture (situated in Europe during the Migrations) which was neither content with the internecine strife it was mired in, nor pleased to see the kind of papal authority which was looming on the horizon in the form of Gregory's mission.

Fred Robinson, in his Beowulf and the Appositive Style, has demonstrated that the poem embodies a poised and "faintly disquieting" tension between "ancestral valor" and "Christian regret." In my paper, I demonstrate that the cultures which we usually typify as the "source" (Teutonic) and "audience" (medieval Christian) of the poem contain within them enough political instability to render the "text" and "context(s)" of the poem "looser" than even Robinson has typified them. Paying close attention to historical record (both Anglo-Saxon and early Medieval) as well as to the text of the poem itself, I demonstrate that there exists a "figure" of Beowulf (a spectral semiotic) which moves against the "character" of Beowulf as inscripted (conscripted) by "the Poet." tracing the ways in which this "figure" resists full ideological employment as "character" within a Christian exemplum (albeit an exemplum with a certain amount of reverence for a "pagan" past), as well as tracing the ways in which the "character" of Beowulf, as historical analogue (his character as representative of a particular, "heroic" culture), fails to make the kinds of political moves consistent with the Teutonic comitatus which supposedly engendered him, I suggest the existence of a third This third "Beowulf" may have begun as the faintest stirrings of a tribal dream of salvation in a politically troubled time, later blossoming into myth, and finally inscripted (set down, as it were) by the Beowulf-poet. Within this inscription, however, something other than the "noble pagan" flashes forth, and the desire to articulate this Beowulf follows from Benjamin's dictum: "Not man or men but the struggling, oppressed class itself is the depository of historical knowledge." Somewhere in historical time is the tribe (politically doomed) which may have first breathed life into Beowulf — a tribe (the Geats?) wishing for a figure who would both free them from the territorial expansion hemming them in on all sides, and allow them to retain something of their heritage (their folcriht), a heritage not conversant or ultimately compatible with feudalism or Christian ritual. To articulate this Beowulf is to settle a historical claim which emanates throughout the poem.

Jennifer L. Neville (Christ's Coll., Camb.)

"Beowulf in and out of the Mere: Reflections of a Hero in the Natural World"

From his first presentation of himself to Hrothgar to his choice of burial place, Beowulf is circumscribed - both "written about" and limited — by the natural world. Although he is defined within society by his relationships and contrasts with characters like Hrothgar and Hygelac, he is also (and arguably most importantly) defined by his interactions with the natural world — that is, by his actions outside society, beyond the normal capacities of humanity. This use of the natural world parallels that in other Old English poems, for the representation of the natural world in Old English poetry is not a setting but literary device used to define categories, among them humanity and society, and heroes like Beowulf, who stand outside them.

Melissa Putman Sprenkle (U. of Tennessee)

"Textualizing Oralities: Reproducing the Myth of Adequation in Readings of *Beowulf*"

Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word, Walter J. Ong's synthesis of scholar-

ship on orality, has been valued by many scholars as a means of recovering or restructuring our understanding of medieval texts. The limitations of (and even literal impossibility of) recovering an oral context from a written text have often been noted by scholars, such as Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, even as they seek to implement some understanding of orality in their interpretations of medieval textuality. However, though medievalists recognize the paradoxes inherent in using theories of orality in textual interpretation, they have failed to fully analyze the logical flaws of the argument which structures their understanding of the concept and context of orality.

My paper lays the groundwork for retheorizing orality by analyzing how the construct of orality posited by Ong subsumes culture in art and how this subsumption encourages the critic to produce a version of culture which obscures the contextual quality of linguistic negotiation. I demonstrate how such a distortion results from equating a version of orality as speech in relation to language (posited by speech-act theorists and sociolinguists) with a version of orality as an enclosed system of meaning (posited by oral-The result of this composition theorists). equation is a version of orality which suggests, on the one hand, that we have new avenues for recovering or recognizing aspects of past cultures while, on the other, forecloses the possibility of such a recognition by implying an incommensurability between oral and literate cultures.

I examine the ways in which this notion of incommensurability impoverishes our understanding of medieval texts. In particular, I demonstrate how the paradoxes inherent in Ong's construct of orality play out in readings of characterization in Beowulf (e.g., Irving's Rereading Beowulf and Foley's Immanent Art). More specifically, I argue that rather than opening new avenues for understanding medieval literature, Ong's version of orality reproduces the gaps in narrative systems such as those theorized by Lukacs, Bakhtin and Benjamin. Finally, I suggest that this reproduction obscures our own orality in such a way that it perpetuates the belief in the possibility that there is such a thing as truly monologic discourse (i.e., discourse in which we might not be complicit in our own oppression) and thereby diverts our notice of the linguistic foundations which obligate us to identify with one another.

Session 94: "The Medieval Alexander and the Latin Tradition"

Joseph McGowen (Univ. of San Diego)

"The Anglo-Saxon Alexander: The Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem and De mirabilibus orientis"

The example of Alexander the Great's life and death and the travels and travails of his Indian campaign provided the material for Anglo-Saxon copies and versions of the enormously popular Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem and the Epistola-derived De mirabilibus orientis, so much so that an Old English version of the Epistola Alexandri and a bilingual text of the De mirabilibus appear in the Beowulf MS (BL, Cotton MS Vitellius A.XV). This paper draws on examinations of the Anglo-Latin MSS of the Alexander-in-India accounts — in particular, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 614; BL, Cotton Tiberius B.V; BL, Cotton Nero D.VIII; and others. The paper seeks reasons behind the popularity of these texts in Anglo-Saxon England (Alexander's res gestae and vitae as source of exempla on kingship, on superbia, on heroism) and the evolution of the treatment of Alexander material in early medieval England (from historical epitomes to marvels-of-the-East libelli). The argument is made that the vita, res gestae, and Indica of Alexander provided a rich quarry for authors of the Anglo-Saxon period. The rather considerable corpus of texts, deriving from a variety of strains of earlier Latin histories and epitomes (of Julius Valerius, Curtius, Pseudo-Callisthenes, and others) allowed Anglo-Saxon scholars to appropriate the life and deeds of the Macedonian king, to English Alexander, and describe (sometimes fantastically) a world they knew but faintly, and largely through Latin letters.

Session 109: "The OE Metrical Psalter"

Patricia Hollahan (Univ. of Illinois Press)

"Singing the Songs of Sion: Text, Tradition, Translation in the Metrical Psalter"

The metrical psalter represented by the poetic translations found in the Paris Psalter and the scattered remnants of the first fifty psalms in verse has not been widely regarded as a

critical success, nor has it helped the poet's reputation that the verse translation was clearly the compiler's second choice. But I think there is more to the metrical psalter than its reputation for metrical irregularity, and the poetry repays careful study with increased appreciation.

In turning Latin prose into Old English verse, the poet is guided by a variety of traditions, which provide vocabulary, form, and interpretation, but which obviously impose constraints as well. In this paper, I would like to explore the poet's additions to, and deviations from, the Latin text in the light of these traditions, focusing especially on the role of the extensive commentary tradition. As the Latin text is filled out, clarified, expanded upon, and occasionally even abandoned, the poet gives his audience a new creation, fulfilling the Hebrew psalmist's injunction to sing to the Lord a new song.

Geoffrey Russom (Brown Univ.)

"Metrical Deviance in the *Paris Psalter:*A Comparative Analysis"

The "word-foot" system proposed in Old English Meter and Linguistic Theory (Cambridge UP, 1987) represents OE verses as complex to the extent that they are difficult to associate with two-word paradigms, e.g., mære / tungol, a two-word paradigm of type A1. Verses like mære / tungol, moreover, are less complex than other two-word paradigms because each word has the most common OE phonological pattern (trochaic). The definition of complexity employed here is independent of verse counts in Beowulf, allowing one to evaluate the meter of other poems in a principled way as more or less strict. This paper evaluates degrees of metrical strictness in the longest poem of The Paris Psalter, Psalm 118, which has more than 500 lines.

Like the Battle of Maldon, Psalm 118 contains verses of a kind unattested in Beowulf. Such metrical oddities are often quite difficult to associate with two-word paradigms, and in that respect the meter of Psalm 118 can be viewed as genuinely irregular. On the other hand, Psalm 118 has a remarkably high percentage of verses like mære / tungol: 20% of total verses, as compared with 14% for Beowulf. In Psalm 118, 94% of the type-A1 paradigms appear as b-verses, in the second half of the line, where

they provide the most conspicuous sort of metrical closure. The corresponding figure for Beowulf is only 56%. Maldon is like Psalm 118 in its placement of type-A1 paradigms; Seafarer is like Beowulf. It seems clear that poets employing verses of unusual complexity felt a need to repair the ensuing metrical disturbance by frequent iteration of the least complex verses in the most appropriate place.

The word-foot theory, then, identifies certain departures from *Beowulfian* versecraft as genuinely deviant while identifying other departures as compensatory increases in metrical strictness. Explanations of this sort are beyond the reach of the purely descriptive systems proposed by Sievers and Bliss.

Session 144: "Hagiography"

Gernot Wieland (Univ. of British Columbia)

"The Arming of Guthlac"

In his article "From St. Antony to St. Guthlac: A Study in English Biography," Kurtz claims that "the arming of the Christian soldier is a stock 'property' in the lives of the hermits, being drawn from *Ephesians* VI, 13-17" (p. 107, n. 8). If that statement were true, then all the saints' lives influencing Felix's *Vita Sancti Guthlaci* should have a scene in which the saint is armed, and these arming scenes should resemble each other and their ultimate source in Paul's letter so closely that no lines of influence can be drawn.

This paper examines the various sources for Felix's Vita Sancti Guthlaci - namely Evagrius' Vita S. Antonii, Gregory the Great's life of St. Benedict in the Dialogi, Jerome's Vita S. Pauli, Sulpicius Severus' Vita S. Martini, and Bede's Vita S. Cuthberti — and comes to the conclusion that only the Vita S. Pauli and the Vita S. Cuthberti contain arming scenes, thus negating Kurtz's claim that arming scenes are "stock 'property' in the lives of the hermits." The analysis also negates Kurtz's implied claim that no lines of influence can be drawn, since it shows that Felix relied on the Vita S. Cuthberti for the situation in which he placed the arming scene, and on the Vita S. Pauli for some of the words he used.

Session 151: "Old English Literature I: Pre-Christian Aspects"

Cynthia K. Deatherage (Purdue Univ.)

"Animism and the Anglo-Saxons"

Many books and articles have been written attempting to define, describe, or analyze "Anglo-Saxon paganism." Most of these, while noteworthy in their research and scholarship, have labored under the burden which I call the "Edda Complex," a stubborn insistence on assuming Anglo-Saxon paganism was the same as, or similar to, the highly structured mythological cycles of the Icelandic Eddas (supplemented by such first-century classical writers as Tacitus). Other scholars, recognizing the error in such generalizations, strip all discussion of Anglo-Saxon paganism of anything but a study of art and archaeology, refusing to theorize on the type of world view that would have produced such artifacts. I believe Old English literature, in addition to art and archaeology. provides ample evidence of the Anglo-Saxon world view - a world view, not merely a "religion," best described as "animistic," where the sacred and the secular, the natural and the supernatural are intertwined and inseparable. Ironically, it is from Church writings that I have thus far found the strongest evidence of the Anglo-Saxons' pre-Christian world view. Many letters, edicts, and homilies address issues that refer to animistic practices, and the Old English poems themselves show a strong use of contextualization in attempting to present the Christian message in terms that an animistic culture could comprehend. Cædmon's Hymn is an obvious example of such contextualization, but I believe The Seafarer and The Wanderer make "contact" with an animistic audience even more strongly. Following Bishop Daniel's advice to Boniface, these poems make contact with the audience, show the conflict between the two world views, and offer the contention that Christianity is the better of the two. Thus, by recognizing the animistic mindset of the pre-Christian Anglo-Saxons, we can derive greater insight into the literature produced by and for that culture.

James L. von Hatten (Wayne State Univ.)

"Using Medieval Magic to Date Beowulf"

Developments in the study of medieval magic lend further support to an eighth-century composition date for *Beowulf*. Drawing on the work that Valerie I. J. Flint does in *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe*, this paper focuses on the change in hagiographical patterns — from one of Christian intolerance towards pagan practices to one of Christian tolerance — to support an eighth-century composition date as proposed by such scholars as John Earl, Dorothy Whitelock, C. L. Wrenn, and Kenneth Sisam.

Using the texts of various saints' lives, Flint notes that Christianity was basically intolerant of pagan practices and beliefs before 735 and preferred pulling down pagan shrines and killing pagan priests to converting the shrines into chapels and incorporating pagan practices into its own liturgy. After 735, the standard form of saints' lives changes — Christianity becomes more tolerant, seeking to convert by assimilation rather than force. After 900, Christianity becomes firmly entrenched and resumes the use of force to suppress any unorthodox practices, condemning them as heresy and witchcraft.

Flint's work may be used to complement that of other authors, such as Colin Chase and F. A. Blackburn, who have proceeded down similar paths. In his "Saints' Lives, Roval Lives, and the Date of Beowulf, " Chase places the composition of the poem in an age when there is an attitude "towards heroic culture which is neither romantic idealizing nor puritan rejection, but a delicate balance of empathy and detachment." Chase argues for the ninth century. Applying Flint's work to Chase's analysis results in advancing the date of composition from the ninth to the eighth century. balance Chase requires between heroic and romantic culture would be present before the ninth century.

Although Blackburn was not intent on dating the poem in his "The Christian Coloring in the Beowulf," his analysis may be combined with Flint's to support the earlier date. More specifically, Blackburn finds Beowulf to be primarily pagan, with Christian interpolations. Had the poem been composed during a later period when Christianity was more firmly entrenched, more of the pagan elements would have been

deleted rather than merely emended.

Hoyt S. Greeson (Laurentian Univ.)

"Grendel, the Gifstol, and Taboo"

Despite Grendel's unopposed nightly incursions into Heorot, the *Beowulf*-poet informs his audience at lines 168-69 that prohibitions had been imposed, that, although the giant humanoid monster might cross the limens of the ritual hall, he was prohibited by Divine decree from approaching the "gift-stool" or royal throne of Hrothgar. At first instant, this all sounds decidedly pagan, in light of the historical legal context expounded by William Chaney in his 1962 *PMLA* article "Grendel and the *Gifstol:* A Legal View of the Monsters." The poet himself opposes Danish heathenism to Christian belief in the following lines, when he asserts that they know not the Lord.

On the other hand, this passage can be read as an instance of ambivalence, which simultaneously balances the visible symbol of pagan Germanic sacral kingship with a veiled biblical allusion - to the Ark of the Covenant. The throne of the king seems to be under a taboo in much the same way as the Ark of the Covenant was in II Samuel 6:6-8. Although Chanev argues that Grendel was not allowed to approach the throne because he had not paid secular wergild nor made ecclesiastical reparations for homicide, and consequently was forbidden by law to enter the king's presence, my paper argues that Chaney mistakenly assumes that Grendel actually was seeking special asylum from the king.

Methodologically I use the anthropological studies of taboo and mana by Sigmund Freud, Franz Steiner, and Mary Douglas, but also consult early medieval biblical commentary on the Philistine capture of the Ark of the Covenant and the death of Oza after he touched it (Augustine, Bede, Gregory, Hrabanus Maurus). I propose to demonstrate that the Beowulf-poet was at once sensitive to theories of Germanic kingship currently developing in Anglo-Saxon England and the empire of Charlemagne, while keeping his perspective on the heathenism of the Danes by veiled allusion to the Ark, which was not only charged with the mana that preserved it from human touch, but also proved instrumental in defeating Dagon, the god of the Philistines, in that god's own temple. Both Oza and Dagon, like Grendel, suffer defeat by

reference to arm and shoulder; the statue of the god also suffered decapitation, to the discomfiture of the Philistines, who had captured the Ark. The poet thus simultaneously supports the institution of Germanic sacral kingship and deftly foreshadows the two-fold steps in the defeat of Grendel.

<u>Session 170</u>: "Nursing and Nurture: Sustenance, Religion, and Education in the Middle Ages"

Melinda J. Menzer (Univ. of Texas, Austin)

"'I have my breast sound in my soul':

Ælfric's Life of Saint Agatha"

In his Lives of Saints, as always, Ælfric is conscious of the potential accusation that he is introducing error into his works by translating them into English. In his defense, he tells us in his Latin preface that he has been very careful in his translating: "Nor am I able, in this translation, to render everything word for word, but I have at any rate carefully endeavoured to give exact sense for sense, just as I find it in the holy writing, by means of such simple and obvious language as may profit them that hear it" (Skeat's translation). Ælfric's method of translation sounds perfectly orthodox, following the teachings of Jerome. But when Ælfric claims that he is translating sense for sense, he is not telling the whole truth. In at least one of the saints' lives, the "Life of Saint Agatha," he makes choices in vocabulary that alter the meaning of the life. Translating two different Latin words with one Old English word, breost, Ælfric tells a slightly different life of Saint Agatha, one that emphasizes the pagan governor's mistake in confusing the physical and the spiritual and that, paradoxically, de-emphasizes the importance of Agatha's body. By translating carefully but not giving "exact sense for sense," Ælfric plays with the dual meaning of the word breost, turning the focus of the life to the difference between body and spirit.

Session 199: "The Electronic Beowulf"

Kevin Kiernan and Brent Seales (Univ. of Kentucky)

"The Electronic Beowulf on Multiple Platforms"

The Electronic Beowulf archive now comprises all of the Nowell Codex, including hundreds of backlit images of letters covered by the paper frames in *Beowulf*; the eighteenth-century Thorkelin transcripts of Beowulf: J. J. Convbeare's 1817 collation of the manuscript with G. J. Thorkelin's first edition of the poem (1815); parts of other important nineteenthcentury collations, editions, and transcriptions; and other ancillary materials. This progress report begins with a quick Netscape tour of Portico, the British Library's new "Home Page," illustrating among other things the most recent additions to, and developments of, the project. It then proceeds to brief demonstrations of test PC and Mac versions of the Electronic Beowulf program, which was originally developed for the Unix platform. The report concludes with a video clip of the Unix program running what promises to become a flexible "paleographical tool" fashioned from a generic computational toolbox by GRENDL, the Group for Research in Electronically Networked Digital Libraries, at the University of Kentucky.

<u>Session 242</u>: "Personal Computing and the Electronic *Beowulf"*

Brent Seales, Kevin Kiernan, Jim Griffioen, and Raj Yavatkar (Univ. of Kentucky)

"Tools for Digital Manuscript Analysis"

The high-resolution digital image is a powerful way to preserve, organize, and view manuscripts. Several projects such as the Electronic Beowulf are currently focused on the task of obtaining very high resolution images directly from the original manuscript. But digitization is only the first step toward the broad goal of giving researchers meaningful access to these data. Another central problem is that of analysis: Researchers must be given flexible tools that allow manuscript analysis using sophisticated techniques without requiring expert computer training.

We provide a conceptual framework and a prototype tool (in its early stages) for the interactive manipulation of digital manuscripts. This framework comes from current research in the field of computer science. We have applied tools for modeling multimedia data from the MOODS project (Modeling Object-Oriented Data Semantics) to the problem of digital manuscript analysis.

Specifically, our prototype tool shows the usefulness of the interactive framework for detecting and analyzing letter forms and ligatures in the *Beowulf* manuscript. The tool employs a classical letter form detector based on correlation, and provides a user interface for interactively applying the detector to a digital manuscript. The results, shown as a video demonstration of the working program, illustrate the power, flexibility, and promise of our organizational framework for manuscript analysis.

There are two key components of our approach that make it very desirable for digital manuscript analysis. First, one can expand functionality almost instantly by inserting new analysis programs into the database. A specific letter form analysis process, for example, developed by a paleographer, can be inserted into the tool very quickly. Together with the high-resolution manuscript data, this kind of paleographic analysis will give new power to Second, the tool is intimately researchers. connected to a database where results can be instantly stored, searched, and retrieved. This provides a mechanism for storing intermediate and final image results, together with meaningful information about what analysis has been done to the manuscript.

Deborah L. Coombs and Kathryn Powell (Univ. of Notre Dame)

"Two Studies from the Classroom"

Since the applications of the Electronic Beowulf project to scholarly research seem clear enough, this presentation aims to demonstrate some of its possible classroom applications. Working with manuscript images from the Letter of Alexander to Aristotle, we have developed a prototype manuscript-viewing environment using Hypercard for the Macintosh. The program (tentatively titled Scribe) does not require an excessive amount of memory to run properly, can display images in color or grey scale, and is straightforward enough to be easily used in a classroom environment.

We chose to work with the Letter of Alexander to Aristotle because Rypins' edition of the text (in Three Old English Prose Texts in Cotton MS Vitellius A.XV [EETS os 161, London, 1924]) — the best edition available — presents numerous problems for a student reader. His explanatory notes, for example, are relatively

few and frequently in German. Additionally, his attempt to visually reproduce the manuscript state in typographic, regularly spaced lines does as much to obscure the manuscript context of the work as it does to reveal it.

The Scribe environment allows the student to view images of the manuscript alongside an edited text and to begin to make his or her own judgments about the readings of various editors. In addition to the advantage in resolution which the digitized images have over a paper facsimile, the Hypercard viewing environment gives the instructor the option of controlling what images and details from the manuscript the student sees, linking these images to specific words or passages in the edited text, and linking his or her own commentary to the text. Additionally, Scribe offers a "scribble" feature which gives both teacher and student one ability which can never be had with the original manuscript: the ability to write on the manuscript and save these notations without damaging the original image.

The prototype, designed to demonstrate the ease with which the Electronic Beowulf project can be incorporated into classroom applications, contains only a few images from the Letter of Alexander to Aristotle with accompanying text and commentary. Ideally, the Scribe environment could be modified and expanded so that one could place digitized images from other manuscripts into the program and create linked texts with relative ease.

Joseph McGowan (Univ. of San Diego)

"Recovering the Nowell Codex Christopher"

This presentation briefly discusses scholarly applications of images from the Electronic Beowulf project, in particular those of fols. 94r-98r of BL, Cotton MS Vitellius A.XV (containing the Old English version of the Vita Sancti Christophori). One specific application of the digital images, of particular importance to scholars in America, is in preparing for and checking over paleographical work in situ. Some sample sets of readings from damaged folio edges of the prose text sections of the Beowulf manuscript are given with notation as to source (natural light, examination under UV light, fiber-optic backlighting) and collation of these results with the currently available images.

Session 247: "Old English Literature II: Christian Connections"

Martina Häcker (Universität Basel)

"The Original Length of the OE *Judith*: More Doubt(s) on the 'Missing Text'"

The original length of the Old English poem *Judith* has been the object of much scholarly dispute. The poem's opening is lost, but opinions as to how much is missing vary from twothirds of the poem (Förster and Dobbie) to virtually nothing (Woolf). These divergent views are based on manuscript evidence and a comparison with the biblical source of the Old English poem. A major problem with calculations such as Förster's is that they are based on assumptions which cannot be verified.

This paper argues that the internal structure of the poem might provide a more conclusive method to establish how much of the poem may be missing. A significant factor in this respect is the distribution of terms expressing the concepts "doubt", "faith" and "mercy": "Faith" and "doubt" occur in lines 1-6, "doubt" and "faith" in lines 85-97 (Judith's prayer), and all three concepts in lines 344-49, the closing lines of the poem. It seems that doubt in particular is a key theme in the poem, as its occurrence at the end of the poem constitutes a contrast to the biblical source: While the biblical Judith praises God for freeing her people of the enemy, the Old English Judith praises God for freeing her of her doubts. This suggests that the same concepts may be deliberately positioned at the poem's opening, implying that only a minimal amount of text may be lost.

Session 383: "Normalizing Violence Against Women II"

Shari Horner (Univ. of Nebraska, Kearney)

"The Violence of Exegesis: Reading the Bodies of Ælfric's Female Saints"

This paper studies the representations of violence against the female body in Ælfric's Lives of Saints Agatha, Lucy, and Agnes, by applying Ælfric's own exegetical theories to scenes of hagiographic violence. Ælfric, like Augustine, warns against reading literally, admiring only the beauty of the letters without

comprehending the spiritual truths they contain. Ælfric's exegesis is controlled by corporeal metaphors: reading "literally" means reading "bodily," lichamlice. Readers must not focus on pa nacodon word, but rather must read for the spiritual (gastlic) meaning within these words. Like a text, the saint's body, too, contains spiritual truth, but is consistently misread (i.e., read only literally) by her torturers. The saint's body thus acts as a text which violently displays the tensions between literal and spiritual reading.

Ælfric's Lives of Saints Agatha, Lucy, and Agnes demonstrate these hermeneutic principles, and thereby naturalize scenes of corporeal violence to women. The hermeneutic utility of virgin martyr lives exists precisely on the border of literalism and allegory; the virgin body, repeatedly subjected to violent assault, occupies that liminal site. True to hagiographic conventions, Ælfric's Lives describe saints whose virginity is violently threatened, but who heroically maintain their bodily integrity. My paper offers close readings of the violence done to these female bodies and demonstrates that Ælfric's hermeneutic theories attempt to rewrite sexual violence as spiritual exegesis.

To be sure, male and female martyrs alike are tortured in medieval hagiography. My paper, however, focuses on the lives of female saints in order to isolate those characteristics which are conditioned by late Anglo-Saxon perceptions of femininity and the female body. Medieval hagiography in general shows an intense interest in female bodies, even as it denies that those bodies should interest readers. Reading the lives of Saints Agatha, Lucy, and Agnes in the context of Ælfric's hermeneutics, I argue that these texts negotiate this seeming contradiction by representing graphic scenes of torture in the name of hermeneutic truth.

Session 415: "Old English Literature III: Words and Images"

Colleen A. Reilly (Purdue Univ.)

"The Extended Polysemy of Old English earg"

This polysemy study of the Old English word earg, based upon the possible senses of the word in context, argues for the inadequacy of the translations listed for earg and its vari-

ants in Bosworth and Toller's An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary as well as in the glossaries accompanying separate editions of Old English texts. The textual context of OE earg often invites or demands that this term be translated to include meanings indicating gender deviation as well as alternate sexual behavior, translations not included in the dictionary or glossary entries for earg. The extended polysemy of earg includes senses of the word which overlap with the senses of the Old Norse cognate argr, meaning "effeminate" and/or "playing the feminine role in sexual relations between men." While the senses of the OE and ON cognates have previously been assumed to overlap, this study provides evidence for this assumption based upon a detailed analysis of the larger textual context of the word, a context comprising at least two to three pages of a given text rather than only one sentence. Furthermore, this study's conclusions benefit from a contextual analysis of 40 of the occurrences of earg and its variants, including earge, eargian, eargscipe, and earh, located within the Old English corpus through the use of A Microfiche Concordance to Old English.

Although this study views the range of senses synchronically due to unreliable manuscript dating, the extant range of senses shows evidence of the diachronic patterns of semantic development outlined in Eve Sweetser's theory of cognitive semantics. Cognitive semantics asserts that the polysemy of a particular word expands metaphorically in a regular and even predictable manner. The three new categories of senses for earg supported by this study, including the senses of (1) unsanctioned sexual behavior, (2) unmanliness, and (3) unnatural behavior, are related metaphorically to each other as well as to the ON cognate argr. While the results of this study are especially important for explorations of gender and sexuality in Old English literature, for which the range of senses of earg are potentially important, the results also serve generally to call into question the usefulness of dictionaries, glossaries, and older word studies for settling semantic or interpretive disputes.

Lisi Oliver (Harvard Univ.)

"Fatted Pigs and Holy Relics in Early Anglo-Saxon Texts"

The twelfth-century *Textus Roffensis* contains

the laws attributed to the Kentish king Æðelberht (r.560-614). Among its hapaxes is the term fedesl:

#12: Cyninges fedesl XX scillinga forgelda. (For) a king's fedesl, one makes restitution (with) 20 shillings.

Liebermann translates fedesl as Königskostgänger, "king's boarder," relating it to later Anglo-Saxon laws, albeit with different vocabulary. Toller connects the term with a Germanic *fêd-isla-, glossed as "fattened" or "food," exhibiting the typically instrumental force of the Germanic *-isla- suffix.

This paper addresses two issues in the elucidation of this term. First, I date the metathesis of the Germanic *-isla- suffix in Old English. I then weigh the analyses by Toller, based on comparative morphology, and by Liebermann, based on legal usage.

Early in the recorded stage of Old English, the Germanic suffix *-isla- underwent metathesis, giving us gyrdels, "girdle" (from gyrdan), and rēcels, "incense" (from rēcan). On the basis of non-metathesized and metathesized forms in the Épinal/Erfurt glossaries and the early manuscripts of Bede's Historia, this metathesis can be dated not later than the middle of the eighth century, providing critical corroboration for an early dating of the original text of Æðelberht's laws copied in the Textus Roffensis.

This necessitates a re-examination of the dating of an *authentique* in the cathedral library in Sens, listed as Ker #383. Both Ker and Förster date this manuscript to ca.800; on the evidence of linguistic forms, the original formulation must predate the copy remaining to us.

Finally, examining the attestations of the metathesized form *fedels* in the charters and Ælfric's glossary, the legal parallels cited by Liebermann, and the degree of compensation and placement within Æðelberht's laws, I reopen the question of what meaning the term *fedesl* bears in the context of these laws.

Session 446: "Hiberno-Latin Texts and Manuscripts: Panel on Editorial Problems in Hiberno-Latin Texts"

Marina Smyth (Univ. of Notre Dame)

"Proposal for an Electronic Database for Manuscripts of Hiberno-Latin Texts"

Effective use of manuscript catalogs requires a measure of ingenuity, especially for texts which are not generally well-known. A thorough search requires scanning all available catalogs, watching for symptoms associated with a particular text, or more generally with possibly Hiberno-Latin texts. The process is painstaking and time-consuming, and not everyone has access to a good collection of catalogs. Entries of potential interest are bound to be bypassed, because choices for further investigation are influenced by individual interest. Working with catalogs alone leaves many doubtful cases, and it is impossible for any one individual to go to all the libraries, or even get all the microfilms necessary to resolve these.

Would it make sense to pool information in a gradually improving electronic database, a sort of incipitarium giving incipit, explicit, manuscript, identification of text, important secondary literature? There should also be tentative entries — for eventual confirmation or rejection. Those with Internet connection could access such a database on Worldwide Web. With the help of the University of Notre Dame Libraries, I would be willing to get such a resource off the ground and maintain it. Once the system is set up, data already in print will be entered and I will call for volunteers to contribute information, electronically if possible (but not necessarily). In the meantime, suggestions are welcome on the type of material and of searching which would be desirable so that the database can be designed to be as helpful as possible.

VI. The Canadian Society of Medievalists, May 29, 1995:

M. Jane Toswell (Univ. of Western Ontario)

"How Pedantry Meets Intertextuality: Editing the Old English Metrical Psalter"

Editing the metrical psalter raises a number of questions about the notion of the author, that author's intentions, and that author's influences. The coherence of the metrical psalter does suggest a single "author," if the poetic translator and paraphraser can be granted that title. There is no question of "anxiety of influence" here, and it seems likely that the psalter poet would have felt perfectly comfortable checking readings in various glossed psalter manuscripts, or in vernacular prose versions of the text.

However, the questions that Jerome McGann and other theorists of modern editing procedures raise about our approaches to text are perhaps more relevant than we, McGann included, might be willing to admit for medieval studies. The notion of an author with a single unified vision of the text under production is clearly under siege on the occasions where the psalter poet so obviously gets it wrong, particularly when only a little bit of editorial tinkering would produce a text several stages better and more poetically interesting than the one the psalter poet so obviously did produce. ondly, while the fundamental notion that Mc-Gann proposes about a text as no more and no less than a social product is, I argue, fundamentally flawed — it is still true that these texts were the result of a process of production that we can only glimpse fleetingly, and with due care for our own attitudes to textual production and the procedures by which an idea today becomes an article, a short story, or a book.

The relationship between the metrical psalter and the other texts of Anglo-Saxon England (notably including the glossed psalters) is not a simple one, and it does not readily lend itself to the scholarly search for the lowest common denominator — the word in common. Rather, study of this kind of linkage leads to understanding of a milieu, of a context in which a given word, phrase, verse or psalm was under consideration. A milieu is, of course, a hard thing to fit into annotations — but that is what every editor sooner or later must do. A judicious combination of pedantry and intertextuality may provide the best catalyst with which to produce the most appropriate reaction of reader, text, and editor. Using the metrical psalter as my focus, then, I suggest in this paper some of the specific ways in which these issues bear on editorial approaches to early medieval texts.

VII. The Second International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, July 10-13, 1995:

<u>Session 101</u>: "Sessions in Honor of E. G. Stanley: Doubt Wisely I"

Joyce Hill (Univ. of Leeds)

"Ælfric's Sources Reconsidered: Some Case-Studies from the Catholic Homilies"

In my study of Ælfric's use of Smaragdus, I demonstrated that Ælfric was an active participant in a complex and long-standing intertextual tradition. Appreciation of the complexities of this tradition — its verbal interweaving and its authorizing purpose - leads directly to an appreciation of the difficulty of determining immediate sources, a problem exemplified here in case-studies of a number of Catholic Homilies. In some instances, the problem cannot be solved, since the degree of intertextuality means that finally one cannot go farther than identifying two or more possible sources; in other cases, close attention to verbal detail allows one to trace Ælfric's movement between sources which are very similar. In either situation, the outcome is a closer understanding of Ælfric's compositional method and a better appreciation of his relationship to the patristic and Carolingian traditions which influenced the Benedictine Reform in England.

Antonette diPaolo Healey (Univ. of Toronto)

"Reasonable Doubt, Reasoned Choice: The Letter A in the Dictionary of OE"

This paper presents an overview of the letter A, the fifth fascicle of the Dictionary of Old English, from a particular perspective. attempts to examine those words in A whose meanings have been confidently asserted by previous dictionaries, but about which the present editors of the Dictionary of Old English have some doubt. Drawing upon the Electronic Corpus of the Dictionary of Old English, a resource uravailable to previous lexicographers of Old English, the editors of the DOE have richer evidence by which to judge and assess meanings. The results of our skepticism are various. Sometimes our evidence is wholly negative, and we can only suggest that the meaning traditionally given for a word is not a possible one; at other times, although not dismissing entirely the traditional meaning of a word, we suggest that it might not be as secure as previously held, and we attempt to offer an alternative and, sometimes, equally-convincing meaning. A third strategy is to present a wholly new meaning as the most appropriate definition for a word. By surveying primarily those words where the Dictionary of Old English differs from the tradition of Old English lexicography. I attempt to show how a healthy skepticism can lead to new knowledge and

perhaps greater precision.

M. Jane Toswell (Univ. of Western Ontario)

"Tacitus, Old English Heroic Poetry, and Ethnographic Preconceptions"

The notion of the heroic code as exemplified by a valiant and generous lord surrounded by a comitatus of loyal, grateful and oath-sworn thegns who die gloriously together in battle while exhorting each other to new heights of bravery and thereafter are immolated together in a funeral pyre whose fame stretches out over the lands to the same extent that the smoke reaches the heavens: this notion has been under sustained attack for some time, but seems uncannily able to revivify itself. Despite the searching criticisms of this ideal as not having been a long-standing one in Anglo-Saxon England (Rosemary Woolf), the lack of evidence in the historical record for the very notion of the comitatus (Stephen Fanning), the extent to which much of the "traditional" view of Old English society was imbued by romantic Germanicist leanings toward a pagan past (E. G. Stanley), and even despite a whole series of articles and collections of essays commemorating the millennial anniversary of the Battle of Maldon, the heroic code of Anglo-Saxon society continues to be a commonplace of the subject. Even more amazingly, this commonplace is on nearly every occasion that it is invoked linked to one of the earlier and least convincing works of Cornelius Tacitus, the De origine et situ Germanorum or Germania, which appeared in A.D. 98. Tacitus' ethnographic consideration of this threatening but fascinating world poised on the northern borders of his own contains much that is of interest for Roman historians, and coincides on a number of occasions with features of Old English society and culture — but those analogues rank more in the area of coincidence than in the realm of proof. A society can change significantly in one thousand years, and its fundamental ideals must change with it, even to the extent that a superficial resemblance to earlier beliefs (even beliefs attributed to it in a different country by a foreign writer who is as much ideologue as historian) can recur. This paper examines the romanticized tendency to find the same notions of devotion to one's leader and willingness to die for, or avenge, that man in Tacitus, in various Old English heroic poems, and in works

depicting English men in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It considers the specific cultural and social contexts of these ideals as they are constructed at these moments in history, and attempts to determine what elements in these notions have made them so persuasive and pervasive that, even after the apparent parallels and links have been satisfactorily explained away, they resuscitate themselves.

Session 102: "Sessions in Honor of E. G. Stanley: Doubt Wisely II"

Karin Olsen (Rijksuniversiteit Gröningen)

"Woman-Kennings in the Gísla saga Súrssonar: A Study"

In his Kenningar der Skalden, Rudolf Meissner defines the kenning as "zweigliedrige[n] Ersatz der gewöhnlichen Rede" and adds that any number of synonymous word-combinations could be freely substituted without altering the textual meaning. In Meissner's view only the meaning of the whole kenning is contextually significant while the meanings of the individual kenning elements serve mere ornamental purposes.

As this position reduces kennings to mere variants of literal terms, one should regard it with care. Meissner's kenning definition only considers the denotative meaning of a selected poetic corpus and overlooks its connotative meaning. While it is true that kenning elements lose their denotative meaning when combined with each other to form a kenning, their various connotative meanings often relate to other parts of the poetic context. Of course, various skalds, just like any other poets representing a particular literary tradition, had different tastes and skills and consequently handled their vocabulary in different ways. While some poets did indeed employ kennings as mere substitutes for common nouns, others exploited the vast potential of semantic connotation.

My analysis of the woman-kennings in the verses in the Gísla saga Súrssonar will show that the composer of the verses included in this text belongs to the category of the more subtle poets. Most kennings for Aud, Thordis, and the two dreamwomen not only work on the literal level but also disclose new connotative meanings that supplement the literal ones. As a result of these woman-kennings (and particularly the kenning bases), relationship patterns

are established which intensify the good-bad contrast between Aud and Thordis and between the good and evil dreamwoman. More importantly, they contribute to the portrayal of the good dreamwoman who becomes increasingly significant as Gisli's death approaches. In fact, attention to the kennings in Gisli's last verse will show that he praises not his wife, as has been commonly assumed, but the good dreamwoman, who finally prevails against both her destructive counterpart and Gisli's mortal wife. As we see from this example, a careful study of the kenning elements and their connotative meanings can deepen or even change our reading of a particular skaldic work.

Mark S. Griffith (New College, Oxford)

"Wanderer 5b: Must wyrd bip ful aræd Mean 'Fate is Wholly Determined'?"

Some aspects of the opening of The Wanderer have received considerable critical attention: e.g., the meaning of are gebided, the etymology of anhaga, the semantic range of wyrd, and the nature of the voice that speaks the first five lines. Other questions have not received the attention which they merit. The meaning of bib ful aræd proves on closer inspection to be as problematic as that of wyrd, and the relationship between this clause and the preceding ones is more ambiguous than editors and translators have acknowledged. The translation "Fate is wholly determined" has become standard, together with the view that this is a weary gnomic reflection on the misery of exile. Perhaps more than any other single verse of Old English poetry, this verse is responsible for the general opinion that the poetry is gloomy and the poets too ready to resort to the trite. I shall argue that the cliché lies in the minds of the critics by exploring the range of possible meanings of this statement.

Antonina Harbus (Univ. of Melbourne)

"The Meaning of Old English swefn and Genesis B line 720"

The paper is in two parts: a word-study of the OE noun *swefn*, which usually connotes "dream," and an examination of the only poetic instance where it seems to connote "sleep" — in line 720 of *Genesis B* in the collocation "deades swefn." In this anomalous instance, a tension is

created between the well-known "sleep of death" motif and the usual "dream" connotation of *swefn*.

A careful analysis of the linguistic evidence suggests forcefully that the poet was aware of the metaphoric connotations of his description of the Fall of Man, and that the paradox of "sleep/ dream of death" was purposefully chosen.

<u>Session 103</u>: "Sessions in Honor of E. G. Stanley: Doubt Wisely III"

Michiko Ogura (Chiba Univ.)

"Old English *Habban* + Past Participle of a Verb of Motion"

In Old and Middle English grammar it seemed almost a rule, though not prescriptive, to use a be verb with the past participle of an intransitive verb (PP[vi]) and habban with the PP of a transitive verb as auxiliaries of the perfect. Not a few scholars, however, like Hoffmann (1934), Visser (1963-73), and Mitchell (1985), have already found examples of "habban + PP(vi)."

There can be two ways of explanation: (1) the verb in the "habban + PP(vi)" construction could be used both intransitively and transitively, or (2) some distinction had already been made between "beon/wesan + PP(vi)" and "habban + PP(vi)." I demonstrate with examples that (1) was quite likely and (2) was also possible for a very limited number of verbs.

Session 104: "Sessions in Honor of E. G. Stanley: Doubt Wisely IV"

Ivan Herbison (Queen's Univ. of Belfast)

"The Idea of Christian Epic: The History of an Old English Poetic Genre"

This essay traces the origins and development of the term *Christian epic* in Old English scholarship, discusses its application to Old English poctry and the implications of its use in criticism, and assesses its current usefulness and relevance as a generic term.

The term *Christian epic* carries with it many of the assumptions inherent in the concept of *epic*. The first part of the essay briefly surveys definitions of *epic* in the context of Old English

poetry, and reviews early attempts to extend the concept to Old English Christian narrative poetry. The views of Taylor, Turner, and Ritson, as well as Grimm, Vilmar, and Ettmüller, are examined.

The history of the term *Christian epic* is then explored. The views of Ettmüller, Hämmerich, Ebert, Wülker, Brandl, ten Brink and Smith are discussed. The term is shown to have been employed first with reference to the hagiographical poems, and to have been subsequently extended to the biblical narrative poems, largely through the influence of Ebert and, especially, Wülker.

The qualities which were seen as distinctive and definitive to *Christian epic* are then examined. Most critics praise the Old English poems for their use of *Germanisierung* and heroic diction; some, notably Brandl, consider them to belong to an inferior genre, the *Buchepos*.

The canon of *Christian epic* is then reviewed briefly. The poems proposed for inclusion, because of length if for no other reason, comprise one of the most important divisions of Old English literature. Attempts to define it as a separate genre are then examined. However, the proposed canon is found to be far from homogeneous in structure, tone, or thematic development. Recent scholarship is shown to be more skeptical of the concept of *Christian epic*, but still searches for homogeneity among the biblical narrative poems and the hagiographical poems.

The essay concludes by arguing that, with respect to Old English poetry, the genre of *Christian epic* is the product of the imagination of nineteenth-century German critics. Its legacy obscures the individuality of the Old English poets' responses to the Christian message.

Fiona Gameson (Trinity College, Oxford)

"A Voice Crying in the Wilderness: The Individual in *The Wife's Lament* and *Wulf and Eadwacer"*

These unique Old English utterances have often been read in a way contradicting or distorting their apparent meaning: some have argued that the speakers are male or non-human, or that the poems are Christian allegory, riddles, charms, or curses. A recent discussion of *The Wife's Lament* states that an individual voice would appear to be speaking, but since

"The Individual" had not yet been "discovered" this must be illusory. My paper first reviews these critics and then, by textual analysis, examines what is actually being said and what can be reliably determined about the depicted situation of each speaker. Furthermore, the individuality portrayed in these poems provides a basis whence to probe the reality of the "discovery of the Individual" as a twelfth-century phenomenon.

Elizabeth Tyler (Univ. College, London)

"How Deliberate is Deliberate Verbal Repetition?"

The verbal repetition which is such a striking feature of the style and diction of The Phoenix has elicited opposing critical responses. Norman Blake, an editor of the poem, unsympathetically refers to the work as "verbose" and cites as evidence its dense verbal repetition. Daniel Calder, by contrast, interprets the fourteen appearances of the term frætwe in The *Phoenix* as evidence that the word is the poem's "leit motif" and that the repetition of frætwe lies at the center of the meaning of the poem. These comments on The Phoenix draw attention to the two poles of critical response to verbal repetition in Old English verse. At one extreme, verbal repetition has been interpreted as an indication of immediate, some would even say oral, composition while, at the other, critics have often put forth interpretations of individual poems which rely on lexical repetition, often of a single word, being the result of conscious design on the part of the poet. My chief concern in this paper lies with this second response to verbal repetition which is part of a less extreme, but more widespread, acceptance among critics of the notion of deliberate verbal repetition.

In an attempt to examine the validity of the notion of deliberate verbal repetition, I follow Calder's focus on the fourteen instances of frætwe in The Phoenix. Frætwe is, however, only one of many repeated words in the poem, and by no means the most frequent. This suggests the tolerance which Old English verse shows for verbal repetition and leads to a consideration of the question of whether and how some repeated words, nonetheless, can stand out as more integral to the meaning of a poem. In this regard, I look at the convergence of verbal repetition with formulaic uses of

frætwe and with other, more conceptual, conventions (Judgement Day, Creation, Paradise, Christ, the soul) associated with frætwe. Particular attention is given to the different use of frætwe in the narratio and significatio sections of the poem.

The importance of formulaic language and conceptual convention to the foregrounding of repeated lexis calls attention to the ambiguous nature of verbal repetition. It is difficult to determine whether lexical repetition is best attributed to a deliberate rhetorical strategy of the poet or if a formula and a conceptual convention have combined to encourage the poet to use similar language in a similar context. The presence of a conceptual convention associated with particular language may give verbal repetitions caused by the recurrence of similar circumstances a felicitous rhetorical effect even if the repetition was accidental, that is, not intentional. The general tolerance for verbal repetition makes precisely such an accident more likely in Old English verse than in Modern English verse with its marked aesthetic taboo against repetition. The intention of a poet, in any age, is difficult — if not impossible — to uncover, but the strong role of convention makes this problem particularly acute with regard to the diction of Old English verse.

It would seem prudent, therefore, to "doubt wisely" and to speak of verbal repetition not in terms of intention but of effect and to replace the notion of "deliberate verbal repetition" with that of "rhetorical verbal repetition." Such an approach is not only prudent but, because it admits of a complexity of factors, will perhaps shed some light on one facet of the mode of composition of Old English verse.

<u>Session 105</u>: "Paganism and Power in *Beowulf"*

Jennifer Neville (Christ's Coll., Cambridge)

"Nature and Power in Beowulf"

The representation of the natural world in Anglo-Saxon poetry encompasses a wide variety of approaches and attitudes toward the natural world — so wide that it is hardly possible to abstract a consistent statement about it. It is not merely an ornamental setting, however, or an attempt to reflect physical reality. Whether hostile, neutral, or benevolent, the depiction of

nature's vast power depends upon its relation to human issues. In *Beowulf*, nature — which, I argue, includes the dragon, Grendel, and his mother — serves to define human society, both imposing limits through its challenges and mirroring its characteristics.

Session 106: "The Old English Judith"

Martina Häcker (Universität Basel)

"A Woman Between Doubt and Faith: The Metamorphosis of Judith from an Old Testament Character into a New Testament Character"

The Old English poem Judith has frequently been compared to the Book of Judith in the Vulgate. In their comparisons, critics have concentrated on the reduction to two protagonists, the description of battle scenes, and the characters of the protagonists. Judith has been interpreted as an allegory of ecclesia on the basis of the keyword "faith." This paper argues that two other keywords are equally important: "doubt" and "mercy," and that in the combination of these lies the key to the character of Judith, which can be seen as deriving from a New Testament frame of reference.

Efrossini P. Albrecht (Auburn Univ.)

"The Anglo-Saxon Judith: A Master of *Eloquentia*"

Many modern scholars, influenced by patristic exegesis of Anglo-Saxon works, have interpreted the protagonist of Judith as a saint. My study of the poem has shown that the Jewish widow is an autonomous, dynamic, and knowledgeable woman. The epithets describing Judith emphasize wisdom and bravery while her grammatical position as subject in a great number of clauses underlines her active role in the plot. Finally, the speech she delivers to her people shows Judith to be a master of deliberative hortatory rhetoric. After she has slain Holofernes, she uses her eloquentia to give her people military instructions and to incite battle enthusiasm.

Gopa Roy (Goldsmith's College, Univ. of London)

"Flesh and Spirit in Cynewulf's Juliana"

Beyond the accepted figural or typological readings of the poem, the conflict between the virgin Juliana and her persecutors, between the church and heathenism, can also be understood in terms of the conflict which is inseparable from the issue of virginity, that between the flesh and the spirit. This paper examines, firstly, the ways in which Juliana's human opponents are tied to "the flesh"; secondly, the presentation of Juliana herself in her confrontations with her enemies, and the way in which her virginity is seen to symbolize the victory of the spirit over the flesh.

Session 107: "Rethinking the Ruthwell Cross: Texts and Contexts"

Ian Wood, Fred Orton, and Joyce Hill (Univ. of Leeds)

The three speakers will initiate discussion of the Ruthwell Cross by offering a series of multi-dimensional approaches to the possible contexts provided by politics, art, and religious poetry. The audience will be invited to participate fully in an exploratory roundtable discussion of this outstanding artistic and conceptual work.

Session 109: "Ælfrician Studies"

Stuart D. Lee (Univ. of Oxford)

"Ælfric's Call to Arms"

This paper centers on a discussion of Ælfric's reaction to the calamitous events at the end of the tenth century in terms of the military and social instability of the time. In particular, drawing on such texts as his Letter to Sigeweard, and his Old Testament homilies on Judith and Esther, the paper sets out to show that Ælfric was well aware of the troubles that afflicted his country and was actively promoting armed resistance. The predominant discussion concerns his homily on the Old Testament books of the Maccabees in which he addresses warfare in all its aspects, i.e., both the physical and spiritual conflict.

Session 110: "Re-Using Old English"

Susan Irvine (Univ. College, London)

"Unconquered Texts: Bodley 343 and the Persistence of Old English in the Twelfth Century"

The content and organization of late Old English homiletic manuscripts — and in particular of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 343 — are examined to shed light on literary activity in the twelfth century. diversity of the manuscripts in transmission history, arrangement, and provenance is striking, they do cohere in the paucity of post-Conquest compositions they contain. I argue that the primary purpose of the continued copying of Anglo-Saxon texts was to maintain the currency of English for study by such groups as women religious, secular clerics, or young monks, at a time when the social and political context made composition in English impracticable.

John Chadbon

"The Preservation of the OE Homily Manuscript, Junius 85 and 86"

An overall assessment, from the point of view of its production, of the quality of Junius 85 and 86 (s.xi med.) is proffered. The manuscript is characterized as a humble production, and it is suggested that its chances of survival were never good. There is good evidence in the binding that the manuscript, before it came to Junius from Vossius, was owned by the French collector Paul Petau (1568-1614). Within the manuscript there are jottings which suggest that it may have been in France by the thirteenth century. On the only surviving medieval binding leaf is an inscription: "pars psalterii greci." It is suggested that the Anglo-Saxon manuscript owes its survival to having been used, in England, to fill a binding for such a manuscript, which was subsequently acquired for a French library.

Session 206: "Old English: Evidence Neglected"

Tania Styles (Univ. of Nottingham)

"Nama and hiw and miht: The Class Glossary and Its Semantic Implications"

In much scholarship, the Latin-Old English class or subject glossary is represented as the poor relation of its older, more "literary" alphabetical counterpart. This paper examines two class glossaries from eleventh-century Winchester — the Plantinus glossary (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum 47; and London, BL, Add. 32246) and Ælfric's Glossary. Both of these texts appear in MSS devoted primarily to Priscian's Institutiones, and there is much to suggest that the sense relations recognized here are used as organizing principles in the glossaries in the same MSS. The present study applies this theory to the representation of kinship vocabulary in these texts, and suggest some ways in which recognition of this fact can aid our understanding of the terms involved.

Session 207: "English Place Names"

Carole Hough (Univ. of Nottingham)

"Place-Name Evidence for the Interpretation of Old English Poetry"

Place-names preserve linguistic evidence which can be important in the interpretation of literary cruxes. Comparison with the use of OE heard ("hard") in place-names suggests that heard in The Wife's Lament 15b may relate to physical hardship. OE bearu ("grove") in Daniel 499b is generally taken to refer to a small tree, but place-name evidence suggests that the distinguishing feature is not size but isolation. OE bræd in The Phoenix 240b is problematic, one suggestion being an Anglian form of OE brid ("bird"). Place-names contain many Anglian spellings and references to wildlife, so the absence of such a form from the place-name corpus argues against this hypothesis.

Session 705: "Textiles of Anglo-Saxon Eng."

Gale R. Owen-Crocker (Univ. of Manchester)

"Archaeological Textiles of the Anglo-Saxon Period"

This paper considers the sources of archaeological textiles: inhumation burials, other burials (cremations, the Sutton Hoo Ship Burial), and occupation sites. Evidence from Early (pagan), Middle, and Late Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian sites is evaluated. The details available from technical analysis (such as fiber, spin, weave, dyeing, and embroidery) are considered, and the gaps in our knowledge highlighted. The discussion includes the possible functions of surviving textiles (e.g., clothing, bedding, containers), domestic production, importation, cross-cultural influences, and the importance of the subject for gender studies.

Elizabeth Coatsworth (Manchester Metropolitan University)

"The Manchester Textiles Project"

Anglo-Saxon textiles include the complex (the Bayeux Tapestry) and the composite (the Maaseik embroideries): more often they survive as tiny fragments of rust adhering to the back of a brooch. The smallest such object may yield technical details, and its association with a site, a situs, and surrounding objects adds further technical or sociological information. paper discusses databasing this apparently simple material, in order to preserve the real complexity of its associations; and the contribution which the annotated bibliography, and the development of a coherent glossary of relevant technical and social terminology, will make to rendering this material more generally accessible.

VIII. The Seventh Biennial Meeting of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, "Old and New Ways in the Study of Anglo-Saxon Culture," Stanford University, August 6-12, 1995:

Session 1:

Richard Marsden (Girton Coll., Cambridge)

"Women and the Old English Benedictine Rule: A Theory of Chaos and Masculine Incompetence"

On the strength of a handful of errors, most of them involving gender-specific pronouns, which he believed to have detected in manuscripts of the Old English Benedictine Rule, A. Schröer, its editor, claimed that all surviving ("masculine") copies of the Rule derived from a "feminine" version. On the strength of this, some scholars assumed that Æthelwold's original translation had been for women. However, M. Gretsch re-examined Schröer's errors and dismissed out of hand their identity as "feminine" traces: there had no doubt been a women's version (one survives, but it was copied in the twelfth century), but feminine and masculine versions of the Old English translation had probably been made more or less simultaneously.

My own reassessment of the evidence of the manuscripts of the *Rule* — not only the Old English texts but the Latin too, in both monoand bilingual MSS — leads me to the following conclusions:

- (1) Æthelwold's original translation was made primarily for men and would have been grammatically masculine. (This fact is inescapable, if the celebrated tract on "King Edgar's establishment of the monasteries" be accepted as the work of Æthelwold, for it spells out quite unambiguously that the primary purpose of the Old English translation of the Rule was to help men). Why assume that women of the new houses in the second half of the tenth century were more in need of vernacular help than male recruits to the newly- or re-founded monasteries?
- (2) There is no firm evidence (although the idea is very plausible) that there was ever a completely feminine version in the tenth century. Nevertheless, I believe that Schröer's "feminine traces" cannot, after all, be dismissed: they do, in at least some cases, represent bodged efforts at gender-change in the text. Using the analogy of other much-used Old English texts, I suggest that, after masculine copies of the *Rule* had found their way, inevitably, into women's houses, a process of gender-change took place in the form of interlinear

annotation. If such annotated copies were used for subsequent copying of the *Rule*, contamination would soon occur; that is what we see traces of in the manuscripts.

- (3) The Latin versions transmitted in bilingual manuscripts prove that these, in two out of five cases, were associated with women's houses. Here, the evidence of grammatical tailoring is quite unambiguous, but not in the texts: in two manuscripts, the changes are confined to the inter-chapter headings, and in one to the headings listed before the main text. In the case of the former, I am convinced that a completely "feminine" list existed at one time; in each case, the manuscripts then passed to men's houses and alterations were made but incompletely and inadequately.
- (4) What I thus envisage is nothing so clearcut as separate masculine and feminine editions during the tenth century but, rather, a continual ad hoc and haphazard process of making-do and adapting. All the manuscripts that we have were used in men's houses; from the women themselves, we have only "indistinct echoes." The state of the Latin headings reveals that in these men's houses, at least no one cared too much about linguistic accuracy in manuscripts of the Rule; or perhaps they did not even notice.

Inge B. Milfull (Katholische Univ. Eichstätt)

"Alfred and Dialectics: His Adaptation of the Soliloquies"

Although Alfred has lost his status as the unquestioned Father of Old English Prose, the ultra-skeptical position which tended to doubt his originality altogether was flying in the face of the evidence, and recent scholarly discussions of, e.g., his translation of Boethius have moved away from it altogether. Alfred is at the same time very conventional, as one might expect a layman in both senses of the word to be when entering upon foreign territory, and innovative, even eccentric. While some of his peculiarities are also the consequence of his outsider status, not all of them are. The contrast between the educational and literary enterprises of Alfred and Ælfric is not only one of period, background, and circumstances, but also one of temperament. Alfred, unbelievably efficient at organizing himself and others in life (witness the candle anecdote), is less economical than Ælfric on parchment. His declared

aims, private ambitions, interests, methods, and abilities do not always match.

Nowhere is this clearer than in Alfred's adaptation of Augustine's Soliloquies, which is arguably the most or the least successful of Alfred's works, depending on one's point of view. Its structure is not unproblematic, but the structural problems are illuminating.

Alfred, after his prolonged encounter with Boethius, again turns to a work that, although it comes with impeccable credentials as far as its author's name is concerned, is not typically patristical in its assumptions and methods. The Soliloquies are an early work of Augustine's. Like Boethius in his Consolatio Philosophiae, he here uses the logic of the schools to arrive at conclusions which coincide with the tenets of his faith. He is reassuring himself about the validity of his faith and the legitimacy of his reasoning faculty at the same time. Therefore his methods require that, whereas arguments based on the analogy with geometry are admitted, those based on the authority of the Bible or other revelations are not.

This is an alien mode of thought to the Early Middle Ages and particularly to the Anglo-Saxon England of the ninth century. Dialectics, theoretically the third discipline of the trivium, appears to have been part of a regular curriculum of teaching at St. Gall during the time of Notker, but was probably considered advanced and somewhat esoteric at most other times and places. Even if the strict distinctions of formal logic were not unknown to Anglo-Saxons, the confidence that scholars of Late Antiquity had learned to place in the method had been lost and would not be regained until Anselm and Abaelard.

To Alfred, at any rate, this way of thinking must have been altogether new. That he both recognized this and was fascinated by it is proved by the way he took up the Soliloquies after the Consolatio. In the Soliloquies we can see two worlds, that of Late Roman Antiquity and of Anglo-Saxon England, touching and at times colliding. In the process, widely differing concepts and patterns of experience and discourse are fused, transformed and sometimes transmogrified. In the end Alfred and Augustine separate and go different ways. Does this mean failure on Alfred's part or does it represent a gain of independence? This paper studies the interaction of the Carthaginian saint and the Anglo-Saxon king and also links up Alfred's choices, alterations, and omissions with his preoccupations in his other works.

Patrick O'Neill (Univ. of N.C., Chapel Hill)

"Towards a Reconstruction of King Alfred's Handbook"

In his Life of King Alfred, Asser tells how one day when he was reading aloud a passage in Latin, the king interrupted him and asked him to copy the passage into a small book which he carried about his person. Over time these passages came to constitute a book in their own right to which Alfred gave the name of Enchiridion or handbook. This book was apparently still extant in the twelfth century when William of Malmesbury saw and de-It has since disappeared and is scribed it. presumed lost. Scholars would give much to know what it contained, since its contents would reveal not only Alfred's predilections in his Latin readings but also some of the influences which shaped his thought.

I propose to investigate Alfred's translations as the likeliest source for passages which might have come from the Handbook. My basic assumption is that Latin passages that Alfred liked so much that he had them entered in the Handbook are likely to have re-appeared in his translations. But how can such passages be identified from among the various sources that Alfred used? To be considered as possible candidates, they will have to meet two criteria: (1) they must occur in at least two works of Alfred; (2) they must seem somewhat intrusive in their new context.

For example, I identified in Alfred's translation of the Psalms a passage borrowed from Augustine's Enchiridion. The passage explains that although poor people are relieved from the obligation to give alms they must nevertheless maintain an attitude of willingness to help. This passage stands out because it is the only instance of Alfred's dependence on this work in his translation of the Psalms and because it breaks a sequence of dependence on a single Psalter commentary. The same passage occurs almost verbatim in Old English in Alfred's Boethius in a context where the Latin original gives no encouragement for its introduction. Since this passage meets the two criteria laid down above, I would argue that it may well have come from Alfred's Handbook. I have already collected some forty such passages which may help to construct a composite of Alfred's Handbook.

Session 2:

George Clark (Queen's College)

"Poetry in Heorot: The Hero as Critic"

Seth Lerer remarks that "[w]hat interests Beowulf is not the details of the songs performed at Heorot. We find no mention of their content....Instead, Beowulf focuses solely on form and quality." A gap or chasm lies between the poetry of Heorot the poem reports and the hero's review of that poetry offered to his king, Hygelac. We can take the differences as narrative contradictions to be explained as such, or we can resolve the differences as part of the poem's art. My opening move: the audiences of Beowulf must add the hero's account of poetry in Heorot to the poem's earlier narration. Like Beowulf's report as a whole, his remarks on poetry invite the audiences - including us - to revisit and re-understand the earlier narration.

Beowulf's review of Heorot's poetry suppresses the scop's song of Finnsburh and reports instead Hrothgar's performances. Lerer accurately describes the hero's response to Hrothgar's apparently narrative poems - "gyd" and "spell" (one or more of each?) - respectively described as "soo and sarlic" and "syllic," but Beowulf reports the content of Hrothgar's lyric or elegiac poem(s) whose matter is the old king's lamenting his lost youth and prowess. Hrothgar's expression of the sorrow of old age reminds us of his "sermon," with its warning to Beowulf that the young hero too will grow old, fail, and die. In Denmark Beowulf did not reply to Hrothgar's speech, but the hero's account of the matter of Hrothgar's elegies responds to and comments on the old king's words of self-conscious wisdom. Beowulf does not report the Danish scop's Finnsburh song because he has appropriated it in his prophetic foretelling of the fate of Freawaru's story. Beowulf's conclusion to his story of a doomed diplomatic marriage — Freawaru's to Ingeld — includes his reading of Finnsburh which differs from the Danish response to that story.

Christina Jacobs (Universität Potsdam)

"The Structuring Rhetoric of the Gnomai in Beowulf"

Most scholars dealing with the gnomic passages in Beowulf content themselves with stating that these passages reflect, as Klaeber has put it, the poet's "bent on moralizing." However, it was also Klaeber who said that with these gnomic passages the poet was "acting in a way like a Greek chorus." I agree with Klaeber that the gnomai in this Anglo-Saxon epic serve very much the same function as the chorus in Greek drama. Yet it is not the poet, or his vicarious voice, the narrator, who is "adding his philosophic comment or conclusion" (Klaeber) in his own right. As much as the Greek chorus comments by voicing communal opinions ad spectatores, the gnomai in Beowulf, if uttered by the narrator, are directed to the audience and (sometimes perhaps only allegedly) repeat opinions, judgments, that have been shared to begin with.

Gnomai, as other formulaic diction, belong to the universe of oral communication as "a convenient tool to signal already shared social meaning" (Tannen). Moreover, according to their nature of comment, they are nothing without the context or co-text they are commenting on. I therefore look, for one thing, at those gnomai in *Beowulf* which introduce or conclude a narrative sequence and ask how they do so. Other interesting cases are gnomic passages inserted somewhere in the middle of a fit. There we have to ask how such passages function in view of narrative coherence.

I thus argue that the *Beowulf*-poet used gnomai as a structuring device which, at the same time, "draw [the] narrative into [the contemporary] audience's 'present'" (Kinney). Most certainly, the use of gnomai was a purposeful act on the poet's side, thus "portioning," as it were, his long narrative into "digestible bits." If those scholars arguing that *Beowulf* was the product of a poet who composed in writing are correct, then this poet had found an excellent means of structuring this narrative for an audience that was necessarily a listening one.

Andy Orchard (Emmanuel Coll., Cambridge)

"Artful Alliteration in Anglo-Saxon Song and Story"

Alliteration is such an accepted structural feature of Old English (and indeed other early Germanic) verse, that any discussion of nonessential alliteration might be considered super-Several earlier scholars did indeed dismiss the occasional incidence of some types of excessive alliteration as purely accidental, and the theoretical probability of chance alliteration in Old English is certainly strikingly high. More recently, however, computistical analysis of the entire corpus has permitted a much more extensive consideration of the phenomenon to be undertaken than has been practicable to date. and a quite different picture emerges. concentrating on some of the most clearly patterned and extensive displays of "optional" alliteration both within and between individual verses, I hope to take the discussion beyond the purely arithmetical, and to attempt to assess the aesthetic and artistic implications of the feature, as well as considering both its origins and its wider influence in Old English literature as a whole.

This paper focuses on a number of the most extensive examples of what has been described as "ornamental" alliteration in Old English verse, and notes the uneven distribution of the feature throughout the poetic corpus. Indeed, the relative infrequency of non-structural alliteration in Beowulf remains perhaps the primary reason for the dearth of scholarly discussion of the topic. The association of certain alliterative effects with specific kinds of discourse, notably gnomic and homiletic passages, is indicated, and the role of such elaborate alliterative displays in signalling transitions and narrative structure within a text is highlighted. Direct comparison is made with examples of identical phenomena in other vernaculars, notably Old Saxon, Old Norse, and Old Irish, as well as in Hiberno-Latin and Anglo-Latin verse. particular the potential role of Aldhelm as both model and mediator for specific kinds of "extra" alliteration is highlighted.

The nature and purpose of such non-structural alliteration in all these cases is assessed, and the particular prominence of specific varieties of "extra" alliteration in the Old English poems Exodus, Elene, Juliana, The Dream of the Rood, and The Phoenix is described. In Old

English prose the particular importance of such "ornamental" alliteration in late hagiographical and homiletic writings, particularly those associated with Ælfric, is considered, leading up to a final and detailed analysis of the anonymous "Ælfrician" homily Napier XXXI, the extraordinary alliterative patterning of which has never been considered, and which is demonstrated to exhibit exactly the same kind of technique of highlighting and informing important sections of the narrative as is found both in certain varieties of Old English verse and in Aldhelm.

On the basis of the complete range of evidence presented, it is argued that, for some Anglo-Saxons at least, the boundaries between structural and non-structural alliteration were far less clear-cut than has been suggested hitherto, and that the purpose of such alliterative display was not so much ornamental as artful.

Session 3:

Catherine E. Karkov (Miami Univ.)

"The Anglo-Saxon Genesis: Text, Illustration, and Audience"

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11 and London, BL, Cotton Claudius B.IV are monuments of Anglo-Saxon literature and art, yet when it comes to their illustrations both have, until quite recently, been studied primarily for their iconographic sources and their relationship to the Cotton Genesis tradition. Given the conservative nature of their treatment by art historians, it is somewhat ironic that both manuscripts are also considered highly original creations that ultimately resist our attempts to categorize them according to iconographic traditions or prototypes. While such source studies are necessary, particularly given the limited amount of Anglo-Saxon material, and while they have much to tell us about the transmission of styles and iconographies, they beg the question of how these manuscripts might have been used and perceived by their Anglo-Saxon audience. They also tend to construct a monolithic audience, ignoring differences of gender, vocation, and literacy.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the question of how one section of these two manuscripts, the story of Genesis, might have been received by a contemporary audience. I have chosen to focus on this section both because it forms a discreet narrative within each manu-

script and because its very theme is the creation and reception of language, sight, and knowledge. A typological relationship can therefore be established between the biblical subjects and their Anglo-Saxon audience. This is not always an easy relationship, and it is further problematized by the fact that the pictures are not mere illustrations of the text; in fact what we see in the pictures is sometimes at odds with what we read in the text, particularly in Junius 11. The audience (whether Anglo-Saxon or modern) is faced with two narratives, one verbal and one visual, which must then be combined to form a third, received narrative. It is the possibilities opened up by this third narrative, and its relationship(s) to the verbal and visual texts, that I explore. As part of this study I consider the very different nature of the two manuscripts and the possibility of different audiences for each. While my study is limited to the story of Genesis, an understanding of how this text might have been received by a contemporary audience has clear implications for our understanding of the relationship between word, image, and audience in the Anglo-Saxon world in general.

Rebecca Barnhouse (Youngstown State Univ.)

"Pictorial Exegesis in the Old English Illustrated Hexateuch"

Bede tells us that the purpose of the paintings brought by Benedict Biscop to the church at Wearmouth-Jarrow was to show "the agreement of the Old and New Testaments." Several illustrations of Old Testament scenes in the eleventh-century Cotton Hexateuch may serve this same function: to remind their audience that the people and events in the OT text prefigure those in the New Testament. Thus, for example, the manuscript's illustrator chose to portray Moses in pictorial vocabulary usually reserved for the four evangelists. Likewise, in the illustrations of the story of Joseph, the artist may be nudging his audience into remembering that Joseph is a type of Christ when he uses New Testament iconography to portray Genesis scenes. Some visual hints — including a devil placed over a group of men from Sodom were designed by the artist to help viewers interpret difficult textual passages, while others, such as censers and liturgical vestments in miniatures of Genesis, served to make OT passages familiar to Christian audiences by including anachronistic details. These features

shed light on the difficult problem of the manuscript's intended audience and function.

Session 4:

Mary Blockley (Univ. of Texas, Austin)

"The Verb-Initial Clause without Kuhn's Laws"

In his 1970 article for Herbert Meritt's festschrift, Alistair Campbell used the prose source of the Meters of Boethius to make a case for the influence of Kuhn's Laws upon the syntax of Alfredian prose, and through that prose upon the entire prose tradition. one point in his argument concerns the clauses sittað ða manfulle and Healdab ba tunglu. He argues that the finite verb takes clause-initial position in these independent indicative declarative clauses for prosodic reasons; that the author chooses "inversion" of the verb and subject in the first of these examples to avoid stressing the verb and in the second to avoid beginning a clause with a proclitic. These clause-initial verbs should therefore be recognized as clauseinitial dips in prose that reflect the influence of verse.

When the data are examined exhaustively rather than anecdotally, they do not bear out Campbell's intriguing hypothesis. I present evidence of another motive for the clause-initial verbs in Alfredian prose, one that leaves them related to clause-initial verbs in other texts, but that refigures that relationship as input rather than output to verse. Campbell says that such verb-initial clauses occur "often" in Alfredian prose, yet I have found there are only twentyseven such verb-initial clauses in the parts of the prose text parallel to verse. Comparing these clauses with clauses in all parts of the prose text and in other prose and verse indicates that in prose, unlike verse, the indicative declarative verb does not appear unambiguously at the head of the clause. The apparent indicative declaratives in prose turn out to be either subjunctive, interrogative, or, as in Dæs heah heofnes healdab ba tunglu, non-clause-initial. An examination of the verb-initial clauses in Alfredian prose and verse indicates that there are correlations between clause-initial verbs and syntactic function that were more useful to scribes and that are less mysterious and more provable to modern readers than the stress status of the finite verb.

Przemyslaw Lozowski (Maria Curie-Sklodowska Univ., Lublin)

"In the Dreamy World of Anglo-Saxons: Lexical Insight into the Domain of *Dream*"

As far as the words signifying the concept "dream" are concerned, the earliest history of English exemplifies a specifically complex situation. Among the first to notice and comment on the unique position English occupied in that respect among other Germanic dialects were Ehrensperger (1931) and Lindheim (1949). Their observation was, in fact, twofold. On the one hand, (1) unlike draumr in Old Norse and troum in Old High German, the Old English offshot of the Germanic *draum-a, dream, does not mean "sleeping vision." Among approximately 225 occurrences of the word in MC, not a single one even touches upon the sense "somnium" as such, the prevailing meaning being that of "joy." In spite of that, (2) Old English enjoyed much more of a variety in terms of dream words than some other Germanic dialects. Instead of a straightforward one-to-one correspondence - as in Old Norse, there being just one dream noun, draumr, and one dream verb, dreymir — Old English made a use of three nouns — swefn, gesihb, and mæting — and two different verbs, mætan and swefnian. The relationship between, respectively, the three nouns and the two verbs has traditionally been perceived ever since as that of synonymy, or even, at times, of absolute synonymy.

The aim of the present investigation is to have a closer look at the Old English dream words to the effect of challenging the tradition however long-standing and recognized that no dissimilarity can whatsoever be shown between mætan and swefnian, and between swefn, gesihb, and mæting. The methodological apparatus is that of cognitive semantics — or, more specifically, of the theory of prototypes (Rosch 1975, 1978). Rosch's proposal seems to provide sufficient evidence for the claim that any attempts at squeezing lexical categories into clear-cut and definite limits are bound to be futile. It turns out that it is very often quite impossible either to give a univocal definition of a word or to separate its main sense(s) from one another. Instead of necessary and sufficient conditions, the new methodology offers the principle of family resemblance (cf. Wittgenstein 1958:66): there are no fixed boundaries between various senses of a word which would clearly delimit the outset of one sense and the onset of another one. Various resemblances between senses bring them closer to one another or make all the difference between them. There is thus an opportunity for questioning the traditional claim about the conceptual sameness of the words in question, presenting as a consequence the Anglo-Saxons' world of dreams in quite a different perspective.

Terry Hoad (St. Peter's College, Oxford)

"Exploring Metaphorical Structures in Old English Lexis"

This paper concerns itself with the subject of metaphor in Old English lexis — not so much metaphors created on specific occasions (as by poets) or even those which have become clichés, but rather those which form part of the basic fabric of the language. Metaphor in this latter understanding of the term has, of course, been a topic of considerable interest among many of our colleagues in linguistic theory in recent years. Not putting myself forward as a linguistic theorist, I start from a more traditionally philological standpoint, exploring how far we can get in analyzing Old English vocabulary along such lines and whether, indeed, such an approach has anything of value to offer us. I give attention to the ways in which such kinds of analysis affect lexicography and consider the relationship of such "metaphorical" vocabulary to other languages: what, for example, can be said about parallel cases in Latin and the medieval European vernaculars in terms either of quasi-universal linguistic phenomena or of "semantic borrowing"?

Session 5:

James Graham-Campbell (University College, London)

"Datable Late Saxon Ornamental Metalwork (30 Years On)"

In 1964, David Wilson laid down the basis of a six-fold scheme for "the method of dating Anglo-Saxon ornamental metalwork of the period 700-1100" (Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork, 700-1100, in the British Museum [1964], 5-9), the principles of which were

established by him in a series of preceding publications (Wilson 1959; 1960; Wilson and Blunt 1961). While endorsing his methodological approach, this paper sets out both to review his observations and to augment his conclusions in the light of the evidence which has been accumulated since even his own most recent revision of his scheme (*The Anglo-Saxons*, 3rd ed, [1981]).

Few modifications are required in connection with methods 1 (direct personal dating) and 2 (association with burial of known historical persons), although there is the addition of the pair of hooked tags in the Forum Hoard (Rome), bearing the name of Pope Marinus, now recognized as being of Anglo-Saxon workmanship. On the other hand, methods 3 (objects found in coin-dated hoards) and 4 (objects which imitate or incorporate coins) require more extensive review in the light of revised hoard/coin dating, with a number of omissions and recent finds to be added to the lists. Method 5 (place/context) can now profitably be expanded to include some recently excavated metalwork (e.g., from Winchester), while method 6 (stylistic) inevitably remains unchanged, although the greater abundance of material, particularly from metal-detecting activity, has significantly expanded the database to increase the validity of typological studies.

Finally, some consideration is given to the potential of scientific dating techniques for this period (e.g., of dendro-chronology for context dating) and of material/technical analyses, if only for assistance in the detection of modern forgeries.

Leslie Webster (The British Museum)

"Wundorsmipa geweorc: New Light on Old Swords"

An outstanding recent Anglo-Saxon find sheds new light on the development of Middle Saxon swords and seaxes, and prompts a fresh look at the dissemination of style and the uses of decoration (and text) on prestige weapons. The unique, silver-gilt sword-pommel was a casual find on farmland near Beckley, Oxford-shire; there has been to date no trace of the iron hilt and blade and other fittings from the sword. John Blair very convincingly argues that the location may have significance for the context of the sword's ownership and apparent loss. on

stylistic and morphological grounds it may be dated to the late eighth century. Its splendidly elaborate decoration is of exceptional quality and, in its inventiveness and elliptical nature, exhibits striking stylistic parallels with metalwork and sculpture in Pictland, inviting renewed speculation about regionality in Insular art-styles and their transmission in the Middle Saxon period. Its distinctive range of motifs also hints at the way in which the decoration of this and other high-status weapons may carry specific meaning. [The pommel has been acquired by the British Museum, where it is about to go on display.]

Elizabeth Tyler (Univ. College, London)

"Confronting Contradiction: Re-assessing the Evidence for the Display of Treasure in Late Anglo-Saxon England"

In this paper I first look directly at why written and archaeological material might offer contradictory evidence. Then I take up the written evidence as my primary focus. particular, I consider (when looking at the written sources) the influence of form and purpose on what is said about precious metal ornament. Furthermore, I consider by whom, for whom, and about whom these sources were written in assessing their attitudes towards ornamental metalwork. Such factors have been almost completely ignored by Dodwell, who mines written material for references to Anglo-Saxon art, in the form of precious metals, without analyzing the nature of those sources. The condemnation of treasure in a homily, the mention of treasure in late Old English poetry, and, for example, the description, in the twelfth-century chronicle compiled by Florence of Worcester, of Godwine presenting a ship manned with eighty gold-decked soldiers to King Harthacnut are all given equal weight as evidence for the continued fondness for the display of treasure in Late Anglo-Saxon England. As a result Dodwell, concerned only with itemizing the mere mention of precious ornamental metalwork, ignores the often contradictory views expressed in different sources about the display of treasure.

A wide variety of written sources survive from which to piece together the place of the display of treasure, in the form of ornamental metalwork, in Late Anglo-Saxon England. Besides the sermons of Ælfric and Wulfstan, there are law codes, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, wills, writs, charters, as well as narrative sources and some Old English verse. The archaeological record is less complete for this period than for earlier ones, but hoards and chance finds do offer evidence from which to consider the nature of Late Anglo-Saxon metalwork. Despite — and indeed perhaps because of — the wide variety of sources, we find an apparently contradictory picture of the place of ornamental metalwork in Late Anglo-Saxon England.

The contradictory nature of this picture of the display of ornamental metalwork, of treasure, in Late Anglo-Saxon England has not attracted scholarly attention because, as the approaches of Dodwell and Hinton suggest, the various types of sources — literary, historical, archaeological — tend to be studied in isolation. By taking an interdisciplinary approach to the range of evidence available, I aim first to delineate, and then to examine, possible reasons for the divergent portrayals of the display of treasure in Late Anglo-Saxon England. This is obviously a complex issue involving many social, political, economic, and religious factors including, for example, the changing importance of land-ownership and the development of a widely used coinage. I wish to focus in this paper on two factors which are distinct features of Late Anglo-Saxon England and to which Wulfstan's law code attests. First is the impact of the display of treasure on the Church's teachings on wealth, both ecclesiastical and secular, as articulated by the reformers of the Benedictine Revival and its subsequent flowering. Second is the distinction between Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian attitudes towards the display of treasure. The increasingly Scandinavian character of late Anglo-Saxon metalwork, as well as the existence of literary evidence that the wearing of jewelry was more common among Anglo-Scandinavians than Anglo-Saxons, suggests that this is a worthwhile area for inquiry. The display of treasure is a subject of interest to a wide variety of disciplines, including social, political, and economic history; the history of art; archaeology; and literary criticism. I hope that putting contradiction at the center will eventually illuminate rather than obscure the complex and changing position of the display of treasure — of jewelry, weapons, and church plate — in Late Anglo-Saxon England.

Session 6:

Allen J. Frantzen (Loyola Univ., Chicago)

"Studying Sexuality in Anglo-Saxon England: Queer Theory and the Corpus of Penitentials"

One of the most encouraging developments in the maturation of feminist criticism of medieval texts is the emergence, beyond the vague field of "gender" studies, of new initiatives in the study of medieval sexuality. David M. Halperin's learned and rigorously argued analysis of homosexuality in ancient Greek culture has supplied a model for the study of sexual identity and sexual behavior in other ancient cultures, the culture of Anglo-Saxon England included. Halperin combines the discipline of a classical philologist with an admittedly (indeed, professedly) aggressive stance on certain questions in the history of sexuality — the stance of a queer theorist. Queer theorists claim that heterosexuality is a normative influence both in society and in historical writing that followed the "discovery" of homosexuality in the late nineteenth century. Accordingly, queer theorists call for new analysis of sexual acts that have been labeled "homosexual" and that have been said to carry the same social stigma in pre-modern cultures that attaches to homosexuality in contemporary cultures. They argue that such acts should not be seen in terms of the homosexual/heterosexual dichotomy that has emerged in the last century, but instead in terms of complex and culturally-specific social standards that were - or so the queer theorists of later medieval cultures now claim - more tolerant of homosexual relations than we have

If the views of queer theorists are gaining acceptance in medieval circles, that is in part because their arguments were anticipated by medievalists practicing traditional methodologies but offering controversial claims all the same. In 1980, for example, John Boswell argued that from the eighth to the tenth century male homosexual behavior was widely tolerated in Western Europe. Just one year before, Michael Goodich wrote, "The first testimony to the existence of homosexuality in Europe in the Middle Ages appeared in the late tenth and early eleventh century," and that "[i]n this period, deviant sex was not yet regarded as a serious threat to Christian morality." Anyone with a passing

acquaintance with Anglo-Saxon penitential literature knows that both assertions are incorrect. But both views have been accepted and repeated, and their effect has been to establish a new, remarkably tolerant standard for medieval sexuality that, to scholars outside the fields of Anglo-Saxon and contemporary continental cultures, enhances the plausibility of queer theorists' claims.

Queer theorists insist not only that we retire the simplistic homosexual/heterosexual duality that has governed all prior discussions of the subject, but also that we view the sexual standards of earlier cultures in more precise and complex ways. In my paper I analyze the evidence of all the Anglo-Saxon penitentials, of which I have constructed a computerized corpus that enables reference to homosexual acts (and others), the vocabulary that describes them, and the scale of penance attached to them relative to other sexual sins. There are four handbooks of penance written c.950-1050, each found in at least two manuscripts and some in as many as four. Only one of these texts has been edited in the last fifty years; one of them, known as the Canons of Theodore, has not been edited since 1830. The sources of the vernacular texts are Latin penitentials as old as the late seventh century, some parts of which passed, virtually unaltered, into the later vernacular documents. I have organized the entire corpus into a computerized database organized by manuscript, so that every version of every text is now available to be searched. I have explored the corpus using a list of key words for homosexual acts and relations, extracted the relevant passages. and examined their Latin sources. I will categorize regulations in which homosexual relations are described and will trace (to the extent possible) the cultural antecedents of those connections.

Alyson Cox (Emmanuel College, Cambridge)

"The Prose and the Passion: Themes and Structures in Blickling Homily III"

Approaches to the corpus of anonymous homilies in Old English have traditionally centered on the individual manuscript collections. Editions, textual studies and source studies have evaluated the anonymous texts, always against the defining standard of Ælfric's control over theological consistency and accuracy. Professor Cross, however, has advocated

a technique of seeking sources and analogues for a preaching text by exploring other materials which are intended for the same liturgical occasion or which deal with the same pericope. This represents a theme-led approach, which cuts across the boundaries of the individual collections to trace the concerns of the anonymous tradition as a whole, and which relies for its results on the fact that homilies as a genre are highly interdependent, with authors relying on a common pool of exegetical commonplaces associated with the major liturgical themes.

My paper applies this approach to the third Blickling Homi'y for the first Sunday in Lent (Frank and Cameron reference number B.3.2.10), which is an exegesis of the pericope on Christ's temptation in the wilderness from Matthew IV. I assemble a group of five texts from the vernacular corpus which either are also intended for the first Sunday in Lent or are also predicated on the pericope from Matthew IV. These are two of Ælfric's Catholic Homilies (B.1.1.12 and B.1.2.8), a Wulfstan text for the first Sunday in Lent (B.2.3.2), a pseudo-Wulfstan composite homily (Napier LV; B.3.4.44), and a second anonymous text from the twelfth-century manuscript Bodley 343 (most recently edited by Susan Irvine; B.3.4.1).

I analyze Blickling Homily III in terms of the character of its sources, the extent and nature of the control it can be seen to exercise over them, its structural development and, in particular, its local and recurring patterns of verbal repetition. In this latter respect, I am able to exploit relatively new resources such as a computer-generated concordance of the Blickling texts and the international concordance projects, in order to make more confident and objective judgments than have been possible in the past on the frequency and distribution of distinctive phrases or techniques. I examine the interrelationships among the group of analogues listed above, drawing illustrative comparisons, and I argue, on the basis of these, not only that Blickling III has common features to attach it to a definable tradition, but also that some of its organizing structures might lead us to question the neat dichotomy between the abilities of Ælfric and those of his near contemporaries.

James W. Earl (Univ. of Oregon)

"Ælfric's Non-Violence"

Ælfric wrote during the years 990-1010.

when the Vikings were ravaging the nation. Though his contemporaries viewed him as a major actor in the political and religious ferment of the Benedictine Reform, his own writings barely note the tumultuous events of the age. We are aware of Wulfstan's response to those same events: Ælfric's response was to pursue a program of Christian education, to extend Benedictine teachings beyond the monastery into the lay world. Ælfric was at the still center of the storm - if he was not the still center itself. In times like his, the ability to submit peacefully to the Rule and to God, and patiently to carry out such a vast writing program in the vernacular, in a style so unlike the hermeneutic style of the day, can be grasped in terms of character, as well as history, doctrine, and rhetoric.

As for the Vikings, he depicted the perfect response to them in his Life of King Edmund: as in Abbo's account, Ælfric's Edmund refuses to fight, throws down his weapons, and is martyred like Christ and Sebastian. could hardly be a more subversive model for national policy. Whereas Wulfstan saw the Vikings as punishment for the nation's sins, Ælfric saw such evils only as the occasion for virtuous suffering. As he says in the Preface to the first series of Catholic Homilies (4-6), "God...permits his chosen servants to be cleansed from all sins through great persecutions, as gold is tested in fire." Or as he says in his homily on the Martyrs in the second series (XLII, 548), "Almighty God scourges and chastises those whom he loves, so that through temporary affliction they may gloriously attain everlasting life."

Ælfric's apparent detachment — his non-politics — is part of a larger historical problem: What is the relation between the Viking invasions and the Benedictine Reform? The arrival of the Vikings didn't interrupt Ælfric's project; it motivated it, at least in part. From our perspective, monastic reform and Christian education have to be among the most improbable responses to Viking attacks — wasteful, counter-effective, even subversive. Could it be that the Age of Ælfric was after all an Age of Faith? Could Ælfric really have been naive enough to pit Christian non-violence against the Viking sword?

Ælfric's well-known homily on the Macabees would seem to contradict this non-violent stand. There he defines war as "just war against the cruel seamen, or against other

peoples who wish to destroy land" (Skeat XXV, 11. 708-9); later in the same homily (11. 812-62) he makes the classic distinction among the three estates: laboratores, oratores, and bellatores. The point of that discussion, however, is that the struggle against worldly enemies must not distract the oratores from the important struggle against spiritual ones. The one other time he addresses the problem of the invaders more or less directly (Pope XXII), it is to advise on biblical authority that kings should delegate military authority to their generals, and trust in God — as if the king should not be considered among the bellatores.

Pauline Stafford's 1978 article, "Church and Society in the Age of Ælfric," shows that the Reform was also a stage in the development of feudalism, a consolidation of economic and political forces behind the king and the great families that supported him. The major demonstration of her thesis is Wulfstan; Ælfric requires special pleading. What she says is true, that Ælfric advanced a new vision of kingship—but it is a vision of "the good king," the peaceful Christian kingship of Edmund, totally unsuited for resisting the Vikings. Compared to Ælfric's account of Edmund, Ethelred looks like Winston Churchill.

History is more interested in Wulfstan's political involvement and his hysterical account of Viking horrors, than Ælfric's patient, understated educational program. But we find in history what we want to find, and right now we want to find violence and rhetoric, not piety and plain style.

According to Paul Tillich, "faith is the state of being ultimately concerned" (Dynamics of Faith [1957], 1), and the nation is a formidable competitor with God for ultimate concern: "The extreme nationalisms of our century are laboratories for the study of what ultimate concern means in all aspects of human existence....Everything is centered in the only god, the nation — a god who certainly proves to be a demon, but who shows clearly the unconditional character of an ultimate concern" (1-2). Late tenth-century England was such a laboratory too. Edgar's coronation as Christus domini in 973 was meant to forge a unity of national and religious concern. Dunstan could hardly have foreseen, however, that in the Viking violence of Ethelred's reign only twenty years later, the concept might result in Ælfric's doctrine of non-violence. First the king and the great families establish the monasteries to pray for them (among other reasons); the monasteries respond by endowing the king with a Christ-like authority; then, when the Vikings arrive, Ælfric expects the king to behave like Christ and throw down his sword! Ethelred obliged more than we would wish — but perhaps he was not such a bad king by Ælfric's standard.

Since Ælfric was virtually alone in this belief, however, we mustn't rush to account for it as the logical extension of the doctrine of Christus domini, but as an aspect of Ælfric's character. Paul Ricoeur sees non-violence as a renunciation of history itself, which he considers essentially violent: "The first condition which must be fulfilled by an authentic doctrine of non-violence is to have traversed the world of violence in all its density" (History and Truth [1965], 224). I see in Ælfric a man who was willing to traverse the world of violence in all its density: not only Viking violence, but the violence of history generally. The sermons and saints' lives offer a virtual encyclopedia of violence, a vision of a world of violence, peacefully resisted by a world of non-violence.

Our worst suspicion about non-violence is that it is really complicit with violence encouraging passivity in the face of state power, for example. Our next worst suspicion is that it's masochistic, or vicariously sadistic — a love of violence parading as its opposite. Ælfric's depiction of Edmund gets him off both counts. Not only does he extend non-violence to the king himself, but he is surprisingly restrained in his depiction of Viking violence as well. The Life of Edmund shows that Ælfric's detachment is not partisan, but the expression of an evenhanded doctrine of non-violence. In his response to the Vikings we see Anglo-Saxon Christianity at its best. He calmly refuses to enter into the discourse of war, even as it rages through the land; he teaches non-violence, and lives it himself; he declines the temptation to demonize the Vikings; and he pursues truth and brotherhood more effectively in silence than Wulfstan does in thunder.

Session 7:

Joyce Hill (Univ. of Leeds)

"Ælfric's Colloquy Reprocessed"

In the world of computer technology we live daily with the concept of fluid text. Medieval texts in manuscript likewise bring us into contact with texts which are constantly re-processed: edited by cutting and pasting, with material added or deleted, and with existing text redeployed in new contexts. In this paper Ælfric's Colloquy is taken as a model of the reprocessed text, both in its medieval milieu and in the era of modern scholarship.

Since the nineteenth century, the Colloquy has been translated many times, and has often been treated as if it offers a real picture of Anglo-Saxon England, a de facto "reprocessing" which, by ignoring the Colloquy's position in a long tradition of pedagogical dialogues, misinterprets text through misinterpreting context. Another form of reprocessing, originating in the nineteenth century, is the tradition of presenting the Old English interlinear gloss as a text in its own right, in some cases rewritten to conform to the syntactical patterns of its own language, rather than that of Latin to which it is tied in the one manuscript which has this gloss. A third form of reprocessing is that found in the edition by Stevenson who, in presenting Ælfric Bata's rewriting of Ælfric's Colloquy from Oxford, St. John's College MS 154, conflates this Latin text with that in Cotton MS Tiberius A.III, imports the interlinear gloss from the Tiberius MS, and adds the Tiberius MS epilogue. As if this were not complicated enough to sort out, the reader of this edition (as also of the editions of the Colloquy as it survives in Tiberius A.III) must constantly remember that neither the interlinear gloss nor the epilogue are attributable to Ælfric.

The Medieval starting points for these various reprocessings are themselves witnesses to the tradition of the constantly reprocessed text, rewritten in substance and given a new context in each of the three versions which survive. The version best known to us, and the one regarded as closest to Ælfric's original, is that in Cotton Tiberius A.III, as edited by Garmonsway. But it has acquired substantial non-Ælfrician additions and modifications. Ælfric Bata's rewritten version in St. John's College MS 154, by internal modification and by contextual positioning, relocates an effective pedagogical text within a tradition of abstruse display-colloquies, which are more effective in demonstrating the author's intellectual superiority than in encouraging communication with and by the boys in the schoolroom. The largely unknown version now partially extant in fragments in the British Library and the Plantin-Moretus Museum in Antwerp is different again,

in substance and in context. Its Latin is closer to the Tiberius text than to that in the St. John's Manuscript, although it has several details which are not in either of the other two versions and, unlike them, is marked for the speakers throughout. Contextually, existing as it does without an Old English gloss, it is firmly associated with the Latin traditions of grammatical teaching on which Ælfric drew, being written into the margins of a copy of the Excerptiones de Prisciano, the text which served as the source of Ælfric's Grammar.

This paper examines the effects and the rationale of the reprocessing of text and context in Anglo-Saxon and modern times, paying particular attention to the London and Antwerp fragments which allow us to approach a familiar work from an unfamiliar angle.

Hugh Magennis (Queen's Univ. of Belfast)

"Servants of God and Servants of Christ in Old English: Contexts and Uses of a Traditional Literary Figure"

This paper begins with a brief account of the "servant of God" metaphor as inherited by the Anglo-Saxons from biblical and patristic literature. Two main modes in the employment of the metaphor in the bible are identified, also taken up in later literature: "honorific" (in which the phrase "servant of God" is a term of approval applied to those who are faithful to the Lord) and "precatory" (in which, in humble prayer, the phrase is normally applied by the speaker to himself or herself). The connotations of slavery in the biblical image and in its late antique adaptations are explored. These connotations are particularly significant in the strongly hierarchical world of late antiquity. The introductory section ends with a consideration of servus/serva and famulus/famula images in the Latin literature of the early Middle Ages, with particular reference to Anglo-Latin.

The central part of the paper focuses on the use of the servant image in Old English literature, examining this in the light of the traditional background outlined above, and also in the context of the social connotations of the Old English word *peow* (the direct translation of the Latin terms) in the real world; a third context is that of the ideas about slavery characteristic of the secular vernacular poetic tradition.

Examination of Old English texts reveals a contrast in the response of prose and verse

writers to the servant image. Among Old English poets, working in a tradition which typically reflects an insistently aristocratic value system and which concerns itself with people who are exclusively from the higher ranks of society, the servant metaphor is distinctly problematic. "Servants of Christ" in the poetry have a tendency to become "thegns of Christ." Disdain for the idea of servitude comes out particularly in Genesis B but is also widely apparent in other texts. The paper shows how Old English poets adapt the servant metaphor to fit the cultural framework of the poetic tradition. In contrast to the dozens of occurrences of the Cristes begn image in the poetry is the small number of beow references.

Such careful adaption appears not to have been thought necessary in the prose tradition, a tradition constrained by the real-life associations of *peow* but lacking the conceptual superstructure of the poetry. Some Old English prose writers, particularly Ælfric, are drawn to the image of the saint as *Cristes pegn*, but this expression appears as an alternative to, not instead of, *Cristes peow*. There is no evident systematic avoidance of the latter expression among prose writers, and the majority stick exclusively to the *Cristes peow* version of the traditional image.

The paper incorporates discussion of the Old English terms *beow* and *begn* and their feminine cognates beowe/becwen and binen. It emphasizes the different dimensions of the servant image in the Old English literature and the different kinds of adaption of it by vernacular poets and prose writers. Even when used as simply a stock phrase, as it often is, this metaphor has an important defining and confirmatory function, bestowed on it by its very conventionality. But the servant metaphor can also be more than a stock phrase, and as it does especially (but not only) in poetic texts, can fit productively into a larger thematic pattern. It is the argument of this paper that the contrasting ways that Anglo-Saxon writers adapt the servant idea throw interesting light on the literary traditions, verse and prose, in which they work.

Jürg R. Schwyter (Worcester Coll., Oxford)

"Syntax and Style in the Anglo-Saxon Law-Codes"

Historians have long drawn on the evidence provided by the Anglo-Saxon law-codes, but the

syntactic characteristics of these unique documents have largely been overlooked. This is surprising as, besides being of obvious interest to the linguist, a stylo-syntactic analysis of the language will — with its findings on conventions, standardization, increasing specifications and sentence complexity, even literacy — shed light on the historic context of the codes in a wider sense. This paper focuses, with the help of examples, statistical data, and charts, on two points:

(1) The basic text strategies: The two most important text strategies employed in the lawcodes are the non-dependent directive strategy (type: "beowæs wegreaf se iii scillingas") and the non-dependent if-then strategy. The apparently simple non-dependent if-then strategy, however, comprises not just conditional clauses in the initial position containing the offence (gifclauses) followed by the appropriate sanction in the principal clause (type: "gif frigman cyninge stele, ix gylde forgylde"), but also nominal relative clauses (sebe-clauses, type: "se be in cyninges byrig obbon on his neaweste feohteb obbe steleb, he bib feorhscyldig"), and adnominal relative clauses postmodifying the hitherto unsuspected subject of the principal clause (NP [subject] + be-clause, type: "se hlaford, be his beowan æt byfbe gewita sy, & hit him on open wurbe, bolige bæs beowan & beo his weres scyldig"). One basic syntactic pattern is shared by all three, namely a subordinate clause containing the offence that has to be committed before the appropriate action in the principal clause can be applied.

(2) Chronological distribution and syntactic developments: Although non-dependent if-then sequences and non-dependent directives were widely used throughout Anglo-Saxon legislation, they clearly are the dominant text strategies up to Alfred the Great (871-899). But the nondependent if-then strategy has already undergone major syntactic developments before that, either during the course of the seventh century or between early Kent and early Wessex. The code of Ine (promulgated 688x694) not only uses co-ordination and deep levels of subordination in its gif- and sebe-sequences on a scale not seen in the Kentish legislation, but also pioneers the NP[subject] + be-sequences, which make up the third type of the non-dependent if-then strategy. King Ine's desire to set more specific cases and therefore accumulate additional material in the various non-dependent if-then sequences had two consequences: one, anacolutha

are frequent in Ine's lengthy gif- and sepe-sequences, together with all three occurrences of adnominal relative clauses postmodifying the subjects of their principal clauses. Two, the number of completely self-contained sentences decreases. Unlike modern draftsman, who consistently avoid possible ambiguous anaphoric links between sentences, Ine seemed unconcerned about referential confusion and frequently resorted to pronominal anaphora.

A second turning point in syntactic complexity can be found in the tenth century. I Edward (Edward the Elder, 899-924), for the first time, widely used dependent directives (type: "ac we wyllab, bæt ælc man ofer xii winter sylle bone ab, bæt he nelle beof beon ne beofes gewita") as well as the syntactically complex dependent if-then strategy, which really only came into full swing as a tool of legal writing in the codes associated with King Æthelstan (924-939) before declining, once again, in frequency and importance (type: "we cwædon be urum beowum mannum [bam] ba men hæfdon, gif hine man forstæle, bæt hine man forgulde mid healfan punde"). As was the case in Ine, complex syntactic novelties also caused some problems to the tenth-century legislators: long passages of dependent directives and/or dependent if-then sequences often include several instances of slipping, that is, an apparently unmotivated change from dependent to nondependent back to dependent speech.

Style and syntax in Anglo-Saxon legislation are by no means homogeneous, in spite of the fact that the two basic text strategies, nondependent directives and non-dependent if-then sequences, can be found in almost all of the codes. Major syntactic developments and changes have taken place during more than four centuries of law-giving: over time a strong convention developed concerning mood in gifand sepe-clauses and their respective principal clauses, from non-agreement to agreement to agreement in the subjunctive; King Ine used levels of clausal embedding unknown to his Kentish predecessors (stylistically and syntactically the code of Ine is different enough from that of Alfred, so as to suggest that King Alfred had not tampered with the so-called Ine Appendix); the tenth century extensively furthered the two syntactically even more complex dependent strategies, a trend which suggests, in spite of the frequent use of "we cwædon" as introduction, a culture well-versed in writing. Due to these and other additions and inventions, Archbishop Wulfstan had, towards the end of the Anglo-Saxon period, a greater variety of syntactic and stylistic tools at his disposal than any draftsman before him — and he certainly made good use of them.

Session 8:

Gernot Wieland (Univ. of British Columbia)

"Royal 15.A.VI: One Manuscript or Three?"

Royal 15.A.VI is a manuscript completely devoted to the Acts of the Apostles. On folios 2v to 29r it contains the complete text of the biblical Acts of the Apostles, on folios 31r-85r Arator's versification of the Acts of the Apostles, and on folios 86r to 147v a commentary on Arator's poem. Textually, the three parts clearly form a unit and this in turn would suggest that together they form one manuscript.

The present paper seeks to determine whether there are codicological reasons for considering Royal 15.A.VI one rather than three manuscripts. Reasons against considering the manuscript as a codicological unit consist in the fact that the three parts are not written in the same hand; as a matter of fact, Gneuss includes only fols. 30-85 — i.e., the section on Arator's Historia Apostolica — in his "Preliminary List."

Reasons for considering the manuscript as one rather than three consist in the uniform size of all three parts and in the ruling, which is similar in all three sections.

Beyond this, the paper determines the relationship between the *Historia Apostolica* and the commentary by examining the glosses written into the *Historia Apostolica*; by comparing the lemmata of the commentary to the text of the *Historia Apostolica*; and by comparing the hands that wrote the glosses into the *Historia Apostolica* with the one that wrote the commentary on Arator. It comes to the conclusion that the three parts were bound together very soon after the last of them had been written, and this in turn suggests that the three parts were from the beginning intended as one rather than three manuscripts.

Thomas W. Mackay (Brigham Young Univ.)

"Bede's Commentary on the Apocalypse: Illustrations of his Exegetical Work"

I examine in this paper some of the anomalies and curiosities of Bede's style as he uses sources, and also illuminate a significant point, namely that while he is dependent textually upon Tyconius and Primasius, a rather large percentage of the text does not find parallel in extant commentaries used to pinpoint Tyconian origin. Some passages do seem to be heavily Tyconian in language and ideas, but others are apparently from Bede himself. Since this is one of his earliest biblical commentaries, we can see how very developed his mind is even ca.700. Another matter that has come forth is that, contrary to my expectations, Bede's quotations from Primasius are textually closer to the Fulda MS than to Douce (MS Douce 140 at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, which exhibits some notations in the hand of St. Boniface), on the occasions when the two of them differ. Tentatively, I have formulated the hypothesis that while the immediate textual antecedent of Douce carre to England in the late seventh century, Bede had access to another descendant of that ancestor, one that was close to Douce but had some singular readings. Later, Bede's MS or a close copy may have been sent to the continent; it then ended up at Fulda.

I report on what I have discovered in extending out our understanding of the text of Bede, its sources and transmission, including some further textual implications for the commentaries on Acts and the Catholic Epistles which often circulated with the Apocalypse commentary in the ninth century.

Michelle P. Brown (The British Library)

"Female Book-Ownership in England During the Ninth Century: The Evidence of the Prayerbooks"

There is much evidence pointing to high standards of female literacy in pre-Alfredian England, and yet none of the few surviving manuscripts from the period c.600-900 have been demonstrated conclusively to have been made by or for women. However, other sources can supply information on the subject. Hagiographical, literary, diplomatic, and archaeological sources, for example, attest to the learning of women such as the abbesses Hild of Whitby, Leoba of Tauberbischofsheim, Cuthswith, Hildelith and the nuns of Barking, and Eadburh and Cwenthryth of Minster-in-Thanet. Neither is the secular sphere completely devoid

of such evidence.

The paper begins by providing an overview of some of the evidence for the role of women as producers, users, and disseminators of written information in England prior to the tenth century.

Nonetheless, the extant books produced in early Anglo-Saxon England offer scant evidence of female production or ownership. This being the case, it is perhaps surprising that what limited physical evidence of female ownership does survive is largely to be found within the depleted corpus of books made in England during the ninth century, a period of particular upheaval which offered restricted scope for their manufacture and survival.

This evidence is contained within three of a group of four prayerbooks, the script and decoration of which would suggest that they were made in southern England, and probably in Mercia (although not necessarily within the same scriptorium), during the late eighth and first half of the ninth century. These are the Harleian Prayerbook (BL, Harley MS 7653), the Royal Prayerbook (BL, Royal MS 2.A.XX), the Book of Nunnaminster (BL, Harley MS 2965), and the Book of Cerne (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ll.1.10).

Within the three former there is a steady stream of evidence, all of it circumstantial, pointing to female ownership. That this stream should surface in the context of books intended for use in personal devotions is understandable. The processes of selection apparent within the prayerbooks imply a measure of personal tailoring to the needs and interests of their owners. This suggests that they were more susceptible to textual variations of the sort that might indicate a female interest than more formal liturgical and literary texts would have been. If any or all of the prayerbooks in question were indeed owned by women, they provide a valuable insight into female devotions of the pre-Alfredian era and into book production for, and perhaps even by, women.

Session 9:

Paul Acker (St. Louis Univ.)

"Exhuming 'The Grave'"

In their recent volume for Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, Old English Verse Texts from Many Source: A Comprehensive Collection, Robinson and Stanley provide photographic facsimiles of manuscripts (and other sources) to accompany the standard printed editions in the sixth volume, The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems, of the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records. For the ASPR the "latest of the extant Anglo-Saxon poems in the regular alliterative meter" (xliii) is "Durham" (from a late twelfth-century MS, composed 1104-09 [Dobbie, xliii] or a little earlier [Offler]). Robinson and Stanley, however, extend their coverage to alliterative poems composed somewhat later. They include a facsimile for "Instructions for Christians," from a MS c.1175 but composed perhaps in the early twelfth century (ed. Rosier). They note further that "We have included The Grave [c.1200?] and William the Conqueror [1087], which are on the borderline between Old and Middle English, but we stopped short of the Worcester Fragments [c.1225]" (14).

Robinson and Stanley may just be erring on the side of "comprehensiveness," but there are signs other than their inclusion of the poem that "The Grave" may be edging over into the Old English canon. The poem was rejected by the nineteenth-century Anglo-Saxon Dictionary of Bosworth and Toller, and thus included for coverage by the (now nearly complete) Middle English Dictionary. But the fledgling Toronto Dictionary of Old English has decided to cover it as well. The projected Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English will include "The Grave" as one of its items indexed as "Old English," that is, an early Middle English copy of (perhaps?) and Old English original.

In its hovering on the Old and Middle English borderlines, "The Grave" has missed out on most bids for attention this century. As noted, it did not make it into the all-important Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records; nor, however, has it been included in any twentieth-century anthology of early Middle English poetry. Editors in the last century were more favorably disposed. Conybeare (in a letter dated 1811, but published 1814) introduced the poem to Archaeologia readers, calling it "a specimen, not altogether uninteresting, of our language and poetry, at the latest period at which they could fairly be denominated Saxon" (173). In his subsequent Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry (1826), Conybeare called the poem a "Norman-Saxon fragment on death" (270). In his Analecta Anglo-Saxonica (1834), Thorpe placed the "singularly impressive and almost appalling fragment" (which he entitled "The Grave") just

before excerpts from The Brut and the Ormulum, which last two works he considered to be "in Semi-Saxon, in which the vocabulary is still free from foreign terms, but the grammatical construction nearly subverted" (ix). (1838) considered that the poem "affords us one of the latest specimens of Anglo-Saxon versification" (74; 2nd ed. 1882, p. 368). Rieger included the poem as a "Bruchstuck einer Rede der Seele an den Leichnam" in his Alt- und Angelsächsisches Lesebuch (1861) in part because Grein hadn't included it, adding that it showed the transition from Anglo-Saxon to Middle English (xv). Müller (1861, p. 205) quoted Longfellow's translation (1838) "from the Anglo-Saxon," but preferred Thorpe's term "Semi-Saxon" for the original (207). Schröer. and Buchholz following him, offered no opinion on the Old or Middle English question. Kluge added the poem to the second edition of his Angelsächsisches Lesebuch.

Among them these editors presented "The Grave" eleven times in the nineteenth century, with generally increasing but never quite complete accuracy. In this paper I discuss these editions and then take a fresh look at the text. By examining the manuscript under ultra-violet light, I have confirmed the erasures in the main scribal hand. By comparing the second scribe's scrawled final lines to other texts he transcribed in the manuscript, I have clarified the more difficult but not illegible readings. Finally I discuss the orthography of the text and its style in relation to Old English works. While I cannot prove the text has a pre-Conquest exemplar, I think I can show that the poem deserves to be looked at more concentratedly by Old English scholars for the light they can shed on this "transitional" and thus largely neglected alliterative poem.

Carole Hough (Univ. of Nottingham)

"Place-Name Evidence for Old English Bird-Names"

Many Old English animal-names and birdnames are only known from their occurrences in place-names. Examples include OE *bagga and OE *græg, both meaning "badger," and OE *ca "a jackdaw." In all three instances, the bird or animal is named from one of its physical attributes: the jackdaw from its cry, and the badger from its bag-like shape or its grey coloring. These and other words attested in place-names are discussed in A.H. Smith's English Place-Name Elements (1956). During the course of work on a revised edition of this reference tool at the Centre for English Name Studies, University of Nottingham, a number of new examples have emerged, suggesting that the transferred use of descriptive words may reflect a common type of colloquial naming pattern for birds and animals. The aim of this paper is to present three hitherto unrecognized Old English bird-names which appear to represent transferred uses of words to do with music.

OE bemere/bymere occurs in the placenames Bemerhills, Bemerton, Bermersley, and Bemerehill (lost), and is recorded in charterbounds as to bymera cumbe. The meaning "trumpeter" is established by six occurrences within the literary corpus, mostly glossing Latin tubicen, and by analogy with the common noun beme/byme "trumpet." Most literary references to trumpets, however, occur within Biblical contexts, and there is little historical or archaeological evidence for trumpets in Anglo-Saxon Place-names associating the term England. bemere (especially in the genitive plural) with hills, valleys, and woodland, may well be taken to use it in a transferred sense to designate a type of bird with a loud, trumpet-like voice. Bird-names are very common in place-names, particularly in combination with topographical terms, and frequently occur in the genitive singular or plural. So too do insect-names, and it may be significant that during the early sixteenth century, the Scots poet Douglas uses the word bemyng to refer to the noisy buzzing of bees, while three of the place-name generics found in combination with bemere also occur with OE beo "bee." The balance of evidence, however, seems to me to indicate that OE bemere refers to a type of bird, and I shall present etymological evidence which suggests that it may have been an early name for the bittern.

OE pipere ("a piper") has been the subject of much discussion among place-name scholars. This is another word recorded only rarely in the extant corpus of Old English, and in contexts which do not suggest that it was a common occupation-name. Again, a shift of meaning from "piper, a player on the pipes" to "piper, a bird with a fluting call" is not difficult to envisage, and would make much better sense of several place-names in which it occurs. Many place-names containing the word are associated with water, and there may be a connection with

ModE sandpiper, recorded from 1674 of a type of water-bird.

In this instance, it is possible that the shift of meaning has taken place in the opposite direction. Etymological evidence shows that the primary meaning of the word in non-Germanic Indo-European languages was "bird," with the secondary meaning "musician" developing from this. I suggest that the meaning "bird" was still current when the word was borrowed into the Germanic languages from Latin, and I present some evidence to indicate that place-names containing OE *pipere* may preserve an early sense of the word as "water-bird," while the later meaning "musician" is attested within the literary corpus.

The interpretation of OE hearpe in placenames is also problematic, as the attested meaning "harp" often appears inappropriate. Previous suggestions that the word denotes "places where the harp was habitually played" or "something resembling a harp in shape" or "a salt-harp, a sieve used in salt-workings" are unconvincing. Again, a bird-name would make better sense of such place-names as Harpsden, Harpenden, Harpley, Harcourt, Harpham, and Harpton. Early scholars including Wright, Toller, and Whitman took OE hearpene to mean "a nightingale," on the basis of an entry in the Cleopatra Glossary (BL, Cotton MS Cleopatra A.III, fols. 5r-75v). This interpretation of the gloss has now been discredited, but it remains possible that OE hearpe could have been used as a bird-name.

OE nihtegale ("nightingale") also names the bird from its song, the second element deriving from OE galan "to sing." Twenty-three occurrences of OE nihtegale and its variants are recorded in A Microfiche Concordance to Old English, but all are in glosses, and I have been unable to trace any occurrences in place-names. This is a striking omission in view of the large number of bird- and animal-names represented in the place-name corpus. It may suggest that the word was not in familiar use in OE. It is possible that hearpe was the demotic term for the bird known more formally as nihtegale.

Barbara Yorke (King Alfred's College, Winchester)

"What's in a Name? The Names of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms and Regiones"

In 1979 James Campbell published two

important papers in which he examined Bede's terminology for places and rulers which did much to elucidate the political hierarchies in early Anglo-Saxon England. An analysis of the actual names of the kingdoms and *regiones* of Bede's world may serve to take matters further.

In the famous passage in Historia Ecclesiastica I.15 where Bede described the advent of the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, he related these ethnic groups to the major gentes of his own day - the provinciae ruled by reges whose boundaries were also (or, in Bede's view, should have been) those of at least one bishopric. The names of the East, West, and South Saxons, and the East and Middle Angles, are unlikely to date back to the settlement period or even to have been coined by the people who bore them. Indeed, we know from elsewhere in the Historia Ecclesiastica that the "West Saxons" were originally known as the "Gewisse" and that another of Bede's gentes, the Northumbrians, were originally two separate kingdoms, Bernicia and Deira. The new kingdom-names may have been promoted from Canterbury.

If we look at the other names of provinciae thought by Bede to have been ruled by reges (not all of which are listed in I.15) they can be divided into names of two types: (1) those derived from either Latin (Kent, Lindsey, Wight) or British (Bernicia, Deira) district names; (2) simple proper names, sometimes of obscure derivation, but arguably appropriate for bands of warriors — Gewisse, Mercians, and Hwicce. Both these groups of names are likely to belong to a much earlier stage of kingdom formation than those of the East and South Saxon type.

The names of subkingdoms, regiones and other known subdivisions of major kingdoms can be divided into five main groups: (1) simple nouns, generally to be found in Anglian areas (e.g., Gifle, Gyrwe); (2) names with second element ge "district" (e.g., Suderge [Surrey], Lyminge, Elge [Ely]); (3) names with second element ware whose distribution seems to have been restricted to the areas Bede defined as Jutish (e.g., Meonware [Hants], Merscware [Kent]); (4) names with second element ingas whose distribution was predominantly Saxon (e.g., Hastingas, Sonningas) and Northumbrian (e.g., Cuneningas [Cunningham, Ayrshire]); (5) names with second element sætan, found throughout Anglo-Saxon England (e.g., Pecsætan, Magonsætan, Wilsætan).

Names in -ingas, -ware and -sætan have broadly the same purport, the suffixes indicating "people of...." The distribution of groups 1, 3, and 4 seems to broadly correspond to Bede's recognition of distinctive Anglian, Jutish, and Saxon areas (with the exception of the use of -ingas names in Northumbria, presumably another regional variation). Use of the element -ge seems to have passed out of the earliest, and -sætan continued longest and was used throughout England south of the Humber.

The names of (1) and the first elements of (2)-(5) may be subdivided as follows: (i) names of rivers (e.g., Gifle, Lyminge, Meonware, Arosætan) or other prominent topographical features (e.g., Gyrwe, Merscware, Pecsætan); (ii) personal names (e.g., Basing, Sonning); only -ingas names have personal names as a first element; (iii) Names of tun (e.g., Somersætan); these names would appear to belong to a later stage of name-formation than groups i and ii.

These district names pose a major question: Do they represent some form of organic state formation from early settlement groups, or should they be seen primarily as units of administration? The -ingas names which in many (but by no means all) cases are formed from personal names have generally been interpreted as indicative of the former, the personal names being seen as those of a founding father or significant leader, and with an assumption that they had once been self-governing entities. All the other regiones' names identify the people concerned with the particular geographical area. Detailed studies from the south-east suggest that whatever the difference in name-formation, -ingas and -ware territories were of similar size and performed identical functions in the seventh century as units of local administration, centered on royal tunas and serving as minster parishes. One conclusion could be that most of the names of regiones date from after they were incorporated as administrative subdivisions of larger provinces. Name-forms varied regionally and over time, but (like many of the major kingdom names) they may have been new formations and not those of the (no doubt very varied) groupings of peoples who preceded the administrative units.

Session 10:

Ursula Schaefer (Humboldt-Univ. zu Berlin)

"Cultura. Transportation: The Translation of Verbal Strategies in the Old English Bede"

The cultural transition from orality to literacy is usually conceived of as a continual process from which certain groups may be excluded or within which setbacks may occur. Ultimately, however, this process is thought of as all-pervasive and uniform. In my paper I relativize this concept with regard to Anglo-Saxon culture.

Due to philological departmentalization the immediate comparison between literary production in Latin and Old English is usually limited to the search for possible sources and analogues. Moreover, as far as the ninth century "Alfredian" translations are concerned, the Old English versions are dealt with in their own right.

In my paper I juxtapose select examples from the OE Bede to the Latin original in order to illustrate that the process of translation implied much more than just linguistic "conversion." It should become obvious that the Old English version avails itself of linguistic strategies which we would rather attribute to (elaborate?) orality (use of formulae, parataxis, etc.). Beyond this we find in the OE Bede alterations of the Latin text which may be seen as the adjustment to a cultural state other than the one on which the Latin original was based. The comparison will make it obvious that Anglo-Latin and Anglo-Saxon are largely asynchronous in their capacity of textualization; this is to say that there is a conceptual asynchronicity also in the bilingual individuals.

In a way those findings thus modify the Whorf-Sapir hypothesis that "language determines thought" to such an extent that even if a speaker's thoughts may be trained in and by an elaborate literary language this does not enable him or her immediately to transfer these thoughts into a language that has not (yet) attained this elaborateness. In view of the cultural transition from orality to literacy, this should hence call for our awareness that this process is by no means a uniform one.

Christine Ehler (Humboldt-Univ. zu Berlin)

"Medial and Conceptual Literarization of Old English"

In which ways and to what extent is the

structure of a language influenced by the technology of writing? Based on the assumption that there is an elementary difference between the mere writing down of an utterance, by which the utterance is turned into script, and the process of adapting a language to the requirements of the new medium of writing, by which a language develops into a conceptually literate one, I am examining three groups of prose texts from the Old English period: a translation from Latin, texts modelled after a Latin original, and texts as close to independence from Latin texts as possible for the period examined. The aim is to trace those structural changes Old English went through that demonstrate a growing awareness both of problematic (i.e., open to misinterpretation) and of refined ways of literary expression.

The following material has been chosen for examination:

- (1) The Old English translation of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica. Here I compare manuscripts T (c.950), O (c.1000), and B (c.1050-1100), giving me a range of 100-150 years for the tracing of developments that indicate a trend towards a conceptual literarization of the Old English language. The areas of particular interest in this respect are closeness to the Latin original, word order, verbs, precision of expression, deictic pronouns, and inflection of nouns.
- (2) Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Second Series. The Second Series has the advantage of existing in the first and second recension authorized by Ælfric himself, with the first recension in turn being split into a first and a later part. Altogether, there are 27 manuscripts that can be compared. This allows me to contrast those homilies that are existing in manuscripts of all three stages (11, 111, and 2); to make sure that there really is a significant difference between the three stages, I am also taking a look at homilies existing just as manuscripts of stages 1I and 2 and of stage 1I only. The points of special interest here are the inflection of nouns with the particular emphasis on the change of dative to accusative, personal pronouns, verbs, and plain mistakes.
- (3) The Old English Charters. On the one hand, I look closely at the Charters of Rochester, the Charters of Burton Abbey, and the Charters of Sherborne; then, in order to gain an idea of the position of the examined group within the whole group of documents, I look at P. H. Sawyer's Anglo-Saxon Charters: An

Annotated List and Bibliography. There are interesting findings as to the amount of charters in Old English, in Latin, in both languages, in Latin with Old English borders, etc., for each century. There are also significant modifications regarding the use of (to name only a few) capital letters or new lines at the beginning/end of the English part of a bilingual document. As expected, the structural coherence of the texts changed for the better, too.

The special value of this group lies in its covering of the whole Old English period; moreover, it shows a clear development towards more conceptual literacy and at the same time demonstrates a change in the medial "translation" (that is, the spatial organization) of the texts.

Hildegard L.C. Tristram (Univ. Potsdam/ Freiburg)

"Vocality in Anglo-Saxon Preaching"

In my theoretical model relating to the longterm development and interaction between the oral and the written, I distinguish between five phases. The first phase is that of the pre-written culture ("Vorschriftlichkeit"). In the second phase of transition from the oral to the written, the cultural process encompasses en-scripturation ("Verschriftung") and en-scripturalization ("Verschriftlichung"). The third phase is that of consolidated and prolonged scripturality ("Langzeitschriftlichkeit"), with varying degrees of en-oralization ("Vermündlichung"), de-oralization ("Entmündlichung"), literarization ("Literarisierung"), de-literarization ("Entliterarisierung"), fictionalization ("Fiktionalisierung") and de-fictionalization ("Entfiktionalisierung") over the length of time. Within this third phase, I call those special textual properties which are intended to gear the text for public oral delivery/performance and reception by the ear the properties of vocality ("Vokalität"). The difference between vocality and the stylistics of old lies in the stress on the performance aspect of the text ("Rezeptionsangebot"). The fourth phase is that of descripturation ("Entschriftung") and de-scripturalization ("Entschriftlichung"). This is the converse process to phase II. Many cultures underwent the painful loss of the cultural achievements of literacy (the Harappa culture of Ancient India, the end of the Roman Empire, the death of Old Provençal, the Tudor Conquest of Ireland, etc.). The fifth phase is that of the post-literate ("Nachschriftlichkeit"), which is never identical with that of the first phase, as long as the cognitive awareness and the skills acquired during the previous phases are not irreversibly lost.

Anglo-Saxon preaching — some 1500 pieces of sermon writing having been preserved from the tenth and eleventh centuries — offers fine examples of vocality. The sermons were conceptually written - i.e., the texts were composed, disseminated and transmitted in writing - but they were intended for oral delivery and aural reception, either in the refectorium or in the church, some of them perhaps in public meetings. The multiform character of many sermons (taken together they read like musical scores), especially of some of the anonymous ones, betrays the vocal interests of the sermon The vocal properties of the texts contributed very essentially to the success of late Anglo-Saxon vernacular writing.

I look at some of the more important aspects of Anglo-Saxon sermon vocality within the framework of the model outlined above.

Session 11:

Walter Goffart (Univ. of Toronto)

"Lambarde's Map of the Heptarchy (1568) and Its Descendants: A Modest First in the History of Cartography"

A sidelight in the sixteenth-century recovery and exploration of Anglo-Saxon England was the production by William Lambarde in 1568 of a map of the seven prominent kingdoms of early English history — the Anglo-Saxon "Heptarchy." His woodcut illustration for a book on Anglo-Saxon laws is also noteworthy for a reason that Lambarde was certainly not conscious of: it is likely to be the earliest map of any subject in medieval history.

The Heptarchy became well entrenched in seventeenth-century cartography. In England, William Camden's austere rendering, complete with place names written in an approximation of Old English script, was decisively overshadowed by the decorative version of John Speed, with fourteen vignettes illustrating early Anglo-Saxon kings. The adaptation of Speed's design by the Dutch atlas-maker, Blaeu, is a work of art and high point of seventeenth-century decorative mapmaking. Elsewhere on the continent,

cartographers nursed the illusion that the seven kingdoms lived on in modern England and had to be shown in current maps as an administrative level higher than the county. This misconception multiplied maps of the Heptarchy.

A new era of interest in Anglo-Saxon language and antiquities opened after the Stuart Restoration. Edmund Gibson, one of its luminaries, created an alternative historical map of Anglo-Saxon England. His depiction, in which the Heptarchy is somewhat muted, marks a return to scholarship — and Anglo-Saxon script — in maps of this part of the past.

Thomas A. Bredehoft (Univ. of Northern Colorado)

"Annal 1067D: New and Old Views of the *Chronicle*'s Composite Structure"

The 1067D annal of the Chronicle is unique in containing Old English prose, Old English alliterating genealogy, and Latin. Though each of these sorts of texts appears in other annals, they nowhere else all appear together. Using this critically neglected annal as a touchstone and springboard, I argue that the modern removal of the Chronicle poems from their context (as in the ASPR) relies upon a view of the Chronicle as a dissectable composite rather than an organic whole. Despite this view's seeming confirmation in the varied (indeed, sometimes haphazard-seeming) histories of the updating of the various MSS, this is a view, I believe, quite different from the perspective on the Chronicle held by the Anglo-Saxons. In the end, I argue that a more accurate perspective on the Chronicle would be to see it as a sort of cultural hypertext: that the various Chronicle MSS need to be seen as parts of an interrelated whole. The inclusion of verse, genealogy, and Latin in the 1067D annal should be understood not only within the context of the D manuscript, but in the context of the Chronicle as a whole: the accidents of inclusion or deletion which led to the shape of any surviving manuscript tell us only about that MS, while the contents of all the MSS together reveal something about the complex of texts we still refer to inclusively as "the Chronicle." It is this larger Chronicle that allows us to effectively understand the uniqueness of the 1067D annal.

Margaret Clunies Ross (Univ. of Sydney)

"Old Ways in the Study of Anglo-Saxon Culture: The Intellectual World of Edward Lye"

This paper addresses old ways of studying Anglo-Saxon culture — that is, eighteenth century ways. As an offshoot of my research on the reception of Old Norse poetry, I have developed an interest and begun to do some research into the work of the eighteenth-century Anglo-Saxon scholar Edward Lve. I intend to prepare an edition, with commentary, of a collection of letters to Lye (and some from him to others) that Thomas Percy annotated after Lye's death. They reveal the extent of his intellectual contacts in Britain, Scandinavia, and Germany, and also something of his working methods and the state of his knowledge of Anglo-Saxon and other early Germanic languages. The letters have never been published; they are BL, Add. MS 32325.

Session 12:

Carol Neuman de Vegvar (Ohio Wesleyan Univ.)

"Drinking Horns as Indices of Status and Wealth: Texts and Contexts"

The early Anglo-Saxons linked the ownership, display, and use of large and finely ornamented drinking horns with the network of hospitality and mutual obligation surrounding persons of high status. Drinking horns with metalwork fittings have been found primarily in high-status graves, and very large horns intended for ceremonial drinking have been found exclusively in princely graves. The quality/quantity of the metalwork ornamenting drinking horns varies in proportion to the overall status of their funerary find-contexts, paralleling Nieke's connection of fine metalwork with concentrated authority in Dalriada.

Possibly because of the early linkage of horns and secular status, the attitude of the Church toward drinking horns was ambivalent. The tenth canon of the 787 Synod of Celchyth prohibited horn chalices and patens. Although this canon is often construed as the first of a series of ecclesiastical edicts concerned with the ritual cleanliness of the vessels of the Host, the wording is ambivalent and may also be con-

strued to link horn with secular drink and violence in the context of a canon forbidding clerical involvement in secular matters and possibly precluding clergy from wearing secular clothing, part of the effort by the eighth-century Anglo-Saxon church to wean its aristocratic clergy from secular pleasures.

In the later Anglo-Saxon period, the monastic reform movement strengthened Church influence on the aristocracy. Drinking horns, linked to the secular ceremonial of the past, began to appear in manuscript illuminations as vanitas symbols. Nonetheless, drinking horns turn up in wills, objects of value if no longer indices of authority, and owned by church and secular notables alike.

For the Normans, drinking horns were a link to a past sometimes associated with the Anglo-Saxons, as in the Bayeux Tapestry. In the post-Conquest period, drinking horns appear in texts as family or community heirlooms fitted with precious metals, used only on specified ceremonial occasions, and sometimes linked with land tenure. Extant later drinking horns are footed, easier to display but unwieldy as drinking vessels. The social role of drinking horn had changed, from vehicle of ceremonial hospitality and a possible index of individual authority to a means of display of wealth and of connectedness to the deep past.

Carol Farr (Univ. of Alabama, Huntsville)

"Textual Articulation and New Visions in the Grimbald Gospels"

The Grimbald Gospels present a selective reuse of Insular and tenth-century textual articulation and iconographic themes. The selection and translation of these older features into early eleventh-century visual forms suggest the manuscript's participation in the program of conspicuous, authoritative display centering around Cnut and Christ Church, Canterbury. This paper discusses two aspects of the manuscript's revival of earlier forms: (1) its antiquarian emphasis on certain points in the text liturgically significant in Carolingian and Insular gospel manuscripts, and (2) its transformation of a multivalent Insular image of the church in a way that connects this image with the context of monastic reform, its liturgical uses, and the role of the monarchy within it.

Interpreting these features within the contemporary scribal and artistic context of an-

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Appendix B

Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Illuminated Manuscripts:

Survey of Research Past, Present, Future Part II

Papers edited by Thomas H. Ohlgren

Sponsored by the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture, two sessions on the CORPUS Project were held at the 1993 meeting of the International Congress on Medieval Studies. The sessions were designed as a systematic survey of research on manuscript codicology and art. Each of the presenters – Mildred Budny, M.J. Toswell, Kathleen Openshaw, Jane Rosenthal, Herbert Broderick, Gernot Wieland, Marilyn Deegan, and Richard Gameson – was assigned a particular group of manuscripts: Corpus Christi College Cambridge Mss., psalters, liturgical Mss., gospel books, Old Testament Mss., *Psychomachia* Mss., scientific Mss., and early Anglo-Norman Mss. The presentations shared three common goals: 1) to define the category of manuscripts (location, genre, or period); 2) to survey published scholarship; and 3) to assess what specific work needs to be done to complete the verbal and pictorial documentation of each grouping of manuscripts. Finally, I asked the presenters to prepare written versions of their reports for publication as occasional papers in the *Old English Newsletter*. This issue contains four papers by Kathleen Openshaw, Gernot Wieland, Herbert Broderick, and Richard Gameson.

Liturgical Miscellanea¹

Kathleen Openshaw Erindale College

The challenge of defining the limits of a group of books initially entitled "Liturgical Manuscripts" provided an opportunity for reflection on the principles that ideally should underlie any new process of cataloging and ordering. To this end, it is worth recalling Linda Brownrigg's analysis several years ago of the organizational strategies (and their shortcomings) employed in the invaluable Elzbieta Temple volume of the Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles: Brownrigg's remarks must have been among the catalysts promoting the ever improving descriptions of pictorial and textual contents of manuscripts covered in later volumes of that series. Her lengthy review article merely reflected the changing nature of manuscript scholarship in the second half of the century and the increasing consideration of the contents of the whole book and of relationships between image and text; nevertheless, it highlighted the need for periodic re-evaluations of the ways in which we describe and order books in any catalog or comprehensive publication. More recently, Helmut Gneuss and David Dumville have dwelt at some length on analogous problems.3 The following brief observations are offered in a similar vein, prompted by the problems inherent in trying to bring order, within the parameters of the CORPUS project, to a number of Anglo Saxon manuscripts associated in various ways with the liturgy. Because the books gathered under this designation do not include the gospel books, gospel lectionaries and psalters that are a foundation for the liturgy, the group has been entitled Liturgical Miscellanea.

The boundaries of the group are loose and highly problematic in at least two respects. The first concerns the definition of a liturgical book: when, for our purposes, is a liturgical book not a liturgical book; or, rephrased, how close an association with the liturgy do we require to include a book in this list? Homiliaries were used in the night office---should they be on our list? Because extant numbers of homiliaries are large and rather indetermi-

nate, and because only two contain decorations, I have not included them. Similarly, should we list such items as libri pænitentiales? Some of these are clearly compendia of canon law, but others are closer to priests' manuals and would have been used in communal penitential devotions.5 They are not illustrated, and given their generally para-liturgical nature, I have concluded that the researcher can most effectively consult detailed lists such as those of Dumville.6 For the same reasons I have not included liturgical commentaries.7 But how are we to regard MS Cotton Tiberius A.iii, containing the Regularis Concordia and the Rule of Saint Benedict? or MS Stowe 944? Clearly these books are related to liturgical needs, though not necessarily used in the liturgy.8 Are we comfortable with the designation of MSS Cotton Titus D.xxvi and xxvii as an office book (in which I have followed Gneuss), when most of us think of it as a private prayer book?9 And what about the other private prayer books, which are not on the present list because private prayer is manifestly distinct from liturgical worship?¹⁰ If our present endeavours in producing printed surveys are to have validity in the attempt at comprehensiveness, and utility for the purposes of research, there may well be a need for one or more further groups embracing nonliturgical or para-liturgical miscellanea. At the very least, caveat lector: there are many limitations to the present list, which should be viewed as a work in progress and should be used with the lists of Gneuss and the extended discussions of Dumville.

The second problem with the potential to affect the boundaries of the current list is the survival of numerous fragments of liturgical manuscripts. For instance, by the inclusion of fragments which may be as limited as pastedowns or a single folio, Dumville more than doubles the numbers of sacramentaries and missals listed by Gneuss, who merely provided handlist references to such items. ¹¹ There are large fragments on my list, such as the fourteen folio pontifical in Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, but smaller remnants and single leaves are excluded. It would

be a separate research project to systematically examine the many widely dispersed fragments for remnants of decoration, and I have not done this.

The internal organization of any group of Anglo-Saxon Liturgical Miscellanea is always going to be fluid, depending on the needs and viewpoint of the individual scholar, and reflecting the diversity of the material covered. I have followed in rough outline Gneuss's classifications, since I believe that the more different schemas of classification we have, the less we are enlightened. The books are grouped under two major headings. Mass books and Office Books, each subdivided into specific kinds of books. However, as one example of the kind of problem that arises, a book clearly used in the mass—the benedictional—is grouped by Gneuss with "Episcopal Books and Rituals." At one stage in the analysis of this material I situated benedictionals under the heading "Books for the Mass;" yet so many benedictionals are found in the same manuscript as pontificals, which are clearly not mass books, that this is manifestly unsatisfactory. They are therefore relegated to a separate group, as per Gneuss.12

Beyond such principle divisions, subdivisions within the major groups are problematic and at times seem almost arbitrary: it cannot be too strongly emphasized that many of these books are transitional, representing a point on an evolutionary continuum between two kinds of book that we may perceive as different from one another, but which we know that the medieval user was less pedantic about defining. Consider sacramentaries and missals, which I include in one subdivision. Both were designated in Old English as maesseboc and in Latin as missale or missalis and we might do well to retain this loose definition. For instance, both the Leofric Missal and the Red Book of Darley, which Gneuss categorized as sacramentaries, contain matter appropriate to a missal, although neither is complete. They are, in effect, more than sacramentaries and less than missals.¹³ Moreover, to complicate matters still further, The Red Book of Darley reappears in Gneuss's article under the heading "Books for the Office" because it contains full breviary services for the Common of Saints, Holy Week and Easter.¹⁴ Gneuss acknowledged this problem, and it is acknowledged here in bracketed notes in some instances, and by rolling groups together in others, but the reader

should note that such compromises make statistical generalizations about different genres impossible. If one counts the number of books in each sub group the total is greater than the actual number of surviving books. This prompts me to question whether we might be better off with two big groups of *liturgical miscellanea*: Mass Books and Office Books? and a subsidiary group of Episcopal Books. The conundrum further highlights problematic aspects of compartmentalizing the genres.

Indeed, it is worth briefly digressing on this subject of creation and organization of genres, to consider some of the consequences of such actions. Several scholars have commented on the need to avoid constant republication of the masterpieces of Anglo-Saxon art, since this tends to define and perhaps even limit the field of study;15 yet by arbitrary classification of manuscripts into genres on the basis of either typology or date we run the risk of similarly channelling the scholarship. This is precisely what happened with Carolingian and Pre-Carolingian manuscripts, studied comprehensively by Wilhelm Koehler and Ernst Zimmermann respectively. 16 A frankly arbitrary boundary between the two groups was established early in this century and has remained, though the artistic process was infinitely more fluid than these terms imply. Continuing further in this vein, are we are wise to categorize Pre-Conquest Anglo-Saxon manuscripts by functional genre, and collect everything that is Post-Conquest into a group labelled "Anglo-Norman manuscripts"? Richard Gameson's list of Anglo-Norman manuscripts is in every way a separate endeavour, and Anglo-Norman manuscripts should surely ultimately be included in whatever Anglo-Saxon genre groups we accept and define as a result of the CORPUS sessions? Indeed, by following Gneuss's lists, this is exactly what I have done, since many of the manuscripts I include are late eleventh-century. Moreover, if the present dichotomy between the typological genre and the chronological periodization is retained, what will become of those numerous loosely dated mid eleventh-century manuscripts that are being redated by the labours of Gameson among others, often pushing them right onto that boundary zone? The Tiberius Psalter is a case in point: it is often cited as exemplary of late Anglo-Saxon style, yet Gameson has proposed a post-Conquest date for it, and I would certainly see it as a product of the 1060's. 17 Is the

Norman Conquest a sensible boundary to emphasize for most purposes and particularly for the present one? Current scholarship encourages study across boundaries of date and genre.

If we narrow the focus to the present attempt to analyze the Liturgical Miscellanea, more problems loom. Though not necessarily susceptible of full resolution, they are still worth pondering. As suggested by the organizers of the project, each subdivision lists manuscripts with illumination. First, I wonder whether instead of "illumination," which strictly speaking involves gold, we should not use a more inclusive term, such as "manuscripts with decoration."18 This would more comfortably embrace the numerous line drawings of Anglo-Saxon art, and decorative elements such as penwork initials, for which the term illuminated is inappropriate. Second, it is important to list and reproduce ornament, and to distinguish between those manuscripts with figural decoration and those with only modest (or even grand) ornamented initials. Admittedly, this poses such problems as deciding when an inhabited initial, for instance, becomes an historiated one, but these are problems that should concern those who seek to categorize analytically. In a broader sense, the role of ornament in the articulation of the book is something that many of us have been emphasizing as we study function and reception, and it would be very helpful to be able to easily ascertain the decorative structure of a book Turning to desiderfrom the CORPUS surveys. ata in terms of published descriptions, several suggestions can be made. First, any published descriptions should make very clear the relationship of the imagery or ornament to the text it enhances or illustrates. We are, after all, dealing with books, and compiling a manuscript data base. I use and value the current Iconographic Catalogue as much as any Anglo-Saxonist, but in any update the following changes would be desirable:

- a) The size of initials should be included, both in absolute terms (i.e. measurements) and in relative terms (i.e. the number of lines of text out of the total on the page which the initial occupies). Analysis of the hierarchy of ornamentation in a book is very revealing of its function and is presently difficult to ascertain from available publication.
- b) It would be desirable to publish at least an incipit of the text that the initial introduces. All new descriptions

- in the Princeton Index of Christian Art, for instance, are being entered thus. In a perfect world there would also be a reference to the relevant page of a printed edition of the text, where available.
- c) It would also be desirable to identify the text preceding or following all illuminations. I think here, for instance, of the Titus D.xxvi and xxvii prayerbook, where the user is helped by the knowledge that the Crucifixion faces prayers to the cross and the Quinity faces a little office of the Trinity. Now that the edition of that book has been published, a full reference to the relevant texts can be included with any description of its pictures.¹⁹
- d) There should be some acknowledgement of excised initials or decoration. I do realise that one is moving onto a boggy footing when one starts to catalogue material that is not there, and which has not been seen in scholarly memory, or indeed, which was never created but merely intended; but there are certain instances where one can make intelligent statements about missing ornament. Consider, for instance, the Salisbury Psalter, from which major initials have been excised. From the point at which the psalm text terminates on either side of the excisions one can satisfactorily estimate the size of the lost decorated initials.²⁰ And in the Crowland Psalter we can establish that at Psalm 101 the excision must have embraced an initial but could not have accommodated an initial and a full-page illumination such as the duo at Psalm 51 in the same manuscript. 21 We cannot, of course, know whether, like the initial at Psalm 51, the lost initial was historiated, but the inclusion of the information we do have could make a difference for those using COR-PUS. In a similar vein, spaces left for uncompleted decoration should be mentioned: the mid eleventhcentury MS Cotton Vitellius A.xviii, for instance, has spaces at the secret and the preface of the ordinary of the mass for decorated initials which were never executed.²² These are important points for analysis of the organization of the decoration in books and its function in the text, and they are equally important for our assessment of the reception of continental systems of decoration in Anglo-Saxon books. For instance, from surviving Anglo-Saxon sacramentary illustration one would conclude that the canon of the mass was first illustrated in England in the mid eleventh century, yet the presence of one decorated initial in the tenth-century Orléans MS 105, assessed in

conjunction with the loss of the beginning of the canon of the mass in the same book, suggests that this is probably not the case.²³

Turning to desiderata in photo publication, I have two general suggestions or requests. First, if possible, ornamented pages should be published as full pages rather than merely as details. The mis-en-page is revealing, among other things, of relationships to sources, nature of transformations, and aspects of technique, as well as of function and hierarchy. Second, can we ensure that where pictures face each other in a manuscript they are published that way by CORPUS? Whole openings are the most helpful way to publish important material, and this is particularly true of the grander Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, with their framed initial pages. The Making of England catalogue is often exemplary in this respect, with photographs of many full openings, and single pages presented with the gutter visible so that one can assess the page layout of the book.24 The greatly enhanced utility of maintaining such a standard would more than offset the cost of the extra paper. Thirdly, is it possible to lobby for more colour publication of the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts? Here we lag significantly behind the Germans. And finally, could we insist that published colour photographs bear some resemblance to reality. One of the great treats of manuscript study is to open a book like the Sacramentary of Robert of Jumièges and experience the perfection of its limpid colouration and stunning gold, both of which come as complete surprises to anybody familiar only with the turgid shades of the few published colour photographs.²⁵

Within the scholarship on these liturgical miscellanea there are a few major lacunae. Of individual manuscripts, the Sacramentary of Robert of Jumièges is the most obviously understudied book. What is needed is some sense of how this richly illuminated and most luxurious book relates to other illustrated sacramentaries and other liturgical manuscripts—earlier, contemporary and later—and also of how its pictures and ornament relate to other cycles of Gospel imagery, English and Continental. There would also be a place for a study of its curious style, anomalous for its date, and its remarkable palette. The Caligula Troper, too, would merit further attention to complement the text and music oriented studies of Elizabeth Teviotdale. 26 Both style and iconog-

raphy of the pictures are unusual.

Beyond monographic studies, we all seem to be calling for broader re-evaluations. It would be good to see some systematic work on late Anglo-Saxon style, which is so radically different from that of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries; and such work should definitely span the period of the Conquest. Much scholarly ink has been spilt since Francis Wormald established the parameters of Anglo-Saxon style,27 yet there is a curious reluctance to reevaluate his work in light of new knowledge, though Gameson has tackled aspects of the problem in at least two publications.²⁸ While connoisseurship is currently out of fashion among art historians, conscious stylistic choices are known to bear iconographic meaning. Robert Deshman has several times drawn attention to the strong Byzantine component in Anglo-Saxon art:29 did Anglo-Saxon choices in this respect signify appropriation of the intellectual and political content of precious Byzantine artworks, or were they merely aesthetic?30 The materials are at hand for the consideration of such questions. Stylistic reevaluations might also profit from integration with the palaeographic studies of Gameson, T. A. M. Bishop and Dumville.³¹ And finally, it would be desirable to see studies of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts placed into wider pan-European art historical and cultural contexts. While we do have an exceptional and often eccentric or even unique body of material to work with, and while it is exceptionally coherent in terms of relationship to the culture that spawned it, we need to remember to check what was going on accross the channel.

Notes

- 1. Editor's note: Shortly after this article was written, Kathleen Openshaw died of a heart attack. This article represents the kind of superb contributions she was beginning to make in the field of Anglo-Saxon manuscript studies. She is sorely missed by her friends and colleagues.
- 2. L. L. Brownrigg, "Manuscripts containing English Decoration 87–1066, catalogued and illustrated: a review," *Anglo-Saxon England* 7 (1978), 239-66, reviewing E. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* 900–1066, A

Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, gen. ed. J. J. G. Alexander, 2 (London, 1976).

- 3. See H. Gneuss, "Liturgical books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English Terminology," in M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss, eds., Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes (Cambridge, 1985), 91–142; and D. Dumville, Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England (Woodbridge, 1992).
- 4. For a broad conception of genres of liturgical books, see Gneuss, "Liturgical Books," esp. 122–25, for a list of homiliaries probably used for liturgical purposes. A. Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office* (Toronto, 1982), 119–20, provides a much more restricted list. See also R. Gameson, "English Manuscript Art in the Mid-Eleventh Century: The Decorative Tradition," *The Antiquaries Journal* LXXI (1991), 64–122, esp. 71 and n. 66. As Gameson observes, copying homiletic texts was a major activity in 11th-century scriptoria, and discerning which homiliaries were liturgical is not easy. The two drawings are in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 421, and Cambridge, Trinity College MS B. 15. 34, both in Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, nos. 74 and 82, ills. 241, 254.
- 5. Here, too, there is little agreement as to definition of genre; see Dumville, *Liturgy*, 133–34. I think of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 718, a collection of juridical, liturgical and pastoral material which I perceive as a canon law manuscript, following D. Bethurum, "Archbishop Wulfstan's Commonplace Book," *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 57 (1942); and H. Mordek, *Kirchenrecht und Reform im Frankreich* (Berlin, New York, 1975), 172. A. Frantzen, in "The Tradition of the Penitentials in Anglo-Saxon England," *Anglo-Saxon England* 2 (1982), 39, n. 88, notes the fluidity of definition of such books and labels Bodley 718 as a liturgical book, and Dumville, *op. cit.*, also refers to its liturgical connections. Gneuss, "Liturgical Books," did not include *libri pænitentiales*.
- 6. Liturgy, 132-40.

- 7. See Dumville, Liturgy, 134-35.
- 8. For London, British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius A.iii, see Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 100; Ohlgren, *Iconographic Catalogue*, no. 205. For comments on the impossibility of categorizing it, see Durnville, *Liturgy*, 137. For London, British Library Stowe MS 944, see Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 78; Ohlgren, *Iconographic Catalogue*, no. 183.
- 9. For London, British Library, Cotton MSS Titus D.xxvi and D.xxvii, *ibid.*, no. 77. See also B. Günzle, ed., Ælfwine's Prayerbook, Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. CVIII (London, 1993). Gneuss, "Liturgical Books," 127, lists MSS Titus D.xxvi and xxvii under a group named "Books with Special Offices." Two of these are psalters, covered elsewhere in CORPUS (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 296, London, British Library, Royal 2. B. v), one is Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, listed here under "Breviaries," and the final one is the aforementioned MS Tiberius A.iii, whose genre is indefinable.
- 10. Gneuss, "Liturgical Books," 137–38, noted that "books of private devotions and private prayers are not part of the official liturgy..." and he included them for their "liturgical interest." He also opined that the genre "may not have been common in the late Anglo-Saxon period," a viewpoint countered to some extent by the lengthy list of books with private prayers compiled by T. H. Bestul, "Continental Sources of Anglo-Saxon Devotional Writing," in P. E. Szarmach and V. D. Oggins, eds., Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture, Studies in Medieval Culture XX (Kalamazoo, MI, 1986), 124–26.
- 11. Gneuss, "Liturgical Books," 107; Dumville, *Liturgy*, 67–68.
- 12. Gneuss, "Liturgical Books," 131–34. See also Dumville, *Liturgy*, chapter III, "Liturgical Books for the Anglo-Saxon Episcopate."
- 13. For discussion of terminology, see Gneuss, "Liturgical Books," 99–100; and Dumville, *Liturgy, passim*. For the Red Book of Darley, see Cambridge, Corpus Christi

- College, MS 422, in Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 104; and for the Leofric Missal, see Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, *ibid.*, no. 17.
- 14. Gneuss, "Liturgical Books," 111.
- 15. Thomas H. Ohlgren, Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration: Photographs of Sixteen Manuscripts with Descriptions and Index (Kalamazoo, MI, 1992), pp. ix, xi.
- 16. I owe this observation to Robert Deshman. For the works of the respective scholars, see E. H. Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingischer Miniaturen*, Denkmäler deutscher Kunst, 3. Sektion, Malerei, 1. Abteilung (Berlin, 1916), and W. Köhler, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, vols. 1–3 (Berlin, 1930–1960).
- 17. London, British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius C.vi; see Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 98; Ohlgren, *Iconographic Catalogue*, no. 203; and K. Openshaw, "Images, Texts, and Contexts: The Iconography of the Tiberius Psalter, London, British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius C.vi," Ph.D. diss. (University of Toronto, 1990). For the characterization of style and for comments on date, see Gameson, "English Manuscript Art," 65; for stylistic evaluation, see F. Wormald, "An English Eleventh-Century Psalter with Pictures, British Museum Cott. MS Tib. C.VI," *Walpole Society* 38 (1962), 1-13.
- 18. Here I cite the opinion of Leonard Boyle, O.F.M., delivered in palaeography class in 1982.
- 19. See Günzle, *Prayerbook*, 12–13 for discussion of the image/text relationship in these books.
- 20. Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS 150; see Temple, Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, no. 18; Ohlgren, Iconographic Catalogue, no. 96. At Psalm 101, for instance, one of the major divisions of the psalter, the initial page has been excised. Fol. 95v ends with Psalm 99, v. 3, and fol. 96 starts with Psalm 101, v. 1. Therefore 38 to 40 lines of text are missing, and with 26 lines per page, this would mean that there was an initial of approximately two thirds of a page at Psalm 101. Similar calculations can be made for the othe major divisions, where the initials have also been excised.

- 21. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 296; see Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 79; Ohlgren, *Iconographic Catalogue*, no. 184. The initial for Psalm 101 was located between fol. 72v and fol. 73 and must have occupied 6 to 7 lines.
- 22. For this information I am indebted to Richard Gameson; see "English Manuscript Art," 67–8.
- 23. Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 105, Temple, Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, no. 31; Ohlgren, Iconographic Catalogue, no. 136; Gameson, "English Manuscript Art," n. 134.
- 24. L. Webster and J. Backhouse, eds., *The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture AD 600--900* (London, 1991).
- 25. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 274 (Y.6); see Temple, *Manuscripts*, no. 72. For an example of colour bearing no relationship to reality, see Plate XIV in J. Backhouse, D. H. Turner and L. Webster, eds., *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art 966-1066* (London, 1984).
- 26. London, British Library, Cotton MS Caligula A.xiv, Temple, Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, no. 97. See, for instance, E. C. Teviotdale, "The Making of the Cotton Troper," in C. Hicks, ed., England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium (Stamford, 1992), 301-16; and idem, "The Cotton Troper (London, British Library, Cotton MS Caligula A.xiv, Ff. 1-36): A Study of an Illustrated English Troper of the Eleventh Century," Ph.D. diss. (Univ. of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1991).
- 27. See F. Wormald, English Drawings of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries (London, 1952).
- 28. See R. Gameson, "The Anglo-Saxon Artists of the Harley 603 Psalter," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 143 (1990), 29-48; and "English Manuscript Art," *passim*.
- 29. E.g. "Anglo-Saxon Art after Alfred," The Art Bulletin

56 (1974), 176–200, in which the major contribution of Byzantine style to the Anglo-Saxon synthesis was first laid out. See also *idem*, *The Benedictional of Æthelwold* (Princeton, forthcoming).

30. For an example of Anglo-Saxon appropriation of Byzantine and German iconography with political dimensions, see B. B. Rezak, "The King Enthroned, a New Theme in Anglo-Saxon Royal Iconography: The Seal of Edward the Confessor and its Political Implications," *Kings and Kingship, Acta* 11 (1984), 53-88.

31. See T. A. M. Bishop, English Caroline Minuscule (Oxford, 1971), and numerous studies listed in D. Dumville, English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism A.D. 950-1030, Studies in Anglo-Saxon History VI (Woodbridge, 1993). R. Gameson is preparing a monographic study of the palaeography of mid eleventh-century manuscripts.

List of Liturgical Manuscripts

I. BOOKS FOR THE MASS

A. SACRAMENTARIES/ MISSALS

Total number of MSS......10
[But see Dumville, *Liturgy*, for full list of fragments]

- 1. Non-illustrated/decorated sacramentaries/missals: 4 mss.
- a) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 270, s.xi² Canterbury, St. Augustine's Listed/described: Gneuss # A.3
- b) Le Havre, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 330, s.xi² Winchester, New Minster Listed/described: Gneuss # A.1; HBS # 93
- c) London, Society of Antiquaries, MS 154, s.xex

? Winchester

Listed/described: Gneuss # A.6; Dumville, Liturgy, 80

d) Worcester, Cathedral Library, MS F.173, s.xi^{med} Winchester, Old Minster and Worcester Listed/described: Gneuss A.8 Incomplete—could have had decoration

- 2. Illustrated/decorated sacramentaries/missals: 6 mss.
- a) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41, s.xi²

Provenance: Exeter

Texts: Sacramentary, Bede Historia Ecclesiastica, Charms, Homilies

[Note that the sacramentary text is in the margins of the manuscript: decorated initials are to the Bede text.]

Decoration:

Initials: ff 7, 10, 13°, 17°, 30°, 40°, 44°, 49°, 55°, 71°, 73, 107, 108°, 113°, 131°, 142, 161, 165, 169°, 208°, 215°, 224, 226, 230°, 233°, 235°, 240, 246, 248°, 249, 249°, 253, 256, 259, 410 with Crucifixion,

Miniature: f 484 Crucifixion

Listed/Described: Ohlgren #186; Temple #81; Gneuss #A.2; Dumville, *Liturgy*, 70 Publication status: adequate general descriptions, but not all initials published.

b) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 422,

The Red Book of Darley, s.ximed

Winchester and Sherborne (Sherborne Calendar)

Texts: pp 1-26, poem *Solomon and Saturn*, pp 27-50, Calendar and Computus, pp 51-586, Sacramentary, selections of masses, some with chants and readings (not a full missal), some Offices.

Decoration and Iconography:

p 51, Initial P; p 52, Christ in mandorla with angels; p 53, Initial T historiated with Crucifixion.

Listed/Described: Ohlgren # 209; Temple # 104; Gneuss # A.7; Dumville, Liturgy, 74.

Publication status: descriptions adequate, published photos poor. Analysis of decoration needed in context of broader consideration of sacramentary illustration and not simply iconographic motifs.

c) London, B.L., MS Cotton Vitellius A.xviii, s.xi²

Wells

Decoration:

Spaces left for decoration at the secret and preface of the ordinary of the mass; never executed

Listed/described: Gneuss # A.5

Publication status: photographs of pages with spaces for decoration desirable.

d) Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 127 (105),

The Winchcombe Sacramentary, s.x²

? Winchcombe ? Ramsey

Texts: Incomplete sacramentary

Decoration:

p. 8, large decorated initial D. Beginning of the canon of the mass missing, could well have been decorated.

Listed/Described: Ohlgren # 136; Temple # 31; Gneuss # A.9; Dumville, Liturgy, 80

Publication status: adequate.

e) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579,

The Leofric Missal,

N.E. France, s.ix², additions throughout s.x at ? Glastonbury ? Canterbury

Texts: Part A: Sacramentary (marginal additions of mass chants in original hand, incipits of epistles, gospels, some sequences in later hand, plus episcopal benedictions), some Pontifical services; Part B: Calendar, Computus.

Decoration and Iconography:

Part A, f 154^v Initial E

Part B, f 49, Paschal Hand; f 49^v Vita; f 50 Mors; f 50^v Paschal diagrams.

Listed/Described: Ohlgren # 96; Temple # 17; Gneuss # A.7; Dumville, Liturgy, 40-50, 82.

Publication status: Descriptions adequate, published photos poor, widely dispersed.

f) Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 274 (Y.6),

Sacramentary (Missal) of Robert of Jumièges, s. xi1

? Christ Church, Canterbury

Texts: ff 5v-11v, Calendar; ff 12-24v Computus; ff 25-228 Sacramentary.

Decoration and Iconography:

13 full-page miniatures (probably 3 missing): ff 32° Nativity; 33 Annunciation to shepherds, Flight into Egypt; 36° Herod and Journey of Magi; 37 Adoration of Magi and Angel warning Magi; 71 Betrayal; 71° Crucifixion; 72 Deposition; 72° Marys at Tomb; 81° Ascension; 84° Pentecost; 132° St. Peter; 153° All Saints; 164° St. Andrew; 12 fully-framed painted initial pages:

Listed/Described: Ohlgren #177; Temple #72; Gneuss #A.10; Dumville, Liturgy, 87; HBS # 11.

Publication status: descriptions inadequate, do not include framed initial pages. Published photos poor, widely distributed, few of the initial pages published. Full openings should be published, and the manuscript should be published in color. Needs study of iconography, relations to other sacramentary cycles, liturgical cycles and gospel imagery, analysis of decoration and style.

B. GRADUALS AND TROPERS

total number of MSS: 3

non-illustrated/decorated MSS: 0 illustrated/decorated MSS: 3

- 1. Illustrated/decorated graduals/tropers: 3 mss.
- a) Durham, University Library, MS Cosin V v.6, s.xiex

Canterbury, Christ Church; provenance Durham

Texts: Gradual with some tropes

Decoration:

3 decorated initials (? ff)

Most important incipits are missing, and were probably decorated (verbal communication, R. Gameson)

Listed/described: Gneuss # B.1

Publication status: it would be desirable to have descriptions of the extent of the mutilation: can one establish the scale of the decoration, as is possible when only the initials are removed?

b) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 775, s.xi^{med}

Winchester, Old Minster

Texts: Gradual, Tropes and Sequences

Decoration:

1 decorated initial (? f # Verbal communication from R. Gameson)

Listed/described: Gneuss # B.2; HBS # 8

- c) London, B.L., MS Cotton Caligula A.xiv, ff 1-36, s.ximed
- ? Christ Church, Canterbury

Texts: tropes

Decoration and Iconography:

Initial: f 2

Miniatures: ff 3° St. Stephen; 18 Ascension; 20° John the Baptist; 22 St. Peter; 25 St. Lawrence; 26

Joachim; 26° St. Anne; 29 St. Martin; 30° St. Andrew; 31 Pentecost (?); 36 Virgin Saints.

Listed/Described: Ohlgren # 202; Temple # 96; Gneuss # C.2; HBS # 8

Publication status: descriptions adequate. This manuscript should be published in colour, would benefit from further art historical study.

II. BOOKS FOR THE OFFICE

A. BREVIARY

total number of MSS: 1

[But see also: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 422, The Red Book of Darley, which contains full breviary services for the common of saints, Holy Week, Easter. See also the comments of A. Corrêa, *The Durham Collectar* (London, 1992), 129 and *passim*, regarding fluidity between collectar and breviary in the 10th century; and see the notes below about The Leofric Collectar, which is close to being a breviary]

1. Illustrated/decorated breviaries: 1 ms.

a) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391,

The Portiforium of St. Wulfstan, s. xi2

Worcester

Texts: Calendar, Psalter, canticles, litany, hymnal, monastic canticles, collectar, private prayers, Offices for the common of the saints for Sundays after Trinity and weekdays, some special offices.

Decoration and Iconography:

miniature: f 24 David Rex as musician

Initial: f 25 Beatus vir

Listed/Described Ohlgren #214; Kauffmann #3; Gneuss #F.1; HBS #89, 90

Publication status: descriptions adequate; color publication desirable; stylistic analysis desirable as part of a study of mid-century style.

B. COLLECTAR (see also breviary)

1. Non-illustrated/decorated collectars: 1 ms.

a) London, B.L., MS Harley 2961, The Leofric Collectar, s.ximed

Exeter

Texts: Collectar/hymnal. Collectar includes antiphons, verses, responses, incipits of hymns for day hours, i.e. a diurnal.

Listed/Described: Gneuss #G.4; HBS #45

2. Illustrated/decorated collectars: 2 mss.

a) Durham, Cathedral Library, MS A.IV.19, s.xin

S. England, provenance Durham

Texts: Collectar ff 1-61r with some added breviary texts.

Decoration:

Decorated initials, ? numbers, ? ff

Run-over decorations in lower margins

Listed/Described: Ohlgren #81; Temple #3; Gneuss #G.2; and F. Wormald, "Decorated Initials in English Manuscripts from A.D. 900 to 1100," *Archaeologia* 91 (1945), 53

Publication status: detailed description needed, and photographic publication of initials and run-overs.

b) London, B.L., MS Cotton Titus D.xxvi + xxvii,

The New Minster/Ælfwine Prayerbook

s. xi1

Winchester, New Minster

Texts: Collectar, litany, private prayers, Calendar, Ælfric De temporibus anni, offices

Decoration and Iconography:

Miniatures: f 19^v St. Peter; f 65^v Crucifixion; f 75^v Quinity

Listed/Described: Ohlgren #182; Temple #77; Gneuss #G.3; HBS #108 Publication status: descriptions adequate; color publication desirable.

C. HYMNALS

total number of MSS: 3

But see also the following, with hymnals:

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, The Portiforium of Wulfstan;

London, B.L. MS Harley 2961, The Leofric Collectar;

London, B.L. Add. MS 37517, The Bosworth Psalter]

- 1. Non-illustrated/decorated hymnals: 1 ms.
- a) London, B.L., MS Cotton Vespasian D.xii, s. xi^{med}
- ? Canterbury, Christ Church

Listed/described: Gneuss #K.4

- 2. Illustrated/decorated hymnals: 2 mss.
- a) Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B.III.32, s.xi1

Canterbury, Christ Church

Texts: Hymnal, Canticles, Proverbs, Ælfric Grammar

Decoration and Iconography:

Initial: f 2 O inhabited ? historiated

Miniature: f 56^v disputation scene

Listed/Described Ohlgren #206: Temple #101; Gneuss #K.2

Publication status: adequate

b) London, B.L., MS Cotton Julius A.vi, s.xi^{med}

? Canterbury, Christ Church

Texts: Calendar ff 3-8v, Computus ff 9-17v, Hymnal ff 18-90

Decoration:

ff 3v - 8v, Calendar with labors of the months, signs of the zodiac

f 72v 1 decorated initial

Listed/Described: Ohlgren #167; Temple #62; Gneuss #K.6

Publication status: calendar illustrations well published in EEMF 21

Initial illustrated in Gameson, "English Manuscript Art in the 11th Century," fig. 6.

D. LEGENDARIES

total number of MSS: 4

- 1. non-illustrated/decorated legendaries: 2 mss.
- a) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Fell 1 + Fell 4, s. xiex

Salisbury

Listed/described: Gneuss #N.3

b) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Fell 3, s.xi/xii

Salisbury

Listed/described: Gneuss #N.4

- 2. illustrated/decorated legendaries: 2 mss.
- a) London, B.L., MS Arundel 91, s.xi/xii

Canterbury, St. Augustine's

Decoration:

Many decorated and historiated initials? ff nos. (Verbal communication from R. Gameson)

Listed/described: Gneuss #N.2

Publication status: discussed by R. Gameson, "Late 11th Century." Needs full description and publication.

b) London, B.L., MS Cotton Nero E.1 + Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 9, s.xi^{med}

Worcester

Decoration:

One decorated initial (in the B.L. volume, ? fol)

Publication status: discussed and published by R. Gameson, "Manuscript art at Worcester in the 10th and 11th Centuries."

III. EPISCOPAL BOOKS

A. PONTIFICALS

total number of MSS:16

[But see also: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, The Leofric Missal; London, B.L. MS Cotton Tiberius A.iii]

1. non-illustrated pontificals: 10 mss.

a) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 44, s.xi1

Canterbury, St. Augustine's

Listed/described: Gneuss #R.1; Dumville, Liturgy, 71

b) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 146, The Samson Pontifical, s. xiⁱⁿ

Canterbury, additions Worcester, s.xi/xii

Texts: Benedictional and Pontifical

Listed/described: Gneuss #R.2; Dumville, Liturgy, 72

c) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 163, s.ximed

?

Listed/Described: Gneuss #R.3; Dumville, Liturgy, 73

d) Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS 5.15 (100), s.xex

? Winchester, ? Ramsey, provenance Durham

14 fol fragment, therefore could have been illustrated

Listed/described: Gneuss #R.4; Dumville, Liturgy, 75

e) London, B.L., MS Add. 28188, s. xi²

Exeter

Texts: Benedictional and Pontifical

Listed/described: Gneuss #R.5

f) London, B.L., MS Add. 57337, The Anderson Pontifical, s.x/xi

? Canterbury, Christ Church

Texts: Benedictional and Pontifical

Listed/described: Gneuss #R.6; Dumville, Liturgy, 77

g) London, B.L., MS Cotton Claudius A.iii, The Claudius Pontificals,

 $ff 9-18 + 87-105, s.xi^2$

? Christ Church, Canterbury

ff 31-86 + 106-150, s.x/xi, xi^1

Northern England

Texts: Benedictional and Pontifical

Listed/described: Gneuss #R.7; Dumville, Liturgy, 78

h) London, B.L., MS Cotton Vitellius A.vii, The so-called Ramsey Pontifical, s.ximed

? Ramsey

Listed/described: Gneuss #R.10; Dumville, Liturgy, 79

i) London, B.L., MS Cotton Vitellius E.xii, ff 116-160, s.xi2

York and Exeter

Listed/described: Gneuss #R.11

j) Paris, B.N. lat., MS 10575, The Egbert Pontifical, ca 1000

?

Listed/described: Gneuss #R.14; Dumville, Liturgy, 85

2. Illustrated pontificals: 3 mss.

a) Paris, B.N., MS lat. 943, The Sherborne Pontifical, s.x²

? Canterbury, Christ Church, provenance Sherborne

Texts: Pontifical, Benedictional, letters, homilies

Decoration and Iconography:

Initial Af 10

Miniatures: f 4^v Crucifixion; f 5^v; f 6; f 6^v standing figures, ? anthropomorphic Trinity,

? Christ the King, Christ the God, Christ the Man

Listed/Described: Ohlgren #140; Temple #35; Gneuss #R.13; Dumville, Liturgy, 82

Publication status: good

b) Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 368 (A.27), The Lanalet Pontifical, s.xiin

Crediton

Texts: Pontifical and Benedictional

Decoration:

f 1v Bishop and acolyte; f 2v Bishop consecrating church

Listed/described: Ohlgren #195; Temple #90; Gneuss #R.15; Dumville, Liturgy, 86-7; HBS 74

Publication status: good

c) Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 369 (Y.7), The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert,

 $s.x^2$

Winchester, New Minster

Texts: Benedictional, Pontifical

Decoration and Iconography:

Miniatures: f 21^v Women at the tomb; f 29^v Pentecost; f 54^v Death of the Virgin. Two miniatures excised. Initial pages, painted, framed, ff 9, 22, 28, 30, 55

Listed/Described: Ohlgren #112; Temple #24; Gneuss #R.16; Dumville, Liturgy, 87; HBS 24

Publication: good descriptions of miniatures, none of framed initial pages; it would be desirable to publish photographs of full openings.

B. BENEDICTIONALS (see also Pontificals listed above)

total number of MSS (benedictionals alone): 3

[See also London, B.L. MS Cotton Vitellius A.xviii, listed here under sacramentaries/missals]

- 1. Non-illustrated/decorated benedictionals: 1 ms.
- a) London, B.L., MS Harley 2892, s.xi1

Canterbury, Christ Church, s.xi1

Listed/described: Gneuss #S.7; HBS # 51

2. Illustrated/decorated benedictionals: 2 mss.

a) London, B.L. MS Add 49598, The Benedictional of St. Æthelwold, s.x²

Winchester, Old Minster

Texts: Benedictional

Decoration and Iconography:

Miniatures: acephalic, also missing some pictures and frames: ff 1-4, choirs of confessors, virgins, apostles; 5° Annunciation; 9° Second Coming; 15° Nativity; 17° St. Stephen; 19° St. John the Evangelist; 22° BVM and Christ child; 24° Adoration of Magi; 25 Baptism; 34° Pres. in Temple; 45° Entry into Jerusalem; 51° Holy Women at Sepulchre; 56° Doubting of Thomas; 64° Ascension; 67° Pentecost; 90° St. Etheldreda; 92° John the Baptist; 95° St. Peter; 97° St. Swithun; 99° St. Benedict; 102° Death of BVM; 118° Dedication of a church.

Painted Framed initial pages, ff

Historiated initials ff 70, 91

Listed/Described: Ohlgren #111; Temple #23; Gneuss #S.3

Publication status: facsimile, G. F. Warner and H. A. Wilson, eds., *The Benedictional of St. Aethelwold* (Roxburghe Club, 1910); monograph of R. Deshman, *The Benedictional of Æthelwold* (Princeton, 1995) will have all illustrations in color and some decoration; monograph by A. Prescott forthcoming.

b) Paris, B.N., MS lat 987, s.x² and s.xi¹

Winchester and Canterbury, Christ Church

Texts: Benedictional

Decoration:

Painted, framed initial pages, ff 16, 26, 31, 41, 43, 63, 65, 68, 71, 111 (later drawing)

Listed/Described: Ohlgren #113; Temple #25; Gneuss #S.10 Publication status: should be described and photographed.

Psychomachia Manuscripts

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The CORPUS project, for which this article is a preparatory contribution, seeks to collect, describe and provide a photographic record of all illustrations found in manuscripts written or owned by the Anglo-Saxons. Three Psychomachia manuscripts, and one fragment, are especially important for the project because of their cycles of illustrations to Prudentius' early fifth-century poem.1 The reception in Anglo-Saxon England of the Psychomachia has been studied by the present author.² That earlier article touched only briefly on the illustrations in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts;3 the present one intends to provide desiderata for a further and more thorough examination of them. Specifically, further investigations are necessary into the transmission of manuscripts and illustrations from the continent to England, into the relationship of the Anglo-Saxon illustrated Psychomachia manuscripts to one another, as well as to the non-illustrated Psychomachia manuscripts, and into the purpose of these illustrated manuscripts.

Psychomachia illustrations have been studied most exhaustively by Stettiner and Woodruff.4 They are also referred to by Katzenellenbogen and Norman.5 From the point of view of the CORPUS project, none of these examinations is completely satisfactory. Both Stettiner and Woodruff are concerned with all, that is both continental and Anglo-Saxon, illustrated Psychomachia manuscripts, and their primary aim is to establish stemmata and to determine generic relationships between the various manuscripts. By necessity this leads away from a scrupulous examination of individual manuscripts and their illustrations. In other words, by being concerned more with the generic similarities of the illustrations, Woodruff and Stettiner pay less attention to the differences (though they do not ignore them altogether). Moreover, they concentrate on the illustrated manuscripts and neglect the evidence which non-illustrated manuscripts can provide.6 Katzenellenbogen and Norman, in turn, are interested in the influence the Psychomachia

and its illustrations exerted on sculpture and painting of later centuries, and only briefly touch on the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. An examination of the development of the specifically Anglo-Saxon *Psychomachia* illustrations thus still remains a necessity, and should precede the full inventory and description of illustrations as envisioned by the CORPUS project.

Ten *Psychomachia* manuscripts which were either written or owned in Anglo-Saxon England survive to this day. They are here presented in roughly chronological order:⁷

- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C. 697 (s. ix ex), written in north-eastern France and later owned at Bury St. Edmunds (HG 661).
- 2. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 223 (s. ix/x), written at St. Bertin and in England by the tenth century (HG 70).
- 3. Cambridge, Trinity College 0.2.51 (s.x) of unknown origin and provenance (HG 191).
- 4. Durham, Cathedral Library B.IV.9 (s. x med.) of unknown origin and provenance (HG 246).
- 5. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 23 (s. x ex), written in England (possibly at Christ Church, Canterbury?) and later owned at Malmesbury (HG 38).
- London, British Library, Add. 24199 (s. x ex.) of unknown origin and later possibly owned at Bury St. Edmunds (HG 285).
- 7. London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra C. viii (s. x/xi), written at Christ Church, Canterbury (HG 324).
- 8. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 29031b (s. xi in) of unknown origin and provenance (HG 852).

9. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F.3.6 (s. xi in), written at Exeter (HG 537).

10. Cambridge, University Library, Gg.5.35 (s. xi med) written and owned at St. Augustine's, Canterbury (HG 12).

As can readily be seen, the first extant Anglo-Saxon *Psychomachia* manuscripts were actually written in Northern France in the ninth century and brought over to England either in the late ninth or the early tenth century. During the tenth century, the English began to produce their own (extant) *Psychomachia* manuscripts, an activity that continued into the eleventh century. The first manuscripts could therefore tentatively be connected, and one actually has been connected, with Alfred the Great, while the later ones fall in the periods of the victory at Brunanburh, the defeat at Maldon, Aethelred the Unready, Canute and Edward the Confessor.

The illustrated manuscripts, CCCC 23, BL Add. 24199, clm 29031b, and Cotton Cleo. C viii are all English products. Doubtless, their prototype/s was/were imported from the continent, though no exemplars survive. Where did the prototypes come from? Woodruff suggests from Tours, and Alcuin as the possible link between France and Anglo-Saxon England. In view of the origins of the extant non-illustrated French manuscripts, both of which come from Northern France, and their date of arrival in England, i.e. the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century rather than the beginning of the ninth century (i.e. when Alcuin was still alive), Woodruff's hypothesis does not seem very convincing and needs to be re-examined. Though Tours cannot be excluded as the place in which that particular type of illustrations was first executed, it does not necessarily follow that therefore the illustrations came directly from Tours to England rather than via Central or Northern France.

The next question to be considered is this: is one exemplar sufficient to explain the variations in the Anglo-Saxon illustrations, as Woodruff argues? According to both Stettiner and Woodruff, the illustrations fall in two, though mutually dependant, groups, with CCCC 23 and Add. 24199 in one group (group a), and clm 29031b and Cotton Cleo. C viii in the other (group b). These group-

ings can be corroborated by many examples, and a priori one might expect that each one of these groups had a different continental exemplar, though this is not the model Woodruff supplies. In addition, certain differences within the manuscripts of group a raise doubts as to whether both CCCC 23 and Add. 24199 derive from one exemplar. In the Abraham and Isaac scene of Add. 24199, for instance, Abraham has raised his arm, but the tip of the sword points downward; the goat that is to be sacrificed in Isaac's stead looks to the left, i.e. away from the two human protagonists, a crude fire burns on the altar, and there are two bushes, one to the left and one to the right. In CCCC 23 Abraham's sword points upward, and the arm is not raised; the goat is turned around and looks to the right, i.e. to the centre of the picture. The altar has no fire, and there is only one bush, namely the one in which the goat is caught. In the Ubi quinque reges predati sunt loth scene of CCCC 23 the kings who abduct Loth are bareheaded and only one carries a lance; two pigs and two cows form part of the spoils of the kings, and they are drawn beneath the hooves of the horses preceding Loth; Loth is accompanied by two people; and one of the horses following Loth is turning its head backwards. In Add. 24199 the kings wear helmets and each one carries a lance; only one cow and one pig are shown, preceding both horses and people; Loth is accompanied by eight people; and all the horses look straight ahead. These are, admittedly, only minor details, but they should nonetheless not be ignored. A look at another scene, namely Ira's suicide, creates more differences between the manuscripts of group a. In both, Patientia stands on the right with her head veiled and one hand showing; Ira stands on the left, slightly higher than Patientia and throws herself on the suicide weapon. So far the similarities. The glaring difference between the scenes consists in the suicide weapon: in Add. 24199 Ira throws herself on a lance, in CCCC 23 on a sword.

How did Ira get a sword as a suicide weapon in CCCC 23? The error does not originate with this manuscript, but according to Woodruff already existed in the Anglo-Saxon exemplar from which all extant illustrated Anglo-Saxon manuscripts derived, and in turn goes back to her hypothetical manuscript B, to which she assigns a date of the 6th century. ¹⁰ If the Anglo-Saxon exemplar responsible for all extant Anglo-Saxon *Psychomachia*

illustrations depicts a sword, then one would expect all the extant Anglo-Saxon illustrations also to depict a sword, but two of them do not. Woodruff tries to dispose of the resulting problem by suggesting that "in Lol [=Add. 24199] and Lo2 [=Cotton Cleo. C viii] the error was corrected."11 Woodruff's stemma appears too restrictive since it suggests only one ninth/tenth century Anglo-Saxon prototype from which all four extant Anglo-Saxon manuscripts are thought to derive. The Cotton and Munich manuscripts are close enough (and there are so few illustrations in the Munich manuscript) that they could indeed derive from one prototype, which in all likelihood was Anglo-Saxon. The sagitta/gladius variant, however, seems important enough, especially in connection with the other minor differences pointed out above, to posit at least two different exemplars. The problem is that the sagitta variants cut across the group a/group b distinction, with Add. 24199 belonging to group a and Cotton Cleo. C viii belonging to group b. Does one therefore have to posit three different exemplars, one for group a with the sagitta variant, one for group a with the gladius variant, and one for group b? The Anglo-Saxon portion of Woodruff's stemma needs to be re-examined and possibly re-cast to allow for two or more continental exemplars of the Anglo-Saxon illustrated Psychomachia manuscripts.

One further desideratum is to determine whether the illustrated manuscripts were simply "art books" or whether they were actually used in the classroom. In an earlier article I have identified the three complete illustrated Psychomachia manuscripts as classbooks on the strength of the glosses contained in them. 12 I did not mention the illustrations in that article, but if pressed I would argue that illustrations enhance rather than diminish the didactic potential of a manuscript. Not everyone agrees. In a recent article R.I. Page argues that CCCC 23 is too "sumptuous" to be a classbook, 13 and he suggests that the manuscript probably was what the Anglo-Saxons might call a meodubordboc, or the equivalent of a coffee table book. He speculates (with all due caution) that CCCC 23 "is a de luxe manuscript made for a lay owner, who wanted something fine-looking and apparently learned."14 The illustrated Psychomachia manuscripts need to be re-examined to see which of the two differing opinions is correct, or whether they can be reconciled with each other.

The CORPUS project would seem to be an ideal vehicle for re-examining the Anglo-Saxon portion of Woodruff's stemma. A description of the Anglo-Saxon Psychomachia illustrations one by one and manuscript by manuscript would ignore the complexity of the illustrations' development. In order to do justice to this complexity, the descriptions of the illustrations of each individual scene from each manuscript should be juxtaposed so that the reader can find the similarities and differences conveniently on one page rather than on three different ones. The order of presentation should be: CCCC 23, Add. 24199, Cotton Cleo. C viii, and clm 29031b. This arrangement would juxtapose groups a (CCCC 23 and Add. 24199) and b (Cotton Cleo. C viii and clm 29031b) as well as the two manuscripts with the sagitta variant (Add. 24199 and Cotton Cleo. C viii); it would also encourage the person describing the individual scenes to scrutinize them for differences, more than if the illustrations were examined solely scene by scene and manuscript by manuscript. Such a scrutiny might also yield an answer to the vexed question of whether a de luxe manuscript was used for teaching or not.

Notes

- 1. These manuscripts are Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms 23; London, British Library, Additional 24199; London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra C viii; and the fragmentary Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 29031b. More on these manuscripts below.
- 2. "The Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts of Prudentius's *Psychomachia*," *Anglo-Saxon England 16* (1987), 213-31.
- 3. ibid., pp. 221-25.
- 4. R. Stettiner, Die illustrierten Prudentiushandschriften (Berlin, 1895); Tafelband (Berlin, 1905). H. Woodruff, "The Illustrated Manuscripts of Prudentius," Art Studies: Medieval, Renaissance and Modern 7 (1929), 33-79. Stettiner's Tafelband provides a full pictorial record of the Psychomachia illustrations. Mildred Budny, Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art: An Illustrated Catalogue (Kalamazoo, forthcoming) presents photographs of every illustration in CCCC 23,

- and Thomas H. Ohlgren, Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration: Photographs of Sixteen Manuscripts with Descriptions and Index (Kalamazoo, 1992) of every illustration in Cotton Cleo. C viii. Since Stettiner's Tafelband is not easily obtainable, modern photographic records are still needed of the illustrations in clm 29031b and BL Add. 24199.
- 5. A. Katzenellenbogen, Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art: From Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century, Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching 24 (Toronto, 1989 originally published in 1939), pp. 1–7. J. S. Norman, Metamorphoses of an Allegory: The Iconography of the Psychomachia in Medieval Art, American University Studies, Series 9, History, vol. 29 (New York, 1988), pp. 11–25.
- 6. Stettiner, p. 18, for instance, argues that the scribe of CCCC 23 had "nicht eine mit Bildern versehene Hs." as exemplar. References such as these, however, are only incidental.
- 7. The "HG" plus number attached to each one of the manuscripts refers to Helmut Gneuss, "A Preliminary List of Manuscripts Written or Owned in Anglo-Saxon England up to 1100," *Anglo-Saxon England* 9 (1981), 1–60. I have taken Gneuss' dating of the manuscripts rather than Woodruff's or Stettiner's.
- 8. Philip Grierson, "Grimbald of St. Bertin's," *The English Historical Review*, 55 (1940), 529–61 at p. 553 argues that Grimbald may have brought Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 223 from St. Bertin's to England. This is the same Grimbald to whom Alfred refers as *min mæssepriost* in his Preface to the translation of the *Cura Pastoralis*.

- 9. Stettiner, pp. 170-72; Woodruff, p. 50.
- 10. Woodruff, p. 78.
- 11. Woodruff, p. 78.
- 12. G. Wieland, "The Glossed Manuscript: Classbook or Library Book?," *Anglo-Saxon England* 14 (1985), 171.
- 13. R.I. Page, "On the Feasibility of a Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Glosses: The View from the Library," Anglo-Saxon Glossography: Papers Read at the International Conference Held in the Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen Letteren en Schone Kunsten van Belgie. ed. R. Derolez (Brussels: Paleis der Academien, 1992), 77-95. See also J. A. Kiff-Hooper, "Class books or Works of Art?: Some Observations on the Tenth-Century Manuscripts of Aldhelm's De Laude Virginitatis," Church and Chronicle in the Middle Ages: Essays presented to John Taylor, eds. Ian Wood and G. A. Loud (London, 1991), 15–26, who suggests that manuscripts with elaborate initials, with a drawing of the author, and with absence of contemporary glosses do not seem to have been produced for classrooms. Psychomachia manuscripts combine elaborate illustrations with contemporary glosses, so that Kiff-Hooper's criteria cannot be applied to them.
- 14. R. Page, "On the Feasibility," p. 91. On de luxe manuscripts, see also T. A. Heslop, "The Production of *de luxe* Manuscripts and the Patronage of King Cnut and Queen Emma," *Anglo-Saxon England* 19 (1990), 151–95.

Old Testament Manuscript Art

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As is well known, two illustrated manuscripts with Old Testament themes other than Psalters survive from Anglo-Saxon England: the so-called "Cædmon Manuscript¹ at Oxford (Bodleian Library MS Junius 11) of c. 1000 and London, B.L. Cotton MS Claudius B.IV of c. 1050, also known as the "Hexateuch of Ælfric." In addition to these extensive pictorial cycles, there are also isolated Old Testament images in the 8th-century Codex Amiatinus (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Amiat. I), the prologue to four illustrated versions of the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius², as well as an important Creation diagram on fol. 1v of London, B.I. MS Royal I E VII³, all of which are completely documented in word and image.

Early and sustained interest in Anglo-Saxon Old Testament illustration has, *mirabile dictu*, resulted in relatively complete pictorial documentation in this field. Indeed, the 1832 publication of engravings after the illustrations of MS Junius 11 in H. Ellis' "Account of Caedmon's metrical paraphrase of scripture history," *Archaeologia*, XXIV, 329–35, may constitute one of the earliest, if not the earliest, pictorial documentation of Anglo-Saxon Old Testament imagery.

Junius 11, of course, was published as a full facsimile by the British Academy in 1927 with commentary on its illustrations by Sir Israel Gollancz. The "Hexateuch" has also been published in facsimile with introduction and commentary by C.R. Dodwell and Peter Clemoes (*EEMF*, vol. 18, Copenhagen, 1974).

Literary scholarship on the Junius and Claudius manuscripts dates to the 17th century, whereas arthistorical studies began only in the late 19th century with A. Springer's publication of 1884 on Genesis illustration in early medieval art. J.J. Tikkanen also made references to Junius 11 in his 1889 study of the Genesis mosaics of San Marco. After considerable attention paid to both sets of illustrations in the 1960's and 70's, in addition to two important M.A. theses and two Ph.D. dissertations on the

Junius illustrations alone in this period,⁶ only two studies devoted exclusively to the illustrations of either of the two works have appeared since.⁷ Nonetheless, individual illustrations from both manuscripts are referred to for comparative purposes quite frequently in a broad range of publications on medieval art of all kinds. In addition, there are now three Ph.D. dissertations in progress or recently completed on the illustrations of Claudius B.IV, by R. Barnhouse, B.C. Withers, and Mary Olson.⁸ My own forthcoming book, *Genesis Illustration in Medieval England: the Anglo-Saxon Achievement*, is concerned will the illustrations of both Junius 11 and Claudius B.IV in relation to later English medieval manuscript traditions.⁹

A major area of continued scholarly debate with reference to these two sets of Old Testament images has to do with the nature and extent of each manuscript's indebtedness (or lack thereof) to iconographic precedents and prototypes. Numerous relationships to the iconography of an Early Christian manuscript tradition similar to that of the so-called "Cotton Genesis" (London, B.L. Cotton MS Otho B.VI) have been indicated for both manuscripts by several scholars. 10 On the other hand, especially in the case of the Hexateuch, numerous motifs having to do with other, non-Cotton Genesis iconographic traditions, specifically that associated with the Byzantine, post-Iconoclastic Octateuchs, 11 have been brought forward, most importantly in the work of George Henderson, as proof of a more complex iconographic origin for its illustrations. 12 While the specific influence of the ninth-century Utrecht Psalter on certain isolated illustrations in both Junius 11 and the Hexateuch has been demonstrated,13 several scholars have posited generalized Carolingian intermediaries for the illustrations as a whole of both manuscripts. 14 It is also clear that the illustrations in both Junius 11 and the Hexateuch contain many similar, but not identical, extra-biblical, "apocryphal" details, some, but not all, of which in both

cases can be traced to the specific Old English texts they accompany.¹⁵ In the case of the Hexateuch, C.R. Dodwell has taken the position that its illustrations were created specifically for that particular text and have no substantial relation to any previous iconographic tradition (Dodwell & Clemoes, 70–73).

In addition to on-going debate on matters iconographic, there continues, at least on the other side of the Atlantic, an unfortunate tradition of negative aesthetic judgments of both groups of pictures. The style of the Hexateuch, for instance, has been described as "crude, but very vigorous" (Rickert, 41). More recently, the drawings of the Junius manuscripts have been characterized as "...completely fascinating and ugly..." (Wilson, 180). In my opinion, a more historically-perceptive stylistic re-evaluation of both sets of pictures is needed. A fresh look at style in both works may yield important insights into their pictorial sources.

Finally, speaking of pictorial sources—in this present era of computer "imaging" and other pictorial miracles (scanning and digitalizing of photographs to name a few), an extremely useful desideratum, admittedly perhaps still in the realm of fantasy, would be a complete pictorial record of all extant Early Christian and early medieval Genesis imagery on photo-CD for comparative purposes in ascertaining iconographic filiations with respect to the Anglo-Saxon material in question here. ¹⁶

Notes

¹ For a summary of reasons why the manuscript should be properly referred to by its class mark, see P.J. Lucas, "MS Junius 11 and Malmesbury," *Scriptorium* 34 (1980), 197. See also, J. Lowden, "Concerning the Cotton Genesis and Other Illustrated Manuscripts of Genesis," *Gesta* 31/1 (1992), 41-44.

- 2. See E. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: 900-1066* (London, 1976), #48–51.
- 3. A. Springer, "Die Genesisbilder in der Kunst des frühen Mittelalters mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den Ashburnham Pentateuch," Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der köngl. Sachsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, IX (1884), 670-71, passim.

- 4. J.J. Tikkanen, "Die Genesismosaiken von S. Marco in Venedig und ihr Verhältnis zu den Miniaturen der Cottonbibel," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, XVII (1889), passim.
- 5. For bibliography up to 1981, see R. Deshman, Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian Art: An Annotated Bibliography (Boston, 1984). After 1981, see the bibliographies in the Old English Newsletter.
- 6. H.R. Broderick, "Observations on the Methods of Illustration in MS Junius 11 and the Relationship of the Drawings to the Text," Scriptorium 37 (1983), 161–77; R. Mellinkoff, "Serpent Imagery in the Illustrated Old English Hexateuch," in Modes of Interpretation in Old English Literature: Essays in Honour of Stanley B. Greenfield, P.R. Brown, et al., eds. Toronto, 1986, 51–64.
- 7. See K. Weitzmann & H.L. Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis: British Library Codex Cotton Otho B.IV.* Princeton, 1986, pp. 24-25.
- 8. The state of the question with respect to the Octateuch manuscripts themselves has recently been altered by virtue of the recent work of J. Lowden, *The Octateuchs: A Study in Byzantine Manuscript Illustration* (University Park, PA, 1992), esp. pp. 80-102.
- 9. See Deshman: IV. 77, 78, 79, 82.
- 10. See Broderick, "Observations on the Methods," pp. 165-69.
- 11. Weitzmann & Kessler, pp. 24-25.
- 12. See Deshman: IV. 85-90, 92.
- 13. Dodwell & Clemoes, pp. 70-73.
- 14. C.R. Dodwell, *The Pictorial Arts of the West: 800-1200* (New Haven, 1993), p. 104.
- 15. M. Rickert, *Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages*, 2nd. ed. (Baltimore, 1965), p. 41.

16. D.M. Wilson, Anglo-Saxon Art: From the Seventh Century to the Norman Conquest (London, 1984), p. 180.

17. Thomas H. Ohlgren's recent on-line guide (ASTI) to his Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration (Kalamazoo, 1992) is an important step in this direction.

Early Anglo-Norman Illuminated Manuscripts c. 1066-c. 1125

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Current research places the number of extant manuscripts which were written in or for England during the half century after the Norman Conquest at well over five hundred. This is by any standards a massive body of books. It is a crucial source for understanding the culture of the period, ecclesiastical, intellectual, literary and artistic. The vast majority of these volumes are copies of patristic writings, reflecting the priorities of the new generation of Norman ecclesiastics, however liturgical books and even some Old English texts were also produced and survive. Although a few centres of production eschewed ornament for reasons of speed or economy. most did not, and a fairly high percentage of the corpus has decoration of some sort. This ranges from miniatures, through historiated initials to arabesque and embellished capitals along with coloured display script. If the number of full page miniatures is much less than in late Anglo-Saxon times, the volume of decorated initials is vastly increased, while litterae notabiliores were used to greater ornamental effect than had previously been the case.

The sheer number of books in our "class" means that it is impossible to provide a list of them here; in fact no such list is yet available, a point to which we shall return. Instead we shall review the current resources for the study of this material, and address the issue: where could future work be most usefully directed? We shall see that on one level, the student of the books of early Norman England is remarkably well served by existing publications, but that on another the reverse is the case.

There are a comparatively large number of publications which examine, or include discussions of, sections and aspects of this material. In the first place, there are two general surveys which deal with book production as a whole during this period, one a monograph, the other an essay, namely N. R. Ker's magisterial *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest* (Oxford, 1960), and R. M. Thomson's thought-provoking "The Norman Conquest and English Libraries" (in *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture*, ed. P. Ganz, II,

Bibliologia 4 (Turnhout, 1986), 27–40). These are complemented by the descriptions of specific books in Ker's Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon (Oxford, 1957; repr. with "Supplement"); and in the early sections of C. M. Kauffmann's well illustrated survey catalogue, Romanesque Manuscripts 1066–1190 (London, 1975). With these guides one can, as Christopher de Hamel rightly observed (A History of Illuminated Manuscripts (Oxford, 1986), p. 246), "step into romanesque book production in England with greater confidence than for anywhere else in Europe."

In contrast to pre-Conquest books, many of which are of uncertain early provenance, a much higher percentage of the books produced after 1066 are of known provenance; moreover as provenance is a more reliable guide to origin by this date, the place of origin of a sizeable number can be established with reasonable certainty. The issue is not entirely clear cut, of course, for there are also new variables: although the details are shadowy, the rapid acquisition of numerous new texts by the major houses indicates that manuscripts serving as exemplars circulated in considerable numbers in the generation after the Conquest. There is also firm evidence for the participation of professional scribes in monastic book production, at least some of whom must have been itinerant. Nevertheless it is possible to study the activities of individual centres with greater ease and confidence than is the case in the earlier period, and much of the modern work on this material has taken the form of monographs on particular scriptoria. N. R. Ker's, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain, 2nd ed. (London, 1964) with Supplement, ed. A. G. Watson (London, 1987) is the indispensible foundation for all such research and, as Watson himself remarked in the introduction to Ker's selected papers (Books, Collectors, and Libraries: Studies in the Medieval Heritage (London, c. 1984), p. xi), "It is difficult now to foresee a time when Ker's Medieval Libraries will not ... be in daily use." The Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, which is appearing

under the aegis of the British Library and the British Academy, is usefully amplifying and bringing new precision to this work; three volumes have been published to date.

Many of the relevant Durham books (most of which have conveniently remained in situ) were in fact assembled and described before the first edition of MLGB by R. A. B. Mynors in his monumental Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the Twelfth Century (Oxford, 1939). This remarkably handsome volume, itself the size of a large early twelfth-century patristic tome, set a high standard of scholarship for such an undertaking. In terms of luxury of presentation it has never been matched, nor is it ever likely to be. Although quite understandable given the realities of academic publishing in the late twentieth century, this is still a cause for regret for, more than any other book in the field, Mynors' plates show the reader what his manuscripts really look like. The surviving corpus of Durham manuscripts has been defined with new precision by Alan Piper (in MLGB Supplement), and the early Norman part has come under renewed scrutiny from Michael Gullick ("The Scribe of the Carilef Bible: a new look at some late eleventh-century Durham Cathedral Manuscripts" in Medieval Book Production: Assessing the Evidence, ed. L. L. Brownrigg (Los Altos, 1990), 61-83), who has tackled the problem of distinguishing the Norman imports from the local products. New work by both Piper and Gullicle has recently been published in D. Rollason et al.(ed.), Anglo-Norman Durham (Woodbridge, 1994); and a colloquium on Simeon of Durham (1995) will provide the next focus for the continuing exploration of this rich body of material.

The artwork of the two Canterbury scriptoria, Christ Church and St Augustine's, was explored in C. R. Dodwell's pioneering The Canterbury School of Illumination (Cambridge, 1954), and the early books have subsequently been studied in more detail by A. Lawrence ("The Influence of Canterbury on the collection and production of manuscripts at Durham in the Anglo-Norman period" The Vanishing in Past: Studies...presented to Christopher Hohler, ed. A. Borg and A. Martindale, BAR, Int. ser. 111 (Oxford, 1981), 95-104; and "Manuscripts of Early Anglo-Norman Canterbury," Medieval Art and Architecture at Canterbury before 1200, BAACT 5 (1982), 101-11). Most recently they have been re-examined from complementary perspectives by Teresa Webber and the present writer in Canterbury and the Norman Conquest, ed. R. Eales and R, Sharpe (London, 1995). Although geographically very close, the scriptoria of Christ Church and St Augustine's follow quite distinct paths during our period, reflecting their different historical circumstances, and it is accordingly very revealing to compare their respective work. I reproduce two particularly interesting St Augustine's books, one s. xi ex, the other s. xii in, as plates 1 and 2.

The major study of Rochester's scriptorium, K. M. Waller's doctoral thesis, "The Library, Scriptorium, and Community of Rochester Cathedral Priory c. 1080-1150," University of Liverpool, 1980, remains unpublished. However the author has presented a summary account of her findings as "Rochester Cathedral Library: an English book collection on Norman models" in Les Mutations socio-culturelles au tournant des xie-xiie siècles, ed. R. Foreville, Études Anselmiennes ive session (Paris, 1984), 237-50; and the material has also been reviewed from the point of view of the transmission of the texts that were copied by M. P. Richards in Texts and their Traditions in the Medieval Library of Rochester Cathedral Priory, Trans. American Philosophical Society 78/3 (1988). As the vast majority of Rochester books came into the Royal collection, systematic descriptions of many of them are readily available in G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson's Catalogue of the Royal Manuscripts ... 4 vols (London, 1921), which is undoubtedly the most helpful general catalogue of its generation. In addition, P. Sawyer (ed.), Textus Roffensis, EEMF 7 and 11 (Copenhagen, 1957, 1962) provides a facsimile of the most important early Rochester book, which, includes the crucial document for the early history of the collection. As the earliest extant English library catalogue proper, fols 224-30 of the Textus Roffensis mark a watershed in the development of English book collections. I reproduce a specimen Rochester book in plate 3.

The small group of early Romanesque Lincoln manuscripts are catalogued in R. M. Thomson's, Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library (Woodbridge, 1989); and those at Hereford are included in the same writer's catalogue of that collection (Cambridge, 1993). Thomson has also provided an

admirable guide to St Albans' books in his Manuscripts from St Albans Abbey, 2 vols (Woodbridge, 1982), which combines a chronological analysis of the material with a descriptive catalogue of the books, supported by a volume of plates. Thomson, again, surveyed the development of Bury St Edmunds' book collection (without illustrations) in "The Library of Bury St Edmunds." Speculum 47 (1972), 617–45; and this has since been complemented by the publication of E. P. McLachlan's doctoral thesis, The Scriptorium of Bury St Edmunds in the Twelfth Century (New York and London, 1986), which includes plates (albeit few of the early material) and a useful descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts. Bury also enjoys the privilege of being virtually the only centre with a manuscript from our period available in facsimile, namely the celebrated Herbal Bodlev 130 (The Herbal of Apuleius Barbarus, ed. R. T. Gunther, Roxburghe Club, 1925). Thomson's wide-ranging work on English Romanesque books underpins his interpretative essay, "The Norman Conquest and English Libraries," mentioned earlier. This is a twelfth-century specialist's view of the question; one who works more in the eleventh century sees some of the issues in a different light.

Notorious for their humble, even shoddy appearance, the early books of Salisbury are the subject of Teresa Webber's recent monograph, Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral c. 1075-c. 1125 (Oxford, 1992), which coincidentally is approximately the same dimensions as many of the volumes it considers. Here discussion of palaeography, textual transmission and use is supplemented by two appendices listing the extant manuscripts and recording their texts and scribal hands. Building on Ker's work in English Manuscripts, Webber provides the best treatment to date of the thorny question of where the exemplars for the many "new" texts that were being copied came from, and shows the Salisbury canons to have been in the vanguard of this activity. A more detailed analysis of the "exemplar problem" will only be achieved through a considerable amount of collation of English and Continental texts. The game is undoubtedly worth the candle, but whether any one person currently has a long enough candle seems doubtful. Progress is dependent upon the individual editors of classical and patristic texts being prepared to elucidate the place of those manuscripts that fall between the twin

peaks of the Carolingian Renaissance and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance, and also to analyze English witnesses alongside continental ones.

The major work on the scriptorium of Worcester is E. A. McIntyre's Oxford D. Phil. thesis ("Early Twelfth-Century Worcester Cathedral Priory with special reference to some of the manuscripts written there," 1978) which remains unpublished; however the eleventh-century manuscripts are surveyed by the present writer's "Book Production and Decoration at Worcester in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries" in N. Brooks and C. Cubitt (ed.), St Oswald of Worcester (Leicester, forth-coming), and they will be considered further in a volume devoted to St Wulfstan of Worcester. Although as at Durham and Salisbury many Worcester books have remained in situ, a high percentage of the early manuscripts, including those of our period, have unfortunately been scattered.

Several smaller collections have yet to find an expositor. The Bath books, of which there is a cache in the Royal collection (see MLGB, p. 7), are a case in point. Not the least interesting aspect of these manuscripts are the echoes of Insular script and initial styles that are clearly discernible in them. Undoubtedly the most significant body of books attributable to a single centre dating from our period which still await sustained study is that from Exeter. The vast majority of these are now in the Bodleian Library (see MLGB, p. 83). But if their present location facilitates comparative study, the fact that it is uncertain which side of the channel many of these volumes were made problematizes it. This issue can only be approached through painstaking work akin to Michael Gullick's with the Durham material: searching for the scribes in other manuscripts and studying the provenance of the latter; it will certainly not be resolved without extensive research in the libraries of Normandy.

This underlines the fundamental point—which Dodwell clearly appreciated, and in which he was a pioneer—that study of the manuscripts of early Norman England must proceed in tandem with research on the manuscripts of Normandy. In his classic article of 1950 on Hugo Pictor (Bodleian Library Record 3, 96–103 at 100, n. 1), Otto Pächt referred to northern French illumination of the Romanesque period as terra incognita. Thanks to the work of G. Nortier (Les bibliothèques

médiévales des abbayes bénédictines de Normandie 2nd ed. (Paris, 1971)), F. Avril ("Notes sur quelques manuscrits bénédictins normands du xie et du xii siècle," Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire 76 (1964), 491-525, and 77 (1965), 209-18; "La decoration des manuscrits du Mont-Saint-Michel," Millenaire monastique du Mont-Saint-Michel, II (Paris, 1967), 203-38; Manuscrits Normands xi-xiieme siècles (Rouen, 1975)), J. Alexander (Norman Illumination at Mont St-Michel (Oxford, 1970)); and most recently M. Dosdat, (L'enluminure romane au Mont Saint-Michel (Rennes, 1991)), this has now changed. The conference at Cerisy la Salle, "Manuscrits et enluminures dans le monde Normand" (1995) will undoubtedly further enrich our knowledge here. The task of identifying the scribes and decorators of the manuscripts that came to Exeter will be time-consuming, but it is surely manageable. The result may provide another model—to place alongside the differing circumstances of St Augustine's, Rochester, and Salisbury for example—as to how an early Anglo-Norman book collection could be built up. And in whichever country the majority of the Exeter manuscripts should transpire to have been made, they undoubtedly attest to the special circumstances of a new bi-partite kingdom united by the English Channel.

If students are, as we have seen, fairly well equipped with discussions of the material and studies of sections of it, they are less well served when it comes to guides to the corpus of manuscripts as a whole and to systematic descriptions of them; and they are considerably less well served with regard to reproductions.

Helmut Gneuss' "A preliminary list of manuscripts written or owned in England up to 1100," Anglo-Saxon England 9 (1981), 1–60, provides an invaluable overview of extant Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and manuscript holdings. It has effectively revolutionised the possibilities for approaching and understanding the manuscript culture of early England. The source material can now be surveyed and controlled with greater precision than before, and the influence of the "Preliminary list" can be seen in virtually every subsequent study in this area, not to mention many beyond it. That such a monumental work should have omissions and imperfections is hardly surprising, but then it is self-declaredly "preliminary"; few preliminary works can have had greater impact.

Indeed such is its utility and apparent comprehensiveness that its provisional status is easily lost sight of. This has its own dangers. For instance, it is easy not to look beyond the list—to regard it as a corpus rather than as a step towards one; it is tempting to accept its dates and ascriptions rather than to check and query them; and the growing habit of citing manuscripts by Gneuss number, while convenient, not only perpetuates the illusion that the preliminary list is a corpus, but will cause untold confusion once a fully revised version is published. When the revised version eventually appears (in CUP's History of the Book in Britain, vol. I), the study of Anglo-Saxon manuscript culture will indeed rest on admirably firm foundations.

Immensely useful for the Anglo-Saxon period, Gneuss' list is considerably less helpful for the early Norman one, as one would expect. Although his notional upper limit was 1100—that is more than a generation into the period of Norman rule—the Preliminary list is noticeably less full and reliable for the years after 1066 than it is for the Anglo-Saxon centuries. This reflects the vast increase in the bulk of the material, its complexity, the lesser resources that are currently available for identifying it, and the fact that 1066-1100 was the coda to, rather than the focus of, Gneuss' work. For the years after 1100 there is, at the moment, no comparable published list. Now until a reliable conspectus of later manuscripts, supplementing Gneuss' for the earlier period, is available, the student lacks a guide to the material as a whole. Supplying this need is clearly a priority, and this is a project which the present writer has in hand. I have for some time been compiling a handlist of the manuscripts written in or for early Norman England c. 1066-c.1125 which should be ready for publication in the near future. Eventually it is to be hoped that a similar project can be undertaken for all twelfth-century manuscripts. Yet here the sheer bulk and wealth of the material is daunting and progress will be slow; as many manuscripts survive from the fifty years after the Norman Conquest as from the entire Anglo-Saxon period, and the numbers from the rest of the twelfth century undoubtedly run into thousands.

If the strength of work to date on the period 1066–1125 is the attention that has been paid to individual scriptoria, correspondingly the weakness is that un-

provenanced books, whatever their intrinsic interest have tended to be neglected. Excluded by definition from MLGB, they are easy to overlook and there is currently no reliable way of identifying them other than working through catalogue after catalogue. I reproduce one of the many such books as plate 4.

This leads on to another problem, namely that when the printed catalogues are elderly and their datings uncertain, such bibliographic research must be followed up by "trawling" through large numbers of the manuscripts themselves, which is a very time-consuming business, not to mention a difficult and expensive one if the books in question are scattered across the world. The nineteenth-century catalogue of the main collection of the Cambridge University Library, for instance, regularly ascribes manuscripts of our period to s. xiii, and the only way to identify the relevant books is to examine every "s. xiii" codex in the collection whose text does not rule out an early date. The Bodleian Library's Summary Catalogue... is far more reliable in this respect; however as ascription to periods within a century are not always given and are occasionally wayward when they are, the identification of early twelfth-century books still requires the inspection of considerable numbers of manuscripts. With those major collections whose catalogues are even older, such as the Cottonian and Harleian libraries, the problem is correspondingly the more acute. Now there is no point or value in criticising eighteenth- and nineteenth-century writers for not having the knowledge or resources of late twentieth-century palaeographers, nor for not anticipating their needs, rather it is incumbent upon us to revise, rather than to, rely upon their work. Needless to say, the new catalogue of the Cottonian collection which is being compiled by Nigel Ramsay is eagerly awaited; let us hope it will be illustrated on the scale of its predecessor for the Royal collection.

As to continental repositories, the difficulties to which we have alluded are compounded with the problem of distinguishing those books which were or may have been written or owned in England from their continental counterparts. In compiling my handlist of the manuscripts of early Norman England, mentioned above, I have looked at vast numbers of possibly relevant manuscripts in the major English collections, many of which have proved to be irrelevant. Work on a comparable scale in

Continental libraries is at the moment beyond the resources of an individual; indeed it would tax those of a team. However as increasing numbers of collections publish well illustrated modern catalogues and guides to their holdings, such as Y. Załuska's, Manuscrits enluminés de Dijon (Paris, 1991), it will become progressively more feasable.

How well are the needs of the art historian of the early Norman period served at present? Michael Kauffmann's immensely useful Romanesque Manuscripts has rightly established itself as the standard general guide to the material as a whole. It is in various ways more reliable than its predecessor in the series, E. Temple's. Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900-1066 (London, 1976). However, whereas Temple was able to include a high percentage of the decorated manuscripts produced between 900-1066, this was out of the question for a volume devoted to 1066-1190. As Kauffmann stresses at the outset: "this is not intended to be anything like a complete corpus, but rather a selection drawn from immensely rich material." The point is underlined if we compare the number of manuscripts from the Bodleian and Bibliothèque Nationale that he catalogues with the number dating from his period that are included in O. Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford 3 (Oxford, 1973), and F. Avril and P. Stirnemann, Manuscrits enluminés d'origine insulaire (Paris, 1987). The statistics are a sobering 20/227 and 2/45 respectively. Yet twenty years on, many students still prefer to follow the paths that Kauffmann defined rather than developing his paths into clearings. It would be far more useful and surely more rewarding for future workers to explore less familiar manuscripts than to write vet another study of a well-known Bible, whatever its intrinsic (or apparent) importance. Today's fashionable art history may see such "field work" as pedestrian, but when all is said and done, it is far easier to re-interpret a well-known image in the light of current critical theory than it is to place, date and expound an unknown book; and it is on hard-won facts, not clever "readings" that the future of the discipline must rest.

As we noted earlier, the vast majority of decoration in the early Norman period takes the form of initials and display script. The factors behind this change need not detain us here: what is relevant is that such initials occur in a far wider range of texts than had received decoration in Anglo-Saxon England, and that they include a plethora of previously unrepresented subjects and new iconographic material. However because this artwork is collectively more numerous yet individually less imposing, a far smaller percentage of it has been published. The most famous volumes from the early Norman period, such as London, British Library, Arundel 91 (pl. 2) and Oxford, University College, MS 165, have had a selection of their decorated pages reproduced—but only a selection and that inconveniently scattered across a variety of publications. Various others have had one or more details published. Beyond this there are substantial numbers of manuscripts from which little or nothing has ever been reproduced: many of the Exeter manuscripts are cases in point. At the moment, only those few individuals who live within walking distance of the Bodleian Library can easily discover what most of the manuscripts of Anglo-Norman Exeter look like.

Although the reproduction of details as a supplement to full pages can be very helpful, when they are on their own the disadvantages often outweigh the advantages. In the first place, it can give a wholly misleading impression of the artwork in question (see Archaeologia Cantiana 110 (1992), 17-48, esp. 26-34). Secondly, given that script and display script can be crucially important for placing and dating these books, and that the development of litterae notabiliores is an important feature of the manuscript art of the period, a plate that is so cropped as to exclude them is one of greatly reduced value. Palaeographical research should not be made to depend on the few letters that appear immediately around a decorated initial. Here the plates in Mynors' Durham Cathedral Manuscripts, Thomson's Manuscripts of St Albans Abbey, and Gullick's "Scribe of the Carilef Bible" provide models to emulate. Yet it must be said that some palaeographers have only themselves to blame. The onus of providing adequate reproductions falls as heavily on palaeographers as on art historians, yet the former have generally not responded so readily. A single plate may be adequate to support an argument, but it does not illustrate it, and it certainly does not serve the cause of future research. How much easier it would be to understand the development of late Old English script, for instance, if Ker's Catalogue had had even sixteen plates

(i.e. twice the actual number). Moreover as libraries become ever more restrictive about new photography, it is incumbent upon art historian and palaeographer alike to take extra care in choosing for reproduction pages that are truly representative and which show as many features as possible.

This is an appropriate point to mention another impediment to the study of our material, namely the hefty fees levied by a small number of libraries for reproduction rights. It is, of course, eminently reasonable for a library to charge a profit-making enterprise for the right to publish photographs; but demanding reproduction fees for illustrations that are destined for academic works by authors who are certainly not going to make a profit (indeed are far more likely to be out-of-pocket already), is indefensible. If the author is fortunate and his institution will provide a subvention, then the library is robbing Peter to pay Paul. When there is no such subvention, the library is penalising a section of its community, many of whom are not personally well-off, simply for doing their particular sort of work. The effect of this, as all those in the field know, is to make scholars choose their plates from books in the care of those libraries that are sympathetic to the needs of palaeography and art history. These are hard economic times for all institutions; it is accordingly a particular disgrace that one of the most mercenary libraries with regard to reproduction fees is among the better-endowed and belongs to one of the richest universities in the world. Stephen Langton believed that not to lend your books was a kind of homicide; levying fees on the reproduction of photographs in academic works is a crime against scholarship.

We have alluded above to certain key projects which could usefully be undertaken in the near future—the study of Bath or Exeter books for example—and we hope that our forthcoming handlist will facilitate work on the early Norman books as a whole. Some relevant manuscripts will undoubtedly have eluded us, but further work will in turn bring the more elusive volumes and fragments to light. Undoubtedly the most useful venture from the point of view of art historians for the immediate future would be the reproduction of all the pages containing decoration from certain key manuscripts. These would ideally include a few that were certainly or probably made in Normandy but were in England at an early date. Those I

would particularly recommend for this, selected on the grounds of their wealth of decoration and the lack of conveniently available reproductions, are as follows.

Note: an asterisk indicates Norman work.

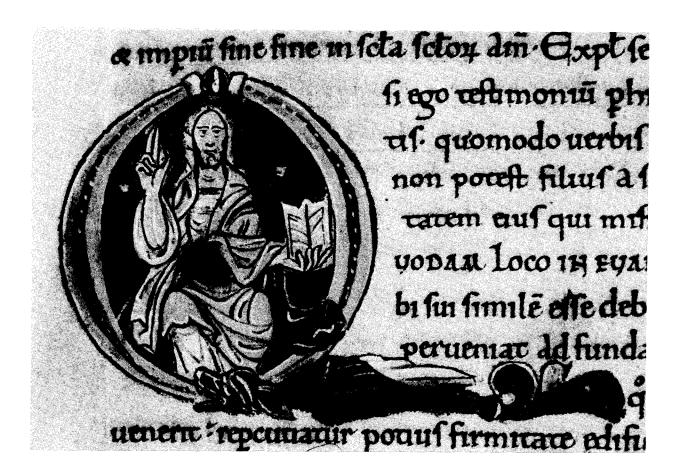
- 1. Canterbury Cathedral Archive, E. lit. 42 (Passional fragments)
- 2. *Durham Cathedral Library A. II. 4 (The Carilef Bible)
- 3. Durham Cathedral Library B. II. 16 (Augustine, In Euangelium Iohannis).
- 4. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. xii. 17 (Augustine, De ciuitate dei)
- 5. Lincoln Cathedral 1 (A.1.2) + Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 5. 2 (Bible).
- 6. London, British Library, Arundel 91 + Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fell 2 (2 vols of a Passional set; Fell 2 is mutilated)
- 7. London, British Library, Royal 6 C. vi (Gregory, Moralia, Bks. 17-35)
- 8. London, British Library, Royal 13 A. xi (Bede, De natura rerum; De temporum ratione; etc.)
- 9. *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 717 (Jerome, In Isaiam).
- 10. Oxford, University College, 165 (Uita Cuthberti)
- 11. *Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, A. 21 (32) (The Abingdon Gospels).

Descriptions of these eleven books may be found as follows: 1) N. R. Ker, Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries II; 2) Mynors, Durham Cathedral Manuscripts: 3) Ibid. 4) Kauffmann, Romanesque Manuscripts; 5) Thomson, Lincoln Catalogue; M. R. James, Trinity College Cambridge Catalogue...I; also Kauffmann, Romanesque Manuscripts; 6) Kauffmann, Romanesque Manuscripts; with Pächt and Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library...3; 7) Warner and Gilson, Catalogue I; also Kauffmann; 8) Warner and Gilson, Catalogue, II; 9) Pächt and Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts...1; 10) Kauffmann, Romanesque Manuscripts; with Baker in Jnl of the Warburg and Courtauld Insts. 41 (1978), and Temple in Bodleian Library Record 9/6 (1978); 11) Avril, Manuscrits normands. Illustrations from four of them (nos. 3, 6, 7, and 8) accompany this article.

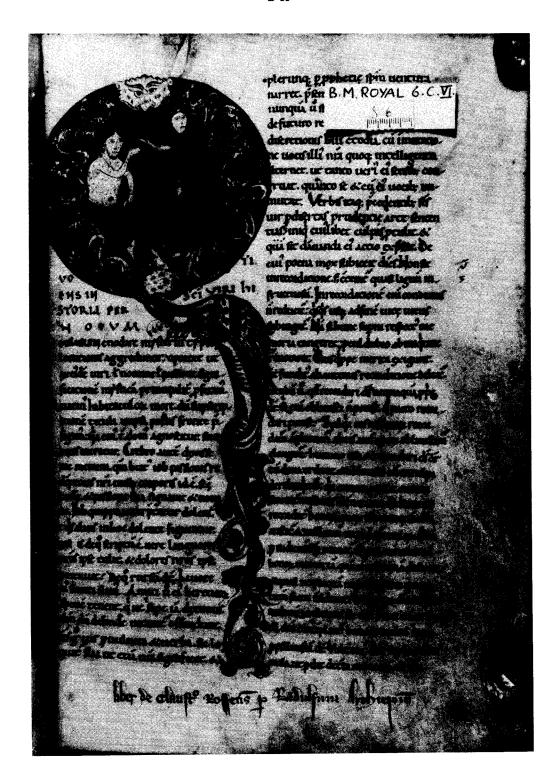
To conclude: the field we have surveyed is by far the largest of those considered in these reports, it has the fewest workers, and much remains to be done. Reflecting the vast numbers of books involved, many manuscripts remain to be listed, described, studied and reproduced; and in the present economic climate it seems unlikely that all the decorated pages in these books will ever be published. Yet great strides forward have been made in all these respects during the last generation, and this will surely continue. Assuming that it does, it is even possible that a few scholars of the next generation may come to know this material as well as the provost of Eton once did. The publications I have surveyed here all date from after M. R. James's death, yet most of them rest to a greater or lesser degree on the foundations he laid. James stands, as Kauffmann observed, "like a colossus astride the field." His advice on dating script and ornament given a century ago remains a useful axiom for all future work on our manuscripts: "I am convinced that there is no other way of arriving at the power of forming a judgement on these points but to examine a large number of the books themselves." (Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge, 1895), p. xxxviii)

List of Plates

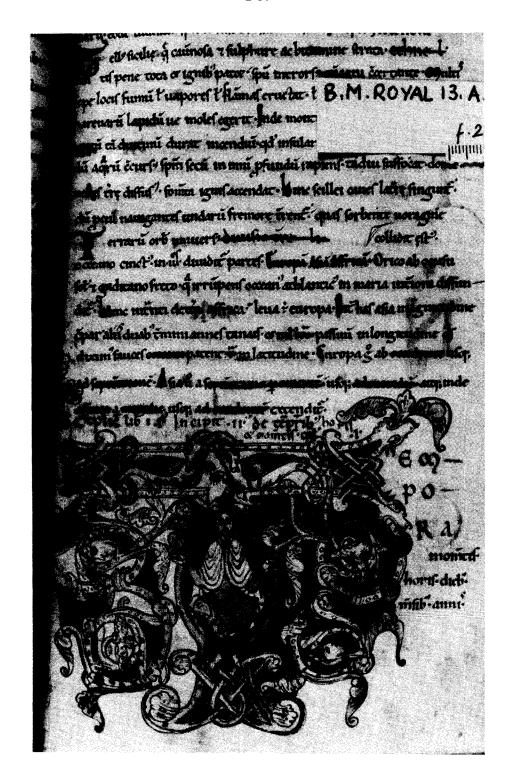
- 1. Durham Cathedral Library, B.II.16, fol. 65v (detail). Augustine, In Euangelium Iohannis, s. xi ex (pre 1096). Origin: St Augustine's, Canterbury; provenance: Durham. Copyright: Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral.
- 2. London, British Library, Arundel 91, fol. 36r. Passional, s. xii in. Origin: St Augustine's, Canterbury. Copyright: Courtauld Institute of Art.
- 3. London, British Library, Royal 6 C. vi, fol. 6r. Gregory, Moralia, Books xvii-xxxv, s.xii in (1108-14). Origin: Rochester. Copyright: Courtauld Institute of Art.
- 4. London, British Library, Royal 13 A. xi, fol. 22r. Bede, *De natura rerum*; *De temporum ratione*; etc, s. xii in. Origin and medieval provenance unknown. Copyright: Courtauld Institute of Art.



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3. London, British Library, Royal 6 C.vi, fol. 6r.



4. London, British Library, Royal 13 A. xi, fol. 22r.

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- 19. Manfred Görlach, *Mac ond Mauris in Old English Rhymed and Alliterative Verse* (1992). [Replaces volume 3 above, offering both rhymed and alliterative versions of the M and M saga.]
- 20. Alan Bliss, with an introduction by Daniel Donoghue, An Introduction to Old English Metre (1993) [Rpt. of 1962 edition.]
- 21. Constance B. Hieatt, Brian Shaw, and Duncan Macrae-Gibson, *Beginning Old English: An Elementary Grammar for Use With Computerized Exercises* (1994). [includes a DOS diskette with the manual.]
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